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GREEK COMEDY

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GREEK TRAGEDY

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GREEK COMEDY

BY

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PREFACE

ALL the greatest poets of Greece committed the same unintended offence : their overwhelming excellence thrust into partial or complete oblivion the merits of their less august fellow-writers. Aristophanes was so unquestionably the finest comic playwright of the fifth century that not a single work even of Cratinus has survived. This eclipsing power is still felt in our histories of literature, few readers of which are likely to divine that several of the now fragmentary plays were superior to some written by the master himself and still entirely extant. In this book I have naturally discussed Aristophanes and Menander at length and with deep pleasure; but my chief season for undertaking it was an ambition to offer, so far as should prove possible, an adequate and illuminating account of numerous minor yet most engaging playwrights. Some of our fragments have been discovered too recently for discussion in earlier books: about the *Dernes* papyrus, for example, nothing is to be found save in German periodicals. These considerations have determined the amount of space that I have allotted to the various parts of my subject.

In treating of metre and rhythm I have followed the principles and method used in the corresponding chapter of my *Greek Tragedy*. That chapter was adversely judged by certain admirable scholars, but I confess to being wholly unrepentant: partly because other readers have reported that for the first time they

understood something of the subject, partly because the critics I have mentioned gave me little help. They asserted, for instance, that I was mistaken in saying that ictus is stress-accent ; but when invited to explain what, then, ictus is, they proved unanimously coy. Prolonged and respectful study of recent books on lyric metre and rhythm has convinced me that they become at crucial moments unintelligible except to the unusually gifted: I at least have learned little from any save the writings of J. H. H. Schmidt, and even from him I have found it necessary to diverge. It is useless for me, or for anyone, to write explanations that do not in fact explain. Those who would have me regard as fundamental Headlamps superb article in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, or the work of his skilful and brilliant disciples, cherish a misconception that would make of Greek prosody a morass resembling that wherein students of English prosody are at present floundering. It is possible to scan the verse of Shakespeare, Milton, Wordsworth by simple rules. When the basic principles are grasped, we may proceed to study the subtle and lovely variations executed, within the scheme, by individual masters; and a most vital, most fascinating, study that is. But it must come second, not first. Recent investigators of English verse-technique would teach the student to run before he can walk. That error I have sought to avoid. What I have written here and elsewhere will not, perhaps, reveal to my reader the beauty of Euripidean and Aristophanic poetry; but it will, I hope, give him the indispensable means to such appreciation.

GILBERT NORWOOD

August, 1931

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GREEK COMEDY

CHAPTER I

THE HISTORY OF GREEK COMEDY

§ 1. INTRODUCTION

DRAMA is the portrayal of a difficulty or problem as presented and solved by the interaction of beings (whether human or not) whose words and deeds are displayed to an audience by performers impersonating them. Comedy is that type of drama which employs action tolerably close to real life and an expression light, charming, often laughable. Allied to comedy, and often confused with it, is farce, which may be defined as exaggerated comedy: its problem is unlikely and absurd, its action ludicrous and one-sided, its manner entirely laughable. Some of the finest work included under the convenient title of "Greek Comedy" should in strictness be called farce.

From our definitions it follows that, although psychology may tell the origin of comedy, history cannot. A comedy is a plot engendered by our sense of the amusing wedded to our instinct for impersonation. But we cannot hope to discover the first occasion on which this kind of performance appeared. "I am pretending to be a cobbler. This man is pretending to be the cobbler's wife. We will now show you how funny married life can be by quarrelling about her shoes and then being reconciled by a customer." One day, of course, a genuine comedy was for the first time

acted ; but since it was the first, it must have been so rudimentary that no one observed, and therefore remembered and recorded, the change from yesterday's event, whether that was an impersonation without plot, or a plot without impersonation. For plot is vital to drama, however simple : question, complication, and solution must all be present, or there is no drama.

What was the origin of Greek Comedy ? To this question the same considerations will or will not be applicable according as comedy was native to Greece or came from elsewhere. This second thesis has never been stated or even hinted by any ancient authority or by any modern student. This question, then, can be no more adequately answered than its predecessor : we must content ourselves with stating the time, place, and circumstances of the first comic drama reported by our authorities. A third question, as to the origin of Athenian Comedy, will resolve itself into an inquiry whether this grew up independently in Attica or was derived from other parts of the Greek world, whether Sicily or elsewhere. That question solved, we shall trace the development of comedy in Athens and its slighter manifestations in other Greek centres ; an investigation for which we possess materials tolerably adequate.

Vase-paintings have been fruitfully studied in recent years by students of dramatic origins ; but our main source is still the reports ¹ of ancient scholars. These latter contributions vary in authority. At one end of the scale stands Aristotle, whose learning, sagacity, and early date constitute an immense claim on our attention. At the other extreme are the stupidities penned by fifth-rate Byzantine pedants while the Crusades trampled past their windows. These deserve practically no respect: the most noted of them, John Tzetzes, owns that he wrote and taught about early

¹ These are conveniently presented in Kaibel's *Comicorum Græcorum Fragmenta*, I, i. (all published) which contains also the non-Attic fragments.

drama on the authority of 'that muddle-headed scoundrel Heliodorus,'¹ and only later bethought himself to read the plays he had thus artlessly described. Between Aristotle and the late Byzantines lie a number of writers whose knowledge and ability are of various grades. The best is probably the Anonymus de Comoedia, as he is generally called; with him may be named Platonius and the Scholiast on Dionysius Thrax. These, and others in varying measure, drew upon the Alexandrian scholars, now otherwise lost, whose industry and first-hand knowledge of the texts made them authorities of the first weight. Athenaeus, too, should be mentioned, though less valuable for origins. To him we owe an immense number of fragments from lost plays. A man of vast reading, and inordinately proud of it, he conceived the idea of writing the *Deipnosophistæ* or *Experts in Dining*, where certain friends meet at table and illustrate every conceivable aspect of dining with an overwhelming opulence of quotation.

The earliest of Greek, and therefore of European, playwrights was EPICHARMUS, whose achievements shall receive detailed examination later. He was active in Sicily, first at Megara Hyblæa, later in Syracuse, at the close of the sixth and the beginning of the fifth centuries. The Anonymus reports that Epicharmus was "the first to concentrate the scattered elements of comedy by many feats of technique": that is, when he began to write no comedy existed, only scattered ingredients that awaited a genius for their combination. No doubt his first essays were hardly distinguishable from the mimes² that were being composed by others: *Hope* may well have been nothing but the exhibition of a parasite—a mere portrait in quasi-dramatic form; though even here he showed originality, for his parasite was the first in literature. Again, there is no evidence that *Odysseus*

¹ Ὁ πεφυρμένος καὶ βδελυρὸς Ἡλιόδωρος (Kaibel, p. 32).

² See below, pp. 76-82.

Shipwrecked was more than a " sketch " showing the notoriously versatile hero expounding anachronistic philosophy to his stupefied henchman. But, at some time after his removal from Megara to Syracuse and the court of Hiero, Epicharmus met amid that brilliant assembly the greatest genius between Homer and Plato, the Athenian Æschylus. It is certain that he was familiar with the tragedies, for he made game of an Æschylean peculiarity, and it is hardly possible to doubt that the architectonic qualities therein revealed exercised a strong effect upon his work. In *Busiris*, for example, there must have been genuine plot-structure : problem, what will the strange captive do ?—complication, the meeting of Busiris and his intended victim—catastrophe, the sudden revelation that the victim is Heracles—denouement, the victory and feasting of the demigod. Such work, though the culmination of Epicharmus' career, would (we may assume) strike a reader of the *Acharnians*, not to mention the *Birds*, still less the *Agamemnon*, as narrow in scope, loose in texture, simple in construction : it was nevertheless a splendid achievement—the first comic dramaturgy. To attain this, formidable obstacles were surmounted, chief among them that confronting all pioneers : the very notion of such work had to be evolved. Epicharmus had grown up among writers of mime which contained no action, only descriptions thereof and talk about it. And so his *Hebe's Wedding*, though its theme contained, as we can see now, excellent opportunity for comic action, was written in narrative only. Not the least delightful element in the study of dramatic art is to observe original-minded practitioners at various epochs striving to weave into their fabric threads originally non-dramatic. Peele's *Sir Clyomon and Sir Chlamydes* is narrative stumbling across the boards ; Menander's prologue slowly melts into genuinely dramatic exposition ; in our own day Mr. Eugene O'Neill invents audacious methods of dialogue to secure the self-revelation of discredited soliloquy. So in the dawn

of comic art Epicharmus transformed narrative into action.

Of other Sicilian playwrights we hear very little. PHORMIS of Syracuse is named by Aristotle¹ with Epicharmus as the inventor of plot; perhaps he helped the master to produce his work. Suidas² mentions certain changes he made in the mounting of plays; but he gives six titles of dramas by Phormis. DEINOLOCHUS, of Syracuse or Acragas, a successor of Epicharmus, composed eleven plays; of the five titles that we know, four (*Medea*, etc.) suggest burlesque of legend, and the fifth, *Tragicomedy* (Κωμωδοτραγωδία), points the same way. But after this period native comedy seems to have died in the West.

Turning now to Attic Comedy, we find that even Aristotle³ knows nothing of its earliest phases: official recognition came to it later than to tragedy, before which time the performers were "volunteers"; but it had already received "certain forms" when its known poets appeared in history. Nevertheless, the Byzantines are prepared to tell us a good deal. For example, they relate with delicious particularity that comedy was discovered in the evening; but the day, month and year they fail to divulge. This notion comes from their derivation of the word κωμωδία, namely from κῶμα, "sleep." But they accept at the same time a derivation from κῶμη, "village." From these two etymologies (which cannot both be correct, and indeed neither is) comes their oft-repeated story that country-people, being wronged by influential citizens, came by night into the town and cried aloud their grievances in the streets; the authorities, feeling that such accusations were good for public morals, insisted that the rustics should come forward in the day-time and perform more elaborately; this they

¹ *Poetic*, 1449b, 17.

² *s.v.* Φόρμος.

³ *Poetic*, 1449a-ii: Αἱ μὲν οὖν τῆς τραγωδίας μεταβάσεις καὶ δι' ὧν ἐγενοντο οὐ λελήθασιν, ἥ δὲ κωμωδία διὰ τὸ μὴ σπουδάζεσθαι ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἔλαθεν· καὶ γὰρ χορὸν κωμωδῶν ὅψε ποτε ὁ ἄρχων ἔδωκεν, ἀλλ' ἐβελονταὶ ἦσαν. ἥδη δὲ σχήματά τινα αὐτῆς ἐχούσης οἱ λεγόμενοι αὐτῆς ποιηταὶ μνημονεύονται.

did, but fearing their oppressors they disguised themselves by smearing their faces with lees of wine ; later, the government put the affair on a sound footing by commissioning poets like Susarion to write the accusations. There is no evidence whatever that this story is true : these writers are in fact thinking of their own time ; what they allege of primitive Athens was true of mediaeval Constantinople.¹

Despite the obscurity of this subject, we possess certain important pieces of evidence as to the origin of Athenian Comedy supplied by early vase-paintings, by Aristotle and later writers, and by the structure² of the surviving plays. These evidences are eight in number :

- (i) Beast-mummeries,
- (ii) The lampoon.
- (iii) Aristotle's remark about phallic songs,
- (iv) Corinthian vase-paintings.

¹ In the reign of Theophilus (A.D. 829-42), Nicephorus, the city-prefect, was assailed in a mime for oppressing a widow and was sent to the stake. See Tunison, *Dramatic Traditions of the Dark Ages*, p. 115.

² This enumeration ignores two elements in existing comedies that have received much attention in authoritative works, Zielin's *Gliederng der altattische Komodie*, Mazon's *Essai sur la Composition des Comedies d'Aristophane*, Korte's article *Komodie* in Pauly-Wissowa's *Real-Encyclopadie*, and JPickard-Cambridge's *Dithyramb Tragedy and Comedy*. These are the *ἀγών* and the epirrhematic syzygy, which both owe their present vogue to Zielinski. Prolonged study of his book leaves the present writer with the impression that it is vastly overrated : not to dwell upon minor points, the two important matters now in question are palmary instances of bad criticism. His long discussion of the epirrhematic syzygy comes simply to this, that whereas in Tragedy the correspondent strophes of any lyric are collected in a consecutive mass, in Comedy they are separated by parts of a scene. But this is not only perfectly obvious : it leads nowhere. As for the *ἀγών*, the absurdities here are still more glaring. Zieliriski, when he finds a play without one, insists that the *ἀγών* is so vital that we must regard our version as later, and excogitates an *ἀγών* which existed in the earlier, never asking himself why, if it is vital, Aristophanes actually deleted it. But the whole of his discussion here rests upon an astounding insensibility to the very nature of drama. An *ἀγών* is a set elaborate conflict between two leading characters. It follows that any play ever written may well have an *ἀγών*, but well may not—precisely as we find in Aristophanes. There are *ἀγῶνες* in Greek tragedy, e.g. *Eumenides*, *Ajax*, *Hippolytus*. There are *ἀγῶνες* in non-Greek drama, both tragic and comic, e.g. *Adelphoe*, *The Merchant of Venice*, *Julius Cæsar*, *A Doll's House*, *Man and Superman*.

THE HISTORY OF GREEK COMEDY

- (v) Aristotle's implication as to the *comos*.
- (vi) The Megarian claim,
- (vii) The nature and position of the parabasis.
- (viii) Features of the post-parabasic scenes.

(i) Primitive mummeries have been familiar in all ages and every quarter of the globe. A group of people disguise themselves as persons or animals and for the pleasure of an audience perform mimic action, which may be dramatic or (more commonly) non-dramatic, like the pageant of Ceres and Juno in *The Tempest* or the lovers' scene in Xenophon's *Symposium*. In Attica the primitive folk-play seems to have specially favoured animal impersonations. Vases painted in a period anterior to the earliest official presentations of comedy show such mummeries of animals or men and animals, and show¹ them as Dionysiac performances—that is, as in some sort precursors of drama properly so-called. For example, a famous vase in the British Museum depicts men dressed as birds and dancing to the music of a flutist; this vase is dated in the neighbourhood of 500 B.C., and almost certainly refers to a theatrical chorus. Another of the same period has a procession of horsemen, whose horses show men's faces below the animal; before these also a flutist is playing. This spirit survived into the literary drama: Magnes, as we shall see, composed beast-plays, and Aristophanes, if he has no *Horses*, has yet *Knights*, mounted on hobby-horses or masquerading men; his wasps are men indeed, but they bear stings; his birds are "genuine." There are many other known instances.²

(ii) The lampoon (*ἱαμβοί*), or short scurrilous address, was very frequent in Attica when crowds gathered for any celebration; such abusive remarks addressed by celebrants to individual bystanders formed one ingredient of Attic Comedy. Our evidence lacks

¹ By ivy-tendrils, etc.

² See Poppelreuter, *De Comoedice Atticæ priinordiis*, and Pickard-Cambridge, pp. 245-7.

details, but it is clear so far as it goes. Semos of Delos, in his book¹ on paeans, described the performance of certain *φαλλοφόροι* ("bearers of the phallus") who, decked out with garlands of foliage and flowers, advanced into the orchestra and, after a short salutation to Dionysus, 'ran up and jeered at anyone they chose'.² There is, however, no indication that their performance was at any point dramatic; still, they appeared in the theatre (though not necessarily in Athens), they followed the phallic-emblem (see the next paragraph), and they uttered lampoons. Next, Aristotle writes concerning Crates that 'he was the first man in Athens to relinquish the lampoon form and compose stories and plots of general application'.³ Finally, as we have seen, the Byzantines make great play with accusations and reproaches, levelled by rustics against townsmen, as the original stuff of comedy. There was evidently a persistent tradition as to the importance of this element, but Aristotle speaks as if it had to be dropped before comedy could progress. The explanation probably is that Aristotle, having his own day specially in mind, is disposed to regard Crates and his school as the most significant historically among Old Comedy playwrights, because the Middle dramatists derive from them rather than from the satirical school of Aristophanes and others.

(iii) Aristotle asserts that comedy 'originated with those who led the phallic songs'.⁴ A procession in honour of Phales, the companion of Dionysus, carried aloft the phallus (a pole symbolizing human fertility) with songs; one man led the singing. We find a specimen of this in the *Acharnians*. Dicaeopolis arranges a "skeleton" celebration; his daughter goes

¹ Quoted by Athenaeus, xiv. 621 f., 622. Cp. the Fescennine verses of Italy.

² *Εἶτα προστρέχοντες ἐτάθαζον οὖς προέλουντο.*

³ *Poetic*, 1449b: τῶν δὲ Ἀθηνησιν Κράτης πρῶτος ἤρξεν ἀφείμενος τῆς ἰαμβικῆς ἰδέας καθόλου ποιεῖν λόγους καὶ μύθους.

⁴ *Ibid.* 1449a: ἡ μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐξαρχόντων τὸν διθύραμβον, ἡ δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν τὰ φαλλικά, ἃ ἐτι καὶ νῦν ἐν πολλαῖς τῶν πόλεων διαμένει νομιζόμενα.

first with a basket of fruit and other offerings, two slaves bear the phallus, his wife on the roof represents the crowd, and he himself the procession of singers. His ditty proclaims the licentious exploits of Phales, his own glee over his newly-made peace, and contains a scrap of lampoon. This is the kind of celebration to which Aristotle refers ; but it is utterly undramatic. Nevertheless, he believes that " leaders " like Dicaeopolis originated comedy. Why ? He tells us in the same sentence that tragedy was evolved by those who led the dithyramb, and from this analogy we infer that he means : the leader separated himself more and more from his followers (the chorus), making speeches of his own and being in the course of time joined by an additional actor with whom he performed genuinely dramatic scenes that slowly increased in length, interest, and importance.

In the next section we shall find reason to doubt all this. But can we venture to defy so impressive an authority ? Here we may, if the opposed evidence is strong. For there can be little doubt that in this part of the *Poetic* Aristotle is perfunctory. Consider the manner in which he writes of Epicharmus : he joins him on to the account of Athenian Comedy without any note as to the vast difference separating non-choric from choric drama ; he is thinking of comedy as it is in his own day, when the chorus was unimportant. This casualness may well suggest that he affiliated the phallus-wearing actor of literary Old Comedy to the leader of the pre-literary phallus-bearers, without verifying the alleged connexion.

(iv) In fifth-century Athens the comic actor's costume included the phallus and huge padding of the stomach and posterior : the first item is attested by passages of Aristophanes, and all three by numerous vase-paintings. Comedy being Dionysiac, we are to understand this costume as that attributed to the attendants of Dionysus. But we know that the Athenian idea of the Dionysiac costume was not that

just described : on Attic vases the god's male followers are always silenuses-satyrs with the tails and ears of horses. On the other hand, Dorian Greeks regularly portrayed these attendants as human, with the phallus and padding. Firstly, such attire (as South Italian vases show) was used by the *phlyakes*—the actors in Italian farce¹—who often appear as companions of the god. Secondly, dancers thus padded are seen on Chalcidian and Spartano-Cyrenaic vases. Thirdly, they are found above all on the vases of Corinth: it is certain that the Dionysiac thiasos was imagined during the seventh and sixth centuries in Corinth as entirely human, with padding and the phallus. The upshot is that the actors of Athenian Old Comedy regularly wore a costume displaying the physical peculiarities of Peloponnesian attendants on Dionysus, peculiarities entirely foreign to the Attic conception of the thiasos. They are a Peloponnesian element added to, but never completely coalescing with, the genuinely Attic chorus that normally appeared in animal masquerade.

This is a summary of Korte's arguments,² which constitute an impressive rebuttal of Aristotle's statement, reported in the preceding section.

(v) Aristotle implies further that comedy—that is, in particular, the comic chorus—arose from the *comos* (*κῶμος*), the revel-rout of Dionysiac worshippers. He says that the Megarians derive the word "comedy" from *come* (*κῶμη*, "village")—*denying that comedians were named from participation in the *comos* '.³ We must believe that he approves this repudiated etymology, not only because of his language here, but in view of what he says concerning the leaders of the phallic songs. These were sung by the revelling procession : Dicaeopolis' celebration is a rudimentary *comos*. His suggestion plainly is that the leader developed into the actors, the revellers into the chorus.

¹ See below, pp. 73-6.

² Pauly-Wissowa's *Real-Encyclopiidie*, XI, 1219-21.

³ *Poetic*, 1448a: ὡς κωμῳδοὺς οὐκ ἀπὸ τοῦ κωμάζειν λεχθέντας.

(vi) The Megarians claimed ¹ for two reasons to be the inventors of comedy: it appeared in Nisæan Megara 'under the democracy' and in Sicily was written by Epicharmus 'long before Chionides and Magnes'. As regards Epicharmus, we have seen that this claim was justified. Concerning the alleged drama of Nisæan Megara we have no dates and very doubtful details as to early work; but Aristotle and Aristophanes, with their Scholiasts, tell us something of its quality in the fifth century. These reports ² depict bad taste in the mounting of plays, and performances that were nothing but crude buffoonery. This implies nothing as to the origin of Attic drama—nor indeed does it in the least disprove an historical affiliation. Aristophanes gives, as instances of 'laughter stolen from Megara,' a couple of slaves scattering nuts among the audience, and 'Heracles robbed of his dinner'.³ By this accusation of theft he plainly accuses his less gifted colleagues of frequently borrowing from the clownery of Megara. There are several other passages, not confined to Aristophanes, that point the same way; it seems plain that Athenian playwrights had an uneasy sense of obligation. It is to be observed, further, that Aristotle does not reject the Megarian claim. Finally, it is significant that Susarion, despite the Attic dialect of his alleged fragment, is made to call himself a Megarian.⁴

(vii) The parabasis was a part of every Old Comedy and continued into the Middle period, disappearing finally as the chorus dwindled to complete insignificance. It was an elaborate performance at about the middle of the play by the chorus solely, was

¹ *Poetic*, 1448a: Διὸ καὶ ἀντιποιοῦνται τῆς τε τραγῳδίας καὶ τῆς κωμῳδίας οἱ Δωριεῖς (τῆς μὲν γὰρ κωμῳδίας οἱ Μεγαρεῖς οἱ τε ἐνταῦθα ὡς ἐπὶ τῆς παρ' αὐτοῖς δημοκρατίας γενομένης καὶ οἱ ἐκ Σικελίας, ἐκεῖθεν γὰρ ἦν Ἐπίχαρμος ὁ ποιητὴς πολλὰ πρότερος ὢν Χιωνίδου καὶ Μάγνητος· καὶ τῆς τραγῳδίας ἐνιοι τῶν ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ) ποιοῦμενοι τὰ ὀνόματα σῆμειον κτέ.

² Conveniently summarized and admirably discussed by Pickard-Cambridge, pp. 274-80.

³ *Wasps*, 58-60.

⁴ See below, pp. 14 sq.

entirely non-dramatic,¹ and its kernel was an address to the audience on behalf of the poet, discussing his art, political crises, and so forth. 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 for the poet to close with an attempt to ingratiate himself with the audience.

(viii) The part of a comedy that followed the parabasis tended to form merely a string of scenes with little structure. It should, however, be confessed that we are here on somewhat dangerous ground. The only complete plays that we possess were written by the same poet, and he gradually develops structure in this part. It might therefore be suggested that such looseness is but an accident of Aristophanes' immaturity, especially when it is remembered that what first-hand knowledge we possess of Cratinus indicates a complete freedom from this weakness: the *Odysses* and the *Dionysalexandros* developed steadily from beginning to end. Nevertheless, Platonius emphatically denies firm structure to Cratinus. Accordingly, when we consider (a) what has just been said about the position of the parabasis; (b) the fact that these later scenes (except of course the lyrics) are invariably written in iambic trimeters, whereas the earlier part of the play (all that comes between the prologue and the parabasis) is often composed in longer metres; (c) that these scenes are often mere buffoonery, showing little or no play of ideas—it is difficult to resist the conviction that this part was at first a mere addendum to please the coarser members of the audience, and was in fact an importation from Nisæan Megara loosely tacked on after the real

¹ That is, it contains no action. Nevertheless, the chorus often speaks in character.

finale—the parabasis—just as for many years an English pantomime was followed by the farce of clown, harlequin, columbine, pantaloon and policeman.

From these eight evidences we conceive this strange and elaborate type of comedy to have arisen as follows. In Attica the universal folk-mummery took the form of an animal masquerade attached as *comos* to the worship of Dionysus as god of the vinous revel. Their phallic procession sang lampoons against chance bystanders, sometimes more elaborately against public characters. At first their performance, or at any rate their remarks, were impromptu ; later a poet wrote lines for them. When the poet's work attained some elaboration, he wrote an address for the chorus to sing before they withdrew. Next an actor was introduced, partly in imitation of tragedy, partly because the Megarian farce was becoming popular. He was attired in the Peloponnesian manner, and his part was at first mere clowning with the chorus after the parabasis. Later he invaded the earlier part of the performance and was in time provided with a colleague, so that genuine dramatic action became possible. As comedy advanced in the hands of successive artists this scheme was developed : the lyrics increased in beauty and elaboration ; plot was developed ; topics of deep political or social interest were handled ; explanatory scenes,¹ whether by the chief actor (*e.g.* *Acharnians*) or by gossiping slaves (*e.g.* *Knights*), came into being ; and after the Megarian scenes (so to call them), the *comos* came back into its own, rounding off the play with a finale of triumphant riotousness.

§ 2. ATHENIAN OLD COMEDY

The earliest poets are, as might be expected, shadowy. SUSARION is the first of all: concerning him Tzetzes,²

¹ Named *πρόλογοι*, afterwards to become "prologues" in the modern sense, as written by Menander and his contemporaries,

² Kaibel, p. 77,

who gives the fullest account, writes : ' of the so-called first comedy the first and the inventor was the Megarian Susarion, the Tripodiscian, son of Philinus : he, being married to a bad wife who left him, came into the theatre during the Dionysiac festival and pronounced the four following iambic lines, which alone of his writings have been discovered, all the rest being lost: " O yes ! O yes ! Susarion, Philinus' son, a Tripodiscian from Megara, says this : Women are an evil ; nevertheless it is impossible, neighbours, to live in one's house without evil ". ' Stobaeus adds a fifth line : ' for both to marry and not to marry are evil'. The complete text of this *cri du coeur* runs, then, as follows :

ἀκούετε λεῶ· Σουσαρίων λέγει τὰδε,
νῖος Φιλίνου Μεγαρόθεν Τριποδίσκιος·
κακὸν γυναῖκες, ἀλλ' ὅμως, ὦ δημόται,
οὐκ ἔστιν οἰκεῖν οἰκίαν ἄνευ κακοῦ·
καὶ γὰρ τὸ γῆμαι καὶ τὸ μὴ γῆμαι κακόν.

Others omit the second line, added, no doubt, by some one who believed in the claim of the Megarians to have originated comedy. But in any case the passage is spurious, for the satire shows a jaded sophistication incredible at the only date possible for Susarion. Others assign him not to the Megarian town, Tripodiscus, but to the Attic deme Icaria. Despite all these doubts, there was certainly a comic poet Susarion of early date, though we have no trustworthy details about his work. The Parian Marble, which belongs to the middle of the third century before Christ, mentions him " under a year which may fall anywhere between 581 and 560 B.C." ¹ in a passage that is thus to be restored : " At Athens a chorus of comedians was invented, being established by the Icarians ; the inventor was Susarion ; a prize was first offered consisting of a basket of figs and a barrel of wine ". Such early evidence is not to be rejected. Susarion, in fact, must have been the only

¹ Pickard-Cambridge, p. 280.

notable poet of those who wrote the words for the lampoons of the *comos* when these passed beyond the phase of impromptu abuse. Evidently he was not a comic dramatist in the full sense: but that he was a literary forerunner of comedy is manifest. Hence the statement that he was a Megarian; his work was a composition, not an improvisation, so that he became an author of scenes, which would at once suggest the Megarian farce, though his performers may not have been actors in the official sense, but members of the chorus. It is significant that one authority, while assigning comedy to Epicharmus, assigns the lampoon to Susarion.¹ Of the other poets who are named as belonging to this pre-natal period of comedy—Euetes, Euxenides and Myllus—we know nothing.

CHIONIDES is named by Aristotle as being, with Magnes, the earliest to compose comedy at Athens: he nowhere mentions Susarion. But Magnes is rather later; probably Chionides gained the prize at the first official competition in 486 B.C., for Suidas,² who calls him 'the originator of Old Comedy,' places him eight years before the Persian War; that is, in 487-6, by Greek chronology eight years before Salamis. The few fragments are of no interest. Whether Chionides may be regarded as a playwright in the full sense of the word is highly doubtful, since plot-construction, as we shall see, dates in Athens from Cratinus and Crates. The best view is that he gave more form and power to the quasi-drama of chorus and isolated scenes that Susarion had initiated.

MAGNES, according to the Anonymus,³ was 'an Athenian who competed at Athens, winning eleven

¹ Schol. Dion. Thrax (Kaibel, p. 77): *εὐρέθη ἡ μὲν τραγωδία ὑπὸ Θέσπιδος τινος Ἀθηναίου, ἡ δὲ κωμῳδία ὑπὸ Ἐπιχάρμου ἐν Σικελίᾳ καὶ ὁ ἱαμβὸς ὑπὸ Σουσαρίωνος*. The same writer (*ibid.*) says that he wrote in verse, but there he calls his work comedy (*τῆς ἐμμέτρον κωμῳδίας ἀρχηγός*).

² *s.v.* *Χιονίδης*, Ἀθηναῖος, κωμικός τῆς ἀρχαίας κωμῳδίας, ὃν καὶ λέγουσι πρωταγωνιστὴν γενέσθαι τῆς ἀρχαίας κωμῳδίας, διδύσκειν δὲ ἔτεσιν ὀκτώ πρὸ τῶν Περσικῶν.

³ Kaibel, p. 7. This is confirmed by an inscription (Wilhelm, *Urkunden dramatischer Aufführungen in Athen*, p. 107),

victories. None of his plays survive ; those attributed to him number nine.' Suidas¹ gives him nine plays and two victories ; this divergence shows that in the days of scholarship little was known of him. The Scholiasts of Aristophanes, though they have the work of the learned Didymus before them, can indeed give the names of the comedies, but seem to possess no further knowledge. Aristotle himself (in our text of the *Poetic*²) gives nothing save an implication that he was a contemporary of Chionides. It seems plain that Magnes' plays had vanished before the Alexandrian age, and that Didymus could draw on nothing for information save the *Knights* (see below). As for his dates, we have four indications : (i) Aristotle puts Epicharmus * much earlier ' than Magnes ; (ii) Suidas³ says that Magnes' youth coincided with Epicharmus' old age ; (iii) he was plainly dead when the *Knights* appeared in 424 ; (iv) an inscription⁴ found in Athens shows that he was victorious at the City Dionysia of 472. All this points to 500 and 430 as the approximate dates of his birth and of his death.

He is among those mentioned by Aristophanes as proofs that the Athenian audience was fickle and cruel to his predecessors. ' I was slow to come forward openly as a poet both because of the unique difficulty of writing comedy, and also because I have long understood *you* that you are naturally fickle and betrayed earlier poets when they grew old. First, I knew what Magnes endured when his hair grew white, he who had raised many trophies of victory over the choruses of his rivals ; but though he uttered every kind of sound to please you—played the harp, flapped wings, showed you Lydians and gall-flies and dyed himself frog-green—all would not serve. In the end, when old (how different from his youth !) he was hunted off the stage despite his years, because his jokes ran dry.'⁵

¹ *s.v.* Μάγνης.

² *Poetic*, 1488a, 33.

³ *s.v.* Μάγνης : ἐπιβάλλει δ' Ἐπιχάρμῳ νέος πρεσβύτερ.

⁴ Wilhelm, *Urkunden*, 18. *Knights*, 518-25,

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Nevertheless, his victories, we have seen, were numerous; this fact, coupled with two others, the titles of his plays and the disregard of the next generation, may give us some notion of his merits. The participles in the fifth and sixth lines of Aristophanes refer to the names of his comedies, the *Harpers* (**Βαρβιτισταί**), *Birds*, *Lydians*, *Gall-Flies* (**Ψῆνες**) and *Frogs*. Magnes composed popular beast-fables and his lyrics were probably the most considerable part of his work: he dominated the stage when there was little competition, but the appearance of a genius in Cratinus swept him away. Another reason for the disappearance of Magnes' works is that they were revised to suit later taste. Athenaeus¹ speaks of 'the man who composed the writings attributed to Magnes'; Photius² says that 'the *Lydians* of Magnes was revised'; and Hesychius³ most definitely of all: '*Lydizing*, that is, dancing, on account of the *Lydians*, which is preserved, but in a revised form'. Even of these *rechauffes* we possess scarcely anything.

ECPHANTIDES is the only other name of interest belonging to this period. Though undoubtedly later than Magnes, he is called by a Scholiast⁴ 'the most ancient poet of the old school,' which shows that he was the earliest comic playwright of whom later antiquity possessed any drama:⁵ Magnes, as we have said, disappeared early. He proclaims himself as 'ashamed to write in Megarian' fashion, but despite this claim to artistry he is nicknamed **Καπνίας** (that is, "flat wine") by Cratinus, who also parodies his lyric manner. Aristotle⁶ mentions a tablet set up by Thrasippus, who had been choregus for Ecphantides.

This early school of "playwrights" was literary, as contrasted with the improvisers who had preceded it; but we have no evidence that they composed genuine

¹ ix. 367f., xiv. 646c

² P. 233, 20, under **Λυδίζων**.

³ s.v. **Λυδίζων**.

⁴ On Aristotle, *Eth. Nic.*, IV, vi: **πалаίστατος ποιητής τῶν ἀρχαίων**.

⁵ Korte, Pauly-Wissowa, XI, 1228.

⁶ Pol., 13410, 36.

plots. They are to be imagined as composing a series of scenes and as more excellent and elaborate on the lyrical side. Development of plot begins, according to Aristotle,¹ with Crates, the pupil of Cratinus; yet the latter is the greatest dramatist before Aristophanes. The explanation is that Crates composed that Comedy of Manners which Aristotle saw ruling the theatre in his own day, whereas Cratinus developed the old lampoon form into a type excellent indeed but obsolete in the fourth century. Crates followed Epicharmus, particularly in his social comedies; Cratinus did not. By the time Magnes was an old man his dramaturgy had become obsolete: Cratinus was writing thoroughly adult comedy. Between the debut of Cratinus and the fall of Athens—a period of some fifty years—Greek Comedy saw its Golden Age, which shall be treated here succinctly because detailed treatment of its greatest writers is more conveniently effected in separate chapters. Perfected comedy, despite its unity of technical form, takes on a fourfold aspect derived from its main topics: contemporary manners, burlesque of legend, politics, and fantasy. The last two are familiar because they inspired surviving dramas of Aristophanes: the other two themes are less considered because the works that treat of them have almost vanished. But the *Corianno* of Pherecrates was evidently a notable comedy of manners, and Cratinus composed several burlesques the excellence of which is even now unmistakable. No poet² confined himself to one of these types: for example, social comedy appears in the *Wasps* and still more in the *Plutus* of Aristophanes; burlesque of legend—or at least burlesque of its treatment in tragedy—is marked in several of his works, especially the *Thesmophoriazusæ*.

CRATES, under, the influence of Epicharmus' social comedy, founded a school of drama that, although

¹ *Poetic*, 1449b.

² Except perhaps very minor poets (such as Alcaeus) of whom we know little.

overshadowed by political comedy in the fifth century, was destined to an immensely longer and more fertile, if not more brilliant, career than its rival. His most distinguished followers were PHRYNICHUS, PHERECRATES, and PLATO, who was (next to the three great masters) the most important playwright of the age. To this school a separate chapter is allotted. We shall next discuss the other three leading subjects, fantasy, burlesque of legend, and politics.

Fantasy by its nature imports a vague category, but it excludes at least such plays as the *Knights* and even *Lysistrata*, for it implies not merely imagination, but its unfettered play, imagination bound to no real event of contemporary life. In this period we observe two fanciful motifs invented and repeatedly employed. One is the Cockaigne theme, the picture of a glutton's Eldorado, an edible landscape traversed by rivers of wine and soup. This was originated by Cratinus in his *Riches* (Ἰλλοῦτοι), and we possess several copies of this idea. The *Miners* of Pherecrates portrayed such a region, beneath the earth; Nicophon described a river of soup; so did Crates and Metagenes. But the best of such accounts, according to Athenaeus,¹ was written by TELECLEIDES, of whom a complete account may at once be offered; it will be observed that he is interested in politics also.

Of Telecleides' career we can assert only that he belonged to the Periclean age,² and that he was a popular but probably commonplace dramatist. He won at least eight³ victories—three at the City Dionysia, five at the Lenaea—but the Anonymus⁴ knows of only six plays. To *Amphictyons* (Ἀμφικτύονες), *The Truth-Tellers* (Ἀψευδεῖς), *Hesiods* (Ἡσιόδοι), *The Chairmen*

¹ VI, 268b.

² His first victory was won soon after 446 (Geissler, *Chronologie der altattischen Komödie*, p. 11).

³ Wilhelm, *Urkunden*, p. 176.

⁴ Kaibel, p. 7. Suidas knows him only through Athenaeus: Τηλεκλείδης, Ἀθηναῖος, κωμικός. τῶν δραμάτων αὐτοῦ εἰσὶν Ἀμφικτύονες καὶ Πρυτάνεις καὶ Στεργοί, ὡς Ἀθήναιος λέγει ἐν τοῖς Δειπνοσοφισταῖς.

(*Πρυτάνεις*), *The Stiffs* (*Στερροί*), inscriptions add two, perhaps to be read as *The Furies* (*Εὐμενίδες*) and *The Soldiers* (*Στρατιῶται*). *The Stiffs* was produced twice.¹ The AMPHICTYONS seems to have urged concord among the Greek states : such is the suggestion of the title itself, the Amphictyonic Council being a rudimentary League of Nations. One fragment :²

' But, oh ye that are best of all citizens at blackmail and litigation, cease your cannibalistic law-suits '—

ἀλλ', ὦ πάντων ἀστῶν λῶστοι σείσαι καὶ προσκαλέσασθαι,
παύσασθε δικῶν ἀλληλοφάγων—

refers to concord among the Athenians themselves. In any case, the play contained a picture³ of " ancient life " :

λέξω τοίνυν βίον ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὃν ἐγὼ θνητοῖσι παρεῖχον.
εἰρήνη μὲν πρῶτον ἀπάντων ἦν ὥσπερ ὕδωρ κατὰ χειρός.
ἡ γῆ δ' ἔφερε' οὐδέος οὐδὲ νόσους, ἀλλ' αὐτόματ' ἦν τὰ δέοντα.
οἶνω γὰρ ἄπασ' ἔρρει χαράδρα, μῦσαι δ' ἄρτοις ἐμάχοντο
περὶ τοῖς στόμασιν τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἱκετεύουσαι καταπίνειν,
εἴ τι φιλοῖεν τὰς λευκοτάτας. οἱ δ' ἰχθύες οἰκαδ' ἰόντες
ἐξοπτῶντες σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἂν παρέκειντ' ἐπὶ ταῖσι τραπέζαις.
ζωμοὺ δ' ἔρρει παρὰ τὰς κλῖνας ποταμὸς κρέα θερμὰ κυλίνδων,
ὑποτριμματίων δ' ὄχετοι τούτων τοῖς βουλομένοισι παρήσαν,
ὥστ' ἀφθονία τὴν ἔνθεσιν ἦν ἄρδονθ' ἀπαλὴν καταπίνειν,
λεκανίσκαισιν δ' ἀνάπαιστα παρῆν ἡδυσματίοις κατὰπαστα.
ὅπται δὲ κίχλαι μετ' ἀμητίσκων εἰς τὸν φάρυγ' εἰσεπέτοντο.
τῶν δὲ πλακούντων ὥστιζομένων περὶ τὴν γνάθον ἦν ὑλαλητός.
μήτρας δὲ τόμοις καὶ χυσαυματίοις οἱ παῖδες ἂν ἡσπραγάλιζον.
οἱ δ' ἄνθρωποι πίονες ἦσαν τότε καὶ μέγα χρήμα γυγύντων.

¹ 'Come, I will describe in full the life that I bestowed upon mankind. Peace, first of all, was regularly on tap. The earth bore no terror or diseases, but necessities came spontaneously. Wine flowed down all the gullies ; cakes fought with loaves at people's mouths, crying " Please swallow us, if you like the best quality ". Fish came into the house, frying themselves and lying down ready on the tables. A river of soup flowed beside the dining-couches in eddies of stewed meat, and runlets of sauce were at the disposal of those so

¹ Wilhelm, *Urkunden*, p. 204.

² Fr. 2. Except where it is otherwise stated, all fragments are quoted from Kock's *Comicorum Atticorum Fragmenta*.

³ Fr. 1.

inclined: there was plenty of choice where to soak your morsel before swallowing it. On plates were cakes sprinkled with seasoning. Roast thrushes with their pastry flew into your mouth, and the buns made an uproar as they jostled round your teeth. The boys played knuckle-bones with slices of haggis and tit-bits. Men were fat in those days and stalwart giants.' It has been plausibly suggested¹ that the ancient benefactor who recited these blessings was Amphictyon, the eponymous founder of the Council after which this play is named.

From unnamed plays come a few interesting extracts. One concerns blackmailers:

Χαρικλῆς μὲν οὖν ἔδωκε μνᾶν, ἵν' αὐτὸν μὴ λέγῃ
ὥς ἔφν τῇ μητρὶ παιδῶν πρῶτος ἐκ βαλλαντίου.
τέτταρας δὲ μνᾶς ἔδωκε Νικίας Νικηράτου.
ὣν δ' ἑκατὶ τοῦτ' ἔδωκε καίπερ εὖ εἰδὼς ἐγὼ
οὐκ ἔρῳ· φίλος γὰρ ἀνὴρ, σωφρονεῖν δέ μοι δοκεῖ.

'Charicles gave him a *mina* not to tell that he became his mother's first child by purchase. Nicias, son of Niceratus, gave twelve *mince*', but the reason I shall not declare though I know it well, for I like the man and think him righteous.' Plutarch³ tells us he complained that the Athenians had surrendered everything to Pericles—

πόλεων τε φόρους αὐτάς τε πύλεις τὰς μὲν δεῖν τὰς δ' ἀναλύειν,
λάϊνα τεῖχῃ τὰ μὲν οἰκοδομεῖν τὰ δὲ τᾶμπαλιν αὐτὰ καταβιάλλειν,
σπονδὰς δύναμιν κράτος εἰρήνην πλούτιον τ' εὐδαιμονίαν τε.

'The tribute of cities and the cities themselves, to bind or unloose; the walls of stone, to build or to cast down; treaties, power, dominion, peace, wealth, and happiness.' Of another passage⁴ the Greek is uncertain but the intention plain, that Euripides had collaborating friends:

Μνησίλοχος ἐστ' ἐκεῖνος, ὃς φρύγει τι δράμα καινὸν
Εὐριπίδῃ καὶ Σωκράτῃ τὰ φρυγὰν ὑποτίθῃσιν.

¹ By Kock, I, p. 210.

² Fr. 41. Charicles was one of the commission of inquiry into the Hermes outrage, and later one of the Thirty Tyrants.

³ *Pericles*, XVI. Fr. 42.

⁴ Fr. 39, 40.

There is no doubt a pun on *Φρύγες*, the name of a tragedy,¹ and *φρύγανα*, "brushwood". 'That is Mnesilochus, concocting some new play for Euripides while Socrates puts the fuel underneath.' Perhaps this was a tableau in the *Hesiods*, displayed on the *eccyclema*.

The other favourite fantasy was the story of some divine birth. Such accounts were well known in earlier poetry, for instance the Homeric *Hymn to Hermes* and Pindar's *Seventh Olympian*, but its dramatic handling was originated—so far as comedy² is concerned—by HERMIPPUS, who composed *The Birth of Athena* (*Ἀθηνᾶς Γοναί*). He seems to have been unimportant as a playwright,³ but the surviving remnants of his work, both dramatic and non-dramatic, shimmer with a sensuous and delicate charm rarely to be discerned in Attic literature. One example⁴ must suffice :

καιροσπάθητον ἄνθεων ὕφασμα καινὸν Ὠρῶν.

'Fresh raiment of flowers close-broidered by fairy-fingers'. So magical is the phrasing that we scarcely recognize the metre as the usual rub-a-dub-dub of Aristophanes. In the writing of nativity-plays Hermippus was followed by NICOPHON with *The Birth of Aphrodite*; POLYZELUS composed a whole series of such dramas—on Dionysus, the Muses, Aphrodite and perhaps Ares; the idea was a favourite in Middle Comedy also. But the drama of fantasy was naturally not confined to these themes. NICOCHARES wrote *Heracles the Play-Producer* (*Ἡρακλῆς Χορηγός*) and Aristonymus the even quainter-named *Frozen Sun* (*Ἥλιος Ὑγῶν*), of which also we know nothing; possibly the title means *The Sun-God with a Cold*. The most illustrious instance of fantasy is,

¹ But we have no other evidence of a *Phrygians* by Euripides.

² Sophocles dramatized the birth of Hermes in his *Ichneutce*.

³ His most interesting political fragment (46) is an attack on Pericles, whom he calls *βασιλεὺς σατύρων*, probably an allusion to Cratinus' *Dionysalexandros*: see below, p. 123.

⁴Fr. 5. The Hours are Nature considered as working subtle and lovely change.

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of course, the *Birds*, which seems to have suggested to ARCHIPPUS the idea of his *Fishes*. This poet, who gained one first prize and was ridiculed as the most abandoned punster of his day,¹ is notable for the fact that some ancient critics attributed to him the four doubtful plays of Aristophanes, *Poetry* (Ποίησις), *Islands* (Νῆσοι), *Niobos*, and *Dionysus Shipwrecked* (Διόνυσος Ναυαγός).

Concerning the third topic, burlesque of legend, little need be said in this outline : excellent examples of it will be found in the *Dionysalexandros* and *Odyssees* of Cratinus, in the latter part of the *Thesmophoriazusæ*, and in various other works of Aristophanes. No dramatic type has a longer history : it begins with the earliest comic playwright, Epicharmus, continues throughout Old Comedy, and was a favourite pursuit of the Middle writers ; Rhinthon, the *phlyax*, appears to have written nothing else. In most ages it has been a fairly easy and successful dramatic type.

Political themes are the most important and frequent of all. Here the lampoon flourishes, whether as brief incidental gibes at individuals great and small, or as providing the plan of a whole work like the *Knights* : human nature being what it is, an uproarious Old Comedy writer could scarcely conceive a political play without attaching it to personalities. Of this type, the chief exponents were EUPOLIS and ARISTOPHANES, who (together with CRATINUS) were regarded throughout antiquity as beyond compare the great " old " masters. (To each of these a later discussion is devoted.) We may here mention incidentally an attractive poet who did not indeed write on politics, but who distinguished himself in competition with the great playwrights whom we have just named.

AMEIPSIAS is chiefly noteworthy because he twice defeated Aristophanes : in 423 the *Clouds* was placed third and Ameipsias' *Connos* second, Cratinus being first with the *Wine-Flask* ;² in 414 the *Birds* came

¹ Schol., *Wasps*, 500.

² *Clouds*, Argument IV.

second to Ameipsias' *Revellers*, the third prize falling to Phrynichus' *Hermit*.¹ A notion² that ill-feeling existed between Aristophanes and Ameipsias rests on weak evidence. Aristophanes jeers³ at Ameipsias (together with Phrynichus and Lycis) for hackneyed clowning; this need mean little. On the other side, we hear⁴ that Ameipsias derided Aristophanes, saying he must have been born on the fourth of the month: according to a proverb, such persons were fated to toil for others, and Aristophanes produced some of his work under the names of Callistratus and Philonides. Ameipsias composed at least nine plays—we have their titles—and (as has been said) gained at least one first prize, though some have thought that the *Revellers* and the *Connos* were really the work of Phrynichus.⁵ CONNOS is named after a famous musician, said to have taught Socrates: it depicted an assembly of sophists. Athenasus writes: ⁶ 'Ameipsias in *Connos* . . . does not number Protagoras in the chorus of thinkers \ This not only gives some idea of the subject: it is important as showing that the chorus consisted of individualized members. In tragedy always, in comedy almost always, the chorus is a company (of maidens or farmers and so forth) all exactly alike. But, as in the *Cities* of Eupolis and the *Birds* of Aristophanes, so here it seems that the separate choristers represented individuals who entered one by one and were announced by name. It is then possible that Socrates was a member of the chorus. He certainly took a part in the play: ⁷

Σώκρατες ἀνδρῶν βέλτιστ' ὀλίγων, πολλῶν δὲ ματαιόταθ', ἥκει
καὶ σὺ πρὸς ἡμᾶς; καρτέρικός γ' εἶ. πόθεν ἂν σοι χλαῖνα γένοιτο;

τουτὶ τὸ κακὸν τῶν σκυτοτόμων κατ' ἐπήρειαν γεγένηται.
οὗτος μέντοι πεινῶν οὕτως οὐπώποτ' ἔτλη κολακεῦσαι.

¹ *Birds*, Argument I.

² Meineke, *Fragmenfa Comicarum Græcorum*, I, p. 199.

³ *Frogs*, 1-18.

⁴ *Vita* (Dindorfs ed., IV, i. p. 34): τὰ μὲν πρῶτα διὰ Καλλιστράτου καὶ Φιλωνίδου καθίει δράματα· διὸ καὶ ἔσχωπον αὐτὸν Ἀριστῶννμός τε καὶ Ἀμειψίας τετράδι αὐτὸν λέγοντες γεγονέναι, κατὰ τὴν παροιμίαν, ὥς ἄλλοις πανοῦντα.

⁵ Bergk (*Rel. Com. Att.*, 369).

⁶ V,

218c.

⁷ Fr. 9.

' Socrates, among a few the best, among many the most stupid, hast thou also come to us ? This is true fortitude ! Whence canst thou get a mantle ? . . . This discomfort is intended as an insult to the shoemakers.¹ Now this man, hungry as he is, never had the hardihood to play the sycophant.' The tone of the passage is much more respectful to Socrates than the *Clouds*, which was performed at the same festival. From SPHEN (*Σφενδόνη*, either " sling " or " bezel ") comes one attractive remnant :²

τὸ μὲν δόρυ
μετὰ τῆς ἐπιχάλκου πρὸς Πλαταιαῖς ἀπέβαλεν,

' he lost his spear and shield at Plataea '. This most probably refers to the escape from Plataea immortalized by Thucydides ; a number of Athenians took part therein. From an unnamed play comes a *scolium* or drinking-catch :³

οὐ χρὴ πύλλ' ἔχειν θνητὸν ἄνθρωπον,
ἀλλ' ἐρᾶν καὶ κατεσθίειν · σὺ δὲ κάρτα φεῖδῃ.

Life is short: a fig for pelf!
Kiss the girls and stuff yourself:
You'd be wiser,
Silly miser.

Returning to the description of political comedy, we need to make only two remarks. Firstly, no special importance resides in the fact that some poets attack Pericles, others Cleon, others Hyperbolus, and in the difference between those statesmen. They are attacking " the government," that is all. To suggest, as some have done, that Eupolis and Aristophanes were in the pay of the oligarchic malcontents, is woefully to misapprehend Athenian political life.⁴ Granted freedom of speech, it was far easier, far more exciting, far better fun, to assail the favourite of Demos than to assail the opposition. Secondly, these plays are notable for their outspokenness, not merely the freedom

¹ Because Socrates always went barefoot. Almost certainly there was in the preceding lines some such remark as ' but where are your shoes ?'

²Fr. 17. Cp. Thucydides, III, 20-24.

³Fr. 22.

⁴The *Knights* (see p. 210) is a possible exception to this generalization.

of speech just mentioned. Fifth-century *παρρησία* meant more than that in the comic drama: not only freedom but licence; the absence not only of fear but of all scruple. Cratinus, we learn, satirized Pericles by innuendo in the *Dionysalexandros*, but that was unusual procedure. Normally, whether in the "elegant" Eupolis, the "bull-eating" Cratinus,¹ or Aristophanes, "the shrine of the Graces," there erupted a volcano of blasting vituperation, imputations of every public and private vileness, couched in language that makes Swift seem half-hearted. Observing this spirit and method, together with the fact that none of the statesmen thus assailed lost a jot of power or reputation, we realize the feeling of Athenians about both politics and art. They perceived clearly the bearing and value of each: they did not pull down Cleon because they saw that Aristophanes was a great poet; nor did they belittle Aristophanes because they were for Cleon.

These considerations, however, lead us to the one important feature in the external history of Greek drama, the attempt at censorship. There were attacks on individuals and repressive legislation concerning comedy in general. But the first seem to have been outbreaks of Cleon only, who indicted Euripides for impiety and Aristophanes for political improprieties. As for repression in general, we find a good number of allusions to legislation against undisguised personal attack.² In all, four repressive laws are alleged.

(i) The "psephism of Morychides," or rather a decree passed in his archonship (440-39) and in force till 438-7. There can be no doubt concerning this: the Scholiast³ who reports it uses unfaltering language that shows he had a good authority on his desk. 'This (Euthymenes) is the archon in whose year was rescinded the decree forbidding "comedy,"⁴ proposed in the archonship of Morychides; it prevailed during that

¹ Not much virulence, though a good deal of satire, is to be observed in his fragments; but see Platonius (quoted on p. 141).

³ *Ὁ Ἀρχαγογὸν ὀνομασί.*

⁴ *Κωμῶδῶν* being used, as often, of personal satire or lampoon.

year and the two succeeding—those of Glaucinus and Theodorus—after which it was rescinded under Euthymenes.’ In this connexion a passage is often quoted from the pseudo-Xenophontean *Constitution of Athens*, written in the first two or three years of the Peloponnesian War, but this is a complete misunderstanding: the writer mentions repression only of attack upon the Commons as such (plays like the *Knights*, that is) and asserts that the Commons actually encourage comedy directed against individuals.¹

(ii) The “*Lex Antimacheia*,” a decree attributed to Antimachus by Scholiasts and others on the strength of the curse invoked on him by Aristophanes: ² ‘May Zeus destroy him evilly for sending wretched me away dinnerless when he was choregus at the Lenæa’. The absurd inference drawn is that Antimachus, by abolishing comedy, deprived the chorus-men of their livelihood; but there were no professional performers at this time; in any case, comedy went merrily on after the *Acharnians*. Aristophanes, of course, means only that Antimachus had failed in his well-known duty, as choregus, of giving a dinner to the performers.

(iii) A Scholiast ³ reports that Syracosius secured the passage of a decree against undisguised satire on the stage; this would be about 415 B.C. He quotes from the *Hermit* of Phrynichus an unfortunately corrupt passage, the general sense of which seems, however, unmistakable: ‘Curse Syracosius! He has prevented me from ridiculing those whom I wished.’ Whatever this means,⁴ it cannot refer to a decree; or

¹ *Resp. Ath.*, II, 18.

² *Ach.*, 1150 ff.

³ On *Birds*, 1297: Δοκεῖ δὲ καὶ ψήφισμα τεθεικέναι μὴ κωμωδεῖσθαι ὀνομαστί τινα, ὡς Φρύνιχος ἐν Μονοτρόπῳ φησί· ψῶρ' ἔχε Συρακόσιον ἐπιφανῆς γὰρ αὐτῷ καὶ μέγα τύχου. ἀφείλετο γὰρ κωμωδεῖν οὓς ἐπεθύμουν, διὸ πικρότερον αὐτῷ προσφέρονται.

⁴ Syracosius may have baffled Phrynichus by non-legal, perhaps even accidental means: ἀφείλετο suggests not so much direct prohibition as some quite different action that incidentally resulted in Phrynichus' inability. Suppose Syracosius, who was a politician, had made a violent attack on the poet's prospective butts. “I really cannot ridicule men who have been placed beyond censure by the abuse of (the disgusting) Syracosius.” Note also the Scholiast's δοκεῖ: he found in his authorities nothing definite about such a law.

—to be quite accurate—it cannot refer to a decree that had any effect. There was an abundance of personal satire in plays immediately following the alleged decree: Syracosius himself, for instance,¹ was laughed at by name in the *Birds*.

(iv) Certain vaguer remarks attribute to a repressive law the change from Old to Middle Comedy:

(a) A Scholiast on the *Frogs*² writes: ‘Not long afterwards Cinesias destroyed the productions (χορηγίας) once for all: wherefore Strattis in the play about him says: “Yonder is the tent of the chorus-slaying Cinesias”’. This seems a mere blunder. Strattis meant that Cinesias (no politician, but a dithyrambic poet) half-killed the singers who had to perform his terrible works. The Scholiast has combined this with the irrelevant fact that after the *Frogs* the importance of comic choruses rapidly dwindled.

(b) Tzetzes alleges³ that Alcibiades not only punished Eupolis for the *Baptæ* but also introduced a decree that comedy should no longer be outspoken, but indirect, whereupon Eupolis himself, with Cratinus, Pherecrates, Plato, and Aristophanes, passed over to “the Second Comedy”. This is completely refuted by the known contents of plays subsequent to the *Baptæ*.

(c) Horace, in his account of comedy, writes: ⁴

sed in vitium libertas excidit et vim
dignam lege regi: lex est accepta chorusque
turpiter obtulit sublato iure nocendi.

‘But liberty degenerated into licence and a violence that deserved legal restraint: a law was imposed, and the chorus, deprived of its right to wound, fell into ignominious silence.’ This again is chronological confusion.

The upshot is that we know certainly of but one law restraining comedy, that named after Morychides,

¹ Denis (*La Comédie grecque*, II, p. 284) gives this and numerous others.

² V, 404.

³ Kaibel, pp. 20 sq., 28.

⁴ *Ars Poetica*, 282 sqq.

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which endured from 440-39 till 438-7, less than three years. Into this period falls the war between Athens and Samos, which might be held to excuse or demand suppression of anything that could embarrass the government. During that period comedies were performed, as we know from inscriptions ; but there is no evidence as to the effect of this decree upon their tone. On the other hand, there exists no real proof that any such repression (save of individuals) was even attempted during the long and finally disastrous war against the Peloponnesian Confederacy ; and we can point to many extremely bitter and outspoken attacks upon leading statesmen. The natural conclusion is that " Morychides' decree " was an experiment that was felt to have failed.

Old Comedy ended with the fall of Athens at the close of the Peloponnesian War in 404 B.C. A comparison of the *Frogs* (and all that we know of the comic drama just then) with the *Ecclesiazusce* (and whatever else we gather concerning comedy in general at that date) reveals an enormous change, no less obvious than the gulf between English drama before the Civil War and the drama of the Restoration. Dry den rightly called that interval " the Flood " : his description applies to the change in drama no less than to the political change. Athens went through an experience even more shattering, and Old Comedy was destroyed by the political downfall. Thalia's heart was broken, and though she recovered her poise she never regained her spirits : cleverness, wit and alert interest were not dead, but the old uproarious verve was gone for ever. With this loss of energy and imagination came a weakening on the material side of theatrical art. Men able and willing to pay with the former lavishness for mounting tragedies and comedies could no longer be found. The chief expense had been the chorus of twenty-four men, often elaborately attired ; therefore the old chorus was replaced by a commonplace group, whose training too was less exacting. Thus, loss of

imaginative energy and loss of riches conspired to change the method of comedy, which became not only more decent in language,¹ but also more pedestrian and plain, with far less song and dance, far more plot: the Comedy of Manners was rapidly becoming the only form.

But, as we have seen, that *genre* was already in some degree at home in the orchestra. It followed that poets who had been practising it before the collapse were able to pass over into the new conditions with comparatively little change of subject or method. Aristophanes as an artist was half-slain by Ægospotami; Plato developed notably, and some ancient scholars assigned him altogether to Middle Comedy. Other men of less moment went straight forward. Whereas, then, Old Comedy in its most magnificent aspects died at the end of the fifth century, there was a period of mere transition for that social comedy which had formed a minor element therein. That transition may be studied not only in Plato but in Aristophanes himself, whose *Ecclesiazusce* and *Plutus* provide the only examples of Middle Comedy that we possess. But three minor transition-writers shall be considered at once.

THEOPOMPUS, according to Suidas,² 'belongs to the Old Comedy and the time of Aristophanes. There are plays and many other writings of his.' (The last words are no doubt due to confusion between the poet and his namesake the historian.) He produced comedies long before Aristophanes' death; for instance, in *The Boys* (**Παῖδες**) he mentioned Laespodias, who was conspicuous in the last decade of the Peloponnesian War. But he was no less a Middle than an Old Comedian, as even his meagre fragments reveal. The number of his plays is uncertain: we know twenty

¹ Cp. Aristotle, *Nic. Eth.*, IV, 1128a, 22: ἴδοι δ' ἂν τις καὶ ἐκ τῶν κωμῶν διῶν τῶν παλαιῶν καὶ τῶν καινῶν· τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἦν γελοῖον ἢ αἰσχρολογία, τοῖς δὲ μᾶλλον ἢ ὑπόνοια. Crates at least was an exception among the old writers. See p. 147.

² s.v. Θεόπομπος.

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titles ; the Anonymus puts the figure at seventeen, Suidas at twenty-four. We do not know that he ever won the first prize. His longest fragment, from NEMEA,¹ is vastly more like Plautus than Aristophanes. There is a faint whiff of Falstaff and Doll Tearsheet about it, too :

- A. χώρει σὺ δεῦρο, Θηρικλέους πιστὸν τέκνον ·
γενναῖον εἶδος, ὕνομά σοι τί θώμεθα ;
ἀρ' εἰ κάτοπτρον φύσεως ἦν πλήρην δοθῆς ;
οὐδέν ποτ' ἄλλο. δεῦρο δὴ γεμισω σ' ἐγώ.
γραῦ Θεολύτη, γραῦ.
- B. τί με καλεῖς ;
- A. σέ, φιλτύτη,
ἴν' ἀσπάζωμαι · δεῦρο παρ' ἐμέ, Θεολύτη,
παρὰ τὸν νέον σύνδουλον · οὕτωςι καλῶς.
- B. Σπινθήρ τάλας, πειρᾶς με ;
- A. ναί, τοιοῦτό τι.
φιλοτησίαν δὲ τήνδε σοι προπίομαι ·
δέξαι, πιούσα δ' ὅπόσον ἂν σοι θυμὸς ῖ,
παράδος τὸ πρῶτον.²

¹ Come hither thou, trusty child of Thericles [*i.e.* a goblet]. Noble shape, how are we to name thee ? Verily thou art human nature's mirror, when full in the hand—that's a true word. Come, let me fill thee. Theolyte, old lady ! What, Theolyte ! ' ' Why do you call ? ' ' To greet you, my dear. Come beside me, Theolyte ; come and sit with your new fellow-slave. That's nice.' ' Spinter, you wretch, are you flirting with me ? ' ' I am, more or less. A pledge to you in this loving-cup ! Take it, drink your fill, and pass (it back ?).'

Several of his dramas were literary, and in a more dilettante manner than was customary in Old Comedy. ODYSSEUS contained at any rate two quotations:

χιτῶνά μοι

φέρων δέδωκας δαιδάλοεν, ὃν ἤκασεν
ἄρισθ' Ὅμηρος κρομμύον λεπυχάνωφ.³

' You brought and gave me a brodered tunic, which Homer admirably compared to the skin of an onion.'

¹The name of a courtesan, which Geissler (*Chronologie*, p. 79) would spell **Νεμεάς**.

²Fr. 32. The last two words cannot be right. Meineke suggests **τὸ λοιπόν**, which is apt, though not too courteous.

³Fr. 33. Cp. *Od.*, XIX, 232 sq.

Odysseus, we find, has read what Homer has to say of him ! Still more notable, he (or a contemporary) has studied Euripides : ¹

Εὐρίπιδου τάρ' ἔστιν οὐ κακῶς ἔχον,
τάλλύτρια δειπνεῖν τὸν καλῶς εὐδαίμονα.

' There is a sensible remark of Euripides, that the really happy man is he who dines at another's expense.' In the LUXURIOUS MAN (Ἡδυχάρης) occurred the earliest reference in comedy to Plato by name : ²

ἐν γὰρ ἔστιν οὐδὲ ἓν,
τὰ δὲ δύο μόλις ἔν ἔστιν, ὥς φησιν Πλάτων.

¹ for one is zero, and two are scarcely one, as Plato says '. The PERSIAN ³ (Μῆδος) alluded to fourth-century politics :

ὥς ποτ' ἐκήλησεν Καλλίστρατος νῆας Ἀχαιῶν,
κέρμα φίλον διαδοῦς, ὅτε συμμαχίαν ἐρέεινεν ·
οἶον δ' οὐ κήλησε δέμας λεπτὸν Ῥαδάμανθυν
Λύσανδρον, κῶθωνα πρὶν αὐτῷ δῶκε λεπαστήν.

' How once Callistratus enchanted the sons of the Achaeans by distributing delightful cash when he requested (?) the alliance. Rhadamanthys-Lysander alone, that slender shape, he did not enchant till he gave him a goblet.' Plutarch⁴ tells us that Theopompus compared the Spartans to tavern-keepers, because, after giving the Greeks a taste of the sweet draught of freedom, they poured vinegar for them.

STRATTIS was a weak but pleasing poet whose career began late in the fifth century and continued till at least 375 B.C., as may be gathered from a passage ⁵ of his *Atalanta*. This alludes to Lagisca, a concubine of Isocrates, the political pamphleteer. Isocrates (born in 436 B.C.) was elderly when he took Lagisca into his house,⁶ so that the date of *Atalanta* is 375 B.C. or somewhat later. The Anonymus and Suidas both attribute sixteen plays to Strattis, but we have the

²Fr. 15. Cp. *Phcedo*, 96c The *Phcedo* is to be dated about 380 B.C.

³Fr. 30. ⁴Lysander, XIII. ⁵Fr. 3.

⁶Athenaeus, XIII, 5 *προβαίνων τῇ ἡλικίᾳ*. . Geissler, *Chronologic*, p. 78.

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names of nineteen. His repute was not high : Hesy-chius, it appears,¹ refers one quotation to 'the vulgar little play of Strattis '. He wrote a good deal of parody, and the PHÆNISSÆ (a burlesque of Euripides) was perhaps his best-known work. In the tragedy Jocasta offers advice to her fratricidal sons, Eteocles and Polynices. We possess two scraps of Strattis' parody. The first² runs :

παραινέσαι δὲ σφῶν τι βούλομαι σοφὸν·
ὅταν φακῇν ἔψητε, μὴ 'πιχεῖν μύρον.

'A wise admonition I offer to you twain: when boiling porridge, do not mix in perfume.' It is a phrase for wasting costly embellishment upon common-place things. The second³ is :

εἴθ' ἥλιος μὲν πείθεται τοῖς παιδίοις
ὅταν λέγωσιν 'ἔξεχ', ὦ φίλ' ἥλιε' . .

*Then shall the sun obey the children when they cry "Peep out, Mr. Sun" . . . ? ' TROILUS, a burlesque of the lost Sophoclean play, catches the eye because the bitter coarseness of one fragment⁴ calls to mind Shakespeare's tortured tragedy :

ἦ μή ποτ', ὦ παῖ Ζηνύς, ἐς ταῦτ' οὐ μύλη,
ἀλλὰ παραδούς τοῖς Λεσβίοις χαίρειν ἔα.

'Keep thyself from her arms, O son of Zeus, and deliver her to the Lesbians for good and all.' Another passage⁵ awakes memories of the *Iliad* :

ἔρπον οὖν τιν' αὐτῆς πλησίον
νευόηκας ὄντα ;

'Hast thou observed a certain fig-tree close thereby ? ' This may be part of an assignation between Troilus and Cressida. The SCOURGE OF MANKIND (*Ἀνθρωπορ-*

¹That is, if our MS. is correct. Under *καλεκάνοι* Hesychius notes: *Στράττις ἐν τῷ φορτικῷ δραματίῳ, κτέ.* This may be a corruption of *ἐν τῷ Φορτικῷ δράματι*—the play entitled *The Vulgar Man*.

²Fr. 45. Cp. Eur., *Pham.*, 460 sq.

³Fr. 46. Cp. Eur., *Phosn.*, 546.

⁴Fr. 41.

⁵Fr. 42. It is the tree mentioned by Andromache to Hector (VI, 433).

ραιστής)¹ contained a reminiscence of the most famous² *contretemps* that ever delighted the Athenian theatre. An actor named Hegelochus ruined the fine sick-bed scene in Euripides' *Orestes* by a slip in pronouncing v. 279 :

ἐκ κυμάτων γὰρ αὖθις αὖ γαλήν' ὀρώ,

' after the billows once more I see a calm '. The unlucky protagonist gave **γαλήν** instead of **γαλήν'**— ' once more do I see a weasel coming out of the waves '. The Scourge seems to have been an archon, whose duty it was to assign protagonists to the competing authors : to no other can the following words³ be appropriate :

καὶ τῶν μὲν ἄλλων σὺκ ἐμέλλησέ μοι μελῶν,
Εὐριπίδου δὲ δράμα δεξιῶτατον
διέκναισ' Ὀρέστην, Ἠγέλοχον τὸν Κιννάρου
μισθωσάμενος τὰ πρῶτα τῶν ἐπῶν λέγειν.

' About the dithyrambs I didn't care, but he ruined a masterly play of Euripides, the *Orestes*, by hiring Hegelochus, son of Cinnarus, to play the leading role.' The MACEDONIANS (or PAUSANIAS) contained a description⁴ of the manner in which the great mantle of Athena was exhibited :

τὸν πέπλον δὲ τοῦτον
ἔλκουσ' ὀνέοντες τοπίοις ἄνδρες ἀναρίθμητοι
εἰς ἄκρον ὥσπερ ἰστίον τὸν ἰσάν.

' And this robe innumerable men haul like a sail to the top of the mast by ropes on a crane.' The SHADE-SEEKERS (**Ψυχασταί**) contained a rather effective little lament:⁵

αἱ δ' ἄλεκτρῶνες ἀπασαι
καὶ τὰ χοιρίδια τέθνηκε
καὶ τὰ μίκρ' ὀρνίθια.

¹ Some scholars read **Ἀνθρωπορέστης** (whatever that may mean).

² It is mentioned also in Frag. Incert. 60 and in *Frogs*, 303 sq. The effect can be estimated in English by reading Edgar's description of the imaginary goblin (*Lear*, IV, vi.) with equal emphasis on "some" and "fiend".

³ Fr. 1. **τῶν ἄλλων μελῶν** must mean lyrics as contrasted with plays, by the familiar idiom of **ἄλλος**. This archon, then, made some blunder about the dithyrambic contest of the same year.

⁴ Fr. 30. Strattis said also that giants formed part of the design (Schol. Eur., *Hecuba*, 468).

⁵ Fr. 58.

¹ 'All the hens and the little pigs are dead, and the little chickens.' The following lyric,¹ from an unnamed play, reads *δαίντιλν* .

πρασσοκουρίδες, αἱ καταφύλλους
ἀνὰ κήπους πεντήκοντα ποδῶν
ἔχουσιν βαίνειν, ἐφ' ἑπιπτόμεναι
πρὸς σατυριδίων μακροκέρκων
χοροὺς ἐλίσσουσιν παρ' ὠκίμων
πέταλα καὶ θριδακινίδων
εὐόσμων τε σελίνων.

'Ye caterpillars, that amid the garden-foliage pace forward on your fifty feet and cling to the long-tailed elves: ye that move in the country dance beside the leaves of basil and lettuce and fragrant parsley.'

LYSIPPUS belonged, at any rate during part of his career, to the Old Comedy,² for we possess one fragment from a parabasis. On the other hand, his most remarkable passage is utterly unlike Old Comedy—lines praising Athens as a show-place, an ancient Venice or other "Mecca of Tourists". It is astounding to find a contemporary of Aristophanes writing thus:³

εἰ μὴ τεθέασαι τὴς Ἀθήνας, στέλεχος εἶ·
εἰ δὲ τεθέασαι μὴ τεθήρευσαι δ', ὄνος·
εἰ δ' εὐπρεστῶν ἀποτρέχεις, κανθήλιος.

'If you have not seen Athens, you are a blockhead; if you have seen her and not been captivated, you are a donkey; if you have felt her charm and scamper off, you are a pack-ass.' Subjoined to this glib little advertisement of *la ville lumiere* is a curious passage⁴ describing some city of Rhodes as a pleasant spot rather spoiled by the insistence of the inhabitants upon

¹Fr. 66.

²In fr. 6 Lampon, the friend of Pericles, is ridiculed.

³Fr. 7. Meineke calls this 'encomium elegantissimum' (I, p. 216). It is striking, no doubt, but as poster-rhetoric: *τεθήρευσαι* is practically a translation of the "lure" that is now a regular garnishment of any town more seductive than Manchester. The passage of pseudo-Dicaearchus (*Descr. Graecæ*, 22) which leads up to our fragment is well worth attention: τὸ καθόλου δ' ὅσον αἱ λοιπαὶ πόλεις πρὸς τε ἡδονὴν καὶ βίαν διώρθωσιν τῶν ἀγρῶν διαφέρουσι, τοσοῦτον τῶν λοιπῶν πόλεων ἢ τῶν Ἀθηναίων παραλλάττει. φυλακτέον δ' ὡς ἐνὶ μάλιστα τὰς ἑταίρας. καὶ λάβη τις ἡδέως ἀπολούμενος. οἱ στίχοι Λυσίππου κτέ. Cp. the Introduction to Baedeker's *Paris*, p. xxvii.

⁴Meineke, II, p. 746.

οὐδ' ἀνακνάψας καὶ θειώσας τὰς ἀλλοτριὰς ἐπινοίας.

A. Ἔρμων.

B. τί ἔστι;

A. πῶς ἄγομεν;

B. τί γ' ἄλλο γ' ἢ

ὁ πατήρ ἄνωθεν εἰς τὸ φρέαρ, ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν,
ὥσπερ τὸν οἶνον τοῦ θέρου καθεῖκε νῶ.

¹Fr. 4,

²Fr. 1.

(388 B.C.) he was one of Aristophanes' four rivals. To judge by the titles of his plays, he specialized in erotic drama: in 388 he offered a *Pasiphae*. One of his works was named *Tragicomedy* (Κωμωδοτραγῳδία), a title used by the Sicilian Deinolochus before him and by Anaxandrides after him.

§ 3. MIDDLE COMEDY

This portion of Greek literature begins with the capture of Athens and the destruction of her empire by Lysander in 404 B.C., so that to this period some works already discussed, including the last two extant plays of Aristophanes, plainly belong. The end¹ of it was marked by the battle of Chaeronea in 338 B.C., which brought Greece under Macedonian power and extinguished her political independence. The writing of comedies was industriously pursued: Athenæus² tells us that he has himself read more than eight hundred. Nevertheless, this area of literature, in its

¹ Since the appearance in 1866 of W. Fielitz' pamphlet, *De Atticorum Comasdia bipartita*, there has been considerable discussion whether Middle Comedy, as such, exists at all; that is, whether we ought not to speak only of Old and Later (or New) Comedy. Fielitz points out that μέση κωμῳδία is mentioned by no author before Apuleius, who calls Philemon *medicus comædiæ scriptor* (*Florida*, III, 16): he insists that the tripartition of comedy was the invention of scholars belonging to the age of Hadrian. An admirable brief summary of the subject is given by Korte (Pauly-Wissowa, 1256-8) and a longer discussion by Legrand (*Daos*, pp. 4-10), both of whom decide for the three-fold division. But the whole question is trivial. If our opinion or understanding of any writer who belongs to one or the other alleged periods depended upon the correctness of the bipartition or of the tripartition, that would be another matter. But of course it does not: our view of (let us say) Menander's indebtedness to Crates is not affected in the least by our deciding that there are two lines of demarcation, or one, between them. The whole dispute is about labels and nothing but labels. The really important point is, how do works of various periods differ? not the names of the periods. Now first, there is no doubt that Cratinus, Antiphanes and Menander represent different phases; second, that the type of Antiphanes and his contemporaries develops with no violent break into the type of Menander and his contemporaries. In the present state of our knowledge genuine criticism will allow us to speak of Old, Middle and New Comedy, or of Old and Later Comedy, precisely as we please. In the present book the traditional three-fold division has been followed, mostly because readers prefer shorter sections to longer.

² V III, 336d.

present state, is extremely dull and its authors differ little from one another ; for these two reasons we shall not attempt to consider them separately. The only really notable differences are in bulk. Alexis, who, according to Suidas, wrote two hundred and forty-five plays, and Antiphanes, who was even more fertile, account together for one-half of what survives from Middle Comedy, though we possess something at least of no less than thirty-four poets. This vast preponderance of Antiphanes and Alexis shows how beloved they were in antiquity, but the huge number of their plays suggests slightness and triviality. Middle Comedy is a backwater ; the fourth century is a century of prose : many single pages of Plato and Demosthenes are worth all these remnants. Between the excitingly varied landscape of Old Comedy and the city of Menander stretches a desert: therein the sedulous topographer may remark two respectable eminences, and perhaps a low ridge in the middle distance, or a few nullahs, and the wayfarer will greet with delight one or two oases with a singing-bird or so ; but the ever-present foreground of his journey is sand, tiresome, barren and trickling.

The difference of literary manner between Old and Middle Comedy will best be learned from a study of the later Aristophanes, and the fragments of Antiphanes, Alexis and their colleagues ; other differences may be summarized at once. The very shape of comedy begins to waver : the chorus sinks in importance and interest ; ¹ the parabasis may be omitted. Though the framework is directly inherited from Old Comedy, Middle writers are more indebted for their subjects to Euripides than to any comic dramatist. Love-interest in general, the violation-motif, the recognition by amulets, so frequent in the more melodramatic works of Euripides (for example, in the *Ion*) become frequent. Aristophanes himself used such themes in the *Cocalus* ; Anaxandrides built so much on them

¹ Cp. the vigorous fragment of Plato quoted on p. 176.

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that he is by one writer credited with the invention of love-affairs and seductions as dramatic material. The *Persa* of Plautus, which is based on a Greek comedy of this period, shows by its manner that such topics were already familiar in that age.¹ In its spirit, again, Middle Comedy stands unmistakably between the Old and the New. It shows some touch of the earlier audacity, combined with a strong leaning towards social comedy, if we may regard as typical the *Plutus*, which contains open defiance of Zeus and the scene of the rich woman with her *gigolo*. There are traces, too, of the old fantasy, or rather of the old indifference to verisimilitude. And to judge by the titles—unfortunately there is little else to rely upon—these playwrights developed that Comedy of Character, whereof Phrynichus' *Hermit* is perhaps the only Old example, which was an indispensable prelude to the perfected Comedy of Manners.

A detailed account of subjects and the like shall be added later ; but we may here give conveniently the little that our authorities tell us as to the differences between Old and Middle Comedy. Platonius² notes three novelties. First, the topics were changed: whereas Old Comedy censured the wrongdoing of influential men—'generals and judges'—Middle Comedy turned to 'ridicule of stories told by poets'. That is misleading: important as burlesque was, Middle Comedy knew several other themes no less popular ; moreover, burlesque was frequent in the earlier period. Second, choric songs fell into disuse. This is untrue ; but it is a fact that they became far less important, and that the parabasis disappeared. Third, the masks were wildly distorted. But this clearly refers (or should refer) to New Comedy : for he says that the purpose was to avoid even 'an accidental facial resemblance to some Macedonian official' ; and these sensitive Northerners arrived later. The

¹ Korte, Pauly-Wissowa, XI, 1264 sq.

² Kaibel, p. 5.

Anonymus,¹ as usual, seems more trustworthy. 'The poets of Middle Comedy did not essay poetic style: they employed the familiar language, and so their merits are rhetorical, poetical qualities being rare in them. They all expend study upon their plots. To the Middle Comedy belong fifty-seven poets; eight hundred and seventeen plays are in existence.'

ANTIPHANES (circa 406-332 B.C.) produced his first play about 387 and won thirteen victories. Since the number of his works is variously stated at two hundred and eighty and at three hundred and sixty-five, it is natural to assume that he (and others) wrote for readers also and for production in other places besides Athens.² He was of foreign birth, and the Anonymus says that he was given Athenian citizenship by Demosthenes. EUBULUS is described by Suidas as standing on the boundary between Old and Middle Comedy, but he also assigns him to the hundred-and-first Olympiad (376-2); he composed one hundred and four plays. ALEXIS was a naturalized Athenian from Thurii, and an uncle of Menander. He seems to have lived for more than a hundred years (about 390 till at least 287) and so belongs to New Comedy also. Concerning ANAXANDRIDES we possess more interesting accounts. A foreigner from Rhodes or Colophon, he produced his first play in 376 B.C., as we learn from the Parian Marble; according to Suidas, he wrote sixty-five comedies and gained ten victories. Anaxandrides is the only Middle poet mentioned by Aristotle, who tells us that Philemon (the famous New dramatist) acted in his plays.³ Suidas⁴ says that he

¹ Kaibel, pp. 8 sq.: τῆς δὲ μέσης κωμῳδίας οἱ ποιηταὶ πλάσματος μὲν οὐκ ἦσαν ποικητικῷ, διὰ δὲ τῆς συνήθους ἰόντες λαλιᾶς λογικὰς ἔχουσι τὰς ἀρετάς, ὥστε σπάνιον ποιητικὸν εἶναι χαρακτῆρα παρ' αὐτοῖς. κατασχολοῦνται δὲ πάντες περὶ τὰς ὑποθέσεις. τῆς μὲν οὖν μέσης κωμῳδίας εἰσὶ ποιηταὶ νξ', καὶ τούτων δράματα φέρεται χξ'. This numeral = 607; Meineke alters it to ωξ' (817) to square with Athenaeus (see above).

² Machon is known to have written entirely for the Alexandrian theatre (Athen., XIV, 644a).

³ Rhetoric, III, 12. Aristotle quotes him in three other places.

⁴ s.v.: πρῶτος οὗτος ἔρωτας καὶ παρθένων φθορὰς εἰσήγαγεν. Aristophanes had done this before him in the *Cocalus*.

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was the first to introduce love-affairs and seductions into drama : this is untrue, but suggests that such topics were important in his dramas. A lively description of him is preserved by Athenaeus.¹ ' Chamæleon of Heraclea in the sixth book of his *Comedy* writes thus : " On one occasion Anaxandrides, when producing a dithyramb at Athens, entered the theatre on horseback and recited part of the libretto. He was handsome and tall, with long hair, and wore a purple cloak with a gold border. But his temper was short, and he showed it about his plays : whenever he missed the prize he took his manuscript into the incense-market and gave it away for wrapping instead of revising it like other people. He thus destroyed many brilliant plays, old age making him peevish with his audience." '

The main topics of Middle Comedy are eating, sex, riddles, philosophy, literature, and life. But these are handled in a special manner, so that even the last becomes far less vague than it seems when summed in one word. That manner is an urbane reflective manipulation, disillusioned and jaded, superficial but dextrous, suggesting a vast club every member of which is a button-holer.

Eating is not what it was in the days of Telecleides, when rivers of soup roared past banks of pastry : not the snorting, teeth-grinding and ear-wagging or Heracles in Epicharmus, but the art of dining. There is not a single fragment that mentions the mere chewing, but a great array dealing with the sponger or parasite, with cooking and with the purchase of food. Alexis was said ² to have invented the stage-parasite—possibly the most long-lived of all dramatic figures ; this of course is wrong,⁸ but he was apparently the first to write a play so named. Eubulus tells of one who, invited (as we should put it) to dine at eight, arrived

¹ IX, 374a, b. ² By Carystius of Pergamum (Athen., VI, 235e).

³ See the address of the parasite in Epicharmus (p. 103) and the fragment of Eupolis (p. 191).

at breakfast-time, eight a.m.¹ But the dominant figure is the cook. Aristophanes himself ended his career with *Æolosicon*, about the renowned chef Sicon; and Middle Comedy as a whole sets the cook up as an artist, the genial tyrant and instructor of society. In the *Thesmophoros* of *Dionysius* a positively professional outburst² expounds the difference between a cook and a mere kitchen-mechanic. 'A cook should always know for whom he is to prepare dinner long before he takes the preparations in hand. The man who considers only the correct method of making a dish and gives no preliminary thought or study to the manner of serving, the time and the place of the repast, is no cook at all but a frying-machine. The difference between the two is immense. Inaccurate speakers will give the name "general" to anyone entrusted with an army, but it belongs rightly to the man who is master of a situation and can take decisions; all others are merely foremen. So with us: any Tom, Dick, or Harry can dress or cut up meat, boil sauces, and use the bellows; but the cook is in a different class' . . . and so forth, with lofty strictures on the inadequate textbook of *Archestratus*. The idea is otherwise developed in a passage³ of *Alexis*, which rises at the end into queer poetry:

- A. οὐκ ἴστε ταῖς πλείστασι τῶν τεχνῶν ὅτι
οὐχ ἀρχιτέκτων κύριος τῆς ἡδονῆς
μόνος καθίστηται, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν χρωμένων
συμβάλλεται τις, ἂν καλῶς χρώνται, μερίς;
B. ποῖόν τι; δεῖ γὰρ καὶ τὸν ξένον μαθεῖν.
A. τὸν ὀφιοποιὸν σκευάσαι χρηστῶς μόνον
δεῖ τοῦ ψον, ἄλλο δ' οὐδέν. ἂν μὲν οὖν τύχη
ὁ ταῦτα μέλλων ἐσθίειν τε καὶ κρινεῖν
εἰς καιρὸν ἐλθὼν, ὠφέλησε τὴν τέχνην.
ἂν δ' ὑστερίῃ τῆς τεταγμένης ἀκμῆς,
ὥστ' ἢ προοπτῇσαντα χλιαίνειν πάλιν,
ἢ μὴ προοπτῇσαντα συντελεῖν ταχύ,
ἀπεστέρησε τῆς τέχνης τὴν ἡδονήν.
B. εἰς τοὺς σαφίστας τὸν μάγειρον ἐγγράφω.

¹Eubulus, fr. 119.

²Dionysius, fr. 2, reading *ποῦ* in v. 7, after Kock. *Alexis*, fr. 124, gives an elaborate and attractive recipe for restoring the succulence to burnt pork.

³*Alexis*, fr. 149.

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A. *ἐσθήκαθ' ἡμεῖς, καίεται δέ μοι τὸ πῦρ,
ἤδη πυκνοὶ δ' ἄττουσιν Ἥφαιστον κύνες
κούφως πρὸς αἴθραν, οἷς τὸ γίγνεσθαι θ' ἄμα
καὶ τὴν τελευτὴν τοῦ βίου συνήψέ τις
νόμοις ἀνάγκης θεσμός οὐχ ὁρώμενος.*

' Do you not know that the pleasure given by most of the arts does not depend upon the executant alone, but a part is contributed by his public, if they have taste ? ' ' In what way ? Let a stranger into the secret.' ' The one business of the cook is to prepare the dish competently. Now, if the person who is to eat and appraise it arrives punctually, he assists the artist; but if he comes behind time, either the food must be re-heated because it has been cooked already, or it must be hurried if it has not. In either case aesthetic pleasure is ruined.' ' I see that cooks must be enrolled among the professors.' ' There you stand. My fire burns, and already the hounds of Hephaestus fly in a nimble shower into the air : for them birth and death are enfolded in the same instant by the inexorable law of a mysterious unseen ordinance.' An immense number of these extracts refer to fish, none of them interesting except the description ¹ of the manner in which whole nations cook a fish bigger than Crete. This passion engenders hatred of the fishmongers. ' When I see military officers raise their eyebrows haughtily, I certainly feel annoyance but no particular surprise that men honoured by their country should be more pompous than other people. But when I see these damned fishmongers, with eyes bent down and eyebrows reaching the top of their foreheads, I choke with rage.'² Another poet is disgusted by their vulgar pronunciation,³ and a third describes an amusing trick.⁴ A law had been passed forbidding fishmongers to water their fish, so that, being unable to keep them so long, they might charge reasonable prices. To evade this, two of them got

¹ Ephippus, fr. 5 .

² Alexis, fr. 16.

³ Amphis, fr. 30 : *κτὼ βολῶν for ὑκτὼ ὀβυλῶν*, etc.

⁴ Xenarchus, fr. 7.

up a fight. One fell swooning—close to his fish.
¹ Somebody shouts " Water ! Water ! " Immediately one of his colleagues seized a jug and flung—not a drop over the patient, but the whole lot over the fish. You would have said they had just been caught.'

The relations of men and women as here portrayed are what might have been expected in a society whose intelligence is brilliantly, nay morbidly, active, which longs for a genuine social life, yet has not the courage to emancipate women. Take first the proclamation :

οὐκ ἐπὶς ἐταίρας ἱερὸν ἐστὶ πανταχοῦ,
 ἀλλ' οὐχὶ γαμετῆς οὐδαμοῦ τῆς Ἑλλάδος.

¹ Nowhere in Greece stands a shrine sacred to a wife, but shrines of a courtesan are seen on every hand. No wonder ! ' The few direct comments on marriage are excellent. ' Magistrates come up for examination once a year, husbands once a day.'¹ ' What is this you tell me ? He is married ? Why, the last time I saw him he was alive and active.'² ' Every bridegroom except Adam has been a fool.'³ Both Alexis and AMPHIS wrote a WOMAN'S GOVERNMENT (*Γυναικοκρατία*), of which we know scarcely anything ; one fragment suggests a conspiracy of women : ' You must sit in that part of the theatre, over in the outside block of seats, as if you were foreigners '.⁴ Allusions to courtesans and their importance are numerous, emphatic and elaborate. XENARCHUS composed a *Priapus* and Eubulus *The Brothel-Keeper* ; among the burlesques of legend were a *Calypso* and a *Circe* by AN AXIL AS. Verbal obscenity is rare: Aristotle's remark⁵ is well known, that Old Comedy wrote indecency, the later comedy innuendo ; still, plain statements of the excellence of sensuality are not lacking :

Alexis, fr. 162.

² Antiphanes, fr. 221. Eustathius (1552) industriously explains : ὡς δῆθεν σήμερον τεθνεώς.

³ Eubulus, fr. 116.

⁴ Alexis, fr. 41.

⁵ *Eth. Nic.* IV, 1128a, 22.

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τὰς ἡδονὰς δεῖ συλλέγειν τὸν σώφρονα.
 τρεῖς δ' εἰσὶν αἵδε τὴν δύναμιν κεκτημέναι
 τὴν ὡς ἀληθῶς συντελοῦσαν τῷ βίῳ,
 τὸ πιεῖν, τὸ φαγεῖν, τὸ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης τυγχάνειν.
 τὰ δ' ἄλλα προσθήκας ἅπαντα χρή καλεῖν.

'The sensible man should collect pleasures. These are three, the genuine factors in life : drinking, eating, sexual indulgence. All the rest must be called appendages.' ¹ The social importance of courtesans is shown by the large number of comedies named after them, such as *Antilais*, written by EPICRATES against the most celebrated of all. The descriptions follow familiar lines. '3 What a paradox ! Harlots always prefer the oldest wine but the newest customer.'² Anaxilas has a positive lecture³ on the bird-of-prey idea, comparing the courtesan to legendary monsters such as Scylla and the Chimæra. One long and picturesque extract⁴ details the fraudulent devices whereby they emphasize or create their attractions : cork-soles to increase the height, padding, soot for the eyebrows, white lead, rouge and a drastic scheme to ensure a permanent smile. The doctrine was not unknown, that to consort with them is a form of morality because in this way respectable women are safeguarded : Xenarchus⁵ expounds the facile delights of such visits contrasted with the plots and perils of (as we might say) Falstaff at Windsor—stealthily planting a ladder, entering the house by the chimney, or being smuggled in under a consignment of bran. A few passages take a higher tone : mere carnality is replaced by affection. Alexis⁶ wrote of some one who fell in love with a picture ; perhaps it " came to life " like Hermione's statue in *The Winter's Tale*. A few tantalizing scraps from the PAMPHILUS of Eubulus tell us that ' there was a big new tavern just opposite the girl's home, and there I lay in wait for her nurse,

Alexis, fr. 271.

² Eubulus, fr. 125 ; cp. Amphis, fr. 23, Epicrates, fr. 9.

³ Fr. 22.

⁵ Fr. 4 ; cp. Eubulus, fr. 67.

⁴ Alexis, fr. 98.

⁶ Alexis, fr. 40.

to whom he administered sundry jugs of wine.¹ One passage² shows a tinge of nobility :

ὥς ὅστις αὐτῆς τῆς ἀκμῆς τῶν σωμάτων
ἐρᾷ, τὸν ἄλλον δ' οὐδὲ γινώσκει λόγον,
τῆς ἡδονῆς ἐστ' οὐχὶ τῶν φίλων φίλος,
ἀδικεῖ δὲ τὸν Ἑρωτ' ἐμφανῶς θνητὸς θεόν,
ἄπιστον αὐτὸν πᾶσι τοῖς ἄλλοις ποιῶν.

' Passion that adores only the body's surface, ignorant of all other thoughts, is a love of pleasure, not of the beloved: therein a mortal sins openly against the God of Love, destroying human belief in his divinity.'

Riddles had been known in Old Comedy: the *Cleobulinae* of Cratinus apparently consisted of them; but this middle period loved them excessively. We may quote one example³ that possesses some elegance :

οὐ θνητὸς οὐδ' ἀθάνατος, ἀλλ' ἔχων τινὰ
σύγκρασιν, ὥστε μὴτ' ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ μέρει
μὴτ' ἐν θεοῦ ζῆν, ἀλλὰ φύεσθαι τ' αἰεὶ
καίνῳς φθίνειν τε τὴν παρουσίαν πάλιν,
ἀόρατος ἦσιν, γνώριμος δ' ἄπασι νῶν.

' Not mortal nor immortal, but showing a certain blend and thus living neither in human nor in celestial kind; ever newly its presence is born and dies; no one sees its face, yet all know it.'

Philosophy and philosophers are a frequent theme, but mention of them is nearly always casual; we hear nothing⁴ of thinkers who lived before this century, and are not astonished to find Alexis⁵ greeting with joy certain legislation against the philosophers: 'Is this the Academy? Is this Xenocrates? God bless Demetrius and the law-givers for telling those who claim to teach the young skill in rhetoric to go to Hell out of Attica.'⁶ Of fourth-century teachers, outside

¹Eubulus, fr. 80, 81, 82.

²Alexis, fr. 70.

³*Id.*, fr. 240. The answer is "Sleep".

⁴Save that Alexis mentioned the *Nῆστις* of Empedocles (Kaibel, p. 216).

⁵Fr. 94. Cp. Diog. Laert, V, 38, and Pollux, IX, 42.

Under the governorship (317-307) of Demetrius of Phalerum, Sophocles of Sunium secured the adoption of a law that no philosopher, under pain of death, should keep open school without the permission of Senate and People. This passage, then, is later than the date at which we marked the end of Middle Comedy. A good deal of Alexis' very long life falls into the New period.

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the Academy and the Pythagorean sect, none is mentioned by name¹ save Aristippus, who was regarded as a teacher of self-indulgence. ' My master in his teens became a student, and applied himself to philosophy. There was a man from Cyrene in town, Aristippus they say, a brilliant sophist—in fact the most distinguished of them all at the time, and outshining his predecessors in debauchery. To him my master paid a talent and so became his pupil. He made little headway at the science, but he did become an expert in dining.'² Pythagoreans are mentioned often and generally with a gibe at their squalor : a fragment³ of the SHE-PYTHAGOREAN (*ἡθηαγορίζοντα*) by Alexis describes this with matchless conciseness : ' no dinner, no soap, no fire, no conversation, no fun and no bath '. For Plato we stand in much better case. Most of our extracts, it is true, are trivial, such as references to his fondness for olives,⁴ his pomposity,⁵ his loquacity,⁶ and mere allusions to his name as the leading " high-brow " ; for instance ' Master, what good you are to get out of this I understand less than the Good of Plato V Nevertheless, a few other passages hold some genuine interest. ' What ! You expect to persuade me that there is any lover who worships a beautiful character and ignores physical beauty ? What a fool !'⁸ This plainly recalls magnificent passages in the *Phcedrus* and the *Symposium*. EPHIPPUS⁹ gives an elaborate pen-picture of the Platonic fop—well-barbered, exquisitely shod and dressed, with a pose of studied elegance as he begins a political speech. A disquisition¹⁰ on Love as neither male nor female,

¹ We learn from Athenasus (IX, 366b, c) that the Cynics were mentioned in Antiphanes' *Wallet* (fr. 134), but we have not the poet's words. There was a good parody of Eleatic metaphysical disquisition in his *Cleophanes* (fr. 122), but it is attributed to the sophists in the Lyceum.

² Alexis, fr. 36.

³ *Id.*, fr. 197.

⁴ Anaxandrides, fr. 19.

⁵ Amphis, fr. 13.

⁶ Alexis, fr. 180.

⁷ Amphis, fr. 6 ; cp. Alexis, fr. 152.

⁸ Amphis, fr. 15.

⁹ Fr. 14.

¹⁰ Alexis (*Phcedrus*), fr. 245 ; cp. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Platon*, ed.

god nor man, etc., probably draws its inspiration from Diotima in the *Symposium*. One long fragment¹ shows real knowledge and insight—a description of scientific research as practised under Plato—not metaphysics, but botany. A "flock of lads" in the hall of the Academy were making classifications of animals, trees, and vegetables. Their chief problem was a pumpkin. "For the first time they fell silent and stood stock-still pondering for a long while with bowed heads. Then suddenly, as they were still bent in contemplation, one of the lads said it was a circular vegetable, a second that it was a grass, and a third suggested a tree." A physician from Sicily coarsely derides them as idiots, but they are undismayed; Plato, equally serene, encourages them to begin again. It is to be noted that correct division into species is mentioned several times: Epicrates has some real notion of Platonic methods.

Precisely the same temper is to be observed in the discussion and treatment of literature. These are literary poets: they discuss their own profession; they quote not only earlier writers but themselves, and plagiarize one another; they parody the tragedians; above all they are fond of writing burlesques of legend. The first of these items brings up perhaps the most famous fragment² of Middle Comedy:

μακάριόν ἐστιν ἡ τραγωδία
ποίημα κατὰ πάντ', εἰ γε πρῶτον οἱ λόγοι
ὑπὸ τῶν θεατῶν εἰσὶν ἐγνωρισμένοι,
πρὶν καὶ τιν' εἰπεῖν· ὥσθ' ὑπομνήσαι μόνον
δεῖ τὸν ποιητὴν· Οἰδίπου γὰρ ἂν μόνον
φῶ, τὰλλα πάντ' ἴσασιν· ὁ πατὴρ Λαίης
μήτηρ Ἰοκάστη, θυγατέρες, παῖδες τίνες,
τί πείσεθ' οὗτος, τί πεποίηκεν. ἂν πάλιν
εἴπῃ τις Ἀλκμήωνα, καὶ τὰ παιδία
πάντ' εὐθὺς εἵρῃ, ὅτι μανεῖς ἀπέκτονεν
τὴν μητὲρ, ἀγανακτῶν δ' Ἀδραστος εὐθέως
ἤξει πάλιν τ' ἀπεισι . . .
ἐπειθ' ὅταν μηδὲν δύνωντ' εἰπεῖν ἔτι,
κομιδῇ δ' ἀπειρήκωσιν ἐν τοῖς δράμασιν,
αἶρουσιν ὥσπερ δάκτυλον τὴν μηχανήν,
καὶ τοῖς θεωμένοισιν ἀποχρώντως ἔχει.

¹Epicrates, fr.

II.

²Antiphasis, *Ποίησις*, fr. 191.

ἡμῖν δὲ ταῦτ' οὐκ ἔστιν, ἀλλὰ πάντα δεῖ
εὑρεῖν, ὀνόματα καινά, τὰ διωκημένα
πρότερον, τὰ νῦν παρόντα, τὴν καταστροφὴν,
τὴν εἰσβολὴν. ἂν ἐν τι τούτων παραλίπῃ
Χρέμης τις ἢ Φεῖδων τις, ἐκσυρίττεται.
Πηλεὶ δὲ ταῦτ' ἔξεστι καὶ Τεύκρῳ ποιεῖν.

' Your tragedian is altogether the most fortunate of poets. First, his plot is familiar to the audience before a line is uttered—he need only give a reminder. If I just say " Ædipus," they know all the rest: his father was Laius, his mother Jocasta, the names of his sons and daughters, what he has done and what will happen to him. Or let anyone say " Alcmaeon," and the very children repeat it all on the spot: " He went mad and killed his mother, and Adrastus in a rage will come on in a minute and go off again." Later, when he can say nothing more and has got his play into a hopeless tangle, he waves his hand, out swings the god on the machine, and the audience is content. We comic playwrights have no such resources: we must invent everything—fresh names, past and present events, the initial idea, the crisis. If our Chremes or Pheidon omits one of these, he is hissed off; but Peleus and Teucer are allowed to do it.' A different thought is gracefully expounded by TIMOCLES: ¹ tragedy relieves our sorrows by portraying legendary misfortunes that equal or surpass them. Alexis wrote a *Lover of Tragedy* (Φιλοτραγωδός); Anaxandrides composed *Comedotragedia*, which may have been a tragi-comedy. A library is described by Alexis: ²

Linus: Why, go up and take whatever book you please, and you shall read it. Make your choice from the labels. Don't be flurried; take your time. Orpheus is there, Hesiod, the tragedians, Choerilus, Homer, Epicharmus, literature of every kind. Your choice will show the instinctive bent of your nature.

Hercules: I'll take this.

Linus: Show me what it is first.

Hercules: According to the label, it's a cookery-book.

Linus: You're something of a philosopher, clearly, if you have pitched on Simus' handbook amid such an array of literature.

¹Fr. 6, e.g. τέθνηκέ τῷ παῖσι, ἢ Νιόβῃ κεκούφικεν.

Heracles: And who is Simus ?

Linus: A genius. He has now devoted himself to tragedy ; connoisseurs say that of all the actors he is the best cook, and of all cooks he is the best actor.

It is interesting to find Theognis quoted ¹—or rather turned into iambics from elegiacs—at this date. One line of Sophocles² is cited, and Euripides several times ; ³ his " sigmatism," too, is ridiculed.⁴ Eubulus began his comedy about his tragic colleague, the tyrant Dionysius of Syracuse, with an adaptation (or quotation) of Aristophanes' gibes at the incongruity of Agathon's attire.⁵ Further, these Middle poets often repeat themselves or plagiarize one another, but the details are interesting only to specialists. Parody is frequent. Timocles in *Orestautocleides* burlesqued the *Eumenides* of Æschylus, and represented⁶ his " hero " surrounded by a sleeping assembly of aged courtesans (?) in imitation of Orestes at Delphi amid the Furies. Parody of Euripides is of course more common. AXIONICUS wrote a *Lover of Euripides* (*Φιλευριπίδης*), but nothing survives therefrom about that poet. All this, however, merges into the elaborate burlesque of legendary plays. The method of these burlesques was of course to accept the heroic framework and by considering it in a modern humdrum manner to extract fun from this incongruity, as Disraeli did in *Ixion in Heaven* and Mark Twain in *A Yankee at the Court of King Arthur*. Thus Orestes and Ægisthus left the stage arm-in-arm, so to speak.⁷ The story of Busiris, already burlesqued by Epicharmus and Cratinus, was handled by Ehippus. Heracles asks his terrible host: ' By Heaven, do you not know that I am a Tirynthian of the Argives, who fight all their battles drunk ? ' ' Yes,' replies the negro prince,

¹ Theophilus, fr. 6. Cp. Theognis, vv. 457, *sqq.*

² Antiphanes, fr. 231 ; cp. *Antigone*, 712.

³ *Or.*, 255 in Alexis, fr. 3; *Hipp.*, 415, in Xenarchus, fr. 4; a fragment in Nicostratus, fr. 28.

⁴ Eubulus, fr. 26, 27—*Medea*, 476, etc.

⁵ *Thesm.*, 136 s q q . ⁶ Timocles, fr. 25.

⁷ *Ar.*, *Poetic*, 14530 • φίλοι γενόμενοι ἐπὶ τελευτῆς ἐξέρχονται.

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' that is why they always run away.'¹ Ephippus contrived to introduce in his *Artemis* a satire on Athenian " cupboard-love " of the Thessalian prince Alexander.² One special kind of legendary comedy should be noted—the divine-birth play, perhaps the only topic peculiar to Middle Comedy as contrasted with the New; its origin is found in Old Comedy, *The Birth of Athena* by Hermippus. The Middle playwrights composed a large number of such dramas. One passage³ may be noted, from the *BIRTH OF PAN* by ARAROS, Aristophanes' son :

ἀρπιάσας μόνανλον εὐθὺς πῶς δοκεῖς
καύφως ἀνῆλλετο.

' Straightway he snatched the flute and bounded ever so nimbly.' It seems to describe the playing and dancing of the newly-born god and (if so) resembles passages in the *Hymn to Hermes* and the *Ichneutæ* of Sophocles.

The last of our six subjects was life itself. These poets moralized, but their dramas were not studies in morality. ' Nothing is your certain possession except the food on your table. Yet stay ! Some one may come up and rob you even of that. Think nothing yours except the mouthful on which you have closed your teeth.'⁴ ' Everything can be hidden, with two exceptions : drunkenness and love.'⁵ Another fragment⁶ is a pallid premonition of the Duke's famous speech in *As You Like It* :

εἴτ' οὐχὶ χρυσῶν ἐστὶ πρᾶγμ' ἐρημία ;
ὁ πατήρ γε τοῦ ζῆν' ἐστὶν ἀνθρώποις ἀγρὺς,
πενίαν τε συγκρῦπτειν ἐπίσταται μόνος,
ἥστυ δὲ θέατρον ἀτυχίας σαφούς γέμον.

ⁱ Then is not solitude a jewel ? Does not a man find true life in the country-side, which alone conceals poverty, while the town is a stage where ten thousand eyes view his wretchedness ? ' The toper is preferred to the philosopher because curious analysis of life

¹ Ephippus, fr. 2.

⁴ Antiphanes, fr. 204.

² See Kock, II, p. 251.

⁵ *Id.*, fr. 235.

³ Araros, fr. 17.

⁶ Amphis, fr. 17

hamstrings energy, whereas the unreflective man throws himself freely upon strenuous action.¹ But Alexis² extols study with some vigour :

ἅπαντα τὰ ζητούμεν' ἐξευρίσκεται,
 ἂν μὴ προαποστῇς μηδὲ τὸν πόνον φύγῃς·
 ὅπου γὰρ εὐρήκασιν ἄνθρωποι τινες
 μέρος τι τῶν θείων τοσούτο τῷ τύπῳ
 ἀπέχοντες, ἀστρων ἐπιτολάς, δύσεις, τροπάς,
 ἐκλείψιν ἡλίου, τί τῶν κοινῶν κάτω
 καὶ συγγενικῶν δύναιτ' ἂν ἄνθρωπον φυγεῖν ;

ⁱ All problems are solved by unremitting effort. When you consider that human beings have explained some astronomical facts, despite the distance—the rising, setting and revolution of stars, and the solar eclipses—what commonplace secret of our life here below can escape human intelligence ? ' One line,³ trite as it would seem in many periods of literature, shines in this like a gem :

ἥδη γὰρ ὁ βίος οὐμὸς ἐσπέραν ἄγει.

¹ My life has now passed into its evening.' But our last example,⁴ though it proclaims a despairing hedonism, reaches actual nobility :

ἄρ' οὐκ οἶσθ' ὅτι
 τὸ καλούμενον ζῆν τοῦτο διατριβῆς χάριν
 ὄνομα ἐστίν, ὑποκόρισμα τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης
 μοίρας ; ἐγὼ γάρ, εἰ μὲν εὖ τις ἢ κακῶς
 φήσῃ με κρίνειν, οὐκ ἔχοιμ' ἂν σαι φράσαι·
 ἐγὼ καὶ δ' οὖν οὕτως ἐπισκοπούμενος,
 εἶναι μανιώδη πάντα τὰνθρώπων ὅλως,
 ἀποδημίας δὲ τυγχάνειν ἡμᾶς ἀεὶ
 τοὺς ζῶντας, ὥσπερ εἰς πανήγυριν τινα
 ἀφειμένους ἐκ τοῦ θανάτου καὶ τοῦ σκιάτους
 εἰς τὴν διατριβὴν εἰς τὸ φῶς τε τοῦθ' ἔδῃ
 ὀρώμεν. ὅς δ' ἂν πλείστα γελίῃσιν καὶ πῆχ
 καὶ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης ἀντιλαβῇται τὸν χρόνον
 τούτου ὃν ἀφείται, καὶ τύχῃ γ' ἐράνου τινός,
 πανηγυρίσας ἥδιστ' ἀπῆλθεν οἶκαδε.

¹ Do you not know that Life (as we amusingly call it) is but a word, an euphemism for the lot of humanity ?

¹ Amphis, fr. 33.

³ Alexis, fr. 223.

² Fr. 30.

⁴ *Id.*, *Ταραντίνοι*, 219.

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My own studied opinion—what verdict will be passed on it I cannot tell—is this. All human affairs are utter insanity, and we who as our turn comes enter upon life are being given a holiday, released from death and the dark to join a carnival, to amuse ourselves in this sunlight whereon we look. The man who laughs most, drinks most, loves most during his hour of holiday, and finds a circle of friends—he has most enjoyed the carnival before he goes back home.'

The literary character of these poets has been satisfactorily, but not perfectly, revealed by the quotations already offered. Its most obvious feature is an almost complete lack of the qualities usually implied by the word "poetry," as indeed the Anonymus has already stated for us. A few of our citations must be excepted; on the other hand, hundreds of fragments that we have not considered here would deepen the main impression. Careful search will produce but the merest handful of passages to contradict it. MNESIMACHUS¹ has an imaginative line: 'Sleep is the first communion of Death'—*ὕπνος τὰ μικρὰ τοῦ θανάτου μυστήρια*. HENIOCHUS shows a flash of Aristophanic vigour when he makes a man, impatient for his dinner, exclaim 'he could have boiled the brazen bull of Phalaris ten times over by now \'.² Another quaint idea is used eloquently in Plutarch.³ According to a joke of Antiphanes it was so cold in a certain town that words were frozen the instant they were uttered; and later, when they thawed, men heard in summer-time the conversations they had held in winter. Thus the words of Plato are delivered to us in youth, but late and hardly do most of us understand them when we have grown old.' Above all must be welcomed this snatch⁴ of lyrical loveliness from the FLOWER-GIRLS (*Στεφανοῦλιδες*) c Eubulus:

¹Fr. ii.

²Fr.

2.

³*In virilute profectus*, 79 A.

⁴Eubulus, fr. 104. Kock's reading has been altered.

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ὦ μάκαρ ἦτις ἔχουσ' ἐνὶ δωματί-
 ῳ τι στρουθίον αὐροφώρητον
 λεπτότατον περὶ σῶμα συνίλλεται
 ἡδυπύτην περὶ νυμφίον εὐτριχα
 κισσὸς ὥπως πλατάνῳ περιφίνεται
 αἰξομένης ὥρας ὀλολυγόνος
 ἔρωτι κατατετηκώς.

'Ah, happy girl in her cottage, wreathing about her slender form a garland that flutters in the breeze, as round her new-made husband, fragrant of wine, with beautiful hair, she winds her arms like ivy that clasps the plane-tree, pining for love of the nightingale as summer moves to its height.' This dactylic passage is one of the very few lyric fragments: the Middle poets almost exclusively employed the iambic measure. We have indeed a few long anapaestic passages, the most remarkable being that description of scientific research already cited. The chorus was by no means unknown¹ at this date, but its performances were nearly always mere *intermezzi* that have not survived and were probably never copied into the published editions. We have one passage in pæonics.² As for the language, it is looser and more casual than in the fifth century: one astonishing example of this is the lateness of the position occasionally given to γάρ and δέ, e.g.,³

τὸν μάγειρον εἰδέναι
 πολὺ δεῖ γὰρ δεῖ . . .
 ὅς ἂν εἰς ἑτέραν ληφθῇ δ' αἰποστέλλων πόλιν . . .

Moreover, the elegance of these writers is often a neatness of idea rather than of language—the *ἐρημία* passage given above is a notable instance. Here we may cite three jokes, one magnificent, one good, and one tolerable. 'He has brought in a perfect gem of a new law, that fishmongers must do their business standing: next year they are to do it hanging.'⁴ 'You are far more distrustful than a snail that carries

¹ Antiphanes wrote a *Χορηγός*, Epicrates a *Χορός* (though Kock doubts this), and the *Τροφάνιος* of Alexis had a chorus of Bœotians (fr. 237).

² Eubulus, fr. 112.

³ Dionysius, fr. 2; Alexis, fr. 276.

⁴ *Id.*, fr. 126.

his house round with him.'¹ 'Footmen are the worst people on earth—except nurses, to be sure; and *they* beat all—except quack-doctors, naturally; for that crew again are the most villainous on earth—unless one wishes to mention fishmongers, of course, who really *are* the worst—after the bankers.'²

Allusions to contemporary political history are few and trivial. Demosthenes is mentioned for his quibbling³ or theatrical⁴ diction, for the affair of Harpalus⁵ —*Δημοσθένης τάλαντα πεντήκοντ' ἔχει*—and ironically as a fire-eater who loathes rhetoric.⁶ We find one obscure allusion to the Celts—that is, the Gauls—in the long passage⁷ (already mentioned) concerning the fish bigger than Crete: the "Macedonian prince" is apparently Alexander the Great, who is perhaps warned to destroy the Gaulish peril instead of attacking Persia :⁸

παύον φυσῶν, Μακεδὼν ἄρχων·
σβέννυ Κέλτουε, μὴ προσκαυθῆς.

'Cease blowing, Macedonian prince! Quench the Gauls, lest you get burnt.' A few passages allude sycophantically to the Diadochi—to the wealth of Seleucus,⁹ to Antigonos and his family,¹⁰ to Ptolemy and his sister.¹¹ Anaxandrides¹² describes the boisterously ostentatious wedding of the famous Athenian soldier Iphicrates to the daughter of the Thracian King Cotys. The best of these historical scraps is a jesting mention¹³ of the victory over Adæus, nicknamed "the Fighting-Cock". An attractive notion (borrowed from the *Cities* of Eupolis) appeared in a play by Heniochus,¹⁴ who laid his scene at Olympia and said so in words resembling those of the Chorus of *Henry the Fifth* : 'All

¹Anaxilas, fr. 34.

²Antiphanes, fr. 159.

³*Id.*, fr. 169; Alexis, fr. 209 sq.

⁴Antiphanes, fr. 296; Anaxandrides, fr. 209; Timocles, fr. 38.

⁵*Id.*, fr. 4.

⁶*Id.*, fr. 12.

⁷Ephippus, fr. 5 sq.

⁸So Kock, p. 253. I have altered his *προσκαυθῆς*.

⁹Antiphanes, fr. 187. Seleucus' pet tiger (apparently an apathetic beast) is mentioned by Alexis, fr. 204.

¹⁰Alexis, fr. 111.

"*Id.*", fr. 244.

¹²

Fr. 41 sqq.

¹⁸Heraclides (Kock, II, p. 435).

¹⁴Fr. 5.

this place that lies around '—the *orchestra*, namely—'is Olympia, and in that booth yonder you must think you see the tent of the state-envoys '. Hither the cities of Greece have come seeking relief from the persecutions of "two women," Democracy and Aristocracy. The whole passage (of eighteen lines) is precisely in the manner of the "New" explanatory prologues.

Hitherto we have said nothing as to plots, because the writers whose quotations give us our fragments are interested in anything rather than the drama as a drama. But we have recently gained part¹ of a papyrus copy of a comedy that may well be Alexis' work, written down in the third century B.C., perhaps before the poet's death, and at last used as mummy-cartonnage. It runs thus : ²

- A. τὸ δαιμόνιον τὰ τοιαῦτα τοῖς θνητοῖς σαφῆ
παρδείγματ' ἐκτίθησιν, ἄλλοτρίαν ὅτι
ζωὴν ἔχομεν ἅπαντες, ἦν, ὅταν δοκῇ,
πάλιν παρ' ἐκάστου ῥαδίως ἀφείλετο.
ἀλλ' εἰσιὼν μετὰ τῆς ἱερείας βούλομαι
τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν τῶν προσηκόντων λαβεῖν.
- XO. τί ποτ' εὐλαβεῖ, βέλτιωτε;
- B. πρὸς θεῶν πάρες ·
διώκομαι γάρ, κατὰ κράτος διώκομαι
ὑπὸ τοῦ καταράτου κληρονόμου, ληφθῆσομαι.
- KΛ. ἰοῦ, δῖωκε Σωσία, συνάρπασον
τὸν ἀνδραποδιστὴν, λαβὲ λῦβ' αὐτόν. οὐ μενεῖς;
- B. ὦ φιλιότης Δήμητερ, ἀνατίθιμί σοι
ἐμαυτὸν ἀξιώ τε σώζειν.
- KΛ. ποῖ σύ, ποῖ;
- B. ἤρουν μὲν; πρὸς τὴν ἀσφάλειαν ἐνθαδὶ
ἔδωκ' ἐμαυτὸν ἀντεταξάμην τέ σοι.
- KΛ. οὐκ ἔστιν ἀσφάλεια τῷ πεποιηκότι
τοιαῦτ'· ἀκολουθεῖ θάπτον.
- B. ἦ, ἦ μαρτύρομαι,
μαρτύρομαι ὑμᾶς, ἄνδρες. ἂν τῇ χειρὶ μοι
ἱκετηρίῳ τις προσφέρῃ, πεπλήγεται
παραχρημὰ τ' εὐθύς τὰ πῖχτρα λήψεται.
- KΛ. τί φῆς; ὑπὸ σοῦ, μαστιγία;

¹ Published by Wilamowitz-Moellendorf in *Sitz-Ber. d. Preuss. Ak. d. Wiss.*, 1918², pp. 743-6. It is discussed also by Frankel, *Sokrates*, VI, 366, and by Korte, *Sachs. Gesell. d. Wiss. Philol.-Hist. Klasse, Berichte*, 1919, pp. 36-40. It is too recent to appear even in Demiariczuk's *Supplementum Comicum* (1912) and of course is not in Meineke or Kock.

² The readings of Korte have been followed, and the spelling conformed to normal English usage : e.g. *δοκῇ* for *δοκῆ*.

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- B. νῆ τὸν Δία
 τὸν Ὀλύμπιον καὶ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν, εὐ γε καὶ
 παλαιστρικῶς, πείραν δ' ἔαν βούλῃ λαβέ.
 XO. ὁρῶντες ἡμεῖς γ' οἱ παρόντες ἐνθάδε
 εἰσόμεν σε παρανομεῖν εἰς τὴν θεὸν;
 B. μὴ τοῦτό γ' ἄνδρες· εὐ γε προσπαίξειν δοκεῖ.

(The Scene is before a temple of Demeter. A has been addressing the Chorus-leader at some length and now continues.)

- A: . . . Such clear proofs does Heaven set before mankind that we all hold our lives as a mere loan, which Heaven, when it thinks well, casually withdraws again from each man.¹ Well, I mean to go inside and make provision with the priestess for the proper course.²

{He enters the temple. A slave rushes in, glancing in terror over his shoulder.}

Chorus-leader: My friend, what are you afraid of?

Slave: In God's name, let me pass! I am pursued, hotly pursued by the accursed Heir. I shall be caught!

{Enter the Heir with his slave Sosias.}

Heir: Halloo! chase him, Sosias! Seize the kidnapper! Catch him, catch him! (To the Fugitive) Halt, you!

Slave (taking refuge at the altar): Ah, dear Demeter, I make myself thine and implore thee to save me!

Heir: Where are you going, you?

Slave: You ask me? I am taking asylum here and defying you.

Heir: There is no right of asylum for one who has behaved like you. Come with me instantly. (He advances threateningly)

Slave (To the Chorus, in terror): No, no! I call you to witness, gentlemen, to witness! (To his enemies, plucking up courage) If anyone lays hands on me, a suppliant, he will get hard knocks and receive his wages without a second's delay.

Heir: What! From you, you whipping-post?

Slave: Yes, by Olympian Zeus and Athena, in good professional boxing form. Try me, if you feel inclined.

Chorus-leader (to Heir): Do you think that we bystanders will look on and allow you to commit sacrilege?

Slave: Don't say 'sacrilege,' gentlemen. It's a joke of his, and a good one, I think.

What preceded and followed this lively scene we can only guess; we cannot be sure that the slave's plight is in the first instance connected with the anxieties of the first speaker, though it is easy to suppose that he comes out of the temple and intervenes in the dispute, whereupon some *eclaircissement* ensues—for example, recognition that the slave has been in the right and

¹Cp. Lucretius, III, 971 : *vitaque mancipio nulli datur, omnibus usu.*

²Wilamowitz takes τῶν προσηκόντων as masculine—"my kin," perhaps including a girl.

bringing about what ought to have been the Heir's dearest wish. As a document for the history of drama this passage is important: we cannot do better than quote the masterly comments of Wilamowitz-Moellendorf.

" We find a chorus which participates in the action. . . . It follows that the comedy is older than Menander, because in his work the chorus has no function except dancing between the scenes—he assigns it no words, and if other poets ever diverged from this method there is, however, no trace of such participation as we find here. On the other hand, the note *XOPOT* in the second fragment¹ shows that the chorus was employed only as in the *Ecclesiazusce*. This was therefore a play of the Middle Comedy. That it was no Egyptian imitation like most of the comedies of which remains have been found in the cartonnage, is guaranteed by the excellent diction. Now the oath *μὰ τὸν Δία τὸν Ὀλύμπιον καὶ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν* recurs twice in Menander, in the *Plocion* (Gellius, n, 23) and in Priscian, xviii, 97 (fr. inc. 46 Mein.), but also in the *Τοκιστής* of Alexis (Athen., vi, 258e). In this connexion we must remember that Alexis was Menander's uncle and teacher. Such a formula could certainly be used by another, but it gives us pause, and *παλαιστρικός* is attested for Alexis. We have before us a drama of the Middle Comedy, which must be by a celebrated poet, since it is read in Egypt. This justifies the conclusion that it is by Alexis."

§ 4. NEW COMEDY

Between Middle and New Comedy there exists, as we have remarked earlier,³ no such definite break as lies between the Middle and the Old. Nevertheless, that Macedonian domination which utterly changed

¹A little scrap containing portions of seven lines, above which stand the letters POY.

²By Phrynichus, the grammarian; the normal spelling was *παλαιστικός*. 'P. 37.

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Greek political life brought changes to the comic drama also. Athens having lost her independence, and public affairs being largely managed by alien administrators, playwrights of necessity turned more than ever from the citizen to the human being. Moreover, the world being opened up to Greeks far more widely by the conquests of Alexander, and the ambitious wars or policies of the Diadochi filling that world with bustle and excitement, life became more adventurous and precarious : ¹ those separations and reunions of families, whereof dramatists so often told, are natural results of such widespread alarums. Furthermore, those internal developments that we noticed as distinguishing Middle from Old Comedy advanced definitely and rapidly enough to differentiate of themselves the aspect of the New from that of the Middle. The chorus, as a participant in the action, vanished. There is indeed evidence ² that it survived till at least the middle of the second century before Christ. But it has no function save to break up the action by its intercalated song and dance ; this is the origin of act-divisions. It was regarded as an interruption of the genuine performance, and more than once it is actually so described : ' But look ! Here comes a band of revelling youths : let us continue our talk indoors.' ³ Thus the necessity to account for this intrusion brings back the chorus by a quaint accident to its original function as a *comos* or revel-rout. During the Middle period the parabasis had been discontinued; part of its duties was taken over by the prologue, the genesis of which may be clearly perceived in tragedy and in Aristophanes. The moralizing and character-study of the Middle period changes into a fully developed Comedy of Manners: plot reveals character and

¹ Cp. Murray, *History of Greek Literature*, p. 378.

² Cp. Legrand, *Daos*, p. 422.

³ Menander, *Περικειραμένη*, 71 sg., and the Petersburg frag. of *Ἐπιτρέποντες* (Capps, pp. 89 sq.). Precisely the same thing occurs in Gay's *Beggar's Opera*, III, xii.

character creates plot, in an atmosphere of contemporary social conditions. Increasingly subtle psychology produced that curious convention, the "aside," which enjoyed an immensely long vogue, being discarded only in the nineteenth century.

Turning now to a detailed examination of what survives from New Comedy, we shall find it convenient to reserve MENANDER for separate discussion, dealing first with those contemporary playwrights whom he outshone. We may treat of them on the same lines as those followed for their immediate predecessors. The Anonymus puts the number of "New" dramatists at sixty-four; as for the individual poets, we need give special mention to three only: Diphilus, Philemon, and Philippides.

DIPHILUS, a contemporary of Menander—we have no precise knowledge as to dates—was born at Sinope and died in Smyrna, both Asiatic cities, and composed one hundred plays.¹ He stood nearer to Middle Comedy than his colleagues:² mythological comedy—that is, burlesque—was more frequent in him. We hear of a *Heracles*, a *Theseus*, and a *Sappho* wherein Archilochus and Hipponax (contemporaries neither of Sappho nor of one another) were introduced as her lovers. It appears that he acted in his own plays: once he did so badly that he was forcibly carried out of the theatre. He repaired to the house of his mistress, Gnathæna, but when he bade her wash his feet she replied: 'Why, I thought they did not allow you to walk.'³

PHILEMON, according to the Anonymus,⁴ was a Syracusan who obtained Athenian citizenship; 'he produced before the 113th Olympiad'—328-4 B.C.—and ninety-seven of his plays are preserved'. Suidas

¹ Anon, de Com. (Kaibel, p. 10).

² So Meineke, I, p. 447; Kock, II, p. 541.

³ Told by Lynceus of Samos, *ap.* Athen., XIII, 583 F.

⁴ Kaibel, p. 9. According to Strabo (XIV, 671) he was from Solæ in Cilicia.

reports that he flourished in the time of Alexander the Great, shortly before Menander, that he lived to the age of ninety-six or even a hundred and one, and that his death was caused by a fit of immoderate laughter.¹ Philemon was recognized as second only to Menander and frequently defeated him in the competition.² The story³ goes that one day Menander met him and said: 'Pray tell me, Philemon: when you gain the prize from me, do you not blush?' Plutarch relates⁴ that Magas, the Macedonian general, who was ridiculed by Philemon, sent the poet a gift of dice and a ball 'as if he were a silly child'; once he was shipwrecked and fell into the hands of Magas, who ordered a soldier to touch his neck with a naked sword and then dismissed him. Philemon expresses an ardent admiration of Euripides:

εἰ ταῖς ἀληθείαισιν οἱ τεθνηκότες
αἰσθῆσιν εἶχον, ἄνδρες, ὥς φασὶν τινες,
ἀπηγγέμεν ἂν ὥστ' ἰδεῖν Εὐριπίδην.

'Gentlemen, if the dead really had consciousness, as some say, I would hang myself so as to see Euripides.'⁵ Apuleius⁶ relates that he died reading in bed.

PHILIPPIDES seems to have possessed a more vigorous personality than any other comic playwright except Anaxandrides. Suidas says his works numbered forty-five, and assigns him to the 111th Olympiad (336-2 B.C.). This seems too early: Plutarch⁷ reports that the poet was a friend of Lysimachus, King of Thrace, who received that title in 306 B.C. Aulus Gellius⁸ relates that his death was caused by a paroxysm of joy at a victory in the dramatic contest. Plutarch in the passage already mentioned paints an attractive picture. 'Philippides was a friend of Lysimachus, and through

¹ Suidas, s.v. Φιλήμων.

² He was preferred to him by readers as distinguished from theatre-goers: Demetrius, *De Eloc.* 193: διὰ τοῦτο δὲ καὶ Μένανδρον ὑποκρίνονται λευκόμενον ἐν τοῖς πλείστοις, Φιλήμονα δὲ ἀναγινώσκουσιν.

³ Aulus Gellius, XVII, 4. ⁴ Moral, 458a (*De Cohib. Ira*),

⁵ Fr. 130.

⁷ Demetrius, 894c.

⁶ *Florida*, III, xvi.

⁸ III, 15.

him the people received many benefits at the king's hands. Lysimachus thought it good luck to meet and see him when engaged on any business or campaign. His reputation rested chiefly on a character untainted by the pettiness of courts. Lysimachus once said to him, in a mood of friendly expansiveness : " Tell me, Philippides, what thing of mine shall I share with you ? " He replied : " Anything, sir, except state-secrets." ' His outburst against the sacrilege of Demetrius, which we shall quote below, is unique in post-Aristophanic comedy for its combination of vigour and courage.

Between Middle and minor New Comedy no profound difference is to be discerned in the fragments themselves : everything said above as to spiritual, moral, social, political and intellectual temper could be repeated here. Burlesque is disappearing, and riddles have lost favour ; all the other topics persist, though the emphasis is somewhat different. First, then, as for eating, Athens would seem to have grown a little tired of hearing about fish : we find only two allusions, both in Diphilus,¹ who, as we saw, stands nearest in date to the Middle writers. The parasite² of course is not dead, and in *Telesias* Diphilus ' has engraved a consummate picture '³ of him : NICOLAUS, in one of our longest passages⁴ (forty-five lines), describes his legendary origin—the first parasite was Tantalus—and the behaviour that he should follow. There is an imposing array of fragments devoted to the doctrine that a cook must be an artist: he must understand all branches of knowledge—music, medicine, philosophy, war, literature, and so forth. It was he that converted men from cannibalism ;⁵ he can raise them from the dead by the seductive odours of his masterpieces.⁶ One genius does not even enter his kitchen, but listens outside to the notes emitted by the saucepans and

¹Frr. 33, 66 (Kock, II, pp. 551, 562).

³Athen., 258e.

⁵Athenio (III, 369 sq.).

²Diphilus, fr. 61.

⁴Kock, III, pp. 383 sq.

⁶Bato, fr. 4.

orchestrates them into a harmony by orders to his scullions.¹

But "love" has become the dramatist's main subject ; it has indeed been asserted² that only two "New" plays were without it, the originals of Plautus' *Captivi* and *Trinummus*. At least one hearty and simple expression³ of love is to be found :

τὰς σὰς θεραπεύω μᾶλλον ἀγκάλας ἐγὼ
ἢ τὰς ἀπάντων τῶν σατραπῶν καὶ βασιλείων
αὐλαίς.

'The courts of all the kings and potentates on earth are less to me than your embrace '—'I'd crowns resign to call thee mine.' Here is a word of shrewdness about those who claim to be enamoured of the character, not the body : 'Why do they not fall in love with the elderly and gross ?'⁴ As before, references to married women are few. APOLLODORUS of Gela wrote a play called *Ἀπολείπουσα*, probably the FUGITIVE WIFE : 'in my misery I unfastened the well-bucket and made ready the well-ropes'⁵—apparently to slide down and conceal herself. A jealous husband commands⁶ his slaves to 'shut and bar the door ; but no carpenter ever made a door so tight that a cat and a lover could not enter'. Courtesans are more conspicuous. In the Middle Comedy they are "historical" persons : they have now become types. A woman brilliantly proves that harlotry is one branch of the teaching profession :⁷ 'Do you think a sophist any better than a courtesan ? . . . We educate young men just as well. Compare Aspasia and Socrates, my friend : you will find that her pupil was Pericles, and his Critias.' Simple as this witicism is, it shows more brains than are usual in comedy at this date : there is a power of comparison, of close

¹Damoxenus, fr. 2.

²Korte, Pauly-Wissowa, XI, 1271.

³*Adesp.*, 145(111, p. 437).

⁴Batō, fr. 7. For an extremely unmodern description of athletic grace see Damoxenus, fr. 3.

⁵Apoll. Gel., fr. 1.

⁶Apoll. Caryst, fr. 6.

⁷*Adesp.*, frs. 121, 122 (III, p. 431).

thinking. Usually the New dramatist falls back upon the mere elaboration of one plain idea, such as the cook-artist—he pretends to be thinking, but is only talking.

PHCENICIDES gives us a notable " slice of life " : ¹

μὰ τὴν Ἀφροδίτην οὐκ ἂν ὑπομείναιμι ἔτι,
Πυθιάς, ἑταίρειν. χαιρέτω· μή μοι λέγε·
ἀπέτυχον· οὐδὲν πρὸς ἐμέ· καταλύσαι θέλω
εὐθύς ἐπιχειρήσασα φίλον ἔσχον τινὰ
στρατιωτικόν· διὰ παντὸς οὗτος τὰς μάχας
ἔλεγεν, ἐδείκνυ' ἅμα λέγων τὰ τραύματα,
εἰσέφερε δ' οὐδέν. δωρεὰν ἔφη τινὰ
παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως λαμβάνειν, καὶ ταῦτ' αἰεὶ
ἔλεγεν· διὰ ταύτην ἦν λέγω τὴν δωρεὰν
ἐνιαυτὸν ἔσχε μ' ὁ κακοδαίμων δωρεάν.
ἀφῆκα τοῦτον, λαμβάνω δ' ἄλλον τινά,
ιατρόν. οὗτος εἰσάγων πολλὰς τινὰς
ἔτεμν', ἔκασε, πτωχὸς ἦν καὶ δῆμιος.
δεινότερος οὗτος θατέρου μοι κατεφάνη.
ὁ μὲν διήγημ' ἔλεγεν, ὁ δ' ἐποίει νεκρούς.
τρίτῳ συνέζευξ' ἡ τύχη με φιλοσόφῳ
πώγων· ἔχοντι καὶ τριβωνα καὶ λόγον.
εἰς προῦπτον ἦλθον ἐμπεσοῦσα δὴ κακόν·
οὐδὲν ἐδίδου γάρ· εἴ τι δ' αἰτοίην, ἔφη
οὐκ ἀγαθὸν εἶναι τάργυριον. ἔστω κακόν,
διὰ τοῦτο δός μοι, ῥίψον· οὐκ ἐπέιθετο.

' By Venus, I can bear the gay life no longer, Pythias. Goodbye. Not a word ! I am a failure. It's not my line. I mean to shut down. When I started, I had a military man for my first friend. He talked all the time about his battles, exhibiting his wounds as he did so ; but he never paid anything in. The king was allowing him some pension or other, according to him : he was always talking about it ; and because of this same pension the scoundrel was a pensioner of mine for a year. I left him, and took another, a doctor. He used to bring in troops of patients, whom he cut and cauterized—a beggarly parish-doctor. He struck me as more dangerous than the other : the soldier only talked about killing, but the doctor produced his corpses. The third man luck gave me was a philosopher, all beard, gown, and speechifying: there I fell

¹Fr. 4 (HI, p. 334).

into trouble that I ought to have foreseen. He gave me nothing, and if I asked for anything, he said that money was a curse. "All right," said I, "if it is, throw it away, in my direction." He never did.'

The less conspicuous schools of philosophy are rarely mentioned: the "vulgar rhodomontade" (*ῥωποπερπερήθρα*) of Demosthenes is attributed to 'the eristic Eubulides who asks about Horned Arguments'.¹ That is, he was a member of the Megarian School founded by the Socratic Euclides. Their puzzles were famous; the Horn (*Κερατίνης*) appears to have been Eubulides' contribution. More attention is given to those great rivals, Stoicism and Epicureanism. About the former we find mere commonplaces: 'In ten days (he will ?) show himself more temperate than Zeno';² in Philemon's *PHILOSOPHER* Zeno was described as 'practising a novel philosophy: he teaches, and takes disciples, in hunger—one loaf, garnished with a dried fig, water to wash it down'.³ Epicureanism has always possessed this amusing feature, that most of its detractors "show themselves up" artlessly and irredeemably. When Epicurus teaches that pleasure is the greatest good, and when people abuse him for depravity, they reveal with delightful clearness their own private longings. New Comedy is on his side and hostile to the Porch: he is the sensible fellow, the enemy of cranks, (*ἄτοποι*),⁴ the revered teacher of cook-artists,⁵ and has indeed revealed the true "way of life" to man. Only by a violent wrench of the mind do we realize that he is the same Epicurus to whom Lucretius gives precisely the same praise.

A. I entrusted you with the lad and you have ruined him, you scoundrel, persuading him to lead an unnatural life, and now it is all owing to you that he has acquired the habit of drinking before lunch.

B. What, master? Do you object to his learning about life?

A. Is *that* what you call life?

¹*Adesp.*, 294 (III, p. 461). The *κερατίνης* (*sc. λόγος*) is given by Diog. Laert, VII, 187: 'If you have not lost a thing, you have it. You have not lost horns, therefore you have horns.'

²Poseidippus, fr. 15.

⁴Bato, fr. 3.

³Philemon, fr. 85.

⁵Damoxenus, fr. 2.

- B. Yes, according to cultivated people. At any rate Epicurus identifies the Good with Pleasure, you know ; and pleasure cannot be gained from any other source. . . .
- A. Come ! Have you ever seen a philosopher drunk or setting his heart on the things you mention ?
- B. All of them ! Certainly these supercilious gentry who hunt for the Wise Man in their schools and colleges as if he was a fugitive slave, as soon as a fish is set before them strike awe into everyone by their skill in laying bare the bones of the subject.¹

The literary affiliations of these authors continue the family tree from Epicharmus, Crates, Euripides, and Middle Comedy. Their quotations show Euripides the prime favourite : ² Philippides wrote a play called *The Lover of Euripides* and Philemon's outburst is the most famous passage of post-Aristophanic comedy.³ The *Sappho* of Diphilus has been mentioned already. Contemporaries appear now and again. There is a remarkable likeness between a brilliant passage of the tragedian Carcinus ⁴ and this of Philemon : ⁵

ὁ φθόνος ἐν αὐτῷ τοῦθ' ἐν ἐπικεικῶς ποιεί·
τὴν αἰρετιστὴν ὄντα τῶν αὐτοῦ τρόπων
λυμαίνεται μάλιστα διὰ παντὸς συνῶν.

⁶ Malice has one excellent quality: the man who harbours it suffers more than anyone, for him it never leaves.' EPINICUS wrote a MNESIPTOLEMUS upon a historian whom he ridicules for his bombast in a pleasant passage,⁶ spoken by Mnesiptolemus himself. 'One summer day I saw King Seleucus enjoying a drink of mead. I wrote a description of this to show the world that my art can invest with majesty even casual or trivial themes : " Thasian of elder vintage, and the sweet contribution of the irascible bee from Attic land, he turmoiled in a goblet of molten stone, and bridging the whole liquor with Demeter's grindings he consummated a heat-dispelling drink." '

The " morality" is expressed in that tone of depressed elegance which we noted in Middle Comedy.

¹ Bato, fr. 5.

² Diphilus, fr. 60; Philippides, fr. 18; *Adesp.*, 115 (III, p. 429).

³ See above, p. 61. ⁴ Fr. 8 (Nauck², p. 800).

⁵ Fr. 131.

⁶ Fr. 1.

' Love of money is the root of all evil.'¹ ' Time is the universal healer.'² ' Do not rebuke an old man's errors : it is hard to transplant an aged tree.'³ Longer disquisitions expound the difference between the moderate and the excessive use of wine,⁴ the resemblance of life to a voyage,⁵ and the hierarchy of the Universe—men are ruled by tyrants, tyrants by fear ; slaves are under kings, kings under gods, gods under necessity.⁶ A mournful comparison of man with the lower animals is a favourite thought of Philemon's.⁷ Apollodorus (whether of Carystus or of Gela) bitterly exclaims that some men actually are animals :

ἀπραγμόνως ἤν ἡδύ· μακάριος βίος
καὶ σεμνός, ἂν ἢ μεθ' ἐτέρων ἀπραγμόνων.
ἐν θηρίοις δὲ καὶ πιθήκοις ὄντα δεῖ
εἶναι πίθηκον· ὦ ταλαιπώρου βίον.

' A quiet existence is sweet: if passed with quiet companions, life is full of happiness and dignity. But amid savage beasts and apes one needs must play the ape—oh, misery ! ' The Carystian has a long passage⁸ curiously emphasizing an idea, the vogue⁹ of which began in the fourth century, that Chance is a definite and positive force in human affairs, not merely the negation of certainty : Chance is convicted not only of stupidity but of being " entirely uneducated " (*οὐδὲ παιδείαν ὅλως εἰδυνῖα*). More commonplace and more modern is the plain man's retort¹⁰ to an abstemious philosopher. ' You defraud the State by drinking water, for you injure the vinegrower and the merchant; whereas I assist the revenue by getting drunk.' Here is perhaps the one place¹¹ in Greek, outside Menander, where we feel the pathetic grace of Terence himself :

¹ Apoll. Gel., fr. 4. ² Philippides, fr. 32. ³ Philemon, fr. 147.

⁴ Adesp., 106, 107 (III, p. 423). Philemon, fr. 28.

⁶ Id., fr. 31. Id., 3, 88, 89, 93. ⁸ Fi. 2.

⁹ It is found here and there earlier: cp. especially Soph., *O.T.*, 1080 sqq.; Eur., *Tro.*, 1204 sqq.

¹⁰ Bato, fr. 2.

¹¹

Philemon, fr. 71.

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οἱ φιλόσοφοι ζητοῦσιν, ὥς ἀκήκοα,
περὶ τοῦτο τ' αὐτοῖς πολὺς ἀναλοῦται χρόνος,
τί ἐστὶν ἀγαθόν, οὐδὲ εἰς εὖρηκέ πω
τί ἐστιν. ἀρετὴν καὶ φρόνησίν φασι, καὶ
λέγουσι πάντα μᾶλλον ἢ τί τἀγαθόν.
ἐν ἀγρῷ διατρίβων τήν τε γῆν σκάπτων ἐγὼ
νῦν εὖρον· εἰρήνη' στίν· ὦ Ζεῦ φίλτατε,
τῆς ἐπαφροδίτου καὶ φιλανθρώπου θεοῦ.

' The philosophers, so I hear, with vast expenditure of time, try to find what is the Good, yet not one of them has found what it is. They tell us it is Virtue, or Wisdom, or anything rather than the fact. But I, passing my days in the field and digging the earth, have found it now. It is Peace. Ah, kind Heaven! How charming a goddess is she, how loving to mankind !'

Historical allusions are few, and the relations between Philemon and Magas, the Macedonian general, have already been mentioned. The bad influence of demagogues upon politics is described in bitter trochaics by Diphilus,¹ and Apollodorus² insists that an evil private life makes an unscrupulous statesman. Far more striking is the fearless outburst³ of PHILIPPIDES against Stratocles, the sycophant who forwarded the blasphemous and depraved arrogance of Demetrius:

ὁ τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν συντεμὼν εἰς μῆν' ἓνα,
ὁ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν πανδοκεῖον ὑπολαβὼν
καὶ τὰς ἐταῖρας εἰσαγαγὼν τῇ παρθένῳ,
δι' ὃν ἀπέκαυσεν ἡ πάχνη τὰς ἀμπέλους,
δι' ὃν ἀσεβούνθ' ὁ πέπλος διερράγη μέσος,
τὰς τῶν θεῶν τιμὰς ποιούντ' ἀνθρωπίνας.
ταῦτα καταλύει δῆμον, οὐ κωμῳδία.

' He who cut down the year to one month, who took the Acropolis for a hotel and brought courtesans into the presence of the Virgin-Goddess, through whom the frost blighted the vines, through whose impiety the holy robe was torn asunder, when he turned the

¹Fr. 24.

²Fr. 13.

³Philippides, fr. 25. Cp. Plut., *Demetrius*, XII, 24, 26. The last line shows that reproaches or attacks had recently been directed against the frankness, or viciousness, of Comedy,

honours of the gods into mortal pride. It is these things, not Comedy, that destroy the State.'

The literary manner has undergone no change, save that the sponginess of the diction is more noticeable. A few jokes are quoted. "He is either dead or a schoolmaster": ἤτοι τέθνηκεν ἢ διδάσκει γράμματα.¹ "For one shilling he plays a tune, and for four shillings he stops playing."² The iambic metre is as undistinguished as ever, still showing a love of resolution in the fifth foot, which makes the line close with a silly little scamper, e.g. :³

ἔμμεντον ἀδικῶ κοῦκέτ' εἰμὶ θεοσεβής.
ἐδείξα χρηῖσαι τὴν σεαυτῆς θυγατέρα.

Poetry, in any but the rhetorical sense, is becoming rarer. "Having passed a rose by, do not look for it again"⁴—ῥόδον παρελθὼν μηκέτι ζήτηι πάλιν. Another kind of loveliness is seen in this little picture :⁵

λεπτὴ δὲ κυρτοῖς ἐγγελῶσα κύμασιν
αὔρα, κάρη Σκείρωνος, ἡσύνχῳ ποδὶ
προσῆγε πρῶτος καὶ καλῶς τὸν κύνθαρον.

'A faint breeze, born on the cliffs across the sea, broke the swelling waves in laughter and carried the skiff with tranquil pace gently and sweetly to land.' A few words or phrases are so "modern" as to cry aloud for quotation. "Have you bought the street?"⁶

τὴν πλατείαν σοὶ μόνῳ
ταύτην πεποιήκεν ὁ βασιλεὺς;

"I am wedded to my art"⁷—ἐμοὶ γάρ ἐστιν ἀντὶ γυναικὸς ἡ τέχνη; "a gold-digger"⁸—χρυσοχοεῖν ἐμάνθανε; "the shop-keeping mind" attributed to Mr. Shaw's Bluntschli is exactly translated κάπηλον φρόνημα;⁹ a "night-shirt" is χιτῶν εὐνητήρ;¹⁰ and

¹ Kock (III, p. 401) : cp. an excellent modern form : "I have three sisters, two living and one in . . ." (Chicago, etc., according to taste).

² Adesp., 268 (III, p. 456).

³ Diphilus, fr. 93; Menander, fr. 254.

⁴ Adesp., 557 (III, p. 509).

⁵ Sosicrates, fr. 2.

⁶ Philemon, fr. 58.

⁷ Adesp., 498 (III, p. 500).

⁸ Id., 708 (p. 534).

⁹ Id., 867 (p. 559).

¹⁰ Id., 920 (p. 568).

a portable time-piece is mentioned—

ὥρολόγιον.¹

περιφέρειν

Till a few years ago we possessed practically no fragments revealing any of the dramatic qualities possessed by the minor writers of New Comedy.² We knew that certain personifications delivered prologues: Fear—"for I am Fear, most uncomely of aspect"³—and Air, who, being everywhere—"in Athens, Patrae, Sicily"—knows and can repeat everything.⁴ These scraps should perhaps be supplemented by what looks like the complete account⁵ of a New Comedy plot bequeathed to us by the quaint co-operation of a neo-Platonist philosopher and a Father of the Church. In condensed form it would run thus. 'Lacydes was so thrifty that when he went out he locked his pantry and placed the key in a desk which he sealed up, thereupon dropping the seal into the pantry through the keyhole. His slaves raided the pantry by breaking the seal, using the key and, when they had eaten and drunk enough, leaving key and seal as before. Lacydes, unable to understand how the victuals had gone, became a pupil of the philosopher Arcesilaus, since he specialized in non-apprehensibility.⁶ One day he brought a friend home, and, to prove the correctness of sceptical philosophy, told him about the ring and the seal, to the amusement of the friend, who explained the mystery. Lacydes altered his methods, but the slaves imitated his seal after their thefts, or did not

¹ Bato, fr. 2.

² It is customary to regard Plautus and (still more) Terence as evidence for the plots of their Greek "originals". But Plautus is never pressed, because his personality has clearly counted heavily. Terence is much used, but this seems to the present writer unwarranted: see pp. 317, 319.

³ *Adesp.*, 154 (III, p. 439).

⁴ Philemon, fr. 91.

⁵ Numenius *ap.* Eusebius, *Præp. Ev.*, XIV, 7; Kock, III, pp. 418 *sqq.* That this narrative both in ideas and in language suggests comedy was pointed out by R. Hirzel in *Hermes*, XVI11, pp. 1 *sqq.* This is attractive but not entirely certain. Was the comedy extant or not in Numenius' time? If it was, why did he give it as a novel story (*βούλομαι τι διηγήσασθαι ἡδύ*)? If not, how could he quote it? Moreover, the description of the slaves as "resembling the slaves of comedy" is very strange if they really were such.

⁶ *Ἀκαταληψία*, a joke on ideas that cannot be grasped and property that is not forthcoming.

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even trouble to affix any ; and when he reviled them, they took lessons in Stoicism and carried on philosophical disputes with him. Before long his property was utterly despoiled, and at length Lacydes confessed that " the schools have no relation to life ".¹

The discoveries² made in Egypt during our own time have not only enormously increased our knowledge of Menander, but have also made additions to the non-Menandrian fragments. First, there is a large portion³ of a prologue, delivered by a god who, after discussing prologue-method, gives the facts that lead up to the play. Two⁴ others are rather silly freaks. In one, the first, third, etc., lines are repeated backwards by the second, fourth, etc. :

" Ἐρως, Ἀφροδίτης υἱὸς ἐπιεικῆς, νεός,
νεός, ἐπιεικῆς υἱὸς Ἀφροδίτης Ἐρως,
ἐλήλυθ' ἀγγελῶν τοιοῦτο πρᾶγμα τι,
πρᾶγμα τι τοιούτου ἀγγελῶν ἐλήλυθα. . .

The other is spoken by Aphrodite, who explains that * lest you should think me unexercised in poetry ' she will give her information in lines that begin with the letters of the alphabet in order. We have a word or two of the A-line, but the papyrus trails off into unregretted silence. Besides these prologues, we possess a good number of scraps that give glimpses of plot—talk between the young hero and his slave about a girl, misunderstandings between friends or father and son ; in short, the kind of conversation familiar to us in the new Menander and in Terence—the dramatic manner, but no strong indications of dramatic structure.

¹ A. P. Oppe (*Greek New Comedy*, p. 50) acutely suggests that the slaves may have robbed Lacydes of money also, to aid a love-affair of the young master, as so often elsewhere, and that " : it is only natural that the holy father would ignore the worldly side of the play ".

² Demiaiczuk (*Supplementum Comicum*, 1912) and Schroeder (*Novæ Comædiæ Fragmenta*, etc., 1915) give everything discovered since Kock, except the Menandrea, *Charition* (see below), and the new Alexis fragment (pp. 56 sqq., above).

³ Demiaiczuk, pp. 96 sq.; Schroeder, pp. 45 sqq.

⁴ Dem., pp. 108 sq.; Schroeder, pp. 63 sqq. Wilamowitz remarks (*Menander*, p. 144): "diese ägyptischen Spielereien beweisen nichts für Athen".

§ 5. MINOR FORMS OF COMEDY

The popular rudimentary drama of Greece has **been** touched on earlier. Epicharmus' work was a splendidly developed instance of such mummeries, **and** Old Athenian Comedy might be called nothing but an offshoot that grew to gigantic strength, beauty, and variety not only through the genius of its exponents but equally through the blending of nascent drama with the *comos*. We have every excuse for believing that, apart from the best productions of Epicharmus, the non-Attic drama possessed small artistic excellence and that although it had, in whatever modifications, an immensely long existence, individual works enjoyed but short popularity. Nevertheless, it will be interesting to include in our survey a succinct description of the more striking among these rudimentary types : Spartan farce, Italian farce, and the mime. The first two seem more highly wrought local forms of the last.

Athenaeus reports thus. ' Among the Spartans there was, according to Sosibius, a certain ancient form of comic amusement; it was unpretentious, since here, too, Sparta aimed at frugality. An imitation, in commonplace language, was given of people stealing fruit or of a foreign physician who talked in a style of which we may gain an idea from the following passage of *The Woman Gathering Mandrakes*, by Alexis [then follow some six lines satirizing the fashion of using Doric Greek in medical discussions]. The name given among the Spartans to those who pursued this kind of sport was *deicelistæ*, as one might say " costumiers " **and** " mimics ".¹ He goes on to say that this type of

¹ Ath., XIV, 621d-f: Παρὰ δὲ Λακεδαιμονίοις κωμικῆς παιδιᾶς ἦν τις τρόπος παλαιός, ὥς φησι Σωσίβιος, οὐκ ἄγαν σπουδαῖος, ἅτε δὴ καὶ τοῖσι τὸ λιτὸν τῆς Σπάρτης μεταδιωκούς. ἐμμεῖτοι γὰρ τις ἐν εὐτελεῖ τῇ λέξει κλέπτοντας τινὰς ὁπώραν ἢ ξενικὸν ἱατρὸν τοιαυτὴν λέγοντα, ὥς Ἀλέξιος ἐν Μανδραγοριζομένη διὰ τούτων παρίστησιν . . . (fr. 142, Kock, II, p. 348). ἐκαλοῦντο δ' οἱ μετιόντες τὴν τοιαύτην παιδιάν παρὰ τοῖς Λάκωσι δεικηλισταί, ὥς ἂν τις σκευοποιὸς εἶπῃ καὶ μιμητάς. τοῦ δὲ εἶδους τῶν δεικηλιστῶν πολλὰ κατὰ τόπους εἰσὶ προσηγορίαί. Σικυώνιοι μὲν γὰρ φαλλοφόρους αὐτοὺς καλοῦσιν, ἄλλοι δ' αὐτοκαβδάλους, οἱ δὲ φλύακας, ὥς Ἴταλοί, σοφιστὰς δὲ οἱ πολλοί. Θηβαῖοι δὲ τὰ πολλὰ ἰδίως ὀνομάζειν εἰωθότες ἐβελοντάς.

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player had many names varying from district to district, and disconcerts us by mentioning performers whose show was certainly non-dramatic.¹ But as regards the Spartan plays, all is easy and attractive. These were or the simplest kind: the thief and either the victim whom he outwitted or the detective who outwitted him—perhaps (on sumptuous occasions) all three; the queer outlandish physician, ancestor of Dr. Caius in *The Merry Wives*, impressing the bystanders with his language.² No real artist took up the Spartan play: there exists no mention, however vague, of such a writer; and Athenaeus, for all his learning, cannot quote from any "book of words," but is reduced to giving a parallel from Athenian Comedy.

The farces of southern Italy were more widely spread both in area and in time; moreover, at least one man of talent engaged in their composition. The performers and the farces alike were named *phlyakes* (φλύακες), and our knowledge of them is derived chiefly from vase-paintings: they acted upon a rough stage, were grotesquely padded in both front and rear, and wore the phallus. Their plays were ludicrous scenes from everyday life or burlesque of legend.

Much the most celebrated author of phlyax-plays was RHINTHON. Suidas writes: 'He was a phlyax of Tarentum, who recast tragic themes in an absurd form; thirty-eight plays of his are in circulation'.³ In another place⁴ he reports: 'Rhinton was a comic writer of Tarentum, leader of the so-called merry tragedy; that is, the composition of phlyakes. He was the son of [lacuna], a potter, and flourished under Ptolemy the First (304-285 B.C.). There are thirty-

¹ See what he himself quotes from Semus concerning the φαλλοφόροι and others (622b-d). Cp. p. 8.

² Though he spoke a Doric dialect, as the reference to Alexis shows, it must have been a non-Laonian dialect, since Athenaeus calls him ξένος.

³ s.v. Τάρας· Ταραντίνος φλύαξ, τὰ τραγικά μεταρρυθμίζων ἐς τὸ γελοῖον. φέρονται δ' αὐτοῦ δράματα λή.

⁴ s.v. Ῥίνθων· Ταραντίνος κωμικός, ἀρχηγὸς τῆς καλουμένης ἱλαροτραγωδίας, ὃ ἐστὶ φλυακογραφία. υἱὸς δ' ἦν . . . κεραμέως καὶ γέγονεν ἐπὶ τοῦ πρώτου Πτολεμαίου. δράματα δ' αὐτοῦ κωμικά τραγικά λή.

eight tragicomedies by him.' John Laurentius Lydus ¹ offers a more sensational account, that Rhinthon was the first to write a comedy in hexameters, that Lucilius, the Roman satirist, derived from him the idea of satire in hexameter verse, and that Lucilius' successors "strengthened satirical comedy" by a blend of Rhinthonian metre with the lampoon-style of Cratinus and Eupolis. This cannot be accepted as it stands: Rhinthon did not use the hexameter so far as we can see from his fragments, and Quintilian ² witnesses that Rome is in no sense indebted to Greece for satire. Finally, the poetess Nossis in her epitaph upon him makes him say:

'Ρίνθων εἶμ' ὁ Συρακόσιος,
Μουσάων ὀλίγη τις ἀηδονίς· ἀλλὰ φλυάκων
ἐκ τραγικῶν ἴδιον κισσὸν ἐδρεψάμεθα.

'I am Rhinthon the Syracusan, a little insignificant nightingale of the Muses, yet from tragic farce I plucked an ivy-garland all my own.' The difference between the statements as to his birthplace probably mean that he was born at Syracuse but passed his career at Tarentum. The claim is unequivocally made for him that he originated a new dramatic type: the name *Rhinthonica* is often used for a special kind of farce. Certainly he differed from Epicharmus in that his works were burlesques not merely of legend but of legend as treated by tragic poets. Yet Cratinus and others wrote such comedy; Rhinthon's originality no doubt consisted in grafting literary burlesque upon the hitherto gross and crude phlyax-drama. Among the titles are *Heracles*, *Iphigenia at Aulis*, *Orestas* (the Doric form), and *Medea*. Our fragments ³ (mostly from lexicographers) are wretchedly meagre—"not a single dog" (οὐδὲ ἧς κύων) and the like. Only one has literary interest, from *Orestas*:

A. ὁ σὶ Διόνυσος αὐτὸς ἐξώλη θείη.

B. Ἰππῶνακός γα τὸ μέτρον.

A. οὐδέν μαι μέλει.

¹ *De Magist.* I, 41 (Kaibel, pp. 183 sq.).

² X, i, 93: *Satura quidem tota nostra est*. But it must not be forgotten that Horace (*Sat.*, I, iv, 6) writes: *Hinc* (the Old Comedy) *omnis pendet Lucius*.

³ Kaibel, pp. 185-9.

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' May Dionysus himself destroy thee utterly !'
 ' That is the metre of Hipponax.' ' I don't care.'
 A " tragic " character curses another, who, utterly flinging off stage-illusion, points out that the curse will not scan¹ as tragic iambics (the otherwise invariable metre of all our fragments). A better conception of Rhinthon is to be gained from South Italian vases.²

SOPATER of Paphos was a younger contemporary of Rhinthon. Our knowledge of him is derived entirely from Athenaeus, who tells us that Sopater was born in the days of Alexander and survived till the reign of Ptolemy the Second (285-47 B.C.). Sopater's fragments are a little more copious than Rhinthon's. Three plays seem to have formed a sequence : *Bacchis*, *The Suitors of Bacchis*, *The Wedding of Bacchis* ; the absence of qualification in the first title suggests that it was the success of *Bacchis* that impelled Sopater to write a sequel, and then yet another—that is, he did not plan a triad in the first place. But the only interesting scrap from these three is an allusion to the Colossus of Rhodes. The titles do not suggest burlesque, like Rhinthon's ; nor do the names *Porridge* (*Φακῆ*), *The Scientist* (*Φυσιολόγος*) and others. On the other hand, we find the titles *Hippolytus*, *Orestes*, and *A Visit to the Dead* (*Νέκνυια*), evidently a burlesque of Odysseus' adventure, as this remnant³ shows :

" Ἰθακος Ὀδυσσεύς, τοῦ πὶ τῇ φακῇ μύρον,
 πάρεστι· θάρσει, θυμέ.

' Odysseus of Ithaca is here, the gilt on the gingerbread ; be of good cheer, my heart.' From the GAULS (*Takdrai*) survives a passage⁴ devoted entirely to brisk comment on present-day life. It is by far the longest phylax-fragment that has survived :

¹ *Θείη* being a spondee, thus making the line a scazon like those of Hipponax the satirist.

² See Heydemann, *Arch. Jahrb.*, I, 260 sqq., and Bieber, *Theaterwesen in Alterthum*, plates 76-86.

³ Kaibel, p. 195.

⁴ *Id.*, p. 193.

παρ' οἷς ἔθος ἐστίν, ἥνικ' ἂν προτέρημά τι
 ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις λάβωσι, θύειν τοῖς θεοῖς
 τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους· τοὺς Γαλάτας μιμούμενος
 κἀγὼ κατακαύσειν ἠΐξάμην τοῖς δαίμοσι
 διαλεκτικούς τρεῖς τῶν παρεγγεγραμμένων.
 καὶ μὴν φιλοσοφεῖν φιλολογεῖν τ' ἀκηκῶς
 ὑμᾶς ἐπιμελῶς καρτερεῖν θ' αἰρουμένους
 τὴν πείραν ὑμῖν λήψομαι τῶν δογμάτων,
 πρῶτον καπνίζων· εἴτ' εἰαν ὀπταμένων
 ἴδω τῶν ὑμῶν συσπάσαντα τὸ σκέλος,
 Ζηνωνικῶ παραθήσεθ' οὗτος κυρίῳ
 ἐπ' ἐξαγωγῇ, τὴν φρόνησιν ἀγνοῶν.

'[. . . the Gauls] who have a custom of sacrificing their prisoners to the gods whenever they gain any success in their wars. I, too, in imitation of the Gauls, swore to offer as burnt sacrifice to Heaven three dialecticians belonging to spurious schools. Now, hearing that you men are devoted to philosophy and disquisition, and that your chief tenet is fortitude, I shall test your principles—first of all, by smoking you; next, if during the roasting process I see any of you drawing up his leg, he shall be sold to a Stoic master for exportation as ignorant of philosophy.' This is anything but the coarse clownery that the *phlyakes* are reported to have shown; it is closely similar to late Athenian Comedy, an effect reinforced by the language, rhythm and dialect. Other fragments reveal that Sopater used more variety of metre than Rhinthon, who, indeed, seems to have confined himself to iambic trimeters. Among Sophron's remains are iambic trimeters, a priapean, and a few anapaests. Rhinthon lived in the West, Sopater in Alexandria, as a few slight allusions show; and it was natural that the *phlyax*-play should develop differently in those far-sundered regions.

The mime possessed not only inextinguishable vitality—for it flourishes still, and the widest geographical extension—for it has been found in every quarter of the globe, but also great variety of content. We cannot describe it more precisely than this: a mime was a non-choric theatrical sketch of contemporary life, making a popular appeal and depending

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in large measure upon facial expression and gesture. Such work varied immensely from place to place, age to age, author to author. Often it was entirely ludicrous; occasionally it was elegantly amusing. One mime would be nothing but an exhibition of crude indecency; another would contain edifying popular philosophy. Scenery was needed for some; others could be given in a dining-room to amuse guests at table. No mime, as far as is known, possessed a true plot.¹ This kind of work showed, as compared with the genuine drama, a declension of art and taste combined with an advance in realism. The mime, as we have seen, was familiar and acceptable in the age of Epicharmus: it continued in favour throughout the days of true comedy and under the Empire first eclipsed, then ousted, the artistic drama in the Roman and the Græco-Roman world alike. Throughout the Middle Ages it flourished, especially in Byzantium, despite the opposition of the Church, which at last took over its methods for the presentation of sacred stories and doctrine. It was thus interwoven with the beginnings of the modern drama. But despite its enormous social, moral, and literary influence, the mime itself was but rarely a piece of literary or dramatic art, and we must here mention only those few writers who invested this rudimentary type of quasi-comedy with artistic form.

The most illustrious composer of mimes was SOPHRON of Syracuse, who flourished in the latter part of the fifth century: we have no precise dates.² His mimes, written in Doric prose—according to one

¹Cp. Johannes Laurentius Lydus, *De Magistr.*, I, 40: μιμηκὴ, τεχνικὸν μὲν ἔχουσα οὐδέν.

²Suidas: Σώφρων Συρακόσιος, Ἀγαθοκλέους καὶ Δαμνασυλλίδος· τοῖς δὲ χρόνοις ἦν κατὰ Ξέρξην καὶ Εὐριπίδην, καὶ ἔγραψε μίμους ἀνδρείους καὶ μίμους γυναικείους· εἰσὶ δὲ καταλογάδην, διαλέκτῳ Δωριδί. καὶ φασὶ Πλάτωνα τὸν φιλόσοφον αἰεὶ αὐτοῖς ἐντυγχάνειν, ὡς καὶ καθεῖναι ἐπ' αὐτῶν ἔσθ' ὅτε. On the reference to Xerxes Kaibel writes (p. 152): "Confundi videtur, ut saepius factum, Sophron 'cum; Epicharmo; Sophronis filius Xenarchus Dionysii tyranni aequalis fuit,' cp. Phot. s.v. 'Ρηγίνους."

account,¹ markedly rhythmical prose—were classified as "masculine" and "feminine"; this division was not made by the Alexandrians, but apparently by Sophron himself, for it is mentioned very early.² His works seem to have made no strong impression at first, but they attracted Plato when he sojourned at Syracuse: he introduced them into Athens, and admired them so warmly that he studied them with a view to the character-drawing of his own Dialogues and sometimes slept with them under his pillow.³ These facts suggest that although Sophron's use of prose implies realism he was yet far more decent than most mime-writers. The division into "male" and "female" shows that if they contained impropriety it was at least not accentuated by any confrontation of the sexes; and the impressive compliment paid by the greatest writer of antiquity implies that Sophron relied far less on buffoonery than on character-drawing.

For many centuries Sophron's reputation stood high. Apollodorus wrote a commentary in at least three books;⁴ Statius reports⁵ that his father taught the works of Sophron in his school at Naples; a book-label,⁶ belonging to the first or second century after Christ, has been found at Oxyrhynchus bearing the inscription: *The Female Mimes of Sophron*; he was read by Choricus of Gaza in the sixth century.⁷

His fragments, meagre as they are, easily outnumber those of Rhinthon and Sopater. Among the titles we find some of great interest. *The Women Who Say they Will Drive Out the Goddess* (Ταὶ γυναῖκες αἱ τὰν θεὸν φαντὶ ἐξελαῖν) is known to have supplied the

¹The scholiast on Gregory Nazianzenus (Kaibel, p. 153): Οἷτος (sc. Σώφρων) γὰρ μόνος ποιητῶν ῥυθμοῖς τισι καὶ κώλοις ἐχρήσατο ποιητικῆς ἀναλγησίας καταφρονήσας.

²Plato, *Rep.* 451c. Plato nowhere mentions Sophron by name.

³Diog. Laert., IIIi8: Δοκεῖ δὲ Πλάτων καὶ τὰ Σώφρονος τοῦ μιμογράφου βιβλία ἡμελημένα πρῶτος εἰς Ἀθήνας διακομίσαι καὶ ἡθοποιῆσαι πρὸς αὐτὰ· ἃ καὶ εὐρεθῆναι ὑπὸ τῇ κεφαλῇ αὐτοῦ.

⁴Athen., VII, 281e-f: Ἐν τῷ γ' περὶ Σώφρονος τῷ εἰς τοὺς ἀνδρείους.

⁵Silvæ V, iii, 158.

⁶Ox. Pap., II, 301: Σώφρονος μῖμοι γυναικεῖαι.

⁷See his *Defence of Mimes*, 3 (Graux, *Textes grecs inddits*, pp. 42 sq.).

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model for a part of Theocritus' Second Idyll, and the most celebrated of Theocritus' works, *The Women at the Festival of Adonis* ('Αδωνιάζουσai) was indebted to Sophron's *Women Watching the Isthmian Games* (Ταὶ θάμεναι τὰ Ἴσθμια); a third mime, *The Fisherman and the Rustic*,¹ probably inspired the Fifth Idyll of Moschus. Little in the fragments will attract any but linguistic specialists, for they are quoted because of such peculiarities. The topics that happen to emerge are mostly eating, drinking, and scratching. One reveals vigorous action: "Pelting the room they filled it with dung"—βαλλίζοντες τὸν θάλαμον σκάτους ἐνέπλησαν.² The most striking, and one of the longest, probably comes from the Isthmian mime: Θᾶσαι ὅσσα φύλλα καὶ κάρφεια τοῖ παιῖδες τοὺς ἄνδρας βαλλίζοντι· οἷον περ φαντί, φίλα, τοὺς Τρῶας τὸν Αἴαντα τῷ πάλῳ—"Look at all the leaves and chips the boys are pelting the men with! My dear, it's just like the Trojans in the story pelting Ajax with mud."³ One of Sophron's characters is known to us by name, a certain Bulias who gave a display of absurdly disjointed rhetoric.⁴

On the literary, not the theatrical, side Sophron found two distinguished successors. THEOCRITUS borrows subjects, as we have seen, and not only throws his *Idylls* (or "little pictures") into dialogue form as a rule: occasionally he causes the characters to indicate a *mise-en-scene* by their talk. The most elaborate example of this method is the *Adoniazusæ*, containing three separate scenes: the ladies gossiping at home, the crowded streets, and the interior of Ptolemy's palace. But masterly as this poem is, neither here nor elsewhere does Theocritus contemplate stage-production: his exclusive employment of hexameters proves that. HERODAS stands, as regards technique, half-way between Sophron and Theocritus: he writes in metre, but it is the most prosaic of all—the scazon or limping iambic trimeter. His mimes, discovered

¹ Ὡλιεύς τὸν Ἀγροιώταν, i.e.: ὁ Ὡλιεύς τὸν ἀγροιώτην προσαγορεύει.

² Kaibel, p. 156.

³ Id., p. 159.

⁴ Id., p. 171.

in 1890, show indeed no more realism than Theocritus' idylls, but far less elegance. They are brief, pungent scenes cast in the simplest theatrical form: a mother describes to a schoolmaster her son's bad behaviour, and begs that he be caned; a party of women visit the leather-worker's shop; and so forth. These are seven excellent little sketches, eminently actable.

Striking examples of crude drama were discovered at Oxyrhynchus¹ in 1897. The MS. contains substantial portions of two dramatic works, which deserve attention as the only extant specimens of genuinely "popular" plays. One is a rudimentary melodrama, and so lies outside our present scope.

The other is a rough blend of romance and low farce which reads like a burlesque of the *Iphigenia in Tauris*. Its title is unknown, and we may provisionally name it CHARITION (*Gracie*), after the heroine. It is mostly in prose, but with a brief lyric passage and a few trochaics. A party of Greeks—including Charition, her brother, a sea-captain, and a buffoon—find themselves among savages upon the coast of the Indian Ocean and escape by making the barbarian king and his subjects drunk. It seems likely that Charition has been a captive among the savages, becoming a priestess (perhaps of Isis) in that far country; and that her brother has led a rescue-expedition. In any case our papyrus gives the last part of the play: near the close of it we find the word *καταστολή*, which seems to mean "finale". Amusement is provided by the outlandish speech of the savages and their king, though the latter occasionally talks Greek, as when he addresses the Moon-Goddess in lyrics, with a mention of "Indian chiefs" and (perhaps) a "Chinese religious dance". But the chief fun-maker is the buffoon: a frequent stage-direction refers to his obscene crepitations, which come as the climax to a roll of drums;² so proud is he of this noise that he addresses it as his patroness

¹ *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, III, pp. 41-57.

² So Grenfell and Hunt explain the letter .

(*κυρία Πορδή*) and promises to make a silver statue of her (if they escape, no doubt). The action begins with some one's reporting to Charition his own extrication from some trouble, after which he goes off to bring the boat up. Next, certain savage women return from a hunt with huge bows and nearly shoot the buffoon. The messenger returns and announces :
ⁱ Lady Charition, I see the wind is rising, so that we can cross the Indian Ocean and escape. Go inside, then, and fetch your property ; if you can carry any of the goddess' offerings, do so.' She replies : ' Fellow, be decent! Those who need rescue should not commit sacrilege while they ask it of the gods. How will they listen to those who sin while seeking pity ? . . . Nor do I need those things, but only to see my father's face.' Then comes mention of " neat wine " wherewith the savages are to be incapacitated, ' and here they come ! ' Later there is a bacchanalian scene consisting, so far as words go, mostly of the gibberish uttered by the bibulous barbarians but containing the king's Greek address to the Moon. He is bound with the sacred girdles. The ship is brought inshore, and after a brief squabble between the captain and the buffoon all the Greeks go aboard. The play ends with Charition's prayer : ' Mistress, be gracious and save thy handmaid ! '

Returning to the artistic mime, we find only one distinguished name in post-classical times, that of PHILISTION.¹ He came from Prusa or Sardis,² and flourished in Rome at the very beginning of the Christian era.³ Besides mimes, he wrote a jest-book, *The Laughter-Lover* (*Φιλογέλως*). Of his work we possess no certain remains, though there are probably traces of him in a third-century jest-book attributed to the grammarians Hierocles and Philagrius. But

¹ A full discussion, with sources, will be found in Reich, *Der Mimus*, pp. 423 sqq.

² Suidas, s.v. *Φιλιστίων*.

³ Jerome ad Eusebium Chron. 01., CXCVIa, 2 (A.D. 6) writes : *Philistio mitnographus, natione Magnesianus, Romæ clarus habetur.*

his fame was immense : the austere Marcus Aurelius ¹ names him among his instances of great men who, like all the rest, met death ; and this implication is but one amongst many. For instance Africanus² takes Origen to task for accepting the story of Susannah as canonical, though it smacks of Philistion. There was an opinion³ abroad that the mime was a further development of genuine comedy, succeeding the New, and apparently Philistion was put forward as the rival of Menander. There exists a collection of couplets called *Maxims of Menander and Philistion* ; and though " Philistion " has been altered to " Philemon," the change cannot be regarded as certain.

Nevertheless, there is no evidence that he was genuinely a dramatist, or any other man of his age. Classical comedies were revived in Athens for centuries after him, but the drama as a living art had disappeared.

¹Els 'Ευτρόν, VI, 47.

²Migne, *Patrol*, XI, pp. 47 sqq.

³Cp. Marcus Aurelius, Els 'Ευτρόν, XI, 6.

CHAPTER II

EPICHARMUS

LITTLE is known about Epicharmus' life.¹ That he lived and wrote in Syracuse under the tyrants Gelo (485-78 B.C.) and Hiero (478-67 B.C.) is certain.² It is practically certain that he was working for a long time³ before this, at Megara Hyblaea,⁴ in Sicily. It is probable that the poet removed to Syracuse in 483, when Megara was destroyed by Gelo. His birthplace is quite uncertain: Syracuse,⁵ Megara Hyblaea,⁶ Crastos in Sicily,⁷ Samos,⁸ Cos,⁹ are all mentioned. His birth may be put tentatively at 530 B.C.,¹⁰ his death at 440 B.C.¹¹

¹The best accounts, both of his life and work, are in Lorenz (*Leben und Schriften des Koers Epicharmus*, Berlin, 1864, which contains a collection of the fragments) and A. W. Pickard-Cambridge (*Dithyramb Tragedy and Comedy*, Oxford, 1927, pp. 353-415). The best edition of the fragments is in Kaibel, *Comicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, I, i, Berlin, 1899.

²The Marmor Parium, 71, says under Hiero; Anon. de Com. (Kaibel, p. 17) says Ol. 72 (488-9 B.C.): Timotheus (*ap. Clem. Ah, Strom.*, I, 64), under Hiero; Suidas (*s.v. 'Επίχαρμος*), six years before the Persian Wars (*i.e.* before the invasion of Xerxes).

³Aristotle (*Poet.*, 1448a, 33 sq.) says: *'Επίχαρμος ὁ ποιητής, πολλῷ πρότερος ὢν Χιονίδου καὶ Μάγνητος*. Now Chionides (Suidas, *s.v.*) appeared first *ἔτεσιν ἑκτῶ προ τῶν Περσικῶν*. If Epicharmus was "much earlier" than Chionides, he must have been writing by 500 B.C.

⁴That he lived there is proved by the claim (Ar., *Poet.*, 1448a, 33) of the Western Megarians that comedy began with them: "for thence came Epicharmus".

⁵Theocritus, *Ep.*, XVIII, 6; epigram in Diogenes Laertius, VIII, 78; Suidas, *s.v.*

⁶Suidas, *loc. cit.*

⁷*Ibid.*

⁸*Ibid.*

⁹Diog. Laert., *loc. cit.*, and Suidas, *loc. cit.*

¹⁰It is probable that he became acquainted with Pythagoreanism before 510 B.C., because about that date the persecution of the sect began.

¹¹Diog. Laert., *loc. cit.*, says that he died at the age of ninety, pseudo-Lucian (*Μακροβύται*, 25) at ninety-seven.

He was the earliest comic playwright. The Anonymus tells us :¹ ' He was the first to concentrate the scattered elements of comedy by many feats of technique; his date² falls in the seventy-third Olympiad (488-5 B.C.); his composition is sententious, original, and consummate ; there survive forty of his plays, but four of these are regarded as spurious'. Aristotle reports that he was " much earlier " than the Athenian comic dramatists Chionides and Magnes.³ What Epicharmus did, we may be certain, was to elevate the crude buffoonery of the mime into an art-form (however simple), making a written " book ". Nothing is known about any exponent of the embryonic drama which he thus developed ; possibly we are to see a literary source or precursor in the lampoonist (not playwright) Aristoxenus of Selinus in Sicily, to whom Epicharmus refers.⁴ The degree of elaboration, the amount of structure or plot, thus introduced, we cannot fully determine.⁶

Antiquity admired Epicharmus the philosopher hardly less than Epicharmus the playwright. Hippobotus⁶ placed him on a list of philosophers which included Thales and Pythagoras. Diogenes Laertius⁷ writes that he was a pupil of Pythagoras, and that ' he left treatises containing physical, ethical, and medical

¹ III, 5 (Kaibel, p. 7) : οὗτος πρῶτος διεργημένην τὴν κωμῶδιαν ἀνεκρήσατο πολλὰ προσφιλοτεχνήσας, χρόνους δὲ γέγονε κατὰ τὴν οὔ' Ὀλυμπιάδα, τῇ δὲ ποιήσει γνωμικὸς καὶ εὐρετικὸς καὶ φιλότεχνος· σώζεται δὲ αὐτοῦ δράματα μ', ὧν ἀντιλήγονται δ'. The word γέγονε refers to his *floruit* (cp Rohde, *Rhein. Mus.*, xxxiii, p. 165).

² That is, his *floruit*.

³ Cp. p. 83.

⁴ Λόγος καὶ Λόγισμα fr. 3 (Lorenz, p. 245 ; Kaibel, p. 107).

οἱ τοὺς ἰάμβους καὶ τὸν ἄριστον τρόπον,
ὃν πρῶτος εἰσαγήσαθ' Ὀριστόξενος.

The text of the first line is corrupt, ἄριστον being unmetrical. Porson's *κατὰ τὸν ἀρχαῖον* restores the metre.

⁵ See below, pp. no *sqq.*

⁶ Ap. Diog. Laert., I, 42. He wrote a history of philosophy towards the end of the third century B.C.

⁷ VIII, 78. The appeal to acrostics surely condemns what it is meant to endorse: such devices are the mark of a completely sophisticated age, and are not certainly known to have existed before the Alexandrian period (Lorenz, p. 67, and Pascal, *Rivista di Filologia*, 1919, p. 58).

disquisitions; in most of the treatises he placed acrostics, wherein he proclaims that the writings are his'. Plutarch surprisingly relates : ¹ 'The Romans conferred citizenship upon Pythagoras, so Epicharmus, the comic dramatist (an ancient who acquired the Pythagorean doctrine), tells in a certain work written to Antenor'. A work attributed to Iamblichus says that 'those who wish to utter maxims on any aspect of life propound the ideas of Epicharmus, and practically all the philosophers borrow them'; ² further, that 'among Pythagoras' exoteric hearers was numbered Epicharmus; but he did not join the sect, and on coming to Syracuse he relinquished the open pursuit of philosophy because of Hiero's despotism, and threw their opinions into metre, publishing the doctrines of Pythagoras under the disguise of jest'. ³ Some of this evidence is spurious, but there can be no doubt that Epicharmus studied the doctrines of contemporary philosophers : even if we chose to regard all his extant philosophic fragments as forgeries, the mere fact that forged books on such topics were attributed to him would prove the point. But it is probably a mistake to suppose that he composed an actual philosophic poem *On Nature* (περὶ φύσεως). ⁴ The fragments were no doubt taken from his plays, the proof being : first, that the longer passages are in dialogue ; ⁵ second, that their metre is iambic, whereas for didactic poetry hexameters were invariably used. ⁶

Four great thinkers are (in one way or another)

¹*Life of Numa*, VIII. The *Λόγος πρὸς Ἀντήνορα* was another forgery.

²*Life of Pythagoras*, 166. *Ibid.*, 226.

⁴This was held by Lorenz and is accepted by Kaibel. It is supported by a good deal of unsound and random talk about Ennius and Euripides which has been disposed of by Pickard-Cambridge, pp. 365-369.

⁵Plato's method must not cause us to suppose that this argument should face the other way. Dialogue is not an obvious vehicle for philosophical disquisition ; and in fact Plato borrowed his dialogue-form from the mimes of Sophron (Diog. Laert., I, 11, 18).

⁶There is, however, some force in Kaibel's argument (*Frag. Com. Græc.* p. 134): 'Attamen quo casu factum esse putabimus ut in eis quae ex fabulis petita esse certo scimus nihil simile reperiāmus, quo casu factum ut e sententiis naturalibus ne una quidem cum fabulae nomine tradita sit?'

associated with Epicharmus : Pythagoras, Heraclitus, Xenophanes, Plato. We have just seen how antiquity associated him with Pythagoras ; but there is no clear trace¹ of connexion in the extant fragments. Heraclitus' celebrated doctrine, that all things are in flux (*πάντα χωρεῖ καὶ οὐδὲν μένει*), that ' we both are and are not ' and ' you cannot step twice into the same river ' is plainly set forth in this passage:²

' A. If one chooses to add a unit to an odd number or (if you like) an even one, or to take away a unit from the original number, do you think the number is still the same? B. Not I. A. Again, if to a cubit-measure one chooses to add another length, or to cut some off from the former, the original length would surely not remain? B. No. A. In the same way now consider mankind : one grows, another dwindles, and we are all subject to change every moment. But what changes by nature, never remaining in the same state, must therefore be different from that which has suffered alteration. Thus both you and I are not the men now that we were yesterday ; later we are others again and never the same according to the same argument.'

With Xenophanes, founder of the Eleatic school, Epicharmus had disagreement, and even a quarrel. Alexander Aphrodisiensis³ reports that he ' made certain censorious and insulting remarks against Xenophanes, abusing him as stupid and ignorant of reality '. His most famous line :

ὄλος ὁρᾷ, ὄλος δὲ νοεῖ, ὄλος δὲ τ' ἀκούει

(' All eye is He, all thought, all ear ') describing the

¹ Unless we regard as Pythagorean the words *τρίς ἀπεδόθη ζῶος*, ' thrice he was restored to life ' (Lorenz, p. 290, Kaibel, 189), the evidence on examination reduces itself to the pleasant fact that Epicharmus uses the oath ' by the Cabbage ' (*καὶ μὰ τὴν κράμβην*) and even this he may have borrowed from Anapian, who according to Athenasus (IX, 370b) also used it.

² Diog. Laert, III, xi (Lorenz, pp. 267 sq., Kaibel, 170).

³ On Aristotle, *Met.*, 1010vz 5 (*οὕτω γὰρ ἀρμόττει μᾶλλον εἰπεῖν ἢ ὥσπερ Ἐπίχαρμος εἰς Ξενοφάνην*).

One God, was answered by Epicharmus in the most celebrated words ^x he ever wrote :

νόος ὄρῃ καὶ νόος ἀκούει· τῆλλα κωφὰ καὶ τυφλά

(' It is mind that sees, mind that hears : the rest [the senses] are deaf and blind'). Another well-known fragment of Xenophanes vigorously ridicules popular anthropomorphic religion. Epicharmus composed a passage ² which reads like a parody :

It is no marvel that we should talk thus and be self-satisfied, convinced that we are fine creatures. For the clog appears to a dog most beautiful, ox to ox, ass to ass, pig to pig.

This assuredly is not bitter opposition, but an imitation with a strong tinge of burlesque ; and the most likely view is that Epicharmus here as elsewhere is quoting " one of the leading thinkers of our age " for the purpose of farcical action thus introduced or excused.³

His relations with Plato are more perplexing. We read in Diogenes Laertius extracts from a work in four books by Alcimus, perhaps the Sicilian teacher of rhetoric, who lived about 300 B.C. This work was addressed to one Amyntas (probably a Platonist) and contained a supposed proof that Plato borrowed important doctrines from Epicharmus. Diogenes introduces the topic with these uncompromising words :⁴
¹ Much assistance he (Plato) got from Epicharmus too, the comic poet, for the most part paraphrasing him '. Before proceeding to the evidence adduced by Alcimus, let us note that Plato not merely knew and immensely admired Epicharmus as a comic writer :⁵ he also gives, or affects to give, him high rank as a

¹Lorenz, p. 255; Kaibel, 249. Probably Epicharmus supposed Xenophanes to mean that God is perfect in mind and perfect in body, and wished to insist that mind alone is valid, remembering the dictum of Heraclitus **that** * eyes and ears are bad witnesses '.

²Lorenz, p. 270; Kaibel, 173.

³See below, p. 93.

⁴III, 9: πολλά δὲ καὶ παρ' Ἐπιχάρμου τοῦ κωμωδιοποιοῦ προσωφελεται, γὰρ πλεῖστα μεταγράψας, καθά φησιν Ἀλκιμος ἐν τοῖς πρὸς Ἀμύνταν, ἃ ἐστι τέτταρα.

⁵*Theaetetus*, 152e: τῶν ποιητῶν οἱ ἄκροι τῆς ποιήσεως ἑκατέρως, κωμωδίας μὲν Ἐπιχάρμος, τραγῳδίας δὲ Ὅμηρος.

philosopher.¹ Now, Alcimus, as reported by Diogenes, adduces four passages of Epicharmus :

(i) Plato's distinction between *νοητά* and *αἰσθητά* has been anticipated in Epicharmus' clear discussion of the objects of intellect and the objects of sense. The passage then quoted is that in part translated above (p. 86), which is in fact not Platonic, but Heraclitean.

(ii) Plato's Theory of Ideas, that the ideas are eternal changeless patterns (*παράδειγματα*) whereof sensible particulars are copies (*ὁμοιώματα*) may be found in Epicharmus, who speaks thus concerning God and the ideas :

'A. Is there such an action as flute-playing ? J5. Certainly. A. Now, is a man the same as flute-playing ? B. No. A. Very well: what of a flute-player ? What do you think him ? A man, no doubt ? J5. Certainly. A. Now, do you not think this applies to the Good ?—that the Good is a separate thing, and that whoever by learning knows it, becomes good thereby ? Just as one by learning to play the flute becomes a flute-player ; by learning to dance becomes a dancer ; by learning to weave, a weaver ; or similarly, in regard to anything else you like of the kind, he cannot himself become the art, but only an artist.'²

This seems beyond misconception : everything in a popular Platonic dialogue is present, the Good and the individual participator therein, the examples from handicraft, the acquiescent listener. Are we then to believe that the early Platonic manner flourished before Socrates himself was born ? This seems hard to accept for one reason at least—Plato's own silence on this amazing anticipation. For he is not in the habit of concealing such debts : not to mention his attribution of his own theories to Socrates, he expresses the

¹ *Thecetctus*, 152e.

² Lorenz, p. 269 ; Kaibel, 171. " Action " in the first line translates *πρᾶγμα*. Croiset (*Hist. de la litt. grecque*, III, p. 453) remarks that we are to suppose this passage introduced by some such premise as: "Is not action proper to man ? Yes."

deepest reverence for Parmenides and frequently quotes others. Moreover, even if he had wished to hide this indebtedness, he would scarcely have ventured on the attempt, since the work of Epicharmus was well known in Athens: Antisthenes and Diogenes would have been delighted to inform him in public of so strange a coincidence. The *argumentum ex silentio* is here very strong and lends great support to the contention of Diels¹ that its subject-matter and dialogue-form suggest a fourth-century forger. The composition of bogus Epicharmean works was frequent, as we shall see.

(iii) Alcimus' next proof is an extremely uncouth and obscure remark about the egg and the soul:

'Eumæus, wisdom dwells not in one place alone, but whatever lives possesses intelligence also. For the female race of fowls too, if you care to notice, never brings forth living young, but hatches them and causes them to have a soul. Now the quality of this wisdom Nature alone knows, for she has been schooled by herself.'²

What Alcimus imagined this to mean is as uncertain as what it actually does mean; for he claims that it anticipates a remark³ of Plato: 'In what way could animals survive if they did not lay hold of the idea and for this purpose receive intellect by nature?' The two extracts are not parallel: there is nothing but a verbal resemblance. The interest of the passage lies elsewhere—in the fact that it is addressed to Eumæus, which shall be discussed later.⁴

¹ *Vorsokratiker*⁴, I, p. 116. Diels thinks the lines may have been an interpolation by the younger Dionysius in the plays of Epicharmus which he caused to be performed at Syracuse for the entertainment of Plato. Suidas (*s.v.* Διονύσιος) tells us that Dionysius wrote a book on *The Poems of Epicharmus*.

² Lorenz, p. 270; Kaibel, 172:

Εὐμαίε, τὸ σοφὸν ἔστιν οὐ καθ' ἐν μόνον,
ἀλλ' ὅσσα περ ζῆ, πάντα καὶ γνώμαν ἔχει.
καὶ γὰρ τὸ θῆλυ τῶν ἀλεκτοριδῶν γένος,
αἱ λῆς καταμαθεῖν, ἀτενὲς οὐ τίκτει τέκνα
ζῶντ', ἀλλ' ἐπώζει καὶ ποιεῖ ψυχὰν ἔχειν.
τὸ δὲ σοφὸν ἂ φύσις τόδ' οἶδεν ὡς ἔχει
μόνα· πεπαιδευται γὰρ αὐτὰντ' ὕπο.

³ This is supposed to be *Parmenides*; 129.

⁴ P. 101.

(iv) The last passage adduced by Alcimus is that (already mentioned) which describes how each animal thinks its own species the most beautiful. This is an unmistakable reference, not to Plato but to Xenophanes.

After quoting Alcimus' treatise, Diogenes Laertius goes on *in his own person* : ' That Epicharmus was well aware of his own wisdom may be learnt from the following lines also, in which he prophesies of his future imitator :

" And as I think—for I do think it—this I know certainly, that in some later time these words of mine will be remembered. Some one will strip them of the metre which now they wear, will give them a garment, a purple robe embroidered with fair language, and, invincible himself, will prove the others but sorry wrestlers."¹

ὥς δ' ἐγὼ δοκέω—δοκέω γάρ—σάφα ἴσασιν τοῦθ', ὅτι
τῶν ἐμῶν μνάμα ποτ' ἐσσεῖται λόγων τούτων ἔτι.
καὶ λαβὼν τις αὐτὰ περιδυσσας τὸ μέτρον, δὲ νῦν ἔχει,
εἴμα δούς καὶ πορφύραν λόγοισι ποικίλας καλοῖς,
δυσπαλαίστοσ ὦν τὸς ἄλλουσ εὐπαλαίστοσ ἀποφανεί.

This is a patent forgery. It prophesies far too plainly of Plato, or rather of Plato's plagiarism as Alcimus would have us believe it. One can perhaps imagine Epicharmus saying that his ideas would be stolen. But that he should gratuitously risk time's refutation by adding that the plagiarist would turn his verse into prose, and sumptuous prose too—that is out of the question. Moreover, if these lines had occurred in Epicharmus' genuine or spurious poems, Alcimus could not conceivably have omitted to quote so magnificent an endorsement of his own thesis ; and that he did not quote it is shown by the fact that Diogenes quotes them himself immediately on finishing his excerpts from Alcimus.² Therefore these lines were forged, and forged later than Alcimus.

The history of the *Ψευδεπιχάρμεια*, the Epicharmean Forgeries, appears to be briefly as follows:

¹ Lorenz, p. 255 ; Kaibel, 254. (Text as in Lorenz ; *τοῖς* = Attic *τούς*).

² Pickard-Cambridge, pp. 369 sq., thinks that the "prophetic" passage perhaps concluded the introduction to Axiopistus' forged book of *Γνώμαι*. Kaibel (p. 138) conjectures that the prophetic passage closed the whole book ; Cronert would put it at the beginning.

Alcimus got up his case against Plato by using, not spurious books but the plays themselves as the text stood in his time, that is, not yet sifted by the editor, Apollodorus (first century B.C.). The plays contained additions made by Dionysius the Younger. Alcimus, very stupid or very ignorant of philosophy or very disingenuous, or all three, extracted from Epicharmus passages philosophical indeed, but mostly not Platonic: the single Platonic passage was one of those inserted facetiously by Dionysius. Except at this last point, Alcimus has no connexion at all with spurious Epicharmean work.

Six forgeries are known to us by name, (i) The *Republic*¹ (**Πολιτεία**), forged by Chrysogonus the Flute-Player remarkably early—not later than 400 B.C. The fragments which we possess are very poor, concerning the importance of reason to man: human reason is derived from the divine, (ii) The *Maxims*² (**Γνώμαι**), forged by Axiopistus. This was a collection containing some genuine matter and much that was spurious. To this belongs³ a passage in some fifteen lines—a kind of prospectus proclaiming the value of the book for those dealing with various types of people, and explaining also that the writer, Epicharmus (named), having been twitted with inability, despite his wisdom, to write tersely, has here shown that he can. To this collection belongs the prophetic passage about a prose plagiarist, (iii) The *Canon*⁴ (**Κανών**), also forged by

¹ Athenæus, XIV, 648d: τὴν μὲν ἡμῖναν οἱ τὰ εἰς Ἐπίχαρμον ἀναφερόμενα ποιήματα πεποιηκοτες οἶδασιν, κὰν τῷ Χείρωνι ἐπιγραφόμενῳ οὕτως λέγεται· καὶ πιεῖν ὕδωρ διπλάσιον χλιαρόν, ἡμῖνας δὺο. τὰ δὲ ψευδεπιχάρμεια ταῦτα πεποιήκασιν ἄνδρες ἐνδοξοὶ Χρυσόγονος τε ὁ αὐλητῆς, ὥς φησιν Ἀριστοξένος ἐν ὁγδόῳ Πολιτικῶν Νόμων, τὴν Πολιτείαν ἐπιγραφομένην. Φιλόχορος δ' ἐν τοῖς Περὶ Μαντικῆς Ἀξιόπιστον τὸν εἶτε Λοκρὸν γένος εἶτε Σικυνῶνιον τὸν Κανόνα καὶ τὰς Γνώμας πεποιηκέναι φησιν. Chrysogonus flourished late in the fifth century B.C. (Athen., XII, 535d), Aristoxenus about a century after him.

² See last note. The "prospectus" passage is in neither Lorenz nor Kaibel, having been discovered later at El-Hibeh in Egypt. The text was given first by Grenfell and Hunt (*Hibeh Papyri*, I, i), later by Diels (*Vorsokratiker*, I, p. 116), and by Pickard-Cambridge, pp. 369 sq.

³ According to Cronert (*Hermes*, XLVII, pp. 402 sqq.).

⁴ See Athen., XIV, 648d (quoted above).

Axiopistus. Nothing is known about it. (iv) *Chiron*¹ (**Χείρων**), a book of unknown date and authorship, probably about medicine, the instruction being delivered by that famous teacher, the Centaur Chiron, (v) *Cookery* (**Ὀψοποιία**), also of unknown date and authorship. This is thought to have formed part of the *Chiron*, or even to be identical with it.² (vi) *Antenor* (**Πρὸς Ἀντήνορα**) which contained the statement that the Romans conferred citizenship upon Pythagoras. Nothing is known about the book save this fact, quoted by Plutarch.³

Epicharmus must have been (for whatever reasons and in whatever tone) a notable exponent of philosophy—of contemporary thought, however, not by supernatural means an exponent of Platonism. But there is no reason to postulate a directly didactic poem analogous to that of his brilliant neighbour Empedocles. Far more likely is the theory that his philosophical disquisitions were worked into the fabric of his comedies. This finds support in a statement quoted above, that in fear of Hiero the poet published Pythagorean doctrines under the disguise of jest. The supposed reason was no doubt non-existent: Hiero's "tyranny" was scarcely so pervasive and alert as to persecute a man who remarked that eggs need hatching and that $x + i$ does not equal x . Pindar, we know, did not fear to give that prince admonitions as to personal ambition and domestic policy; Epicharmus himself, though he offended Hiero by an objectionable remark uttered in the presence of Hiero's wife,⁴ nevertheless used marked candour⁵ towards him at other times without any recorded

¹See Athen., XIV, 648d (quoted above). We have one line from it: 'drink twice as much warm water—two quarts'.

²Susemihl, *Philologus*, LI 11, p. 565. Kaibel (p. 144) points out that **ἡμίνα**, quoted by the Antiatticista from the *Ofyonoda*, is quoted by Athenaeus from the *Chiron*.

³*Life of Numa*, VI11. ⁴Pseudo-flutarch, *Apophth. Reg.*, 175c.

⁵Plutarch, *Quomodo quis adulatoret*, 68a: τοῦ Ἱέρωνος ἀνελόντος ἐνίοις τῶν συνήθων, καὶ μεθ' ἡμέρας ὀλίγας καλέσαντος ἐπὶ δεῖπνον αὐτόν, Ἀλλὰ πρῶην, ἔφη, θύων τοὺς φίλους οὐκ ἐκάλεσας.

punishment. Epicharmus discussed philosophy in his comedies playfully because he chose to do so.

But why did he choose? Are we to believe that in order to popularize philosophy he decided against a didactic poem and put doctrine into his comedies so as to render it palatable? The fatal objection is that Epicharmus has no philosophy at all in the sense now intended. Empedocles' system is clear enough: but Epicharmus offers statements now of Heracliteanism, now of Eleaticism, now of Pythagoreanism. Such eclecticism it would have been absurd to promulgate seriously, when people could read Heraclitus and Xenophanes, hear Pythagorean lectures, for themselves. There remains another, far more probable, view¹—that Epicharmus, instead of using comedy as a vehicle for doctrine, used doctrine as a vehicle for comedy, just as did Moliere in (for instance) *Le Manage Ford*. Plutarch² writes: 'But such cases in general rather resemble those passages of Epicharmus from which the sophists derived their "increasing argument":³ the man who formerly got the loan owes nothing to-day, having become another; the man invited yesterday to dinner arrives to-day unbidden, for he is some one else.' This points unmistakably to the doctrine of Heraclitus that all things are in a state of flux, so that we are to-day not what we were yesterday.⁴ Lorenz suggests a laughable scene: 'You have come to dinner? I never invited you!' 'Oh yes, you asked me yesterday.' 'But you are a different man to-day. Don't you know your philosophy? You have no invitation: please go home.' This conception could plainly be elaborated into excellent comedy similar to the scene where Moliere's Pyrrhonian philosopher Marphurius finds his own doctrine of doubt and suspended judgment turned against him.

¹ Lorenz, pp. 180-5.

² *De Sera Numinum Vindicta*, xv, 559b: this passage points almost certainly to a scene of comedy.

³ For the *αὐξανόμενος λόγος*, see p. 94.

⁴ See the fragment discussed on p. 88.

Another element in Epicharmus is the study of rhetorical method. Sicily during his lifetime¹ produced the first teacher of rhetoric, Corax, whose pupil, the brilliant sophist Gorgias, exercised so marked an influence upon Athenian prose. Epicharmus made two contributions to the nascent art that was to grow into the giant force that corrupted Greek politics and half slew Roman literature. He invented two rhetorical figures, both derived from his wayward interest in philosophy.

The first is the Growth Proposition² (**ὁ αὐξανόμενος λόγος**), exemplified admirably by the fragment that culminates in the assertion 'You and I are not the same men to-day that we were yesterday'. Chrysippus the Stoic, who wrote a treatise on this figure of rhetoric, attributed its invention to Epicharmus. Plutarch³ adroitly applies the idea to certain political theorists who would release the state from responsibility for earlier misdeeds. And in his *Life of Theseus*⁴ he writes :

'The ship of thirty oars, wherein he sailed and returned safe with the young people, was preserved by the Athenians till the days of Demetrius of Phalerum. They used to remove the old timbers and put new strong planks into the fabric, so that the ship became for the philosophers a disputed example, raising the Growth Proposition, some saying that the ship remained the same ship, others insisting that it was different.'

The other rhetorical figure was the famous *climax* or "ladder" (**κλίμαξ**), often called by our authorities

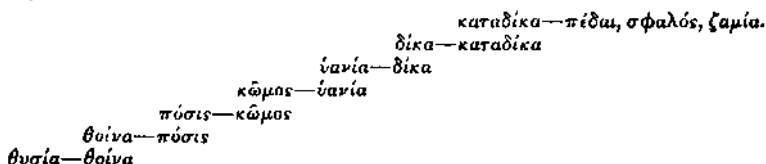
¹ According to doubtful authority Corax was influential under Hiero (476-67 B.C.). See Blass, *Attische Beredsamkeit*, I, p. 18.

² Bernays {*JRhein. Mus.*, VIII, p. 283 n) rightly maintains that the phrase is analogous to 6 **ἐνκεκαλυμμένος λόγος**—that it means "the Increasing-Man Proposition". This rhetorical figure must not be confused with the *Sorites*. Mr. Pickard-Cambridge, however (p. 376), identifies the two. But whereas in the Growth Proposition a man instantly becomes another man, in the *Sorites* the point is that you cannot tell how long he remains the same.

³ *De Sera Num. Vindicta*, 559a sqq. See p. 93 above.

⁴ Chap. XXIII.

" building up " (*ἐποικοδόμησις*).¹ Its form is a series of statements, the second member in each being identical with the first member of the following statement. Thus Epicharmus writes: ' From the sacrifice came the feast, and from the feast came drinking, and from drinking revelry, and from revelry misbehaviour, and from misbehaviour a lawsuit, and from the lawsuit the condemnation, and from the condemnation came fetters, the stocks and a fine '.² All terms save the first and last being repeated, we observe a " building-up " or " staircase " (*climax*):



Epicharmus no doubt used the figure for quaint purposes, showing (as here) that a good thing can insensibly change into a bad by slight alterations,³ as in the modern

*See the passages collected by Cope on Anst, *Rhet.*, I, 1365a, 10 (VIII, 31). Aristotle (*loc. cit.* and *De Gen. Ann.*, I, 724a) plainly regards Epicharmus as the inventor of this figure, though Eustathius in his commentary on *Iliads* II, 102-8 (Hephaestus gave the sceptre to Zeus, he to Hermes, etc.) and on *Iliad*, XX, 214 sqq. (genealogy of Hector from Zeus) regards these lines as already exemplifying the *κλίμαξ* *οἱ σχῆμα κλιμακωτόν*. But Homer gives only an impressive enumeration; there is no whimsical change from good to bad, as in Epicharmus, or crescendo as in Demosthenes. Quintilian (IX, lii, 54-57), who regards *gradatzo*, *qua d i c i κλίμαξ*, as going downstairs, not upstairs, quotes from Calvus: *Non ergo magis 'pecuniarum repetundarum quam maiestatis, neque maiestatis magis quam Plautice legis, neque Plautice legis magis quam ambitus, neque ambitus magis quam omnium legum est.*

²Lorenz, p. 271; Kaibel, 148:

Α. ἐκ μὲν θυσίας θοίνα,
 ἐκ δὲ θοίνας πόσις ἐγένετο. Β. χαρίεν, ὥς γ' ἐμοὶ[δοκεῖ]
 Α. ἐκ δὲ πόσιος κῶμος, ἐκ κῶμου δ' ἐγένεθ' ἰανία,
 ἐκ δ' ἰανίας δίκη [τάχ', ἐκ δίκας δὲ κατα]δίκη,
 ἐκ δὲ καταδίκας πέδαι τε καὶ σφαλός καὶ ζαμία.

³ This figure may perhaps be the origin of the *Sorites*. In any case it seems to have come into Epicharmus' mind as an exemplification of the Heracleian flux: that philosopher had gone so far as to say not only that ' we are and are not ' but also that ' good and bad are the same '. So here: the holy and elevating *θυσία* is shown to produce, by the most trivial changes, the bad and degrading fetters and stocks.

game of changing a word into its opposite by altering only one letter at a time. Plainly this device is capable of serious rhetorical force, as in the sentence of Demosthenes : οὐκ εἶπον μὲν ταῦτα, οὐκ ἔγραψα δέ· οὐδ' ἔγραψα μὲν, οὐκ ἐπρέσβευσα δέ· οὐδ' ἐπρέσβευσα μὲν, οὐκ ἔπεισα δὲ τοὺς Θηβαίους.¹ It is worth noting too that in both Epicharmus and Demosthenes the last member is longer than the rest: we have now reached the new level—the 'landing,' as it were.

We cannot say whether Epicharmus or Corax began the systematic study of rhetoric : the latter, however, composed a Manual (τέχνη) and not even Diogenes Laertius ascribes any such book to the poet. But not only did he invent the two figures just described: he is also interested in antitheses, puns, and accurate distinctions of similar words. Among the first are two clever epigrams :

οὐ λέγειν τὺ γ' ἐσσὶ δεινός, ἀλλὰ σιγὴν ἀδυνατός.²

'You are not clever at speaking, but bad at silence.'

οὐ φιλόανθρωπος τὺ γ' ἐσσ'· ἔχεις νόσον· χαίρεις διδούς.³

'You are not generous : you enjoy giving things away.'

From *The Male and Female Argument* (or Proposition, or whatever it may have been—Λόγος καὶ Λογίνα—and the name suggests that the whole play was concerned with rhetoric⁴) comes an excellent pun :⁶

A. ὁ Ζεὺς μ' ἐκάλεσε Πέλοπί γ' ἔρανον ἰστιῶν.

B. ἦ παμπόνηρον ὄψον, ὦ τῶν, ὁ γέρανός.

A. ἀλλ' οὐτὶ γέρανόν, ἀλλ' ἔρανον γὰρ τοι λέγω.

A feebler instance is the joke about the four-legged tripod which would need an (Edipus to expound it (τετράπους, τρίπους, Οἰδίπους).⁶ Discrimination be-

¹ De Corona, 179, quoted as a κλίμαξ by Demetrius, περὶ ἑρμηνείας [De Elocutione], 270.

² Lorenz, p. 263; Kaibel, 272.

⁴ See below, p. 106.

⁶ Lorenz, p. 262; Kaibel, 149.

³ Lorenz, p. 263; Kaibel, 274.

⁵ Lorenz, p. 245; Kaibel, 87.

tween words of similar sound occurs.¹ As a false antithesis Aristotle² notes :

τόκα μὲν ἐν τήνοις ἐγὼν ἦν, τόκα δὲ παρὰ τήνοις ἐγὼν,

' Sometimes I was with them, sometimes among them.' A more surprising feat of literary scholarship is his alleged addition of certain letters to the Greek alphabet.³

Hitherto we have dealt only with certain important but not dramatic features in Epicharmus' work. Turning to his comedies as such, we find a tantalizing heap of brief fragments from the thirty-six pieces which he wrote : of none can we feel sure that we know its scope and structure, but we do know something of the contents of a few. His works apparently fell into three classes, though we must beware of assuming that these did not merge into one another. It seems likely nevertheless that these different types of comedy were addressed to different kinds of audience.

The first category contained mythological travesties, burlesque versions of stories about gods or heroes—Dionysus, Odysseus, and especially Heracles, whose adventures and gluttony provided such copious material for later comic playwrights ; so far as we know this use of Heracles began with Epicharmus. The play of which we are least ignorant is *HEBE'S WEDDING* (*Ἥβας Γάμος*), though even here our fragments are mostly lists of fish and other eatables. The play must have dealt with a scene in Heaven, where the marriage-feast of Hebe and Heracles (officially deified but still

¹ *συνεκρίθη* and *διεκρίθη*, *ἀπῆνθεν* and *ἦνθεν* (Lorenz, p. 258; Kaibel, 245).

² Lorenz, p. 273; Kaibel, 147; Aristotle, *Rhet.*, 111,9(1410b,3). (The text of Aristotle reads *ἐν τήνων*, the quotation in Demetrius, *De Elocutione*, 24, reads *ἐν τήνοις*). Blass, however (*Attische Beredsamkeit*² I, p. 16n) denies this on the ground that *τήνος* . . . *τήνος* mean the same as the Attic *ὁ μὲν* . . . 6 Se. . . . Norden, however, takes it as a false antithesis (*Ant. Kunstprosa* I, 25), as does Demetrius (*loc. cit.*): *ἴσως γελωτοποιῶν οὕτως ἀντέθηκεν, καὶ ἅμα σκώπτων τοὺς ῥήτορας*.

³ See Lorenz, p. 73. According to tradition (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, VII, 57) Epicharmus' contemporary (and perhaps his associate) Simonides introduced ζ, ψ, η, and ω, Epicharmus himself θ and χ.

mortally hungry) was celebrated. Later the poet produced a second and probably longer version called the *MUSES*.¹ Of these two plays all we possess² in addition to the menu is :

(i) ' But we gods call them whittings (*λεύκας*).'

(ii) ' And *sciphias* and *chromis*, which according to Ananias is in spring the finest of all fish, as is *anthias* in winter.'³

(iii) ' Poseidon came in person, bringing in Phoenician luggers , . .' (further fish).

(iv) Athena played on a flute the war-dance for the Dioscuri (Castor and Pollux), whence it is that the Spartans go into battle with flute-music.⁴

(v) ' And the costly *elops* (fish) . . . a single specimen, and that Zeus took and ordered that it be set aside for himself and . . . for his wife.'⁵

(vi) There was a company—not a " chorus "—of seven Muses, named after famous rivers and lakes, who apparently brought and recommended each her own selection of fish. These water-muses were daughters of Pieros and Pimpleis.⁶

A few points are clear. The scene was in Heaven and the subject was the marriage-feast of Hebe and Heracles. There were long and absurdly erudite lists of eatables.⁷ Quite a number of gods took part in the action. Athena has retained the flute which in

¹ Athenæus, III, 110b; 'Επίχαρμος δ' ἐν "Ἡβης Γάμῳ καὶ Μούσαις—τοῦτο δὲ τὸ δράμα διασκευὴ ἐστὶ τοῦ προκειμένου—ἄρτων ἐκτίθεται γίνη.

² Lorenz, pp. 230-40; Kaibel, pp. 98-104.

³ The Greek words are names of fish, whose identification with known species is doubtful and unimportant. Ananias was a writer of lampoons.

⁴ First statement in Athenseus, IV, 184 sq., first and second in a scholium on Pindar, *Pyth.*, II, 127. Epicharmus' own words are not given, but he plainly made both statements.

⁵ A corrupt passage: the dots mark the corruptions. Hera may have been given some pathetically cheap fish.

⁶ Pieros and Pimpleis are parents invented by Epicharmus from the poetical names of the Muses, Pierides and Pimpleides. They are facetious, translated by Pickard-Cambridge (p. 384) as "Fat" and "Fill".

⁷ Some lines are rather attractive, e.g. Lorenz, p. 231; Kaibel, 53 :

καρκίνοι θ' ἴκοντ' ἐχίνοι θ', οἱ καθ' ἄλμυρὰν ἅλα
ρεῖν μὲν οὐκ ἴσταντι, περὶ δ' ἐμπορεύονται μόνον.

other versions she threw away after the first trial on observing how her features were distorted by playing it. Epicharmus' contemporary Ananius is, by a jesting anachronism, mentioned as already flourishing in the days of Heracles. Finally—a highly important fact—many of the events (possibly all) were not shown but narrated, some (probably all) of these by a god.¹ Other features may be safely guessed, at any rate a superhuman display of gluttony by Heracles. Attempts have been made to find, or rather to postulate, plot-development here: the play would have the form of a rudimentary trilogy—Hera's intrigue against the marriage, her failure, her reconciliation and the feast. For this absolutely no evidence is forthcoming, though (as we shall see) there is a strong likelihood that Epicharmus sooner or later adopted the germ of the trilogy-form.²

This mythological class included BUSIRIS. Busiris was a king of Egypt who by the advice of an oracle sacrificed one foreigner each year on the altar of Zeus as a means to avert famine. Heracles on his way to the Far West of Africa (the Quest of the Hesperidean Apples) came to Egypt and was seized for sacrifice, but turned the tables on his captors and slew Busiris. Such is the story told by Apollodorus. All we know concerning Epicharmus' treatment is that after³ his triumph Heracles celebrated an orgy, described in language whose frenzied vigour resembles that of Athenian Old Comedy :

*πρῶτον μὲν αἱ κ' ἔσθοντ' ἴδοις νιν, ἀποθάνοις.
βρέμει μὲν ὁ φάρυγξ ἔνδοθ', ἀραβεί δ' ἁ γνάθος,
ψοφέι δ' ὁ γόμφιος, τέτριγε δ' ὁ κυνόδων,
σίξει δὲ ταῖς μίνεσσι, κινεῖ δ' οὐατα.*

' Why, first, you would die if you saw him eating. Rumbles issue from the gullet, the jaw clatters, the grinders bang, the dog-tooth shrieks, he whistles

¹ Kaibel (p. 98) suggests Hermes.

² See below, pp. 112 sq.

³ So it is usually understood (e.g. by Pickard-Cambridge, p. 384). But the passage may rather have been part of a speech in which this year's just-captured and amazing victim is described to the waiting Busiris,

through his nostrils and works his ears.' ¹ There is something Æschylean here, and something of Rabelais' Gargantua. We note again that the wonderful sight is reported as happening off-stage.

ODYSSEUS THE DESERTER (Ὀδυσσεὺς Αὐτόμολος) probably treated the story found in Homer, ² that Odysseus penetrated into Troy disguised as a beggar, to spy upon the Trojans. Three fragments are of interest. One is in anapaests : ³

ἃ δ' Ἄσυχία χαρίεσσα, γυνά,
καὶ Σωφροσύνης πλατὶόν οἰκεῖ,

'Peace is charming, lady, and she dwells next door to Moderation.' This may well be part of Odysseus' talk with Helen inside Troy (if he ever got there—see below). Another passage ⁴ is a good example of burlesque by anachronism. ⁵ The text is corrupt, but the sense fairly plain : 'I was keeping a sucking-pig of my neighbours for sacrifice at the Eleusinian mysteries, but I lost it, Heaven knows how : it was no fault of mine. And he said I was intriguing with the Greeks and had betrayed the pig.' Thirdly, in a papyrus fragment ⁶ we read what may be a soliloquy of Odysseus in this play : he determines not to risk entering Troy, but merely to invent a narrative of his expedition and relate it to the admiring Greeks on his return. If this is correct, we have here a brilliant stroke of technique. Epicharmus, being induced by contemporary conditions of dramatic art to give his most laughable "scenes" in narrative, here like an

¹ Lorenz, p. 223 ; Kaibel, 21. Pollux (IX, 45) mentions also a word **ρόγος** used by Epicharmus in *Busiris* for "granary"; no doubt there was a scene of superhuman pantry-storming.

² *Od.* IV, 242-60; also in the lost *Little Iliad*. A similar idea occurs in the *Sinon* passage of Vergil (*Aen.*, II, 57-198).

³ Lorenz, p. 247 ; Kaibel, 101. **Γυνά** is probably vocative.

⁴ Lorenz, p. 247 ; Kaibel, 100.

⁵ Compare the reference to Ananius in *Hebds. Wedding*.

⁶ Kaibel, fr. 99 (not in Lorenz, having been discovered later). There are scholia to the papyrus fragment, in which occur the words **πάρρω καθεδούμαι** 'καὶ προσποιήσομαι πάντα διαπεπραχθαι ; shall sit at a distance and pretend to have accomplished everything'. Unfortunately there is **no** clear **proof** that the fragment comes from this play, Its text is defective.

artist uses his limitations and turns the necessity for mere narrative into a feature of his plot.

HERACLES AND THE GIRDLE (*Ἡρακλῆς ὁ ἐπὶ τὸν ζωστῆρα*) seems to have given a battle between him and an army of Pygmies who rode upon " huge Ætnæan beetles ". From this detail Aristophanes may have taken his idea for Trygseus' steed in the *Peace*. From PHILOCTETAS we have one notable line : ' No dithyramb can be written by a teetotaller' (*οὐκ ἔστι διθύραμβος ὅκχ' ὕδωρ πίης*), which was copied by the jovial Cratinus.¹ Among the plays that centre in Odysseus perhaps the most interesting is ODYSSEUS SHIPWRECKED (*Ὀδυσσεὺς Ναυαγός*), if we are to take it that the fragment² on the hatching of chickens is therefrom derived. That passage is addressed to Eumæus, famous from the *Odyssey* as the swine-herd of Odysseus. We should then have to assume that the hero landed after his shipwreck, not upon Phaeacia as Homer says, but upon his own island. In any case the mention of Eumæus in the fragment is very important as showing that Epicharmus did introduce philosophical disquisition into his " heroic " plays. All that we know for certain about *Odysseus Shipwrecked* is that it mentioned a word for " the bottom of the mast " ³ and Diomos, a Sicilian herdsman, who invented bucolic poetry.⁴ The CYCLOPS no doubt treated the Homeric story : ' pour it into the cup and bring it' (*φέρ' ἐγγέας εἰς τὸ σκύφος*). In the SIRENS was a description of feasting which suggests that the appeal to Odysseus' love of knowledge, represented in Homer, was changed by Epicharmus into an appeal to his " inner man ". It is punctuated by the envious moans of some second person. The REVELLERS (*Κωμασταί*) or HEPHÆSTUS dealt with a subject that must have been after Epicharmus' heart. Hera, displeased with her son Hephaestus because of his

¹ Fr. 199, *ὕδωρ δὲ πίνων χρηστὸν οὐδὲν ἂν τέκοις*, interpreted by Horace (*Ep.*, I, xix, l, *sq.*) as referring to poetry. See below, p. 116.

² See p. 89.

³ *Ὀρθίαξ* (Pollux, X, 134).

⁴ *Βουκολιασμός* (Athen., XIV, 619a, b).

lameness, ejected him from Heaven; in revenge he sent his mother a cunningly wrought throne : it imprisoned her and none could extricate her. Hephaestus refused to return and open his mechanism, till Dionysus was sent, made him drunk, and brought him back triumphantly amid a revel-rout of Satyrs. Unfortunately our fragments do not help.¹ In AMYCUS was found the boxing-match between Poly deuces (Pollux), and Amycus, king of the Bebryces. This play is important for Epicharmus' stage-craft. Not only is it likely that the audience were delighted by a really good² (or delightfully absurd) boxing contest on the stage and by a "boxing tune":³ no less than three characters seem to have taken part in one place :

Ἄμυκε, μὴ κύδαζέ μοι τὸν πρεσβύτερον ἀδελφεόν,⁴

'Amycus, do not revile my elder brother': at the end the barbarian was "packed up" like Nicarchus in the *Acharnians*. The TROJANS (Τρῶες) contained the splendid line :

Ζεὺς ἄναξ, ἀν' ἄκρα ναίων Γαργάρων ἀγάννιφα,⁵

'Sovran Zeus, mid snowy splendour throned on top-most Gargarus'; and perhaps the diminutive Πριαμίδης belongs to this play.

The second type of comedy composed by Epicharmus is the social—the portraiture of contemporary life and character. In HOPE or WEALTH (Ἑλπίς ἢ Πλοῦτος) appeared the first, and a masterly, depiction of what became a stock-character in Athenian

¹ Photius tells that the story of the trick-chair comes in this play; he does not mention the return of Hephaestus. If the outline given above is that followed by Epicharmus, we undoubtedly have the rudimentary, trilogy form discussed on p. in. Possibly the words οὐδὲ ποθίγειν ἐγὼν τοῦς ἀξίω (Lorenz, p. 244, Kaibel, 85) may have been words of Hephaestus refusing to release Hera.

² See the vigorous narrative in Theocritus (XXII, 76-134). Obvious as is the notion that Epicharmus really presented this, it may nevertheless have been merely reported; and the Theocritean passage slightly supports this latter view, as Theocritus was familiar with Epicharmus' work.

³ See Pollux, IV, 56, where ποιητικόν should no doubt be πυκτικόν.

⁴ Lorenz, p. 220; Kaibel, 6.

⁵ So Kaibel, 130; Lorenz (p. 253) has a different reading.

Comedy—the parasite. One fragment ¹ is almost the longest of Epicharmus and by far the most important:

συνδειπνέω τῷ λῶντι, καλέσαι δεῖ μόνον,
καὶ τῷ γὰρ μηδὲ λῶντι κωῦδεν δεῖ καλεῖν.
τῇνέϊ δὲ χάριεις τ' εἰμὶ καὶ ποιέω πολὺν
γέλωτα καὶ τὸν ἱστιῶντ' ἐπαινέω.
καὶ κά τις ἀντίον τι λῆγ' τήνῳ λέγειν,
τήνῳ κυθάζομαί τε κάπ' ὧν ἡχθόμαν.
κῆπειτα πολλὰ καταφαγών, πῶλλ' ἐμπιών,
ἄπειμι. λυχνον δ' οὐχ ὁ παῖς μοι συμφέρει,
ἔρπω δ' ὀλισθράζων τε καὶ κατὰ σκότος
ἐρῆμος. ὄκκα δ' ἐντύχω τοῖς περιτόλοις,
ταύθ' οἶον ἀγαθὸν ἐπιλέγω τοῖς θεοῖς, ὅτι
οὐ λῶντι πλείον ἄλλα μαστιγοῦντί με.
ἐπεὶ δὲ χ' εἰκω οὐκ ἄδεις καταφθαρεῖς,
ἄστρωτος εὖδω καὶ τὰ μὲν πρῶτ' οὐ κοῶ,
ὥς κά μ' ἄκρατος οἶνος ἀμφέπη φρένας.

' I dine with whoever wishes—he needs only to invite me ; yes, and with the man who doesn't wish—no need of invitation. At table, I am witty and cause much laughter. I praise our host, and if anyone wishes to contradict him, I insult the man and take the quarrel on myself. Then, full of meat and drink, I depart. No servant accompanies me with a lantern, but I trudge along all by myself, stumbling in the dark. Whenever I meet the watch I thank my stars that they are satisfied with thrashing me. And when I reach home all to pieces I lie without bedclothes, not noticing their absence so long as the potent wine enfolds my brain.'

From Athenaeus, to whom we owe this admirable extract, we learn that this parasite is the earliest in dramatic literature. We can only guess at the action of the piece: the fragments do not help us, though there is another passage of four lines describing the parasite : its text is doubtful, but the last line seems plain—' he empties a tankard at one draught as if it were a noggin '.² Nevertheless, it is an attractive

¹Athenaeus, VI, 235f-236b. Printed here practically as in Lorenz, pp. 226-8. Kaibel gives much the same.

²ἄμυστιν ὥσπερ κύλικα πίνει κύμβιον—a little cup and a big. The MSS. give τὸν βίον for κύμβιον, but *draining the cup of life' is much more like Menander than Epicharmus. Kaibel (34), however, retains it.

suggestion¹ that 'Hope was represented by the parasite always on the look-out for an invitation, and *UXovros* by one of his patrons (or victims) very unwilling to invite him,' and that the piece 'consisted of a series of farcical encounters between the parasite and the rich men who tried to shake him off.'

Despite the achievements of Aristophanes, the Comedy of Manners had a longer career in the ancient world than what is known as Old Comedy; and one would have been glad to study its first manifestation in Sicily. But this second class of Epicharmean drama has left even more scanty relics than the first. Except the parasite-passage we have scarcely anything. PLUNDER (*Ἀρπαγαί*) may² have dealt with knaves (various types, perhaps, as the title is plural) who prey on the weakness of human nature: some four lines give a description of 'villainous soothsayers who worm their way into the confidence of silly women' at varying fees. There was also a reference to public life: *ἃ δὲ Σικελία πέποσχε* ('and Sicily has suffered' or 'experienced'). A more striking bit of comment on contemporary events is quoted³ from another play: 'That Anaxilaus wished to annihilate Locri and was thwarted by Hiero, Epicharmus also relates in ISLANDS/ The PILGRIMS (*Θεαροί*, Attic *Θεωροί*, 'envoys to a religious festival') described how the members of a sacred embassy to Delphi examined the temple treasures, a topic which frequently recurs in Greek poetry.⁴

The MEGARIAN WOMAN (*Μεγαρίς*) was perhaps an

¹ Pickard-Cambridge, p. 399.

² Unfortunately for the supposition in this sentence the fragment is a simile: *ὥσπερ αἱ πονηραὶ μάντιες, κτέ* (Lorenz, p. 221; Kaibel, 9).

³ By the Scholiast on Pindar, *Pyth.* I, 98. The event took place in, or just before, 476 B.C. From an unnamed work is quoted another sentence about politics: *ἀγρὸν τὰν πόλιν ποιῆς* (Lorenz, p. 278; Kaibel, 169): 'You make the city a field,' i.e. turn it into a wilderness (cp. Tennyson, *Aylmer's Field*).

⁴ In Aeschylus' lost play *Θεωροὶ ἢ Ἰσθμιασταί*, Sophron's mime *ταὶ θάμεναι* (= *θεώμεναι*), τὰ Ἰσθμία. Euripides' *Ion*, Herodas IV, and Theocritus' *Adoniazusæ*.

early example of the type so common in Attic New Comedy (*The Girl of Andros*, of *Perinthus*, etc.). It contained two descriptive passages, the longer corrupt, but apparently a vigorous caricature of some one with € a bony head like a stag's .¹ The other is a charming line :²

εὐνμος καὶ μουσικὰν ἔχουσι πᾶσαν φιλόλυρος,

^c Graced with song, mistress of melody, in love with the harp.' This may, then, have been a character-play, as was perhaps the RUSTIC (*Ἀγρωστίνος*). From this latter comes the remark: 'How swiftly the formidable Fisticuff walks about!'³ He was a boxing-trainer, called after his habits like persons in Ben Jonson and others. Epicharmus was the first comic poet to represent drunken men: he was followed in this by Crates in the *Neighbours*. It has been ingeniously suggested⁴ that Epicharmus invented also the Swaggering Soldier, so familiar in later comedy: there are no fragments to this effect, but though we find Lamachus in the *Acharnians*, the type in general could hardly have been evolved in fifth-century Athens, where the professional soldier was unknown; on the other hand, he was a notable figure in the Syracuse of Gelo and Hiero.

The third class of Epicharmean comedy presented a conflict, not of opposite characters or even of types, but of non-human entities or abstractions—a duel of claims between personifications, like the contention between Water and Wine in Walter Map, and the thirteenth-century French *debuts*. To this category belonged EARTH AND SEA (*Γῆ καὶ Θάλασσα*): the fragment 'nor does (she ?) bear vines' suggests antiphonal proclamation of fruits on the one hand, fishes on the other; and Ælian⁵ gives the familiar news that

¹ Lorenz, p. 245; Kaibel, 90.

² Lorenz, p. 246; Kaibel, 91.

³ Lorenz, p. 219; Kaibel, 1.

⁴ By H. Wysk (see Korte, Pauly-Wissowa, XI, 1225).

•*Nat. Hist. An.*, XIII, 4.

in this play many fish were mentioned. We have also the attractive phrase ⁱ to cook the breakfast porridge ¹ By far the most striking example is the curiously named ΔΟΥΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΟΡΙΝΑ. This means a male and female, but of what species is rendered obscure by the notorious difficulty of the word Adyos, which even Faust in Goethe found baffling. The title has been taken to mean "Male and Female Argument" (Plea? Reason? Theory?) and an obvious analogue to this occurs in the duel between the Just and Unjust Adyot in Aristophanes' *Clouds*; or it may signify a male and female personification of rhetoric.² Conceivably we have here the original, or an earlier instance, of the male and female mimes in which Sophron excelled.

Passing now to the remains that, while genuine,³ cannot be at present referred to any particular comedy, we find some of the most famous lines in Greek literature. One has been discussed already:

νόος ὁρῇ καὶ νόος ἀκούει· τὰλλα κωφὰ καὶ τυφλά,

' 'Tis mind - that sees, mind that hears: the rest are deaf and blind.' Even more celebrated is the surly shrewdness of

νόφε καὶ μέμνασ' ἀπιστεῖν· ἄρθρα ταῦτα τῶν φρένων,

⁴ The sinews of wisdom are sobriety and ceaseless

¹ Πόλτον εἶναι δοθαῖον (Lorenz, p. 225; Kaibel, 23).

² It contains the joke about γέρανος (see above, p. 96), which suggests that the whole drama was a riot of rhetorical jokes and puzzles. This is only a guess, but if it is right it meets the difficulty presented by the mention of Zeus and Pelops in the *yipavos* passage: "the characters were mythological; and it is not quite clear how the Masculine and Feminine Reason fitted in with these" (Pickard-Cambridge, p. 398). The whole thing may have been a dialogue between (as we might say) Mr. and Mrs. Wordsworth, or between Major Premise and Miss Barbara Celarent—an elaborate set-to of cross-questions and crooked answers, in which Zeus and Pelops were introduced to lend "verisimilitude" like the Muses, etc., in the arithmetical problems of the *Anthology*.

³ The authenticity of some or all has been questioned. They appeared no doubt in Axiopistus' book of *γυφοίαι*: but though the book as such was a forgery, that is no reason for supposing that no single γνώμη was Epicharmean.

distrust.¹ This peasant-like, Hesiodic, vigour is heard again in

αὐτὰ φύσις ἀνθρώπων, ἄσκοι πεφυσισμένοι,²

* Men are nothing but inflated wineskins.' Again :

συνεκρίθη καὶ διεκρίθη καπῆνθεν, ὅθεν ἦνθεν, πάλιν,
γὰ μὲν εἰς γῆν, πνεῦμα δ' ἄνω· τί τῶνδε χαλεπόν ; οὐδὲ ἔν.

' They came together and were separated once more, returning whence they came : earth to earth, spirit aloft. What is hard in this ? Nothing.'³ The conversational crispness of another recalls Menander :

εὐσεβῆς βίος μέγιστον ἐφόδιον θνατοῖς ἔπι,

' The best provision for the journey of life is piety.'⁴ Finally the celebrated maxim χαλεπὰ τὰ καλὰ (' beautiful things are hard ') was "mentioned" by Epicharmus.⁵ Here is a maxim which one would have insisted was disguised Menander were it not quoted by Xenophon :⁶

τῶν πόνων πωλοῦντι πάντα τὰ γὰθ' ἀμῖν τοὶ θεοί,

¹ All our blessings are sold us by the gods at the price of toil'. A good deal subtler is the adage: γυνῶθι πῶς ἄλλω κέχρηται, 'I know how he has used another' (if you think of making a man your friend).⁷ Epicharmus has left us a flat contradiction of a theory very precious to Pindar, whom he must have met and known :

ἡ δὲ μελέτα φύσιος ἀγαθῶς πλέονα δωρεῖται, φίλοι.

' Training, my friends, confers more benefit than nature.'⁸ Zenobius⁹ quotes from Epicharmus a statement that ' five judges judged the comedians'. Apparently the poet wrote ἐν πέντε κριτῶν γούνασι κεῖται

¹ Lorenz, p. 160; Kaibel, 250.

² Lorenz, p. 257; Kaibel, 246. The words are no doubt genuine, but they will not scan. Diels (*Vorsok.*, I, p. 122) reads: ἃ γὰ φύσις ἀνδρῶν τί ὦν ; ἄσκοι πεφυσισμένοι. This can be scanned by main strength ; but, rough as Epicharmus is, he never wrote such a line.

³ Lorenz, p. 258 ; Kaibel, 245.

⁴ Lorenz, p. 258 ; Kaibel, 261.

⁵ Schol. Plato, *Cratylus*, 384a.

⁶ *Memorabilia*, II, i, 20 (Lorenz, p. 259; Kaibel, 287).

⁷ Lorenz, p. 260; Kaibel, 264.

⁸ Lorenz, p. 261 ; Kaibel, 284 (reading *δωρεῖται φίλοις*).

⁹ III, 64 (Lorenz, p. 278 ; Kaibel, 229).

as a proverbial phrase meaning 'the decision is not in our hands'. We cannot infer, however, that Sicily had competitions in comedy as had Athens.

His language¹ is Doric Greek, of the mild Sicilian kind (much nearer to Attic than the Doric of Sparta"), using the digamma fitfully; it contains a few words borrowed from Latin—e.g. *ὀγκία* *οἱ οὐγκία* (*uncia*) and *κύβιτος* (*cubitus*). The metre which he most often employs is the trochaic tetrameter,² which an ancient grammarian³ actually named "Epicharmus' measure," although it had been used before him by Archilochus and Solon. Iambics too are common. Of anapaests we possess but three fragments (that quoted above from *Odysseus the Deserter*, a passage from the *Περίαλλος* about Semele dancing to music, and *ἐν πέντε κριτῶν γούνασι κείται*) though he wrote two whole plays in that metre.⁴ There is no evidence that he ever used lyrical metres. His versification is somewhat rough.⁵ The plays contained some dancing and some indecency, how much of each we cannot say.⁶ Parody was uncommon.⁷ The length of the plays is uncertain, but there is fairly good reason to estimate it at an average of some four hundred lines.⁸ Epicharmus' fame was

¹ Details in Lorenz, pp. 148-56.

² For this and other metrical terms see Chapter VIII.

³ C. Marius Victorinus (Keil, *Gramm. Lett.*, VI, p. 84): *tetrametrum catalecticum, quod Archilochium et Epicharmiurn vocatur*.

⁴ *The Dancers* (*Χορεύοντες*) and the *Victorious Athlete* (*Ἑπινίκιος*).

⁵ Not because he is writing comedy. For example, he often neglects the diaeresis in the trochaic tetrameter, which Aristophanes regularly observes.

⁶ Whether the phallus was worn is unknown, but must be regarded as likely. It was regular both in Athenian old comedy and in the performances of the *φλύακες* in S. Italy. Vase-paintings frequently show this. (The reproductions are expurgated in English books.)

⁷ Athenasus (XV, 698c), after remarking that parody was invented by Hipponax, adds: *κέχρηται δὲ καὶ ὁ Ἐπίχαρμος ὁ Συρακόσιος ἐν τισὶ τῶν δραμάτων ἐπ' ὀλίγον*. A parody of Homer (*ἄσοι τοξοχίτωνες, ἀκούετε Σιρηνάων*) is quoted by the Schol. on *Iliad*, XIX, 1.

⁸ Birt, *Antike Buchwesen* (pp. 496 sq.) combining the facts (i) that in the Alexandrian edition each play of Aristophanes filled one volume, (ii) that the plays of Epicharmus filled ten volumes (Porphyrius, *Life of Plotzrus*, xxiv), makes the average length of the latter between three and four hundred lines. This arithmetic is in itself dubious (see Pickard-Cambridge, p. 406), but it is attractive: the apparent simplicity of Epicharmus' plots suggests a length far less than the Aristophanic.

widespread. Apollodorus, a pupil of Aristarchus, made the Alexandrian text in ten books, and separated off the spurious works. Plato knew his work well and puts him at the "summit" of comedy.¹ Theocritus writes of him with affectionate respect.² Plautus was influenced by him, according to Horace, in some manner not easily determined;³ Ennius named his Pythagorean poem *Epicharmus*;⁴ centuries later Statius couples him with Hesiod as an authority on farming,⁵ and Columella⁶ associates him with Hiero as an enthusiast for that pursuit.

The most important facts about Epicharmus are three qualities that give a potent fascination to this half-seen figure.

First, he possessed the Sicilian manner, an attractive blend of the Italian (not Roman) and the Athenian. All that we know of the ancient Sicilian temperament reveals a certain richness, gusto, colour, showing plain kinship with that early Italian spirit which illumines even the fog of Plautus with a rare yet jovial beam. Most Greeks had no sense of humour: many of them had wit, but that rich zest which is one necessary element in humour was denied them; the Sicilian possessed humour, a touch of the racy, the crude, of

¹ *Theocritus*, 152c.

² *Epigram* XV111.

³ Horace, *Eft.*, II, i, 58: *Plautus (dicitur) ad exemplum Siculi properare Epicharmi*. It is very hard to find any "haste" in either poet. Christ (*Gesch. der Griech. Litt.*, § 179) refers *properare* to the rapidity of resolved feet, Bernhardt (II, ii, p. 526) to "the lively tone of the conversation"; Mahaffy (*Hist. of Gk. Lit.*, I, p. 403) says it "seemsonly to apply to the easy flow of the dialogue"; Pickard-Cambridge (p. 408) thinks it perhaps refers to the rapidity of Epicharmus' "patter" or to the interchange of question and answer; similarly Denis (*La Comedie grecque*, I, p. 75) explains by "la verve, le mouvement, Pentrain"; Baiter-Orelli (on Horace) think the reference is to tense speed of plot; Lorenz (pp. 211-216) seems to agree with Mahaffy. None of these explanations is likely, and the third is apparently untrue of Epicharmus, fantastically untrue of Plautus. Christ's view is the least improbable.

⁴ Very few fragments of this are left. The metre is the trochaic tetrameter. Ennius relates that he dreamed he was dead; in the lower world (it appears) Epicharmus expounded Pythagorean doctrines. As L. Muller (*Quintus Ennius*, p. 112) says, this need not mean that he quoted Epicharmus or translated any book *περί φύσεως*. Vahlen too (*Enn. ftoes. rel.*, 3 p. xciii) thinks the relationship merely formal.

⁵ *Silvæ* IV, iii, 150.

⁶ I,

i.

sympathy with what is seen to be absurd. On the other side, he was still a Greek, sometimes a good deal of an Athenian:¹ quick-witted, undisdainful of intellect, eager to rationalize the chaotic and then to irrationalize the systematic. At the court of Syracuse Pindar and Æschylus the pre-Periclean were welcome guests, but Plato was ejected with contumely. In such a circle Epicharmus was naturally at home, and his comedies too, with their quaint combination of Heraclitean flux and the staircase leading from church to gaol. Plautus could have written of the parasite cudgelled by the watch; Aristotle could have expounded the Heraclitean Flux in iambic verse. Epicharmus did both.

Second, his work was admirable but primitive drama. Here are three statements, all of which need careful exposition and understanding.

It was certainly drama—the working out of a situation by the collision of contrasted personalities. Not only do our authorities regularly call Epicharmus a "comic poet" (*κωμωδοποιός*) and his work "plays" (*δράματα*): even in our meagre fragments we find that the *Amycus* showed three persons interacting. It is in virtue of this confrontation, this interaction, that Epicharmus is to be called the earliest comic playwright: that is what Aristotle² means by attributing to him the introduction of "plots" or "plays with a story" (*μῦθοι*). His predecessors bequeathed to him, not drama but the raw material thereof: Aristoxenus of Selinus was a lampoonist, Ananius wrote satires, the anonymous theatrical entertainers of Megara and Syracuse concocted mimes. That is, Aristoxenus gave him lessons in language, Ananius in observation, the mime-composers in farcical scenes. Epicharmus welded these elements (and others, for example his

¹ Thucydides (VIII, 96, 5) calls the Syracusans *μάλιστα ὁμοίωτροποι* (sc. *τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις*).

² *Poetic*, 1449b, 5 sqq.: τὸ δὲ μῦθους ποιεῖν Ἐπίχαρμος καὶ Φόρμις τὸ μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐκ Σικελίας ἦλθε, where Ἐπίχαρμος καὶ Φόρμις is excised by Sussemitz. Cp. also 1448a, 33 sq.

own humour and his knowledge of contemporary thought) into a connected story told by action—into a *play*, one part of the definition of which is that there is a pre-ordained point at which it must stop. Next, this authentic drama was primitive.¹ Grysar's theory, that Epicharmus wrote in a trilogistic or quasi-trilogistic form, is not so much erroneous as misleading. From what has just been said it will be clear that some Epicharmean plays must have exhibited development, phases of action, and it is impossible to deny that had we a complete example Grysar could identify Aristotle's beginning, middle, and end. It is certain,² too, that Epicharmus knew Æschylus' work, and Æschylus wrote trilogies. But to argue for these reasons that the Sicilian dramas were analogous to the *Oresteia* is to play with words. Apart from the silence of all ancient authorities about trilogistic form, and the rudimentary development necessary in a pioneer, the great argument against Grysar is the striking fact that a great deal of Epicharmus is not dramatic strictly at all, but narrative. Many an incident which (one would suppose) might have been shown to the spectators and

¹ The extremes of opinion are represented by Grysar and Kaibel. The former (*De Doriensium Comœdia*, Köln, 1828) asserts a trilogistic development: e.g. in Hebe's Wedding the opposition of Hera, her placation, the marriage-feast. Kaibel (Pauly-Wissowa, VI, 36) insists that Epicharmus did not write comedies (*κωμῳδία*) in the full sense at all. His work, says Kaibel, belongs to the sphere of comedy, Epicharmus is called a *κωμικός*, but his pieces are called *κωμῳδία* by no authority, only *δράματα*—a distinction probably due to the insight of the first editor, Apollodorus; the works were "eben Possen," which certainly showed (like Attic comedy) a comic element in the treatment, but which dispensed with the *κῶμος*, the peculiar Attic garnishing. This is accepted by Wilamowitz (*Einleitung in d. gr. Tragödie*, pp. 54 sq.). It is refuted by the fact that on this theory Epicharmus (despite Aristotle and the Anonymus) made no change at all in the shape of Sicilian "drama". Croiset (*Hist. de la litt. grecque*, III, 433 sq.) suspects that Epicharmus wrote prologues, because of the narrative passages.

² Æschylus at Hiero's request produced in Syracuse a new play (*Αἰρναῖαι*) and a revival of the *Persæ*. Epicharmus joked at Æschylus' fondness for the word *τιμαλφεῖν* (Schol. on *Eum.*, 626) and some plays of Epicharmus bore the same titles as some of Æschylus (e.g. *Promatheus*, *Philoctetas*—the Doric spelling). An attempt has been made to relate him to satyric drama: Croiset (p. 443) thinks the latter influenced him; Mahaffy (*Hist. of Gk. Lit.*, II, 406) reverses the relationship; K. O. Müller (*Gesch. der griech. Literatur*, II, 246) points to notable differences between the two types.

brought the house down, was apparently treated like the preliminary dispute for the tragic throne in the *Frogs*¹ or the healing of Plutus. Greek "drama," of course, had to be developed from pure narrative to fully dramatic presentation—and never quite reached it, as the Messengers' speeches in tragedy show, and the prologues of Menander. It is important nevertheless to remember that the technique of Epicharmus must have developed to some degree, and probably developed to a marked degree because of his removal to Syracuse² and a more cosmopolitan society. No doubt he began with the current mime-form. No doubt his first dramatic essays were half mime, half comedy. Finally, we can hardly deny that in his latest years the narrative element was less prominent. But the nearest he came to the alleged trilogistic form was a comedy with, to be sure, three distinguishable phases (as in all playwrights), a beginning, a middle, and an end. His most completely articulated piece would be analogous, not to the *Oresteia* but to a one-act comedy of our own time. Of this type *Busiris* was no doubt an example. As for Epicharmus' work being not only rudimentary but admirable, it is worth while to remark that his excellence does not reside in brilliance of style, as some writers assert. A glance at the more important fragments that we have quoted will show that his composition, though vigorous, is clumsy—his composition, strictly so called. Individual lines such as *νᾶφε καὶ μέμνασ' ἀπιστεῖν κτέ.*, are admirable in their phrasing. But continuous composition shows him gawky and fumbling in diction. On the other hand, his shrewdness, his observation of character, are first-rate. Epicharmus, in fact, resembles Ennius. His originality in conceiving and developing

¹ Vv. 771-83. Later, of course, the claimants proceed to a very elaborate conflict *coram populo*.

² Korte (Pauly-Wissowa, XI, 1223) asserts that "for us and for the ancients the only discernible period of his activity falls in his last years, in the Syracuse of the Deinomenidae" (Gelo and Hiero). This is quite unfounded.

dramatic situations has been already exhibited so far as our meagre materials allow.

Thirdly, Epicharmus shed his energies over both the Greek and the Roman world. Constant trade and the travels of such men as /Eschylus¹ and Plato brought his work home to the audiences and playwrights² of Athens, and so of all Greece proper and the Asiatic cities and islands which regarded Athens as their intellectual metropolis. The political relations of Hiero and Syracusan commerce spread Sicilian culture over South Italy, so that aboriginal clownery and nascent drama were moulded and invigorated by Epicharmus, whose influence upon the *phlyakes* cannot be exactly assessed but cannot be doubted. So it is that the modern world owes to this earliest master, through Aristophanes and Menander, through Plautus³ and the *commedia del' arte*, a great deal more than it dreams. In him lie the germs both of Alceste and of Falstaff. From the obscurity of time and distorted story his voice comes in snatches like a friendly shout that reaches us fitfully at the mercy of casual winds and rock-contours, a cheery but tantalizing utterance from a rich vivid personality.

¹Cp. Capps, *Columbia Univ. Lectures on Gk. Lit.*, p. 130.

²Alexis names Epicharmus as part of a poetical library (see above, p. 49). Archippus wrote a play 'Ἡρακλῆς (Heraclēs the Bridegroom), which perhaps (Soph., 7 *rach.*, 460) dealt with the same subject as 'Ἡβας Ἰάμβος. The Schol. on *Peace*, 185, says that Aristophanes is borrowing from Epicharmus' *Sciron* (see Lorenz, pp. 2 51 sq.). The famous psephisma, *μη κωμῳδεῖν ὀνομαστῆ* (see pp. 26 *sgg.*), may have caused the Athenian dramatists to look back for inspiration to Epicharmus (see Lorenz, pp. 207 *sg.*). Zielinski (*Gliederung*, p. 243) points out that Epicharmus⁵ name is not mentioned earlier than Plato, and finds no trace in Aristophanes of any knowledge of Epicharmus. The "Megarian farce," however, so often described in Aristophanes and others, may well refer to Sicily as well as to the Peloponnese. But it must be confessed that the "parallels" between Aristophanes and our fragments of Epicharmus, which von Salis (*De Doriensium Ludorum in Comcedia Attica Vestigiis*, Basel, 1905), adduces, are unconvincing.

³K. O. Muller (*Gesch. d. gr. Lit.*, II, p. 244) points to the Doric, not Athenian, spelling of MiccotroguV name in the *Stichus*. The obscure passage of Horace (*Ep.*, II, i, 58: see p. 109) proves at any rate that some Roman scholars saw a literary affiliation.

CHAPTER III

CRATINUS

CRATINUS,¹ the son of Callimedes, is said to have belonged to the Athenian tribe *Æeis*.² His life may be dated roughly at 490-20 B.C.³ Twenty-eight titles are known to us, but our authorities⁴ put the figure at twenty-one. Cratinus gained nine⁵ first prizes, one of them in 423 B.C., when his *Wine-*

¹Suidas, s.v.: Κρατίνος. Καλλιμήδους, Ἀθηναῖος, κωμικός, λαμπρὸς τὸν χαρακτήρα· φιλοπότης δὲ καὶ παιδικῶν ἡττημένος. ἦν δὲ τῆς ἀρχαίας κωμωδίας. ἔγραψε δὲ δράματα κά. ἐνίκησε δὲ θ'.

Zenobius, III, 81, Suidas, .?./, Ἐπειοῦ δειλότερος. K6rte (Pauly-Wissowa, XXII, 1647) rejects this statement as derived from some joke that assigned the vinous poet to the tribe of Vintagers. This is the rage of scepticism which cold-heartedly denies joyous coincidences. It is absurd to say that the story is untrue merely because it would be delightful if it were true. There is nowhere a hint of any other tribe for Cratinus.

³The *Πυτίνη* was produced in 423; as we hear of no later play we can assume that he died not many years later. The apparent evidence of the *Peace* must, however, be used with caution. That comedy appeared in 421 and reports Cratinus' death thus (vv, 700 sqq:

EP. τί δαί; Κρατίνος ὁ σοφὸς ἔστιν;
TP. ἀπέθανεν
ὅθ' οἱ Λάκωνες ἐνέβαλον.
EP. τί παθὼν;
TP. ὅ τι;
ὠρακιάσας· οὐ γάρ ἐξηνέσχετο
ἰδὼν πίθον καταγνύμενον οἴνου πλείων.

This would put Cratinus' death in or before 421. But it may be only a joke, and there had been no invasion of Attica since 425, two years before the *Wine-Flask*. Next, his first victory was won about 453 B.C. In view of Cratinus' merits one naturally assumes that he was then still under forty. This gives circa 490 as the date of his birth, which agrees well enough with the description of him as an old man in Aristophanes' *Knights* (v. 533), produced in 424.

⁴Suidas, s.v. Κρατίνος and Anon, de Com. (Kaibel, p. 7).

⁵Suidas, *ibid*. The lists in the inscriptions given by Wilhelm (*Urk.*, 107 and 123) give six City and three Lenaean victories. The Schol. on *Knights*, 528, says that Cratinus beat his rivals *παμψηφεί*, 'by all the votes'.

Flask (**Πυτίη**) defeated the *Connos* of Ameipsias and the *Clouds* of Aristophanes.¹ In 425 his play² came second to the *Acharnians* and in 424 to the *Knights*.³ These are the only dates in his career that are quite certain, though we shall see that other plays can be dated with confidence.

In 424 B.C., when Cratinus was perhaps within sight of seventy, a brisk and brilliant young poet produced a comedy called the *Knights* in which he took upon himself to rebuke Athens for neglect of old poets who had served her well. In the course of these remarks the impish Muse of Comedy inspired him to patronize Cratinus in language of delightful impertinence and pathetic admiration (w. 526-36):

εἶτα Κρατίνου μεμνημένος, ὃς πολλῶν ρεύσας ποτ' ἐπαῖνον
διὰ τῶν ἀφελῶν πεδίων ἔρρει, καὶ τῆς στάσεως παρασύρων
ἐφύρει τὰς θρῦς καὶ τὰς πλατάνους καὶ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς προθυλεύμους·
ἔσαι δ' οὐκ ἦν ἐν συμποσίῳ πλην 'Δωροὶ συκοπέδιλε'
καὶ 'τέκτονες εὐπαλάμων ὕμνων'· οὕτως ἤμθησεν ἐκείνος.
νυνὶ δ' ὑμεῖς αὐτὸν ὄρωντες παραληροῦντ' οὐκ ἐλεεῖτε,
ἐκπιπτονσῶν τῶν ἡλέκτρων καὶ τοῦ τόνου οὐκέτ' ἐνόητος
τῶν θ' ἁρμονιῶν διαχασκουσῶν· ἀλλὰ γέρων ὦν περιέρρει,
ὥσπερ Κοννᾶς, στέφανον μὲν ἔχων αὖτον δίψῃ δ' ἀπολωλώς,
ὃν χρῆν διὰ τὰς προτέρας νίκας πίνειν ἐν τῷ πρυτανείῳ,
καὶ μὴ ληρεῖν ἀλλὰ θεᾶσθαι λιπαρὸν παρὰ τῷ Διονύσῳ.

'Next Cratinus comes to mind, who once in full torrent of glory flowed over the level countryside, sweeping along uprooted oaks, plane-trees and rivals. So mightily did he flourish that nothing could be sung at wine-parties except "Rule Britammany!" and "Minstrels, deftly build the song". But now! Look at him, drivelling out of tune—pegs dropping out, strings loose, joints starting! And you—you!—feel no pity for this senile loafer with the faded garland and the destroying thirst, though you ought to reward his past triumphs with free drinks for the rest of his life, make him drop his hopeless plays and sit as a dapper spectator in the front row.'

¹ *Clouds*, Argument V.

² The *Χειμαζόμενοι* (*Acharnians*, Argument *ad. fin.*).

³ The *Σάνυροι* (*Knights*, Argument II).

Aristophanes spoke too soon. This stinging mixture of praise and pity brought the elderly genius to his feet. 'Nearly seventy and ruined by drink, am I? Ho!' Next year at the City Dionysia he produced the WINE-FLASK (*Πυτίη*) and defeated¹ his ambiguous eulogist with a play that boldly took up the imputations of Aristophanes. From the fragments and a scholium on the *Knights*² we gain a fair conception of the plot. Cratinus' wife, Comedy herself, complains to his friends that Cratinus is neglecting her and consorting with Drunkenness (*Μέθη*)—'formerly I was his wife, but now no more' (*γυνή δ' ἐκείνου πρότερον ἦ, νῦν δ' οὐκέτι*)³—and wishes to bring an action against him *tōr ill-treatment*. Cratinus used to be a good husband, but now he runs after every pretty wine-skin that he sees.⁴ It appears that these friends, who form the chorus, have come forward in order to keep the case out of court by making Cratinus see reason. In a speech that was probably the culmination of the drama, Cratinus explained, or defended, or gloried in, his new way of life: it contained the famous line⁶ ὕδωρ δὲ πίνων οὐδὲν ἂν τέκοι σοφόν: 'but if he drinks water he can create nothing wise'. We possess practically nothing else about it, only the dazed comment:⁶

ἀναξ Ἄπολλον, τῶν ἐπῶν τῶν ρευμάτων.
καναχοῦσι πηγαί, δωδεκάκρουνον τὸ στόμα,
Ἰλισσὸς ἐν τῇ φάρυγι· τί ἂν εἴποιμ' ἔτι;
εἰ μὴ γὰρ ἐπιβύσει τις αὐτοῦ τὸ στόμα,
ἅπαντα ταῦτα κατακλύσει ποιήμασιν.

'Holy Apollo! What a torrent of verse! A bubbling well! His mouth is a twelve-spouted fountain, his throat a river, his . . . comparisons fail me! Unless some one plugs his mouth, he will flood the whole district with poetry.' We may conjecture that he entered embracing the Wine-Flask which gives its

¹ Aristophanes took his failure very badly. In his second version (*Clouds* > 518-62) of the defeated play he reads the Athenians a vigorous and bitter lecture on their bad taste in putting the *Clouds* below the work of Cratinus and Ameipsias.

² V. 400, ἐν Κρατίου κῆδιν.

⁴ Fr. 183.

⁵ Fr. 199.

³ fr. 182.

⁶ Fr. 186.

name to the play and which (needless to say) symbolized his new love, Methe.¹ His recalcitrance is proved by the passage² where a friend cudgels his brains for some device to cure the infatuation:

πῶς τις αὐτόν, πῶς τις ἄν
ἀπὸ τοῦ πότου παύσειε, τοῦ λίαν πότου;
ἐγῶδα. συντρίψω γάρ αὐτοῦ τοὺς χύας,
καὶ τοὺς καδίσκους συγκεραυνώσω σποδῶν,
καὶ τᾶλλα πάντ' ἀγγεία τὰ περὶ τὸν πότον,
κονδ' ὀξύβαφον οἶνηρὸν ἔτι κεκτῆσεται.

'How, oh how, can one check his drinking, his excessive drinking? I have it! I'll smash his jugs, I'll shatter his jars like a thunderbolt, and every other drinking-vessel: he shan't have so much as a wine-saucer to his name.' But somehow Cratinus is later reconciled to Comedy and expresses his repentance:

ἀτὰρ ἐννοοῦμαι δὴ τὰ τῆς μοχθηρίας
τῆς ἡλιθιότητός τε τῆς ἐμῆς.³

'Well, well: I realize how wicked my stupidity has been.' How this change of heart is induced we can only guess: perhaps Comedy steals the Wine-Flask and thus brings the poet to his knees.⁴

Of the other fragments some are interesting although we cannot tell what connexion they had with the story just outlined. There would seem to have been a racy discussion of young politicians: each was relegated to some spot better suited to his habits than the Pnyx: e.g. :⁵

Ὑπέρβολον δ' ἀποσβέσας ἐν τοῖς λύχνουσι γράψον.

¹One is reminded of that uproarious reprobate Merrythought in *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*. For the idea that the *πυτινή* was embraced and apostrophized compare the coal-basket scene in *Achamians*, 331-5.

²Fr. 187.

³Fr. 188.

⁴Two fragments have suggested this. Fr. 189 runs:

ᾄψει γὰρ αὐτὴν ἐντὸς οὐ πολλοῦ χρόνου
παρὰ τοῖσι δεσμώταισι καταπιπτουμένην.

'You shall see her before long receiving a coat of pitch from the gaolers'—that is, 'don't worry: I've only sent her to the repairers.' Comedy would then be consoling Cratinus, who despite his reformation grieves for his discarded love, now thrown on the world. To such a sad reverie fr. 190 may belong:

ἄρ' ἀραχνίων μεστήν ἔχεις τὴν γαστέρα;

⁵Can it be that you have nothing to fill your belly but spiders' webs?'
⁵Fr. 196.

' Put Hyperbolus out and write him up in the Lamp-Market/ Hyperbolus being a lamp-merchant. Some of the proposed destinations would (we are to hope) be funnier than this,¹ and the whole oration would resemble Koko's topical song: "I've got him on the list". Finally, we are told² that ' Cratinus, hearing this (the passage from the *Knights* quoted above) wrote the *Wine-Flask*, in which he reviles³ Aristophanes for plagiarizing Eupolis '.

But by far the most attractive and important of Cratinus' comedies, in the present state of our knowledge, is the DIONYSALEXANDROS.⁴ Till 1904 our meagre collection of citations told nothing of the plot, but in that year Grenfell and Hunt published a papyrus, discovered at Oxyrhynchus, containing a good deal of the Argument.⁵

' . . . These⁶ address the audience concerning the poets,⁷ and when Dionysus appears they mock and jeer at him. Dionysus, being offered by Hera unshaken sovereignty, by Athena success in war, and by Aphrodite the possession of charm and surpassing beauty, adjudges the victory to Aphrodite. Next he sails to Sparta, abducts Helen, and returns to Mt. Ida. But soon, hearing that the Greeks are ravaging the land, he flees to Alexander,⁸ hides Helen in a basket as [a goose ?], disguises himself as a ram, and awaits the upshot. Alexander arrives, detects them both, and orders them to be taken to the ships, intending to

¹ An apparently vigorous one lurks in the distorted Greek of fr. 195.

² Scholiast on *Knights*, 531. Eupolis' connexion with the *Knights* is discussed below (pp. 210 sq.).

³ We have no quotation of his words.

⁴ In discussing this play I am much indebted, of course to Grenfell and Hunt, but also to the admirable article of M. Croiset in the *Revue des Etudes grecques*, X VII (1904), pp. 297-310, and the very full and masterly treatment by Korte in *Hermes*, XX XIX (1904), pp. 481-98.

⁵ *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, IV, 69-72. The text here given (from Grenfell and Hunt) opens where the Greek begins to be consecutive.

⁶ The chorus of satyrs.

⁷ The Greek is defective. Grenfell and Hunt make out " on behalf of the poet".

⁸ Paris, son of Priam.

hand them over to the Greeks. But Helen objects ; he takes pity on her and withholds her, to make her his wife, but Dionysus he despatches to be handed over. The satyrs escort Dionysus with encouragement and assurances that they will never desert him. In the play Pericles is most convincingly satirized by inundo as having involved the Athenians in the war.'¹

This document puts us for the first time in possession of a correct notion as to Athenian mythological comedy. Cratinus took the familiar story of Helen, Paris, and Agamemnon's expedition. Into this he thrust Dionysus and an attendant rout of satyrs, giving to the god, for most of the play, the part assigned by the legend to Paris, but of course making it ridiculous. (One detail of the fun is preserved : whereas Paris was promised the most beautiful Woman on earth, here the no doubt less attractive Dionysus is offered a prospect of becoming irresistible himself.) Then, at the close, orthodox legend is reinstated : Dionysus disappears, and Paris stands forth as responsible to the Greeks for the retention of Helen.

¹. . . καὶ παραφανέντα τὸν Διόνυσον ἐπισκώπτουσι καὶ χλευάζουσιν. ὁ δὲ παραγενομένων [παραγγελλομένων, Korte] αὐτῷ παρὰ μὲν Ἡρας τυραννίδος ἀκινήτου παρὰ δ' Ἀθηνᾶς εὐτυχίας κατὰ πόλεμον τῆς δ' Ἀφροδίτης κάλλιστόν τε καὶ ἐπέραστον αὐτὸν ὑπάρχειν κρίνει ταύτην νικᾶν. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα πλεύσας εἰς Λακεδαιμόνα καὶ τὴν Ἑλένην ἐξαγαγὼν ἐπανέρχεται εἰς τὴν Ἰδὴν. ἀκούσας δὲ μετ' ἡλίγον τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς πυρπολεῖν τὴν χώραν φεύγει πρὸς τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ τὴν μὲν Ἑλένην εἰς ἅλαρον ὥσπερ [τυρὸν G. and H., χῆνα Korte] κρύψας, ἑαυτὸν δ' εἰς κριὸν μετασκευάσας, ὑπομένει τὸ μέλλον· παραγενομένος δ' Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ φωρᾶσας ἐκάτερον ἄγειν ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς προστάττει ὡς παραδώσων τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς. ὁκούσας δὲ τῆς Ἑλένης ταύτην μὲν οἰκτείρας ὡς γυναῖχ' ἔξειν ἐπικατέχει, τὸν δὲ Διόνυσον ὡς παραδοθῆσόμενον ἀποστέλλει. συνακολουθοῦσι δ' οἱ σάτυροι παρακαλοῦντές τε καὶ οὐκ ἂν προδώσειν αὐτὸν φάσκοντες. κωμωδεῖται δ' ἐν τῷ δράματι Περικλῆς μάλα πιθανῶς δι' ἐμφάσεως ὡς ἐπαγενοχῶς τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις τὸν πόλεμον.

The fragmentary Greek that precedes what is here printed contains a reference to Hermes. The second column is headed

Διόνυσ
—
ἥ
Κρατ

where ἥ means " eighth," which according to Korte (*Hetmes*, XXXIX, 484 sq.) refers to an alphabetical arrangement of Cratinus' works in the Alexandrian library. Flickinger (*Classical Philology*, 1910, 7 sqq.) takes it as chronological, and dates the *Dionysalexandros* at 445 B.C., referring to the Spartan invasion of 446.

As to the details of the *Dionysalexandros*, it is necessary to observe that our information practically begins with the parabasis. We are told that 'they address the spectators,' whether on behalf of the poet or 'concerning the poets'.¹ Either reading points to a parabasis of a kind familiar in Aristophanes. What preceded the parabasis? Our tattered Greek mentions "seeking," and Hermes, who assuredly acted as conductor of the three goddesses to be judged by the mortal. After the parabasis, Dionysus "appears". The word is notable—not ἐπιφανέντα, appropriate to a glorious apparition, but παραφανέντα, which suggests some one "popping in" rather jauntily and unexpectedly. This, together with the derision of the satyrs, probably gives a clue to the early action. It may be that Hermes, having brought the three goddesses to Mt. Ida for judgment by Paris, cannot find him² and is at his wits' end, since such important ladies cannot be kept waiting, especially on a mountain-side and prepared for a beauty-contest; and that his difficulty is solved by a sudden proposal that Dionysus (providentially near at hand) shall act as judge. Who makes this proposal? Probably not the god himself, but his satyr-followers in his momentary absence, for it seems that they have to describe their candidate to the doubtful Hermes:

A. σταλήν δέ δὴ τίν' εἶχε; τοῦτό μοι φράσον.

B. θύρσον, κροκωτόν, ποικίλον, καρχησιον.³

'Tell me, what was his attire?' 'A Bacchic wand, a saffron shawl, an embroidered robe, a goblet.'

Dionysus "pops in" and the plan is discussed.

Rutherford (*Classical Review*, XVIII, p. 440) would read περὶ ὧν ποιήσεως. "When the *Dionysalexander* was produced the project for the legitimizing of the younger Pericles was either debating or accomplished." He would date the play at 430, a year practically certain on other grounds (see below).

² Hence the "seeking" (ζητῶν?).

³ Fr. 38. The tense of εἶχε may mean that Hermes is about to set forth in quest of Dionysus: 'when last seen, was wearing. . . .'

Perhaps he is attracted by the task of impersonating a prince and wearing royal gear, but is disillusioned :

οὐκ, ἀλλὰ βόλιτα χλωρὰ κῶσπώτην πατεῖν.¹

' Nothing of the kind : (you will have to) walk on fresh dung and filthy wool.' But he accepts the proposition and adds theatrically rustic attire to his effeminate Bacchic garb. The chorus greet with jeers his boast that he is several kinds of herdsman in one :

ποιμὴν καθέστηκ' αἰπόλος καὶ βουκόλος.²

The next thing we know of is the Judgment of Paris-Dionysus and its result, though with no details. It is quite in accord with the intoxicated Time-Spirit of Old Comedy that Dionysus sails to Sparta, woos Helen, and returns with her while the chorus (we are to suppose) sings an ode. The Greek expedition, too, makes the journey to Troy at a miraculous speed. The terrified Dionysus conceals Helen and himself. Her he puts into a basket disguised as something thereto appropriate—what, we do not know, because the papyrus is defective here. The best proposal is that of Korte, a goose,³ because of the Leda story. Dionysus disguises himself as a ram : the famous line⁴

ὁ δ' ἡλίθιος ὥσπερ πρόβατον βῆ βῆ λέγων βαδίζει,

' and the simpleton walks along saying "Ba ! Ba ! " like a sheep,' refers no doubt to the industrious but amateurish efforts of Dionysus to sustain the character. The true Paris arrives, urged probably by the Greek invasion to discover the culprits and release his country by their surrender. Some detective⁵ work is necessary

¹Fr. 39. Flickinger (*loc. cit.*, p. 9) aptly suggests that fr. 42, *παραστώδας καὶ πρόθυμα βούλει ποικίλα*, points at the ambitious building schemes of Pericles.

²This is, however, not certainly to be referred to this play (fr. 281).

³A faint support for this from outside is fr. 46, which contains the rare word *χηννοβοσκοί*. We are to take the goose as a parody of the swan, as indeed it is.

⁴Fr. 43. This line is often quoted as an argument for the "reformed" pronunciation of Greek: "a sheep does not say *bee, bee; bay, bay* is much more like the sound".

⁵Cp. *Φωράσας* in the Argument.

before the disguise is penetrated: the scene of the Megarian pigs in the *Achamians* may suggest how the detection of Helen was conducted. Finally Dionysus is merely ejected from the story, but the charms of Helen overthrow the purpose of Paris, and matters are in train for the ten years' war. The play perhaps ended with a marriage-feast of Alexander and Helen.¹

It is difficult to interpret precisely the final sentence of the Argument that "Pericles is most convincingly satirized by innuendo as having involved the Athenians in the war". It is plain enough from these words that Dionysus represents Pericles; that the ravaging of the Troad—which must have been emphasized in the play, or it would never have got into this brief summary²—is meant to recall the first invasion and the exasperating sight of fire rising from Acharnae;³ that the amorous adventure of Dionysus corresponds to the scandalous stories about Aspasia's⁴ part in the outbreak of War. It is possible, too, that the surrender of Dionysus to the Greeks hinted at the Spartan demand that Athens should expel the "accursed" Alcmaeonidae, that is, Pericles.⁵ But whereas, judging by the practice of contemporary playwrights, we should have expected a perfectly explicit comparison, the Argument plainly indicates another treatment, satire by insinuation. In the present state of our knowledge it is best to accept this view, and to believe that Cratinus is primarily concerned with a riotous travesty of the legend, and works contemporary satire into the fabric purely as an undertone.

¹ Cp. frs. 40, 44, 45.

² The Argument says *πυρπολεῖν τὴν χώραν*. Now the invaders did of course ravage the country, but the phrase is *not prima facie* likely in a concise description. One would have expected *εἰσβαλεῖν ὡς πολλορκήσοντας*. The inference is that Cratinus dwells on the devastation in a manner inappropriate to one alluding to the *Iliad*, but very appropriate to one with the Peloponnesian invasion in his mind.

³ Cp. Thucydides, I I, 19-23.

⁴ Just as Pericles = Dionysus = Paris, the cause of war, so was Aspasia named Helen by Eupolis in the *Prospaltii*.

So Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Gott. gel. Anzeigen*, 1904, p. 665.

Two other points should be made : (i) It is possible that Hermippus refers to this play in the fragment¹ that begins *βασιλεῦ σατύρων*. If so, the allegory must have been more transparent for Cratinus' contemporaries than for the writer of the Argument, (ii) Is Tzetzes, who contradicts Aristotle about the number of actors in early comedy, himself contradicted by this Argument? Aristotle had written² that 'no one knows who fixed the number of comic actors'. Tzetzes reports³ that 'Cratinus was the first to fix the number of actors at three \ Is it a fact that the *Dionysalexandros* needs four actors? In the scene where Dionysus judges the three goddesses, we apparently need four, not to mention Hermes. But it may well have been that Hera, Athena, and Aphrodite are all silent. We moderns should, of course, expect a striking address from each, but the practice of Aristophanes⁴ shows that he at any rate—and if so, why not Cratinus?—would have been content to make each "whisper" to Hermes, who would then report⁵ her offer. That scene would demand only two actors, with three mutes.

The date is not quite certain. One would naturally place it early in the war because of the political allusions, but not later than Pericles' death. This gives 430 or 429. Clear evidence for the former year is obtained if we assume that the satyr-fragment of Hermippus could not have been written had not Cratinus already made Dionysus-Pericles a leader of satyrs.⁶ Now the passage of Hermippus belongs to a play (whether the *Fates* or

¹ Fr. 46, from the *Μοῖραι*. See above, p. 22.

² *Poetic*, 1449b, 3.

³ Kaibel, p. 18: *ἐπιγεγόμενος δὲ ὁ Κρατῖνος κατέστησε μὲν πρῶτον τὰ ἐν τῇ κωμῳδίᾳ πρόσωπα μέχρι τριῶν στήσας τὴν ἀταξίαν*. By *πρόσωπα* Tzetzes must mean "actors": "characters" (the usual meaning of *πρόσωπα*) would make nonsense.

⁴ E.g. *Peace*, 957 sqq.

⁵ Cp. the Argument: *παραγγελλομένων παρὰ μὲν Ἡρας κτέ*, where the verb is however Körte's emendation for *παραγενομένων*.

⁶ See Croiset, *loc. cit.*, pp. 309 sq., and Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *loc. cit.*, pp. 665 sqq.

not) produced in 430. The conclusion would then be that Hermippus' comedy appeared at the City Dionysia, and the *Dionysalexandros* at the Lenæa, of 430.

Another blend of whimsical legend-distortion and satire on contemporaries was to be found in NEMESIS, a deliberately bungling travesty of the birth of Helen compounded by some queer alchemy with the fortunes of that great but unromantic Athenian, Pericles. Later writers give the story thus:¹ " Zeus fell in love with Nemesis, a maiden of Rhamnus in Attica, who changed herself into all shapes so as to elude his embraces. Finally she became a swan, and Zeus, turning himself into a swan also, bade Aphrodite, in the shape of an eagle, pursue him. The fugitive bird found a refuge with Nemesis, who thus, in due course, laid an egg. This was taken by Hermes to Leda in Sparta ; she hatched it and produced Helen." That Nemesis, not Leda, was Helen's mother had been affirmed by Stasinus, the epic poet who composed the *Cypria*. The laughably stupid notion of two mothers is, of course, an attempt to harmonize the Nemesis story with the Leda story ; whether it is an invention of Cratinus' own one does not know, but would like to believe.²

In the fragments we find some one, whether Aphrodite or Hermes, giving Zeus the great idea : ' Well, you must become a large bird'—*δρυιθα τοίνυν δεῖ σε γίγνεσθαι μέγαν*.³ After his metamorphosis the god (an amazing figure of fun, no doubt, like the comic fowls on the famous British Museum vase) is heard explaining that his appetite has changed with his shape : ' So that when at meals I enjoy the food, and everything in the garden is lovely to eat'.⁴ In four lines⁵ of pseudo-tragic diction Leda is commanded to complete the birth of Helen :

³ What follows is a combination of Eratosthenes, *Catast.* 25, and Hyginus, *Astron.*, VIII, p. 374.

² There is no hint anywhere that the combined version is earlier than Cratinus; and Eratosthenes ends his own version with the words *ὡς φησι Κράτης* (*Κρατῖνος*, Valckenar) *ὁ ποιητής*.

³ Fr.

107.

⁴ Fr. 109.

⁵ Fr.

108.

Λήδα, σὸν ἔργον· δεῖ σ' ὅπως εὐσχήματος
ἀλεκτρύωνος μηδὲν διοίσεις τοὺς τρόπους,
ἐπὶ τῷδ' ἐπώζουσ', ὥς ἂν ἐκλέψῃς καλὸν
ἡμῖν τι καὶ θανμαστόν ἐκ τοῦδ' ὄρνεν.

' Leda, 'tis thy task to assume all the habits of a graceful hen, brooding on this egg, so that from it thou mayst hatch for us a fowl most wondrous fair.' Two allusions are found to Sparta, Leda's home, one ¹ of them a pun on *spartinos*, which means "made of rope". With all this Pericles was in some way connected. Plutarch ² writes that the comic poets ridiculed Pericles because of his abnormally long head, and that Cratinus in *Nemesis* wrote: *μόλ', ὦ Ζεῦ ξένιε καὶ καραιέ*. ('Come, O Zeus alien and headlong.') What, and how vital, was the connexion between Pericles and the legend is uncertain. But the comic playwrights were fond of joking about his relations with Aspasia, who is sometimes represented as a Hera to his Zeus. It is an excellent conjecture, ³ based partly on the word *ξένιος* ("alien") just quoted, partly on the complicated birth of Helen, Zeus' child, that the whole play was a skit on the family affairs of Pericles, who (having lost his legitimate sons) had proposed the abrogation of the bastardy law so that he might adopt the son born to him by Aspasia. If so, the play can be dated with certainty at 429 B.C.

The *CHIRONS* (*Χείρωνες*) seems to have been regarded by Cratinus himself as his finest play. At the close he wrote: ⁴

ταῦτα δυοῖν ἔτεον ἡμῖν μάλιστα ἐξεπονθήθη,

¹ Fr. 110. Cp. *Birds*, 814-16.

² *Pericles*, 111. The MSS. give *μακάριε* or *καραιέ* last word. These are variously emended into *Kapaii* and *napavie* (*quasi κεραύνιε*), in order to justify Plutarch's statement about the head. Jokes on this peculiarity of Pericles are frequent. Cp. in particular the notable fragment from Cratinus' *Thracian Women* (fr. 71) discussed below (pp. 134 sq.).

³ See Kock (I, p. 49). Korte, however (*Jahresb. über Klass. Altertumsw.*, 152 (1911), 257, 8), points out that not Zeus and Helen, but Zeus and Heracles, are the appropriate subjects of such reference, and concludes that we cannot say what the connexion was between the *Nemesis* and Pericles.

⁴ Fr. 237; Aristides, XLIX, 387. Cobet thought that the two years were those during which satire of contemporary persons was forbidden by Athenian law (*μη' ὀνομαστέ κωμωδεῖν*. Cp. pp. 26 sqq.).

'this I hardly completed in two years,' adding a challenge to all other poets to do as well in the whole of their lives. Its theme was that favourite topic, the baseness of to-day contrasted with the noble past. In *Chirons*, however, the difference appears to have been political only.¹ These Chirons, who formed the chorus, were a multiplication of a single figure, the Centaur Chiron, famous for his immense knowledge and wisdom, which made him to Greek imagination a great instructor of youth. Early enough to be attributed to Hesiod, there existed a body of writing known as *Chiron's Maxims*, and it was as such mentors that the chorus appear:

σκήψιν μὲν Χείρωνες ἐλήλυμεν, ὡς ὑποθήκας² . . .

The passage breaks off because Hephaestion, who quotes it, is not interested in the speech or the play, but only in the fact that Cratinus used *ἐλήλυμεν* for *ἐληλύθαμεν*. 'Ostensibly we Chirons have come so as to . . . maxims.' They have been summoned to give sage advice, but their real purpose is . . . it may have been horse-play, or a comic song, or almost anything else. The reason for invoking their aid was disgust with the Periclean regime. Somewhere occurred a lyrical parody of legend :³

Στάσις δὲ καὶ πρεσβυγενὴς Κρόνος ἀλλήλοισι μίγνente
μέγιστον τίκτετον τύραννον,
ὃν δὴ κεφαληγερέταν θεοὶ καλέουσιν.

* Strife and primeval Cronos mingling together brought to birth a mighty monarch, him whom gods name the high-brow Jove.' For this Athenian Zeus a consort was provided:⁴

Ἦραν τέ οἱ Ἀσπασίαν τίκτει Καταπυγούνη
παλλακὴν κυνώπιδα,

¹ Not this play, but *Riches*, was the first of the comedies depicting the Athenian Golden Age of fantastic comfort. See below, p. 139.

² Fr. 235.

³ Fr. 240: *κεφαληγερέται* IS a *νεφεληγερέταν*, "cloud-gathering," the Homeric epithet of Zeus.

⁴ Fr. *Κυνῶπις*, * with eyes like a dog's' (proverbial of shamelessness) is a parody of *βοῶπις*, the Homeric epithet of Hera.

' and to him (Cronos) Lewdness bare Hera-Aspasia, the concubine with the eyes of bitchery '. From the complaints against the rule of these deities comes apparently the phrase *δωροδοκούντων αἰξὺ οὐρανία*, ' the Horn of Plenty for bribe-takers ' :¹ this may be a general charge of corruption in politics, or may allude to Pericles' institution of payment for public services. That Strife is said to be his mother points to the bitter struggles—with Cimon, Thucydides, and others—by which he rose to primacy in Athens.

On the chance of remedying this corruption the malcontent (we are to suppose) summons Chiron, and finds his prayer lavishly answered by a whole squadron of cantering Centaurs, each bringing a battery of maxims. Later the malcontent (probably by their advice) determined to call up from the dead the one Athenian statesman who had been both wise and incorruptible—Solon himself. There followed a ceremony of incantation, containing the words :²

*ἄγε δὴ πρὸς ἔω πρῶτον ἀπάντων ἴστω καὶ λάμβανε χερσὶν
σχῖνον μεγάλην.*

' Come now, first of all turn towards the East and take in your hands a great squill.' This no doubt formed part of the ceremony whereby the ghost of Solon was raised from Hades.³ He duly appeared, and we possess two lines from his opening speech :⁴

*οἰκῶ δὲ νῆσον, ὥς μὲν ἀνθρώπων λόγος,
ἐσπαρμένος κατὰ πᾶσαν Αἴαντος πόλιν.*

' And I dwell on an island, strewn (so at least men say) throughout the country of Ajax.' It was Solon's dying command that his ashes should be scattered over the island of Salamis. What part was taken by the great law-giver and patriot is not plain. Nor do we find what we should expect—quotations, exact or parodied, from Solon's work, at any rate among the remains of it that we possess, nor does any ancient

¹ Fr. 244.

² Fr. 232.

³ It has, however, been thought part of an incantation against Pericles
ὁ σχινοκέφαλος [*Thracian Women*, fr. 71).
⁴ Fr. 228.

writer mention such passages; there is perhaps one scrap.¹ But it was almost certainly he who delivered a description of the innocence and happiness that marked an earlier generation of Athenians. Of their primitive ways we are told :²

οἷς ἦν μέγιστος ὄρκος
ἅπαντι λόγῳ κύων, ἔπειτα χῆν, θεοὺς δ' ἐσίγων.

ⁱ Whose most solemn oath in any speech was the dog, then the goose : they named no god.' To this large-hearted simplicity the words ἐξ ἀσαμίνθου κύλικος λείβων³ may apply: they appear to mean (as is appropriate to the wine-loving Cratinus) 'pouring libations from a goblet as big as a bath-tub'. This description of early bliss is reflected in a lyric of the chorus:⁴

μακάριος ἦν ὁ πρὸ τοῦ βίος
βροτοῖσι πρὸς τὰ νῦν, ὃν εἶχον ἄνδρες
ἀγανόφρονες ἡδυλόγῳ σοφίᾳ βροτῶν περισσοκαλλεῖς.

'Blessed, compared with to-day, was the life of earlier mortals, which was lived by radiant-hearted men made wondrous fair by the charming voice of mortal wisdom.' A couple of lines⁵ recall the gleaming loveliness where-with Pindar⁶ pictures the blessed who live at ease :

ἀπαλὸν δὲ σισύμβριον ἢ ῥόδον ἢ κρίνον παρ' οὗς ἐθάκει·
μετὰ χερσὶ δὲ μῆλον ἕκαστος ἔχων σκίπωνά τ' ἡγύραζον.

'The soft mint or rose or lily nestled beside their ear : with an apple and a staff in hand they haunted the piazza.' But, as was said, the outcome of Solon's reappearance on the scene of his reforms is unknown :

¹ Hesychius quotes the word αὐτόφοροι as being used here : ὁ δὲ Κρατῖνος ἐν Χείρωνι (sic) τοὺς τὰ κοινὰ φαριζομένους ἔφη (fr. 248). It ought not to mean that, as Kock points out. Possibly it is a reminiscence of the famous *avrb̄s κῆρυξ* (Solon, fr. I Bergk), which means both 'auctioning off my own cargo' and 'myself the herald' (of our disgrace in Salamis).

² Fr. 231. Socrates' favourite oath, then, was extremely old-fashioned.

³ Fr. 234.

⁴ Fr. 238. It is hard to believe that Cratinus wrote *βροτοῖσι, ἄνδρες, βροτῶν*, all three; but no satisfactory emendation has been proposed.

⁵ Fr. 239. I have printed what seems to give the best sense and scansion.

⁶ O./., II, 75 sqq.; fr. 95 (Boeckh).

there is one line¹ that seems to depict him doing justice upon wicked citizens :

καὶ πρῶτον μὲν παρὰ ναυτοδικῶν ἀπάγω τρία κνώδαλ' ἀναιδῆ,

¹ first I drag three shameless brutes from before the Naval Board .'. The date of the *Chirons* lies in the last few years before the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War.²

ODYSSES (Ὀδυσσῆς) is the plural of "Odysseus" with the meaning "Odysseus and his comrades". It was a merry burlesque of the Cyclops-episode in Homer; and, being concerned entirely with legend, is assigned to the period (439-7 B.C.) during which the licence of comedy was restricted by law. Platonius reports that this play had neither lyrics nor parabasis,³ and that it contained censure of no one, only ridicule of the *Odyssey*.⁴

¹ Fr. 233. The *ναυτοδίκαι* acted as a grand jury in cases of alleged assumption of citizenship by aliens. If they found a "true bill," the case came before the *Heliasta*.

² Geissler (*Chronologie*, pp. 20 sq.) puts it later than 440 in view of Aspasia's notoriety, but earlier than 431 because there was apparently no mention of the war. Again, in view of "Morychides' decree," which stopped personal satire in 439-7, he puts it at 436-2.

³ Kaibel, p. 4: τοιοῦτος οὖν ἐστὶν ὁ τῆς μέσης κωμῳδίας τύπος, οἷός ἐστιν ὁ Αἰολοσικῶν Ἀριστοφάνους καὶ οἱ Ὀδυσσεῖς Κρατίνου, καὶ πλείστα τῶν παλαιῶν δραμάτων οὔτε χορικά οὔτε παραβάσεις ἔχοντα. Korte (Pauli-Wissowa, XXII, 1652) contradicts Platonius "because fragments 144 and 145 certainly come from choric songs, and frag. 146 probably from the parabasis". But there is nothing whatever to show that anapaests were always sung: many of them were delivered in recitative; and fr. 144 being entirely in paracemiacs, an apparently unique arrangement (Hephaestion, 8, 8), we cannot assume either method of rendering. Fr. 145 may belong to the long anapaestic measure, or to the system of paracemiacs just mentioned, or the heroic hexameter (used elsewhere in *Ὀδυσσῆς*), which was certainly not sung, but chanted in recitative. Fr. 146 is so corrupt textually that it cannot be scanned at all. Kaibel (*Hermes*, X X X, 1895, p. 75) explains the text of Platonius quite differently. "The lack of a chorus (i.e. of choric songs) refers to the *Aiolosikon*, and the Middle Comedy; the *Ὀδυσσῆς* of Cratinus is quoted as an instance of non-political comedy, which had this in common with the *Aiolosikon*, that in both a literary travesty or parody took the place of political satire." The truth appears to be that there was of course a chorus, but not "lyrics" (χορικά): Platonius says; nevertheless they chanted anapaests. As to a parabasis, the only "proof" is the obscure and corrupt single line(?)

οὐκ ἰδίᾳ τὰδ' οὐκετὸν θοι τὰπὶ Χαριζένης

(fr. 146) which to be sure, Kaibel (p. 81) writes thus:

οὐκ ἴδι' ἄττ', ἀλλ' οὐκέτ' ὄνθ' οἶα τὰπὶ Χαριζένης.

⁴ Kaibel, p. 5: οἱ γοῦν Ὀδυσσεῖς Κρατίνου οὐδενὸς ἐπιτίμησιν ἔχουσι, διασυρμῶν δὲ τῆς Ὀδυσσεΐας τοῦ Ὀμήρου.

Though there were no choric songs, there was a chorus, the companions of Odysseus. These apparently opened the drama with the words :

σιγάν νυν ἅπας ἔχε σιγάν,
καὶ πάντα λόγον τάχα πνεύσει·
ἡμῖν δ' Ἰθάκη πατρίς ἐστίν,
πλέον μιν δ' ἄμ' Ὀδυσσεὺς θείει.

' Silence, now ! Every one keep silence, and you shall learn the whole story. Our country is Ithaca, and we are at sea with glorious Odysseus.' ¹ These brisk lines in unusual rhythm ² are plainly the opening chant of the sailors, who may be supposed to enter the orchestra in a boat on rollers, like Charon in the *Frogs*. To this craft we may find an allusion in the phrase *νεοχμόν τι παρήχθαι ἄθυρμα* : * that a new-fangled toy has been brought along'. ³ These words are, however, usually explained ⁴ as " a new type of

¹Fr. 144. It is held by Bergk (*Rel. Com. Att.*, p. 160), followed by Meineke (II, p. 100), Kock (*ad loc.*) Korte (Pauly-Wissowa, XXII, 1652) and Kaibel (*Hermes*, XXX, 1895, p. 81) that this passage belongs to the end. Kock's argument is amazing: " ad extremam fabulam haec chori verba pertinere docet Eurip. Cycl., 708-9 ". The real arguments are (i) that in Homer Odysseus' name is revealed only at the end; (ii) that the singular *πνεύσει* suggests an address to Polyphemus. But, as for (i) the revelation may have been to the audience; and, for (ii), the singular *πνεύσει* is explained by the singular *ἔχε* with *anas*. Strong arguments for placing the passage at the opening are, that the whole tone of the first two lines suggests a prologue, and that *πλέον μιν*, while quite unnatural to a sentence the only purpose of which is to reveal Noman's true name, does on the other hand fit a general preliminary announcement perfectly.

²They are all paroemiac anapaests (see pp. 373 sq.). ³Fr. 145.

⁴So Meineke and Kock, who suggests as the final verse of the play:

ἡγείσθ' ἔγω· μετρίως δὲ δοκεῖ νεοχμόν τι παρήχθαι ἄθυρμα,

which involves the gratuitous miracle that Aristophanes, in the last line of the *Clouds*, imitated the last line of Cratinus' *Odysses* without detection by his Scholiasts, Athenseus, or the lexicographers. As for the metre, Meineke says that Elmsley (on *Medea*, p. 268) was wrong in thinking these words part of an anapaestic tetrameter. He cannot possibly know this (see above, p. 129), but is misled by his desire to associate the passage with the *aiyav vw* fragment. Kaibel (*Joe. cit.*, p. 81) also puts these words at the close, as part of the parabasis in which he believes, despite Platonius; he agrees too that they mean a new kind of play. Of course *ἀσπυπ* could quite well be used of a literary or musical composition; but it need not. The only argument (not very strong) in favour of the boat is the word *παρήχθαι*—" brought along " (or even " alongside "). On the other hand, *ἄθυρμα* does not suit the boat, unless it were a "toy" or "delight," as indeed it may well have been, careering round the orchestra on rollers while Odysseus gazed at the Great Bear, no doubt in the wrong direction.

comedy," the poet being for a time debarred by law from the normal contemporary satire. But whether *ddvp/Ma* means the ship or not, there are plain allusions to the progress of the voyage—not only the direction :¹

ἐπ' ἀριστερ' αἰὲ τὴν ἄρκτον ἔχων λάμπουσιν, ἕως ἂν ἐφεύρης . . .

' ever keeping on your left the radiant Bear, until you find . . .,' but also words² almost certainly uttered in presence of the audience by a man on the freak-ship :

τίνες αὖ πόντον κατέχουσ' αὔραι ; νέφος οὐράνιον τόδ' ὀρώμαι.

' What new breezes sweep the sea ? Yonder I espy a cloud in the heavens.' This line, we know,³ occurred very early in the play. The same scene no doubt contained the unusual rhythm of

ὥς ἂν μᾶλλον τοῖς πηδαλίοις ἢ ναῦς ἡμῖν πειθαρχῇ,

' so that our ship may more readily obey the steering-oars .⁴ All these lines clearly belong to the opening, where the Greeks approach Sicily and the home of Polyphemus.

In due course Odysseus offers wine to the Cyclops, with a delicious joke. Homer's story is that Polyphemus, after drinking, is so delighted that he asks the stranger his name and is told " Noman " (OSns). So familiar is this to Cratinus and his hearers that Odysseus is ludicrously supposed equally familiar with it. ' Come now, take this wine ; drink it at once, and straightway ask me my name ':

τῇ νῦν τόδε πίθι λαβὼν ἤδη, καὶ τοῦνομά μ' εὐθύς ἐρώτα.⁵

¹ Fr. 149. The words are a reminiscence of Calypso's instruction, *Od.*, V, 276 sq. In Cratinus they may well have been uttered by Odysseus on ship-board to his steersman.

² Fr. 138.

³ Hephaestion (VIII, 5) says that Cratinus wrote it *εἰς τοὺς Ὀδυσσεύας εἰσβάλλων*.

⁴ Fr. 139. Hephaestion (*loc. cit.*) quotes it to show that in anapaestic tetrameters the penultimate foot may be a spondee.

⁵ Fr. 141. Kock sees the joke, but others have laboured to make the passage " sensible," e.g. Herwerden : . . ., *λαβὼν. ἤσθη καὶ τοῦνομά μ' εὐθύς ἐρώτα*. But Meineke (*ap.* Kock), in his startled recoil from Cratinus' absurdity, becomes funny over again by himself:

τῇ νῦν τόδε πίθι λαβὼν ἤδη· μὴ τοῦνομά μ' εὐθύς ἐρώτα.

' Wherefore, seizing all you trusty comrades, I shall roast you, boil you, bake you on coals, plunge you into brine and vinegar-brine and warm garlic-brine; and whichever of you strikes me as best cooked I shall devour, O soldiers.' One line depicts the panic of these unhappy guests—' Others are skulking under the beds':

ἄλλοι δ' ἄλυσκάζουσιν ὑπὸ ταῖς κλινίσιν.¹

Perhaps a verse² of unknown authorship belongs to this comedy :

τίς δὲ σ' ἐτύφλωσεν; τίς ἀφείλετο λαμπάδος αὐγὰς;

' But who has blinded you? Who has taken away the beams of the lamp (i.e. your single eye)? ' It would of course be the inquiry of the other Cyclopes,³ and if so, we may believe in the theory⁴ that this comedy had a double chorus, of twelve Greek sailors and twelve Cyclopes.

Much less is known about the THRACIAN WOMEN (©pcurrcu), which contained allusions to contemporary politics, but was mostly concerned with the Athenian worship of that Thracian goddess, Bendis, whose all-night festival caused Socrates to visit Cephalus and engage in the most celebrated of his conversations.⁶ Little is now to be read, however, concerning the religious or ceremonial element. We know from Hesychius⁶ that Cratinus mentioned Bendis, giving her the epithet **δίλογχος**, that is "having two functions"—the heavenly and the infernal—for they think the moon is Bendis and Artemis. To Artemis as huntress the word **ἀρκύωρος**⁷ may point, as it means "warden of the nets". And Photius,⁸ the lexicographer, quotes from this play the word **κύβηβος**, which he defines as 'possessed, dominated by, the mother of the gods \

¹ Fr. 137.

² Fr. 150.

³ Cp. *Od.*, IX, 403 *sqq.*

⁴ Kaibel (*be. cit.*). This able article contains some highly doubtful imaginings, as for example (p. 81) that Odysseus brought the hostile semi-chorus over to his side by a speech on the advantages of democracy.

⁵ Plato, *Republic*, 354A.

⁶ s.v. **δίλογχον** (fr. 80).

⁷ Fr. 79-

⁸ s.v. **κύβηβος** (fr. 82). Virgil (*Aen.*, X, 220) calls Cybele herself Cybebe.

The Bendidean element must have been large, since the play is named from the foreign worshippers who brought the cult to Athens and who may have provided even more noise than religion. Indeed a grave probability exists that these outlandish priestesses provided something between a revival-service and a jazz-band. For the word *συρβηνεύς* is quoted as from the *Thracian Women*, and a chorus of these was one 'in which each performer must sing whatever he is inclined to sing, paying no attention to the conductor'; it is also defined as 'persons who play the flute with uproar'. There is an anonymous line,

τυρβηνέων τι καινὸν ἐργαστήριον,

'a novel studio of jazz-singers,' which it is tempting to assign to our play.¹

As for public affairs, we light upon a sparkling and important passage² about the usual victim :

*ὁ σχινοκέφαλος Ζεὺς ὁδὶ προσέρχεται
Περικλέης, τῷδέων ἐπὶ τοῦ κρανίου
ἔχων, ἐπειδὴ τοῦστρακὸν παροίχεται.*

¹ Yonder comes our squill-headed Zeus, Pericles, wearing the Concert-Hall on his skull because the tiling has disappeared.' This is full of excellent matter which must have sent storms of laughter bellowing along the benches. Pericles is Zeus because virtual sovereign of Athens and the Empire, and squill-headed as afflicted with an elongated head. Sensitive about this deformity, he habitually wore a great helmet, for which the Concert-Hall is here substituted. It commemorated the overthrow of the Persian invaders, and, being built in imitation of Xerxes' state-marquee, had a dome which the lively Cratinus imagines as a hat suitable to the long-headed Attic Zeus. Of course, he must have some covering, because all the tiles have been blown away—or have blown over. It is a brilliant *double entente*. When the tiling is blown off a house, some new protection is needed, even if we have to

¹ For the whole wild business see Kock on fr. 84 (*συρβηνεύς*).

² Fr. 71.

steal a public building. And when the threat of ostracism, the tile-vote of censure, has blown over, can we wonder if the threatened statesman in his relief struts about town with our latest architecture instead of a hat?

Pericles escaped ostracism in 444, so that this comedy may be confidently dated at 443 or very soon after. Little else survives of which we can make anything. In the previous year Psammetichus, king of Egypt, had bestowed on the Athenians a great gift of corn and (apparently) of gold. Cratinus refers to attempted embezzlement of this :

ὅτι τοὺς κόρακας τὰς Αἰγύπτου χρυσία κλέπτοντας ἔπαυσαν,¹

'because they thwarted the crows that would steal the Egyptian gold plate'.

The ARCHILOCHI (Ἀρχίλοχοι) seems to have been a highly important play: for instance it might have made more definite for us the relation between Cratinus and the only earlier poet known to have influenced him. The title apparently means "Archilochus and his friends". The date is fixed closely by the pathetic praise bestowed on Cimon, who must have died a little before :²

καὶ γὰρ ἡῶχον Μητρούβιος ὁ γραμματεὺς
σὶν ἄνδρι θείῳ καὶ φιλοξενωτάτῳ
καὶ πάντ' ἀρίστῳ τῷ Πανελλήνων πρόμῳ
Κίμωνι λιπαρὸν γῆρας εὐωχούμενος
αἰῶνα πάντα συνδιατρίψειν. ὁ δὲ λιπὼν
βέβηκε πρίτερος.

'For I, too, Metrobius the clerk, rejoiced in the prospect of spending all my life with Cimon, that glorious and most hospitable man, far the best chieftain of all Greece, passing a mellow old age amid good cheer. But he has left us and gone before.' Cimon died in camp before Citium in 449 B.C., so that this comedy probably belongs to 448. As for its subject, we know that a "swarm" of poets appeared: it

¹ Fr. 73. Meineke reads *cirava-cv*, making an allusion in the parabasis to the poet's own services. The incident is mentioned by Pherecrates also in the *AonkqbMo-icakos* (fr. 47).

² Fr. 1.

is probable that they were all epic (or at least hexameter) poets¹ and possible that they were hauled up out or Hades on a fisherman's hook like the philosophers in Lucian.² The title shows that mordant criticism abounded, Archilochus being proverbial for that: one fragment³ mentions it:

εἶδες τὴν θασίαν ἄλμην οἷ' ἅπτα βαύζει;
ὡς εὖ καὶ ταχέως ἀπετίσατο καὶ παραχρήμα.
οὐ μέντοι παρὰ κωφῶν ὁ τυφλὸς εἴοικε λαλήσαι.

' Did you notice how the Thasian brine-sauce cries aloud? How well and rapidly and promptly he made reprisals! But there is no likelihood of this being a blind man talking to the deaf.' Meineke⁴ thinks that certain distinguished poets held a carnival of mutual detraction, thus all being named Archilochi.

In the LAWS (Νόμοι) it is almost certain that Solon, the lawgiver, appeared: the line⁵

ὑμῶν εἰς μὲν ἕκαστος ἀλώπηξ θωροδοκεῖται,

' each of you is a bribe-taking fox,' irresistibly recalls the famous warning against Peisistratus uttered by Solon to his countrymen:

ὑμῶν δ' εἰς μὲν ἕκαστος ἀλώπεκος ἔχνεσι βαίνει.

It has been thought⁶ that this play was a protest against the recent curtailment of the powers held by the Areopagus. However that may be, Meineke's⁷ charming idea deserves applause, that in the line⁸

ἢ πρεσβῦται πάνν γηράλεσι σκήπτροισιν ἄκασκα βιβῶντες.

' Verily as old men sorely stricken with years, moving gently forward with their staves ' . . . is meant a procession of decrepit Laws which forms the chorus.

¹ Diog. Laert., *Proem.*, XII: καὶ οἱ ποιηταὶ σοφισταί, καθὰ καὶ Κρατῖνος ἐν Ἀρχιλόχῳ (sic) τοὺς περὶ Ὀμηρον καὶ Ἡσιόδον ἐπαινῶν οὕτως καλεῖ.

² Fr. 2. οἷον σοφιστῶν σμῆνος ἀνεδιφῆσατε. There is no proof (as we might have expected) these ancients were pitted against contemporaries of Cratinus.

³ Fr. 6. Thasos was Archilochus' home; it was famous for its sauce piquante,

⁴ I I, p. 25.

⁵ Fr. 128. Cp. Solon, fr. X, 6 (Bergk).

⁶ Bergk {*Rel. Com. Att.*, p. 132}.

⁷ I I, p. 89.

⁸ Fr. 126.

We may imagine that Solon, their father, acted as their champion and comforter.

The EUNEIMS (Εὐνεῖδαι—a guild of cithara-players who performed the music at religious services) is said¹ to have been found beneath the pillow of Alexander the Great after his death. It was full of parodies,² among them that "Rule Britanny" of which Aristophanes³ speaks. It contained one of the very few pathetic passages⁴ that we know from Cratinus :

στένομεν μεμνημένοι
ἥθης ἐκείνης νοῦ τε τοῦδε καὶ φρενῶν,
ὅτι οὐ φιλοῦσιν πῶς μετ' ἀλλήλων μένειν.

' We sigh to think of our distant youth and of our present shrewdness, that they refuse to dwell together.' Further, one of Cratinus' audacious compounds occurred in this work—ἀμφιανακτίζειν, 'to sing hymns that begin *Praise ye the Lord*'⁶ Nothing is known of the plot, but the title, the frequency of parody, and the phrase τέκτονες εὐπαλάμων ὕμνων⁶ suggest that the *Euneidce* treated of song-writers and their various styles, as the *Archilochi* of epic poets.

Of no other play written by Cratinus can we draw an outline, however faint. Let us then examine certain fragments grouped according to their subjects.

A good number throw light on theatrical history or the profession of a playwright. Some archon distinguished himself by refusing choruses both to Sophocles and to Cratinus. The later fact is attested by Hesychius ;⁷ as for the former, Cratinus writes of this archon in the HERDSMEN :⁸

ὅς οὐκ ἔδωκεν αἰτοῦντι Σοφοκλέει χορόν,
τῷ Κλεομάχῳ δ', ὃν οὐκ ἂν ᾗξίουν ἐγὼ
ἐμοὶ διδάσκειν οὐδ' ἂν εἰς Ἀδώνια.

¹Ptolemæus Hephæstio *ap.* Photius, *Bibl.* 192, p. 151.

²Athenæus, XV, 689c. ³*Knights*, 529. See above, p. 115.

⁴Fr. 65. Kock suggests the above full version ; but the last line is almost entirely his composition.

⁵The 'nomes' of Terpander regularly began with the words ἀμφὶ μοὶ αὐτὶς ἄνακτα or the like. Aristophanes, too, parodies this opening (*Clouds*, 598).

⁶Fr. 70. See *Knights**, 530, and p. 115 above.

⁷S.V. πυρπερέγγει.

⁸Fr. 15.

' Who refused Sophocles' request for a chorus, but gave one to Cleomachus' son,¹ whom I should think unfit to produce a play for me even at the feast of Adonis.' In another place² the ingenious poet contrives to combine, and no doubt infuriate, two of his most distinguished contemporaries in a single deadly word :

ὑπολεπτολόγος, γνωμοδιώκτης, εὐριπιδαριστοφανίζων.

' A subtle logic-chopping, epigram-chasing Euripid-aristophanizer ! ' It is as if W. S. Gilbert had called some one an Ibsene-Pinero. Other passages deal vivaciously with the audience. They are apparently credited with good taste because they attend dramatic performances with the regularity of seasonal winds :

*ἐτήσαιο γὰρ πρόσιτ' αἰεὶ πρὸς τὴν τέχνην.*³

But elsewhere he feels it necessary to bid them have all their wits about them and appreciate original work : ⁴

*ἀφυπνίζεσθαι χρὴ πάντα θεατὴν
ἀπὸ μὲν βλεφάρων αὐθμερινῶν ποιητῶν λήρον ἀφέντα.*

' Wake up, all you spectators, and shake from your eyelids the rubbish of ephemeral poets.' Cratinus, as we have had opportunity to observe, cherished no mean opinion of his own powers : another fragment about the audience justifies him—poetry, dignity, playfulness, all charmingly blent : ⁵

*χαῖρ' ὦ μέγ' ἀχρειογέλως δμίλε ταῖς ἐπίβδαις,
τῆς ἡμετέρας σοφίας κριτῆς ἄριστε πάντων ·
εὐδαίμων' ἔτικτέ σε μῆτηρ ἱκρίων ψύφησης.*

' Hail, ye throngs that laugh on the other side of your faces next morning, the world's best judges of my art: your mother, the thunder of the benches, bore you to happiness.' On another occasion, when defeated,

¹Gnesippus, ridiculed in Cratinus' *Ωραι* (fr. 256) as a tragic poet who used an effeminate chorus.

²Fr. 307. These notable words are reported by the Scholiast on Plato, *Apology*, 19c: ' Ἀριστοφάνης . . . ἐκωμωδεῖτο ἐπὶ τῷ σκώπτειν μὲν Εὐριπίδην, μιμῆσθαι δ' αὐτόν, κτέ.

³Fr. 23.

⁴Fr. 306.

⁵Fr. 323. It is charming despite its obscurity, and only of genuine poetry can this ever be said. For the metre see p. 390.

he appears to have called the auditorium 'a sink of spectators V. It was some such reverse that provoked an eloquently indignant address to his Muse :

ὅτε σὺ τοὺς καλοὺς θριάμβους ἀναρίτουσ' ἀπηχθάνου.

'When thou didst meet disfavour though drawing from thy wells those fair dithyrambs.'

Next, it is convenient to assemble here certain examples of Cratinus' fertility of invention. CLEOBULINI², named after a famous composer of puzzles, seems to have depicted a number of women (Cleobulina and her friends) who propounded riddles. RICHES (Πλούτοι³) was important as the first example of a very favourite⁴ type of comedy, which portrayed an imaginary Golden Age :

οἷς δὴ βασιλεὺς Κρόνος ἦν τὸ παλαιὸν
ὅτε τοῖς ἄρτοις ἡστραγάλιζον, μᾶζαι δ' ἐν ταῖσι παλαιόστραις
Αἰγιναῖαι κατεβίβληντο δρυπετεῖς βώλοισι τε κομῶσαι.⁵

'Among whom Cronos was king of yore, when they used loaves for dice and the wrestling-schools were strewn with Æginetan cakes that fell from the trees and blossomed out of the sods.' Not only did Heaven send them up blessings (crops, etc.) without their labour—αὐτόματα τοῖσι θεὸς ἀνλεῖ τὰγαθά⁶—but the most exquisite fish swam (or walked ?) up, introducing themselves by name to the pampered lieges of Cronos.⁷ The MEN OF S E R I P I (Σερίφιοι): a l t with an exploit of Perseus, who, by means of the Gorgon's head, turned into stone the whole island and

¹ Fr. 347. Photius says that Cratinus used the phrase Λέρνη θεατῶν in the sense κακὸν θέατρον. Hesychius says of Λέρνη θεατῶν: παροιμία τίς ἐστίν 'Αργολικὴ Λέρνη κακῶν . . . τὰ γὰρ ἀποκαθάρματα εἰς τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον ἐνίβαλλον.

² Fr. 36. This line comes from a play with the curious name Διδασκαλία—Dramatic Productions. Probably the play dealt entirely with recent dramatic history and contained comment on the poet's contemporaries and on his own career. H e s y (s.v. πυρπερέγχει) l s us that the BOVVOXW opened with a dithyramb.

³ The point of the plural is uncertain.

⁴ Athenaeus, VI, 267e sqq.

⁵ Fr. 165.

⁶ Fr.

160.

⁷ Fr. 161. The above seems the only way of explaining ἐγὼ γάρ εἰμι BVVVIS κτῆ.

its inhabitants. The words αἶρε δεῦρο τοὺς βρικέλους,¹ 'raise hither the tragic masks,' suggest a ludicrously terrific scene in which Perseus directed the property-man to haul into view some dreadful mask already familiar to his audience from tragedy. The tale of Andromeda was introduced, for we learn that Cratinus called her "bait"² for the monster. Perseus in his journey through the air saw the City of Slaves, inhabited by villainous *nouveaux riches*.

A few delightful passages may be cited that have come down to us merely as metrical instances. The verse named after Cratinus himself is exemplified in an amusing blend of another man's line with words of Cratinus' own :

εἴνε κισσοχαῖτ' ἀναξ χαῖρ', ἔφασκ' Ἐκφαντίδης.³

'O Dionysus ivy-crowned, hail!—to quote Ecphantides.' The simple frolicking rhythm⁴ has been developed into a rather befuddled but happily drunken roll, the effect of which is perhaps even more evident in another specimen—'this chorus can bear all, endure all':

πάντα φορητὰ πάντα τολμητὰ τῷδε τῷ χορῷ.⁵

One can almost see Cratinus' feet treading on one another. The Phalæcean is beautifully presented in this couplet.⁶

χαῖρ' ὦ χρυσοκίρας βάβακτα κήλων
Πάν, Πελασγικὸν Ἄργος ἐμβατεύων.

'Hail, thou of the golden horns, revelling and lustful, Pan that hauntest Pelasgian Argos.'

As a last quotation let us take two lines,⁷ from an unnamed comedy, which exhibit Cratinus' whimsical fancy, love of good cheer, and vigorous diction :

γαυριῶσαι δ' ἀναμένουσιν ὧδ' ἐπηγλαισμένοι
μείρακες παῖδραὶ τράπεζαι τρισκελεῖς σφενδάμνιοι.

¹ Fr. 205.

² Fr. 216 (δελιάστρα).

³ Fr. 324. This is τὸ καλούμενον Κρατίνειον (Hephæstion, XV, 24). See below, p. 388.

⁴ That is, the measure found in the first three words (εἴνε . . . ἀναξ) and used by Aristophanes in a lovely little song (*Knights*, 551 *sqq.*). See below, pp. 209, 388.

⁵ Fr. 324.

⁶ Fr. 321. See below, p. 389.

⁷ Fr. 301.

' Here in wanton splendour await us radiant damsels—three-legged tables of maple-wood.'

A definite conception of Cratinus' spirit and work, save in one highly important particular, may be gained from the fragments that we have discussed. His only model appears to have been Archilochus, the great satirist, and his attacks were no less unsparing. Platonius writes :¹ ' Cratinus, the poet of the Old Comedy, is bitter in abuse, as being an imitator of Archilochus. Unlike Aristophanes, who avoids the vulgarity of invective by infusing charm into his gibes, he simply sets down his invective against offenders bald-headed, as the phrase goes.' That Cratinus is ruthless no one doubts ; but that he wrote with charm, even in full attack, is equally plain from our fragments. But for many generations the only feature of Old Comedy that struck readers was its frank invective. This was the effect of the Roman imperial *regime*. Nevertheless, Cratinus was regarded by all ancient scholars and critics as the first great comic playwright, Epicharmus being important in their eyes rather as a social satirist, " philosopher," and moralist. An interesting comment² describes him as ' very poetical, composing in the Æschylean manner,' a verdict probably founded on the satyric plays of Æschylus and justified even by their fragments—indeed, in a sense, by the tragedies also.

The exception referred to above is the dramaturgy of Cratinus, his power to construct plots, " drama " in the most exact sense. We possess in fact only one³

¹ Kaibel, p. 6: Κρατίνος, ὁ τῆς παλαιᾶς κωμῳδίας ποιητής, ὅτε δὲ κατὰ τὰς Ἀρχιλόχου ζηλώσεις, αὐστηρὸς μὲν ταῖς λοιδορίαις ἐστίν· οὐ γὰρ ὥσπερ Ἀριστοφάνης ἐπιτρέχειν τὴν χάριν τοῖς σκώμμασι ποιεῖ, τὸ φορτικὸν τῆς ἐπιτιμήσεως διὰ ταύτης ἀναιρῶν, ἀλλ' ἀπλῶς κατὰ τὴν παροιμίαν γυμνῇ τῇ κεφαλῇ τίθησι τὰς βλασφημίας κατὰ τῶν ἁμαρτανόντων. Later he is called πικρὸς λῖαν and his vehemence (τὸ σφοδρὸν τοῦ Κρατίνου) is mentioned casually in a discussion of Eupolis, which shows that it was a familiar element in him.

² Anon. de Com. (Kaibel, p. 7): γέγονε δὲ ποιητικώτατος, κατασκευάζων εἰς τὸν Αἰσχύλου χαρακτήρα.

³ The splendid passage (*Knights*, 526-36) already discussed has no bearing on this topic. Aristophanes in *Clouds*, 739-47, does indeed describe the contents of plays written by his predecessors, but it is impossible to apply the

ancient observation on his plot-technique. Platonius¹ writes : ' Though admirably inventive in the opening and scheme of his plays, he rends his plots to pieces as he goes on, and fills up his plays with inconsequent matter '. On general grounds this is precisely what we should have expected. We know that comedy arose in Sicily from scattered scenes which Epicharmus welded together.² We know also that most of Aristophanes' plays show strictly dramatic development only in the first half, the second being composed of little rudimentary scenes demonstrating the point and value of the comic achievement performed by the protagonist.³ Cratinus, who lies chronologically between Epicharmus and Aristophanes, was practically certain not to have constructed comedies analogous in technique to the *Œdipus Tyrannus* or even the *Prometheus*. But this neat and satisfying theory is sorely menaced, if not destroyed, by the epoch-making discovery of the Argument to the *Dionysalexandros*. Our information reveals a play surpassing in structural excellence every known work of Aristophanes except the *Thesmophoriazusæ* and thus flatly contradicting Platonius. Further, it is fairly clear that the *Odysseus* was of the same type ; but there was little proof in it of Cratinus' constructive skill, as he followed the main lines of the Homeric story. Concerning the *Wine Flask* we cannot say much under this head,⁴ and nothing at all of the

description to Cratinus' work, whether Aristophanes wishes us to do so or not. The passage is true only of " Megarian " comedy (whether written by Megarians or by Athenians): it is absurdly untrue of the man who composed *Nemesis*, *Dionysalexandros*, and the *Wine-Flask*. The Scholiast on *Peace*, 740, reports that ' some say he is hinting at Cratinus as author of such plays' (*τινὲς δὲ φασιν εἰς Κρατῖνον αἰνέειν, ὥς τοιαῦτα ποιῶντα δράματα*). We cannot, of course, in the present state of our knowledge, deny that Cratinus may have written such " slapstick " farce in his early days.

¹ Kaibel, p. 6: *εὐστοχος δὲ ὢν ἐν ταῖς ἐπιβολαῖς τῶν δραμάτων καὶ διασκευαῖς, εἴτα προῶν καὶ διασπῶν τὰς ὑποθέσεις οὐκ ἀκολούθως πληροῖ τὰ δάματα*.

² See above, pp. 84, n o. ³ See below, pp. 299, 302 sq.

⁴ What we are told of the plot suggests (when we remember Aristophanes) that the conversion of Cratinus occurred about the middle of the action, to be followed by scenes depicting his success as a reformed character. This is only a guess: it has no other support than the fact that the reported details do not seem enough to fill a play.

other plays. But the *Dionysalexandros* is an unmistakable and impressive proof that Platonius has given a report erroneous or (at least) too sweeping. Yet he no doubt derives his brief summary from the work of real critics like Didymus, who had Cratinus' whole work before him.

The facts are probably as follows. Epicharmus did influence Attic comedy, but Cratinus was not among those influenced. The first playwright so affected was Crates, who composed social comedy on the model afforded by Epicharmus' *Hope or Wealthy Plunder*, *The Pilgrims*, *The Woman of Megara*. Cratinus seems to have been independent of all this. His only literary precursor was Archilochus, a very great but entirely non-dramatic poet. As for drama, all that Cratinus found available for his instruction was tragedy, and the crude genuinely Attic comedy practised by Chionides and Magnes. In these circumstances his early work naturally would be precisely what Platonius describes it as being. Gradually by his own genius and (it is surely impossible to doubt) by the example of the tragedians, among whom /Eschylus was of most profit to him, he worked his way to a complete structural technique: the *Dionysalexandros*, written when Cratinus was at least fifty-five, proves this beyond question.

As regards three factors in dramatic composition, literary style, theme, and plot-construction, the achievement of Cratinus was remarkable. Late in his life (as we have just seen) he became the first man who ever wrote a fully constructed comedy. As for theme, he originated political comedy, though his work in this respect was perhaps rudimentary. The "bald-headed" onslaughts of which Platonius speaks were invectives against private individuals: this seems certain from the indirectness of political satire which marked his latest work.¹ A more specific theme which

¹ Even the notable gibe at Pericles in the *Thracian Women* may have been only incidental; and that play belongs to Cratinus' middle period.

he introduced (in his **Πλοῦτοι**) was the Golden Age of fantastic material prosperity. Again, so far as we can see, the Old Comedy owes its literary manner to Cratinus: the rich vigour, the poetical power, the zestful fun, the command of idiom, are all exemplified even in our fragments. Horace's remark,¹ that Lucilius is "entirely derived" from Athenian Old Comedy, becomes less surprising as we ponder the earliest of its great exponents. Cratinus is the Falstaff of Greek literature: a rich jovial personality² glows from every isolated line that the metrician or the dictionary-maker has flung to us. He offers a superb blend of great intellect and uproarious good-humour; and after the *Knights* appeared he could say with Sir John: "I am not only witty in myself, but the cause that wit is in other men".

¹ *Sat.*, I, iv, 6: *hinc omnis pendet Lucilius*.

² Cp. *Frogs*, 357: Κρατίνου τοῦ ταυροφάγου γλώττης βακχεῖ' ἐτελέσθη, and Tucker's admirable remarks.

CHAPTER IV

THE SCHOOL OF CRATES

§ i. CRATES

THE eminence of Crates receives impressive testimony from two illustrious writers and critics. Aristophanes, in that famous parabasis where he describes the cruelty of the Athenian public to his predecessors, writes thus ¹ concerning Crates :

*οἷας δὲ Κράτης ὀργὰς ὑμῶν ἠνέσχετο καὶ στυφελισμούς,
ὃς ἀπὸ σμικρᾶς θαπάνης ὑμᾶς ἀριστίζων ἀπέπεμπεν,
ἀπὸ κραιβοτάτου στόματος μύττων ἀστειοτάτας ἐπινοίας·
χοῦτος μέντοι μόνος ἀντήρκει, τοτὲ μὲν πίπτων τοτὲ δ' οὐχί.*

¹ What bad tempers, what outrages, Crates endured from you !—he who with small expense gave you lunch before he sent you home, kneading up the wittiest ideas by aid of a fastidious style. Nevertheless, he, too, pursued a career of mingled failure and success, the only man of them to hold out.' Aristotle, after mentioning the plot-work of Epicharmus and Phormis, goes on: ² ' At Athens, Crates was the first to relinquish the lampoon-form and compose stories or plots of general application'. In a later age the Anonymus writes: ³ ' Crates of Athens. This man, they say, began as an actor. He succeeded Cratinus, was extremely funny and gay, and was the first to

¹ *Knights*, 537-40.

² *Ροεῖς*, 1449b, 7 : τῶν δὲ Ἀθηνησὶ Κράτης πρῶτος ἤρξεν ἀφέμενος τῆς ἰαμβικῆς ἰδέας καθόλου ποιεῖν λόγους καὶ μύθους.

³ *Kaibel*, p. 7 : Κράτης Ἀθηναῖος, τοῦτον ὑποκριτὴν φασὶ γεγονέναι τὸ πρῶτον, ὃς ἐπεβέβληκε Κρατίνῳ, πάνν γελοῖος καὶ ἱλαρὸς γενόμενος, καὶ πρῶτος μεθύοντας ἐν κωμῳδίᾳ προήγαγε. τοῦτον δράματά ἐστιν ἐπτά.

introduce drunken persons into comedy. There are seven plays by him.' The Scholiast on the Aristophanic passage says: 'He was a poet of comedy, who first acted Cratinus' plays, and later became a poet himself'. Suidas reports: 'Crates of Athens, a comic playwright whose brother was Epilycus, an epic poet. There are seven¹ plays of his: **Γείτονες** (*Neighbours*), **Ἡρώες** (*Heroes*), **Θηρία** (*Wild Beasts*), **Λάμια** (*Goblin*), **Πεδῆται** (no doubt a mistake for **Παιδιαί**, *Games*), **Σάμιοι** (*Samians*). He wrote also certain prose works.' 'Crates of Athens, another² comic playwright, also belonging to the Old Comedy. Three plays of his are in circulation: **Θησαυρός** (*Treasure*), **Ὀρνίθες** (*Birds*), **Φιλάργγυρος** (*Miser*).'

Aristotle's statement might seem to imply that Crates was earlier than Cratinus, since the latter, too, composed plots. But the later tradition clearly holds Crates for a successor of Cratinus, and Aristophanes, by mentioning him later, must surely mean that he was Cratinus' junior. The probable explanation is that, although the Sicilians and Cratinus and Crates all constructed plots, Crates innovated by diverging from Cratinus' method (which was to write comedies against specific persons)³ and composing plays of general application: he is influenced by Epicharmus and prepares the way for the Comedy of Manners.

The description given in the *Knights* refers mostly to style. Aristophanes' word **ἐπινοίας** ("ideas") may point to his plots, but could mean incidental dexterities of character-drawing or literary "conceptions" such as epigrams. In any case the passage shows that there existed between Cratinus and Crates as great a

¹ One title is lost from the list that follows, probably **Τόλμαι**.

² The two Cratetes are a mistake of Suidas. But we must not necessarily attribute the three last plays to our Crates. **Θησαυρός** a **Φιλάργγυρος** or **Ὀρνίθες** like Middle or New titles; the **Ὀρνίθες** (of which no fragments survive) is thought by Meineke (I, p. 64) to have been a recension of Magnes' play. The prose works are probably those of Crates, the philosopher and tragic poet.

* This is the meaning of **ιαμβική ἰδία**: there is no direct reference to the iambic metre, but to the lampoons for which that metre was at first exclusively employed.

THE SCHOOL OF CRATES

difference in style as Aristotle shows there was in plot. The word **ἀστειότηας** means the height of wit, a perfect urbanity; and the phrase **κραμβότατον στόμα** is an excellent Attic rendering of what we call "the classical manner in literature". Crates is in this respect the forerunner of Middle and New Comedy, and also in his avoidance of verbal indecency.¹

Tradition assigns him to Cratinus as an actor of his plays, but study of Epicharmean social comedy led him into revolt against his great instructor. Crates' adherence to the restrained and elegant manner had the natural but, for us, melancholy result that he was not quotable, and so was rarely quoted. The dates of his career, if not of his life, can be determined with fair accuracy. From Eusebius² we learn that he 'came into notice' in 450 B.C., no doubt the date of his first production. He was clearly dead by the time (424 B.C.) Aristophanes wrote of him in the *Knights*. The number of his plays is put at eight by Meineke.³ He won at least three victories.⁴ Nothing else is really known about him.⁶

The only play of Crates concerning which we possess substantial information is the **BEASTS** (<dr)pCa). Athenaeus⁶ mentions it as second in time to the *Riches* of Cratinus in his list of extracts from Old Comedy dealing with "the ancient life," and shows that the play contained two disputants, each putting forward his view or claim:

¹ In a recently-discovered fragment (Demiańczuk, p. 29) there is a modest little cough: ἡδὺ γὰρ κάκεινο τὸ δρᾶν, λέγεσθαι δ' οὐ καλόν. Cp. Philémon, fr. 126: ἀλλ' αἰσχύνομαι λέγειν, κτέ.

² In Jerome's version (II, 105, Schoene).

³ I, p. 64. Fifteen titles are to be found in Kock, some being of very doubtful authenticity.

⁴ At the Lenæa (cp. Wilhelm, *Urkunden*, 123). We do not know how he fared at the City Dionysia.

⁵ The Scholiast on Aristophanes (*loc. cit.*) says: ἐξεωνεῖτο τοὺς θεατὰς καὶ τὴν τούτων εὐνοίαν, which is no doubt derived from the gibe of some rival, that he threw nuts and the like among the spectators, a practice of which we read several times in Aristophanes.

⁶ VI, 267e.

- A. ἔπειτα δοῦλον οὐδὲ εἰς κεκτήσεται οὐδὲ δοῦλην,
 ἀλλ' αὐτὸς αὐτῷ δῆτ' ἀνὴρ γέρων διακονήσῃ;
 B. οὐ δῆθ'· ὁδοιποροῦντα γὰρ τὰ πάντ' ἐγὼ ποιήσω,
 A. τί δῆτα τοῦτ' αὐτοῖς πλέον;
 B. πρῶσιςιν αὐθ' ἕκαστον
 τῶν σκευαρίων ὅταν καλῇ τι. παρατίθου τράπεζα.
 αὕτη παρασκευάζε σαυτήν. μᾶττε, θυλάκισκε.
 ἔγχει. κύαθε. ποῦσθ' ἡ κύλιξ; διάνιξ' ἰούσα σαυτήν.
 ἀνάβαινε, μᾶζα. τὴν χύτραν χρῆν ἑξερᾶν τὰ τεῦτλα.
 ἰχθύ, βᾶδιξ'. ἀλλ' οὐδέπω 'πὶ θάτερ' ὀπτὸς εἰμι.
 οὐκουν μεταστρέψας σεαυτὸν ἀλὶ πάσεις ἀλείφω.¹

' What, shall no one possess a male or female slave ? Shall an aged man have to wait on himself ? ' ' Certainly not; I will cause everything to walk.' ' And what good will that do them ? ' ' Each of the utensils will come up of itself when he calls it. " Get into position, Table. Come now, lay yourself. Trough, begin kneading. Pour in, Ladle." Where is the Cup ? " Be off and rinse yourself. Cake, climb on the table." The Jug ought to have poured out the beetroot. " Fish, come along. ' But I'm not fried on the other side yet.' Well, turn yourself over and sprinkle yourself with salt and oil. " '

Next, the speaker's rival is heard : ²

ἀλλ' ἀντίθες τοι· ἐγὼ γὰρ αὐτὰ πάμπалиν
 τὰ θερμὰ λουτρὰ πρῶτον ἄξω τοῖς ἐμοῖς
 ἐπὶ κίωνων ὥσπερ διὰ τοῦ παιωνίου
 ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάττης, ὥσθ' ἐκάστῳ ῥεύσεται
 εἰς τὴν πύelon, ἐμεῖ δὲ θύδωρ' ἀνέχετε'.
 ἔπειτ' ἀλάβαστος εὐθείως ἤξει μύρου
 αὐτόματος, ὃ σπόγγος τε καὶ τὰ σάνδαλα.

¹Fr. 14.

²Fr. 15. An interesting but difficult passage. Note first the perhaps unparalleled crasis of two words separated by a pause—*τοι ἐγὼ* pronounced as *τοῦγῶ*. *τόδ'*· *ἐγὼ* has been suggested, and may serve. *ἐπὶ κίωνων* means an aqueduct, as rare among Greeks as common among Romans, *τὸ παιωνιον* ("healing-place") was no doubt a hospital, but this is the only extant mention of one at this time in Athens. *ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάττης* is not understood by Meineke or Kock, who appear to take it as indicating that the hospital was in the Piræus. A pretty piece of topography ! What Londoner, if he meant " I am going to Greenwich Hospital " would say " I am making for the sea " ? *θάλαττα* probably means a "tank". The evidence is not strong, but the remarks of Verrall (*Agamemnon*, ed. 2, pp. 217 sq.) may be reinforced by Herodotus, VIII, 55, where we learn that the pool of salt-water on the Acropolis was called *θάλασσα*. The fifth line is well explained by Kock "*ipsa aqua alveo repleto dicit inhibete aquam*".

' Now mark the contrast. I for my part will first bring my friends the hot bath-water itself into the tank on pillars as at the hospital, so that it shall flow into the bath-tub for each person ; and the water shall say " when ! " Next, a jar of ointment shall instantly arrive of itself, accompanied by the sponge and slippers.'

The two disputants are perhaps allegorical. What is the point of their dispute ? It is easy to reply that " one of them recommends a life of luxury and ease, the other a simple life in accordance with natural laws " ; ¹ but quite wrong, for two reasons. For, strangely enough, the " disputants " agree (so far as our fragments extend) : both alike depict a condition of life in which comforts will be automatically provided. In fact, had we not Athenaeus' clear testimony, we could imagine most of the second passage as being (save for the metre) a continuation of the first. The other objection is that neither describes a life of archaic simplicity, but a world in which all contemporary comforts find a place, being, however, provided with miraculous promptness and efficiency. No one would believe in a debate comparable to that of the Just and Unjust Arguments in the *Clouds*, were it not that Athenaeus introduces the second passage thus : ² ' Immediately thereupon the person who espouses the contrary argument says . . . ' The opposition must lie between two competing methods of securing a condition which both agree is desirable : a miraculous *confort moderne*.

This play is called *Beasts* because talking animals took an important share in it. Apparently they formed the chorus, and we possess a passage ³ in which their champion urges men to abstain from a meat diet:

- A. καὶ τῶν ῥαφάνων ἔψειν χρὴ . . .
 ἰχθύς τ' ὀπτᾶν τοὺς τε ταρίχους, ἡμῶν δ' ἀπὸ χειρᾶς ἔχουσθαι.
 B. οὐκ ἄρ' ἔτ' οὐδέν κρέας, ὥς ὑμεῖς λέγετ', οὐδ' ὅτι οὐκ ἐδόμισθα,
 οὐδ' ἔτι χορδὰς οὐδέ τάκωνας ποιησόμεθ' οὐδ' ἀλλὰντας ;

¹ Meineke, II, p. 237.

² VI, 268a.

³Fr. 17.

' And you ought to boil radishes . . . fry fish and kippers, and keep your hands off us.' ' So we shall eat, according to your programme, not a scrap of meat any more, and not even get ourselves tripe or rissoles or sausages ? '

Outside the *Beasts* there is little of interest. In the *NEIGHBOURS* (*reiVoies*) Crates introduced drunken men to the comic stage of Athens. A passage¹ from the *SAMIANS* may be quoted for its wildly mysterious matter and the attractive though still cryptic vigour of its close :

σκιπίνη ποτ' ἐν χίτρα τάριχος ἐλεφάντινον
ἦψε ποντιάς χελώνη πευκίνουσι κύμασιν,
κάρκιννοι ποδάνεμοί τε καὶ τανύπτεροι λύκοι
ἰσοριμαχεῖν ἄνδρες οὐρανοῦ καττύματα.
παῖ' ἐκείνον, ἄγχ' ἐκείνον. ἐν Κέφ τις ἡμέρα :

' Once upon a time the sea-tortoise fired an ivory kipper with pine-waves in a leather jug. Crabs, fleet as the wind, and long-feathered wolves . . . the soles of Heaven. Hit him ! Choke him ! What day is it in Ceos ? ' It is comforting to find that Aristophanes understood this : in the second version of the *Thesmophoriazusæ*² he alluded to the ivory kipper with envious delight. The *GAMES* (*IlcuSicu*) has been thought³ to have had a chorus, each member of which represented a different sport; we have a fragment which refers to a kissing-game. Among the untitled extracts occurs the line :

ἀλλὰ σικίαν ποτιβαλῶ τοι, κἄν τὸ λῆς, ἀποσχάσω.

' But I will put a cupping-iron on you, and if you wish I will cut a vein.' It is Doric Greek. Our physicians use Latin, the Roman physicians used Greek, Athenian physicians used a non-Attic dialect.

§ 2. PHRYNICHUS

This playwright, though an Athenian, was alleged by his rivals to be of foreign birth.⁵ Phrynichus'

¹ Fr. 29. In the fourth line *ἰσοριμαχεῖν* (if nothing else) is corrupt. The *τάσιγος ἐλεφάντινον* is possibly an oyster.

² Fr. 333.

⁴ Fr. 41.

⁵

³ Be'rgk, *Rel. Com. Att.*, 131. *Schol., Frogs*, 14.

debut was in 429 B.C.;¹ the latest date in his career that we can be sure of is 405 B.C., when he presented the *Muses*. He wrote ten plays, all the titles of which are known ; but whether he ever won the first prize we cannot say, unless it is true that he was the real author of the *Revellers* produced by Ameipsias.

The longest fragment² comes from EPHIALTES ('Εφιάλτης, " nightmare " or " incubus ") :

ἔστιν δ' αὐτοῦς γε φυλάττεσθαι τῶν νῦν χαλεπώτατον ἔργον.
 ἔχουσι γάρ τι κεντρον ἐν τοῖς δακτύλοις,
 μισάνθρωπον ἄνθος ἥβης.
 εἰθ' ἡδυλογοῦσιν ἅπασιν αἰεὶ κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν περιόντες.
 ἐπὶ τοῖς δὲ βάθροις ὅταν ὦσιν, ἐκεῖ τοῖτοῖς, οἷς ἡδυλογοῦσιν,
 μεγάλας ἄμυχας καταμύξαντες καὶ συγκύψαντες ἅπαντες
 γελῶσιν.

' To protect oneself from them is the most difficult task of the present day, for they have a sting in their fingers, the heartless charm of youthful beauty. Then they flirt with every one incessantly as they walk up and down the market-place ; but when they get on the benches, after inflicting great scratches, they all put their heads together and laugh at those whom they beguile.' It is a terribly vivid bit of observation. Apparently the Ephialtes of this play is the inhuman lovely young person—the " vampire " of our more melodramatic literature—who tears at men's hearts and derides their agony.³ This is a needed footnote to Plato's *Symposium* and *Charmides*.

Concerning the HERMIT (*MOVOT POTTOS*) we possess some scraps of fact. From its title one gathers that it was a character play : no other " Old " example is

¹ Suidas, s.v. Φρόνιχος, writes : κωμικὸς τῶν ἐπιδευτέρων τῆς ἀρχαίας κωμῳδίας. ἐδίδαξε γοῦν ἐπὶ τῆς πρὸ Ὀλυμπιάδος. That is, his career began in 425-2 B.C. (*ἐπιδευτέρων* refers to date : cp. γοῦν). But this is probably wrong. From the Anonymus (Kaibel, p. 8) we learn that Eupolis' first play appeared in 429 B.C., and that Phrynichus began in the same year as Eupolis.

² Fr. 3. περιόντες is a variant form of περιμόντες. The triple - αὐτες at the end is ugly.

³ Kaibel, however [*Hermes*, XXIV, 1889, 35 sqq.], identifies these people with Phrynichus' own rivals in comic drama. There is no evidence whatever for this, unless we are (with Kaibel) to take &αθρα as "the stage". The word is never so used elsewhere, but means "benches"—whether in the theatre or not.

known. It obtained the third prize in 414 B.C., when Ameipsias¹ was first with the *Revellers* and Aristophanes second with the *Birds*. Meton, the celebrated mathematician, who, in the *Birds*, offers to "town-plan" the cloud-city, is mentioned² as a hydraulic engineer :

A. τίς δ' ἐστὶν ὁ μετὰ ταῦτα φροντίζων ;
 B. Μέτων
 ὁ Λευκονοεύς.
 A. οἶδ' ὅτι τὰς κρήνας ἄγων.

' Who is the next thinker ? ' ³ ' Meton of Leuconeia.' ' I know : the man who guides the well-water.' Nicias, too, is mentioned, in language⁴ that implies he is the first engineer of the day :

ἀλλ' ὑπερβέβηκε πολὺ τὸν Νικίαν
 στρατηγίας πλήθει τε καὶ ξυρρήμασιν.

' Why, he surpasses Nicias in the number of commands he has held, and in his inventions.' Syracosius, too, came in for comment.⁵

The MUSES contained what is now the most familiar fragment⁶ of Phrynichus :

μάκαρ Σοφοκλῆς, δὲ πολὺν χρόνον βίους
 ἀπέθανεν, εὐδαίμων ἀνὴρ καὶ θεξίος,
 πολλὰς ποιήσας καὶ καλὰς τραγωδίας
 καλῶς δ' ἐτελεύτησ' οὐδὲν ὑπομείνας κακόν.

' Blessed is Sophocles, who passed so many years before his death, a happy man and brilliant, who wrote many beautiful tragedies and made a beautiful end of a life that knew no misfortune.' Meineke⁷ held that this comedy portrayed a contest (perhaps between Sophocles and Euripides) for the primacy in poetry, with the

¹ As Phrynichus also wrote a *Κωμασταί*, it has been thought that there was but one such play, written by Phrynichus but produced under the name of Ameipsias, because of a law forbidding any comic dramatist to compete with more than one piece. The *Connos* of Ameipsias has also been attributed to him.

² Fr. 21.

³

The Greek is probably corrupt.

⁴ Meineke, p. 589 ; Kock, fr. 22. Cp. *Birds*, 363.

⁵ Schol., *Birds*, 1297. See above, pp. 27 sq.

⁶ Fr. 31.

I, p. 157.

Muses as judges. The only support for this lies in the allusion¹ to a trial:

ἰδοῦ, δέχου τὴν ψῆφον· ὁ κἀδισκος δέ σοι
ὁ μὲν καταλύων υἱότος, ὁ δ' ἀπολλὺς ὀδί.

⁴ See, take your voting-pebble. This is the urn for acquittal, this for destruction.' It is likely enough that another eulogy² of Sophocles belongs to this drama:

οὐ γλύξις οὐδ' ὑπόχυτος, ἀλλὰ Πράμνιος.

This play obtained the second prize in 405 B.C., when Aristophanes was first with the *Frogs* and Plato third with the *Cleophon*.

Among the citations from unnamed dramas we find an amusing reference to the Mutilation of the Hermae :

A ὦ φίλταθ' Ἑρμῆ, καὶ φυλάττου, μὴ πεισὼν
σαντὸν παρακρούσῃ καὶ παράσχης διαβολὴν
ἐτέρῳ Διοκλείδα βουλομένῳ κακὸν τι δρᾶν.

ΕΡΜ. φυλάξομαι, Τεύκρῳ γὰρ οὐχὶ βούλομαι
μήνυτρα δοῦναι τῷ παλαμναίῳ ξένῳ.

' (Farewell ?) beloved Hermes : mind you don't fall and injure yourself, thus providing slander for some new Diocleidas bent on harm.' ' Yes, I'll be careful : I don't wish to give blood-money to that accursed foreigner, Teucrus.'³

Finally, we learn from the *Clouds* that Phrynichus composed a comedy (the title is unknown) in which a drunken old woman travestied Andromeda and was eaten by the sea-monster. The crispness of Aristophanes' language⁴ awakens lively regret that we have not so much as a word left from Phrynichus' own rendering of this spirited concept :

Εὐπολις μὲν τὸν Μαρικᾶν πρῶτιστον παρεῖλκυσεν,
ἐκστρέψας τοὺς ἡμετέρους Ἰππίας κακὸς κακῶς,
προσθεὶς αὐτῷ γραῦν μεθύσθην τοῦ κόρδακος εἵνεχ', ἣν
Φρύνιχος πάλαι πεποίηχ', ἣν τὸ κῆτος ἤσθιεν.

Eupolis ' dragged in for the sake of the *cordax*⁵ a drunken hag whom Phrynichus used ages ago, her whom the

¹ Fr. 32.

³ Fr. 58,

²

⁴ Fr. 65, It alludes to various brands of wine.

Clouds, 549 sqq.

* An indecent dance.

monster ate .' The imperfect tense ἥσθιεν may mean " was for eating," which suggests repeated rushes of the reptile and correspondent shrieking recoils of the woman (perhaps a *cordax a deux*), continued so long as the audience cheered ; or it may mean " was eating," which implies slow and difficult deglutition while the victim performed the *cordax* with her disengaged portion.

It is plain that we possess at present materials insufficient for a full judgment on Phrynichus. Ancient opinion was diverse. The Anonymus calls him ' one of the most notable ' among the old comic playwrights.¹ Aristophanes derides him, together with Lycis and Ameipsias, as a composer of trite vulgarities ;² but the Scholiast notes that ' nothing of this kind is to be found in the extant comedies, though it is likely that examples occurred in the lost plays '. The same writer reports that Phrynichus ' is ridiculed for the mediocrity of his poems, for plagiarism, and for an imperfect ear '. These charges are probably quoted from the comedies of Phrynichus' rivals. Didymus of Alexandria thought it worth while to write a commentary on his work, at least on the *Cronos*. One surmises that Phrynichus was a sound humdrum comic poet of Ben Jonson's calibre.

§ 3. PHERECRATES

Of this poet the Anonymus writes a notice unfortunately corrupt. ' Pherecrates of Athens was victorious in the archonship of Theodoras (?) and emulated Crates, whose actor he was. Further, he refrained from abuse, and gained a reputation for introducing new topics, showing himself fertile in plots.'³ The number of plays is given by Suidas as

¹ Anon., *de Com.* (Kaibel, p. 7). The ἀξιολογώτατοι are Epicharmus, Magnes, Cratinus, Crates, Pherecrates, Phrynichus, Eupolis, Aristophanes.

² *Frogs*, 1-18.

³ Anon., *de Com.* (Kaibel, p. 8) : Φερεκράτης Ἀθηναῖος· νικᾷ ἐπὶ Θεάτρων· γενόμενος δὲ ὑποκριτῆς ἐξῆλθε Κράτητα καὶ αὐτοῦ μὲν λαιδορεῖν ἀπίστη, πράγματα δὲ εἰσηγούμενος καὶ νῦν δοκίμει γενόμενος εὐρετικὸς μύθων. The first sentence has been emended by Dobree : νικᾷ ἐπὶ Θεοδώρου—that is, 437 B.C. Capps (*American Journal of Philology*, 28, pp. 197 sq.) would read ἐπὶ Πυθοδώρου, giving 431 B.C.

seventeen. Of these, four ¹ were by some ascribed to other playwrights. It is probable that these non-authentic plays were later revisions.

In the SAVAGES (*Ἄγριοι*), which was produced in 420 B.C.,² the poet pours charming ridicule upon that favourite topic, the Golden Age. Plato, the philosopher, intimating in a remarkable passage³ that the "noble savage" is a myth and that the vilest Athenians are superior to any wild man, mentions 'a sort of savages, like those whom the poet Pherecrates produced last year at the Lenæan festival. Believe me, if you fell in with such people as the misanthropists met in that chorus, you would be delighted to encounter Eurybatus and Phrynondas.' Apparently certain Athenians, like Pisthetaerus and Euelpides in the *Birds*, grown disgusted with their own country, set out to find the alleged noble race of savages, among whom existed that primitive simplicity of life described in one of the fragments :⁴

οὐ γὰρ ἦν τότε οὔτε Μανῆς οὔτε Σηκίς οὐδενὶ
δούλος, ἀλλ' αὐτὰς ἔδει μοχθεῖν ἅπαντ' ἐν οἰκίᾳ·
εἴτα πρὸς τούτοισιν ἤλουν ἰθὺρ καὶ τὰ σιλία,
ὥστε τὴν κώμην ὑπηγεῖν θιγγανουσῶν τὰς μύλας.

'For in those days no one had any Old Joe or Mary Ann: the women had to do all the housework themselves. Yes, and they used to grind the flour early in the morning, till the village resounded with the millstones.' We may suppose this to be part of an enthusiastic address by the leader of the expedition, to which the chorus perhaps offered a dubious welcome, depicting the real plight of the savages :⁵

¹ *Ἀγαθοί* (Strattis), *Μεταλλῆς* (Nicomachus), *Πέρσαι* (an unknown), *Χείρων* (Plato or Nicomachus). Unfortunately the last three dramas contained some of the most striking among the Pherecratean fragments.

² Athenæus, 218d: ἐδιδάχθησαν δὲ οἱ Ἄγριοι ἐπ' Ἀριστίωνος ἀρχοντος.

³ *Protagoras*, 327d.

⁴ Fr. 10. Manes and Secis are well-known slave-names. Kock rightly objects to the last three words: *θιγγανουσῶν* is absurd, and needs the genitive. He would read *περιμαγουσῶν*.

⁵ Fr. 13. The precise meaning of *ἐνθροσκος* and of *βράκανος* is unknown.

GREEK COMEDY

ἐν θρύσκοις καὶ βρακάνοις
καὶ στραβήλοις ζῆν· ὅπταν δ'
ἤδη πεινώσι σφόδρα,
ὥσπερ τοὺς πολύποδας
* * * νύκτωρ περιτρώγ-
ειν αὐτῶν τοὺς δακτύλους.

"... to live on pig-nuts, berries, and wild olives ; but, when downright hungry, to gnaw their own fingers at night as cuttle-fish do.' It is possible that the savages received these inverted missionaries with hostile dread and retreated into their wigwams: γέρροις ἀποσταυροῦνται, ' they fence themselves off with 'hurdles '. A comic siege of their wattled stronghold is suggested by the vigorous lines :¹

ὃδε δὴ δελφίς ἐστὶ μολιβδοῦς δελφίνοφόρος τε κερούχος,
ὃς διακόψει τοῦδαφος αὐτῶν ἐμπίπτων καὶ καταδύων.

' Look, here is a leaden dolphin and the spar to carry it. This will smash their floor by falling in and plunging through.' The result of this onslaught is debated :²

A. ἦ μὴν σὺ σαυτὸν μακαριεῖς, ὦ τᾶν, ὅταν
οὐτοὶ σε καταρύπτωσιν.

B. σὺ δὴτ', ἀλλ' ἐγὼ
τούτους πρότερον. οὐτοὶ δὲ μακαριοῦσ' ἐμέ.
καίτοι πόθεν λήγουνε τοσάντας λήψομεν ;

' My word, you'll congratulate yourself, my dear sir, when these fellows are burying you.' ' Not a bit of it ! I'll bury them first, and they'll congratulate me. But where shall we get enough coffins ? ' Bloodshed is no doubt averted, and we find traces of discussion between the Athenians and the savages :³

οὐδ' ἀποπροσωπίζεσθε κνάμοις ; πώμαλα.

' Don't you even clean your faces with beans ? ' ' O dear no ! ' This suggests that the aborigines rub

¹Fr. 12. The language suggests a passage of Thucydides (VII, 41), the scholium on which borrows the words of Pherocrates. In Thucydides the reference is to sinking ships by dropping leaden weights from a height. And in Pherocrates καταδύων suggests as much. But it is hard to imagine a naval scene in the play (like the massed attack by canoes in *Robinson Crusoe*); therefore we should regard καταδύων as intransitive, and the whole idea transferred from sea-to land-fighting.

²Fr. 5.

³Fr.

themselves with the inside of bean-pods, as the Zulus use banana-skins for cleaning their teeth.

CORIANNO (**Κοριαννώ**) is the most interesting of all his works. Here Pherocrates gives a glimpse of a domestic interior and one or two hints of the love-intrigue so frequent in later comedy. The piece bears a courtesan's name, and it appears to have depicted a father and son both entangled, or wishing to be entangled, with Corianno or her like. We have fragments ¹ of their quarrel:

ἀπαρτὶ μὲν οὖν ἐμοὶ μὲν εἰκός ἐστ' ἐρᾶν,
σοὶ δ' οὐκεθ' ὦρα.

' On the contrary, for me this is just the right time to have an affair : for you the season is past.'

ὑοσκυμαῖς ἀνὴρ γέρων ὦν.

¹ You have a bee in your aged bonnet.'

ὦ Ζεῦ πολυτίμητ', ἄμ' ἀκούεις ἃ με λέγει
ὁ πανοῦργος υἱός ;

' O worshipful Zeus, hearest thou what my villainous son says of me ? '

Other extracts offer a notable presentation of ordinary home-life in a manner quite unlike Aristophanes but reminding us of Herodas. First we see a mother (probably Corianno herself) and her daughter (named Glyce).

A. φέρε δὴ κατακλινῶ, σὺ δὲ τράπεζαν εἴσφερε
καὶ κύλικα κύντραγεῖν, ἵν' ἥδιον πίω.
B. ἰδοὺ κύλιξ σοὶ καὶ τράπεζα καὶ φακοί.
A. μὴ μοι φακοὺς, μὰ τὸν Δῖ', οὐ γὰρ ἤδομαι.
ἦν γὰρ τράγη τις, τοῦ στόματος ἔξει κακόν.²

' Ah, now for the settee ! Bring in a table and cup and a bit of something to improve the wine.' ' Here is a cup, a table, and some lentils.' ' No lentils for me, food Heavens ! I don't like them: they make your breath smell.'

These two are visited by a lady friend, and the

¹ Frr. 71, 72, 73.

² Fr. 67.

conversation, though on an inferior¹ plane, recalls the celebrated chat in Theocritus' *Fifteenth Idyll* :

- A. ἐκ τοῦ βαλανείου γὰρ διέφθορ' ἔρχομαι,
ξηρὰν ἔχουσα τὴν φάρυγα.
B. δώσω πιεῖν.
A. γλίσχρον γε μούστι τὸ σίαλον νῆ τῷ θεῷ.
Γ. τί λάβω κεράσαι σοι; τὴν κοτυλίσκην,
A. μῆδ' αὖ μὴ
μικρὰν γε. κινεῖται γὰρ εὐθύς μοι χολή,
ἐξ οὐπερ ἔπιον ἐκ τοιαύτης φάρμακον.
εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν νυν ἔγχεον τὴν μείζονα.
* * * * *
ἄποτ' ἐστ', ὦ Γλύκη.
B. ὑδαρῇ ν' ἐχέεν σοι;
A. παντάπασι μὲν οὖν ὕδωρ.
B. τί εἰργάσω; πῶς ὦ κατάρπτε δ' ἐνέχευς;
Γ. δὴ ὕδατος, ὦ μάμμη.
B. τί δ' οἶνου;
Γ. τέτταρας.
B. ἔρρ' εἰς κόρακας. βατράχοισιν οἰνοχοεῖν σε δεῖ.²

Visitor: I've come from the baths all boiled, and my throat is parched.

Hostess: You shall have a drink.

Visitor: Well, my spittle is sticky, by the Holy Twain.

Glyce: You'll have the noggin?

Visitor: No, no, if it's a little one. My stomach turns at one in a moment, ever since I drank medicine out of such a cup {*Produces a formidable goblet from her gown*} Just pour it into mine—it's bigger. (Glyce mixes wine and pours some into this receptacle. After one sip the visitor retails.) It's undrinkable, Glyce!

Hostess: Did she give you too much water?

Visitor: Too much? She gave me nothing else!

Hostess (to Glyce): What have you done? You little wretch, how did you mix it?

Glyce: Two measures of water, mammy.

Hostess: And how many of wine?

Glyce: Four.

Hostess: To Hell with you! You would make a good barmaid for a crowd of frogs.³

The metrician Hephaestion quotes three remarkable lines from *Corianno* :

ἄνδρες, πρόσχετε τὸν νοῦν
ἐξευρήματι καινῶ
συμπύκτοις ἀναπαίστοις.

¹ The two older women are coarse: for instance ἔρρ' εἰς κόρακας is equivalent to swearing.

² Fr. 69, 70. The fourth line is corrupt: I have given Kock's emendation.

³ Four of wine to two of water would be regarded by most Greeks as a very strong mixture.

ⁱ 'Sirs, give heed to a new invention, the collapsed anapaest.' These are "Pherecrateans."¹

To this same category of amorous plays the OLD WOMEN (Γρᾶες) perhaps belonged. The fragments are trivial, but there is a reference² to old women recovering their youth, the phrase Ἀθηναίαις αὐταῖς τε καὶ ταῖς ξυμμάχοις³ (which suggests a revolt of Athenian women such as occurs in Aristophanes), and an allusion to carrier-pigeons: ἀπόπεμψον ἀγγέλλοντα τὸν περιστερὸν,⁴ 'Send off the dove with a message'. It may have been carrying a love-letter: the same notion appears more plainly in PETALE:⁵

ἀλλ' ὦ περιστέριον ὅμοιον Κλεισθένει,
πέτου, κόμισσον δέ μ' εἰς Κύθηρα καὶ Κύπρον.

'But, O thou tiny dove Falstaffian, take wing and bear me to Cythera and Cyprus.'

CRAPATALI (Κραπάταλοι—meaning unknown, except that it is something trivial or valueless) seems to have been a queer extravaganza about Hades. Pollux⁶ says that Pherecrates expounded the coinage of the Lower World: eight *ciccabi* make one *psothia*, two *psothia* make one *crapatalus*, which is the equivalent of the Attic drachma. Apparently some one asks the way to Hades and is thus directed:⁷

ὦ δαιμόνιε, πύρεττε μηδὲν φροντίσας,
καὶ τῶν φιβάλεων τρώγε στυκῶν τοῦ θέρους
κάμπιμπλάμενος κύθευδε τῆς μεσηβρίας,
κἄτα σφακέλιζε καὶ πέπρησο καὶ βόα.

'My dear fellow, catch a fever carelessly, eat early figs in summer, and after a hearty meal sleep at mid-day; then fall into convulsions, get a temperature, and shout.' Two famous dead persons (if not more) appeared, so that we must imagine the action as taking place in Hades. The speaker of ὥς ἄτοπὸν ἐστὶ μητέρ'

¹ Fr. 79. See below, pp. 389 sq

² Fr. 35.

³ Fr. 34. The word Ἀθηναίαις caused much head-shaking among the lexicographers, the true feminine of Ἀορjvaioi being Ἀττικάι. But the whole phrase is a parody of legal language in the masculine.

⁴ Fr. 33.

⁵ Fr. 135.

⁶ IX 83.

⁷ Fr. 80.

εἶναι καὶ γυνήν,¹ is surely Jocasta, and we know² it was Aechylus who said

δοτις γ' αὐτοῖς παρέδωκα τέχνην μεγάλην ἐξοικοδομήσας.

'Seeing that I handed down to them an art that I had built up to majesty.' It may be that to this place belongs the description³ of early choruses :

ὁ χορὸς δ' αὐτοῖς εἶχεν δάπιδας ῥυπαράς καὶ στρωματόδεσμα.

'Their chorus wore dirty rugs and bedding-ropes.' These two passages suggest that the *Crapatali* contained a discussion of early drama, like the *Frogs*. A passage⁴ from the parabasis mentions the poet by name :

τοῖς δὲ κριταῖς
τοῖς νῦν κρίνουσι λέγω
μὴ 'πιορκεῖν μηδ' ἀδίκως
κρίνειν, ἢ νῆ τὸν φίλιον
μῦθον εἰς ὑμᾶς ἕτερον
Φερεκράτης λέξει πολὺ τούτ—
ου κακηγορίστερον.

' And the judges (of plays) now in session I bid not to break their oath or judge unrighteously; else, by Friendly Zeus, Pherecrates will deliver against you another play far more slanderous than this.'

The DESERTERS (Aurd/xoXot) has been thought a political play because of one passage :⁵

οὔτοι γὰρ ἡμῖν οἱ κακῶς ἀπολούμενοι
ἐπαμφοτερίζουσ' ἐμποδῶν καθήμενοι.

' For these wretches squat in our path and shilly-shally.' This is known⁶ to be an allusion to the wavering policy of Argos in the Peloponnesian War. But one extract proves nothing about the whole plot: the political allusion may be quite incidental, and none of the other fragments (so far as we know) points in the same direction. Indeed the only striking one looks quite different. Clement of Alexandria writes :⁷

¹ Fr. 91.

² Schol., *Peace*, 748; fr. 94.

³ quoted by Eustathius, *Od.*, 1369, 43, as from Pherecrates, without any play-title (fr. 185).

⁴ Fr. 96.

⁵ Fr. 19.

⁶ Schol., *Peace*, 477.

⁷ *Strom.*, VII, p. 846; fr. 23.

'That comic poet Pherecrates in his *Deserters* makes the gods themselves grumble at mankind about their sacrifices.' Then follow six lines the text of which is imperfect but which complain that men eat almost all the offering and give useless remnants to the gods. This, together with the title of the play, might suggest that (as in Aristophanes' *Peace*) the gods have deserted mankind.

Of the ANT-MEN (*Μυρμηκάνθρωποι*) more can be made. Kock¹ has ingeniously suggested that "Pherecrates combined the legend of Deucalion's flood, which included Attica, with that of the ants whom Zeus transformed into men as a favour to Æcus". An allusion to the flood may be found in the line² δΑΑ' ὥς τάχιστα τὸν γέρονθ' ἱστὸν ποίει-- Quick! Turn the spindle into a mast. 'Deucalion rigs up an impromptu ark (out of a meal-tub, it may be) and takes his wife's spindle to carry the sail (possibly an old tunic). It appears, too, that since of course these survivors have nothing to eat but fish they grow utterly tired of what was in ordinary Greek life an esteemed dainty :

μηδέποτε ἰχθύν, ὦ Δευκαλίων, μηδ' ἦν αὐτῷ παραθῆς μοι³

'Never set fish before me, Deucalion, not even if I ask for it.' They seem, indeed, to have been so bored by their voyage that one of them began to talk to the fish that approached their vessel.⁴ Bad weather added to their troubles : οἶμοι κακοδαίμων, αἰγὶς αἰγὶς ἔρχεται—* Alas ! Bad luck ! 'A storm ! a storm !'⁵ Their landing (perhaps on Æina, the island of Æcus) seems to be described : ξένη γυνὴ γραυὸς ἀρτίως ἀφίγμένη⁶ —'a foreign old woman, just arrived'. As for the ant-men, Kock sees a reference to them in the words⁷

¹, p. 17

²Fr. 114. A spindle was called *γέρον* because it was surmounted by an image³ of the bearded Hermes.

³r. 180. Cp. Kingsley, *Water-Babies*, Chap. 111 : "Winchester apprentices shall covenant, as they did three hundred years ago, not to be made to eat salmon more than three days a wee".

⁴Fr. 113.

⁵r. 117,

⁶r. 119.

⁷Fr. 118

ὕστερον ἀράται κάπιθεάζει τῷ πατρί ('later he prays and beseeches his father')—"this is to be understood of Æeus who, when he has lost his citizens, prays his father Zeus to give him others, however created". Another passage ¹depicts the swarming arrival of the ants. This must have been an original and amusing comedy.

We pass now to the doubtful plays. According to Harpocration² and Photius,³ the MINERS (*Μεταλλῆς*) was attributed by the critic Eratosthenes to one Nicomachus. Apparently his verdict was based upon diction, and our fragments certainly contain things not to be expected in the "extremely Attic"⁴ Pherecrates. This play is notable for several reasons. First we possess a fragment running to the sensational length of thirty-four lines; it need scarcely be said that it deals with edibles. Next, the subject was a version of Paradise—an extremely earthly Paradise. We are to understand that certain miners, working in the silver-mines at Laureion in Attica, fell through into the Lower World and discovered this Arabian Nights Restaurant. The long fragment need not be printed: it is like a poor copy of the passage in Telecleides—rivers of soup, dainties asking to be eaten, etc. The catalogue is interrupted thus:

οἴμ' ὥς ἀπολείς μ' ἐνταῦθα διατρίβονσ' ἔτι,
παρὸν καλυμβῶν ὥς ἔχει' εἰς τὸν Τάρταρον.

'Confound you! I'm disgusted that you waste your time here, when you could all of you dive just as you are into Hell.' This is, "if the Lower World is so delightful, go back there". The wording shows that the narrator of the catalogue is a woman and that she has brought companions, a chorus of the miners who have so wonderfully "struck oil".

The PERSIANS (*Πέρσαι*) is also of dubious authorship.⁵ It appears to have been yet another Arabian

¹ r. 121.

² s.v. *Μεταλλῆς*.

³ v. *εὐθύς Λυκαίου*.

⁴ (Athenaeus,

268e.)

⁵ our authorities several times (Athenaeus, 78 5020, 684/, 685a, and Schol., *Frogs*, 365) write *Φερεκράτης ἢ ὁ πεποιηκώς τοὺς Πέρσας*, etc.

Nights' Entertainment, and, curiously enough, to have been inspired by precisely the same idea as those famous tales. The *Arabian Nights* was coloured by the gorgeous stories that had spread over Arabia concerning Persian wealth; so was this Athenian *Persce*, the notion of which seems to have been that Persian gold would abolish poverty in Greece. One fragment ¹ closely resembles a passage in Aristophanes' *Plutus* :

τίς δ' ἔσθ' ἡμῖν τῶν σῶν ἀροτῶν ἢ ζυγοποιῶν ἔτι χρεία,
ἢ δρεπανουργῶν ἢ χαλκοτύπων ἢ σπέρματος ἢ χαρακισμοῦ;
αὐτόματοι γάρ διὰ τῶν τριόδων ποταμοὶ λιπαροὶ ἐπιπάστοις
ζωμῷ μέλανος καὶ Ἀχιλλεῖος μάζαις κοχοδοῦντες ἐπιβλύξαι
ἀπὸ τῶν πηγῶν τῶν τοῦ πλούτου ρεύσονται, σφῶν ἀρύεσθαι.
ὁ Ζεὺς δ' ὕνω οἶνω καπνίᾳ κατὰ τοῦ κεράμου βαλανεύσει.
ἀπὸ τῶν δὲ τεγῶν ὄχετοῖ βοτρυῶν μετὰ ναστίσκων πολυτύρων
ὀχετεύσονται θερμῷ σὺν ἔτνει καὶ λειριοπολφανεμῶνας.
τὰ δὲ δὴ δένδρη τὰν τοῖς ὄρεσιν χορδαῖς ὀπταῖς ἐριφείοις
φυλλοροήσει, καὶ τευθιδίοις ἀπαλοῖς κίχλαις τ' ἀναβράστοις.

'But what further need have we of your ploughmen or harness-makers, your sickle-manufacturers or bronze-founders, or sowing or fencing? For spontaneously there will flow through the cross-roads rivers of dark soup in a spate of rich dumplings and Achilles-buns, gurgling forth from the fountains of wealth for men to draw thereof. Zeus shall bathe the tiles with a rain of mellow wine, and from the roof jets of grapes and cheese-cakes shall spout together with hot soup and salad. The trees on the mountains shall shed boiled chitterlings, tender cuttlefish-steaks, and roast thrushes.' Some one (perhaps Poverty herself, as in Aristophanes) has been pointing out that universal wealth will destroy civilization, since no one will practise the useful trades for a livelihood. The reply is ⁱ we shall not need the useful trades'.

The only other fragment² of interest belongs to a type affected by others besides this author—a romantic "conceit" which compares to charming natural objects, not parts of the body (as in so many lyrics) but functions of the body:

¹ Cp. *Plutus*, 507 sqq. ²Fr. 131. The metre is Priapean.

ὦ μαλάχας μὲν ἐξαῶν, ἀναπνέων δ' ὑάκινθον,
καὶ μελίλωτινον λαλῶν καὶ ῥόδα προσσεσηρῶς
ὦ φίλῶν μὲν ἀμάρακον, προσκινῶν δέ σέλινα,
γελῶν δ' ἵπποσέλινα καὶ κοσμοσάνδαλα βαίνων.

It is like a quiet echo of the overwhelming raptures in the *Song of Solomon*. 'The light of thy eyes is as mallows, thy breath the hyacinth; in thy speech dwells the honey-lotus and roses upon the movement of thy lips. Yea, thy kisses are marjoram, the touch of thy body is parsley, thy laughter the horse-parsley, and thy footfall is shod in the petals of flowers.'

CHIRON, attributed by some to Nicomachus,¹ by others to Plato,² has left mysteriously diverse fragments : parodies of Hesiod, a reference to, or parody of, the ninth *Iliad*, and a long fragment on the degradation of music. The first class refer with queer elaboration to the duty of politeness to unwelcome guests. Next we have

A. δώσει δέ σοι γυναῖκας ἑπτὰ Λεσβίδας.

B. καλὸν γε δῶρον, ἔπ' ἔχειν λαϊκαστρίας.³

'He will give you seven Lesbian women.' It is the offer of Agamemnon to Achilles as reported by Odysseus. But Lesbos had lost its reputation since Homeric days, and the answer comes : 'A glorious gift indeed—seven courtesans !' Plutarch⁴ tells us that 'Pherecrates, the comic poet, brought on Music dressed as a woman, mangled in every limb : he depicts Justice inquiring the cause of this outrage and Music saying ...' Then follow twenty-five lines⁵ describing the successive corruptions of the art by the musicians Melanippides, Cinesias, Phrynis, and Timotheus.

Even though not authentic, the fragments of these three plays help to complete our notion of Pherecrates ; for had they not been in his manner they would never have been attributed to him. On the whole we form a tolerably definite picture of this playwright. He

¹ Athenseus, 364a.

² Meineke, I, p. 76.

³ Fr. 149. Cp. *Iliad*, IX, 270-2.

⁴ *De Musica*, 1141, 2. That he refers to the *Chiron* is proved by Nicomachus Gerasenus, p. 274 (ed. Janus, Teubner).

⁵ Fr. 145-

belongs, as the Anonymus reports, to the school of Crates, exhibiting an elegant originality without much trace either of political preoccupations or personal invective.¹ He seems to have been a peculiarly sensitive man: besides several proofs of his passion for good taste in music, among them the exclamation² that listening to a bad singer is like wearing a wreath of thorns, we are to remember those beautiful, if somewhat richly perfumed lines, <ῶ *μαλάχας μὲν ἔξορῶν* and the rest: though they come from the *Persæ*, they may well be his. He is in fact for us more notable than Crates himself as an exponent of the urbane side of Old Comedy. To that period, indeed, he belongs only in part. Not only the features already indicated, but also the remarkable *Corianno*, suggest that in spirit at least—we do not know when he died³—he belongs even more than Plato or Phrynichus to the Middle Comedy. This impression is strengthened by the "non-authentic" dramas: a later generation relished him enough to touch his work up for revival.

§ 4. PLATO

Next to the three Masters, Plato is the most important Old Comedian. Athenaeus called him "brilliant in style";⁴ we possess a large number of fragments and can gain glimpses of whole plays; like Aristophanes, Plato illustrates the transition from Old to Middle Comedy—indeed, he was by some allotted to the second period.⁵

¹ There is only one such, an attack on Alcibiades' morals (fr. 155).

² Fr. 24.

³ Geissler (*Chronologie*, p. 42) says he was certainly dead by 400 B.C. There is no evidence for this.

⁴ Suidas, *s.v.* Πλάτων: ἔστι δὲ λαμπρὸς τὸν χαρακτῆρα, ὥς φησιν Ἀθήναιος ἐν τοῖς Δειπνοσοφισταῖς. This remark is not to be found in our text of Athenaeus.

⁵ Anon., *de Com.* (Kaibel, pp. 13 *sq.*): γέγονε δὲ τῆς μὲν πρώτης κωμωδίας ἄριστος τεχνίτης οἷτος ὁ Ἀριστοφάνης καὶ Εὐπολῆς, τῆς δὲ δευτέρας Πλάτων, τῆς δὲ τρίτης Μένανδρος. The Scholiast on Dionysius Thrax (Kaibel, p. 15) writes: τῆς δὲ μέσης καὶ αὐτῆς μὲν πολλοὶ γέγονασιν, ἐπίσημος δὲ Πλάτων τις, οὐχ ὁ φιλόσοφος, ἀλλ' ἕτερός τις. ὁμοίως καὶ κείνου τὰ δράματα οὐ φαίνονται. Suidas, however, says (*s.v.*) that Plato was a contemporary of Aristophanes, Phrynichus, Eupolis and Pherecrates.

The number of his works is given as twenty-eight by both the Anonymus and Suidas, though the latter's enumeration includes thirty titles; how many victories he gained is unknown. His first production fell in the eighty-eighth Olympiad (427-4),¹ and as Athenian dramatists generally began their careers young, we may tentatively date his birth at 450 B.C. His activity lasted till at least 385;² and the fact that some authorities assign him to the Middle Comedy suggests that he survived that date by a considerable time. The only personal fact about Plato known to us is given thus by our fullest authority:³ 'Imitating Arcadians. This phrase is used by Plato in *Peisander*, about those who endure distress for others: though very warlike, they never gained any victory for themselves, but helped many others thereto. Thus Plato said he imitated the Arcadians, because, owing to poverty, he supplied others with the comedies that he had himself composed.' This may be an exaggerated rendering of the fact that (like Aristophanes) Plato induced others to father his dramas.⁴ Had he been really a hack composing plays for well-to-do ambitious amateurs, one would have expected either that a larger number of plays would be attributed to him by tradition, or else that his authorship would leak out in the ages of scholarship.⁵

Plato is perhaps the most important instance of transition: part of his work was unmistakably Old, part unmistakably Middle. His transitional quality is

¹Cyril, *Contra Iulianum*, I, p. 1313. (Mogne, p. 522 ὀγδοηκοστῇ ὀγδῶν τὸν κωμῶδον Ἀριστοφάνην Εὐπολὶν τε καὶ Πλάτωνα γενέσθαι. This is of course not the birth year, but the *floruit*.)

²Cp. Geissler, *Chronologie*, p. 74.

³Arsenius (*Violetum*, ed. Walz, p. 76). The gist of this occurs in Suidas also under the same lemma.

⁴Διὰ πειρίαν would have then to be explained away. Naeke (*ap. Meineke*, I, p. 163) believed that, Plato having referred to the Arcadians, the grammarians irrelevantly recalled the hire paid to Arcadian soldiers, and so imported the financial element into their account.

⁵Only one instance of this is known. *Alliance* was attributed to Cantharus as well as to Plato (Priscian, *Inst. Gram.*, XV III, p. 182, Krehl).

marked by his linguistic novelties¹ and by a change of outlook : in his early time we find him writing political² comedy; later he turns to romantic and erotic drama, a nascent comedy of manners.

ALLIANCE (*Συμμαχία*) contained a description³ of a game played by street-boys :

εἴξασιν γὰρ τοῖς παιδαρίοις τούτοις, οἱ ἐκάστοτε γραμμὴν
ἐν ταῖσιν ὁδοῖς διαγράφαντες διανειμάμενοι δίχ' ἑαυτοὺς
ἐστῆσ', αὐτῶν οἱ μὲν ἐκείθεν τῆς γραμμῆς, οἱ δ' αὖ ἐκείθεν
εἰς δ' ἀμφοτέρων ὄστρακον αὐτοῖς εἰς μέσον ἐστὼς ἀνήσιν,
κἂν μὲν πίπτῃσι τὰ λευκ' ἐπάνω, φεύγειν ταχὺ τοὺς ἐτέρους δεῖ,
τοὺς δὲ διώκειν.

' They resemble those children whom you may see in the street any day : they draw a line across the road and divide themselves into two companies, standing one on each side of the line. One, standing between these, tosses a tile into the air. If it falls white side up, one company must run away and the other must pursue.' Bergk⁴ thought this a reference to ostracism, and the Alliance that famous coalition between Nicias and Alcibiades against Hyperbolus.⁵ Meineke⁶ was content to refer it to the quarrels of the Greek States. Kock⁷ took a similar view, believing that the play (like *Lysistrata*) urged friendship and concord upon the Greeks. As a fact, there is no clear evidence that this passage, or the whole play, had any political colour at all. Our extract may allude to private persons who are at a deadlock in some dispute and who do not know which side is to (or can) take the initiative—like the people in Sheridan's *Critic*. The only other interesting point is that the first sentence of the play contained γάρ ("for")—ἐγὼ γὰρ ὑμῖν ἦν φράσω⁸—which shows that Plato's style was sometimes deliberately casual.

But politics were certainly the theme of GREECE

¹ See the details in Meineke, I, pp. 164 sq.—e.g. *μανάκις* for *ἀλιγάκις*, *ἐλεῖτρον* the future of *ἐλαύνω*, *ἀράχχιον* with second syllable long.

² He claims (fr. 107; 10¹ n^{ave} Deen the first to attack Cleon.

³ Fr. 153. The game was called *ὄστρακίνδα*. At the end of the third line *qv* scans as short by "weak hiatus". See p. 367.

⁴ *Rell. Com. Att.*, pp. 261, 312.

⁵

See below, pp. 169 sq.

⁶ I, p. 185.

⁷ I, p. 641.

⁸ Fr. 152.

or the ISLANDS ; from it we catch a faint echo of those dreadful days when Athens was facing her new life after the collapse of 404 B.C. and the complete loss of her empire. So much seems to follow from the lines : ¹

εἰ μὲν οὖν ταύτην σὺ τὴν θάλατταν ἀποδώσεις ἐκών ·
εἰ δὲ μὴ γε, ταῦτα πάντα συντριβάνων ἀπολέσω.

'If thou wilt restore this sea willingly, well and good ; otherwise I will destroy all this with my shattering trident.' The allusion must be to the sea-power wrested by Sparta from Athens, which is championed by Poseidon, not only the sea-god but also the patron of the Athenian knights. Whom Poseidon threatens we can but guess ; the most natural person is Zeus himself.² Whether Plato was supporting or denouncing dreams of *revanche* cannot be determined. Another vigorous fragment³ points to the public demoralization of Athens :

εἴξασιν ἡμῖν οἱ νόμοι τοῖτοισι τοῖσι λεπτοῖς
ἀραχνίοις, ἃν τοῖσι τοίχοις ἡ φάλαγξ ὑφαίνει.

'Our laws resemble those filmy webs that the spider weaves upon the walls.' The fact that Photius' lexicon quotes from this play *τάξαι* in the sense of *TLfifjaai* (" assess "), joined to the alternative title *Islands*, may suggest that in this comedy was a scheme for reconstituting the empire. The importance of Poseidon may have been great. A word said to mean " a breaking wave " is quoted: possibly the god was described as stepping upon Attic soil from the sea. Finally, a brilliant scrap of description, not quoted, unfortunately, but only paraphrased⁵ from Plato,

¹Fr. 23. For the last word, which is bad Attic for ἀπολῶ, Kock would read ἀποκλύσω. But Meineke is no doubt justified in retaining ἀπολέσω as one of Plato's "late" features.

²The god seems to be threatening that he will wreck the world : his menace resembles that of the Sun-God in *Od.*, XII, 383: δύσομαι εἰς Ἀἶδα καὶ ἐν νεκύεσσι φαείνω.

³Fr. 22. The scansion of ἀραχνίοις has already been noted. Kock, following Porson, prints the passage as iambics but with a change of his own which retains the early scansion of ἀραχνίοις.

⁴σκόληκα. Cp. Photius, s.v.

⁵Sextus Empiricus, *Adv. Rhet.*, II, p. 296.

may well belong to this play. ' But among those who give a home to rhetoric the laws are remodelled every day, for example in Athens, as is remarked by Plato, the poet of Old Comedy : for if one is absent for only three months (says he) one no longer recognizes the city, but like those who roam about at night one finds lodging next to the fortifications as if one were a pony-postman—so far as the laws are concerned it is a different town '.

HYPERBOLUS ('Υπέρβολος) was an attack upon the famous demagogue who, after Cleon's death, rose to power despite lack of education, despicable character, and alleged foreign origin—he could not even speak good Attic : *

ὁ δ' οὐ γὰρ ἠπτίκιζεν, ὦ Μοῖραι φίλαι,
ἀλλ' ὅποτε μὲν χρεῖη διητώμην λέγειν
ἔφασκε δὴ τῷ μὲν, ὅποτε δ' εἰπεῖν δέοι
ὀλίγον, ὀλίαν ἔλεγεν.

What Hyperbolus said for $\delta i^*QT(o/Lr)v$ was naturally doomed to corruption by copyists : perhaps we should read $e\langle\rangle aoV eS^{\wedge TM}/\wedge$.² This play treated the famous ostracism of the demagogue, who, having sought to induce the Athenians to ostracize either Nicias or Alcibiades so that he might deal more easily with the other, was hoist with his own petard: Alcibiades persuaded Nicias to join hands with him, and their combined parties secured the ostracism of Hyperbolus.³ Plato's comedy must have dealt fully with this overthrow,⁴ for we have fragments that precede and that follow it. First:

¹Fr. 168.

²So Meineke, I, p. 192, but in II, p. 669, he prefers *ἰδαιτώμην*.

³In 417 B.C. See Plutarch, *Alcibiades*, XIII, *Nicias*, XI, *Aristides*, VII.

⁴Geissler, however (*Chronologie*, pp. 49 sq.) dates the *Hyperbolus* at 419 or 418, before the ostracism, because "it is not appropriate to the art of the comedians to make a person no longer dangerous the chief character of a play". It follows that the comment *καίτοι πέπραγε κτέ.* cannot belong to the *Hyperbolus* (Kock had already placed it among the *adriXa*). This is very unconvincing, *πέπραγε* is primary, not historic, and so fits better a final comment on what has just happened than a reference to something definitely in the past. Moreover, the "no longer dangerous" argument would (in its essentials) have prevented Aristophanes from writing the *Frogs*.

- A. *εὐτυχεῖς, ὦ δεσπότα.*
 B. *τί δ' ἔστι;*
 A. *βουλευεῖν ὀλίγου ἄλαχες πάνν.*
ἀτὰρ οὐ λαχὼν ὅμως ἔλαχες, ἦν νοῦν ἔχης.
 B. *πῶς ἦν ἔχω νοῦν;*
 A. *ὅτι πονηρῶ καὶ ξένῳ*
ἐπέλαχες ἀνδρί, μηδέπω γὰρ ἐλευθέρῳ . . .
 B. *ἄπερρ' ἐγὼ δ' ὑμῖν τὸ πρᾶγμα δὴ φράσω.*
Ἵπερβόλῳ βουλῆς γάρ, ἄνδρες, ἐπέλαχον.

' Congratulations, master ! ' ' On what ? ' ' You came within an ace of a seat on the senate. But though you missed it, you got it, if you understand.' ⁶ How do you mean ? ' ' Because you were appointed as second string to a low foreigner, not to a free man, thank Heaven ' . . . ⁱ Be off! (*To the audience*) I will explain the affair to you myself. The fact is, gentlemen, I was appointed second string to Hyperbolus on the Senate . . . ¹ The last two lines show that this passage came early in the play. Later we find the well-known comment² on this ostracism :

*καίτοι πέπραγε τῶν τρόπων μὲν ἥξια,
 αὐτοῦ δὲ καὶ τῶν στιγμάτων ἀνάξια.
 οὐ γὰρ τοιούτων οὐνεκ' ὄστραχ' εὐρέθη.*

' Yet his fate, though appropriate to his conduct, is not appropriate to himself and his servile birth : it was not for his type that ostracism was devised.' The Athenians, Plutarch³ reports, felt that ostracism, which had been inflicted upon men like Aristides, was degraded by its application to Hyperbolus, and they never used that device again.

From the FESTIVALS (*EopraC*), the plot of which is entirely unknown, comes a handful of miscellaneous scraps, two of which may be quoted. Some one who used the double *tau* instead of *sigma* was thus greeted :

*εὖ γέ σοι γένοιθ', ἡμᾶς δὲ
 ἔσωσας ἐκ τῶν σίγμα τῶν Εὐριπίδου.*

¹Frr. i66, 167. (The third line is an Euripidean quibble.) For every man appointed to the senate a second man was selected in case the first proved ineligible on scrutiny. Hyperbolus is certain to be "unseated on appeal".

²Meineke, II, p. 669; Kock, fr. 187, among the *ἀδηλα* (see above).

³Nicias, XI.

' Bless you for saving us from the esses of Euripides.' It is quoted by the Scholiast on the famous line (*Medea*, 476), ἔσωσά σ', ὡς ἴσασιν Ἑλλήνων ὅσοι. . . . Another fragment¹ recalls the Chicago merchant's remark about pigs: " We use everything but the squeal " :

τῶν γὰρ τετραπόδων οὐδὲν ἀποκτείνειν ἔδει
ἡμᾶς τὸ λοιπὸν, πλὴν ὧν· τὰ γὰρ κρέα
ἥδιαι ἔχουσι, κούδεν ἀφ' ὧς γίγνεται
πλὴν ὑστρίχας καὶ πηλὸς ἡμῖν καὶ βοή.

' We ought in future to kill no animal except the pig : its meat is delicious, and nothing in a pig is lost except the bristles, the mud and the squeal.'

The SPARTANS or the POETS (*AdKcove? r/ rio^rat*) represented a banquet at which there was discussion about rival poets or poetical schools. We possess a fragment² that is clearly " Middle"—a picture of " manners ".

A. ἄνδρες δεδειπνήκασι νῆδη σχεδὸν ἅπαντες.

B. εὖ γε.
τί οὐ τρέχων σὺ τὰς τραπέζας εἰσφέρεις ; ἐγὼ δὲ
λίτρον παραχέων ἔρχομαι.

A. κύγῳ δὲ παρακορήσω.
σπονδὰς δ' ἔπειτα παραχέας τὸν κότταβον παροίσω.
τῇ παιδί τοὺς αὐλοὺς ἐχρῆν ἤδη πρὸ χειρὸς εἶναι,
καὶ προσαναφυσᾶν.

B. τὸ μύρον ἤδη παράχεον βαδίζων
Λιγύπτιον, κατ' Ἴρινον· στέφανον δ' ἔπειθ' ἐκάστω
δώσω φέρων τῶν ξυμποτῶν. νεοκρατὰ τις ποιείτω.

A. καὶ δὴ κέκραται.

B. τὸν λιβανωτὸν † ἐπιτιθεῖς εἶπε † . . .
σπονδὴ μὲν ἤδη γέγονε, καὶ πίνοντές εἰσι πύρρῳ.
καὶ σκόλιον ἦσται, κότταβος δ' ἐξοίχεται βύραζε.
αὐλοὺς δ' ἔχουσα τις κορίσκη Καρικὸν μέλος τι
μελίζεται τοῖς συμπόταις, κάλλην τρίγωνον εἶδον
ἔχουσαν, εἴτ' ἦδεν πρὸς αὐτὸ μέλος Ἴωνικόν τι.³

¹Fr. 28. The last clause is queerly expressed. Normally the Greek would mean 'we get nothing but . . .' This makes no sense, and ἀφ' . . . γίγνεται must be regarded as *tnesis*.

²Fr. 69.

³The division between speakers is conjectural. Meineke (II, p. 638) declines such division, thinking that the whole is delivered by one person, who imitates the after-dinner bustle. This is rather attractive : a skilful pantomimist would make a great success, whereas a mere description of such well-known things would be absurd. In the third line Casaubon read *νίπτρον* ("washing-water") for *λίτρον* ("powdered soap"). The ninth line will not scan: read perhaps *ἀνείπε*, "announce". After that line Cobet saw a lacuna, for some time must have passed. The compounds with *παρά* refer to the waiters' progress along the tables. *Μύρον*, with *στέφανος*, corresponds to our cigars.

' The gentlemen have nearly all finished dinner by now.' ' Good ! Hurry, you, and bring out the tables. I'll go and supply the soap.' ' I'll sweep up the crumbs, pour the libations and fetch out the *cottabos*. That girl ought by now to have her pipes ready and tune up.' ' Now move along serving the perfume—first Egyptian, then orris-root; next I'll bring a garland for each of the guests. Some one mix a fresh bowl of wine.' ' That's done.' ' Throw incense on the fire. . . . Now the libation has been poured, drinking is well under way, the catch has been sung and they are removing the *cottabos*. A damsel with pipes is playing a Carian tune to the guests, and I saw another with a little harp to which she was singing an Ionian tune.'

Two other passages from the *Spartans* should be noted. As so often, some one rose from the dead :

A. καὶ μὴν ὁμοσὸν μοι μὴ τεθνάναι.

B. τὸ σῶμ' ἐγώ,
ψυχὴν δ' ἀνέκειν ὥσπερ Αἰσώπου ποτέ.¹

' See here ! Swear to me that you are not dead.' ' I affirm that my body is dead, but that my spirit has risen like /Esop's once on a time.' Who rises, we do not know ; and the fact that none of our three² authorities names him suggests that he is not in himself a remarkable figure, though he was perhaps important to the plot. But the passage may be a purely incidental joke. Finally, the proof that poetry was discussed is afforded (in addition to the title) by these lines :³

ὅταν δέωμαι γωνίαῖον ῥήματος,
ταύτῃ παριστῶ καὶ μόχλευω τὰς πέτρας

' When I need a corner-stone phrase, I (borrow from this man ?) and lever the rocks. It is evidently meant that a feeble poet uses the work of some vigorous

¹ Fr. 68.

² Schol., *Birds*, 471; Schol., *Wasps*, 125 ; Suidas, s.v. ἀναβιβῶναι.

³ Fr. 67. ταύτῃ παριστῶ is corrupt. Meineke would make the first line a question and the second a reply, reading παρίστω ("Stand beside this man") and μόχλευε: he thinks Æschylus appeared in the play.

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predecessor¹ as a quarry. The feeble poet is the tragedian Sthenelus, for we are told by Harpocration² that he is derided in this drama as a plagiarist.

The difficulty mentioned earlier, that Aristophanes attributes Cratinus' death to a Spartan invasion of Attica,³ but that no invasion occurred at the relevant time, has possibly been solved by an ingenious conjecture⁴ that the "Laconian inroad" was the invasion of the theatre by Plato's **Λάκωνες**. These scenic Spartans not only dined but are to be supposed to break the wine-cask whose loss killed Cratinus with grief.

Possibly the most important fact about Plato is that in several of his plays sexual passion is a main theme. At least three instances are to be found in his work. Concerning EUROPA we know little; but our chief fragment⁵ is plainly the introduction to a salacious, or at least luscious, passage. Zeus has been contemplating the slumber of Europa as his opportunity, but some one begins to point out to him the superior attractions of a woman awake. Zeus (it seems) asks for details, and our fragment ceases. The LONG NIGHT (**Νύξ Μακρά**) probably treated the same story as Plautus' *Amphitruo*. One fragment,⁶

ἐνταῦθ' ἐπ' ἄκρων τῶν κροτάφων ἔξει λύχνον
δίμυξον,

'there he will have upon his head a lamp with two wicks,' suggests a means whereby (as in Plautus) the audience may distinguish the god from the man whom he impersonates. We command better knowledge of ZEUS REVILED (**Ζεὺς Κακούμενος**). HOW Zeus himself was concerned does not appear, but his son Heracles

¹Æschylus is an obvious suggestion. He is addressed in *Clouds*, 1399, ας καινῶν ἐπῶν κινητὰ καὶ μοχλεντα.

²P. 166, 3: καὶ ἐν ταῖς διδασκαλίαις εὐρίσκεται ὁ Σθένης τραγωδίας ποιητής. ἐκωφθεὶ δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ τοῦ Πλάτωνος Λάκωνας γράψας ὡς ἀλλότρια ἔπη σφετεριζόμενον. This is the only doubt expressed anywhere as to the authenticity of the Λάκωνες. Because of this Zieliński (*Rhein. Mus.*, XXXIX, pp. 303 sqq.) regards the play as a "literature-comedy" of the fourth century.

³Peace, 701: ὅθ' οἱ Λάκωνες ἐνέβαλον.

⁴Cobet, *Obs. crit. in Platonem*, p. 87; Bergk, *Reil. Com. Att.*, p. 187.

⁵Fr. 43.

⁶Fr. 84.

is deeply involved. The first fragment¹ shows him in the house of a courtesan, amusing himself with the *cottabos* under the business-like eye of the girl's master :

- A. πρὸς κύτταβον παίζειν, ἕως ἂν σφῶν ἐγὼ
τὸ δεῖπνον ἔνδον σκενάσω.
HP. πάνυ βούλομαι.
ἀλλ' ἄγγος ἔστ' ;
A. ἀλλ' εἰς θυρίαν παιστέον.
HP. φέρε τὴν θυρίαν, αἶρ' ὕδωρ, τὰ ποτήρια
παράθετε. παίζωμεν δὲ περὶ φιλημάτων.
A. * * * * ἀγεννώς οὐκ εἴω
παίζειν. τίθημι κοττάβεια σφῶν ἐγὼ
τασδί τε τὰς κρηπίδας ἃς αὕτη φορεῖ,
καὶ τὸν κύτυλον τὸν σόν.
HP. βαβαιάξ, οὕτωσι
μείζων ἀγὼν τῆς Ἰσθμιάδος ἐπέρχεται.

Master: . . . to play at *cottabos* while I prepare dinner for the two of you within.

Heracles: Excellent! But have you a vessel ?

Master: Oh, you can use a mortar.

Heracles: Fetch it, bring water, set out the cups. Let us play for kisses.

Master: . . . more sportsmanship, please! I will fix your stakes—the shoes she is wearing, and your goblet.

Heracles: Gosh! This match is going to be a bigger event than the Isthmian Games.

The hero's goblet, we are to suppose, is a possession not only capacious but valuable, vastly surpassing the shoes. The girl is an expert player, as is shown by a fragment² where she good-naturedly tries to improve his game. In fact, here is the ancient analogue of a modern *motif*: the big-hearted guileless officer on leave, the beautiful decoy, and the quiet little game of cards in the luxurious flat. Later, it seems that she wins the goblet (τὸν κύτυλον φέρει³) and that, as the sport proceeds, *Hēracles* is deprived gradually of all, even his most trivial possessions.

PHAON was equally amorous. The story taken by Plato as groundwork was no doubt that reported by Servius : ' Phaon was a ferryman who used to convey his neighbours from Lesbos to the mainland for hire.

¹Fr. 46.

²Fr. 47.

³Fr. 48. Athenaeus, XI, 478e. For this meaning *φέρεται* was to be expected, and the passage may mean ' he is bringing the goblet ' (as who should bring the *Rajah's* ruby with him to the flat).

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But Venus, who had transformed herself into an old woman, he carried across for nothing. She bestowed on him as reward an alabaster vase of ointment. With this he began to anoint himself every day, and caused women to fall in love with him.¹ We possess a long fragment² depicting the result. Aphrodite³ addresses a throng of women who passionately desire to meet Phaon. He is in seclusion⁴ and she acts as the door-keeper, prescribing the elaborate sacrificial presents that must be offered to her and other powers (with erotic names) before admission is granted. Another passage,⁵ of eighteen lines, shows us a man studying "a new cookery-book of Philoxenus," and reading out a list of aphrodisiac foods. This may be brought into connexion with the fact that one character in *Phaon* was an old man in love with a music-girl whom he rapturously addresses thus :⁶

ὦ χρυσοῦν ἀνάδημα,
ὦ τοῖσιν ἐμοῖς τρυφεροῖσι τρόποις . . . ὦ γλυκὺς ἀγκών.

' O golden crown of mine, O thou . . . to my wanton temper, O sweet embrace ! ' That *Phaon* was a product of Plato's later period is shown, not only by the cookery-book (a " Middle " and " New " *motif*) and by the use of *παρουσία* for " affluence,"⁷ but particularly by the statement⁸ of a Scholiast that this comedy was produced in the archonship of Diocles, that is, in 391.

¹Servius on Virgil, *Æn*, III, 279.

²Fr. 174. Farnell (*Classical Quarterly*, XIV, pp. 139 *sqq.*) explains the whole speech as a parody of ritual enactment of sacrifices. In particular, KWL *τε καὶ κυνηγέταις* (v. 16) is a skit on directions given for visiting the temple of Asclepius in the Piræus.

³That she is the speaker is shown by her calling herself *κουροτρόφος* and demanding not merely presents but sacrifices (*προθύεται*).

⁴This may be a reminiscence of Cratinus, who had said (Athenæus, II, 69d) of Phaon that Aphrodite herself fell in love with him and hid him ' amid fair lettuces' (iv *Kakals QpibaKivais*).

⁵Fr. 173. Plato gives here a burlesque of the *Atiniov* written by Philoxenus of Cythera.

⁶Fr. 178. The *γλυκὺς ἀγκών* mean 'sour grapes'; see Thompson on Plato, *Phædrus*, 257d.

⁷Fr. 177. ⁸On *Plutus*, 179.

The **COSTUMES** (**Σκευαί**) was a play about the theatre, and probably about the decline of tragedy. Two poets are in one passage¹ pitted against each other, poets ridiculed by Aristophanes also :

ᾄψαι μόνον σὺ κὰν ἄκρω τοῦ Μορσίμου,
ἵνα σου πατήσω τὸν Σθένελον μάλ' αὐτίκα.

' You just lay a finger on Morsimus, and I'll instantly stamp on your Sthenelus.' The ruin of choric dancing is vigorously described :²

ᾄσ' εἴ τις ὀρχοῖτ' εὖ, θέαμ' ἦν · νῦν δὲ δρῶσιν οὐδέν,
ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἀπόπληκτοι στάδην ἐστῶτες ὠρύνονται.

¹ So if anyone danced well, there was something to watch ; but nowadays they do nothing : like paralysed men they stand stock-still and howl.' *Cleophon* (an attack on the demagogue) was defeated at the Lenaean festival of 405 by the *Frogs* and by the *Muses* of *Phrynichus*. In the *Resident Aliens* (**Μέτοικοι**) the nominative *ijxavros* occurred. *Victories* (**Νῖκαι**) ridiculed Aristophanes for the colossal image of Peace. *Peisander* satirized the famous oligarch of that name and the distinguished orator Antiphon ; it contained also the phrase " imitating the Arcadians " which we have discussed earlier.

Conspicuous among the extracts from unnamed plays stands a rather noble address³ to the tomb of Themistocles, who died in exile but whose remains were secretly brought back by his friends and buried in Attica on Cape Sunium :

ὁ σὸς δὲ τύμβος ἐν καλῷ κεχωσμένος
τοῖς ἐμπόροις πρόσρησις ἔσται πανταχοῦ,
τοὺς ἐκπλέοντας τ' εἰσπλέοντας τ' ὀψεται,
χώποταν ἄμειλλ' ἢ τῶν νεῶν θεάσεται.

' And thy tomb, heaped in a fair spot, shall be hailed by merchantmen from every quarter ; it shall watch the vessels homeward and outward bound, and be a

¹Fr. 128.

²Fr. 130.

³Fr. 183. The whole idea is based on that magnificent boast of Hector in *Iliad*, VII, 81-91. The regattas off Sunium are mentioned in *Knights*, 555 ; cp. Thuc., VI, xxxii, 2.

spectator when the ships are racing.' It is a beautiful farewell to the founder of a naval empire. Here is an excellent attack^x on talk-politicians :

ἦν γὰρ ἀποθάνη
εἷς τις πονηρός, δὴ' ἀνέφυσαν ῥήτορες ·
οὐδείς γάρ ἡμῖν ἰόλεως ἐν τῇ πόλει,
ὅστις ἐπικαυσεὶ τὰς κεφαλὰς τῶν ῥητόρων.

' For if one scoundrel dies, there spring up two other politicians : we have no Iolaus in Athens to cauterize the heads of politicians.' Another delightful fragment² introduces a man who says he is a statue :

A. οὗτος, τίς εἶ; λέγε ταχύ· τί σιγῆς; οὐκ ἐρεῖς;
B. Ἑρμῆς ἔγωγε Δαιδάλου φωνὴν ἔχων
ξύλινος βαδίζων αὐτομάτως ἐλήλυθα.

' Hi ! who are you ? Tell me at once ! Why silent ? Come, speak ! ' ' Hermes am I, the work of Daedalus, endowed with speech ; here self-propelled I come on wooden feet.'

¹ Fr. 186. The joke in the first sentence is perhaps unparalleled in ancient literature, but has a well-deserved vogue to-day in various forms, e.g. "one of them was a professor and the other was stupid too".

² Fr. 188. The broken scansion in the first line is in notable contrast with the tragic rhythm that follows.

CHAPTER V

EDPOLIS

EUPOLIS, son of Sosipolis, was born at Athens in 445 B.C. and produced his first play in the course of his seventeenth year; that is, in 429 B.C.¹ Suidas² attributes to him seven victories but only seventeen plays in all; the Anonymus puts the number at fourteen. That his life was short cannot be doubted. Various stories of his death, however untrue in detail, agree in placing it before the close of the Peloponnesian War (404 B.C.); we may take it, then, that he died in early middle age. As to the manner of his death, three accounts were offered. The most widely reported was that Alcibiades, enraged by Eupolis' attack on him in the *Baptæ*, caused the poet to be drowned during the famous voyage to Sicily in 415 B.C.³ Suidas⁴ relates that 'he died in the Hellespontine region during the war against Sparta: as a result, poets were forbidden to serve in war'. This refers, no doubt, to the battles of Cynossema (411) or of Ægospotami (404). Finally Ælian⁵ reports that Eupolis died in Ægina, and that his dog crouched on the tomb till he died of grief, wherefore the spot was named *Kwbs Qprjvos*, or Dog's Dirge.

¹ Anon., *de Com.* (Kaibel, p. 8): Εὐπολὶς Ἀθηναῖος ἐδίδαξεν ἐπὶ ἀρχοντοῖς Ἀπολλοδώρου, ἐφ' οὗ καὶ Φρύνιχος· γεγωνὺς δυνατὸς τῇ λέξει καὶ ἡλῶι Κρατίωναν πολὺ γε λοῖδορον καὶ σκαιὸν ἐπιφαίνει. γέγραπται δὲ αὐτῷ δράματα ἰδ'. We know fourteen titles, including the probably spurious *Helots*.

² Εὐπολὶς· καὶ οὗτος ἕξ ἐτῶν γεγωνὺς ἤρξατο ἐπιδείκνυσθαι καὶ ἐδίδαξε δράματα ἕξ. ἐνίκησε δὲ ζ'. καὶ ἀπέθανε ναυαγῆσας κατὰ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἐν τῷ πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους πολέμῳ. καὶ ἐκ τούτου ἐκωλύθη στρατεύεσθαι

This faithful friend (says Ælian) had already shown his devotion by killing Eupolis' slave, Ephialtes, who had stolen some of the poet's manuscripts.

Eupolis was invariably placed beside Cratinus and Aristophanes as one of the three Masters of Old Comedy ; ¹ he collaborated in the *Knights* ; he won seven first prizes in his brief career; with the *Flatterers* he defeated Aristophanes' *Peace* in 421 B.C. Platonius ² writes : ' Eupolis shows magnificent imagination in his plots. His opening scenes are great, and he excites in the play itself that imagination which other poets stir in the parabasis, being powerful enough to bring up figures of legislators from the dead, and through their mouths to advocate the passing or repeal of laws. This loftiness is matched by his charm and the aptness of his jests.' All this reveals a very great comic dramatist, who corresponded to Sophocles as Cratinus to Æschylus and Aristophanes to Euripides. Unfortunately our fragments are too meagre for anything but a hint of this excellence : even Cratinus is in far better case.

The DEMES (ATJ/XOI, the wards or parishes of Attica) was apparently one of his finest works; it has been called "the most important political comedy of all time" ; ³ of late it has gained even more attractiveness for us by Lefebvre's discovery in Egypt of three papyrus-leaves, which were published in 19n. ⁴ These

¹E.g. Horace, *Sat.*, I, iv, i:

Eupolis atque Cratinus Aristophanesque poetæ
atque alii, quorum comoedia prisca virorum est. . . .

Quintilian, X, i, 65: *Plures eius auctores : Aristophanes tamen et Eupolis Cratinusque præcipue*

²Kaibel, p. 6: Εὐπολὶς δὲ εὐφάνταστος μὲν εἰς ὑπερβολὴν ἔστι κατὰ τὰς ὑποθέσεις· τὰς γὰρ εἰσηγήσεις μεγάλαι τῶν δραμάτων ποιεῖται, καὶ ἥνπερ ἐν τῇ παραβάσει φαντασίαν κινοῦσιν οἱ λοιποὶ, ταύτην ἐκείνος ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς δράμασιν, ἀναγαγεῖν ἱκανὸς ὢν ἐξ Αἴδου νομοθετῶν πρόσωπα καὶ δι' αὐτῶν εἰσηγούμενος ἢ περὶ θέσεως νόμων ἢ καταλύσεως. ὥσπερ δὲ ἔστιν ὑψηλὸς οὕτω καὶ ἐπίχαρις καὶ περὶ τὰ σκώμματα λίαν εὐστοχος.

³Korte (Pauly-Wissowa, XI, 1238).

⁴*Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du musée de Caire*, no. 43227, *Papyrus de Minandre*, par M. Gustave Lefebvre, Cairo, 1911. The papyri belong to the fourth or fifth century after Christ. The chief discussions

remains extend over one hundred and seventeen lines, but the papyrus is in such bad condition that by no means all of this mass can be read ; we have, however, a few substantial pieces, including a portion of the parabasis. We must keep three aspects clearly separate : the main outline of the plot, which no one disputes; the details that we learn from trustworthy ancient authorities ; the undoubted facts to be gained from the papyri. Only then can we consider the probable or possible things that emerge from the papyri by assistance of likely or dubious conjecture.

First, then, it is agreed by all that some one,¹ distressed by the plight of Athens, brought from the dead certain Athenian Worthies to help the State.

Secondly, three ancient writers amplify the above. Plutarch² tells us that (i) the Worthies were statesmen, (ii) Pericles was among them, (iii) Pericles was named last, (iv) Myronides (or Pyronides)³ answered Pericles' question about his surviving son. The Scholiast on

of reading and interpretation are those of Korte (*Hermes*, 47, pp. 276 sqq.), Keil (*Gottingische Nachrichten*, 1912, pp. 237 sqq.), Jensen (*Hermes*, 51, pp. 321 sqq.), Robert (*Gdttingische Gelehrte Anzeiger*, 1918, pp. 321 sqq.), and Korte (*Verhandlungen der Sachs. Akad. d. Wiss. su Leipzig*, phil.-hist. Klasse, 71, 1919).

¹One naturally supposes a living Athenian or Athenians, and we shall see below that it was certainly Nicias, whether assisted or not by Myronides (or Pyronides); but Hermann (*Opusc*, V, p. 292) thought it was Hermes, the divine *ψυχοπομπός*.

²*Pericles*, III: 'Ο δ' Εὐπολις ἐν τοῖς Δήμοις πυνθανόμενος περὶ ἐκάστου τῶν ἀναβεβηκότων ἐξ Αἰδοῦ δημαγωγῶν, ὡς ὁ Περικλῆς ὀνόμαστο τελευταῖος, ὃ τι περ κεφάλαιον τῶν κάτωθεν ἡγάγεσ (Kock, fr. 93). *Ibid.*, XXIV: δοκεῖ δὲ καὶ τὸν νόθον ἐκ ταύτης (sc. Ἀσπασίας) τεκνώσαι, περὶ οὗ πεποίηκεν Εὐπολις ἐν Δήμοις αὐτὸν μὴ οὕτως ἐρωτῶντα· ὁ νόθος δὲ μοι ζῇ; τὸν δὲ Μυρωνίδην ἀποκρινόμενον·

καὶ πάλα γ' ἂν ᾔην ἀνὴρ,
εἰ μὴ τὸ τῆς πόρνης ὑπὸρρώδει κακόν.

³In *Pericles*, XXIV (see above) *Μυρωνίδην* is merely a "Byzantine conjecture" for *Πυρωνίδην* (Mowitt-Moellendorff in *Hermes*, 54, p. 69). Who Pyronides may have been we do not know. Myronides is of course the celebrated victor of (Enophyta (456 B.C.): he has in two places been read into the papyri. But by quaint ill-luck his first letter is in both places illegible—the name may be that of his shadowy rival Pyronides. Korte supposes that the character is "Pyronides" indeed, but that this is a nickname for Myronides (cp. "Labes" for "Laches" in the *Wasp*).

Aristides,¹ the rhetorician, names the Worthies as Miltiades, Aristides, Gelon and Pericles; Gelon is undoubtedly a mistake for Solon.² This writer mentions Eupolis, but does not name the play that is in his mind; still one cannot seriously doubt that it is the *Demes*. Finally, Galen³ says that Nicias was one of the characters.

Thirdly, the papyri reveal the following facts:

a) As regards authorship:

i) The first two leaves at least belong to the *Demes* of Eupolis. For we read in one place **πέττειν** and, underneath it, **γγενωμ**, with three undecipherable letters following. Unless we postulate an amazing coincidence, these words must belong to a fragment already known to us:⁴

τὸ χαλκίον
 θερμαίνει θ' ἡμῖν καὶ θύη πέττειν τινὰ
 κέλευ', ἵνα σπλάγχνοισι συγγενώμεθα.

(ii) Nevertheless, a few lines below we read * . .
ου τ' ἐκείνου καὶ φρενῶν, which, clearly suggesting Cratinus' line **ἤβης ἐκείνης νοῦ τ' ἐκείνου καὶ φρενῶν**,⁵ seems to imply that Cratinus wrote the papyrus-play. The words should, however, be regarded as a quotation by Eupolis from Cratinus.⁶

Mil, p. 672 (Dindorf): **Εὐπολις ἐποίησεν ἀναστάντα τὸν Μιλτιάδην καὶ Ἀριστείδην καὶ Γέλωνα καὶ Περικλέα**. This and other passages show what we are to make of the statement by the Scholiast on *Acharnians*, 64: **Εὐπολις ἐν Δήμοις εἰσάγει τὸν Πεισιστράτον βασιλέα**. He means merely that Eupolis called P. a king.

² Gelon was a Sicilian tyrant and never had any close connexion with Athens.

³ See below, p. 183.

⁴ Fr. 108. This proof was pointed out by Korte (*Berl. Philol. Wochenschrift*, Dec. 9th, 1911).

⁵ *Εὐνείδαι*, fr. 1 (Meineke); cp. fr. 65 (Kock).

⁶ Our papyrus cannot belong to the *Euneidæ* for the *Euneidæ*, being anterior to the *Knights* (v. 529 of which quotes from it), cannot have mentioned the expedition to Mantinea. The language, too, shows that this is a quotation:

ἤρχετον σὺ καὶ Σόλων
 ἤβης τ' ἐκείνης νοῦ τ' ἐκείνου καὶ φρενῶν.

ἤρχετον suits **ἤβης**, but goes awkwardly with the other genitives.

(b) *As regards date :*

(i) The expedition to Mantinea, which occurred in 418, is mentioned in lines tolerably perfect:

εἰς δὲ Μαντίνειαν ὑμᾶς οὗτος οὐ μέμνησθ' ὅτι
τοῦ θεοῦ βροντῶντος ὑμῖν οὐδ' ἐνώτος ἐμβαλεῖν
εἶπε δῆσαι τούς στρατηγοὺς πρὸς βίαν ἐν τῷ ξύλῳ ;¹

' Do you not remember that, when Heaven thundered upon you and forbade you to invade Mantinea, this man said he would pillory the generals by force ? '

(ii) ' The people in the Long Walls ' (τούς ἐν μακροῖν τειχοῖν) are spoken of in a passage to be discussed later. The words are possibly an indication of date:² country-dwellers have been forced by the Spartan invasion of Attica to dwell in the fortified area. Unfortunately, this happened in two periods, that preceding Sphacteria in 425,³ and that following the occupation of Decelea in 413.*

(c) *As regards plot :*

(i) Certain people came back from the dead. The most unmistakable proof is the phrase ἤρχετον σὺ καὶ Σολων—' when you and Solon governed '. Some one is addressed who was a ruler (or statesman) in an earlier generation : he is not necessarily a contemporary of Solon's, but he must be ancient or he would not be coupled with him. Strong confirmation is given by the protest quoted from Euripides :⁵ τί τοὺς θανόντας οὐκ ἔᾱς τεθνηκέναι ; ' Why do you not suffer the dead to remain dead ? '

¹The generals were Nicias, Nicostratus, and Laches—all members of the peace-party ; and in any case Nicias could be depended on to accept unfavourable omens. The expedition was led by Nicostratus and Laches (Thuc., V, 61).

²So Korte takes them (*Hermes*, 47, pp. 295 sq.). He insists that the Worthies must have been summoned because of a great misfortune. None had happened in the former Long Walls period, but the Sicilian disaster just preceded the second. Now, as for the second, the year 413 will not serve, for Agis invaded Attica later than the dramatic festivals of that year (*ἤρος εὐθύς ἀρροφίονον* Thuc., VII, xix, 1). We are therefore left with one year only for the production of the *Demes*, 412, since Eupolis fell in 411. (But why should his play not have been produced at one of the festivals of 411? They occurred before the fighting season began.) We shall later see reason to reject all this.

³Thucydides, II, xvii. ⁴*Id.*, VII, xxvii, 5. ⁵Fr. 507, Nauck.

(ii) The third leaf shows a whole scene with fair completeness. Some blackmailer "proves" that he is a just man by relating how he dealt with a foreigner (from Epidaurus, it seems) whom he saw coming into the Agora with barley in his beard. Pretending to believe this a proof of villainy—that he has been drinking *KVKecov*¹—he extorted a hundred gold staters from him. 'If a man pays he may do what he likes' appears to be the blackmailer's boasted justice. The person to whom he gives this lecture may be Aristides. Whoever it is, he has the blackmailer arrested and punished despite his protests, after which he issues to Athens some proclamation about justice.

The date of the play can be fixed very closely. It was produced after Mantinea (418) and before Nicias left Athens for ever in 415. This means that the apparently valuable evidence about the Long Walls must be disregarded, and we may do so with little misgiving.²

We may now proceed to deal with the play in detail so far as is possible. The Worthies were summoned by Nicias,³ who stated to them the grievous plight of Athens and begged their help. Some fragments describe the evil conditions that have prompted this necromancy :

καὶ λέγουσί γε
τὰ μειράκια πρῶσταμένα τοῖς ἀνδράσιν.

'Yes, and the lads get up and speak before the men.'⁴

¹ Korte (*Hermes*, 47, p. 308) points out that the *κυκεών* was the Eleusinian mystery-drink. He then refers the scene to the famous travesty committed by Alcibiades, just before the Sicilian expedition, and so gains further support for his dating of the play.

² After all the discussions, we simply do not know the point of the reference to *οἱ ἐν μακροῖν τειχοῖν*. Therefore we have no right to say that the mere mention of them must supply a date by reference to the dates of the Spartan inroads. There may be half-a-dozen reasons why people lived there between the invasions. Some of the first refugees may have "stayed on"; and so forth.

³ See fr. 91, Meineke, II, 455. According to Galen (V, p. 38, ed. Kuhn) the person who conversed with Pericles was Nicias.

⁴ Fr. 310.

Some especially objectionable politician is apparently referred to in the lines :¹

ὅν χρῆν' ἐν τε ταῖς τριώδοις καὶ τοῖς δξυθυμίαις
προστροπαῖον τῆς πόλεως κάεσθαι τετρίγῳτα.

' Who ought to burn, sputtering at the cross-roads, among the rubbish as the city's scapegoat.' The speaker's hope in the Worthies is that they will cause 'our country to bloom and flourish again'—**ἀμβλυσ-
τονῆσαι καὶ χλοῆσαι τὴν πόλιν.**² One passage³ may point to the ceremony of evocation :

τὸ χαλκίον
θέρμανέ θ' ἡμῖν καὶ θύη πέττειν τινά
κέλευ', ἵνα σπλάγχχοισι συγγενώμεθα.

* Heat the cauldron for us and bid some one knead incense, that we may deal with the offerings.'

The new papyrus apparently makes the Four Worthies arrive in a body and sit in a row ; compare the words of Plutarch :⁴ ' Eupolis in the *Demes*, inquiring about each of the statesmen that have ascended from Hades, remarks (since Pericles had been named last):

ὁ τι περ κεφάλαιον τῶν κάτωθεν ἤγαγες.

" You have brought the crown of the lower world ".' Seven lines describing the unique eloquence of Pericles form perhaps the best-known passage of Greek Comedy outside the work of Aristophanes :⁵

A. κράτιστος οὗτος ἐγένετ' ἀνθρώπων λέγειν·
ὅποτε παρέλθαι δ', ὥσπερ ἀγαθοὶ δρομῆς
ἐκ δέκα ποδῶν ἔρει λέγων τοὺς ῥήτορας.

¹Fr. 120. The metre is Eupolidean; the passage no doubt belongs to the parabasis. For the sentiment compare *Frogs*, 732 sq.

²Fr. 105.

³Fr. 108.

⁴*Pericles*, 111 (quoted above). The papyrus reads, according to Jensen's restoration {*Joe. cit.*, p. 329) :

ἐπεὶ δοκῶ τοὺς ἄνδρας ἤδη τοῦσδ' ὄρᾶν
κρηθμένους, οὓς φασιν ἤκειν παρὰ νεκρῶν, κτέ.

(of παρὰ νεκρῶν the MS. gives only the first a.)

⁵Fr. 94. Curiously enough it is precisely this power that Alcibiades in a celebrated passage of Plato (*Symp.*, 215E) denies to Pericles and assigns to Socrates. It is commonly thought that Pericles left his *κέντρον* in Thucydides—that the Funeral Speech (II, 35-46) contains real Peri clean phrases.

EUPOLIS

B. ταχὺν λέγεις μὲν, πρὸς δὲ γ' αὐτοῦ τῷ τάχει
πειθῶ τις ἐπεκάθισεν ἐπὶ τοῖς χεῖλεσιν,
οὔτως ἐκήλει, καὶ μόνος τῶν ρητόρων
τὸ κέντρον ἐγκατέλειπε τοῖς ἀκροωμένοις.

' This was the most consummate speaker in the world. Whenever he came forward, like a good runner he overtook the orators though they had ten feet start.' 'A rapid speaker, indeed; but besides his speed, a strange charm sat upon his lips, such a wizard was he; and alone of orators he left his sting in the hearer.' At some point in the action Pericles asks of his illegitimate son, and is told by Myronides: ¹ 'he would long ago have been a man had he not quailed before the disgrace of his birth' ² Further dispraise of the younger Pericles must have followed, for his father laments: ³

οὐ δεινὸν οὖν κριοὺς ἐμ' ἐκγεννᾶν τέκνα,
ἥρνης δ' ὁμοίους τοὺς νεοττοὺς τῷ πατρί;

' Is it not shocking that while birds beget chicks resembling their fathers, my children should be rams? '

Of the other three, Solon has scarcely anything, perhaps nothing, to say in our fragments, though one may think that his style is to be recognized in

ἀνὴρ πολίτης πουλύπους ἐς τοὺς τράπους.⁴

' A citizen who behaves like a cuttle-fish.' From Miltiades there comes the outburst⁵ that suggested a famous phrase to Demosthenes:

οὐ γὰρ μὰ τὴν Μαραθῶνι τὴν ἐμὴν μάχην
χαίρων τις αὐτῶν τοῦμόν ἀλγυνεὶ κέαρ.

' By Marathon, mine own battle, none of them shall grieve my soul unchastised.' This is probably the same victory which is said, in an obscure fragment,⁶

¹ Or perhaps Pyronides: see above.

² Fr. 98.

³ Fr. 99. Κριοὺς refers to a proverb about ungrateful children, ἐπεὶ τὰς φάτνας πλῆττουσιν οἱ κριοί (Zenobius, IV, 63).

⁴ Fr. 101. We should say "a chameleon". Μείερ (quoted, but with disapproval by Kock) thought that Theramenes was meant.

⁵ Fr. 90. Cp. Dem., *De Coronea*, 208: μὰ τοὺς Μαραθῶνι προκινδυνεύσαντας τῶν προγόνων. Eupolis in his second line is himself borrowing from Euripides (*Medea*, 304, 307).

⁶ Fr. 116, where see Kock's discussion.

to eclipse the triumph of all succeeding generals. Aristides bulks more largely to our view. Nicias asks him (how like Nicias !) ' By what means did you become just ? ' The answer is

*ἡ μὲν φύσις τὸ μέγιστόν ἐστ', ἔπειτα δὲ
καγὼ προθύμως τῇ φύσει συνελάμβανον.¹*

' Nature's is the largest share : then I eagerly assisted her.' Not a thrilling rejoinder; but it recalls the old opposition of " nature " and " instruction " that so continuously exercised the mind of Pindar. In the papyrus there is a good deal more concerning Aristides (probably) and justice: see the passage about the blackmailer mentioned above. After committing the blackmailer to the stocks he delivers an oration concerning justice which begins :

*ἐγὼ δὲ πάσῃ προσαγορεύω τῇ πόλει
εἶναι δικαίους, ὥς ὅς ἄν δίκαιος ᾖ. . .*

' I issue proclamation to all Athens, that men shall be just. For whosoever is just . . . '

So much for the part played by the Four Worthies. Returning to the evocation, We find that one of them asks the reason for this summons :

λέγ' ὅτου 'πιθυμεῖς, κοῦδὲν ἀτυχήσεις ἐμοῦ.²

' Tell your wish, and you shall have all from me.' No doubt Nicias and Myronides explained at length, giving details of the evil conditions in Athens. A number of uninteresting fragments would fit in here, and perhaps some of those tentatively assigned above to the opening of the play. Certainly here must have occurred the vigorous appeal:³

*καὶ μηκέτ', ὧναξ Μιλτιάδῃ καὶ Περικλέες,
ἑάσας ἄρχειν μεράκι κινούμενα,
ἐν τοῖν σφυροῖν ἔλκοντα τὴν στρατηγίαν.*

' And henceforth, lord Miltiades and Pericles, debar from office the depraved lads who trail their corn-

er. 91.

²Fr. 114.

³Fr. 100. The text is not quite certain, nor the meaning of the last line — ' who haul their generalship in their ankles,' literally.

missions in the gutter.' This explanatory scene closed apparently with the lines : ¹

καὶ τοῦ μὲν ἐν κύκλῳ γε παύσομαι λόγου,
φράσω δέ σοι τὸ πρᾶγμα διὰ τῶν χωρίων.

This is obscure, because it depends partly upon word-play.² The gist of it is : ' I will cease talking at large and let the Athenian parishes speak for themselves.' Aristides (or Miltiades) has already been told ' You Worthies shall learn how much worse off all the demes are now than of yore, when you and Solon ruled '. At this point, then, the complaints and entreaties of the spokesmen are taken up and given particularity (comic or pathetic or both) by members of the chorus who present³ the Attic demes. It is a device resembling the splendid conception of our poet's *Cities*. None of the fragments can be referred with certainty to these detailed complaints.

Near the end came this passage : ⁴

A. ἀναθῶμεν νῦν χημίς τούτοις τασδί τὰς εἰρεσιώνας
καὶ προσαγγέλωμεν ἀπελθύντες.

B. χαίρετε πάντες.

A. δεχόμεσθα.

' Let us, too, adorn them with these harvest wreaths, depart and do worship.' ' Fare ye all well ! ' ' We accept.' It is a reverent farewell offered to the Four.

The longest fragment⁵ of all would fit in at various points :

καὶ μὴν ἐγὼ πολλῶν παρόντων οὐκ ἔχω τί λέξω,
οὕτω σφόδρ' ἀλγῶ τὴν πολιτείαν ὁρῶν παρ' ἡμῖν.
ἡμεῖς γὰρ οὐχ οὕτω τέως ἔκούμεν οἱ γέροντες,
ἀλλ' ἦσαν ἡμῖν τῇ πόλει πρῶτον μὲν οἱ στρατηγοὶ
ἐκ τῶν μεγίστων οἰκίων, πλοῦτῳ γένει τε πρῶτοι,
οἷς ὥσπερι θεοῖσιν ἡνυχόμεσθα· καὶ γὰρ ἦσαν·
ὥστ' ἀσφαλῶς ἐπράττομεν· νυνὶ δ', ὅταν τύχωμεν,
στρατευόμεσθ' αἰρούμενοι καθάρματα στρατηγούς.

¹Fr. 106.

²Probably Eupolis here calls the parishes *χωρία* instead of *δήμοι* because *X<*pion* means " place " not only geographically but also scientifically—" locus " or " area " as in a diagram : each man of the chorus has his special post or *X<opi>on* from which he steps forward to speak his short contribution.

³How, is not plain. There were over a hundred demes, only twenty-four choristers. Probably twenty-four named demes were presented, chosen for their importance or comic utility (queer names, interesting members, etc.).

⁴Fr. 119. The division between speakers is uncertain.

⁵Fr. 117.

' Indeed, despite the abundance of matter I know not what to say, so deeply pained am I by the spectacle of our present public life. This was not the way we aged men lived formerly. First of all, the generals that our city employed came from the greatest houses, men prominent in wealth and birth, to whom we prayed as if they were gods, as indeed they were ; so that our affairs were safe. But to-day, when the fit takes us, we go to war electing scoundrels as our generals.' Probably it is the opening of an elaborate speech made by Nicias or Myronides to the chorus, and leading up to the suggestion that, in default of decent contemporary leaders, the Four should be summoned. Nothing further can be gleaned as to the plot: we do not even know what definite result accrued from this experiment in political necromancy.

Concerning the BAPTTE (*Bdirrai*)¹ our chief source is the Scholiast on Juvenal, I I, 91 sq.:

talìa secreta coluerunt orgia taeda
Cecropidam soliti Baptae lassare Cotytto.

' Such orgies were celebrated with secret torches by the Baptae, who were wont to tire Athenian Cotytto.' On this passage the Scholiast remarks : ' *Baptæ* is the name of a book wherein shameless persons are described by Eupolis, who represents Athenian men dancing in female guise until the music-girl is tired. So the *Baptæ* were effeminate men, under which title Eupolis wrote a comedy, wherefore he was killed by Alcibiades, whom he had especially attacked.' Of all this but little is found in our fragments. There remain a reference² to the magic wheel employed for weaving spells ; the cry of ecstatic invocation, *eval o-afial*; three or four lines of lyric trochees describing the lewd motions of a musician;³ and an obscure

¹The meaning is doubtful. Literally it means "dippers," but baptismal rites were by no means peculiar to the Cotytia. Meineke (I, p. 123) suggests "those who dye their hair"—that is, as a part of their effeminacy. Lobeck (*Aglafihamus*, II, p. 1019) takes the name as a reference to ritual washing.

²Fr. 72.

³Fr.

77.

scholium¹ on Æschines reporting that the Baptæ had an obscene vocabulary of their own. Further light on the plot is perhaps given by Hesychius, who writes, under the entry *Cotytto* : ' Eupolis, in his hatred of the Corinthians, introduces a certain vulgar divinity \² If we assume³ that our poet spoke of Cotytto in only one drama, we may with Meineke interpret Hesychius as showing that Eupolis' purpose was ' to assail the criminal lust of the Corinthians (among whom the worship of Cotytto was highly revered) and so bring the rites of Cotytto into contempt, thus preventing their reception into Athens.'

But the chief interest of the *Baptæ* lies in its connexion with Alcibiades, a possible reference to whom is found in the line *ὅτι οὐκ ἀτρύφερος οὐδ' ἄωρός ἐστ' ἀνὴρ*⁴—* because he is a man of fashion in the prime of life'. The story was well known⁵ that, when the Athenian Armada was on its way to Sicily in 415 B.C., Alcibiades caused Eupolis to be drowned because of the attack on himself in the play. An epigram makes him exclaim:

*βάπτεις μ' ἐν θυμέλῃσιν, ἐγὼ δέ σε κύμασι πόντου
βαπτίζων ὀλέσω, νάμασι πικροτάτοις.*

' You " dip " me in the theatre, but I will dip you in the sea-waves' bitter flood and slay you.' But the story, as Cicero⁶ tells us, was rejected by Eratosthenes, who pointed out that there were later plays by Eupolis. What connexion existed between this comedy and the famous burlesque of religious mysteries that contributed to Alcibiades' recall from his Sicilian command? That outrage was a travesty of Demeter's

¹ Fr. 82. See Meineke, I, p. 335, and II, p. 451.

² *Ὁ μὲν Εὐπολὶς κατ' ἔχθος τὸ πρὸς τοὺς Κορινθίους φορτικὸν τινα δαίμονα διατίθεται.* Meineke, followed by Kock, takes *διατίθεται* as 'in scena exhibit'. It is possible, as Meineke (II, p. 121) says, that the disreputable *psaltria* was Cotytto herself.

³ This assumption is fairly safe: Cotytto was not well known in Athens, though her worship was received into that city (Kaibel, Pauly-Wissowa, VI, 1233w. Lucian writes *ἰσθὺ ἰσδοτὶ* 27): *ἀνένυκας καὶ τοῖς βάπτει. τὰ δῆλα ὅλον; εἴτ' οὐδὲν στυγέει καθίκετο οὐδ' ἠνυθρίασας γυνώρισας αὐτά;*

⁴ Fr. 69.

⁵ See

above, p.

178.

⁶ *Ad Atticum*, VI, 1.

worship, and she was incomparably better known and more revered in Athens than Cotytto. The likeliest view is that Eupolis produced his play in 415 B.C., a few months before the Sicilian expedition set sail, and that it conveyed, not a direct censure of Alcibiades' misconduct, but a burlesque of it, no doubt with hostile intent. Cotytto was substituted for Demeter because the former goddess was vastly more suitable to the comic stage than the latter. One deeply interesting fragment has nothing to do with all this, but concerns the quarrel between Eupolis and Aristophanes. It is a scrap¹ from the parabasis :

κακείνους τοὺς Ἰππίας
συνεποίησα τῷ φαλακρῷ τοῖτῳ κάδωρησάμην.

' And that play, the *Knights*, I generously helped our Baldhead to write.' But this it will be more convenient to discuss elsewhere.²

The FLATTERERS (*Κόλακες*), which in 421 B.C. won the first prize over the *Peace* of Aristophanes, was a social satire, depicting the reckless self-indulgence and ostentatious hospitality of Callias, the son of Hipponicus, and the rapacity of the parasites who fleeced him ; among these latter was Protagoras, the most renowned of all sophists. This comedy, then, was apparently the analogue of Plato's *Protagoras*, in which that sophist and some of his rivals, together with Socrates, meet in Callias' house. There may well have been a burlesque lecture delivered by the distinguished guest, but there are only two hints of this :

ἐνδοθι μὲν ἔστι Πρωταγόρας ὁ Τήϊος,
ὃς ἀλαζονεύεται μὲν, ἀλιτήριος,
περὶ τῶν μετεώρων, τὰ δὲ χαμάθεν ἐσθίει.³

' Indoors is Protagoras of Teos, who orates pretentiously, the scoundrel, about the celestial, but eats the terrestrial.' This is the stock accusation, so familiar in the *Clouds*, that the typical teacher of scientific

¹ Fr. 78.

² See below, pp. 210 sq. ³ Fr. 146.

thought is a philosophic Stiggins. A scrap of bogus science is given :¹

πίνειν γὰρ αὐτὸν Πρωταγόρας ἐκέλευ', ἵνα
πρὸ τοῦ κυνὸς τὸν πνεύμον' ἔκκλυστον φορῇ.

' For Protagoras bade him drink to irrigate his lungs before the dog-days.' But the fragments are mostly sentences about the ways of parasites. One of them deserves careful study. It treats exactly the same topic as the admirable passage in Epicharmus' *Hope* : immensely less vigorous, it reveals nevertheless greater skill in composition, and the authentic Athenian limpidity.² It is the longest complete portion of Eupolis that we possess, delivered by the chorus (composed of flatterers) in their parabasis :

ἀλλὰ δίαταν ἦν ἔχουσ' οἱ κόλακες πρὸς ὑμᾶς
λέξομεν· ἀλλ' ἀκούσαθ' ὥς ἐσμέν ἅπαντα κομπῶι
ἄνδρες· ὅτοισι πρῶτα μὲν παῖς ἀκόλουθός ἐστιν
ἀλλότριος τὰ πολλά, μικρὸν δέ τι καμῶν αὐτοῦ.
ἱματίω δέ μοι δὴ' ἐστὺν χαρίεντε τούτῳ,
οἷν μεταλαμβάνων ἀεὶ βᾶτερον ἐξελαύνω
εἰς ἀγοράν, ἐκεῖ δ' ἐπειδὴν κατῴω τιν' ἄνδρα
ἡλίθιον, πλουτοῦντα δ', εὐθὺς περὶ τοῦτόν εἰμι.
καὶν τι τύχη λέγων ὁ πλουταῖς, πάνυ τοῦτ' ἐπαινῶ,
καὶ καταπλήττομαι δοκῶν τοῖσι λόγοισι χαίρειν.
εἴτ' ἐπὶ δεῖπνον ἐρχόμεσθ' ἄλλουδ' ἄλλος ἡμῶν
μᾶζαν ἐπ' ἀλλήφυλον, οὗ δὲ χαρίεντα πολλὰ
τὸν κόλακ' εὐθέως λέγειν, ἧ' κφέμεται θύραζε.
οἶδα δ' Ἀκίστορ' αὐτὸ τὸν στιγματῆαν παθόντα·
σκῶμμα γὰρ εἶπ' ἀσελγέις, εἴτ' αὐτὸν ὁ παῖς θύραζε
ἐξαγαγὼν ἔχοντα κλοιὸν καρέδωκεν Δινεῖ.

ⁱ But we will describe to you the life of flatterers : just hear what complete exquisites we are. First, we have a page at our heels : he is mostly another man's—I have little share in him myself. For clothes, I possess these two delightful garments, in one or the other of which I march forth every day into the market-place. Once there, whenever I espy some one with no brains but plenty of money, I am at him instantly. If my plutocrat lets fall a remark, I praise it vehemently,

¹Fr. 147.

²Fr. 159. The metre is the " first Priapean ". (Æneus at the end is * the eponymous hero of the tribe Æneis, in the deme of which, called *Κεῖριάδαι*, was the *βάραθρον*' (Kock).

filled with pretended rapture. Next we make off dispersedly to dine at the table of others, where the flatterer must straightway discharge a flood of wit or be flung out into the street. I remember that happening to Acestor, who began life as a slave : he made an indecent joke, and the servant haled him out of doors in a wooden collar and had him thrown into the pit.'

MARICAS (*Μαρικᾶς*—'a barbarian boy's nickname,' says Hesychius) was produced in 421 B.C. It was a satire directed against the demagogue Hyperbolus, attacked under a barbarian name, just as Cleon is called the "Paphlagonian" in the *Knights*. One of our fragments is a parody of a familiar Æschylean passage.¹ As opponent to Hyperbolus, Eupolis puts forward Nicias, concerning whom the longest fragment² says :

MAP. πόσον χρόνον γὰρ ξυγγεγένησαι Νικία ;
 B. οὐδ' εἶδον, εἰ μὴ ναγῆχος ἐστὼτ' ἐν ἀγορᾷ.
 MAP. ἀνὴρ ὁμολογεῖ Νικίαν ἑορακίναι.
 καίτοι τί παθὼν ἂν εἶδεν, εἰ μὴ προὔδιδον ;
 Γ. ἤκούσατ', ὦ ξυνήλικες,
 ἐπ' αὐτοφώρῳ Νικίαν εἰλημμένον ;
 B. ὑμεῖς γάρ, ὦ φρενοβλαβεῖς,
 λάβοιτ' ἂν ἄνδρ' ἄριστον ἐν κακῷ τινί ;

Maricas: How long is it since you met Nicias ?

Citizen: I haven't even seen him, except when he was standing in the market-place the other day.

Mar.: The man owns to having seen Nicias ! and how could he have seen him unless treason were afoot ?

Others: You hear, gossips, that Nicias has been caught red-handed ?

Cit.: What, you lunatics ? Could you possibly catch that excellent man in any misdeed ?

Eupolis is deriding the wild and unscrupulous accusations of disloyalty to the State that demagogues loved to bring against distinguished conservatives. We learn further about Maricas from Quintilian³ that' he

¹Fr. 192. Cp. γEsch., *Persce*, 65.

²Fr. 181. The passage is given by Plutarch (*Nicias*, IV) who says: ὁ δ' ὑπ' Εὐπόλιδος κωμῳδοῦμενος ἐν Μαρίκᾳ προάγων τινὰ τῶν ἀπραγμόνων καὶ πενήτων λέγει· πόσον κτέ.

³1, x, 18 : *Maricas, qui est Hyperbolus, nihil se ex musicis scire nisi litteras confitetur*. Cp. *Knights*, 188 sq.

owns to knowing naught of culture except the alphabet \ But he picked up experience by "knocking about" Athens :

καὶ πόλλ' ἔμαθον ἐν τοῖσι κουρείοις ἐγὼ
ἀτύπως καθίζων κούδ' ἐγγινώσκειν δοκῶν,

' learned much in the barber-shops, sitting unsuspected and pretending not to understand .'¹ Even from the surviving scraps it is plain that there must have been some likeness between *Maricas* and Aristophanes' *Knights*, produced four years earlier. And a charge of bungling parody was made by Aristophanes in the *Clouds*²—a diatribe composed, for greater pungency, in Eupolis' own favourite metre.

The CITIES (*IJoXeis*) was probably one of the most charming and vigorous comedies ever produced in Athens. The Cities were the subject-states of the Athenian Empire : each member of the chorus represented some famous town and entered separately (like the birds in Aristophanes), being described in a few " topical " lines by one of the main persons, his companion adding to the description a facetious footnote of his own. The greatest of the allies was presented in lines that must have aroused a tempest of proud applause :³

αὕτη Χίος, καλὴ πόλις . . .
πέμπει γὰρ ἡμῖν ναῦς μακρὰς ἄνδρας θ' ὅταν δεῖσῃ
καὶ τᾶλλα πειθαρχεῖ καλῶς, ἄπληκτος ὥσπερ ἵππος.

' Here comes Chios, a beautiful city . . . for she sends us cruisers and men at need, in all ways nobly loyal, like a horse that needs no goad.' Probably the Ciiian chorister was decked with naval gear, as the next two fragments suggest:

Τήνος αὕτη
πολλοὺς ἔχουσα σκορπίους ἔχεις τε συκοφάντας.⁴

' Tenos comes next, holding scorpions in plenty and snake-like sycophants.' The last figure in the pro-

¹Fr. 180.
³Fr. 232.

²vv. 553-6. See pp. 210sq., 388.
⁴Fr. 231.

cession was a brilliant apparition in spangles. Her description¹ is very brief, and therefore, no doubt, we are to suppose the loss of at least one line; but we possess here the contribution of the facetious confidant or clown :

A. ἡ δ' ὑστάτη ποῦ 'σθ' ;

B. ἦδε Κύζικος πλέα στατήρων.

A. ἐν τῇδε τοῖσιν τῇ πόλει φρουρῶν ἐγώ ποτ' αὐτὸς
γυναῖκ' ἐκίνουν κολλύβου καὶ παῖδα καὶ γέροντα,
κάξῃν δλην τὴν ἡμέραν τὸν κύσθον ἐκκορίζειν.

Little is left concerning the other twenty-one cities : possibly the line *πεφυτευμένη δ' αὕτη 'στὶν ἡ ψιλὴ μόνον ;*—' is this planted with fruit-trees or merely bare ? '—alludes to another.² The lexicographer Harpocration reports that Eupolis in this comedy mentioned *ἀμόργινα*, a kind of dress-fabric ; so the island of Amorgos may have been presented.

What was the purpose of this exciting pageant ? Almost certainly to introduce a plea for better treatment of the subject-allies ; in addition to the normal strain of the Peloponnesian War, they had recently seen their tribute to the Athenian exchequer doubled by Cleon. The evidence that Eupolis not only discussed their plight but also championed them is not strong, but must be regarded as fairly adequate. First, a number of Athenians were censured by name:³ this in itself, of course, is very weak, but it gains a little strength from the Procession of Allies. Second, one or two passages probably imply speeches of complaint by the Allies : it is possibly one of the Cities that laments she does not own a necessary utensil.⁴ But another fragment⁵ is vastly more important: it perhaps contains a feminine participle and certainly points to slavery and a possible change of masters :

κακὰ τοιάδε
πάσχουσα, μηδὲ πρᾶσιν αἰτῶ ;

¹ Fr. 233. *Πον* in the first line is strange.

² Fr. 2 3 0 . ³ F r r . 207, 209, 210, 213, 235.

⁴ Fr. 224: *ἐμοὶ γὰρ οὐκ ἔστ' οὐδὲ λάσαν' ὅπου χέισα.*

* Meineke, II, pp. 519 sq.; Kock, fr. 225. Meineke, however, reads K.T. *πάσχουσιν, οὐδὲ π. αἰτούσιν.*

' When I suffer such miseries, am I not even to beg for a new master ? '

Further, we gain glimpses of a contest between those who urge mildness towards the subject-states and the inheritors of Pericles' doctrine, ' Keep the allies in hand '.¹ For instance, possibly :

ὥς ὑμῖν πάντως ἐγὼ
ἀπακρινούμαι πρὸς τὰ κατηγορούμενα.²

* Since I will reply by all means to your base charges.' And the proud question, τί δ' ἔστ' Ἀθηναίοισι πράγμ' ἀπώμοτον;³—' What deed will any man swear Athenians cannot perform ?'—points to Cleon's reckless imperialism. A corrupt passage⁴ from an anonymous grammarian indicates the same spirit, praising the man who is eager for office. The other party seem to have read a lesson from Athenian history. Miltiades is mentioned, ' who bequeathed us our Marathonian heritage '—ὅς τὴν Μαραθῶνι κατέλιφ' ἡμῖν οὐσίαν⁵—and there is a curious passage about Cimon :⁶

κακὸς μὲν οὐκ ἦν, φιλοπότης δὲ κάμελής,
κάνιστ' ἂν ἀπεκοιμᾶτ' ἂν ἐν Λακεδαίμονι,
κἂν Ἑλπινίκην τὴνδε καταλιπὼν μόνην.

' Base he was not, but wine-loving and careless. Sometimes he would sleep from home in Lacedaemon, leaving Elpinice alone here.' To the same party may belong the sentence οὐ γὰρ πολυπράγμων ἐστίν, ἀλλ' ἀπλήγιος ?—' for he is not a busybody, but a simple man '—and a gibe⁸ at incompetent generals :

οὓς δ' οὐκ ἂν εἴλεσθ' οὐδ' ἂν οἰνύπτας πρὸ τοῦ,
νυνὶ στρατηγούς ἔχομεν. ὧ πόλις πόλις,
ὡς εὐτυχὴς εἰ μᾶλλον ἢ καλῶς φρονεῖς.

¹Thuc. II, xiii, 2.

²Fr. 219. But if this is an instance, the first words must be made to scan. Hermann adds *κακῶς μου* (*after τά*). This gives the verse Eupolidean metre, in which case no doubt the passage is part of the parabasis. Then it would not have the meaning suggested above, but would refer to the poet himself and his detractors.

³Fr. 217.

⁶Fr. 20S.

⁴Fr. 234.

⁷Fr. 222.

⁵

Fr. 216.

⁸Fr. 20S.

' Men whom in earlier times you would have refused appointment as wine-inspectors we find generals to-day. O my country, my country, how richer thou art in good luck than in good sense !' Here is a vivid little picture ¹ of a demagogue :

Συρακόσιος δ' ἔοικεν, ἥνίκ' ἂν λέγῃ,
τοῖς κυνιδίοισι τοῖσιν ἐπὶ τῶν τειχίων ·
ἀναβάς γάρ ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμ' ὑλακτεῖ περιτρέχων.

' Syracosius making a speech is like a pup on a wall : as soon as he mounts the platform he runs about barking.'

No details of the plot are reported. But it is possible that the appeal for clemency—naturally successful in the poet's hands—resulted in a marriage or pairing-off of " cities " and Athenians. That the sexual possibilities of a " female " chorus would not be overlooked is certain ; and at one place, even in our scanty fragments, a man is rebuked for attempting to flirt with one of the " cities " :

ὁ Φιλίνος οὗτος, τί ἄρα πρὸς ταύτην βλέπεις
οὐκ ἀπολιβάξεις εἰς ἀποικίαν τινά ;²

' I say, Philinus ! Why are you gazing at her ? Take yourself off to a colony.' And some one says ἔχω γὰρ ἐπιτήδειον ἄνδρ' αὐτῇ πάννυ³—' I have an entirely suitable husband (or man) for her.' It is conceivable that there was a marriage-procession of these pairs to rites in the *opisthodomos* or rear-chamber of the Acropolis. We know⁴ that Eupolis mentioned in this play that the allies were bidden to bring their tribute to Athens at the City Dionysia. This treasure, after being exhibited in the theatre, was stored in the Acropolis ; and the striking words ἦν οὐκ ἀνέωξα πώποτ' ἀνθρώποις ἐγώ⁵—' which I have never yet opened to mankind '—may refer to the inmost sanctuary. One may well imagine a great final procession of " married " allies and Athenians accompanying the treasure to its sacred abiding-place.

¹ Fr. 207.

² Fr. 206.

³ Fr. 229.

⁴ Schol. on *Achamians*, 504.

⁵ Fr. 220,

That is all we can now say of what must have been a beautiful, stirring, and brilliant comedy. Its date falls before the Sicilian expedition: Chios had not yet revolted—that happened in 412 B.C.; and Stilbides, the famous seer who accompanied Nicias to Sicily,¹ was still in Athens.²

The BRIGADIERS (*Ταξίαρχοι*) was a lively *piece cToccasion*. Phormio, the Athenian naval commander who so brilliantly distinguished himself in the early years of the Peloponnesian War, takes the god Dionysus as an apprentice, and nearly all our fragments remind us of that scene in the *Frogs* where the same god irritates Charon by his ineptitude as an oarsman. They are not in themselves attractive, but one may be cited :³

ὅστις πύελον ἤκεις ἔχων καὶ χαλκίον
ὥσπερ λεχὼ στρατιώτης ἐξ Ἰωνίας.

' Since you have turned up with a bath-tub and a kettle, like a soldier's wife in Ionia who has just had a baby.' The god intends to "boil his peas" and scandalizes the hard-living Phormio by his luxurious kit, like the officers of the Guards who infuriated Wellington by putting up umbrellas during a battle. Phormio makes short work of his paraphernalia, and appears to send off a female slave of the god's to the auction-block.⁴ The curious occasion of this play is related by the Scholiast on Aristophanes.⁵ ' This Phormio was an Athenian by birth, a son of Asopichus. After brilliant service as a general he became poor, and, being unable to pay the hundred *mince* of his audit,⁶ he lost his franchise. He was living in the

Plutarch, *Nicias*, XXIII.

² Fr. 211. Geissler (*Chronologic*, p. 39) dates the play confidently at the Great Dionysia of 422, because of the allusion (fr. 209) to Amynias.

³ Fr. 256.

⁴ Fr. 258.

⁵ *Peace*, 347. One sentence is difficult and corrupt: ὁ δὲ δῆμος βούλομενος λύσαι τὴν ἀτιμίαν ἀπεμίσθωσεν αὐτὸν τῶν ῥ' μνῶν τοῦ Διονυσίου κτέ. See Boeckh and Memcke in the latter's *Fragmenta Com. Graec.*, 11, pp. 527 sq., from which the above explanation is borrowed.

⁶ Τῆς εὐθύνης.

country when the Acarnanians begged for him as a commander; this request he refused, saying that a disfranchised man could not accept it. Then the People, wishing to annul his disability (suffered him to pay off the hundred *mince* by a sacrifice to Dionysus ?). So Androtion writes in the Third Book of his *Attica* ' Since it was difficult to annul a fine owed to the State, a fiction was practised. Phormio was appointed to perform a trivial task, apparently a sacrifice or service to Dionysus, and was given as " wages " the amount of his huge fine. Eupolis represents the " service " to the god as his training in Phormio's camp. The date of this comedy is 428 or 427 B.C., about the time of Phormio's death (428).

In NON-COMBATANTS (*Ἀκαρπιδρευτοί*) occurred an intriguing passage taken partly from Sophocles :

μήποτε θρέψω
παρὰ Περσεφύνη τοιάνδε ταῶν, ὅς τοὺς εὐδοντας ἐγείρει¹

' lest I should rear in Persephone's kingdom a peacock like that which arouses the sleepers \ In *HELOTS* (*Εἰλωτες*), if he wrote the play, which is highly doubtful,² Eupolis mentioned Stesichorus, Alcman and Simonides with respect; and certainly he somewhere complained that Pindar had become obsolete because most people had grown too vulgar to appreciate him.³ The *GOLDEN AGE* ⁴ (*Χρυσοῦν Γένος*) appears to have been a sarcastic eulogy of the *Cléonian* regime :

ὦ καλλίστη πόλι πασῶν, ὅσας Κλέων ἐφορᾷ,
ὥς εὐδαίμων πρότερόν τ' ἦσθα νῦν τε μάλλον ἔσει.

' Fairest of all cities under Cleon's eye, how happy wast thou of old, and how much happier shalt thou

¹ Fr. 36. Cp. Soph. fr. 890 (Jebb-Pearson):

κερκίδας ὕμνοισ
ἢ τοὺς εὐδοντας ἐγείρει.

² Our authorities mostly speak of ὁ ῥοῦς ΕἰΧτορά? *Troirjoras* or the like.

³ As to Pindar, we have Athenaeus' paraphrase (I, iii a): ὡς τὰ Πινδάρου ὁ κωμωδοποιὸς Εὐπολὶς φησιν, ἤδη κατασεισιασμένων ὑπὸ τῆς τῶν πολλῶν ἀφιλοκαλίας.

⁴ Produced at the Great Dionysia of 424 B.C., according to Geissler, (*Chronologie*, p. 35).

henceforth be ! ' *Autolycus* was a bitter and coarse attack on a young athlete who, in 421 B.C., won the *pancratation* at the Panathenaea and for whom his patron, Callias, prepared the entertainment described in Xenophon's *Symposium*. Eupolis wrote two versions of it, the first being produced under the name of *Demostratus*¹ in 420 B.C.

Among the fragments whose provenance is unknown are a few attractive passages. Two refer to Socrates :

δεξάμενος δὲ Σωκράτης τὴν ἐπίδειξιν ᾄδων
Στησιχόρου πρὸς τὴν λύραν οἶνοχύην ἐκλεψεν.²

¹ Socrates, consenting to give a display, sang to the lyre a poem of Stesichorus and stole a wine-jug meanwhile.'

μισῶ δὲ καὶ τὸν Σωκράτη, τὸν πτωχὸν ἀδολέσχην,
ὃς τὰλλα μὲν πεφρόντικεν
ὀπόθεν δὲ καταφαγεῖν ἔχοι τούτου κατημέληκεν.³

' Socrates, too, I hate, the beggarly chatterbox, who has thought out everything else but neglected to discover a source of food.' Our authority for the former passage asserts that ' Eupolis, brief as is his mention of Socrates, attacks him more vigorously than Aristophanes in the whole of the *Clouds* '.⁴ Of Cleon we are told that he was the first to use, in his despatches to the people, the epistolary salutation *Xalpe*.⁵ Photius, who tells⁶ us that the Lacedaemonians bore the monogram A on their shields, quotes from Eupolis the vivid words:

ἐξεπλάγη γὰρ ἰδὼν στίλβοντα τὰ λάμβδα

' His heart shook when he saw the glittering lambdas.' Is this a reference to Cleon's defeat and death at Amphipolis ?⁷ Our list may close with an expostula-

¹ Cp. Athenaeus, V, 216d.

² Fr. 361. Some would refer this fragment to the *Κόλακες*. It is in the same metre as the parasite fragment.

³ Fr. 352.

⁴ Scholiast on *Clouds*, 96.

⁵ Fr. 308. It was after the capture of Sphacteria.

⁶ s.v. *λάμβδα*: fr. 359.

⁷ Thuc, V, 10. Cp. especially οἱ ἄνδρες ἡμᾶς οὐ μενοῦσιν κτέ.

tion to the Athenian audience similar to the manifeftoes of Terence :

ἀλλ' ἀκούετ', ὦ θεαταί, τὰμὰ καὶ ξυνίετε
 ῥήματ'· εὐθύ γὰρ πρὸς ὑμᾶς πρῶτον ἀπολογήσομαι . . .
 ὅτι παθόντες τοὺς ξένους μὲν λέγετε ποιητὰς σοφούς,
 ἦν δέ τις τῶν ἐνθάδ' αὐτοῦ μηδὲ ἐν χεῖρον φρονῶν
 ἐπιτιθῆται τῇ ποιήσει πάννυ δοκεῖ κακῶς φρονεῖν,
 μαίνεται τε καὶ παραρρεῖ τῶν φρενῶν τῷ σῶ λόγῳ.
 ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ πείθεσθε πάντως· μεταβαλόντες ταύς τράπους,
 μὴ φθονεῖθ' ὅταν τις ἡμῶν μουσικῇ χαίρη νέων.¹

' Nay, spectators, hear and understand my remarks, for to you first will I straightway offer my defence. (I cannot imagine ?) what has put it into your heads to call foreign poets brilliant, whereas if any local man, with quite as good ability, addresses himself to poetry, you think him a perfect fool—he is mad and wandering in his wits by your account, sir. Nay, accept my advice altogether : change your ways and feel no malice when any of us (native Athenians devotes himself ?) to art.' The complaint about foreign rivals must, of course,² refer to Athenians suspected of possessing no genuine right to citizenship. Probably the man in view is Aristophanes, frequently called a foreigner³ by his enemies and at loggerheads with Eupolis since the rupture of their friendship over the composition of the *Knights*.

These lines have been called *elegantissimi** This criticism well illustrates the perils surrounding students of fragmentary literature : after perusing a thousand scraps about fried fish, the weary researcher hails any passage above that level as a jewel of poetry. This passage is, as a fact, extremely flat and obvious in

¹ Fr. 357. Kock with probability supposes a lacuna after the second line. In the fifth, τῷ σῶ λόγῳ implies that the speaker suddenly turns or points to some particular person. Kock would read *παρεκρεῖ τῶν φρενῶν ὁ σῶς λόγος* ('good sense'), which is very dubious Greek. In the last line he suggests *συνῶν ἰστὶ νέων*, which is certainly hard. Richards (*Classical Quarterly*, I, p. 31) would read *μουσικῇ (ἢ) χαίρη ποῶν*.

² No mere cW could compete in the Athenian dramatic contests, though citizens of allied States could do so; notable instances are Achseus of Eretria and Ion of Chios, the tragedians.

³ Cp. below, p. 202.

⁴ Meineke, I, p. 111.

style, a description fitting nearly all the fragments that we have discussed. Eupolis lacked the rich vigour of Cratinus and the sparkle of Aristophanes. Even that charm whereof ancient critics¹ write is seldom apparent in the verbal style of his surviving poetry. His eminence consisted rather in ideas and their dramatic exposition.

¹ E.g. Macrobius, VII, v. 8 : *not us est omnibus Eupolis, inter elegantes habendus veteris comadiæ poetas.*

CHAPTER VI

ARISTOPHANES

ARISTOPHANES was born about 445 B.C. and belonged to the deme Cydathenaeon, of the tribe Pandionis. His father was named Philippus, his mother Zenodora. His rivals often accused him of foreign birth: Lindus and Camirus in Rhodes, Ægina and Egypt were all mentioned as his birthplace. Apparently the family possessed an estate in Ægina, which may have been the occasion for these stories. Aristophanes' first play, the *Banqueters*, appeared when he was not more than eighteen. Forty-four plays in all were attributed to him, four of these—*Poetry*, *The Shipwrecked Man*, *The Islands*, *Niobos*—being, however, assigned by some to Archippus. The poet was more than once attacked by the statesman Cleon, but he escaped punishment. Early in life he became bald. He had three sons, Philippus, Araros, and Nicostratus or Philetaerus. Several of his works were produced under the name of another, sometimes Philonides, sometimes Callistratus, and his last two plays, *Cocalus* and *Æolosicon*, under the name of his son Araros, whom he wished to launch as a comic playwright. The date of his death is unknown, but cannot have occurred before 388 B.C. It is said that Dionysius, tyrant of Syracuse, asked Plato to describe the constitution of Athens, whereupon the philosopher sent him the works of Aristophanes. To Plato also is attributed the epitaph: ¹

Αἱ Χάριτες τέμενός τι λαβεῖν ὕπερ οὐχὶ πεσεῖται
ζητοῦσαι, ψυχὴν εὖρον Ἀριστοφάνους,

¹ Certainly not by Plato, in whose day a τέμενος was not a building, but a sacred enclosure, which could not be imagined as falling.

'The Graces, seeking a shrine that could not fall, discovered the soul of Aristophanes.' This meagre outline gives all the facts of which we can be certain.¹ That the ancient world, which was in a position to make a full comparison of Aristophanes and his rivals, looked on him as by far the greatest Old Comedian, is proved by the fact that of him alone did it preserve entire plays. These number eleven, which shall now be considered in chronological order.

The *ACHARNIANS* (*Ἀχαρνῆς*, men of Acharnae, a deme seven miles north of Athens) was performed at the Lenaea of 425 B.C. under the name of Callistratus, and obtained the first prize, defeating the works of Cratinus (*Χετ/χα^ο/χε^οτ*) and of Eupolis (*Νοβ/χ-ρπυυ*).

Dicaeopolis is discovered waiting in the Pnyx, the meeting-place of the National Assembly. But for him, the scene is deserted, and he complains of the supineness of his fellow-citizens. At length the Pnyx fills, and we have a lively caricature of the Assembly; Dicaeopolis sends a messenger to Sparta to make peace for him on his private account. This man returns with "peace-wine," which Dicaeopolis accepts rapturously, and retires to his farm to celebrate, after six years' intermission, the Vintage-Festival. But the scent of this wine reached some old charcoal-burners of Acharnae, the bitterest section of the war-party in Athens; they pursue the messenger, vowing death to the man who has dared to make peace. At the moment when Dicaeopolis is preparing his celebration they come upon the scene as the chorus of the play, and he is on the point of being stoned to death when he saves himself by a burlesque of a scene in Euripides: rushing into the house he comes back with a basket of charcoal and a sword, threatening to slay the Acharnians' darling. This deadly peril unmans the chorus, who give Dicaeopolis permission to state his

¹ The ancient Lives (of which we have five) give other details purely imaginary or based on the poet's own remarks; for example, that the king of Persia inquired on whose side he was (*Ach*^ v. 646).

case. In order to obtain the tattered garment! of a suppliant he applies to Euripides, and wheedles out of his victim a ludicrous assortment of beggar's odds and ends; thus equipped, he confronts the chorus to make his speech—an account, jocular in tone but deeply serious in intention, of the causes of the Peloponnesian War, showing that the Athenians have taken up arms for frivolous reasons. Half the chorus are won over, half are obdurate; the two sections come to blows, and the war-at-any-price party calls to Lamachus for help. Lamachus stalks on to the stage, a martial figure in grotesquely terrifying armour. In his brush with Dicaeopolis he has no arguments to offer, only threats and abuse: at last he retires beaten. With the departure of this champion all opposition to Dicaeopolis disappears: the whole chorus are henceforth on his side, and deliver their parabasis.

The rest of the play depicts the blessings which Dicaeopolis has secured. A Megarian enters, compelled by famine to sell his two little daughters, whom he disguises as pigs; then a Boeotian, who brings to market an eel, the Athenian's favourite but long-absent delicacy. The informers who interfere with Dicaeopolis' traffic are handled mercilessly. Lamachus sends his servant to buy some of the dainties that Dicaeopolis has acquired, but his request is rejected. A herald enters to proclaim the Feast of Pitchers and the usual prize—a skin of wine—for the drinker who empties his jug first. Dicaeopolis determines to compete, and begins to cook various dainties for his feast. Two heralds enter; one orders Lamachus to march off, in spite of the snowstorms and the festivities at home, to guard the Boeotian frontier; the other summons Dicaeopolis to eat his dinner at the house of the Priest of Dionysus. After a song by the chorus both champions return. First comes Lamachus, preceded by a mock-tragic messenger who describes the dreadful injury which has disabled his master; the warrior is half-carried on to the scene by two soldiers.

On the other side Dicaeopolis enters, incapacitated also, but by intoxication, and supported by two flute-girls. He has won the prize for rapid drinking; the chorus hail him as the victor, and he leads them out in procession.

This comedy, written perhaps before the poet was twenty years old, is not only brilliant, not only a masterpiece: it contains all, or nearly all, the excellences that he was ever to exhibit. The elaborate burlesque of the Athenian Assembly, the exquisite parody¹ of Euripides' *Telephus*, the ode translated below, which is perhaps unsurpassed in its kind, the riotous jollity with which the play ends—these are the outstanding charms of the *Acharnians*. The play has its more ephemeral side. It is not only a comedy; it possesses some of the qualities of a political pamphlet: Aristophanes puts forth all his powers to turn his countrymen against the war, and his last scenes bear witness that there is a jingoism of peace as well as a jingoism of war.

As for the main topic, the first reflexion of every reader since *Ægospotami* must be amazement that the Athenian republic allowed the play to be presented at all. Despite the tolerance and rights of minorities of which so much is heard, no state save fifth-century Athens would have endured, in the midst of a war, any play so definitely criticizing the author's fellow-countrymen, so openly stating a case for the enemy. And there can be no doubt that Aristophanes is to be taken seriously: here, as so often, beneath the surface of laughable or bitter nonsense, can be plainly felt a strong opinion and a passionate appeal. He undoubtedly wishes that the war should end, but the agony of later years has not yet entered his soul: we find only one hint of the future *Lysistrata*, in the line 'she is a woman and not to blame for the war'²

¹ Denis, however, points out (*La Comédie grecque*, I, p. 323) that Dicaeopolis makes no real use of the beggar's gear thus elaborately secured.

² v. 1062.

The superficial absurdity, however, must be held to include Lamachus, the treatment of whom is precisely like that of Socrates in the *Clouds*. Aristophanes wishes to discredit the war-party, and so, selecting its most prominent member, without scruple attaches to him whatever ridicule the ideal "sabre-rattler" may be held to deserve.

In lyrical power this play stands high among the eleven. Its finest passage is the song about peace and war, of which this version may give some idea :

Dost thou see, thronging city? His cunning so quaint is,
 The truce he has made crowns him king of the mart.
 All household utensils, all roastable dainties,
 Yea, blessings in showers have gladdened his heart!
 Ne'er again shall the War-God have welcome from me,
 Or join in our feast and our national song,
 The quarrelsome drunkard! All happy were we,
 Till his tipsy intrusion wrought havoc and wrong.
 He bullied and brawled, while to quiet his ire
 I said, 'Sit and drink; pass the loving-cup round.'
 But he rammed our vine-props deeper down in the fire,
 And spilled, like a brute, all our wine on the ground.

[Feathers from poultry flutter out of the house]

This banquet's exciting our friend: see the traces!
 All these feathers are proof that he's festive and gay.
 O Peace, foster-sister of Love and the Graces,
 How blind to thy beauty our eyes till to-day!
 O might kindly Cupid, with garlanded tresses
 Like the dream of a painter, bring thee to my arms!
 Dost thou deem me too old for thy fertile caresses?
 To a threefold exploit I'd be roused by thy charms.
 First the vine-shoots I'd plant, then young figs in a line,
 And thirdly the vines that I'd tenderly raise;
 And a ring-fence of olives the farm to confine,
 And anoint us with oil on the festival days!

The KNIGHTS. (ἱππῖται, the Athenian cavalry—a class social, political, and financial, as well as military) was produced at the Lenaea of 424 B.C. under the poet's own name—the earliest he so produced—and obtained the first prize.

Two slaves of the stupid and irascible old man Demos (the Athenian People) discuss their evil plight. Recently the master has bought a Paphlagonian slave, who has become his favourite and bullies the other

slaves. It soon becomes plain that the Paphlagonian is Cleon, the malcontents Nicias, the conservative statesman, and Demosthenes, the distinguished soldier. 'The other day,' the latter relates, 'I kneaded a Spartan cake at Pylos, but Paphlagon, with utter knavery, dodged me, snatched it up and himself presented it to our master.' Demosthenes persuades Nicias to steal Cleon's collection of oracles: among them is found a prophecy that Cleon shall be supplanted by a Sausage-seller. He duly appears and is persuaded to undertake his high destiny of overthrowing Cleon and becoming the greatest man in Greece: his fears are overborne and his claims shown to be incomparable—scoundrelism, impudence, and ignorance. Then Cleon rushes out, accusing them of treason; the chorus of knights gallops¹ up to their aid, chasing and buffeting Cleon. There follows a violent contest of abuse between the rival statesmen. At length Cleon departs to denounce the Sausage-seller before the Senate, and his antagonist makes off in pursuit. After the parabasis he returns and relates how he discomfited Cleon by ouibidding him before the Senate with lies and sycophancy. Cleon returns in fury and calls forth Demos, whom both rivals seek to cajole, first by arguments, then by gifts, and the recitation of bogus oracles. At length Demos renounces Cleon and takes Agoracritus (this we find, is the Sausage-seller's name) as his steward. Next comes a brief second parabasis, at the close of which Agoracritus proclaims that he has rejuvenated Demos, who appears from the Propylaea as the splendid Athenian People as it was in the days of Aristides and Miltiades. He is ashamed of his recent stupidities and determines to live in the fine ancient fashion.

The *Knights* is a bad and stupid play. Certain small passages are excellent, and some important historically; but as a whole this saturnalia of falsetto

¹ Riding hobby-horses, perhaps (so van Leeuwen, p. xvii of his edition).

Billingsgate, this anthology of verbs meaning " to kick in the stomach " and the like, is astounding after the *Acharnians*. The fact is, Aristophanes has spoiled his play by losing his temper : his suffocating rage against Cleon has caused him to forget that anger, however justified, cannot of itself project a work of art. Consider this trash,¹ hardly worth reprinting, certainly not translating:

- Κ.Λ. ὦ Δῆμ', ἐγὼ μέντοι παρεσκευασμένος
τρίπαλαι κάθημαι βουλόμενός σ' εὐεργετῆιν.
Α.Λ. ἐγὼ δὲ δεκάπαλαι γε καὶ δωδεκάπαλαι
καὶ χυλιόπαλαι καὶ προπαλαιπαλαιπάλαι.
ΔΗ. ἐγὼ δὲ προσδοκῶν γε τρισμυριόπαλαι
βδελύττομαί σφω καὶ προπαλαιπαλαιπάλαι.

Perhaps even more juvenile is the Sausage-seller's reply to Cleon's boast that he has a chest full of oracles. ' But I have a garret and two lodging-houses full.'² Of that vigorous inventiveness wherein the *Acharnians* is rich, scarcely anything can be seen : his greatest effort is to portray the People and its statesmen as a silly old man with plotting slaves.

The incidental merits are three. First, in the less hysterical passages we enjoy that nervous yet utterly simple Attic style which Aristophanes, when he chooses, can write as well as Plato himself:

καὶ νῆ Δι' ἄλλα γ' ἐστὶ μοι κόβουλα παιδὸς ἔντος.
ἐξηπάτων γὰρ τοὺς μαγείρους ἐπιλέγων τσιπντί·
' σκέψασθε, παῖδες· οὐχ ὁράθ' ; ὦρα νεία, χελιδῶν.'
οἱ δ' ἔβλεπον, καὶ γὰρ 'ν τοσοῦτ' ὧν κρεῶν ἔκλεπτον . . .
καὶ ταῦτα δρῶν ἐλάνθανέν γ'· εἰ δ' οὐκ ἴδοι τις αὐτῶν,
ἀποκρυπτόμενος ἐς τὸ καχῶνα τοὺς θεοὺς ἀπώμυν·
ὥστ' εἴπ' ἄνθρωποι τῶν ρητόρων ἰδῶν με τοῦτο δρῶντα·
' οὐκ ἔσθ' ὅπως ὁ παῖς ὅδ' οὐ τὴν δῆμον ἐπιτροπέσει.'³

A commonplace version might run thus :

And yes, my word ! I'd other tricks when quite a little fellow.
The butchers : how I swindled them ! You should have heard me bellow :
" Look, boys ! A swallow ! Spring is here ! Look ! Seeing is believing."
So up they stared, and while they stared a cutlet I was thieving.
And nine times out of ten it worked, but at the tenth to save it
I clapped the meat between my thighs and gave my affidavit.
A gentleman in public life, who watched this exhibition,
Exclaimed: " That lad is bound to rise : he'll make a politician."

¹w.

1152sq.

²v. 1001.²v.

418 sq.

It is a delightful blend of Mr. Charles Chaplin stealing the pies one by one in *A Dog's Life*, and of Jowett proclaiming " that young man will go far ". Secondly, an excellent little scene occurs near the end,¹ a quaint parallel to the climax of *Macbeth*. Cleon, apparently ruined, has yet one resource. ' Surrender the ring of office ? Never ! I have a Pythian oracle that reveals the one man who shall overthrow me.' Then, as he questions the Sausage-seller on the details of his career, the truth gradually reveals itself that before him stands the Man of Destiny : the younger generation is not knocking, but kicking, at the door. Unlike *Macbeth*, however, he collapses utterly and disappears with borrowed words of tragedy on his lips :

Alas ! God's oracle is all fulfilled.
The wheel is come full circle: sit me on't
And trundle hapless me behind the scenes.
Garland of mine, this parting breaks my heart.
Farewell ! Another soon shall call thee his—
Luckier than I, but ah ! how less a thief !

Thirdly, the main parabasis must be reckoned among the best things Aristophanes ever wrote. We have discussed elsewhere² the memorable account of his predecessors, Magnes, Cratinus, and Crates. It contains also two delicious songs to Poseidon and Athena, thrown for the most part into the dainty rhythm³ so familiar to our own children : " Here we go round the mulberry-bush " :

Ἰππὶ ἄναξ Πόσειδον, ᾧ
χαλκοκρότων ἵππων κτύπος
καὶ χρεμετισμὸς ἀνδάνει
καὶ κυνέμβολοι θαῖ
μισθοφόροι τρήρεις.

Cruisers with iron prows that race
Bringing the cash from Chios and Thrace,
Neighing of steeds and thudding hooves :
These are the joys your heart approves,
Cavalry-God Poseidon !

The *antepirrhema* playfully depicts the valour shown by the knights' horses in the expedition to Corinth.

¹ vv. 1227-52.

² Pp. 16 sq., 115 sq., 145 sqq.

³ See below, p. 376 sq.

It is notable that the poet, while so fiercely deriding the sensational feat of a democrat at Pylos, should rhapsodize over this insignificant exploit of the aristocratic knights.¹

This discrepancy raises a particular question concerning his treatment of Cleon—something more than the general topic of unfairness. Was the poet directly and definitely suborned by the oligarchs to make this attack? Despite the complete absence of any external evidence, no one can avoid at least asking that question who considers, not so much the violence of this play as the absence of light and shade effect. Elsewhere he allows something in favour of his butts: here is unremitting rancour. And when we ask whether the occasion was such as to condone unrelieved virulence, we note at once that it was displayed at the very moment when Cleon had deserved most excellently of his countrymen: his exploit at Pylos and Sphacteria was no less valuable than spectacular. It is a curious reflexion that throughout the performance Cleon must have been seated in the front row of spectators, this distinction having been conferred precisely because of Pylos; it is still more notable that despite this unparalleled torrent of abuse he was soon afterwards elected a general.

A highly interesting piece of literary history concerns the *Knights*: Eupolis collaborated in it. In the *Clouds* Aristophanes writes: 'First of all Eupolis brought on his clumsy *Maricas*, a travesty of my *Knights* as stupid as himself.' On this the Scholiast² remarks: 'Eupolis in the *Baptae* says on the contrary that he helped Aristophanes with the *Knights*. He means the final parabasis. His words are "That play the *Knights*, too, I helped the bald-headed to

¹ Couat, *Aristophant et l'andenne comédie attique*, p. 88.

² On *Clouds*, 554. Eupolis' words are (with an omission made by the Scholiast):

κακείνους τοὺς Ἰππίας
συνεποίησα τῷ Φαλακρῷ . . . καθωρησύμην.

write . . . and made him a present thereof ".¹ Moreover, Cratinus twitted Aristophanes with plagiarizing Eupolis.¹ Finally, on the second parabasis of the *Knights* the Scholiast says : ' From the words **ὅστις οὖν τοιοῦτον ἄνδρα** some say that Eupolis wrote the parabasis, since he says " I helped the bald-headed to write ".² The natural assumption is : Eupolis wrote that part of the parabasis that deals with Hyperbolus, and, when in his *Maricas* he wrote a whole play against Hyperbolus, took back what was his own and used it, much to Aristophanes' annoyance.

The *Cuiius* (**Νεφέλαι**) was produced ² at the Great Dionysia of 423 B.C. and obtained the third prize, being defeated by the *Wine-Flask* of Cratinus and the *Connos* of Ameipsias.³

Strepsiades, an old rustic, cannot sleep for thinking of the debts in which he is involved by his son Pheidippides, who indulges a passion for horse-racing. He begs his son to enter the " thinking-shop " of Socrates as a student: these sophists can make him so clever that he will win all suits brought by the creditors. Pheidippides refuses, and the father determines to undergo the training himself. He is shown round the school and at length sees a figure swinging aloft in a basket—Socrates himself, who has ascended into purer air for the sake of clearer thought. Hearing Strepsiades' errand, the sage descends and summons his patronesses, the Clouds, who inspire all windy and pretentious artists and thinkers ; he then gives a long lecture on meteorology. Strepsiades is taken indoors while the chorus of Clouds deliver the parabasis. Socrates returns, disgusted with Strepsiades' stupidity. They begin discussion in the open air, and in the end Socrates is so exasperated that he expels the senile undergraduate. Strepsiades appeals to the

¹ **ὅς τὰ Εὐπόλιδος λέγοντα** (Schol. on *Knights*, 528).

² Under the name of Philomides ; the author of the *Life* says that he produced the plays written by Aristophanes against Socrates and Euripides.

³ Or Phrynichus. See p. 24.

chorus, who suggest that he should send his son for instruction, Pheidippides now consents, and Socrates agrees to teach him the "two pleas"; there follows the famous contest between the Just Argument and the Unjust, who describe in turn their effects upon the young—the old system of education, inculcating good manners, good morals, and athletics; and the new, which flings aside traditional restraint, bidding the youth indulge all his passions. At length the Just Argument, forced to confess that practically everyone in Athens follows his rival's teaching, throws up his case. Pheidippides is taken indoors for instruction under the fashionable system. Strepsiades returns, distressed by the approach of settling-day: he is delighted to find that his son is now fully prepared to baffle the creditors; they go within to celebrate his "graduation" with a dinner. Two creditors appear, and Strepsiades discomfits them by showing off mysterious scraps of learning obtained from Socrates. But soon he reappears in very different mood. The dinner has been a heart-breaking fiasco: Pheidippides has not only quarrelled with his father about literary criticism, but, in an access of artistic fervour, has almost strangled him. The son comes out offering to justify his conduct by the new learning, and Strepsiades finds that the devices he had meant for his own defence can be used for his undoing. In his rage and despair he leads his slaves to an attack on the thinking-shop, to which he sets fire, the horrified inmates scurrying forth with squeals.

That our text of the *Clouds* is not entirely the same as that performed in 423 B.C. all of course agree: there is a passage in the parabasis concerning the play's reception which must be later, and must have replaced something else. But can we go further? Is it possible to say how much else is new? If so, can we with any precision determine the shape of the original play? Finally, if these alterations were extensive, why were they made? We have three

ancient sources of information : two of the Arguments, and quotations from the first version.

The fifth Argument reads: 'The first *Clouds* was produced in the City during Isarchus' archonship, when Cratinus was victorious with the *Wine-Flask*, and Ameipsias with *Connos*. Wherefore Aristophanes, unexpectedly rebuffed, thought he must again produce the second version and rebuke the audience. But he met with far worse failure on the later occasion and did not again bring forward his revision. The second *Clouds* appeared in Ameinias' archonship '—that is, in 422 B.C.¹ The sixth Argument reads : 'This is the same as the earlier, but it is partially revised, as if the poet had decided to present it anew but gave up the plan for whatever reason. Now there was a complete recasting, affecting practically every part. Some elements were removed, some remodelled ; the arrangement was altered and the relation of the characters changed. [The wholesale revisions were such as these.] For instance, the parabasis of the chorus was altered, and where the Just Argument talks to the Unjust, and finally where Socrates' school is set on fire.' This evidently combines two different accounts : one said that only a slight revision (perhaps merely the re-writing of the parabasis passage) took place ; the other, that there were drastic and widespread changes.

Thirdly, we have a few quotations "from the *Clouds* " which are not to be found in our text. One runs :

Εὐριπίδης δ' ὁ τὰς τραγωδίας ποιῶν
τὰς περιπαλοῦσας οὗτος ἐστὶ τὰς σοφάς.

'This is Euripides, who writes the garrulous scientific tragedies.' But Diogenes Laertius, from whom the citation comes, is talking about the rumour that Socrates helped the poet with his tragedies. This

¹ Whether our version was ever acted cannot be stated with certainty ; but it was not in 422 B.C., for the references (vv. 551 *sqq.*) to plays about Hyperbolus show that the parabasis cannot have been written till 419 B.C.

sense cannot be extracted from the Greek just given, which must accordingly be emended to **Εὐριπίδου** or **Εὐριπίδῃ**. We thus get a passage apparently unimportant—a scrap of a description of Socrates—but one nevertheless not found in our *Clouds*. Another is :

ἐς τὴν Πάρνηθ' ὑργισθεῖσαι φροῦδαὶ κατὰ τὸν Λυκαβηττόν.

The gender and the subject-matter show that this refers to the chorus : ' Making off in anger to Mt. Parnes along Lycabettus '. This looks at first like a difference in plot, but it is perfectly easy to suppose that the Clouds are speaking about themselves and ' the angry withdrawal ' they made in the past, or may make in the future, ' on beholding some foolish act of the Athenian people '.¹ Thirdly, vv. 412-19 are quoted by Diogenes Laertius² with numerous slight changes. This has been taken as a passage from the first *Clouds* addressed to Socrates, whereas the similar lines in our version are addressed to Strepsiades. It is more likely³ that they have been adapted from our text by Diogenes to suit his own discussion of Socrates.

These evidences are to be reinforced by study of any signs of alteration that may be discovered in our text.⁴ The facts appear to be as follows :—

Firstly, Strepsiades' course of study was originally successful. As they stand now, the scenes of his tuition, though in themselves excellent, are inept when read in the light of the whole drama. Why not cause Pheidippides to do at once what he does in the end, submit to the sophistic teaching ? Why thrust in the Strep-

¹ Mr. B. B. Rogers, *Introduction* to his translation, p. xiv. ² II, v. 27.

³ As excellently demonstrated by van Leeuwen, *Proleg.* xxiv so.

⁴ From the voluminous "literature" the following works may be singled out: Zielinski, *Die Gliederung der altattischen Komödie*, pp. 34-52 ; Köck, *Einleitung* to his edition, pp. 24-47 (an English translation will be found in Humphrey's edition of the *Clouds*, Ginn & Co., 1888); Schwandke, *De Anstophanis Nubibus Prioribus*; van Leeuwen, *Prolegomena* to his edition, pp. ix-xxviii. Zielinski makes penetrating and illuminating remarks on our topic, mixed with utterly wild pronouncements—for instance, the (fortunately irrelevant) account of Socrates' back-garden, the lane, the removable garden-wall.

siades scenes, which (on the other hand) are far too long for a flash in the pan? Note in particular two points which it seems impossible to evade, (a) Despite his preliminary foolishness about metres and the like, Strepsiades does seem to be progressing.¹ (b) Since Pheidippides has at length fulfilled his father's wish and so become capable of beating off the creditors for him, it is astonishing that, when the creditors actually arrive, not the young man, but the old, meets and outfaces them. Secondly, it follows from this that Pheidippides' part in the first *Clouds* was vastly less than in the later: perhaps no more than to provide the distresses that drive his father into the sophistic circle. But from this again follows the disappearance of two great scenes: the magnificent contention between the Just and the Unjust Arguments, the brilliantly witty dispute between father and son. So far as the former dispute is concerned, we have the support of the Sixth Argument. Thirdly, Socrates remained throughout as he was depicted early in the drama, an atheistic and pedantic physical philosopher: he was not presented as a corrupter of the young. The main proof of this is the negative witness in Plato's *Apology*. There Socrates summarizes Aristophanes' attack upon him thus:² 'Socrates is a wicked busybody who studies subterranean and celestial things and makes the worse plea the better and teaches others the same notions. . . . You saw for yourselves in the comedy of Aristophanes a so-called Socrates swinging about there, saying that he was treading the air, and talking a great deal of other nonsense about which I know nothing at all.' If the poet had gone on to show Socrates as a corrupter of the young—which is precisely what happens in our text—it is inconceivable that Socrates should omit to mention something so profoundly relevant to his purpose. Fourthly, the *finale* exhibited no such paroxysm of resentment in Strepsiades against the sophists nor the burning of the thinking-shop, but presented

¹ w. 758.

2

Apology, 19b, c

just the reverse. The first statement is proved by the words of the Argument, that one of the new passages was the firing of the school. But the second rests on grounds entirely different; that is, on mere analogy, but analogy difficult to disregard. Aristophanes' method throughout his career (so far as we know it) is the ironical. He takes a fantastic project and not only carries it to success, but crowns it at the end with spectacular triumph. In our *Clouds* absurdity and knavery are exposed, the chorus make a complete *volte-face*, sanity returns and Socrates is discomfited with a mechanical completeness that reminds a modern of Pecksniff's downfall.

We are then to suppose that the original comedy showed Strepsiades as, at first no doubt a stupid, but later an accomplished, pupil of the sophists: he carries out his purpose of baffling the creditors—which, indeed, he does in our play, though that part may have been longer and better. After this we postulate something for which, to be sure, there is practically no evidence in our play—a riotously jovial *kermesse* celebrating the triumph of the modern teaching. Practically no evidence, but perhaps a little. The famous "midwifery" of Socrates is mentioned¹ even in our text, and who can say to what marvellous sophistic Athena our elderly hero gave birth?

The *Clouds* offers the most brilliant, and perhaps the most profound, comparison ever written of traditional and innovating theories of education. Certain modern errors that have been, each in its day, cardinal and dominant are here completely avoided: right education is right not because it produces wealth or social advancement or good character or good citizenship, but because it deepens and enriches the individual soul. The "good citizenship" error, almost unchallenged in our own day, was indeed not difficult to avoid in Aristophanes' time: the Unjust Argument produced Alcibiades, who ruined his country by his

¹ vv- 135-9. Cp. the "bedroom" scene, w. 694 sqq.

counsels to Sparta; the Just Argument produced Nicias, who ruined his country because he did not understand eclipses.

It is unfortunate for the poet's reputation in our more conscientious world that he selected for his butt the noblest of all pagan teachers. However much of their own personalities Plato and Xenophon may have imported into their accounts of Socrates, it is unquestionable that the *Clouds* gives a wild caricature. Nevertheless, Socrates cannot have been to any Athenian in 423 B.C. what he is to us after the *Phædo* and twenty-five centuries of reverent tradition and study ; that is to say, though of course Aristophanes "knew better," there was nothing specially wicked in taking Socrates as a butt; and his reasons are easy to detect. He wished to attack "the sophistic movement," he must select some person as representative,¹ and the natural choice was undoubtedly Socrates, who had some real affinity with the sophists, was very well known, and showed peculiarities of face, gait, and manner that made him a godsend to any actor.² Whether this attack had any share in the condemnation of Socrates twenty-four years later is a question often debated. Plato in the *Apology* certainly implies that it had, but that he later acquitted Aristophanes seems to be proved by the magnificent scenes of the *Symposium*. The second Argument states that our comedy was a *ballon d'essai* sent up at the instance of Anytus and Meletus (two of the accusers in 399 B.C.), 'for they moved cautiously because Socrates had many devoted friends, especially the coterie of Alcibiades, which, indeed, prevented the poet from gaining the prize with this play.' This of course is nonsense : Meletus at this date was at most a young boy, and in any case what accuser would deliberately wait for a quarter of

¹ As a matter of fact, most people would know that the *κρείττων λόγος* and the *ἥττων λόγος* were an idea of Protagoras.

² He was ridiculed in other comedies also : the *Uavofrrm* of Cratinus, the *napda-troi* of Eupoiis, the *Kowos* of Ameipsias or Phrynichus.

a century ? But the chief point is that Athenian opinion was not formed by the comic stage : Cleon was incessantly abused, yet he enjoyed unquestioned political primacy from the death of Pericles to his own.

Perhaps nothing in the whole range of comic literature is finer than the scientific discussions. Socrates has summoned the Cloud goddesses, who come and greet him in tones that overwhelm Strepsiades : 'Heavens ! That voice ! How august, and solemn, and imposing '—

ὦ γῆ τοῦ φθέγγματος, ὡς ἱερὸν καὶ σεμνὸν καὶ τερατώδες

'Yes,' answers the Sage, 'for they alone are goddesses : all the others are nonsense.' Strepsiades is startled : 'What about Zeus ? ' ' Zeus ! Don't be silly. There's no such person,' The worried pupil offers evidence that Zeus does exist—the rain and the thunder—but is informed that all such things are caused by the Clouds. 'How ? ' he asks. Socrates gives the "rationalistic" (and correct) explanation, twice referring to "Force" or "Necessity" (*ἀνάγκη*).¹ But who is it that exerts the force ? Isn't it Zeus ?—ὁ δ' ἀναγκάζων ἐστὶ τις αὐτάς, οὐχ ὁ Ζεὺς, ὥστε φέρεσθαι ; This is a great moment. The bogus scientist's worst habit is to "explain" difficulties by translating them into Latin or Greek : Moliere pilloried but did not cure it when his quack-doctor "explained" that opium sends us to sleep because it possesses *virtus dormitiva*.² Strepsiades, vastly more alert here than when discussing metre, seizes the point and will not be put off. But Socrates has a reply : at any rate he carries the account one step farther back. 'Zeus ? Certainly not ! It is the vortex of the Universe (*αἰθέριος δῖνος*).³ Strepsiades, to our disappointment, tails to inquire : 'But what causes the vortex ? Isn't it Zeus ? And why does he not ? Another fundamental thought for scientists and teachers: he thinks he understands

¹ 'AvayKp̄j is significantly invoked later, on morals (v. 1075).

² *Le Malade Imaginaire, Troisième Intermede.*

though he does not, and so halts contented and mistaken. We observe that he imagines Dinos (" Vortex ") to be a proper name, the name of One really ultimate. He nods his head sapiently :

Δίνος, τουτί μ' ἐλελήθει,
ὁ Ζεὺς οὐκ ὦν, ἀλλ' ἀντ' αὐτοῦ Δίνος νυνὶ βασιλεύων.

' Vortex ! Ah, stupid of me. . . . No Zeus, of course. . . . Vortex is king instead of him nowadays.'¹ But the finest stroke by far is to come : Aristophanes plays on us, the audience, one of the greatest jokes ever made. We, too, have thought we understand, halting therefore contented. But at the very close of the drama we are thunderstruck to find that Strepsiades, being no scientist, instead of taking *dinos* to mean " vortex " as we and Socrates did, has given it the only significance he knows. In his final rage and despair he turns to the big jar that stands beside his door, and savagely addresses it : ' Unhappy that I am, to think *you* a god, when you are nothing but earthenware ! ' ² *Dinos*, we suddenly remember, means not only " vortex " but " jar " also. All this time Strepsiades has been hugging this precious discovery that his old jar accounts for the wonders of meteorology. Comedy is rarely sublime, but here it is so, in the most skilfully damaging exposure of pseudo-science and sham education ever penned.

Later, in a beautiful and memorable harangue, the Just Argument describes " the old system of education ". Much of it seems to modern readers a strange medley of the English " public school spirit " and " deportment for young ladies " of the eighteen-sixties : no feature of Athenian life, as portrayed by both Aristophanes and Plato, is so amazing as the treatment of boys at one moment as if they were young soldiers, at the next as if they were lovely and alluring girls. The Just Argument describes how they used to tramp schoolwards all together and in orderly manner—*εὐτάκτως ἀθρόους*, the " crocodile " in fact; on the

¹ vv. 380 sq.

² w. 1472 sqq.

other hand they went without overcoats even if it snowed heavily. At their singing-lesson any original rendering was punished with a severe thrashing: this sounds familiar, but—in the gymnasium they were to adopt a modest attitude 'lest the bystanders saw anything improper'. What a comment on the traditional notion of "the grand old Greeks" and their sane respect for the body, etc., etc., by one who was a grand old Greek himself! Even worse follows: on departure from the wrestling-ground they were made to smoothe the sand whereon they had sat, so as to leave no suggestive marks.

Whatever the methods employed to reach it, the object of the "old education" was on the whole that which has been set before Western boyhood for many generations. Its spiritual culmination Aristophanes crystallizes into a noble phrase: * *τῆς αἰδοῦς μέλλεις τᾶγαλμ' ἀναπλάττειν*. 'You are to fashion in your heart the image of nobility' is a weak translation; Aristophanes has given the Attic equivalent of 'Your body is the temple of the Holy Ghost'. He concludes with that memorable and lovely picture, a marvellous prophecy of the summer term in our universities;² and, by one of those divine accidents that shed a final glory upon the greatest moments of literature, he actually uses the traditional name of all universities:

*ἀλλ' εἰς Ἀκαδήμειαν κατιῶν ὑπὸ ταῖς μορίαις ἀποθρέξει
στεφανωσάμενος καλᾶμψ λευκῷ μετὰ σῶφρονος ἡλικιώτου,
μίλακος ὄζων καὶ ἀπραγμοσύνης καὶ λεύκης φυλλοβολούσης,
ἥρος ἐν ᾧρα χαίρων, ὅπῃταν πλάτανος πετέλα ψιθυρίζῃ.*

'No, you shall repair to the grove of Academus and, garlanded with white reeds, run your laps beneath the olives with a sound-hearted friend of your own year, fragrant of bryony and quiet leisure and the silver poplar as she casts her leaves, rejoicing in the spring season, when the plane-tree whispers to the elm.'

¹ v. 995.

² Much of that intoxicatingly beautiful novel, Mr. Compton Mackenzie's *Sinister Street*, might be called a vast commentary on the whole speech of the *Δίκαιος Λόγος*.

The gospel of the Unjust Argument also exhibits notable qualities : first, that plain gracefulness and trenchancy whereof Aristophanes was so brilliant a master; second, a sparkling proclamation of the doctrine of complete self-expression, that to withstand any temptation is sin. One line¹ may be selected as a perfect example of both qualities :

χρῶ τῇ φύσει, σκίρτα, γέλα, νόμιζε μηδὲν αἰσχρόν.

' Give rein to your nature, prance and laugh, think nothing shameful.' The application of this which follows holds special interest: ' If you are taken in adultery, refer your accuser to Zeus, notoriously weak in such matters : how can a mortal like you be stronger than a god ?' It is the argument employed by the young debauchee in Terence² to defend not a seduction but a particularly vile rape, and as so employed is vigorously denounced by St. Augustine. Other arguments, whether they clash with this or not, are to be met here : for instance, the cave-man notion—*γυνὴ σιναμωρουμένη χαίρει*³—above all, the clinching question, ' What good did any one ever get from being chaste ? ' ⁴ The other Argument, more just than wise, instead of answering (as Plato would have answered) that it is a good in itself, tries to offer examples of (so to put it) virtuous apprentices who have become Lord Mayor, and is of course worsted. This exposition of sophistic immoralism is developed with sparkling verve by Pheidippides later : he begins with a juvenile rapture that stirs and wins the heart :

ὥς ἡδὺ καινοῖς πράγμασιν καὶ δεξιοῖς ὀμιλεῖν
καὶ τῶν καθεστώτων νόμων ὑπερφρονεῖν δύνασθαι.

It is unmistakable, this cry of the converted soul, this ecstasy as of a youth who suddenly realizes Beethoven or Botticelli in the marrow of his soul. So precious is

¹v. 1078.

²*Eunuckus*, vv. 584 sqq. Cp. St. Augustine, *Confessions*, I, xvi. Mr. Rogers well quotes *Merry Wives*, V, v.
³v. 1070. ⁴vv. 1060 sq.

that rapturous irradiation of the spirit, that one wonders at times whether it is not the illumination that matters rather than the truth or falsehood of its cause. Yet the words seem so bare and obvious : where does the glamour reside ? Translate them as best you may, and your magic gold turns to withered leaves overnight : " How sweet to rise above convention, living amid novelty and brilliance ! "

What follows is a real argument, some new ideas and some capital jokes. ' Consider cocks and other creatures. They hit back at their fathers, yet how do they differ from us, except that they don't go in for politics ? ' ' Well, if you take cocks as your models in everything, why don't you eat dirt and sleep on a perch ? '¹ Again, Strepsiades remarks : ² ' You need not revenge yourself on me for the beating I gave you when a child : you can bestow them on your own son '. Pheidippides is not to be caught. ' And suppose I never have one ? All my howls will have gone for nothing, and you will have had the laugh of me, safely dead '—*μάτην ἐμοὶ κεκλαύσεται, σὺ δ' ἐγγανῶν τεθνήξεις*. His great argument is the famous doctrine of $\nu\delta\jmath\pm o<$; " convention ". ' That a son should not strike his father is only a convention : it was some man that set it up ; and I, another man, am at full liberty to establish a new convention.'³ This antithesis of " nature " and " convention " was the most original, most instructive, and most dangerous contribution of the Sophists to Greek thought; its best expression is the superb outburst of Callias in Plato's *Gorgias*.⁴ The peril that it contained is shown comically here and tragically in Athenian history : the Just Argument truly says ' some day Athens will realize what lessons you are giving to her fools '.⁵

The WASPS, (*Σφήκες*) was produced at the Lenaea of 422 B.C. The text of the First Argument is corrupt,

¹ vv. 1427 sqq.

³ vv. 1421 sqq. (paraphrased).

⁴ 482c-486d.

² vv. 1434 sqq.

vv. 918 sq.

and no further detail about the contest is quite certain, but the facts appear to be that the first prize fell to the *Rehearsal*, written by Aristophanes¹ and produced by Philonides, the second prize to the *Wasps*, written and produced by Aristophanes, and the third to Leucon's *Ambassadors*.

Two slaves, Sosias and Xanthias, are on guard outside a house. They explain that, together with Bdelycleon ("Cleon-hater"),² their old master's son, they are keeping captive their master Philocleon ("Cleon-lover"). He is madly in love with his work as a jurymen, and the power he wields over wealthy or noble defendants; he votes invariably for condemnation. Bdelycleon is determined to cure him by forcible detention at home. The frantic old man makes ingenious attempts to escape, but in vain. The chorus of "Wasps" enter, aged jurymen armed with great stings symbolizing their ferocity in condemnation; they are on their way to the law-courts and have called to bring Philocleon. They encourage him to one more attempt: he bites through the netting and begins to let himself down by a rope. His captors awake and there follows a *mel6e* in which Bdelycleon wins. Then he insists on proving to his father that the supposed power and splendour of a jurymen's life are nothing but slavery to the politicians. After vigorous speeches on each side, both Philocleon and the chorus are convinced. But the old man is lost: what is he now to do with his life? Bdelycleon arranges law-business for him in comfort at home. The household is ransacked for

¹ It may be objected: "Then he is still ventriloquizing, in the *Rehearsal* contemporaneous with the *Wasps* in which (w. 1017-22) he repudiates the practice". It is probably enough to answer: "At any rate he does not ventriloquize in the *Wasps* itself, and so much consistency as that is enough for Aristophanes". Anyone who cannot accept this seems driven back on van Leeuwen's idea (*Mnemosyne*, XVI, 251) that the *Wasps* was produced at the Great Dionysia of 422, some weeks after the ventriloquial *Rehearsal*.

² To those who search for blunders in Aristophanes the fact may be pointed out that Philocleon would never have given his son such a name; still less could he himself have been named in admiration of a statesman who was himself an infant (if he was born at all) when the rite took place. Again, the captive at v. 169 is toothless, but at v. 368 he bites through the net.

utensils to represent the furnishings of the court; a defendant is found in the dog Labes,¹ accused by another dog of stealing a Sicilian cheese. When the pleadings, with the witnesses (the dish, the grater, etc.) have been heard, Philocleon is tricked into placing his pebble in the wrong urn. Finding that he has voted for acquittal, he swoons. Bdelycleon comforts him and promises to take him into smart society. The parabasis follows, a discussion of the poet's career and merits, and a proclamation of the valiant deeds performed by the Wasps against barbarian invaders. In the next scene Bdelycleon coaches his father in the manners and small talk of fashionable people; then comes a brief second parabasis. Xanthias enters, describing Philocleon's outrageous behaviour at a dinner-party. Soon the old man returns, followed by people whom he has insulted on the way: he cheerfully snubs them with scraps of irrelevant repartee; moreover, to his son's indignation, he has carried off the flute-girl from the party. Bdelycleon forces him into the house, but after awhile he emerges to challenge all the tragic dancers in Athens to a competition. The three sons of Carcinus come forward, and with a display of high kicking the play ends.

The *Wasps* is a delightful, indeed a haunting, play; but it is queer and puzzling too. What is the subject? Most will answer "the poet's object is to cure Athenian passion for legal business"—that is, he has written satire, half friendly, half contemptuous, of a prevailing fad. Others will reply: "the poet's purpose was to make the dicasts appear monsters of caprice and injustice."² But at least one able exponent³ of Aristophanes finds a totally different purpose. "It has for its object the rupture of the alliance which existed between the demagogues on the one hand, **and**

¹A reference to the attack by Cleon upon Laches, who had led an expedition to Sicily in 425 B.C.

²Grote, *History of Greece*, Part II, ch. vi, note (quoted by Mr. Rogers).

³Mr. B. B. Rogers, *Introduction*, pp. xvi-xix.

the dicasts, who constituted their main support and stay in the popular assemblies, on the other. . . . The one matter referred to arbitration, the one matter debated, the one matter decided, is this, Are the dicasts, as the demagogues tell them, really lords of all, or are they in reality mere tools and slaves of the demagogues themselves? " But these theories ignore the initiation of Philocleon into smart society and his adventures there, which fill the last four hundred lines; as a whole, then, the play depicts the weaning of a silly old man from his silly old business.

Turning now to a more detailed consideration, we remark three main features of interest. The chief parabasis contains a passage of importance for students of Aristophanes' poetical quality, and indeed of poetry in general. The *Wasps* describe their achievement at Marathon: ¹

ἔσμεν ἡμεῖς, οἷς πρόσσεστι τοῦτο ταύρορπούγιον,
 Ἀττικοὶ μόνον δικαίως ἐγγενεῖς αὐτόχθονες,
 ἀνδρικώτατον γένος καὶ πλείστα τήνδε τὴν πόλιν
 ὠφελήσαν ἐν μάχαισιν, ἥνικ' ἦλθ' ὁ βάρβαρος
 τῷ καπνῷ τύφων ἀπασαν τὴν πόλιν καὶ πυρπολῶν,
 ἐξελεῖν ἡμῶν μενοιῶν πρὸς βίαν τάνθρωπια.
 εὐθέως γὰρ ἐκδραμύντες ξὺν δορί ξὺν ἀσπίδι
 ἐμαχόμεσθ' αὐτοῖσι, θυμὸν ὀξύνην πεπωκότες,
 στάς ἀνὴρ παρ' ἀνδρ', ὑπ' ὀργῆς τὴν χελύνην ἐσθίων.
 ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν τοξευμάτων οὐκ ἦν ἰδεῖν τὸν οὐρανόν.
 ἀλλ' ὅμως ἐωσάμεσθα ξὺν θεοῖς πρὸς ἐσπέραν.
 γλαυξ γὰρ ἡμῶν πρὶν μάχεσθαι τὸν στρατὸν διέπτετο.
 εἰτα δ' εἰπόμεσθα θυννάσοντας ἐς τοὺς θυλάκους,
 οἳ δ' ἔφηνον τὰς γνάθους καὶ τὰς ὀφρὺς κεντούμενοι.
 ὥστε παρὰ τοῖς βαρβάροισι πανταχοῦ καὶ νῦν ἔτι
 μηδὲν Ἀττικοῦ καλεῖσθαι σφηκὸς ἀνδρικώτερον.

This is utterly simple—how simple no modern reader can appreciate till he seeks to translate it: human language could not be plainer. Yet it is glorious, too, attaining the sublime with those words *πρὸς ἐσπέραν*, a fine example of a device too rarely noted: at the height of emotional tension a great author will at times achieve the culminating triumph of making us feel at home amid that splendour, by inserting a trivial fact that is

¹vv. 1075 sgg.

true indeed but at the first incurious glance strangely unneeded. So amid the overwhelming speed and glory of Hector as he bursts through the gates, Homer stays to tell us that 'in his hands he carried two spears';¹ so in the divine muster-roll of faithful patriarchs, 'Jacob, when he was a dying, blessed both the sons of Joseph, and worshipped, leaning upon the top of his staff';² so here, after the heroic struggle at Marathon under Persian arrows that hid the sun, so many were they, 'nevertheless with God's help we thrust them back as evening drew on \ Mr. Rogers has rendered our passage with no little skill and fire :

We on whom this stern-appendage, this portentous tail is found,
Are the genuine old Autochthons, native children of the ground ;
We the only true-born Attics, of the staunch heroic breed,
Many a time have fought for Athens, guarding her in hours of need ;
When with smoke and fire and rapine forth the fierce Barbarian came,
Eager to destroy our wasps-nests, smothering all the town in flame,
Out at once we rushed to meet him : on with shield and spear we went,
Fought the memorable battle, primed with fiery hardiment;
Man to man we stood, and, grimly, gnawed for rage our under-lips.
Hah ! their arrows hail so densely, all the sun is in eclipse !
Yet we drove their ranks before us, ere the fall of eventide :
As we closed, an owl flew o'er us, and the GODS were on our side !
Stung in jaw, and cheek, and eyebrow, fearfully they took to flight,
We behind them, we harpooning at their slops with all our might :
So that in barbarian countries even now the people call
Attic wasps the best, and bravest, yea, the manliest tribe of all !

Secondly, we may admire, side by side, admirable little comic scenes of two utterly different kinds. Philocleon's attempt to acquire the well-read talk of the fashionable supplies us with pretty and amusing vignettes: for instance, the scholarly gentleman's game of capping verses, which between Bdelycleon and his father, of course, degenerates into a familiar absurdity of our own music-halls. Then, in quite another key, the attempts of the elderly captive to escape from his own house are as good as anything even Aristophanes has invented in the way of zestful and ingenious drollery. 'What is this noise in the chimney ? Hullo ! Who are you ?' 'I'm the smoke coming out.' Philo-

¹ *Iliad*, XII, 462 sqq,

² *Hebrews*, xi, 21,

cleon asks that his donkey may be led forth and sold. It duly appears, staggering like the pet ram of Polyphemos ; and (sure enough) a new Odysseus is discovered under its belly. ' My dear sir, who *are* you ? ' Every child on the benches knows the answer, but what a roar when it comes ! ' Noman, of course.'

The third element is more pervasive : an air of what a modern reader is at first inclined to call the Middle or even the New Comedy—elegant wit rather than satire and boisterous fun. Opinions may well differ as to the strength of this quality in the *Wasps*. We may go so far as to allege that while keeping to his " Old " method in the *Rehearsal* he deliberately essayed another kind of work in this drama ; the other extreme is to see nothing but a slight and incidental relaxation.

Let us note first certain small points. There is a clear reminiscence* of the amusing *climax* in Epicharmus :

κακὸν τὸ πίνειν · ἀπὸ γὰρ οἴνου γίγνεται
καὶ θυροκοπήσαι καὶ πατάξαι καὶ βαλεῖν,
κάπειτ' ἀποτίνειν ἀργύριον ἐκ κραιπάλῃς.

' Drinking is bad : the result of wine is kicking at doors, assault and battery, and later a fine to pay when your headache has gone.' Perhaps a snatch² of love-poetry should be cited here : *ἔως γάρ, ὦ μελίττιον*—'Honey, the dawn has come '. The first fifty-three lines are bad introductory patter, almost so described by the poet, who makes Xanthias proceed : ' Well now, let me expound the idea of our play to the spectators '. Nor is his explanatory speech very good : at one place he sinks to the Plautine level. After inviting the audience to guess what malady afflicts Philocleon and receiving absurd imaginary answers from the butts on the benches, he goes on : ' Silly nonsense ! You will never guess it. Well, if you wish to know, keep silence now, for I will at last tell you the master's disease.'

ἄλλως φλυαρεῖτ' · οὐ γὰρ ἐξευρήσετε.
εἰ δὴ ' πιθυμεῖτ' εἰδέναι, σιγάτε νῦν.
φράσω γὰρ ἤδη τὴν νόσον τοῦ δεσπότου.

¹ vv. 1253 sqq. Cp. above, pp. 94 sq. ²v. 367.

From afar one hears with a shiver those club-footed Roman iambics. The dog-trial provides an amazing contrast with the vigour and variety of the escape-scenes: nothing could well be more languid—for a reader. As a spectacle it was no doubt more attractive, but the walking utensils are another example of precisely the manner in question. Observe, further, two points neither good nor bad, but unmistakably "late," so far as our imperfect evidence goes. The slaves for the first time have roles of some importance throughout: contrast the *Knights*, where after great initial services to the plot Nicias and Demosthenes drop entirely out of sight. Here for the first time we find a plain hint of the Getae and Traniones who pervade and often dominate Roman comedy. The abduction of the girl-musician is almost an accidental freak, but it is entirely in the spirit of later work.

Finally, two scenes that are in any case of the first importance may reasonably be placed under this same head.

In the argumentative passages high spirits make way for brain-work. Compare Dicaeopolis' stump-speech about the causes of the war—Aspasia's damsels, the Seriphian puppy, the frantic chaos of the shipyards—with Bdelycleon's lecture on Athenian revenue and its manipulation by shifty demagogues. The whole spirit has changed. 'First, calculate roughly—not with a table, but on your fingers, the total revenue that we draw from our subject-states, adding in the separate additional payments and the numerous one-per-cent taxes—court-fees, mining-rents, market-dues, harbour-dues, ground-rents, confiscations. The grand total of all this comes to nearly two thousand talents. Next set aside from this the yearly payment of six thousand jurymen ("and never have more been harboured on our soil"), and we find, of course, that it makes a hundred and fifty talents.'¹ At once the conclusion is drawn: 'Why, that means that the jurymen get

¹ w. 656 sqq.

less than a tenth of the whole revenue !' Again, ' To-day there are a thousand cities paying us tribute. If we instructed each to feed twenty men, that would mean delicate fare for twenty thousand good democrats.' ¹

Or compare our chorus with the Acharnians. Even when bitterly antagonistic to Bdelycleon their wrath is utter mildness after the hurricane of fury that shakes the pursuers of Dicaeopolis. They are wasps for but a part of the action ; otherwise they are charming old rustics. Their *parodos* or entrance-song is completely delightful. The poet has shed upon it, what is not usual for him, a gentle radiance : humdrum life lit up by the observer's sympathy. He loves the picture he has painted, and describes it beforehand in haunting lines : ²

λύχνους ἔχοντες καὶ μυυρίζοντες μέλη
ἀρχαιομελισιδωνοφρυνιχήρατα.

' Carrying lanterns and humming ancient songs, the charming honey of Phrynichus' *Phcenissæ*.'

Lights in their hands, old music on their lips,
Wild honey and the East and loveliness.

After a while their lanterns (one almost said " lanterns ") are espied glimmering in the distance and the old fellows come trudging along amid mutual encouragements to bestir their creaky bones. Their very names are pleasant—ὦ Στρυνμόδωρε Κονθυλεῦ and the rest—

William Dewy, Tranter Reuben, Farmer Ledlow late at plough.

But these pleasantly obsolete gaffers look back, like Justice Shallow, on a boisterous hell-raking youth :

πάρεσθ' ὃ δὴ λοιπὸν γ' ἔτ' ἐστίν, ἀππαπαὶ παππαῖξ,
ἦβης ἐκείνης ἥνικ' ἐν Βυζαντίῳ ξυνήμεν
φρουροῦντ' ἐγὼ τε καὶ σύ· κἄτα περιπατοῦντε νύκτωρ
τῆς ἀρτοπωλίδος λαθόντ' ἐκλείψαμεν τὸν ὄλμον,
κἄθ' ἥψυμεν τοῦ κορκόρου κατασχίσαντες αὐτόν.³

¹ w. 707 sqq.

² vv. 219 sq. The exquisite verse-translation is by Professor Gilbert Murray (*Ancient Greek Literature*, p. 214).

³ vv. 235 sqq. Cp. *Henry IV*, Pt. II, III, ii.

This has been to all intents and purposes translated for us by the best of pens. " The same Sir John, the very same. I see him break Skogan's head at the court-gate, when a' was a crack not thus high : and the very same day did I fight with one Sampson Stockfish, a fruiterer, behind Gray's Inn. Jesu, Jesu (ἄππαπαῖ 7ra7rcuaf), the mad days that I have spent ! " This is a world better than examining Cleon's entrails.¹

The PEACF (*Εἰρήνη*) was produced at the Great Dionysia of 421 B.C., and won the second prize, being defeated by the *Flatterers* (*Κόλακες*) of Eupolis and defeating Leucon's *Clansmen* (*Φράτορες*).

Two slaves of Trygasus, an Athenian husbandman, are discovered feeding a gigantic beetle with dung. Trygaeus mounts the beetle and flies aloft in imitation of Bellerophon on Pegasus, intending to expostulate with Zeus for allowing the Peloponnesian War to continue. Arrived in Heaven, he finds Hermes only : the other gods, disgusted by the suicidal folly of the Greeks, have removed to the remotest summit, leaving Polemos (War) to work his will. He has buried the Peace-goddess in a cave, and now enters bearing a mortar in which he intends to make a huge salad, braising leeks (*Prasiæ* in Laconia), onions (*Megara*), cheese (*Sicily*), and honey (*Athens*). He asks his servant Tumult for a pestle. ' But we have none : we only moved in yesterday.' ' Then run and fetch one from Athens.' In a moment the slave returns with news that the Athenian pestle is lost (Cleon is dead). Polemos sends to Sparta, but learns that she has lent hers to others and it is lost (Brasidas has died in Thrace). He disgustedly withdraws and Trygaeus seizes this respite to summon the friends of peace to rescue the goddess. The chorus enter, hysterical with joy, and are about to begin work when Hermes comes back and threatens to reveal their plan to Zeus ; with presents and flattery he is appeased. The stones are removed, ropes are attached to the lay-figure of Peace, and work

¹ *Knights*, 375 sqq.

begins. But it does not prosper, because some (Argives, etc.) are not trying or are even hindering. At length, the farmers alone undertake the task and amid loud shouts the goddess at length appears with her handmaids Opora (*Ὀπώρα*, "Fruit") and Theoria (*Θεωρία*, "Holiday"¹), presented by real persons. There is great rejoicing, and Hermes describes how Peace disappeared: Pheidias, the sculptor, got into trouble, and his friend Pericles, fearing to share his fate, started the war; the rest followed from the stupidity of the masses and the corruption of politicians. The parabasis praises the lofty methods of Aristophanes and derides his vulgar rivals; an ode expounds the true spirit of the Comic Muse. Theoria is presented to the Senate; Opora is to be the wife of Trygaeus. Peace herself is to be consecrated with a ritual which is duly begun but is interrupted by Hierocles, a seer, who delivers bogus oracles to stop the proceedings and tries in vain to get a share of the sacrificial meat. There follows a second parabasis depicting the joys of peace in the countryside. Trygaeus, busied with the wedding-preparations, is interrupted by tradesmen to whom the cessation of war has brought prosperity or ruin. Two boys who are to sing at the wedding come out for practice. Lamachus' son knows nothing but warlike passages from Homer, and is snubbed. Cleonymus' son sings a couplet from Archilochus, how that poet (like Cleonymus) threw his shield away. The play ends with a jovial marriage-song.

One Argument says: "The theatrical chronicle mentions another *Peace*. . . ." It is therefore a question," remarks Eratosthenes, "whether he produced the same play again or offered another which has not survived." Crates, however, knows of two plays, for he writes: "At any rate in the *Acharnians* or

¹ Perhaps the least bad single word for *θεωρία*, which means a jolly expedition to some sacred celebration—exactly what "pilgrimage" meant to Chaucer. But that word has now associations of solitariness and toil which make it useless here.

Babylonians or in the second *Peace* ". Moreover, certain passages are incidentally quoted which are not found in the existing text.' We possess four fragments¹ to which this last sentence applies :

(i) A. τῆς πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποισιν Εἰρήνης φίλης
πιστὴ τροφὸς ταμία συνεργὸς ἐπίτροπος
θυγατὴρ ἀδελφή· πάντα ταῦτ' ἐχρήτό μοι.
B. σοὶ δ' ὄνομα δὴ τί ἐστίν ;

A. ὁ τι ; Γεωργία.

A. Peace, dear to all mankind, found in me her faithful nurse, stewardess, helper, guardian, daughter and sistei—all these in one.

B. And what is your name ?

A. Husbandry.

(ii) τὴν δ' ἀσπίδα
ἐπίθημα τῷ φρέατι παράθεις εὐθέως.

' Quick ! Put the shield on the well for a cover.'

(iii) ἰὼ Λακεδᾶιμον, τί ἄρα πείσει τήμερον ;

⁴ Ah, Sparta ! What shalt thou suffer to-day ?'

(iv) πόθεν τὸ φῆτυ ; τί τὸ γένος ; τίς ἡ σπορά ;

' Whence comes this sprig ? What is its kind ? How was it planted ?'

Before considering this evidence for two editions, it will be convenient to indicate certain features² in our own text.

(i) The conduct of Zeus is unintelligible. We are told³ that the gods have washed their hands of Greece, leaving it at the disposal of Polemos ; it is he who has imprisoned the goddess. Yet, when Trygaeus proposes to free her, Hermes warns⁴ him that Zeus has announced the death penalty for anyone who does so ; and when Trygaeus ignores this, it is Zeus to whom Hermes shouts, not Polemos, though it was Polemos who Trygaeus feared might be aroused by the jubulations of the chorus.⁵

(ii) It seems impossible to say who form the chorus. When Trygaeus summons them, they are described⁶ as ' farmers, merchants, carpenters, crafts-

¹ Kock, fr. 294-7.

² Among these need not be included the remark of the Ionian in vv. 45 sqq., which has often been taken to imply that Cleon is still alive (despite vv. 255 sqq. and 648 sqq.), *Kleivos* refers to the beetle, not to Cleon.

³ vv. 195 sqq.

⁵ v. 310.

⁴ w. 371 sqq.,

vv. 296 sqq.

men, resident aliens, foreigners, islanders, all folk'; and he has just before addressed himself to 'Men of Greece \ Next moment the chorus enter, describing themselves as 'All-Hellenes V Nevertheless, in their first ode they unmistakably speak as Athenians only.² When hauling up the goddess they include Megarians³ and other non-Attic people; but in the Second Parabasis they are all Athenians.⁴

As for the chorus, the non-Athenians may form a *ῥαπαῶν* *πρὶν* *ἵστασθαι*.^b With the chorus of Athenians there enter a company of Argives, Spartans, etc., to whom the phrase 'O Men of All Greece' is addressed. These subsidiary persons join in the first attempts to rescue Peace, but disappear when the chorus proper—the band of Attic farmers—take over the task themselves.⁶ But the other point, the intrusive mention of Zeus and the death-penalty, seems utterly baffling. It is very small; still, why is it there? Moreover, the Scholiast tells us of Polemos' first speech: 'Some say that Zeus speaks these words'.⁷ It is impossible to avoid the conclusion then our text presents a combination of two versions.

We find then one passage in our text that would of itself suggest what the Romans called *contaminatio*. Let us look now at the external testimony. Though the assumption of two versions is usually to be condemned, we stand here in different case. It is impossible to set aside the Third Argument, for its writer had before him the work of two weighty and early critics, Eratosthenes and Crates. His language is crisp and definite: evidently he knows what he is talking about. We are to conclude that the library of Alexandria, where Eratosthenes worked, had a copy of but one edition, whereas the library of Pergamum, where Crates worked, possessed copies of two editions.⁸

¹ v. 302.

² vv. 355 sq.

³ v. 500.

⁴ Cp. particularly v. 1183.

⁵ But see below.

⁶ v. 508: *ἄγ' ὧνδρες αὐτοὶ δὴ μόνον λαβόμεθ' οἱ γεωργοί.*

⁷ On v. 236.

⁸ Kaibel (Pauly-Wissbwa 979).

The numerous and complicated discussions ¹ that have been spun like a cocoon round this play must not cause us to forget how few the details are that we know concerning its history. They seem to amount to these, and no more, (i) We have a version of the *Peace*; (ii) we know there were two versions; (iii) in ours occurs an irrational passage about Zeus; (iv) the goddess Husbandry appeared in one version. In the absence of more information, the simplest view appears to be this. At the Great Dionysia of 421, a *Peace* was presented which, if not almost the same as ours, must have been very like it: that is, it contained the pestle-scene and the rescue of a goddess connected with peace. But it had not our Zeus-passage: Hermes shouted to Polemos, not to Zeus. At some other festival—in what year cannot be determined—another *Peace* ² was presented. This cannot have contained the Polemos-scene, for it would not be true that Brasidas and Cleon were lately dead. The place of Polemos was taken by Zeus; or, rather, the fear of Zeus replaced the fear of Polemos. Husbandry took the place of the three divinities shown in the other *Peace*. It is possible that the choruses were simpler than in our version: a pan-Hellenic chorus in the Polemos-Peace drama, a chorus of Attic farmers ³ in the Zeus-Husbandry drama. Long afterwards some play-fancier ⁴ made a "still better" play than either of these versions by putting into one the most attractive portions of the other.

¹The most startling theory is Zielifski's (*Gliederung*, pp. 63-79). He believes that the earlier version (not ours) was produced in 422 and that ours is a revision thereof, made to serve as framework for the dedication in the theatre (Dionysia, 421) of a statue of Peace begun by Pheidias (cp. v. 605, ἤρξεν αὐτῆς Φειδίας) and finished by one of his pupils.

²Some modern scholars identify this other peace-play with the *Farmers* (Γεωργί).

³Cp. the Second Argument: ὁ δὲ χορὸς συνέστηκεν ἐκ τινων Ἀττικῶν γεωργῶν.

⁴That such persons existed we know from *Anecdota Bekkeri*, 39: Ἐπικατύνειν καὶ πτερνίζειν: τὸ παλαιὰ ἐπισκευάζειν, ἡ μεταφορὰ ἀπὸ τῶν τοῖς παλαιῶις ὑποδήμασι ἑτέρα καττύματα καὶ πτέρνας προσραπτόντων. λέγουσι δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν τὰ παλαιὰ τῶν δραμάτων μεταποιούντων καὶ μεταραπτόντων.

The *Peace*, as we have it, whatever its eccentricities, remains a brilliant and delightful play. Nowhere, even in the *Birds*, does the poet show greater ease: every kind of charm radiates from him without effort. Compare the opening lines with those of the *Wasps*: there we read mere back-chat; here, the introduction really introduces, for the first sentence takes us into the heart of the plot. High spirits provide two of the best incidental jokes he ever made: 'Eat the Sibyl,'¹ and Trygaeus' remark² to the audience on descending once more to *terra firma*: 'From the sky you looked ever so stupid; but now that I see you close you look worse'. But the charm is most evident when literature itself forms the theme. The whole parody of *Bellerophon* is perfect, especially the hero's serio-comic anapaests addressed, as he gains a wider prospect over earth's surface, to all, even to a man down at the docks, whose untimely necessities may lure his soaring beetle back again. Among the incidental allusions to Sophocles,³ Euripides,⁴ Cratinus,⁵ and the quotations from Homer,⁶ and Archilochus,⁷ shines one of his brightest jewels. When Trygaeus returns to earth his servant asks whether it is true that when we die we become stars. 'Certainly,' replies his master; 'for instance—

Ἴων ὁ Χίος, ὅσπερ ἐποίησεν πάλαι
ἐνθάδε τὸν αἰὸν ποθ' ὥς δ' ἦλθ', εὐθέως
αἰοῖον αὐτὸν πάντες ἐκάλουν ἀστέρα—

* Ion of Chios, who long ago wrote his *Baton* here on earth: as soon as he came they all named him "Star of Dawn". It may be that from this place Shelley drew inspiration for the glory that irradiates the forty-sixth stanza of *Adonais*. It is an exquisite instance of that device whereby one poet praises another in terms of that other's achievement: Ion had written

ἀωῖον ἀεροφοῖταν
ἀστέρα μείναμεν ἀελίου λευκοπτέρυγα πρόδρομον.

¹ v. 1116. ² vv. 82 sqq.

⁴ w. 532 and perhaps 1012 sqq.

⁶ w. 1273 sqq.

³ w. 531, 695 sqq.

⁵ w. 700 sqq. Cp. p. 173.

⁷ w. 1298 sq.

' We awaited the star that wanders through the dawn-lit sky, pale-winged courier of the sun.'

Another poet whom Aristophanes is never slow to discuss is himself. In the first parabasis he claims two merits. First, he has banished vulgarity from the comic stage—' jokes about rags and flea-campaigns, the everlasting Heracles In The Bake-House and the slave who gets a thrashing so that his fellow may work off the well-known joke. . . .'¹ Such things may, of course, be found in our poet himself, but they are incidental. His second claim is to have made Comedy a great art form : *ἐποίησε τέχνην μεγάλην ὑμῖν καπύργωσ' οἰκοδομήσας*—precisely the manner in which he elsewhere writes of Æschylus.² The means to this loftiness are ' stately language, cultivated ideas and jests '—*ἔπεσιν μεγάλοις καὶ διανοίαις καὶ σκώμμασιν οὐκ ἀγοραίοις*—and an impressive object of satire : Cleon, arrayed in superhuman (and sub-human) terrors.³ Thus the poet has shown himself a paladin⁴ of the theatre by attacking the dragon, ' not satirizing the trivial men and women of private life '—*οὐκ ἰδιώτας ἀνθρωπίσκους κωμῳδῶν οὐδὲ γυναῖκας*—like the school of Crates. That " paladin " is not too high praise is suggested by his sudden outburst of downright chivalry towards Cleon, of all people. He attacked him while he lived, but when Hermes seems on the verge of a diatribe against the tanner who kept the war in being, Trygaeus interrupts firmly : ' Cease, cease, Lord Hermes, do not say it ! . . . He is no longer ours, but yours,' and so forth.⁵

Many will find the greatest charm of this play in its exquisite pictures of country life. It has been admirably observed⁶ that the earliest idyllic poetry

¹ vv. 739 sqq.

² E.g. *Frogs*, 1004.

³ vv. 739 sqq. The fantastic word-picture of Cleon's anatomy is borrowed from the *Wasps*.

⁴ *Ἡρακλέους ὀργὴν τιν' ἔχων τοῖσι μεγίστοις ἐπεχείρει*. It is an amusing and striking fact that he can mention Heracles as the type both of drama that he derides (v. 741) and of drama that he praises (v. 752), without confusing either his ancient audience or his modern readers.

⁵ w. 648 sqq.

⁶ By Professor J. S. Phillimore, in *Pastoral and Allegory* (Oxford, 1925).

of Greece is found in Aristophanes, at the time when the country population of Attica, confined by war for years behind city-walls, was tempted to idealize rural life.

ἀλλ' ἀναμνησθέντες ὧνδρες
 τῆς διαίτης τῆς παλαιᾶς,
 ἣν παρείχ' αὐτῇ ποθ' ἡμῖν,
 τῶν τε παλασίων ἐκείνων
 τῶν τε σύκων τῶν τε μύρτων,
 τῆς τρυγός τε τῆς γλυκείας
 τῆς ἰωνίας τε τῆς πρὸς
 τῷ φρέατι τῶν τ' ἐλαῶν
 ὧν ποθοῦμεν,
 ἀντὶ τούτων τῇνδε νυνὶ
 τὴν θεὸν προσεῖπατε.

' Come, lads, remember the old-time life that She once bestowed on us, those cakes of dried fruit, the figs and myrtle-berries, the sweet new wine, the violet-bed that fringed the well, the olives dear to memory : for all those gifts salute this our goddess to-day.¹ The second parabasis contains his finest work in this kind :²

Ah, there's nothing half so sweet as when the seed is in the ground.
 God a gracious rain is sending, and a neighbour saunters round.
 O Comarchides ! he hails me : how shall we enjoy the hours ?
 Drinking seems to suit my fancy, what with these benignant showers.
 Therefore let three quarts, my mistress, of your kidney-beans be tried,
 Mix them nicely up with barley, and your choicest figs provide;
 Syra run and shout to Manes, call him in without delay,
 'Tis no time to stand and dawdle pruning out the vines to-day,
 Nor to break the clods about them now the ground is soaking through.
 Bring me out from home the fieldfare, bring me out the finches two.
 Then there ought to be some beestings, four good plates of hare beside
 (Hah ! unless the cat purloined them yesterday at eventide;
 Something scuffled in the pantry, something made a noise and fuss);
 If you find them, one's for father, bring the other three to us.
 Ask Æschinades to send us myrtle branches green and strong;
 Bid Charinades attend us, shouting as you pass along.

Then we'll sit and drink together,
 God the while refreshing, blessing,
 All the labour of our hands.

This passage bears a marked verbal resemblance to Plato's description of the unphilosophic delights enjoyed in ' the city of pigs ' ;³ it may be more attractively

¹ w. 571 sqq.

³ Republic, 372 a-d.

² vv. 1140 sqq. (tr. Rogers).

described as a blend of Hesiod, Theocritus and Christmas as portrayed by Dickens.

Fun, both verbal and spectacular, is plentiful : i:he picture ¹ of the unfortunate rustic who finds himself listed by trickery at the last moment to join a military expedition, the monstrous beetle at his repast ' working his feelers round thus, like a man coiling a ship's cable,' ² the sudden references to theatrical conditions—' sacrifice the sheep behind the scenes and save the pocket of the *choregus*,' ³—Trygaeus' agonized appeal to the stage-carpenter for a safe passage through the air ; ⁴ and of spectacular comic effects there are no less than three, all first-rate—the tragi-comic ascent to Heaven, the salad of Polemos, and the rescue of Peace with all the Hellenic States hauling at the ropes.

The BIRDS (*Ὀρνίθες*) was produced at the Great Dionysia "of 414 B.C. under the name of Callistratus, and obtained the second prize; Ameipsias was first with the *Revellers* (*Κεῖαραι*); Phrynichus third with the *Hermit* (*Μονότροπος*).

Two elderly Athenians, Pisthetaerus and Euelpides, disgusted with the litigious atmosphere of Athens, seek a new city, and for this reason visit the Hoopoe, who, having once been a man, can sympathize with them, and being now a bird has travelled far. Pisthetaerus has an inspiration : let the birds found a city in the air and so become masters of the Universe. The Hoopoe calls the tribes of birds and they begin to flock in ; but, finding that the visitors are human beings, age-long foes of the birds, they are at point to tear them to pieces. The Hoopoe at length induces them to hear Pisthetaerus' proposals. He makes a long speech about the primitive glories of the birds and the loss of their dignities. The chorus wildly proclaim that they will recover their sovereignty of the Universe or die : let Pisthetaerus advise them. He urges the foundation of a city in the clouds and dilates

¹ vv. 1179 sqq.

³w. 1020

sqq.

² vv. 35 sqq.

⁴v 174.

upon the ease with which the birds will establish themselves as dispensers of all blessings and all punishments. This plan is acclaimed, and the Chorus sing their celebrated parabasis. First ¹ a brief song (*commation*) is sung to the nightingale; then come the *anapests* or *parabasis* proper, an address to mankind describing the earliest history of the Universe, and the importance of the birds to every function of human life, ending (in the *pnigos*) with promises of complete felicity to men if they will worship the birds; there follows a song (*ode* or *strophe*) to the Woodland Muse; the *epirrhema* recites the advantages a man will find if he joins the birds; the *antode* (or *antistrophe*) describes the swans as divine singers that fill Heaven with amazed delight; the *antepirrheta* dilates on the advantages of wings if a man stays in his earthly surroundings. Pisthetaerus and Euelpides return, grotesquely plumed, and the future city is named Nephelococcygia ("Cloud-cuckootown"), Euelpides is sent off to superintend the building, while Pisthetaerus organizes the sacrificial service to the new gods. But he is interrupted by a poet already furnished with odes to the new city, an oracle-monger, a town-planning expert, an inspector or visiting commissioner, and a dealer in ready-made laws. All these are chased away, and a second parabasis follows. A messenger brings news that the city is finished: another reports that some god has got past the sentries: the intruder proves to be Iris, sent by Zeus to expostulate with mankind for the cessation of sacrifices. Pisthetaerus utters the harshest threats against Zeus and packs her off. A herald brings tidings of the enthusiasm for the birds that has sprung up among mankind: multitudes are now on their way to apply for feathers. Three of these arrive, a son who wishes to strangle his father, the poet Cinesias, and a professional informer; each is shrewdly dealt with. A topical song is followed by the arrival of Prometheus,

¹ As this parabasis is not only magnificent but contains all the technical divisions (except the rare *antipnigos*) their names and contents have here been catalogued.

who sneaks in under a large umbrella in case Zeus sees him. The gods (he reports) are starving, and will send an embassy; Pisthetærus must not merely demand the sceptre from Zeus, but insist also that Basileia ("Royalty") be given to him for a wife. After another topical song the envoys come in: Poseidon, Heracles, and an uncouth barbarian deity. They at length accept the conditions, and Pisthetærus departs to bring his bride. After a third song a messenger announces the overwhelming splendour to which the hero has attained. The chorus sing a marriage-ode; the bride and groom enter amid rejoicing, and all move off in triumph.

This comedy is universally acclaimed as the finest masterpiece of Aristophanes. Furthermore, it is entirely unencumbered by the historico-literary questions that are the food of researchers; granted a sound knowledge of Greek, the play holds no more difficulty for a modern reader than does *The Tempest*. The one "difficulty" that can be said to arise has been imposed on the poet wantonly from without. Why did he write the play? or what is he satirizing? Ancient scholars will have it that he ridicules the litigiousness of his countrymen: for this practically no evidence can be found.¹ Modern scholars often assert that he is satirizing the boundless schemes of conquest that now excited Athens, which a few months before had despatched the famous and ill-starred Syracusan Expedition. That Aristophanes meant to ridicule these imperial dreams there is no shred of proof;² and when he does intend to ridicule

¹ In vv. 39 *sqq.* we are told by Euelpides that incessant *bUai* are their reason for leaving Athens; but we hear no more of this, and when explaining their wishes to the Hoopoe they say nothing about it. It is a casual excuse of the poet's to set his men off on their search for "a cosy city".

² There is not even a reference to the Expedition beyond the allusion (vv. 145 *sq.*) to the *Salaminia* which was sent to fetch Alcibiades back. Siivern's essay, in which Heaven is the Peloponnese, the birds the Athenians who will starve them out, etc., surely need detain no one: the only excuse for seeking allegory, in any work that does not openly proclaim itself as such, is that the work cannot be understood on ordinary lines. So with Mr. E. G. Harman's view that the Athenian democracy is forced to make terms with the exiles.

anybody or anything his intention is hardly doubtful. In the *Birds* his purpose, for anyone not obsessed by research-mongering, is almost too obvious to state: it was the working out of a glorious comic fancy—"let us build a city at 'the Thermopylae of the Universe' and dictate terms to gods and men". We should hardly be justified even in asserting that it satirizes the irresponsible day-dreams of man (whether Greek or barbarian) in his weaker moments. No one at all is derided: ¹ this is a fairy-tale gloriously funny and gloriously told. If we still ask: "And why does he leave political comedy for the purely fantastic?" it might be enough to reply: "Because he chooses. Seven years have elapsed since his last extant play, the *Peace*, and he has conceived other ideas." ² Or we may believe that his refusal to write politics is but a sign that he is only too conscious of them: that during these years the growing villainy and recklessness induced by continued war or treacherous peace have sickened him of humanity, and he turns deliberately for relief to a castle in the air. If that is so, we have three, not two, works of war-hatred produced by Athenians of genius: the *Birds* should be placed beside the *Trojan Women* and those frightful chapters ³ where Thucydides depicts the degeneration of Greece. There is a grim fascination in collecting so magnificent, so strangely assorted, a trio. But we must remember a fact that damages such an idea. Glorious fantasy as the *Birds* is, it is not an entirely irresponsible lark in the empyrean, but shows a disconcerting touch of practicality. We need not dwell upon the matter-of-fact vigour wherewith Pisthetaerus makes his proposal: 'Very well. My first instruction is that there should

¹ In the sense here intended. There are of course brief incidental lampoons in the lyrics.

² Van Leeuwen (*Prolegomena ad Aves*, pp. xii sq.) remarks that "this comedy opens a series of plays aloof from public life and humdrum affairs, their subjects being either borrowed from tragedy or amusing inventions of the poet's own".

³ III, 82-84.

be a single bird commonwealth; next, the whole air—all intermediate space—must be surrounded by a circular wall of large bricks, like Babylon.¹ This is a brisk organizing brain, indeed, with no touch of Aladdin or Ariel; but that may be attributed to the clear-cut mental temper of all Athenians. Far more striking is the morality. When wretches from earth arrive hoping to find delightful scope and facilities for their wickedness in this novel Jerusalem, Pisthetaerus reads them stern and edifying lectures.²

Has the play any flaws? Perhaps none. The Basileia idea may be thought too overwhelming. No doubt we are meant to take, and do take, the whole story as fun: Pisthetaerus himself, on hearing of the miraculously rapid completion of Nephelococcygia says: 'It sounds to me as if it were truly a lie';³ and Iris penetrates the terrific bastions without so much as noticing them.⁴ Nevertheless, to enjoy the wildest story we must entertain a spurious momentary belief in it; and if we do, the Basileia passages might seem more suited to Shelley's *Prometheus Unbound* than to Aristophanic drollery. But we have no business to harbour memories of Shelley and other more orthodox writers on the divine government; this passage is only another proof of the un-Hebraic lightness wherewith Athenians could on occasion take their religion. It is reinforced by other things: Poseidon swears by Poseidon like any Athenian knight;⁵ and Pisthetaerus goes to the extreme of blasphemy when he harshly tells Iris:⁶ 'If Zeus annoys me further, I will burn the house over his head'. This attitude provides some excellent fooling. What is to happen when Zeus dies? Can Heracles inherit? No; but Poseidon, his next legitimate kin. 'Ah! But suppose,' Heracles objects, ⁶ he makes special provision for me at his death.' The

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¹vv. 550 sq.

²His treatment of the unnatural son (vv. 1336 sqq.) is very noteworthy.

³v. 1167.

⁴v. 1210.

⁵v. 1614.

⁶

vv. 1246 sqq.

law won't allow that,' Pisthetaerus answers firmly, and reads him an extract from Solon's code.

Excellent as the fun is, the chief interest of the *Birds* lies elsewhere, in dramatic structure and lyrical beauty. Had this comedy followed the lines of its predecessors, we should have found, between the erection of the new city and the triumphant wedding with Basileia (who would not have been mentioned earlier), nothing except a series of scenes demonstrating, indeed, the birds' power and glory but showing no increase of significance or tension. Now, though the Unnatural Son, Cinesias, and the Informer are analogous to the intruders who come to beg peace-wine from Dicaeopolis, there occur in addition two scenes that are not only first-rate fun but also give the second half of the play an organic development. It becomes clear that the action has not really closed with the completion of the cloud-city, as the *Peace* closed with the rescue of the goddess. If Pisthetaerus' position is to be secure, he must grasp the sceptre itself; still more, he must contract a divine marriage. These are new ideas—ideas that the Athenian has not himself conceived: and they must be imparted to him by Prometheus, a new-comer to the story. Further, whereas the poet might even so have despatched his hero at once to Heaven armed with this advice, the confrontation is first set before our eyes in the reception of the celestial ambassadors. Throughout the second half of this play we find, then, a genuine dramatic development—a new thing in Aristophanic drama so far as we know it.

But the fame of the *Birds* rests for the most part upon its lyrical magnificence: the Hoopoe's summons to his mate the Nightingale, with its peerless and haunting close

διὰ δ' ἀθανάτων στομάτων χωρεῖ
 ξυμφωνοῖ ὁμοῦ
 θεία μακάρων ὁλολήγῃ,

¹ vv. 220 sqq.

' from seraphic lips in pealing unison resounds the celestial Hallelujah'; then, as in a moment he passes from the intense splendours of the empyrean to the lowliest wayside nooks, that fresh spring-time joyousness¹ wherewith he calls together the birds of ploughland, garden, and hillside, of the marsh-channels, the¹ lovely meadow of Marathon,' and the sea-wave, in throbbing music that echoes the sweetest singer of the past—

ὦν τ' ἐπὶ πόντιον οἶδμα θαλάσσης
 φύλα μετ' ἀλκυόνεσσι ποτῆται,

' your tribes flit with the halcyon over billows of the open sea';² the little song³ that depicts the happy life of birds at every season, ' during winter sporting in caverned rocks with mountain-nymphs'; and the superb Messenger's speech⁴ concerning Pisthetaerus' apotheosis; above all, that august address⁵ in the first parabasis where ' mankind, whose dim existence likens them to the leaves in their generation ' hear the story of primeval chaos and the birth of Love :

εἰς οὗ περιτελλομέναις ὥραις ἔβλασταν Ἔρως ὁ ποθεινός,
 στίλβων νῶτον πτερύγοιν χρυσαῖν, εἰκὼς ἀνεμώκεσι δύναις,

' therefrom as the seasons revolved blossomed forth Eros, the world's desire, the sheen of gold upon his pinions, his force like the tornado'.

And the Universe is thus shaken to pieces and irradiated with cataclysmic splendours by the action of two elderly men who left Athens because they wished for a little peace and quiet in their old age !

LYSISTRATA (*Λυσιστράτη*, ' She who disbands armies') was produced, with what success is not known, at the Lensean festival of 411 B.C., under the name of Callistratus.

Lysistrata summons the women of Greece to combine in stopping the Peloponnesian War. She pro-

¹ Observe the quaint and charming art whereby the poet develops bird-cries into articulate speech, e.g. vv. 228 sq.: ἰὼ ἰὼ ἰτὼ ἰτὼ ἰτὼ, ἰτὼ τις ἄθε

² vv. 250 sq. Cp. Alcman's famous fragment.

³ vv. 1088 sqq. ⁴ w. 1706 sqq. ⁵ vv. 685 sqq.

poses to force the men of all the Greek States to make peace by refusing them sexual intercourse until they do. Her colleagues at length agree. Hardly has their oath been recited when a clamour is heard. Lysistrata's second plan has succeeded : the older Athenian women have seized the Acropolis, including the State treasury. The foreigners depart to spread the sex-strike over Greece, and the Athenian women barricade themselves in the Acropolis. A semi-chorus of old men arrives, bearing timber and fire to smoke the invaders out. They are confronted by a semi-chorus of old women carrying jugs of water ; there follows a struggle in which the men are drenched. Enter a Commissioner¹ who has come to draw money for naval expenses from the Treasury, but finds himself locked out. He orders the gates to be burst in, but Lysistrata herself opens them. The Commissioner commands his police to arrest her and her companions, but they are worsted and she is allowed to state her case : the Treasury has been seized by women, who can manage it better than men ; women have been snubbed hitherto, but now they mean to take public affairs in hand. The Commissioner departs in dudgeon, and the semi-choruses sing injuriously against one another, Lysistrata comes forth despondent: her followers are wearying of the strike and offering every kind of excuse to slip off home. She exposes and baffles these deserters and makes an appeal for patience ; ' remember that the men are feeling the strain too .' After more altercatory songs from the semi-choruses, Cinesias arrives, longing for his wife Myrrhine : she agrees to relent, but after keeping him absurdly on tenterhooks, disappoints him. Next a Spartan herald arrives; meeting the Commissioner, he reports that the Peloponnesian confederates have been reduced to such straits by domestic defection that they are ready to make peace. He and the Commissioner agree to the appointment of plenipotentiaries.

¹ *Πρόβουλος*, one of the Committee of Public Safety appointed after the Sicilian disaster (Thuc, VIII, i, 3).

The two semi-choruses are reconciled, and form a single chorus. The Spartan and Athenian envoys appear and are made friends by Lysistrata ; all go into a banquet, after which there are songs and dances by Spartans and Athenians.

Lysistrata is indecent and grave, brutal and tender, quaint and smart, political and frolicsome, all by turns. If we do perceive one general characteristic amid all this, it is weariness : though *Lysistrata*, if compared with fourth-century comedy, shows a vigour positively volcanic, it nevertheless appears jaded beside the *Birds* and the *Frogs*. The explanation is that frightful overthrow in Sicily, which for the time broke even Aristophanes' spirit. When his semi-choruses at last combine, they begin with these amazing words : ¹ ' Gentlemen, we are not preparing to utter a single ill word against any citizen : no, our intent is to say and do all the good we can, for the troubles already on our hands are enough .' Small wonder that the *Lysistrata* is patchy—sometimes (in the indecent parts) riotously funny, sometimes (in the argumentative passages) so anxiously reasonable, so devoid of sparkle, that one might imagine we are listening to anapaests written by Xenophon :

πῶς ὀρθῶς, ὦ κακὸδαίμων,
εἰ μὴδὲ κακῶς βουλευομένοις ἐβῆν ὑμῖν ὑποθέσθαι ;
ὅτε δὴ δ' ὑμῶν ἐν ταῖσιν ὁδοῖς φανερώς ἠκούομεν ἥβη,
' οὐκ ἔστιν ἀνὴρ ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ '· μὰ Δι' οὐ δῆτ'· εἴφ' ἑτερός τις·
μετὰ ταύθ' ἡμῖν εὐθύς ἔδοξεν σῶσαι τὴν Ἑλλάδα κοινῇ
ταῖσι γυναιξὶν συλλεχθείσαις.²

* Wretch ! How could it be right if we were not allowed to advise you even when your plans were wrong ? So when we began to hear you openly saying in the street, " There is not a man left in the country," and another answering, " No, by Heaven," we women at once decided to combine for the rescue of Greece.' At the opening of her appeal to the women whom she has summoned Lysistrata says, ' I am sure you all miss

your husbands who are away at the war'; and three of them reply. In any other of his plays, however pathetic the answers might have been, one at least would have been amusing too; here, all three speak mere matter-of-fact.

This depression has suffused other parts of the work with subdued colours such as are not common in our poet. Cross as the old men and old women are, something of the " dear old soul " clings to them that culminates, when they are reconciled, in a Darby and Joan scene. These aged besiegers of the stolen Acropolis, mumbling about their lumbago and getting the smoke of the deadly torches in their poor bleared eyes, so that their stanzas end with the piteous little refrain¹

φῦ φῦ (not φεῦ, φεῦ)
 ἰοὺ ἰοὺ τοῦ καπνοῦ,
 ' Pff! Pff! ' Drat the smoke,"

how charming they are, and how they thrill us with their memories of another siege of the same citadel in those great days when the Spartan invader was forced to slink out of it!

οὕτως ἐπολιόρησ' ἐγὼ τὸν Ἄνδρ' ἐκείνον ὡμῶς
 ἐφ' ἐπτακαίδεκ' ἀσπίδων πρὸς ταῖς πύλαις καθεύδων

' So fiercely did I besiege the Spartan! we bivouacked before the gates sixteen deep, under arms all night.'² They are—they must be—the same grumpy old fellows whom we met in the *Wasps*: here is Strymodorus again,³ at any rate. Their female opponents are less interesting; and both sides grow so angry that there is a good deal of low talk; but all comes right in the end, and when each aged lady helps her *vis-a-vis* on with his coat and takes the gnat out of his eye (' Just look! Mercy! What a monster! '⁴) we half expect her to break out into the Greek equivalent of *John Anderson, my Jo*.

¹vv. 294 sq.

²vv. 281 sq.

³v. 259, cp. *IVasps*, v. 233. He has been mentioned in *AcA.*, 273, also.

⁴v. 1031.

It is in women that the pathos of this play is mostly concentrated. There is not much of it, but nowhere among the hard-hearted unhumorous Athenians (except, of course, in Euripides) do we find any strong sense of the pathetic,¹ and *Lysistrata* is the tenderest of Aristophanes' works. We can see and hear—how plainly!—the Athenian woman, dreading a snub, but in anguish for her country: ἀλγοῦσαι τᾶνδοθεν ὑμᾶς ἐπανηρόμεθ' ἂν γελάσασαι²—'grieving within, we used to ask you gaily . . . ' *Lysistrata* has a stinging retort³ (worthy of, almost borrowed from, Euripides) to the question, 'What concern have you in the war?'—

καὶ μὴν, ὦ κατάρατε,
πλείν ἢ γε διπλοῦν αὐτὸν φέρομεν, πρῶτιστον μὲν γε τεκοῦσαι
κάκπεμψασαι παῖδας ὀπλίτας. . . .

'What, you villain? We endure twice our share of it, nay more: first because we bear sons and send them out as soldiers.⁴ . . . Then:

τῆς δὲ γυναικὸς σμικρὸς ὁ καιρὸς, κἂν τούτου μὴ πιλᾶβηται,
οὐδεὶς ἐθέλει γῆμαι ταύτην, ὀττενομένη δὲ κάθηται.

(A man may easily marry late), 'but a woman's day is brief, and if she lets it slip no one seeks to marry her: she sits telling her fortune.'

Such passages for a moment transform the boisterous farce of fifth-century Athens into something strangely like the *comédie larmoyante* of La Chaussee and his school; it has been plausibly urged⁵ that the extreme grossness of other scenes was intended as a deliberate antidote to excessive seriousness. There is some truth in the suggestion, but it is misleading, for the poet's natural method of putting any idea was the farcical, which, for Athens, included a great deal of indecency. So much we can observe in any of the plays he had already composed. The novelty here is that sex lies at the very root of the play: theoretically, of

¹ The increase of compassion is perhaps the only genuine superiority of the modern over the ancient world.

² v. 512.

⁴ Cp. vv. 649 sqq.

³ w. 588 sqq., cp. *Medea*, 248 sqq.
Introduction, p. ix.

⁵ Rogers,

course, the women's strike could be treated with austere propriety, but not in a fifth-century comedy. He might have composed a play depicting only the women's seizure of the Treasury and Lysistrata's political and social arguments: he would have been indecent more incidentally, as in the *Wasps* or *Peace*. The strike is introduced for its own sake, an undoubtedly rich mine. The passages that depict the distress of the unnamed Spartans and Athenians are (however broad) robustly laughable and unseductive; but the scene of Cinesias and Myrrhine is deliberately prurient. Connected only in part with this latter is another element. For the first time in extant literature we find here a notion that has been enormously exploited in modern writing—what may be most succinctly described by a few once incessant phrases: " lovely woman," " the fair sex," " the ladies, God bless 'em." Here is one example: ¹

τί δ' ἂν γυναῖκες φρόνιμον ἐργασαίαιτο
ἢ λαμπρόν, αἱ καθήμεθ' ἐξηνθισμένοι,
κροκωτοφοροῦσαι καὶ κεκαλλωπισμέναι
καὶ Κιμμερὶκ' ὀρθοστάδια καὶ περιβαρίδας ;

' But how can women perform any wise or glorious exploit? We sit about with our golden curls, dressed in becoming shades, made up to charm, wearing dainty shoes and frocks from abroad that show off the figure.' It is on this that Lysistrata herself chiefly relies. ²

The weakness of general effect in this play is due not only to basing the action upon two ideas (the sex-strike and the seizure of the Acropolis) but also to looseness of technical structure. The two choruses combine very late; as a result, there is no parabasis. This primitive construction, and the fact that the dramatist contented himself with tying two plot-notions together, point to a certain hurry and casualness ³ in his own mind. A few weeks after the *Lysistrata* he produced

¹ vv. 42 sqq. Cf. vv. 149 sqq., 551 sqq. ²vv. 46 sqq., 551 sqq.

³ Note, as a symptom of this, the contradiction between vv. 107 and 129 sqq. Lysistrata's friends might have made a virtue of necessity.

a brilliant masterpiece, and it is natural to suppose that our play was thrown off as a hasty *piece d'occasion*. This would account not only for the pervasive lack of strength but also for the peculiar close, which contains none of the customary fireworks and is bulked out, pleasantly enough but rather tamely, by those Athenian and Spartan choruses that remind a modern reader of the ballets in *Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme* and *Le Malade Imaginaire*, and are in fact a reversion to the primitive *comos-finale*.

The THE (Θεσμοφορίάζουσαι,
'Women celebrating the Thesmophoria'—a festival sacred to the Mother and the Maid) was produced at the Great Dionysia of 411 B.C.¹ There is no Argument and we know nothing of its success.

Euripides enters, bringing his elderly kinsman, Mnesilochus,² to the house of Agathon, the elegant tragic poet. Agathon's servant announces in high-flown anapaests that his master is deep in composition. While waiting, Euripides explains his errand to Mnesilochus: the Athenian women, angered by Euripides' attacks on them in his plays, have determined to use this day of the female festival, the Thesmophoria, for a meeting at which they will decide whether he is to be slain. Euripides intends to despatch Agathon, disguised as a woman, to plead his cause. Agathon now appears, accompanied by a chorus with which he rehearses a composition; Euripides puts his request, which is urbanely but firmly rejected. Mnesilochus steps into the breach, is shaved by Euripides, dressed in female garments supplied by Agathon, and moves forward to the Thesmophorian temple and the assembly. A woman proposes that Euripides be put to death: he has poisoned family life by filling men's minds with suspicion. Another

¹ At v. 1060 'Echo' says she *i*acted with Euripides in this same place last year': that is, our play came out the year after Euripides' *Andromeda*. This latter belongs to the year 412 (cp. Scholiast on *Frogs*, 53).

² Never so named in our text; see below.

complains that he has ruined her florists business by persuading the men that there are no gods. Next, the disguised Mnesilochus pronounces a racy and scandalous address on the immoral doings of " herself " and others, seeking to show that Euripides has told but a fraction of the truth. The meeting clamours in protest, and a bawling-match follows between the first orator and Mnesilochus, which the chorus-leader stills on the approach of Cleisthenes, who brings news that Euripides has sent a disguised kinsman to spy on the women. Detective work is rapidly begun and Mnesilochus is unmasked. Cleisthenes goes to fetch a magistrate, leaving the women to watch their captive, who attempts escape by a burlesque of Euripides' *Telephus* : he seizes a baby from one of his foes and (finding that it is a wineskin) sheds its blood. He next decides to summon Euripides' aid by a device from *Palatnedes* : carving his message on scraps of wood he flings them abroad as Æax threw inscribed oar-blades into the sea. The parabasis follows, concerned mostly with the superiority of women to men. Mnesilochus now tries another play, *Helena*. He acts the forlorn Helen and Euripides enters as Menelaus to rescue " her," but the wardress is not deceived ; when the magistrate arrives with a policeman, Euripides perforce withdraws, and Mnesilochus is trussed up to a board. After a dance and song by the chorus, Euripides and the prisoner engage in a parody of the *Andromeda*, but the barbarian constable refuses to allow the release of "Andromeda." The chorus sing again, after which Euripides in his own person approaches them and offers terms : if they will favour the rescue, he will promise never again to revile women. They agree, and he disguises himself as an old woman taking a dancing-girl to a party. The latter so enthrals the policeman that he goes off with her, to find on his return that the crone and the prisoner have vanished. The chorus misdirect his pursuit, and the play ends.

Ancient authorities mention another *Thestnophort-*

azusæ. All we know of it is (i) that Demetrius of Troezen called it *Thesmophoriasasæ* ¹—' Women who have celebrated the Thesmophoria '—which may suggest that the lost play continued the story of ours ; (ii) that the prologue was delivered by Calligeneia, ² a goddess after whom the last day of the Thesmophoria was named ; (iii) a few fragments : one forbids the use of wines that will excite masculine passion ; ³ there is a long list of women's jewellery, etc. ; ⁴ Agathon's fondness for antitheses is mentioned ; ⁵ Euripides' *Antiope* was perhaps parodied ; ⁶ the *agon* is referred to by name. ⁷ There are two more striking remnants—the lines ⁸ about the " ivory kipper " mentioned by Crates " with casual and effortless brilliance "—*λαμπρὸν ἐκόμιζεν ἀπόνως παραβεβλημένον*—and three verses ⁹ that are apparently of the first importance :

μήτε Μούσας ἀνακαλεῖν ἐλικοβοστρύχους
μήτε Χάριτας βοᾶν ἐς χορὸν Ὀλυμπίας·
ἐνθάδε γάρ εἰσιν, ὥς φησιν ὁ διδάσκαλος.

' And not to summon " Muses of curling tresses " nor to call " Olympian Graces to the dance " ; for they are here, as the poet says.' Finally (iv) we find this in an ancient Life of Euripides : ' They say, too, that women, because of the censures heaped on them in his poems, attacked him at the Thesmophoria with murderous intent ; but they spared him, first because of the Muses, and next on his undertaking never to abuse them again ' ; ¹⁰

Three assumptions seem legitimate. First, there was a strong similarity between the two plays named *Thesmophoriazusa* : this conclusion rests on the passage in the Life and on the fragment about aphrodisiac wine. Next, Mnesilochus appeared. For in our play Aristophanes calls him a " kinsman " (*κηδεστής*)

¹ Athenaeus, I, 29a.

³ Fr. 317.

⁵ Fr. 326.

⁷ Fr. 331 : *ἀγὼν πρόφασιν οὐ δέχεται*.

⁸ Fr. 333. See above, p. 150.

¹⁰ Nauck, *Eur.*, I, 7.

² Schol. on *Thesm.*, 298.

⁴ Fr. 320.

Fr. 327.

Fr. 334.

only of Euripides, never giving him a name ; moreover, v. 1206, 'hurry home to your wife and children,' is quite unsuitable as addressed to the speaker's step-father. Nevertheless, the name is used by the Scholiast and inserted by copyists before many speeches of the kinsman. The inference is that Aristophanes called him Mnesilochus in the lost play and the name was naturally but wrongly attached later to our anonymous character. Finally, the Muses in person took part in the lost comedy. But they did not form the chorus or any part of it.¹ Their number had already long been fixed at nine, and that would have wrecked the symmetry of the chorus, or two semi-choruses, which invariably totalled twenty-four. Moreover, in the fragment that asserts the presence of Muses and Graces the words are added 'as the poet says': this points to something unusual, or casual, or even doubtful—to anything rather than their presence as members of the normal and official chorus. As for the Graces, the fragment says they were present, like the Muses ; but the Life passage does not mention them : we can say nothing of their function. The inference is that a serious defence of Euripides was advanced, and was supported by Muses whom he brought forward. How the scenes went it is hardly worth while to conjecture : the poet may have sent in some or all of the Muses as a secondary chorus to sing either real songs of Euripides or parodies of them. Further, the right person to conduct this defence would seem to be Euripides himself.

For dazzling wit and irresistibly laughable farce combined this play is perhaps the world's finest masterpiece. It is as charming as the *Gondoliers*, as funny as Bottom's interlude in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, equal in its racy rhetoric to *Man and Superman*. Among Aristophanes' works, only the *Birds* and *Frogs* can rank with it; and those dramas are placed above the

¹ As Zieliriski (*Gliederung*, p. 90) asserts.

rest by virtues not entirely comic. But this play is a glittering marvel—glorious foolery suffused by a thnce-refined intellectual virtuosity that never misses a point, never overstresses it; the urbanity of Meredith, the *gaminerie* of Villon, the zestfulness of Chaucer. All these strangely assorted qualities are here displayed in bewildering opulence to complete a jewel of light comedy. That it is not oftener so acclaimed must be attributed to but one cause: an indecency too pervasive for the amputation so frequently performed upon the *Acharnians* and the *Wasps*. There is no bowdlerizing the *Thesmophoriazusae*, yet no honest reader is likely to deny that its indecency succeeds in being richly comic: prominent instances are the detection of Mnesilochus and the artless excitement of the uncouth foreign policeman over the alluring little creature who dances "like-a da flea in da rug" (*ὥσπερ ψύλλο* /caret TO KO)8LO).

Aristophanes is ever excellent in parody, but here he surpasses himself. In the first minute of the action he gives us a brief lecture from Euripides on the origin of human organs (by an engaging innovation, nothing more improper than the eye and ear), then goes on to a burlesque of Agathon's diction, rhythm, and music, which means little to us in the absence of Agathon's own work; even so we are cheered by the neatness with which the clown's low and unappreciative comments fit into the rhythm of the very superior verse which it interrupts. For him the only appeal lies in what is now lost, the music—'how flirtatious, how luscious, and lascivious!' Agathon's explanation that a poet must dress to suit his topic, contains a pleasant little passage^x about earlier poets, some of whom we are surprised to hear mentioned in Athens at this date; indeed Agathon implies that they are *recherchi* reading: 'Besides, it is bad taste for a poet to look oafish and shaggy. **Remember that Ibycus—you know him,**

¹vv. 159 sqq.

of course ?—and Anacreon of Teos and Alcæus, those alchemists of rhythm, wore dainty hair-ribbons and lived in exotic delicacy; Phrynichus—him I am sure you have heard—was handsome in costume as in person, which is precisely the reason why his plays were handsome too. *Le style c'est l'homme?* This same scene contains also a toothsome little parody¹ of Agathon's iambic manner:

ὦ πρέσβυ πρέσβυ, τοῦ φθόνου μὲν τὸν ψόγον
ἤκουσα, τὴν δ' ἄλγησιν οὐ παρεσχόμην,

a wondrously urbane version of " hard words break no bones " :

O aged one, the censure of thy spite
I hear, yet suffer no responsive pang.

But parody is not always needed : when Euripides asks Agathon to confront the murderous women on his behalf, the other (always with a good memory of the poets) replies in an apt and damaging quotation from Euripides' own work : ' You value life ; why should your father not ? '²

Later in the play, Mnesilochus' captive plight is made the occasion for burlesque of no less than four Euripidean tragedies. *Telephus* has been employed already, in the *Acharnians* : here the situation is even more amusing, and the " murder " is really performed. The *Palamedes* scene is brief but laughable : ' confound this R ! '³ mutters the hero, amid his tragic anapaests, when he comes upon the first curved letter in the message he is carving. The other two are superb. It might almost be alleged that the best merit of Euripides' *Helena* is to have inspired this glorious five minutes of fooling. The Helen presented by a bedraggled elderly Athenian, Euripides as his own shipwrecked Menelaus, are excellent; but the edge

¹ vv. 146 sq. This is one of the Agathonesque antitheses referred to above.

² w. 133 sq. (*Altcisis*, 691).

³ *Ταυτὶ τὸ βῶ μυχθέρει* (v. 781).

of the whole affair is the comments of the wardress, naturally bewildered yet standing no nonsense.

MN. καὶ γὰρ μὲν ἐνθάδ' εἴμ' · ὁ δ' ἄθλιος πύσσις
οὐ μὲν Μενέλαος οὐδέ πω προσέρχεται.
τί οὖν ἔτι ζῶ ;

ΓΥ. τῇ κοράκων πανηγρία.

Mn. And here I linger, but my hapless spouse
Menelaus comes not nigh. What keeps me then
Alive ?

Wardress. Remissness of the carrion crows.¹

The pseudo-Menelaus paying no attention to her uncanonical, though shrewd, interruptions, she puts his stupidity down to the horrors of shipwreck : ' still rather sea-sick, aren't you, stranger ? ' ² In the recognition scene, " Helen " makes an excellent, if disreputable pun,³ and to her husband's excited cry ' Lady, what sayst thou ? Turn those orbs on mine ! ' she, remembering those awful moments in which she has been shaved for her part, replies, ' I dare not turn on thee this ruined face . ' ⁴ In the *Andromeda* burlesque Euripides bears two roles. As Echo, in a heartless parody of the lovely opening scene, he repeats first the laments of his weather-beaten Andromeda, then the policeman's bewildered ejaculations in broken Greek, which the barbarian supposes are uttered by the captive and for which he maltreats him. Later, assuming the character of Perseus ' cleaving the middle heaven on winged feet,' he appeals to the constable's good nature, only to find that, though ready enough to connive at the hero's strange passion, he refuses to allow the proposed rescue.

The *eccyclema* is employed, not only to produce and withdraw Agathon with his gear, but also to change the scene. After Mnesilochus has been prepared for his expedition, we are supposed to leave Agathon's house and approach the temple. At this point a manu-

¹ w. 866 s q q . * v. 382.

³ v. 912: ὦ χρόνιος ἐλθὼν σῆς δάμαρτος ἐσχάρας, where the original (Helen, 572) has ἐς χέρας.

⁴ w. 902 sq.

his clothes. He therefore comes on dressed in his wife's gown and shoes, and is doing his best in the semi-darkness when a friend arrives, converses with him, and departs to the Assembly. Blepyrus is still busy when one Chremes arrives from the Assembly and tells how a mob of white-faced voters have pushed through a proposal to entrust the State to women. They retire, and the chorus return to shed their disguises, greeting Praxagora, who has been elected Generaless to carry out the Women's Policy. She launches into an account of the new regime : everything is to be held and used in common—wealth, meals, sexual relations. The rest of the play deals with these three subjects in order. First comes a man who collects all his goods and packs them for delivery to the public store amid the jeers of another who prophesies the collapse of the scheme. But when a Heraldess announces that the free public banquet is about to begin, the cynic is filled with public zeal and hurries off to do his share of eating. Then comes the sexual " reform " : a youth consumed by passion for a girl is dragged to and fro and quarrelled over by three hags in virtue of the new law that the ugliest must come first. Finally Blepyrus is summoned to the banquet with the chorus.

This is the work of a broken-hearted man. The ruin of Athens in 404 B.C. was a genuine disaster by which the world lost a unique and invaluable kind of civilization. This is not the place to discuss that calamity at large, but we are to realize that it was reflected in the individual life of our poet. Such realization is only too easy : a comparison of the *Ecclesiazusce* and the *Frogs* brings it home to the most casual reader with such poignancy that at times his fancy hears Lysander's trumpets blare over the toppling walls of that ' glamorous City violet-crowned, bulwark of Hellas, haunted by divine presences '. To compare this with the *Birds* is like setting *Count Robert of Paris* beside *Old Mortality*. Almost everywhere the work

is neat, sensible, and jaded : ¹ the old verve, the broad-chested riotous fun, have utterly gone : and when he seeks to recover it we find only a mechanical monstrosity like the famous longest word ² in Greek, a procession of one hundred and sixty-nine letters (*plus* an iota subscript), indicating a medley offish, flesh, fowl, and sauces. Any Greek at any street corner could have manufactured this : it is entirely different from his earlier witty fabrications such as the delightful *ἀρχαιομελισιδωνοφρυνιχήρατα*. The mighty irresponsible genius has dwindled into a mere accomplished writer: he who had known Periclean Athens found himself in later middle life among men very like those whom Demosthenes reproached in vain.³ That anonymous cynic who so easily sees through the fire-new communism of Praxagora is a first faint intimation of the *Graculus*, the Levantine, who was to be the joke and scorn of later generations.

That it does not lack interest, however, goes without saying. But little of this is purely artistic ; most is either academic or documentary. Let us consider first the artistic side. There are a few good jokes. One is the reason for which Athens accepts the proposal to entrust the State to women : ' It was felt that here was the only device that had never been tried before '⁴ The brief reference to ⁵ the suffragette and the policeman,' ⁶ as the phrase would have run a few years ago, and the suggestion that the conscientious citizen is arranging his household gear for a procession to the pawnshop ⁶ may raise a smile. The youth haled to and fro by the lewd and hideous crones who dispute

¹ One terrible example will be enough (vv. 489 sqq.):

ἀλλ' ἐγκονῶμεν · τοῦ τόπου γὰρ ἐγγύς ἐσμεν ἤδη
 ὅθεν περ εἰς ἐκκλησίαν ὠρμώμεθ' ἡνίκ' ἦμεν ·
 τὴν δ' οἰκίαν ἔξεσθ' ὄραν, ὅθεν περ ἡ στρατηγὸς
 ἔσθ' ἢ τὸ πρᾶγμ' εὐρούσ' ὃ νῦν ἔδαξε τοῖς πολίταις.

² w. 1169 sqq.

³ Public service is now a trade like bricklaying (vv. 299 sqq.), and genuine public spirit is dead (vv. 767, 797 sq.).

⁴ vv. 456 sq.

⁵ vv. 258 sq.

⁶

vv. 755 sqq.

his favours provokes to-day not laughter but nausea; nevertheless his lament 'I am the new Procrustes'¹ is a flash of genuine wit. When Praxagora has coached her friends in the masculine deportment needed for the success of their plot in the Assembly, one lady complacently adds 'Yes, and I've brought my knitting,' or words to that effect.²

Though the lyrics of the chorus are negligible and have indeed partly disappeared, some of the solos are attractive in a debased and trivial manner. The amorous scenes contain three duets, over which the poet half audibly yawns before delivering them :³

κεῖ γάρ δι' ὄχλου τοῦτ' ἐστὶ τοῖς θεωμένοις. . . .

'Even though it bores the audience. . . .' Then comes the disgusting antiphony of the Girl and the Hag. When the Youth appears, he and the Hag sing a duet in that scolion-metre the most famous instance of which is the Harmodius-Song. The other two duets have refrains, a very rare thing at this date and frequent in no period of ancient poetry :

ἀνοιξον, ἀσπάζου με.
διὰ τοι σε πόνοὺς ἔχω.
Open, and welcome me ;
Sorely I yearn for thee.

The academic or documentary aspects of this play possess, as we said, greater interest.

First, the *Ecclesiazusce* is more rational than its predecessors : it insists, for better or for worse, on consistency, common sense. The initial idea, that women should invade and dominate the Assembly, wild as it seemed in the poet's time, is enormously less fantastic than the errands of Trygaeus and Dionysus—not to mention the fact that such theories were in the air. The rest of the play is almost startlingly " sensible ". When he composed the *Birds*, Aristophanes did not ask himself how the stones of Cloud-cuckootown hung in the sky. Here the women practise

¹v. 1021.

²vv. 88 sq.

³v. 888.

carefully beforehand lest they betray themselves at the meeting. In earlier plays no explanation of detail is asked for unless the poet wishes to make a joke in reply.¹ But here we are shown the women getting away after their imposture and removing their disguises : there is even an interrogatory² by Praxagora's husband : ' Where *have* you been ? ' An admirer of her oration asks how she learned to speak so well, and she gives a perfectly normal answer³ worthy of Xenophon. The discussions of policy are for the most part genuine argumentation. When Praxagora explains that all property must henceforth be held in common, Blepyrus asks : ' What of persons who possess no real estate but only cash, the amount of which cannot be checked (*atf>avrj TTXOVTOV*) ? '⁴ But the best example is that passage⁵ where the cynical citizen reminds his credulous friend of previous financial expedients : vigorous and sensible, but quite unamusing, it is as near to a speech by Lysias as to Dicaeopolis' stump-oration. Again, one of the first things done by the new female government is to suppress prostitution.

Another inescapable note is the misery of the people. The most boisterous and light-hearted of the earlier plays leave it clear enough that most Athenians were not only poor but knew they were poor; the difference is that in the earlier time they did not break their hearts over it. Since Ægospotami, Athenians were poor without hope or pride, and the whole temperature of the theatre has therefore changed : it is like a transition from the poor of Dickens to the poor of George Gissing. In Old Comedy the poverty-stricken Athenian dined with Pherecrates or Telecleides in a magic world where the very landscape was eatable. Turn to the Eldorado of EuÆon⁶ in this play : ' I will tell you how to save Athens and her people. If the

¹ When Dionysus inquires how the Athenian two obols got to Hades, he is told ' Theseus brought them ' (*Frogs*, 141 sqq.).

² vv. 520 sqq.

³ vv. 243 sq.

⁴ vv. 597 sqq.

⁵ vv. 812-29.

⁶ ivv.

413 sqq.

fullers supply woollen capes in mid-winter to all who need then none of us will ever catch pleurisy again. Further, all who have no bed or blankets should go after their baths to the tanners' shops to sleep : if he shuts them out in winter, he is to be fined three fleeces.' This may be called fanciful in the sense that it is 'economically unsound'; as art it is only too realistic,

A third point of interest is the relationship between this comedy and Plato's *Republic*. Unmistakable likenesses appear : the community of property and of women, and on this latter the comment¹ that society will be more closely bound together because each person will look on men of a certain age as being each perhaps his father, and on every such woman as perhaps his mother. Plato himself is possibly mentioned by name.² On the other hand, it is unlikely that the *Republic*, as we know it, appeared before the *Ecclesiazusce*, because it seems to contain clear allusions³ to this play. It may be that the *Republic* was brought out in two parts, between the publication of which our play was produced ; or we may prefer to believe that the dialogue was published as a whole after the comedy, but that Plato's notions had already become well-known in Athens. This latter is the likelier view.

PLUTUS, or WEALTH (ΠΙΧΟΟΤΟΣ), was produced in 388 B.C., its four rivals being the *Spartans* 01 Nicochares, *Admetus* of Aristomenes, *Adonis* of Nicophon, *Pasiphae* of Alcaeus.⁴ What prize it gained is unknown.

¹v. 641 sqq.

²'Plato' ('Broad-Shoulders') was of course only a nickname of Aristocles ; and Bergk (*ap. Meineke*, II, 1162) thinks that the diminutive Aristyllus (*Bed.*, 647, *Plutus*, 314, fr. 538) refers to the philosopher. This has been vigorously rejected (*cp. van Leeuwen, Prolegomena ad Eccl.*, p. xiii, n.), and Stallbaum (*Resp. prof.*, p. lxxii), taking it that Plato is not so much as named or hinted at, regards this silence as proof that Aristophanes is not thinking of the *Republic* at all.

³*Re6.*, 450e, 456b, 452b, c. The question is fully and judiciously discussed by Adam (*Republic*, Vol. I, App. I), who thinks it probable "that Plato had the *Ecclesiazusa* and its author in his mind when he wrote that part of the fifth book which deals with the subject of women and children".

⁴At this date the three competing comedies had been replaced by five. Note that nearly all these titles are proper names : only one play is named after its chorus, another of the numerous proofs that the importance of the chorus was rapidly diminishing.

The slave Carion grumbles that he and his master, Chremylus, are following a blind man from the shrine of Apollo. Chremylus explains that, being righteous but unprosperous, he asked the oracle whether his son should follow his example or become a rogue. The god bade him follow the first person he met: it proved to be this blind "man," who reveals himself as the god of Wealth, blinded by Zeus because he determined to consort only with the just, wise, and well-behaved; since then he has always fallen in with the wicked. Chremylus and Carion show him that he is really master of the Universe, and offer to restore his power by taking him to the temple of Asclepius to recover his sight, and help only the good henceforth. He goes into the house, and Carion summons the chorus of poor husbandmen, to whom he tells the news. He and they sing and dance a rustic ditty. Chremylus returns, meeting his friend Blepsidemus, who is convinced that the report of wealth means a huge theft by Chremylus. At last reassured, he prepares to accompany them to the shrine, when the two friends are confronted by a horrible spectre, Poverty, who insists on proving that they contemplate a crime in seeking to expel her from Greece: she is the cause of all that is good in life. After a vigorous debate they drive her away and depart with Plutus. Later¹ Carion returns exultantly, announcing the success of the treatment, which he describes at length to Chremylus' wife. Plutus returns with his patron: henceforth he will favour only the good. This new regime is illustrated by three pairs of people: a just man who has at length found prosperity and a blackmailer who is ruined; a rich and hideous old woman and her *gigolo*; the god Hermes, who is glad to desert from Heaven for a scullion's post in Chremylus' household, and a priest who is appointed to lead the procession that is to instal Plutus in the

¹ After an interval marked by the word *XOPOY* in our MSS. This indicates a song now lost.

rear-chamber of Athena's temple. The chorus follow, rejoicing.

As so often, the ghost of another version peers at us from the murk of the scholia and other such literature. The evidence falls into three groups, (i) Certain passages imply merely the existence of two versions. Eight words are cited by Pollux and others, as occurring in the *Plutus*, which are not found in our text. This evidence is inconclusive.¹ (ii) Three passages imply or state that our version is the later: the Scholiast on *Frogs*, 1093, gives three lyric lines, which are not in our text, as occurring in "the first *Plutus*"; two verses of our text are quoted as from "the second *Plutus*".² (iii) Four passages³ imply or state that our version is the earlier. For instance, on v. 1147 (about Thrasybulus' occupation of Phyle) the Scholiast remarks that the words must have been interpolated from the second *Plutus*, because the event happened in the fifth year after the play. Without attempting to determine here the reasons for these variations, we may confidently assert three things. First, there were two plays called *Plutus*, separated by twenty years: it is impossible to suppose that the basic assumption of all the passages just adduced is a mere blunder. Second, our play is the later; if there is anything at all in criticism, it is absolutely certain that our feeble Middle Comedy could not have been composed between the *Thesmophoriazusce* and the *Frogs*. Thirdly, the earlier play, though no doubt called by the same title, must have been very different from ours, for the reason just given.

The *Ecclesiazusce*, we said, was a poor play. The *Plutus* is not only poor; it is poor but honest. There is a horrible shabby-genteel air about it, suggesting to an English reader that the next queer word attributed

¹ See van Leeuwen's examination (*Prolegomena*, pp. v-x).

² v. 992 quoted by Schol. Ven. on *Il.*, XXIII, 361; v. 1128 quoted by Athenaeus, 368d.

³ Schol. on *Plutus*, 173, 179, 972, 1147.

to it by some newly-discovered lexicographer will mean " a horse-hair sofa " or " an antimacassar ". When Carion says to Chremylus' wife, " it happened before you could have swallowed ten cups,"¹ we assure ourselves only with an effort that they are not cups of tea drunk in the company of Blepsidemus' wife.² The *Plutus* owed its position in the Byzantine selection of three surely not to its merits but to the same causes that prompt its choice to-day for school-reading : the easiness of its Greek and the comparative absence of indecency. It belongs entirely to the Middle Comedy in virtue of the following features, (i) The chorus is negligible : no part of the plot depends upon it, except indeed that a lapse of time is needed here and there, which was represented by a song and dance ; all the lyrics have disappeared (being, no doubt, *intermezzi* of small merit) except the song about the Cyclops and Circe, (ii) The slave Carion is far more independent, both in manner and in function, than his colleagues of earlier plays. Not only does he call his master " you blockhead "³ and his remarks " nonsense,"⁴ but he is also important to the action ; he summons the chorus, sings the Cyclops-song with them, and delivers the Messenger's speech ;⁵ an equally " late " touch is that he steals food like his Plautine descendants.⁶ (iii) That pervasive lack of *brio*, that jaded facility noted in the *Ecclesiazusæ*, is obvious here also. Consider this passage :⁷

μετρίου γὰρ ἀνδρὸς οὐκ ἐπέτυχες πάποτε.
 ἐγὼ δὲ τούτου τοῦ τρόπου πῶς εἰμ' αἰεί,
 χαίρω τε γὰρ φειδόμενος ὡς οὐδεὶς ἀνὴρ
 πάλιν τ' ἀναλῶν, ἥνίκ' ἂν τοῦτων δέῃ.

' Yes—you never met a temperate man, but I am more or less of that kind : I rejoice beyond any man in

¹ v. 737-

² It is impossible not to observe that v. 972—ἀλλ' οὐ λαχοῦς' ἔπινες ἐν τῷ γράμματι—supplies the perfect Greek idiom for Mrs. Gamp's stern command, " No, Betsey 1 Drink fair, wotever you do !"

³ v. 46 (ὁ σκαϊότατε).

⁶ v. 320.

⁴ v. 23 (λῆρος).

⁷ w. 245 sqq.

vv. 653 sqq.

frugality and in expenditure too, whenever each is necessary.' Two lines at least are unmistakably Plautine : ¹

ὥς σεμνὸς οὐπίτριπτος· αἱ κνήμαι δέ σου βοῶσιν
'ἰὸν ἰού,' τὰς χοίνικας καὶ τὰς πέδας ποθοῦσαι.

'What a supercilious knave! Your shanks are shouting "Ow! ow!" yearning for the shackles and fetters.' (iv) The Attic style grows not merely pallid : ² it begins to disintegrate : Aristophanes allows himself a word-order unparalleled in his other works : ³

ἰσθὺς γάρ ποτε
οὐκ εἶχεν ἐς τὴν οἰκίαν οὐδέν λαβεῖν.

χαίρειν μὲν ὑμᾶς ἐστίν, ὧνδρες δημόται,
ἀρχαῖον ἤδη προσαγορεύειν καὶ σαπρόν.

πολλοὶ μὲν γὰρ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὄντες πλουτοῦσι πονηροί.

Its merits are soon told. Despite what has just been said, we gain a few glimpses of the old Aristophanes. When Plutus, dazed by the suggestion that he may regain his sight, stammers his terror of Zeus, Chremylus answers with a touch of Pisthetaerus: * What, you most craven of all gods? Do you suppose that the majesty and thunderbolt of Zeus will be worth sixpence if you regain your sight even for an hour? ⁴ There are a few witty phrases. 'Rich? Why, you may each become a Midas, if you can get donkey's ears.'⁵ 'You could draw me through a finger-ring.' 'Aye, if the ring were the rim of a sieve.'⁶ Blepsidemus' obstinacy is laughable: despite all assurances, he is convinced that Chremylus' reputed wealth must be the fruit of robbery. When his friend swears by

¹ vv. 275 sqq.

² See van Leeuwen (*Prolegomena ad Plutum*, pp. xix sq.) for an interesting account of the language and a note on the commonplace names of Chremylus and Blepsidemus.

³ w. 204 sq., 323 sq., 502.

⁴ vv. 123 sq.

⁵ v. 287. Unless we give the plural *Midas* a rather awkward translation, we perform the amazing feat of foisting upon Aristophanes a joke that he does not make—"Midasess". Cp. the gorgonzola in *Acharnians*, 1124 sq.

⁶ vv. 1036 sq. Cp. *Henry IV*, Pt. I, II, iv: "I could have crept into any alderman's thumb-ring".

Poseidon, he cautiously asks : ' You mean the Sea-God ? ' ¹ A hint of pathos clings to the playful reminiscence of one among those great figures that Aristophanes knew—a tiny scrap of Sophocles, ² now these many years in his grave : *στιβάδα σχοίωνων κόρεων μεστήν, ἣ τοὺς εὐδοντας ἐγείρει*, ' a rush mat full of bugs arousing them that slumber '.

We have often noted the earnestness of Aristophanes: here it makes its most emphatic entry, and actually repudiates comedy by name. Poverty, stung by a taunt of Chremylus, exclaims : ' You seek to scoff and play the buffoon (/co^Seu'), snapping your fingers at seriousness '. ³ Nothing could show more plainly the change that has come over the " comic " stage : we have, in fact, left farce for comedy—a type of play which counts nothing alien that is human, however serious it may be. So it comes about that we find a brief but illuminating picture of the " sycophant," to give him his traditional but absurd name. As a fact, this type, so frequent in Athens, is really a blackmailer ; and in the *Plutus* we get a real hint of the reason for his frequency and indeed for his existence : namely, a grave defect in the administration of the law. Offenders might often go free because there was no official to watch over the operation of a law, so that everything depended on the chance intervention of public-spirited members of the public. Naturally, when the offenders began to bribe these amateur prosecutors, public spirit rapidly grew into a profession. ⁴

Poverty's share in the action is for several reasons deeply interesting. First, her position is stated with cogency as well as seriousness : destroy the metre and one might be reading a light Platonic dialogue—

*ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἔσται πρῶτον ἀπάντων οὐδείς οὐδ' ἀνδραποδιστὴς
κατὰ τὸν λόγον ὃν σὺ λέγεις δῆπου.*⁵

¹ w. 394 sqq.

² v. 541. Cp. Soph., fr 890 (Jebb-Pearson). There are reminiscences of Solon also (v. 193) and Pindar (vv. 144 sqq.).

³ v. 557.

⁴ See the discussion, vv. 906-919, where the point of the whole is
6 jSovkoficvos. vv. 522 sq.

' But, first of all, there will not *be* any slavers, according to your own argument.' When Chremylus describes the evils which, he says, Poverty inflicts on mankind, ' in place of a bed a reed mat lull of bugs,' the stone for a pillow, and so forth, she answers, with a precision more natural to Prodicus or Hippias than to Trygaeus, very clearly and well: ¹ ' You have not described my life, but reviled that of beggars. . . . The beggar's life, whereof you speak, is existence without possessions, whereas the poor man's is a life of thrift and industry, with no superfluity but no deficiency either.' Secondly, this *agon* or debate between Chremylus and the goblin testifies to the economic and spiritual result for Athens of her fall from political greatness : here the *Plutus* reinforces the *Ecclesiazusce*. Thirdly, the dispute fails amazingly to square with the plot. Chremylus' idea is plain enough : to restore Plutus' sight and thus give riches only to the virtuous, leaving the wicked to indigence. It is the notion widely accepted in times both ancient and modern, and by people more highly esteemed than Chremylus, that persons who pay in one currency should be repaid in another, that virtue should be recompensed by prosperity—money, good repute, health, or happiness—an artless theory that is not only refuted by experience but also reveals our genuine opinion of virtue as an unpleasant device for securing something that is pleasant. Such is the idea of Chremylus, perfectly clear, however vulgar and stupid ; and this we see fulfilled after the return of Plutus : the Just Man rich, the Blackmailer ruined. But in the dispute with Poverty all is changed.² Every one is to be rich, otherwise her very admirable argument would fall to pieces. But Chremylus nowhere points this out. In this part

¹ vv. 548 *sqq.*

² Aristophanes cannot be acquitted of a complete failure to remember what he is talking about. For instance, in vv. 495 *sqq.*, 630, 826, only the good benefit; in vv. 401 and 1004, etc. (the base gigolo) the bad are to benefit as well as the good; even in the dispute with Poverty, Chremylus at one time (vv. 499 *sqq.*) voices his original purpose.

of the play, then, we intend not to reward virtue, but to cure poverty. Fourthly, the dispute closes with a strange hitch in the plot, or rather a clumsy readjustment. Poverty has no difficulty in proving that the reformers are wrong: her remarks are a translation into Attic thought and language of the Grand Inquisitor's song in the *Gondoliers*: "A king there lived . . ." Chremylus is defeated. But if so, what becomes of our triumphant *finale*? He is therefore made to say: ⁱ Even if you convince me, I shall act as if you had not convinced me'; ¹ and the comedy proceeds exactly as if Poverty had never entered the theatre. Aristophanes has tied together two ideas utterly different in their outcome but possessing a superficial likeness since they are both concerned with the incidence of poverty. As a consequence the last words of the goblin, weighty as they are, find no result in the sequel: 'Verily the day will come when you will send for me'; ² but it may well be that Aristophanes intends these words as a hint that ⁱ I am a better economist than I pretend to be.'

Besides the eleven extant comedies, we possess fragments approaching one thousand in number, more than half coming from named plays: but there are only six works concerning which we can claim definite knowledge, and but two the main outlines of which can be stated with confidence.

The. BANQUE (*Δαιταλής*) was the first comedy of Aristophanes, produced in 427 B.C.³ when he was perhaps only seventeen years old, under the name of one of his acquaintances—either ⁴ Callistratus or Philonides—and won the second prize.⁵ The poet

¹ οὐ γὰρ πείσεις, οὐδ' ἦν πείσης.

² w. 608 sq.

³ Anon., *de Com.* (Kaibel, p. 8): ἐδίδαξε δὲ πρῶτον ἐπὶ ἀρχοντος Διοτίμου διὰ Καλλιστράτου.

⁴ For Callistratus see last note. For Philonides cp. Schol. on *Clouds*, 531 (παῖς ἑτέρα).

⁵ Schol., *Clouds*, 529.

himself makes striking mention of this initial success.¹ In our version of the *Clouds* he reproaches his audience for failing to appreciate the earlier version, and proceeds :²

ἐξ οὗτου γὰρ ἐνθάδ' ὑπ' ἀνδρῶν, οἷς ἤδ' καὶ λέγειν,
ὁ σώφρων τε χῶ καταπύγων ἄριστ' ἠκουσάτην,
κ' αὐγῶ, παρθένος γὰρ ἔτ' ἦ, κοῦκ ἐξῆν πῶ μοι τεκεῖν,
ἐξέθηκα, παῖς δ' ἐτέρα τις λαβυῖσ' ἀνείλετο,
ὑμεῖς δ' ἐξεθρέψατε γενναίως καὶ παιδεύσατε ·
ἐκ τούτου μοι πιστὰ παρ' ὑμῖν γνώμης ἔσθ' ὄρκια.

' For ever since the Chaste Man and the Rake won the highest praise in this theatre from men (of high repute ?) and I, being still a maid and not yet allowed to bear a child, exposed my offspring, which another girl took and adopted, and you generously cherished and reared it—since then I have sure testimonies of your opinion.' The second line indicates the main theme of the *Banqueters*. Our youthful poet begins his career with a study of contemporary education : he compares two young men reared by their father in different surroundings, one amid the old-fashioned regime of the countryside, the other in the new-fangled city ways. The first becomes a chaste sober youth, the second a debauchee. We catch glimpses of the father's disappointment in the city youth :

ἀλλ' οὐ γὰρ ἔμαθε ταῦτ' ἐμοῦ πέμποντος, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον
πίνειν, ἔπειτ' ᾄδειν κακῶς, Συρακοσίαν τράπεζαν,
Συβαρίτιδ' αὖτ' εὐωχίης καὶ Χίου ἐκ Λακωνῶν.³

' But when I sent him, he did not learn those subjects, but drinking, vile singing, Syracusan dinners, Sybaritic luxury, and Chian wine from Laconian goblets '—liqueurs by the tumblerful, as we might say. The lad's appearance, too, is ultra-fashionable :

καὶ λείος, ὥσπερ ἔγχελυς, χρυσοῦς ἔχων κικίννους.⁴

¹ Sleek as an eel, wearing golden curls.' At one point

¹ That the passage refers to the *Banqueters* is shown by the scholia.

² *Clouds*, 528-533. ³ Fr. 216.

⁴ Fr. 218. Compare, for all this, Mr. Kipling's *Mary Gloster*.

the father, precisely as in the *Clouds*,¹ invites his son to 'sing one of the old favourites':

ἔσονται δὲ μοι σκόλιόν τι λαβὼν Ἀλκαίου ἀνακρέοντος.²

'Come, take (the myrtle-branch) and sing me a catch of Alcaeus or Anacreon.' No doubt the other answers like Pheidippides and renders something that his auditor describes as "blackguardly filth".³ Part of the examination is more technical. Galen⁴ writes: "The old man from the Banqueters' deme⁵ calls upon his depraved son to expound, first, the meaning of the word *κόρυμβα*, and next, 'what do they call *dfievrvja* *κάρηνα*?' The other, however, replies by propounding this kind of thing from the obsolete words on Solon's pillars about various lawsuits: 'Well, let your son, this brother of mine, explain what they mean by *ιδυῖοι*!' " The old man, proud of his own and his model son's skill in the traditional Homeric learning, is answered by his more modern son with a budget of equally queer words from a less fashionable body of writing, just as a later parent, scandalized by ignorance of Horace and Virgil, might be asked, "Well, what's a dicotyledonous plant?"

We are probably to suppose that the Rake has really pursued legal studies; at any rate another piece⁶ of dialogue (also preserved by Galen) shows him overwhelming his father with strange words taken from rhetoricians; and the studies of law and of rhetoric were closely allied.

A. ἀλλ' εἴ σορέλλη καὶ μύρον καὶ ταινία.

B. ἰδοὺ σορέλλη· τοῦτο παρὰ Λυσιστράτου.

A. ἢ μὴν ἴσως σὺ καταπλιγῇσει τῷ χρόνῳ.

B. τὸ καταπλιγῇσει τοῦτο παρὰ τῶν ῥητόρων.

¹v. 1355 sqq.

²Fr. 223.

³Ὁ πορνεία καὶ ἀναιδεία (fr. 226, Kock, who reads ὁ παρανοία κτέ).

⁴Præf. Lex. Hippocr. (Kuhn, XIX, pp. 66 sq.; fr. 222). *Κόρυμβα* (*Iliad*, IX, 241) means "prows"; *ἀμενηνὰ κάρηνα* is usually translated "strengthless heads"; *ιδυῖοι* the ancient lexicographers explain as *μάρτυρες*.

⁵This is either a mistake of Galen's or a joke of the poet's. Who the banqueters were is explained below.

⁶Fr. 198.

ARISTOPHANES

- A. ἀποβύσεται σοι ταῦτά πη τὰ ῥήματα.
 B. παρ' Ἀλκιβιάδου τοῦτο τὰποβύσεται.
 A. τί δ' ὑποτεκμαίρει καὶ κακῶς ἄνδρας λέγεις
 καλοκάγαθὸν ἀσκοῦντας;
 B. οἴμ', ὦ Θρασύμαχε,
 τίς τοῦτο τῶν ξυνηγόρων τερθρεύεται;

' Oh, you are a coffineer and incense and funeral-garlands.' ' *Coffineer*, forsooth! A word borrowed from Lysistratus.' ' Verily you shall be over-straddled in time.' ' *Over-straddled*! Indeed, a parliamentary remark! ' This talk of yours shall be estopped somehow.' ' Alcibiades' contribution, this *estopped*' ' Why this scrutiny? Why abuse men who practise genteelishness?' ' Ugh, Thrasymachus! Which of the barristers uses that bombastic word?' A reference to these imposing legal researches of the Rake is perhaps to be found in the phrase: ¹

εἰ μὴ δικῶν τε γυργαβοῦς ψηφισμάτων τε θωμοὺς
 φέρουντες,

' . . . unless bringing baskets of law-suits and heaps of decrees .' The father bids his son ' Come back and make yourself useful on the farm after all this expensive education '. He is rebuffed: ²

ὅστις αὐλοῖς καὶ λύραισι κατατέτριμμαι χρώμενος,
 εἰτά με σκάπτειν κελεύεις;

' After I've worn myself to a shadow with practice on the flute and lyre, do you stand there and tell me to dig?' Some brief passages ³ imply a set-to between the brothers themselves: one corrupt fragment mentions 'playing truant'—ἀπεδίδρασκες ἐκ διδασκάλου.⁴

This ill-feeling at length (it appears) reaches such a height that the Rake, instead of directly assaulting his father like his successor in the *Clouds*, hales him off to court with the intent to prove him an alien:

εἰθέλω βάψας πρὸς ναυτοδικας ξένον ἐξαίφνης ἀποφῆναι.⁵

¹Fr. 2 1 7 . ² F r . 221.

³E.g. fr. 206: φέρ' ἴδω, τί σοι δῶ τῶν μύρων; ψάγλαν φιλεῖς; / Videtur films improbus per ironiam fratri de unguentis suis quidquid velit offerre' (Kock). ⁴Fr. 199.

⁵Fr. 225. The last word is supplied by Kock. On the ναυτοδικαι Hesychius writes (s.v.): οἱ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐμπορίου δικασταί, ὅφ' ὧν καὶ αἱ τῆς ξενίας ἐκρίνοντο δίκαι.

' I wish to ply the oar to the Navy-Board and show (him? you?) up instantly as a foreigner.' The old man is not afraid: ' If he fails to get his fifth of the votes, let him go hang! ' ¹ We possess a rather fine scrap of his defence before the Board: ' Call my witnesses—the ancient kings of Attica! '—**τὸν Ἐρεχθέα μοι καὶ τὸν Αἰγέα κάλει.** ² Though we can hardly suppose ³ that they answered the summons, no doubt the elderly Athenian won his case. It may be that he used his opportunity to read the whole of Athens a lesson: ⁴

**εἰς τὰς τριήρεις δεῖν ἀναλοῦν ταῦτα καὶ τὰ τείχη,
εἰς οἷ' ἀνάλουν οἱ πρὸ τοῦ τὰ χρήματα.**

' We ought to spend this on the fleet and the fortifications on which the men of old spent their money.' The " reported " form of the Greek here, and another passage, ⁵ that describes (in the past tense) the assembling of the jury, suggest that the trial-scene is not depicted, but merely related.

This family quarrel provided the main interest of the *Banqueters*: Aristophanes, as we saw, practically calls his play *The Chaste Man and the Rake*. But there were other elements. These Banqueters were an official company: every year the king-archon caused each deme to select twelve men who dined once a month in a temple of Heracles and were named **παράσιτοι** as guests of that god. ⁶ In our play we are to suppose that the Chorus of twenty-four represented twelve *irapdiToi* proper with a son of each. That is a conjecture of Bergk's, ⁷ supported not only by the exigencies

¹Fr. 201.

²Fr. 211.

³F. E. Roetter, however (*De Daetalensium fabula*, p. 13) thinks that one or both actually appeared. His "evidence" is Schol. *Wasps*, 823: **εἶχον δὲ καὶ οἱ ἥρωες πανοπλίαν, καὶ δῆλον ἐκ τῶν Δαιταλέων.**

⁴Fr. 220. Hall and Geldart lead **δεῖ μ'.**

⁵Fr. 210.

⁶Athenaeus, VI, 235c; Pollux, VI, 12, and others. Cp. especially the long fragment (vv. 21-30) of Diodorus, a playwright of the Middle Comedy (Kock, II, p. 420).

⁷Ap. Meineke, II, p. 1024. (The fragments of Aristophanes in Meineke's corpus were edited by Bergk.) For the practice of a man taking his son he quotes Isaeus, IX, 30: **Εἰς τοίνυν τὰ ἱερὰ ὁ πατὴρ ὁ ἐμὸς τὸν Ἀστυφίλον**

of arithmetic ¹ but also by the fact that it would be artistically good to have one half of the chorus supporting the father, the other half his depraved son, though (no doubt), as elsewhere in Aristophanes, the two companies came to enthusiastic agreement in the end.² The official banquet formed of course a background to the elaborate dispute between father and sons. But in the course of the celebration occurred a feature ³ of profound interest, to which an important fragment ⁴ unmistakably points :

ἐπιδείπνιον βασιλεὺς θέαν
τοῖς δαιταλευσιν, ὥσπερ ἄξιον λόγον,
χαριζόμενος τὸ δράμα τοῦτ' ἐδείκνυεν.

' The king-archon, to pleasure the banqueters with an after-dinner spectacle, exhibited this play as worth consideration.' There is no reasonable doubt that this comedy contained a subsidiary drama ⁵ (possibly dramas)—a " play within a play "—an inserted entertainment for guests (the actors of the main piece) precisely like the most famous instance of all, in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. The dispute between father and son being settled, the parabasis closes the question, and the guests celebrate both the reconciliation and the festival by giving ' a little play of our own,'

παῖδα ἦγε μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ ὥσπερ καὶ ἐμὲ πανταχῇ, καὶ εἰς τοὺς θιάσους τοὺς Ἡρακλείους ἐκείνων εἰσῆγαγεν, ἵνα μετέχοι τῆς κοινωνίας. But see Wyse (who reads *Oiao-coras*) *adloc.* Fraheus (*De argument atque consilio Daetalensium*, p. 35) rightly points out that the father and sons cannot have been ordinary-guests, as the chorus made up the full number.

¹This obvious principle of equality in the semi-choruses is astonishingly denied by the Scholiast on *Knights*, 589, but on aesthetic grounds it is impossible to accept his statement.

²That the chorus consisted (whether in whole or in part) of old men who supported the earlier ways of life, is proved by one word, *ἐψυχρολουτήσαμεν* (fr. 237)—' we bathed in cold water'. This is no doubt part of a censure upon the *θερμὰ λουτρά* (cp. *Clouds*, 1043 *sqq.*) favoured by a more luxurious age. But the interesting point is that it must belong to the chorus (not to the father, as Kock supposes) because it is impossible to scan the word except as part of a paemonic system, and these were invariably delivered by the chorus.

³The whole subject of "episodes" in Old Comedy has been discussed more fully in *Classical Philology*, XXV (1930), pp. 217 *sqq.*

⁴Bergk, p. 1029. This fragment has disappeared from our collections since Meineke withdrew the attribution in his fifth volume (i, p. 62). But it should be restored to Aristophanes : see the article mentioned in the preceding note.

⁵Ranke, *de Aristophanis vita*, p. cccxi, followed by Bergk, 1024 *sqq.*

under direction of the actor who has throughout impersonated the king-archon. For this " episode " the chorus of the *Banqueters* provides a chorus from its own number, and perhaps more than one " episode " was given.¹

Aristophanes, like Shakespeare, was fond of this method. In the *Thesmophoriazusae* we have miniature parodies of several Euripidean tragedies, in the *Wasps* a mimic law-suit. But these are closely knit with the main plot. Other instances perhaps occurred in the *Apaxara TJ Kevravpos*. In this first comedy we may safely assume that the " show " was a mere intercalation. The language of the fragment proves this : it is ' an after-dinner spectacle ' given by the archon as ' worthy of note . ' Such phrasing implies work on a different plane, and perhaps also parody of recent or contemporary drama: the youthful playwright may have driven home his contempt for vulgar Megarian farces by a burlesque or series of burlesques.²

Aristophanes' next play, the *BABYLONIANS* (*Βαβυλωνιοι*), which was produced in 426 B.C. under the name of Callistratus,³ involved the youthful poet in serious trouble. We know several things about it, but to fit them all into one plot is difficult.⁴

In the *Achprnjcms*⁶ (produced in the following year, 425 B~c.) Dicaeopolis says, on behalf of the author : ' And for myself, I know what I suffered from Cleon because of last year's comedy. He haled me into the Council Chamber, slandered me with a gabble of lies, and drenched me with a torrent of muddy eloquence till I very nearly perished under his fetid pettifoggery.' On this the Scholiast remarks: ' The *Babylonians*

¹ Orion (49, 10) writes : καὶ Δαιταλεῖς δράμα Ἀριστοφάνους, ἐπειδὴ ἐν ἱερῷ Ἡρακλέους δεῖπνοῦντες καὶ ἀναστάντες χοροὶ ἐγένοντο. The last three words unmistakably suggest the procedure described above ; note the plural χοροί.

² So Bergk, *ap.* Meineke, p. 1025.

³ Photius, 499, 1, and Suidas, s.v. Σαμίων ὁ δῆμος.

⁴ What follows is a summary of an article in *Classical Philology*, XXV, pp. I sqq.
⁵ vv. 377 sqq.

is meant, which Aristophanes produced before the *Acharnians* and in which he reviled many: for he ridiculed the magistrates (whether selected by lot or by vote) and Cleon in the presence of the allies. For he exhibited a play, the *Babylonians*, at the Dionysiac festival, which is celebrated in the spring, and at which the allies used to bring their tribute; and therefore Cleon in anger indicted him before the citizens for wrong-doing, as having acted so with intent to insult the People and the Senate. He indicted him for foreign origin also and brought him to trial.¹ Later in the same speech Dicæopolis remarks: ¹ 'For not now will Cleon slander me, that I am reviling Athens in the presence of foreigners; for we are by ourselves and the contest [among comic playwrights] is at the Lenaea, and no foreigners are yet present, for neither tribute nor allies have arrived from the cities.'

There is some obscurity about this trial. We do not know its outcome, though the poet's language and the fact that his career was unchecked make it plain that he was at any rate not severely punished. Further, if Callistratus fathered the play, why was Aristophanes attacked? It is an obvious reply that no doubt every one in Athens knew the real author, yet a Scholiast informs us that it was Callistratus who was brought before the Senate. But the passage in the *Acharnians* about the author's plight surely settles the question, unless, indeed, we are to suppose that Callistratus wrote that passage.² It seems certain that Aristophanes himself was indicted, but that Alexandrian scholars (and the Scholiast who followed them) were confused by the presence of Callistratus.

¹ *Acharnians*, 502 sqq. Cp. vv. 630 sqq. and perhaps *Wasps*, 1285 sqq., though this last passage may refer to a later imbroglio (see the Scholiast on *Wasps*, 1285: "Ἀδελφὸν πότερον τῆς Καλλιστράτου εἰς τὴν βουλὴν εἰσαγωγῆς καὶ νῦν μὲνῃσκειται, ὅτι αὐτὸν Κλέων εἰσήγαγεν, ἢ ἐτέρας κατ' αὐτοῦ γενομένης Ἀριστοφάνους, εἰ καὶ μὴ εἰσαγωγῆς, ἀλλὰ ἀπειλῆς τινός, ὅπερ καὶ μᾶλλον ἐμφαίνεται." Εκείνῳ τε γὰρ ἀναπολεῖν ἀρχαιότερα ἔσται, νῦν τε ὡς περὶ αὐτοῦ λέγει).

² The surprising suggestion of J. H. Gunning (*De Babylonii Aristophanis*, p. 75). Kaibel (Pauly-Wissowa, II, 975) held that the γραφή ξενίας was never brought forward, and is a mistaken conjecture of the Scholiast on the *Acharnians*.

What was the poet's offence ? Very strangely, none of our authorities gives us clear details, but the conclusion usually¹ drawn from our fragments is that the subject-allies of Athens were represented as a chorus of branded slaves working in the mill of their master, Demos. The poet himself in the *Acharnians* gives only one line² that can conceivably support this startling theory :

καὶ τοὺς δῆμους ἐν ταῖς πύλεσιν δείξας ὡς δημοκρατοῦνται.

' He showed how democratic rule affects the masses in our subject states.' His treatment of this theme was bold: *παρεκινδύνευσ' εἰπεῖν ἐν Ἀθηναίοις τὰ δίκαια*—* he dared to speak justice among Athenians.'³ Bold, indeed, in the midst of a war that Athens was fighting to keep her empire, with one eye upon possible insurgents, when the revolt and chastisement of Mytilene were fresh in all minds ; at the very moment, too, when the audience contained envoys from all these subjects ! But, though Aristophanes must have gone far (as we may well deduce from Cleon's wrath and from the speech in the *Acharnians*) he did not go so far as that.

Our authorities⁴ yield only the following facts as regards the alleged slave-mill in which the allies were imprisoned. There were certain slaves, branded (or perhaps tattooed, and of disconcerting aspect, who worked in a penal mill. They were of some importance⁵ in the play. They were (or were named by the poet) Babylonians ;⁶ they were not Samians.⁷ There is no

¹E.g. by Kaibel (Pauly-Wissowa, XI, 975).

²Ack.i. 642.

³*Ibid.*, 645.

⁴Plutarch, *Pericles*, XXVI ; Hesychius, *s.vv.* Σαμίων ὁ δῆμος and Ἰστριανά ; Photius, *s.vv.* Σαμίων κτέ and σιγῶν ; Suidas, *s.v.* Σαμίων ; *Et. Magn.*, *s.v.* ὥστειον.

⁵This follows from the number of references just given.

⁶This may mean only "barbarians". Hesychius explains the name as οἱ βάρβαροι παρὰ τοῖς Ἀττικοῖς and Suidas as *παῖδες* ; that is, "slaves".

Gunning (p. 7) well points out, that if they were Samians, Plutarch (see above) could not have called Aristophanes' line a riddle. They belong to some other nation and are more or less subtly called Samians because of their "lettering" (an allusion to the branding that occurred in the war between Samos and Athens).

reason at all to suppose that they were, or in any sense represented, members of the subject-states. But a further point of great importance is certain: these "Babylonians" formed the chorus, or at any rate a chorus. Whenever a Greek play has a plural name, that name is the name of the people composing the chorus, save that in the *Frogs* the chorus proper consists of the Initiated, while the frogs form a subsidiary chorus.¹ One fragment undoubtedly refers to the Babylonians as the chorus:

γ που κατὰ στοίχους κεκράζονται τι βαρβαριστί.

'No doubt they will stand in rows and screech some barbarian ditty.'²

The god Dionysus was himself brought to trial, almost certainly by Athenian demagogues.³ So in the *Babylonians*, too, of Aristophanes we shall hear that the *oxybaphon* was a cup; when Dionysus says of the demagogues at Athens that when he had come away to the trial they asked him for two *oxybapha*; for we cannot suppose this to mean anything else than that they asked him for goblets.³

A third element was the landing of some person or persons from a ship: the fragments reveal little, but their number suggests that this feature of the play was important. One implies that a character of the play watches the landing (which happens "off") and reports it, as is often done with horse-races in our own theatres:

εὖ γ' ἐξεκολύμβησ' οὐπιβάτης ὡς ἐξοίσων ἐπίγειον.⁴

'Splendid, that dive the marine made to bring the cable ashore!'

The fourth and last feature of importance, was an exposure of the fulsome rhetoric wherewith envoys from the cities⁵ hoodwinked the Athenian assembly.

¹ Bergk (pp. 969 sq.) thought that Persian attendants on an envoy from the Great King formed the chorus or perhaps a *παραχορήγημα*, and that the envoy's speech was a parody of Gorgias.

² Fr. 79.

Athenaeus, XI, 494d; fr 70.

⁴ Fr. 80.

⁵ That is, almost certainly, from the subject-states; cp. vv. 642 sq.

Aristophanes' speech ¹ of exculpation in the *Achamians* emphasizes this, and shows that the flattery was not commonplace but sophisticated and literary. It has therefore been conjectured² (but wrongly, as we shall see) that the speaker of such deceptive eulogies was Gorgias himself, the distinguished sophist and teacher of eloquence, who had come to Athens in the year before the *Babylonians* as an envoy of his native town, Leontini in Sicily, and had persuaded the Athenians to send a squadron thither ;³ all we know is that Aristophanes said a good deal about flattering and over-eloquent envoys. We possess one clear allusion to such rhetoric from the *Babylonians*, the delicious picture of a spell-bound audience :⁴

ἀνέχασκον εἰς ἕκαστος ἐμφερέστατα
ὀπτωμέναις κόγχαισιν ἐπὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων.

' Every man of them was gaping up precisely like roasting shell-fish on the coals.'

These, then, are our four elements : {a} the chorus consisted of branded or tattooed barbarian slaves from a penal mill; {b} the god Dionysus was brought to trial and was entangled with demagogues ; {c} some person or persons landed from a ship ; {d} the rhetorical flattery of envoys was exposed. Can we build these into a plot ? To help us we have two ancient accounts of the play : Aristophanes himself tells us (i) that he was attacked bitterly for reviling Athens in the presence of allies ; (ii) that he showed the (methods or effect) of democratic rule upon those allies (and—as above—that he exposed flattering orators); the Scholiast already quoted reports that Aristophanes derided the magistrates, both (iii) those appointed by lot and (iv) those elected, and (v) that he derided Cleon.

We thus obtain a possible outline of the play.

¹ *Ach.*, 634 *sqq.*

² Ranke, *Vita Aristophanis*, § 33, followed by Bergk (p. 969) and others.

³ Diodorus, XII, 53.

⁴ Fr. 68. The passage may refer to the reception of the envoys or equally well to the trial of Dionysus.

Dionysus, with his wild Orientals, enters Attica, and his followers are thrown into prison. He somehow obtains their (temporary ?) deliverance, stations them in the orchestra as chorus,¹ and puts himself forward as the best representative of Athens because he presides in the theatre, which contains citizens, foreign envoys, and the allies bearing their tribute. To him enter certain allied envoys who deliver absurdly florid eulogies of Athens in order to secure benefits (for instance, a reduction of their tribute-assessments). He derides and exposes them, no doubt in a speech ludicrously damaging to Athens herself, for which he is attacked by Cleon and another, and dragged off to trial. On his return he relates his experiences : how the demagogues sought to blackmail him, how he spell-bound the judges by his eloquence and finally triumphed. The chorus congratulate him and perform the parabasis. Dionysus, now secure (perhaps as king), very likely announces the permanent liberation of his attendants and (more certainly) deals severely with the bureaucracy, members of which come in one by one to curry favour with the new power : first a civilian (perhaps a Prytanis), then a soldier, perhaps others. The comedy may have ended by a proclamation of Dionysus : ' I must now depart to other countries (as usual during my earlier career): to you, citizens of Athens, I leave my blessing and the command that' etc., etc. There is no evidence whatever that Aristophanes in this play championed the allies.

The FARMERS {*Tecipyoi*}, produced soon after 425 B.C.,² is usually supposed³ to have resembled the *Peace* in urging the country population of Attica to insist on stopping the Peloponnesian War. There is no evidence for this. All we know on this side is that

¹Fr. 66: ἰστασθ' ἐφεξῆς πάντες ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἀσπίδας.

²The Nicias-passage shows that it appeared soon after the Pylos affair (425 B.C.)- Capps (*American Journal of Philology*, 32, p. 429) assigns it to the Dionysia of 424 B.C.

³Cp. for instance Bergk, pp. 984 sq. Fritzsche (*De Daelalensibus*, pp. 131, note 71) supposed this comedy a second edition of the *Peace*.

the play appeared early in the war, contained allusions to several fruits, and depicted the chorus of farmers returning to their beloved countryside : ¹

ἐξ ἄσπεως νῦν εἰς ἀγρὸν χωρῶμεν · ὡς πάλαι δεῖ
ἡμᾶς ἐκεῖ 'ν τῷ χαλκίῳ λελουμένους σχολάζειν.

' Now let us leave town for the country : it is high time we were taking our ease there after a bath in the bronze tub.' But the incidents may very well have been quite different² from those of the *Peace*. Indeed, one fragment³ makes this fairly certain :

A. ἐθέλω γεωργεῖν.

B. εἴτα τίς σε κωλύει ;

A. ὑμεῖς. τί δ' εἰ δίδωμι χιλίας δραχμάς
εἴαν με τῶν ἀρχῶν ἀφῆτε ;

B. δεχόμεθα ·
δισχίλια γάρ εἰσι σὺν ταῖς Νικίου.

' I wish to work on my farm.' ' Well, who is preventing it ? ' ' You ! Suppose I offer you a thousand drachmae to let me escape office ? ' ' Done ! It makes two thousand with those Nicias paid.' The last words point at Nicias' fear of responsibility and at his famous resignation of the generalship to Cleon during the affair of Pylos.⁴

A charming passage,⁵ opening with an echo of a lovely Euripidean song, voices the husbandman's yearning:

Εἰρήνη βαθύπλουτε καὶ ζευγάριον βοεικόν,
εἰ γὰρ ἐμοὶ πανσαμένῳ τοῦ πολέμου γένοιτο
σκάνψαι κάποκλάσαι τε καὶ λουσαμένῳ διεκλῦσαι
τῆς τρυγῆς ἄρτον λιπαρὸν καὶ ράφανον φαγόντι.

O Peace, thou well of riches, and O my teem of steers,
If only I might cease from war and delve again my ditches,
Or prune the long-neglected vine and bathe when toil was over,
Then eat my lunch in clover and quaff the season's wine !

¹ Fr. 107.

² The line ἐν ἀγορᾷ δ' αὖ πλάτανον εὖ διαφυτεύσομεν (fr. 111) may mean that in this play the Aристоphanic fantasy was the transformation of Athens into a country-paradise : *av* suggests that the sentence is part of an enumeration (of marvellous "developments" ?). Note also the strange words (see below) οὐθαρ ἀγαθῆς χθονός : perhaps the soil is to undergo a miraculous change. ⁸ Fr. 100.

⁴ So Plutarch (*Nicias*, 8) by whom the fragment is quoted.

⁵ Fr. 109. The first two words are borrowed from Euripides' *Cresphontes* (fr. 453 Nauck).

Another lyric ¹ inspired perhaps the most famous saying in later pagan Greek literature :

ὦ πόλι φίλη Κέκροπος, αὐτοφυὲς Ἀττικῇ,
χαίρει λιπαρὸν δάπεδον, οὐθαρ ἀγαθῆς χθονός.

O beloved city of Cecrops, native-born Attica, hail, thou radiant land, good soil of loamy richness ! ' From this Marcus Aurelius ² took his great outburst: ' He can say " Dear city of Cecrops " : wilt thou not say " Dear city of God " ? '

GEBXTADES. (Γηρυτάδης) is a name of unknown meaning. The Athenian poets sent a deputation to Hades seeking assistance from the shades of the old Masters ; for delegates they chose the leanest and lightest of their number, as having already one foot in the grave : ³

- A. καὶ τίς νεκρῶν κενθμῶνα καὶ σκότου πύλας
ἔτλη κατελθεῖν ;
B. ἔν' ἄφ' ἐκάστης τῆς τέχνης
εἰλόμεθα κοινῇ γενομένης ἐκκλησίας,
οὓς ἤσμεν ὄντας ἀδοφοῖτας καὶ θαμὰ
ἐκείσε φιλοχωροῦντας.
A. εἴσι γάρ τινες
ἄνδρες παρ' ὑμῖν ἀδοφοῖται ;
B. νῆ Δία
μάλιστα γ' .
A. ὥσπερ θρακοφοῖται ;
B. πάντ' ἔχεις.
A. καὶ τίνες ἂν εἶεν ;
B. πρῶτα μὲν Σαννυρίων
ἀπὸ τῶν τρυγῶδων, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν τραγικῶν χορῶν
Μέλητος, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν κυκλίων Κινησίας.

' Nay, who hath dared descend to the hiding-place of the dead and the gates of darkness ? ' ' An assembly was convened and we all chose one from each craft, who we knew were Hades-trippers and had often shown a wish to go there.' ' What! are there Hades-trippers among you ? ' ' There are indeed, by Zeus.' ' Like

¹ Fr. no. This fine apostrophe is strange in our poet. He makes fun in the *Acharnians* (639 sq.) of λιπαρός as applied to Athens, and the last three words are untrue (cp. Thucydides, I, ii, 5, τὸ λεπτογύων).

² IV, 23: Ἐκείνος μὲν φησι Πόλι φίλη Κέκροπος, σὺ δὲ οὐκ ἐρεῖς ὦ πόλι φίλη Διός ;

³ Athenaeus, X11, 5 51 a (fr. 149), The first line is borrowed from Euripides (*Hecuba*, i).

Thrace-trippers ? ' ' Certainly.' ' And who may they be ? ' ' First, Sannyrion from the comic poets, then Meletus from the tragic choruses, and from the lyric poets Cinesias.' The explanation is almost certainly not given by one of the delegates : some one else introduces them or leads them down to Hades. This is proved by the words with which the door-keeper, or other inhabitant of Hades, receives the explanation : ¹

ὥς σφόδρ' ἐπὶ λεπτῶν ἐλπίδων ὠχέισθ' ἦρα.
τούτους γὰρ ἦν πολλῶ ξυνέλθῃ ξυλλαβὼν
ὁ τῆς διαρροίας ποταμὸς οἰχέσεται.

' On what frail hopes, then, have you been building ! Those men (not "you") . . . the River Stynx will whirl away out of sight.'

What is the object of this deputation ? It has usually been supposed that help and instruction in literature were sought from the great departed. Bergk ² accordingly assumed that the play was somewhat like the *Frogs* and later in time, because both Sophocles and Euripides must have been dead if we are to imagine a dearth of poetic genius in Athens. Korte ³ believed that the delegates brought back from Hades Ancient Poetry, a female lay-figure like the goddess in the *Peace*. But there is no evidence whatever that the living poets descended for inspiration or instruction in their art. So far as our fragments go, another theory is more attractive—' In these days poetry has fallen

¹ Fr. 150. The second line is corrupt.

² Pp. 1004 sq. Sophocles died while the *Frogs* was actually being written, and Bergk puts the *Gerytades* "several years" later—naturally, since he imagines that the two plays had similar plots. Even if his reason is wrong, his dating appears to be correct. Sannyrion is prominent at the date of the *Gerytades* and his career seems to have begun in 404 B.C., the year after the *Frogs*. (Meineke, I, p. 263; Geissler, however, *Chronologie*, p. 64, dates his *Aavdrj* at 407-404).

³ *Jahresb.*, 152 (1911), p. 271. We have a new fragment (*Papiri Greco-Eg'zti*, II, i, Col. II, 9):

φέρει νῦν ἐγὼ τὴν δαίμον' ἦν ἀνήγαγον
εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἄγων ἰδρύσωμαι βοῖ.

Korte first assumes that this passage belongs to the *Gerytades* because it refers to a descent into Hades and then suggests that Sannyrion and his colleagues have brought ἀρχαία ποιήσεις back with them,

into such disesteem that we cannot make a living : let us ask the great poets of the past if they can give us a meal in Hades.' There are two arguments for this view. First, that the new indifference to culture, not the badness of poets, is the source of trouble, seems clear from the extract:¹

τούτε μὲν . . . σοῦ κατεκοττάβιζον ἄν,
νυνὶ δὲ καὶ κατεμουῖσι, τάχα δ' εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι
καὶ καταχέσονται.

' In those days . . . they would invoke your name at the *cottabos*, but now they vomit over you and I am certain that matters will not stop there.' This surely means that some great figure, whether Dionysus, or a Muse, or Poetry, is insulted by former partisans : it can scarcely refer to discredit brought about by the bungling work of poets or musicians.² The second argument is that many of our fragments allude to eating and none contains any advice about improvements in literature, though naturally there are parodies.³ Nor was the meal any ' banquet in honour of our distinguished colleagues from Earth .' The visitors were so famished that they ate the wax off their notebooks—

τὴν μάλθαν ἐκ τῶν γραμματείων ἥσθιον.⁴

Still clearer are these lines :⁵

A. ἤρ' ἔνδον ἀνδρῶν κεστρέων ἀποικία ;
B. ὥς μὲν γάρ εἰσι νήστιδες, γιγνώσκετε.

' Have we got a colony of cormorants in the house ? '
' Well, you know they are ravenous.' Perhaps it was

¹ Fr. 152. The person addressed is supposed by Bergk to be Dionysus, by Kock Poetry.

² *Frogs*, 95 and 366 (quoted by Kock) are not relevant.

³ Cp. the first line quoted above (p. 289). And the Scholiast on Sophocles' *Electra*, 289, says : "this too Aristophanes has parodied in *Gerytades*"

⁴ Fr. 157. *ἥσθιον* might of course be "I ate". The line is, however, more likely to be a report to the Committee of Reception on the appetite of their visitors. Bergk charmingly suggests that Sannyrion and his friends grew so hungry on the road that they consumed the edible part of their letters of introduction.

⁵ Fr. 156.

the dinner-hour of which the speaker of another line was thinking:

πόλος τὸδ' ἐστίν ; εἴτα πόστην ἥλιος τέτραπται ;¹

' Is this a dial-finger ? Well, what hour does the sun mark ? ' Some items in the menu were " topical " but unappetizing. Each envoy was offered the type of literature appropriate to him. Of Cinesias (no doubt) it is said, ' look after him and feed him on solos ' —*θεράπευε καὶ χόρταζε τῶν μονωδιῶν*.² And we are to suppose it was Meletus who, as a tragic poet, was confronted by a dish of tragedy :³

A. καὶ πῶς ἐγὼ Σθενέλου φάγοιμ' ἂν ῥήματα ;

B. εἰς ὄξος ἐμβαπτόμενος ἢ ξηρούς ἄλλας.

' Why, how can I eat passages of Sthenelus ? ' ' Dip them in vinegar or dry salt.'

The ISLANJUS (*Νῆσοι*) was one of the four quasi-Aristophanic plays attributed by ancient scholars to Archippus. The chief fragment⁴ is an effective proclamation of an old topic that has made the fortune of many poets since Aristophanes, who seems, indeed, to have been the very first demonstrator of the difference between grassy nooks and hot, noisy streets :

ὦ μῶρε, μῶρε, ταῦτα πάντ' ἐν τῇδ' ἐνι .
οἰκεῖν μὲν ἄργον αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ γηδίῳ
ἀπαλλαγέντα τῶν κατ' ἀγορὰν πραγμάτων
κεκτημένον ζευγᾶριον οἰκεῖον βοοῖν,
ἐπεὶ ἀκούειν προβατίων βληχαιμένων
τρυγός τε φωνῇν εἰς λεκάνην ὠθουμένην,
ἄψω τε χρῆσθαι σπινιδίοις τε καὶ κίχλαις,
καὶ μὴ περιμένειν ἐξ ἀγορᾶς ἰχθύδια
τρεῖς, παλινμήτα, βεβασανισμένα
ἐπ' ἰχθυοπώλου χειρὶ παρανομοπάτη.

' Ah, foolish one ! All this is summed up here—to dwell on your little farm yourself at ease, freed from the worries of town-life, possessing your own trim team of oxen ; and then to hear the bleating sheep and the new wine's voice as it is forced out into the bowl ; to dine on fieldfares and thrushes, not waiting for tiny

¹ Fr. 163. Apparently the visitors are Joeing shown the sights of Hades, including the South Pole. ² Fr. 154. ³ Fr. 151. ⁴ Fr. 387.

fish from the market, three days old, very dear, and pawed over by the appraising fingers of a cheating fishmonger.. It is very easy to say that this comedy, therefore, was meant to remind the agricultural citizens of the blessings they miss by a continuance of the war. But as a matter of fact this passage would fit either peace or war at almost any date. Nevertheless, the chorus no doubt represented, the islands allied to Athens : but the alliance may have been the Second Confederacy, of the fourth century, not the fifth century Empire. They entered singly, and a brief fragment* about this resembles a passage in the *Clouds* :

A. τί σὺ λέγεις; εἰσὶν δὲ ποῦ;
B. αἰδὶ κατ' αὐτὴν ἣν βλέπεις τὴν εἴσοδον.

' What's that ? Where are they ? ' ' Yonder in the very entrance that you are watching.' One at least of them has been ill-treated, whether by gods or men:²

ὥς ἐς τὴν γῆν κύψασα κάτω καὶ ξυννενοφύια βαδίζει.

' Look how she comes with drooping head and clouded countenance !' Perhaps it is this beclouded look that makes some one exclaim, in the child's phrase, ' Peep out, Mr. Sun !'³

The SEASONS (Ἔσραι) had a plot apparently unique—a contention between the established deities of Attica and the foreign gods who were beginning to gain a foothold. Cicero⁴ writes : ' New gods and night-long vigils held in their honour are attacked by Aristophanes, that witty poet of the Old Comedy, with such vigour that in his play Sabazius and certain other gods are condemned as foreigners and expelled from the State.' This refers to the *Seasons*, as our fragments reveal. Sabazius is mentioned, ' the Phrygian flute-player '—
τὸν Φρύγα, τὸν αὐλητῆρα, τὸν Σαβάζιον.⁵

¹ Fr. 388. Cp. *Clouds*, 325 sq.

² Fr. 395. ³ Fr. 389.

⁴ *De Legibus*, II, 15 : *Novos vero decs et in his colendis nocturnas per-vigilationes sic Aristophanes facetissimus poeta veteris comediae vexat, ut apiui eum Sabazius et quidam alii diperegrini iudicati e civitate eiiciantur.*

⁵ Fr. 566.

- A. ὄψει δὲ χειμῶνος μέσου σικκούς, βότρυς, ὀπώραν,
στεφάνους ἴων ῥόδων κρίνων κονιορτὸν ἐκτυφλοῦντα.
αὐτὸς δ' ἀνὴρ πωλεῖ κίχλας, ἀπίους, σχαδόνας, ἐλάας,
πυόν, χόρια, χελιδόνια, τέττιγας ἐμβρυεῖους.
ὑρίχους δ' ἰδοῖς ἂν νειφομένους σύκων ὁμοῦ τε μύρτων ·
ἔπειτα κολοκύντας ὁμοῦ ταῖς γογγυλίσις ἀμώσιν.
ὥστ' οὐκέτ' οὐδεὶς αἰδ' ὀπηνίς ἐστὶ τοῦνιαυτοῦ.
καίτοι μέγιστον ἀγαθόν, εἴπερ ἔστι δι' ἐνιαυτοῦ
ὅτου τις ἐπιθυμεῖ λαβεῖν.
- B. κακὸν μὲν οὖν μέγιστον.
εἰ μὴ γὰρ ἦν, οὐκ ἂν ἐπεθύμουν οὐδ' ἂν ἐδαπανῶντο.
ἐγὼ δὲ ταῦτ' ὀλίγον χρόνον χρήσας ἀφειλόμην ἂν.
- A. ἀγῶγε ταῖς ἄλλαις πώλεσι δρῶ ταῦτα πλὴν Ἀθηνῶν ·
τούτοις δ' ὑπάρχει ταῦτ' ἐπειδὴ τοὺς θεοὺς σέβουσιν.
- B. ἀπέλανσαν ἄρα σέβοντες ὑμᾶς, ὥς σὺ φῆς ;
- A. τὴ δῆ ;
- B. Αἴγνυτον αὐτῶν τὴν πόλιν πεποιήκας ἀντ' Ἀθηνῶν.¹

This belongs, of course, to the dispute between the established gods and the intruders, whose respective spokesmen are perhaps Athena and Sabazius. ' In mid-winter you may see pumpkins, grapes, fruit, and garlands of violets, roses, and lilies in blinding, whirling medley. The same man sells thrushes, plums, honey-comb, olives, beestings, tripe, swallow-blossom, and eggs of the cicada. You can see baskets buried in drifts of figs and myrtle-berries at once ; they harvest melons at the same time as turnips. No one any longer knows what season of the year it is. That is surely an immense boon, to get whatever one wishes throughout the year.'

' No ! An immense evil. If they had not these things, they would not desire them or spend money on them. I should have lent them these for a brief time and then withdrawn them.'

' So do I, to every city except Athens. They possess these things securely, because they revere the gods.'

' They are rewarded then, according to you, for revering you gods ? '

' What do you mean ? '

' You have made their city Egypt instead of Athens.' The proclamation of benefits must be made by the

¹Fr.569.

spokesman of the old gods, as Athenians did in fact pride themselves on this abundance. Comparison of this passage with the title of the play suggests that the chorus was a pageant of various fruits.

Of the other comedies we know too little for even a tentative description: one can do no more than pick out isolated fragments. In DAUGHTERS OF DANAUS (Aa*ube◇) was a discussion¹ of earlier comedy :

ὁ χορὸς δ' ὥρχειτ' ἂν ἐναψάμενος δάπιδας καὶ στρωματόδεσμα,
διαμασχαλίσας αὐτὸν σκελίσιν καὶ φύσκαῖς καὶ ραφανίσιν.²

' The chorus would dance in rugs and bedding-cords, their beef and sausages and carrots tucked under their arms.' The first line recalls our domestic charades ; the second seems to mean that they were paid in kind by the choregus and carried their wages with them into the performance to ensure their safety. ' So uncomplicated a task was poetry for them '—οὕτως αὐτοῖς ἀταλαιπώρως ἢ ποίησις διέκειτο.³

WOMEN UNDER CANVAS is probably⁴ the meaning of Σκηνὰς Καταλαμβάνουσαι. The Athenian women have come forth and set up their tents in order to watch some spectacle or procession. One of them describes her wine-goblet as her 'fellow-spectator' (συνθεατρία).⁵ In this play Aristophanes put forward a defence of himself as a part of the action, not merely in the parabasis, as so often.⁶ Possibly there was an elaborate examination or trial of the poet, if we may judge from this fragment:⁷

καὶ μὴν ἄκουσον, ὦ γύναι, θυμοῦ δίχα
καὶ κρίνον αὐτὴ μὴ μετ' ὕμνεγμίας.

¹Fr. 253.

²Fr. 253.

³Fr.

254.

⁴It has been thought to mean *Women Rushing the Theatre*, i.e. seizing the men's seats before the latter arrive. But though O-KTJVT) is used for the stage-buildings, there is no evidence that σκηνᾶι ever meant "the theatre," including the auditorium. Casaubon (*ad Athen.*, IV, 20, p. 301) thought the women set up booths in the market-place and streets like merchants: this, however, would be σκηνὰς ποιῶσαι, says Kock, who offers the explanation followed above.

⁵Fr. 472.

⁶The metre is the iambic senarius, never used in the parabasis.

⁷Fr. 473-

' Come now, lady : listen dispassionately and judge for yourself without bile.' We have two striking lines¹ from his defence:

χρῶμαι γὰρ αὐτοῦ τοῦ στόματος τῷ στρογγύλῳ,
τοὺς νοῦς δ' ἀγοραίους ἦσαν ἢ 'κείνος ποιῶ.

The Scholiast on Plato² tells us that ' Aristophanes was derided for imitating Euripides though scoffing at him ' ; he then quotes the gibe³ of Cratinus, and adds Aristophanes' own explanation, as above : ' for I use his elegance of style, but my ideas are less vulgar than his.'⁴

Among the *Incertarum Fabularum Fragmenta* only a few need mention here.

Slang is rare in Aristophanes, but he nicknames the head a basin: *ἵνα μὴ καταγῆς τὸ σκάφιον πληγεῖς ξύλῳ*⁵ ' lest you get a blow from a log and break your basin .' Somewhat similar is *Ἀφροδίτης γάλα*⁶ ("milk of Venus ") as a fancy name for a certain wine. Mascots are mentioned as being favoured by blacksmiths :

πλὴν εἴ τις πρίαιτο θεόμενος
βασκάνιον ἐπὶ κάμινον ἀνδρὸς χαλκέως.⁷

' Unless one in his need bought the mascot that a smith hung over his furnace.' They seem to have been clay images of Hephaestus.⁸ Striking proof of the Athenian ear for difference in pronunciation is found :

διάλεκτον ἔχοντα μέσσην πόλεως
οὐτ' ἀστείαν ὑποθηλυτέραν
οὐτ' ἀνελεύθερον ὑπαγροικωτέραν.⁹

ⁱ Using the intermediate Athenian accent—neither the city-speech with its tinge of effeminacy nor the coarse tone with its tinge of rusticity.' Two shreds should be recorded because, brief as they are, they show kinship with New Comedy: *μεσέγγυον τὴν μείρακα*

¹Fr. 471.

²

Apology, 19c.

³See above, p. 138.

⁴From this comedy, it may be added, Pollux (unwilling that his royal pupil Commodus should be ignorant even of life's seamy side) has culled the Greek word for a burglar's "jemmy": *μολχίσκος*.

⁵Fr. 604.

⁶Fr. 596.

⁷Fr. 592.

⁸Schol., *Birds*, 436.

⁹Fr. 685.

*καταθέσθαι*¹—'to hand the girl over to a third party' (till some dispute is settled); and *ἀνήσω κροκῦδα μαστιγουμένην*²—'I shall be flogged till I lose my wool/ the interest of which is that a female slave speaks.

Finally we note certain interesting remarks on dramatic history. Æschylus is made to say: 'myself devised the dances for my choruses'—*τοῖσι χοροῖς αὐτὸς τὰ σχήματ' ἐποίουν*.³ It is apparently in reply to this that some one says:⁴

*τοὺς Φρύγας οἶδα θεωρῶν,
ὅτε τῷ Πριάμῳ συλλυσόμενοι τὸν παῖδ' ἤλθον τεθνεῶτα,
πολλὰ τοιαντὶ καὶ τοιαντὶ καὶ δεῦρο σχηματίσαντας.*

'I remember watching the Phrygians, when they came with Priam to ransom his dead son, performing many figures—this way and that way and hither.' A famous piece of gossip about Euripides is voiced in the lines:⁵

*Κηφισοφῶν ἄριστε καὶ μελάντατε·
σὺ δὲ ξυνέζης εἰς τὰ πόλλ' Εὐριπίδῃ
καὶ ξυνεποίεις, ὥς φασι, τὴν τραγῳδίαν.*

'Cephisophon, best and blackest of men, you shared Euripides' life in most things, and (so they say) helped to beget his works.' A splendid though reluctant eulogy of the poet whom Aristophanes so often derided is found in a fragment⁶ of uncertain authorship:

*ὁ δ' Ἀναξαγόρου τρόφιμος χαιοῦ στρυφνὸς μὲν ἔμοιγε προσειπεῖν
καὶ μισογέλως καὶ τωθάζειν οὐδὲ παρ' οἶνον μεμαθηκώς·
ἀλλ' ὅ τι γράψαι τοῦτ' ἂν μέλιτος καὶ Σειρήνων ἐτετεύχει.*

'The foster-son of worthy Anaxagoras I found austere and morose in conversation: he had not learned to joke even over his wine. But whatever he wrote was filled with honey and magical voices.' One would like to believe that Aristophanes wrote that.

¹Fr. 650.

²Fr. 651.

³Fr. 677.

⁴Fr. 678. The allusion is to *The Phrygians or Hector's Ransom*.

⁵Fr. 580.

⁶Quoted by Aulus Gellius, XV, xx, 8, who attributes it to Alexander Ætolus. Nauck claims it for Aristophanes, comparing the *Vita Euripidis*, ii, 92, 116 (Dindorf).

Aristophanes was endowed with superb wit, splendid cal genius, immense vitality. In virtue of these three gifts he may truly be called great, but they are the only elements of greatness that he possesses. He is neither a great humorist nor a great playwright.

He is not a great humorist, for he is without pity or reverence. That is not to say that he is a monster, only that in character he is a normal Athenian. The achievements of Athens blind us at times to the limitations of the Attic spirit, which accentuated the defects as well as the virtues of Hellenism. That mental clarity, that instinctive perception of outline, which projected the heroic figures of Homer, the science of Hippocrates, Sophoclean tragedy, and the logic of Aristotle, made it inevitable that humour should be rare in the art and daily life of that brilliant people : among the Athenians it was even less common than elsewhere. Humour observes and rejoices in the penumbra of character and events ; its method is a rich blurring of outline. Wit insists upon the exact shape of thought and gains its effects by remorseless rendering of outline. Humour is emotional, wit intellectual. The humorist sympathizes with those at whom he laughs ; the wit may be all compact of malice. Falstaff is a disreputable old man, but we are all exceedingly fond of him ; Don Quixote is an impossible old simpleton, but we adore him. For what character in Aristophanes do we feel more than a tepid liking ? The truth is that he has created no character at all. No author can create people unless he loves human beings, and there is no evidence that Aristophanes loved anyone in particular ; at most, he shows an occasional sympathy for types, as in *Lysistrata*, nor can anyone forget those charming old persons of the *Wasps* and *Peace*, perhaps a memory of childhood. He is almost everywhere metallic, like W. S. Gilbert, who reveals no tenderness save when he sets himself deliberately to write a love-song, whose pathos is turned on mechanically at the double rap of the con-

ductor's baton, and whose incessant derision of elderly women betrays a complete absence of humour amid an opulence of wit. On this side certainly Aristophanes is the Athenian Gilbert.¹

Nor is he a great playwright. He could indeed conceive and carry through gloriously clever and amusing situations ; but, in addition to what has just been said concerning his persons, we must recognize that the structure of his dramas is on the whole loose and faltering. The method of Aristophanic composition is to write the first part magnificently in construction as in wit, and after the parabasis to throw on the stage a jumble of little scenes each of which may be splendid or mediocre, but which merely illustrate the main idea of the play, and could be cut down or multiplied with ease.² If we refuse to be blinded by his reputation, we may easily see how these plays were composed, for a clue lies plainly before us in the mistakes which the attentive reader may so frequently detect. These are both great and small: they vary in importance from the fact that Philocleon is at one moment toothless and at the next bites through his cords, to the hopeless muddle of the *Plutus*. Except when we are certain that two versions existed and were (long after) ineptly combined, we should accept the natural explanation. Aristophanes conceived a splendid comic idea and then wrote ahead, dashing off lyrics and scenes just as they occurred to him; when the play was "finished," finished it was. He never went back and removed even those trivial inconsistencies that might have disappeared under a stroke of the pen. Why did he not ? He simply did not care, and for two reasons. First, he is writing for an audience who will see the play once, not for a reader who moves backwards and forwards over his text with a watch-maker's goggle in his eye, and in his mind an awestruck belief in the

¹ *Plutus*, 1041 sqq.) for instance, reads like the germ of certain *Katisha* passages.

² The historical reasons for this do not alter the fact.

crystalline perfection of everything Greek. In the second place, he is more often writing farce than comedy, in the sense attached to the word "comedy" since Menander; and one of the peculiarities of farce is that the author can play the fool as heartily as his characters. As everyone knows, Aristophanes does this in great things: he is irresponsible—* the naughty darling of the Graces' as Goethe named him—and would have laughed loudly had he been informed that no one can fly to Heaven on a beetle. This irresponsibility extends to inconsistency and lack of logic as well as to his famous "unfairness".

His one dramatic excellence is fertility in comic ideas, the invention of a magnificent initial concept, and an immense merit this is. He shows a vast sense of fun, of imagination envisaging the incongruous. No writer in the world can be compared with him in this titanic power to make a whole play one huge acted joke. Other comic playwrights merely take a situation of interest and tension, to portray therein persons who act and hold forth amusingly. This situation is often commonplace, even if the treatment is glorious; thus the Gadshill robbery and its sequel, merely as events, have small value, though the treatment surpasses everything else of its kind. Here Aristophanes is the opposite of Shakespeare. The situation for him is everything, the personages little; for the figure of Falstaff he substitutes the religion of Dinot. A play by him would still be a comedy even if no one uttered a verbal joke. For the whole thing is a joke. The most penetrating, as the most brilliant, modern passage ever written about him indicates this in language that recalls his own. Heine¹ sees "a deep

¹ *Reisebilder*, III, ii, 11: "Zeigt sich in des Grafen Werk keine Spur von einer tiefen Weltvernichtungsidee, die jedem aristophanischen Lustspiele zum Grunde liegt, und die darin, wie ein phantastisch ironischer Zauberbaum, emporschießt mit bliihendem Gedankenschmuck, singenden Nachtigallnestem una kletternden Affen. Eine solche Idee, mit dem Todesjubiläum und dem Zerstörungsfeuerwerk, das dazu gehört, durften wir freilich von dem armen Grafen nicht erwarten."

idea of world-annihilation lying at the base of each Aristophanic comedy, which, like a fantastically ironic fairy-tree, shoots upwards therein bearing gorgeous blossoms of thought, melodious nightingale-nests and climbing monkeys " ; in another sentence he extols " the jubilee of death and the fireworks of destruction ". The world-annihilation, the jubilee of death, the fireworks of destruction, are all names for that one explosive idea which is in each play Aristophanes' greatest feat, the essence of his dramaturgy. The universe and our life therein are unintelligible to the ordinary man ; the artist's function is to make it by a stroke of imaginative genius intelligible and then by a stroke of interpretative genius to make the ordinary man understand it when by imagination so manipulated. And those three phrases of Heine point to Aristophanes' own method of manipulation—not indeed reducing the universe to nothing, but blowing it to pieces and building with the shards a new fantastic universe that lasts for a rainbow moment like the soap-bubble blown by a child. Such is his work in the *Birds* above all, and in others too ; even where the fantasy is less titanic, the instinct yet remains to project some ludicrous notion that sets the world upside-down and then to work it out with gay defiance of reason and morality. Needless to remark, he is not the slave of his own imagination : he is too much the Athenian for that. So it is that we have had occasion to call his method ironic: his phantasmagorias are the offspring of intellect wedded to fancy. This joyous topsy-turvydom is the special glory of Aristophanes: no one has rivalled him here, but a few moderns show some touch of his bizarre imagination. Cervantes depicts a noble soul that insists on living the age of chivalry in a prosaic world; but Don Quixote is romantic and pathetic, not comic at all: Sancho follows him precisely to give comic relief. W. S. Gilbert portrays the fairy world entangled with British peers and policemen, a youth apprenticed to piracy as ii to a humdrum law-

abiding trade; but the idea tails off into a series of harshly intellectual jokes and a splendid efflorescence of emotional or jesting lyrics. Swift begins, indeed, his accounts of Lilliput and Brobdingnag with an admirably fantastic idea; but the two kingdoms are perfectly rational, and the hero's stature is nothing but a device for giving us a novel perception of their rationality and of the author's satire; the Houyhnmms are so far from fantastic that their very reason for existence is to satirize our fantastic folly and wickedness. There is no complete parallel to these imaginative flights of Aristophanes, except in a noble imitation of the man himself written by a genius even greater than he. In the *Symposium* ¹ Plato has attributed to him a speech concerning love which is a superb reflexion, not of his verbal style (though what do we know of Aristophanes' conversation? ²) but of something far more difficult to render, his imaginative process. Once we human beings were rotund creatures with two faces and two sets of limbs. But God in his wrath slit each down the middle, and thus formed new people with but one face, two legs, and so forth; so that now each of us runs to and fro about the world looking for his other half. This glorious blend of fun, grotesquerie, poetical force and loveliness is absolute Aristophanes.

We have observed repeatedly that the construction of these plays is loose; but a development, an improvement of structure, must not be overlooked. In his early ³ work, the exposition and triumph of the "annihilating" idea may in strictness be said to constitute the play proper. Then comes the parabasis, of course no part of the drama at all, in the normal

¹189c-193c.

²The reader who has been expecting quotation from Browning's *Aristophanes' Apology* should ask himself whether that great poet has here given us anything whatever of value, whether in poetry or in criticism. As for the immediate question, if Aristophanes was in private life as verbose as Browning makes him, we should have had news of the astounding fact from Cratinus.

³Whether what follows is entirely true of the *Banqueters* and the *gabylofrians*, as well as of the *Acharnians*, we cannot say.

sense of that word. There follows a section rudimentary in structure, however excellent otherwise; the action does not develop. All that we find is a demonstration of the effects wrought by the hero's success. Then the play closes with some spectacular climax that crowns his success with complete recognition and glory.¹

Of this method our earliest extant play is a good instance, though the final triumph of Dicaeopolis and the discomfiture of the war-party represented by Lamachus is less striking than the exploit of the Sausage-Seller, not to mention Trygaeus and Pisthetaerus. But a slow and faltering advance on this method at once begins. The *Acharnians* shows no development between the parabasis and the finale: but in the *Knights* Demos grows more and more impressed by the Sausage-Seller's merit. Of the *Clouds* in this connexion little is to be made: throughout, even in the early part, it is utterly ramshackle. The *Wasps* reveals more firmness, but the minor scenes, instead of leading up to the finale, lead really to nothing at all, and the "end" is merely tied on by the poet. One might suppose him to have realized his weakness in this part of dramatic work and to be floundering in quest of a better form. In the *Birds* he makes a genuine improvement. It contains a brilliant series of intruders,² but also two organic scenes: Iris, showing the first effect of the blockade of Olympus, and the celestial embassy which leads up with ease and vigour to the finale. Next, *Lysistrata* develops throughout, more steadily but less powerfully than the *Birds*. In place of "intruders" we find the interview between Cinesias and Myrrhine, showing (just as intruder-scenes would have shown) the effect of the sex-strike, but doing so with more elaboration and finish. More-

¹ Among our eleven comedies three lack this: the *Clouds* has lost its original finale; the *Wasps* has only drunken excitement; the *Thesmophoriazousch* closes admirably but with no fire-works at all.

² Even to this element a slight structure is here given: the intruders come back and interrupt one another (vv. 1052, etc.).

over, the embassies not only exhibit the same effect on whole nations, but lead up to the close precisely as do Poseidon and his' colleagues in the *Birds*. In the *Thesmophoriazusce*, construction reaches the greatest perfection that Aristophanes, so far as we know, achieved. Its later half is filled with the attempts of Euripides to rescue his kinsman ; these are not comments on what has preceded, but a thoroughly dramatic continuation of the kinsman's exploit. Nevertheless, the attempt falls into a series of scenes, even here : splendid as these are, they have less structural excellence than a single, more complicated, rescue would have possessed. Now follows a decline. The *Frogs* shows a peculiar formation. In the latter half we find indeed a series of scenes that certainly lead up to a finale, but by a merely arithmetical accumulation, as in the *Knights*. Nevertheless, such a serial arrangement is necessary to the idea of this particular play. And to the second part the earlier is (*prima facie*) auxiliary, containing as it does Dionysus' expedition for the purpose of fetching Euripides. But this homogeneity, admirable when briefly stated, is damaged by the incidental passages of the early part, especially the thrashing-scene, which is so fine that we forget for a while the main purpose of the comedy. The *Ecclesiazusce* possesses a good scheme, but *Plutus* shows, in this respect as in others, a woeful falling-off: it reverts to the early feebleness of construction.

But the strictest scrutiny leaves him with those three splendid merits : wit, poetry, vitality. Let us consider them in turn.

Wit, fun, and humour are each the amusing self-expression of one who envisages the incongruous. When the intellect is the function employed, wit results ; when it is the imagination, fun results ; when it is the emotions, humour results. These definitions help to explain why a child always appreciates fun, humour rarely, wit never. Aristophanes, we have already observed, has no humour because (in the

normal Athenian way) his emotions are repressed, if not atrophied. But wit, the intellectual rendering of incongruity, lights up every page of his work, ranging from puns, such as the *ἐσχατάς* of "Helen" to the Dinos jest that in a sense runs through many hundred lines of the *Clouds*. For though neatness is essential to wit, brevity is not: Shakespeare makes Polonius say so only to render his verbosity still more ridiculous; the essence is not so much brevity as a short-circuiting of ideas. That masterpiece—"Advice to those about to marry: Don't"—is perfect not only because the point lies in a single word, but because the ideas are telescoped together. Literature can be terse and dull like Parmenides' hexameters on Nature or Longfellow's *Psalm of Life*, long-winded and witty, like Millamant's famous lecture on matrimony in *The Way of the World*, or a hundred passages of Plato. It is the telescoping of ideas that counts; that is to say, while the nature of wit is the intellectual rendering of incongruity, its method is to leave something for the hearer to supply and to appreciate all the more zestfully for that very reason. When Donne writes "If you can think these flatteries, they are," he achieves wit, or would achieve it did he not ruin the effect by adding the idea that he has overleaped: "For then your judgment is below my praise". So in the story of the man who drew his revolver upon another, explaining that he had determined to shoot anyone whom he found uglier than himself. One version continues: "The other answered, 'Shoot!'"; the alternative version gives: "Well, if I'm really uglier than you, I don't want to live, so shoot!". The first version is wit; the second has no merciful name. Balzac, in *Le Curd de Tours*, has written with brilliance, yet none of the Polonian "brevity," a passage in which the reader is left to decide "which is which". "Cet endroit est un desert de pierres, une solitude pleine de physionomie, et qui ne peut-etre habituee que par des etres arrives a une nullite complete ou doues d'une

force d'ame prodigieuse. La maison dont il s'agit avait toujours ete occupee par des abbes, et appartenait a une vieille fille nominee mademoiselle Gamard." Two instances only shall be offered from Aristophanes himself. When the donkey staggers forth from Bdelycleon's house, his son does not remark : ' Bless me ! Where have I met something like this before ? Homer ? Homer ? Let me see . . .' No : ' Why dost grunt, if not carrying some Odysseus ? ' That is wit. " Helen " in the *Thesmophoriazusæ* is begged by " her husband " to look him in the face. Suppose she had replied, ' Oh, my dear, surely you remember that you shaved me for this part in the First Act. You made a dreadful job of it : I'm too much of a fright to look at anyone.' That would have been fun, but not wit. What she actually says is : ' I dare not turn on thee my ruined face . '

Indecency falls sometimes under the category of fun, sometimes of wit. For there are two kinds of indecency : the crude and the subtle. The former has been regarded by vast numbers of people in all ages as funny only because of that incongruity to which we have referred : since a thing is normally unmentionable, mention of it is an incongruity and therefore (to uncomplicated souls) instantly amusing though embroidered with no charm of phrase or neatness of idea. The subtle kind of obscenity, that which shows some art in its expression, has caused an immense amount of cogitation, heart-searching, consumption of ink and paper. Theoretically, it should be ranged with decent wit or decent fun, precisely as jokes about bald men arrogate to themselves no special category. That we decline so to regard it is due to a notion that something wicked or morbid invests the excretory and genital functions : just as we are intellectual above the neck, so are we sinful below the waistline. The vast modern preoccupation with sex has for one result an incessant, nervous, and largely disingenuous discussion of great Writers whose work contains indecency ; and among

these, side by side with Rabelais, Aristophanes is the most prominent.

It is a commonplace of criticism that Aristophanes' indecency is broad, uproarious, virile ; that it contains nothing insidious or seductive ; that here he resembles Fielding, not Sterne; that, like the cleanly-built Englishman of popular novelists, though he may be " no saint," he nevertheless loathes the insinuating, the quasi-artistic, the subtly luscious phases of sexual attraction. This is a complete mistake. There is no kind or aspect of impropriety that cannot be found in his surviving work : his head is in the stars ; his feet are planted firmly in the mud. Not only are bodily functions, normal and abnormal, mentioned with frequency, gusto and detail; not only does the arrival of a female (whether human or divine) involve a prompt suggestion that she be put to sexual activity, as when Pisthetaerus threatens to punish Iris' trespass with rape and when Trygaeus hands over Opora to the Athenian Senate with elaborate instructions : now and again we may remark a subtler, more essentially lewd, prurience, that brings to mind no longer Rabelais or Shakespeare, but the more insidiously seductive deftness exhibited by certain later practitioners of graphic and theatrical art.

Whether he should be blamed for this it is too late to ask : he is dead, with all the carnal loveliness that excited him. Our only question is : should we read him ? By reading him, we surely mean the study of his work as he wrote it, unexpurgated ; for to leave the improprieties out of Aristophanes is like omitting from Dickens all reference to drink. " But why not leave out such passages, confess freely that the poet is thereby mutilated, and nevertheless derive instruction or amusement from the residue ? " That suggestion raises into the light our whole feeling about literature—not merely Greek, but all literature. Are we to treat a great author as a tradesman from whose wares we select the oddments marked on our shopping-list (in other words,

demanding by our preconceived idea of what the young should learn), or as an original interpreter of life, to whom if we listen we must listen unreservedly, since it is precisely for the original, and therefore novel, and therefore shocking, elements in his work that we began to listen at all? The former plan will presumably engender good citizens, the latter educated men and women; and we shall choose according as we put the individual or the community first.

Of the three qualities wherefor, we said, Aristophanes may truly be called great, the second was poetical splendour. But he rivals Plato himself in versatility. It is, indeed, impossible to describe "the Aristophanic style": he so often parodies some obscure dithyrambist or august tragedian, or writes dialect, or, speaking for himself, changes from exquisite descriptive lyric to coarse hard-hitting topical songs, from crazy discussion to flamboyant mob-oratory. But when he is not performing these varied and exciting feats, we find ourselves face to face with a great master of urbanity, a *grand seigneur* of literature, an accomplished and splendid Atticist. Despite the magnificence of much Athenian literature, perhaps the highest achievement of the Attic writers, certainly the achievement that has least often been paralleled, was that they said exactly what they meant with crispness and grace. Almost every other writer says as much as he means only at the cost of saying or implying in addition a great deal that he does not mean. An apt precision of statement is in English so rare that any considerable passage thus composed is regarded as fine literature: hence the reputation of Goldsmith. But to achieve this precision, and beauty therewith, is (outside Greek) the rarest of all excellences: Lincoln's Gettysburg speech is a miracle, and a brief miracle. In this regard Aristophanes is perhaps the most notable even among Athenians: the other poets naturally do not rival him here, because they are more remote from everyday speech; Lysias is more commonplace, Isocrates more

self-conscious ; Plato's nearest manner is more casual. Here is the " ordinary " Attic superlatively well written: ¹

ὦ ποθεινὴ τοῖς δίκαιοις καὶ γεωργοῖς ἡμέρα,
ἄσμενός σ' ἰδὼν προσειπεῖν βούλομαι τὰς ἀμπέλους,
τὰς τε συνὰς, ἥς ἐγὼ φύτευον ὦν νεώτερος,
ἀσπάσασθαι θυμὸς ἡμῖν ἐστὶ πολλοστῶ χρόνῳ.

ὥς καλὸν ἔχουσα τὸ πρόσωπον ἄρ' ἐλάνθανες.

ὡς ἡδὺ καινοῖς πράγμασιν καὶ θεξιοῖς ὁμιλεῖν,
καὶ τῶν καθεστῶτων νόμων ὑπερβρυνεῖν δύνασθαι.

μάτην ἐμοὶ κεκλαύσεται, σὺ δ' ἐγγανὼν τεθνήξεις.

Above and below this plain athletic elegance lie two other kinds of writing. The lyrics bring to mind the exhilaration of champagne, the flashing of spray in sunlight, the glad efflorescence of whatever in humanity or the world around us is spontaneously glad and vivid. On the other side lies his ordinary iambic dialogue, and it is curious that here, though he was charged with imitating Euripides and confessed that he used that poet's elegance of diction, no beauty at all can be discovered by the modern reader, except the borrowed charms of parody, as in the glorious Messenger's speech from Heaven in the *Birds*. The reason is that all this part of his work is practically prose. Both he and others wrote a few short scraps of prose, in proclamations and the like, but otherwise Greek drama never ² evolved prose dialogue, despite the example of Plato. As a result, Menander, writing realist drama and needing a realist medium, uses a deliquescent verse that foreshadows the too rhythmical " prose " of Vanbrugh and the fashion which thereafter ruled the English stage till the days of Pinero. Before Menander the decline began (in this as in so much else) with Euripides, who, though he can when he chooses write iambics of an almost Sophoclean splendour, usually elects for a more commonplace manner. Aristophanes stands between Euripides and

¹ *Peace* 556 sq.; *Ach.*, 990; *Clouds*, 1399 sq.; *ib.* 1436.

² Except in mimes (see for example p. 79).

Menander. Instances may be found in abundance: the following passage ¹ may be quoted because it is amusing also:

αἰσχιστα γάρ τοί μ' ἡργάσατο Λυσίστρατος
ὁ σκωπτόλης. δραχμὴν μετ' ἐμοῦ πρώην λαβὼν
ἐλθὼν διεκερματίζει ἐν τοῖς ἰχθύσιν,
καῖπειρ' ἐνέσθηκε τρεῖς λαιπίδας μοι κεστρέων·
καὶ γὰρ ἑκάψ'. ὀβολοὺς γὰρ ᾤονην λαβεῖν·
κἄτα βδελυχθεὶς ὀσφρόμενος ἐξέπτυσσα·
κἄθ' εἶλκον αἰτύν.

All that remains to be remarked about Aristophanes' style is a strange inability to use the word γέρων without saying γῆρw a>v*

As for the vitality of Aristophanes, a deep sense of it is the first experience of every one who approaches him and the final impression as we look up at length from these extraordinary pages. If we ignore the two last works, written after the glory had faded that made him possible, we find a vibrant tingling personality, a profound gusto for every side of life and human activity, for every artistic means to their expression. Aristophanes, no less finished a townsman than Charles Lamb, loved the country as passionately as Thoreau; he rivals Pindar in poetic imagination, Dickens in his zest for fun, even buffoonery; at one moment he rejoices in style with all Pater's thrilled delicacy, at another he is as philistine as a cart-horse. His only lack was compassion, and so it was that when he and his City fell on evil days he found nothing to sustain him, no interest in life save to rake over embers from which the fire had departed. But while the Empire yet stood

¹ Wasfis, 787 sqq. But the most prosaic line in Aristophanes is not iambic at all (*Plutus*, 509): εἰ τοῦτο γένειθ' ὁ ποθεῖθ' ὑμεῖς, οὐ φημ' ἄν λυσιτελεῖν σφῶν.

³ Wherever γέρων can grammatically take the participle it receives it (except in *Plutus*, 258, and even there Meineke would read γῆρονας οἰκίας for γ. ανβρας): *Ach.*, 222; *Knights*, 533; *Clouds*, 129; *Wasps*, 278, 1192, 1384; *Peace*, 698; *Birds*, 1256; *Ecclesiazusce*, 323; *Plutus*, 1066. Euripides is surely laughing at this habit when he makes Tiresias (*Bacchæ*, 188 sq.) utter the hideous sentence:

ἐπιλελήσμεθ' ἡδέως
γέροντες ὄντες.

he rejoiced in life and art, fun and politics, pleasure and wisdom, during that radiant age when all these were still interwoven, pouring forth the treasures of his poetry with prodigal splendour. That is the secret of his charm and of his immortality : he is not only magnificent, he is prodigal—not indeed thoughtless, but living in the glorious present, with no premonition of scholiasts and essayists, researchers and editors. Here is no shame, no misgiving : it does not occur to him that a time may arrive when people will ask themselves whether he is suitable for the Young Person. You may discover in Aristophanes every kind of impropriety save one : cant. Thus in spite of all he is still admired and read, though perhaps not a single person now living could bear the presence of his robust sagacity, his merciless candour. When we extol freedom of speech, we mean licence to utter our own blasphemies, not those of others : the most enlightened connoisseur of " advanced " literature, painting and sculpture is quite as deeply wounded, shocked, antagonized by eulogies of Longfellow, Landseer, and the Albert Memorial as any Philistine by Joyce, Gauguin, or Epstein. But this unaccountable Athenian was both the Wycherley and the Tennyson of his age : he adores what he burned and burns what he adored with lightning vicissitude. In short, he employs that celebrated *parrhesia*—not mere " free speech." but the right to say whatever enters his head. In our day he would be expelled from every Y.M.C.A. in Boston and from every *boite* in Montmartre. We are hagridden by logic, a good servant but a bad master : he flings logic to the winds, rioting in beauty and bestiality, wisdom and folly, with no care for the chilling morrow. We praise him because he is safely dead ; but, as Heine remarked on hearing that the King of Prussia enjoyed the *Birds*, if the genuine Aristophanes were alive, we should very soon see him accompanied by a chorus of policemen. Yet, though we could not endure his scorching and dazzling genius in full power

among us, we cannot refrain from turning our eyes to that distant beacon of wit, satire, rollicking gusto, exhilarating poetry. One of us loves Aristophanes' songs, another chuckles over his indecency, a third counts his prepositions for a doctor's degree, a fourth compares him as a dramatic artist with Moliere, as an historical document with Theognis. He would have been vastly surprised, and would have given us some nickname in forty-seven letters; for such divided interest is a sign of our failure to recover the spirit of fifth-century Athens.

CHAPTER VII

MENANDER

MENANDER, who was born in 342-1 B.C. and died in his fifty-second year, 291-0,¹ was an Athenian citizen, son of Diopeithes and Hegesistrata, and nephew of Alexis, who is said to have taught him dramatic composition. Another of his teachers was Theophrastus,² Aristotle's successor, who wrote not only the celebrated *Characters*, but also a treatise *On Comedy*. Among the companions of his youth were Epicurus, the philosopher, and Demetrius of Phalerum, who later became Macedonian governor of Athens and gave the dramatist his protection during that troubled period; when Demetrius fell into disrepute, Menander narrowly escaped impeachment as his friend.³ The poet was a man of wealth and family,⁴ and (save for a cast in his eye) notable good looks.⁵ Suidas reports that he was "utterly crazy about women": the name of his mistress, Glycera, became celebrated, and he is said to have put her into one of his plays.⁶ Menander's first comedy appeared when he was twenty. He wrote one hundred and five (or eight) plays in thirty years, but obtained the prize only eight times,⁷ his first victory being won by *Anger*

¹ The precise dates of his life and career are doubtful. Those given above are stated by Christ, *Griech. Literaturgeschichte*, ed. 4, p. 322.

² Diog. Laert., V, 2.

³ *Id.*, V, 79.

⁴ *Δαμπρός καὶ βίω καὶ γένει* (Anon., *de Com.* Kaibel, p. 9).

⁵ Suidas, s.v.

⁶ Athen., 594d. Korte, *Hermes*, 54, pp. 87 sqq., does not believe that this Glycera ever existed.

⁷ Aulus Gellius, XVIII, 4.

(Ὀπρῆ) in 315 B.C.;^x Philemon, it is said, often defeated him.² He lived all his life in Athens, refusing the invitation of King Ptolemy Soter, who wished him to settle in Alexandria.³ He died, according to one account,⁴ while bathing in the harbour of the Piraeus, and was buried beside the road from Athens to the port;⁵ his statue was placed in the theatre. Practically at the moment of his *debut* as a dramatist his three greatest contemporaries died—Alexander, Demosthenes and Aristotle; while he was still a young man the two most important post-Platonic philosophies, Epicureanism and Stoicism, were inaugurated in his native city.

Throughout later antiquity Menander's fame was immense, surpassed by that of no other poet save Homer and Virgil: the vast array of quotations in ancient writers and the constant allusions to his name show that he was regarded as the finest comic playwright of Greece. In this opinion readers of every grade and nation concurred. That eminent Greek critic, Aristophanes of Byzantium, affected to doubt which of the two, Life and Menander, had copied the other;⁶ and the best of all Roman critics, when advising students of oratory in their reading, names Menander as almost sufficient in himself.⁷ At the other end of the scale, an ignorant and befuddled Byzantine can still say, after so many centuries, that Menander is "the star of the New Comedy, as we have learned".⁸ The intervening distance both of time and of scholarship is filled by ardent praise from poets and critics, essayists, orators, and scientists. Lucian's *Dialogues of Courtesans*

¹ Capps, *American J. of Phil.*, XXI, p. 61. Others think that 'Opyrj was his first play, produced (then) in 321.

² For a story about this see above, p. 61.

³ Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, VII, 30; Alciphron, *Ep.*, II, iii.

⁴ Scholiast on Ovid, *Ibis.*, 589. But Ovid may be referring to Eupolis.

⁵ Pausanias, I, ii, 2.

⁶ Schol. Hermogenes (Walz, *Rhetores Græci*, IV, p. 101): ὦ Μένανδρε καὶ βίε, πότεροι ἄρ' ὑμῶν πότερον ἀπεμμήσατο;

⁷ Quintilian, X, 1, 69.

⁸ Ὁς ἀστὴρ ἐστὶ τῆς νέας κωμῳδίας—an iambic line of unknown authorship (Bekker, *Anecd.*, 749).

are said to be derived entirely from Menander.¹ In Southern Gaul, seven centuries after the poet's death, Sidonius Apollinaris² gave his son a lesson in comparative literature by setting work of Terence and of Menander side by side on his desk. Propertius,³ Ovid,⁴ and Ausonius⁵ refer to him as the poet *par excellence* of love or wantonness; even the austere Persius⁶ translates from him a scrap of revealing dialogue. That amiable pedant Aulus Gellius preserves anecdotes and dates concerning him. Phaedrus,⁷ the fabulist, paints a picture of him in his habit as he lived :

unguento delibutus, vestitu adfluens,
veniebat gressu delicato et languido.

' Bathed in scent, his gown worn negligently, he moved with affected languid gait.' Alciphron has left two imaginary letters exchanged by Menander and Glycera, full of charm and tender pricle : ' Don't I mend your masks and try on the costumes, and stand about in the wings squeezing my fingers together as I wait for the house to applaud ? '⁸

But the most notable witness to his vast renown is Plutarch,⁹ that nobler Boswell of a whole civilization. " The style of Menander shows so uniform a polish, such a harmonious blend of manner, that while it traverses a wide range of emotion and character, adapting itself to all shades of personality, its unity is apparent, its individuality unimpaired amid diction normal, customary and inevitable. Yet if the subject happens to demand noisy bombast, all the stops are pulled out; after a moment, he pushes them back without jarring, and restores the normal pitch of his utterance. There have been many renowned craftsmen, but no workmen ever made a shoe, no theatrical artist a mask, no costumier a garment, that fitted equally

¹ Schol. in Luc, p. 275 (Rabe).

⁴ *Amores*, I, xv, 18; *Tristia*, II, 369 sq.

⁶ V, 161 sqq.

⁸ *Ale, Ep.*, II, iv, 19.

² IV, 12. ³ IV, v, 43.

⁵ *Parecb. Cent. Nupt.*

⁷ VI, i, 11 sq.

Moralia, 853-4.

well man and woman, child, elder and slave; yet Menander has so blent his diction that it suits every character, every rank, every age; and that though he was still a youth when he laid hand to the work and died at the zenith of his poetical and theatrical skill, the very moment when (as Aristotle says) a writer's style makes its most notable and far-reaching progress. A comparison, therefore, of Menander's earliest plays with those belonging to his middle and final periods will reveal what new achievements he could have added even to the latter . . . Menander's charm makes him utterly satisfying, for in these works that present with universal appeal the splendours of Greece, society finds its culture, the schools their study, the theatre its triumph. The nature and possibilities of literary elegance were by him revealed for the first time: he has invaded every quarter of the world with his invincible glamour, bringing all ears, all hearts, under the sway of the Greek language. What sound reason for entering a theatre does the cultivated man ever find, except Menander? "

One might go on indefinitely culling quotations and praise from pagans and Christians, from Seneca¹ and Horace² and Manilius.³ Scholarly editions and essays were not wanting, by Lynceus of Samos,⁴ by Soteridas⁵ of Epidaurus, by Sellius,⁶ by Aristophanes of Byzantium.⁷ He strongly influenced Roman drama, and thereby mediaeval writers (including Hroswitha, the learned nun of Gandersheim) and the majority of modern comic dramatists, including Moliere himself,

¹Nat. Quast, IVa, Praef., 19.

²Ep., II, 57; Sat, II, iii, 11.

³V, 47 sqq.: Qui vitae ostendit vitam, etc.

⁴Athen., 2422b. Suidas, s.v.

⁶Suidas, s.v. "Ομηρος: Sellius wrote *περιοχαὶ τῶν Μενάνδρου δραμάτων*.

⁷Certain linguistic purists (see below, p. 351) censured Menander's vocabulary, and some critics accused him of "theft". Cascilius of Calacte said that in his *Δεισιδαίμων* he copied out the *Οἰωνιστής* of Antiphanes from beginning to end. One Latinus wrote *περὶ τῶν οὐκ ἰδίων Μενάνδρου*. The book of the critic Aristophanes mentioned above was of this kind, though he admired Menander greatly: *παράλληλοι Μενάνδρου τε καὶ ἄφ' ὧν ἔκλεψεν ἐκλογαί*. (For all these see Eusebius, *Præp. Ev.*, X.)

through whom his spirit has passed into the social drama of our own day, in England by means of the Restoration playwrights and Sheridan.

Till recently our knowledge of Menander rested on three insufficient bases: a collection of fragments laboriously scraped together by modern scholars from the ancient authors who quoted him; the *One-Line Maxims* (*Γινώμαι Μονόστιχοι*); the comedies of Terence and Plautus. The Latin plays no doubt give us a general idea of the topics and methods of New Comedy; but that Terence (not to mention Plautus) merely translated Menander in the modern sense of that word, is demonstrably untenable.¹ The *Maxims* are an ancient collection the mere existence of which attests the poet's reputation as an epigrammatist. Among them are some famous lines:

φθείρουσιν ἥθη χρήσθ' ὁμιλίας κακαί.²

* Bad associates spoil a good character.'

Ὡς χάρίεν ἐστ' ἄνθρωπος, ὅταν ἄνθρωπος ᾖ.³

¹ How delightful is a human being, when he is human !'

Others are more commonplace, but still good :

Ἵμναζε παῖδας, ἄνδρας οὐ γὰρ γυμνάσεις.⁴

* Train children. for men you will not train.'

Ζῶμεν γὰρ οὐχ ὥς θέλομεν, ἀλλ' ὥς δυνάμεθα.⁵

* We live, not as we would, but as we can.'

Mixed with these are " epigrams " merely ludicrous :

Οὐδεὶς τὸ μέλλον ἠσφαλῶς ἐπίσταται.⁶

No one has accurate knowledge of the future.'

Εἰ θνητὸς εἶ, βέλτιστε, θνητὰ καὶ φρονεῖ.⁷

Friend, if you are a mortal, think mortal thoughts.'

A great deal of the collection is not Menandrian: for instance, we know that Θεοῦ θέλοντος καὶ ἐπὶ ῥιπὸς

¹ This topic has been discussed at length in *The Art of Terence*. Briefly : Terence learned his craft, and borrowed scenes, from Menander; but the available (highly various) evidences overwhelmingly imply that he was original in the structure and the spirit of his plays.

² v. 738 (Meineke)—the famous quotation (1 Cor. xv, 33) of St. Paul: " Evil communications corrupt good manners". The line has been attributed to Euripides.

³ v. 562 (Meineke).

⁴ v. 104 (M.).

⁵ v. 190 (M.).

⁶ v. 412 (M.).

⁷ v. 173 (M.).

πλέοις¹—ⁱ If God wills, you may go to sea on a hurdle'—was written by Simonides of Amorgos. The fragments proper do not place Menander utterly beyond Antiphanes and Alexis in the Middle Comedy, or Philemon and Diphilus in the New.

But the position has been completely altered by the famous discoveries² of papyri in Egypt. The dry sand has preserved whatever happened to be committed to it, but the documents were often even then defective : the celebrated finds at Oxyrhynchus were made in the village rubbish-heaps, and so even to-day we possess no complete comedy of Menander. But of three plays we have so considerable a bulk that we can form a satisfactory notion of each ; and concerning some half-dozen others we have attractive though scrappy information ; other passages again belong to unidentified plays. Far the most important MS. is the so-called Cairo papyrus, found in 1905 at Aphroditopolis by Gustave Lefebvre : " the poet of Venus rose from the dead in the town of Venus," as Korte phrases it. This priceless MS. contains parts of five works, the *Hero*, *Arbitration*, the *Samia*, *The Shorn Lady*, and a nameless play. Over this and its lesser companions, together with small pieces and mere shreds containing but some half-dozen letters, the united scholarship of the world has for a quarter of a century toiled with microscope and photographic camera, with limitless patience, immense ingenuity and learning, to build up a trustworthy text of these lightly-written comedies, as the Chinese Emperor lavished all his jewels on the effort to complete one casement of Aladdin's palace.

¹v. 671 (M.).

²The "literature" about these is already extensive. The most useful writings are : (i) texts : Korte, *Menandrea* (editio maior), ed. 2, Leipzig, 1912 ; Sudhaus, *Menandri reliquiae nuper repertae*, ed. 2, Bonn, 1914 ; (ii) annotated editions : Capps, *Four Plays of Menander*, Boston, 1910 ; van Leeuwen, *Menandri Fabularum Reliquiae*, ed. 3, Leyden, 1919 ; Allinson, Loeb Text and Translation, London, 1921 ; Waddell, *Selections from Menander*, Oxford, 1927 ; (iii) discussions : Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, *Menander: Das Schiedsgericht* (pp. 11-172), Berlin, 1925 ; Murray, *Menander* (pp. 9-34 of Powell and Barber's *New Chapters in Greek Literature*), Oxford, 1929.

It has been a delightful and unparalleled experience thus to observe a great writer rising slowly from the dead and speaking in ever less muffled tones. Our steadily mounting excitement as we gradually compose a coherent scheme of *The Shorn Lady* must differ much from the interest of those others who sat back comfortably, supplied by a prologuizing deity with whatever information they needed. But this triumph of discovering literature unknown to the greatest scholars of the past, this half-illegitimate thrill in the perusal, have now and again influenced criticism untowardly. One result is that we proudly insist on knowing more than we can know. Our good fortune goes to our heads like strong wine, and we talk as if we possessed the whole hundred odd comedies that Menander wrote. We insist that Terence is a mere translator, so that we may illustrate the work we do possess by quoting what "Menander has said" in the *Andria* or the *Adelphoe*.¹ At times the passion to pretend that we know everything passes into downright hysteria. Even before the discoveries, it caused one enthusiast² to write: "The remarks of Donatus on the Latin play [*Andria*] succeed in proving this fidelity of imitation. But even where I cannot establish its exactitude, I feel it, I divine it." This ardour induced him actually to translate the most famous line of Terence—*homo sum : humani nihil a me alienum puto*³—into Greek and to print his version upon his title-page. This has been far outdone since the discoveries were made. But as we grow more

¹ Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Menander*, pp. 121: "Im Heautontimorumenos lässt es Menander Abend werden und während eines Zwischenaktes die Nacht verstreichen". But this is rare: in other places Wilamowitz expresses doubt of the Terentian evidence (e.g. pp. 139: "von der genialen Wildheit des Plautus ganz abzusehen, kann ich nach wiederholter Prüfung mich nicht getrauen, selbst die Übersetzungen des Terenz als Ganzes für Menander zu verwenden"). Prof. L. A. Post, though in *The Dramatic Art of Menander* (*Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, XXIV, pp. 111-45) he uses the Latin plays freely as evidence for Menander's practice, takes a very different view in his excellent and much later *Menander: Three Plays* (1929). Legrand, throughout *Daos*, makes much use of both Plautus and Terence.

² Benoit, *La Comédie de Menandre*, pp. 224. ³ *Heaut.*, v. 25.

familiar with our new possession, we shall be less prone to such unbalanced transports.

Among the " old fragments " there are not many passages of deep interest. Some of the single lines have already been given from the *Maxims*, to which may be added the celebrated ' He whom the gods love dies young ' ('Ον οἱ θεοὶ φιλοῦσιν ἀποθνήσκει νέος¹) and the superb ἄνθρωπος· ἱκανὴ πρόφασις εἰς ΤΟ *hvarvxw** ' Sorrow ? Of course ! Isn't he human ? '—this may do at a pinch. The same disillusionment is expressed with urbane and devastating elaboration in a passage from the SUPPOSITITIOUS CHILD³ ('Τποβολιμαῖος) :

παύσασθε νοῦν ἔχοντες· οὐδὲν γὰρ πλεον
ἀνθρώπινος νοῦς ἐστὶν ἄλλο τῆς τύχης,
εἴτ' ἐστὶ τοῦτο πνεῦμα θεῖον εἴτε νοῦς.
τοῦτ' ἐστὶ τὸ κυβερνῶν ἅπαντα καὶ στρέφον
καὶ σῶζον, ἡ πρόνοια δ' ἡ θνητῇ καπνὸς
καὶ φλῆναφος. πείσθητε κού μέμψεσθέ με·
πάνθ' ὅσα νοοῦμεν ἡ λέγομεν ἡ πράττομεν
τύχῃ· στὶν, ἡμεῖς δ' ἐσμέν ἐπιγεγραμμένοι.
τύχῃ κυβερνᾷ πάντα· ταύτην καὶ φρένας
δεῖ καὶ πρόνοιαν τὴν θεὸν καλεῖν μόνην,
εἰ μὴ τις ἄλλως ὀνόμασιν χαίρει κενόις.

' Cease having sense. Mortal sense is nothing more than chance, whether that is divine spirit or sense. It is this that governs, steers, and preserves all things ; human forethought is vapour and rubbish. Be convinced, and you will not blame me. All our thoughts, words and acts are Chance, and we are sealed as hers. Chance governs all: unless we delight in empty names, this goddess alone must we call Mind and Providence.' That is not cynicism,⁴ but rather quietism, as revealed in a beautiful passage⁵ surviving from the same play :

¹ Fr. 125.

² Fr. 263. Cp. Philemon fr. inc. 100: ἐμέθουν· ἱκανὴ πρόφασις εἰς θάμαρτάνειν.

³ Fr. 482, 483 (Kock): I have, however, given Meineke's reading (IV pp. 212 sq.).

⁴ In any case, as need hardly be said, we must beware of taking isolated passages as giving the dramatist's own view.

⁵ Fr. 481. The translation is by Professor Gilbert Murray (*op. at.*), who evidently reads καταλύσεις βελτίονας. For the πανήγυρις idea cp. Alexis (pp. 52 sq.).

τοῦτον εὐτυχέστατον λέγω,
 ὅστις θεωρήσας ἀλύπως, Παρμένων,
 τὰ σεμνὰ ταῦτ' ἀπῆλθεν, ὅθεν ἦλθεν, ταχύ,
 τὸν ἥλιον τὸν κοινόν, ἄστρον, ὕδωρ, νέφη,
 πῦρ· ταῦτα, κὰν ἑκατὸν ἔτη βίῃς, αἰεὶ
 ὄψει παρόντα, κὰν ἐνιαυτοὺς σφύδρ' ὀλίγους,
 σεμνότερα τούτων ἕτερα δ' οὐκ ὄψει ποτέ.
 πανήγυριν νόμισόν τιν' εἶναι τὸν χρόνον,
 ὃν φημι, τοῦτον ἢ 'πιδημίαν, ἐν ᾧ
 ὄχλος, ἀγορά, κλέπται, κυβεῖαι, διατριβαί·
 ἂν πρῶτον ἀπίης, καταλύσεις βελτίονας
 ἐφόδι' ἔχων ἀπῆλθες, ἐχθρὸς οὐδένι.

I count it happiness
 Ere we go quickly thither whence we came
 To gaze ungrieving on these majesties,
 The world-wide sun, the stars, water and clouds,
 And fire. Live, Parmeno, a hundred years
 Or a few months, these you will always see,
 And never, never, any greater things.
 Think of this life-time as a festival
 Or visit to a strange city, full of noise,
 Buying and selling, thieving, dicing stalls
 And joy-parks. If you leave it early, friend,
 Why, think you have gone to find a better inn ;
 You have paid your fare and leave no enemies.

The Lucretian note is plainly heard. Moralizing is indeed a marked feature in Menander, and an excellent scene of *Arbitration* will show how dextrously he could weave it into his dialogue. Sometimes he is tart: 'All fathers are fools'¹—a good example of truth-telling by terse exaggeration, like Mr. Shaw's remark that every man over forty is a scoundrel. But usually he is mellower: 'Generosity (as some call it nowadays) has degraded all life to villainy, for no wrong-doer meets punishment.'² Poignancy is conveyed by utter plainness: 'Waiting is so wearisome!—*οὕτω τι πρᾶγμ' ἔστ' ἐπίπονον τὸ προσδοκᾶν*.'³ More sophisticated is this reflexion⁴ drawn from theatrical affairs: 'In a chorus you will find that not all sing, but two or three stand dumb at the end of the line to fill up the number. So in the world: every one occupies room,

¹ *Heaut.*, fr. 144.

²

Fr. incert. 579.

³ *Citharistes*, fr. 287.

⁴ *Heiress*, fr. 165. This has been held to prove that Menander used a chorus. He did (see pp. 333, 342), but this passage might refer to tragedy or dithyramb.

but only those live who have livelihood.' One passage¹ merits close attention from students of comparative literature:

ὅταν εἰδέναι θέλῃς σεαυτὸν ὅστις εἶ,
 ἔμβλεψον εἰς τὰ μνήμαθ' ὥς ὁδοιπορεῖς.
 ἐνταῦθ' ἔνεστ' ὅσα τέ καὶ κούφη κόνις
 ἀνδρῶν βασιλέων καὶ τυράννων καὶ σοφῶν
 καὶ μέγα φρονούντων ἐπὶ γένει καὶ χρήμασιν
 αὐτῶν τε δόξη καπὶ κάλλει σωματῶν.
 κἄτ' οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς τῶνδ' ἐπήρκεσεν χρόνον.
 κοινὸν τὸν Αἰδὴν ἔσχον οἱ πάντες βροτοί.
 πρὸς ταῦθ' ἄρῶν γίνωσκε σεαυτὸν ὅστις εἶ.

' When thou wishest to know thyself, what thou art, look at the tombs as thou journeyest. Therein are bones and light dust of men that were kings, tyrants, and sages, men proud of birth and wealth, their own glory and comeliness. Yet none of these things defended them against Time : all mortals come alike to death. Looking on these, learn what thou art.' How august an array of passages on this theme—not merely death, but the vanishing of all earthly pomp and brightness in the grave—rises into the mind of a modern student! How engrossing to compare the varieties of pathos and loveliness in poems of so many generations, from Homer's lamentations to the resigned musings of Hardy, above all the verses of Francis Beaumont, perhaps the closest in thought to Menander, and not the least beautiful!

Mortality, behold, and fear,
 What a change of flesh is here !
 Think how many royal bones
 Sleep within this heap of stones.
 Here they lie, had realms and lands
 Who now want strength to stir their hands ; . . .
 Here the bones of birth have cried
 ' Though gods they were, as men they died ' ;
 Here are sands, ignoble things,
 Dropt from the ruin'd sides of kings.

Nor could a more perfect example be found of the difference between the " classical " and the " romantic " styles, or rather between the Attic and the Elizabethan :

¹ Fr. incert. 538.

Menander's Greek is the plainest possible expression; Beaumont's last couplet is a triumph of literary Gothic.

These "old" fragments have less to say of love than we should have expected. A lover tries in vain to describe the kiss that was his undoing.¹ "Or was it like a storm at sea? No: you have a breathing-space to shout: "God help us! Haul at the ropes!" But one touch of her lips, and that instant I was drawn under/ Among the polygamous Thracians anyone who has but four or five wives is called "a wretched bachelor".² From TREASURE (*Θησαυρός*) comes a quaint passage on Love's usury: "They who postpone love till old age have to pay additional interest for all those years".³ One comedy was named after the renowned courtesan Thais: the famous "evil communications" is by some ascribed to it. Allusions to other social elements are less common.⁴ A gentleman should distinguish himself in war: agriculture is a slave's business.⁵ On the other hand: "Not even if God formed him could any soldier be a man of elegance": *κομψὸς στρατιώτης, οὐδ' ἔαν πλάττη θεός, οὐδεὶς γένοιτ' αὖν*.⁶ A few attractive bits of adventurous narrative occur. "When they saw us rounding the headland, they quickly went aboard and put out to sea."⁷ "Many had left the stockade and were plundering the villages."⁸

Next may be grouped six comedies,⁹ concerning each of which as a whole we may claim some meagre knowledge.

The FARMER (*Γεωργός*) was by several years the earliest of the new discoveries: in 1897, M. Jules Nicole found in Egypt a papyrus, containing eighty-seven lines, now known as the Geneva fragment; a Florentine papyrus, published in 1912, added some

¹Fr. incert. 536.

²Ib., 548.

³*Θησαυρός*, fr. 235.

⁴Fr. incert. 6

4

2

5

Ib., 732.

⁶*Ἀλιεὺς*, fr. 15-

fr.

⁷*Ἀσπίς*, 77.

⁸Quotations from these follow the reading and numbering of Korte's second edition, except as regards "old" fragments of them, the reference for which is (as usual) to Kock.

fragmentary lines. Quintilian alludes to the prologue in words unfortunately obscure; ¹ a passage of the *Anthology* implies that this play was concerned with jealousy.² What we now possess reveals something of the story amid touches of pathos, excitement, and fun.

A Youth explains that he has returned home from Corinth to find his Father pushing forward preparations for the Youth's marriage to his half-sister;³ this plan the Youth resists, for he wishes to marry some one else—a girl whom he has seduced, the daughter of Myrrhine, who lives next door. This speech of the Youth apparently formed the prologue. Next Myrrhine and the nurse Philinna come out: they have heard of the wedding and resent the treatment of Myrrhine's daughter. To them enter Daos, slave of the Father, bringing from the farm flowers and other decorations for the wedding: 'I suppose no one ever tilled a more pious estate. It produces myrrh, capital ivy, and all these flowers. If you plant anything else, it gives correct and just return—exactly what you put in.' Seeing Myrrhine, he reports "splendid news". Cleaenetus, the old man on whose farm Myrrhine's son (probably named Gorgias) is working, has gashed his leg beautifully (*χρηστῶς πᾶν*) while digging; better still, the wound grew inflamed. His slaves neglected the sufferer, but Gorgias tended him. Cleaenetus in gratitude questioned him concerning his family, and so heard about his sister and the poverty of the three. Cleaenetus felt a touch of nature that makes the whole world kin,⁴ and promised to marry the girl. Daos congratulates Myrrhine on their escape from poverty and enters the Father's house, leaving her in anguished perplexity.⁶

¹XI, iii, 91.

²*Anth. Pal.*, XII, 233. The *Γεωργός* is coupled with the *Μισούμενος* and the *Περικειρομένη*.

³She is *ἡμοπατρία*, therefore there was no objection of principle. A *οφιοφχρητρία* was out of the question,

⁴*Ἐπαθὲν τι κοινόν* (v. 71).

⁵Since her daughter cannot marry Cleaenetus, whether because she is his daughter as well as hers, or because she is with child by the Youth, or for both reasons.

We have nothing more but scraps. It is, however, easy to suppose that Cleaenetus proves to be the father of Gorgias and his sister, that he now marries Myrrhine and by giving his daughter a dowry induces the Father to consent to her marriage with the Youth; Gorgias may have paired off with the Father's daughter. The events that set things in motion are illuminating. Cleaenetus, in his desire "to make some return" (*χάρις ἀποδοῦναι*) for Gorgias' tendance,¹ promises to marry the sister. It is assumed that this will be greeted with joyful relief; Cleaenetus, probably a "sympathetic" old man, regards his purpose as a reasonable reward for Gorgias' kindness. This proposal, on which primarily the whole action swings—or a considerable part of it—is an excellent evidence of Athenian feeling about marriage, a feeling of which we must ceaselessly remind ourselves if we are not to be repelled or mystified by ancient comedies.

A good part of the Argument of the PRIESTESS (*Ἱέρεια*) is found in a fragment² from a book which seems to have given a complete collection of Menander's plots. All that we formerly possessed of this play was a phrase about "the peeping ass," and seven lines³ on superstition. 'Madam, no god saves one man by means of another. For if a man by using cymbals draws the god to his wishes, he is greater than the god. No, Rhode: these are the instruments of daring wickedness invented by shameless men and constructed to turn our generation into a laughing-stock.' Our new Argument, so far as it is legible, runs thus.⁴ 'The former husband of the priestess . . . having recovered, tried to seek out the son whom he loved. His servant was persuaded to be brought to the priestess under pretence of being possessed, in order that he might be

¹A charming point: they are probably father and son, though neither knows it.

²*Ox. Pap.*, X, pp. 83 sqq. The account of the *Priestess* is followed by the beginning of the Argument of the *Imbrians* (*Ἰμβριῶται*).

³Fr. 245.

⁴The translation is by Grenfell and Hunt. The dots indicate lacunas in the papyrus.

accorded treatment; and he secretly obtained information and discovered the truth. The true son of the mother of the supposititious child, desiring to marry the daughter of the priestess, sent his brother to speak with the priestess about him. While the women were talking [the old man, who] had become suspicious, and especially in consequence of the information of his servant that there was a difference in personal appearance, addresses the younger of his neighbours' sons as his own. The youth discerning his mistake intimidates his brother in advance, saying that the old man was mad and was declaring every young man to be his son. Accordingly when the old man subsequently learned the truth and addressed the elder as his son, the latter sends him away as being mad. At the same time . . . the old man having recovered his son marries the priestess, and the son receives the daughter of his foster-parents and the younger and true son of the neighbours receives the daughter of the priestess whom he had loved, and the marriages of all three pairs are celebrated. . . . Such are the incidents of the plot. The play is one of the best.' It is clear that there was an element of farce in the attempt of the father to identify his son, and also perhaps in the " symptoms " of the slave-detective who entered what appears to have been the Priestess's private lunatic-asylum. Very likely her elderly bridegroom at the close read her a lesson on quasi-religious psychotherapy, of which the fragment about cymbals would form a part.

The HERO (Hpws) stands first¹ in the Cairo papyrus. Into the usual rape-story intrudes the slave Daos, who loves Plangon and to shield her takes the responsibility for her plight. The opening scene shows him agonizing in love and suspense, owing to the absence of his master, who has promised Plangon to him. What happens to

¹One play originally preceded it, for our first play is headed $\alpha\theta$ (29). The missing twenty-eight pages would contain nearly one thousand lines, just the correct length for a Menandrian play.

this noble slave we do not know except that he is disappointed of his beloved, who marries her violator. As we possess the first two pages devoted to the play, we gain certain introductory matter. First comes, or came, the title ;¹ next, a metrical argument in twelve lines, from which we learn the " story," including the resolve of Daos. Finally, there is a list of *dramatis personae*, nine in number, including " the god Hero," who is named third. This Hero was no doubt a deified ancestor, the genius of the family, like the *Lar familiaris* who speaks the prologue of Plautus' *Aulularia*. We are no doubt to understand, not only that he knows all the past events, but also that his benevolent interest brings about a happy solution of all the difficulties. As he is named third, after Geta and Daos, it is clear that his prologue (lost) must have been delivered after the introductory scene in which Daos reveals to Geta his love, anxiety and (now lost) his purpose. This arrangement is not unparalleled and shall be discussed later.

Interest attaches to the FLATTERER (Κοῤαῖ) mostly because Terence² states that he has taken over into his *Eunuch* two of the characters, the parasite and the braggart soldier. The youth Pheidias and the soldier Bias both desire the same girl, the property of a slave-dealer or *leno*. Pheidias converses bitterly with some one: his father has gone away on business, leaving him an insufficient allowance. The conversation condemns the injustice of Heaven in permitting the scoundrel Bias to become rich. ' I suppose he has betrayed a city or a satrap or a camp—that is clear, for no just man ever grew rich quickly': οὐδεὶς ἐπλούτησεν ταχέως δίκαιος ὢν. ' Oh to denounce him in public for demoralizing us by showing that wickedness pays ! ' Later, an old slave dilates to Pheidias on the danger of flatterers, who bring great men to naught. Another passage shows the slave-dealer's business worries.

¹ We have only ΕΝΑΝΑΡΟΥ. ² *Eunuchus*, prol. 30 sqq.

' He will bring along sixty companions—as many as Odysseus led to Troy!—shouting and threatening: "Scoundrel! Have you sold her to a man with more money?" ' One of the old fragments shows a cook offering sacrifice before a dinner of *τετραδισταί*, or men who dined together on the fourth of the month. It is likely that Pheidias was one of these, and as that day was sacred to Aphrodite Pandemos it is an attractive suggestion¹ that by her favour Pheidias wins the girl and humiliates Bias. Whether the assailants whom the dealer fears are the fellow-clubmen of Pheidias or Bias' comrades-in-arms is not plain, unless we bring in the Terentian play. There the soldier Thraso with his flatterer Gnatho makes an abortive attack on the house where the heroine is living. Some of the old fragments closely resemble passages in Terence: Bias boasts of having surpassed King Alexander in toping, and Struthias laughs at the memory of his leader's witticism upon some Cyprian. Our papyrus contains a scholium about Astyanax of Miletus, a noted Olympian victor, who distinguished himself in 316 B.C.; the *Flatterer* was therefore written not long after, and is a rather early play.

The HATED LOVER (*Μισούμενος*) was unusual and attractive in that it showed a "sympathetic" soldier.² For once ancient allusions, combined with "old" fragments, tell us something of the plot.³ Thrasonides is a young soldier who has distinguished himself in the service of the Cyprian king.⁴ He holds in his house a girl (whether purchased by him or taken prisoner in war) whom he wildly loves, named Crateia:

¹ Of van Leeuwen, *op. cit.*, p. 244.

² Hence this play is said (by modern scholars, not by any ancient authority) to have resembled the *Περικειρομένη*. But the central figure of the latter is plainly the girl; in the *Μισούμενος* it was probably the lover.

³ There is no evidence for Kock's statement (III, p. 97) that "the girl was at length torn from him by a youthful rival". Kock was plainly generalizing from the usual procedure with regard to the *miles*.

⁴ Fr. 340.

'A cheap serving-maid has cowed me, a thing no enemy has ever done '¹—

παιδισκάριόν με καταδεδουλωκ' εὐτελής,
δν οὐδὲ εἰς τῶν πολεμίων οὐπώποτε.

But she repulses him : the title of the play suggests some definite grievance : 'his military uncouthness,' we are told.² Thrasonides, however, does not abuse his position and power—that is the notable feature. 'She is in my house : I can act, and wish to act, like one frantically in love, but I do not.'³ At night he cannot sleep for distress, but leaves the house and paces the street. This created an effective scene, very likely the first, which would expound the situation : at any rate several of our old fragments fit in here. Thrasonides' restlessness has disturbed his batman Geta, who complains with the freedom often found in New Comedy slaves. 'Why don't you sleep ? You are destroying me by this tramping up and down.'⁴ His master confides in him.⁵ 'Have you never been in love, Geta ?' 'No : I never had a full stomach.' Thrasonides laments his hard fate⁶ and makes the remarks about Crateia that we quoted first. Geta begs him to go indoors :⁷ 'I see I shall have to lock you in at nights.'⁸ Then or later Thrasonides meditates suicide ;⁹ he sends gifts and requests to the girl, and there was probably a scene of supplication, for we are not only told¹⁰ that he 'implores and weeps,' which suggests an interview with her in presence of the audience : we have also two lines probably spoken by her : 'Sooner or later drunkenness will strip off this

¹Fr. 338.

²Libanius, xxxi, iv, 512 (Reiske): *στρατιωτικὴν . . . ἀηδῖαν νοσοῦντα τὸν ἄνθρωπον εἰς ἀπέχθειαν αὐτῷ κινῆσαι τὴν ἐρωμένην*. Evidently he did not act so violently as Polemon in the *ἱερικειρομένη*, but apparently repelled her by his boasting and perhaps by exhibiting his wounds (cp. Phcnicides fr. 4, on p. 64). Othello used his experiences more tactfully.

³Fr. 336.

⁴Fr. 341.

⁵Fr. 345. (The situation is very like that in Theocritus, X, 7 sqq.) But the fragment does not certainly belong to this play.

⁶Fr. 335, 337.

⁷Fr. 342.

⁸Fr. 343.

⁹Arrian, *Diss. Epict.* IV, i, 19 sq. ¹⁰*Ibid.*

would-be deceptive pretence .¹ Crateia's father arrives: no doubt he has been searching for her and arrives at a critical moment to ransom her. Father and daughter rapturously embrace : Thrasonides comes upon them and is enraged by the sight.² ' He looks a gray-haired old man—sixty, I should say—nevertheless, he shall rue it. You there ! Whom do you think you are embracing and kissing ? ' The explanation is apparently given later to Thrasonides by his own father : he is filled with consternation, and we hear him begging his father to bring about his marriage with Crateia.

The APPARITION (*Φάσμα*), according to Terence,³ was badly adapted by his enemy Luscius Lanuvinus, and in a note on Terence Donatus gives the story of Menander's play. A young man's stepmother had before her marriage born a daughter, whom she caused to be brought up secretly next-door. In order to have the girl's company, she made a passage through the wall between the houses. This aperture she masked by a kind of shrine, whither she often retired as if to her devotions. The young man saw the girl and imagined her a goddess ; gradually the facts became known, he fell in love with her, and the play ended with their marriage. We possess only two passages. One is part of the prologue, consisting perhaps of a dialogue between two divinities.⁴ The other is a brisk conversation-narrative of a freedman and the young Pheidias, who is apparently at the stage where he thinks the lady supernatural but already loves her; for he expresses his trouble more vaguely than most Menandrian (or other) lovers. The freedman rates him amusingly. ' You are too well-off. Your whole life is a sleep. What is wrong with you is that you have

¹ Fr. 339.

²

Another likeness to the *Περικειρομένη*.

³ *Eunuehus*, prol., 9.

⁴ So Korte, p. lvi. He notes that second-person forms occur and compares the *Luxuria* and *Inopia* of Plautus' *Trinummus*. Sudhaus accounts for the second-person forms by supposing that the prologue-speaker quotes some one.

no genuine troubles, so you need an imaginary cure. You had better take up religion.'

There remain three comedies of which we possess really substantial knowledge.

The earliest is known as SAMIA, or the *Woman of Samos* (*Σαμία*), though we are not certain that this was really its title. The reasons for putting it early in the poet's career are a reference¹ to the parasite Chaerephon, which smacks rather of Middle Comedy, and the strongly farcical manner of the interview between Demeas and Niceratus.

We open where Demeas is addressing a long narrative to the audience. ' . . . for as soon as I entered I bustled my household along to prepare for the wedding.' He himself was busy in the store-chamber and noticed that amid the confusion the baby had been left crying alone in a room from which the pantry opened. Moschion's old nurse descended from the attic and began to comfort the child : ' Darling baby ! Treasure ! Where is Mammy ? ' Then she talked to herself and revealed to the unseen listener that the child is Moschion's. Warned by a fellow-servant that the master was within earshot, she took it away. Demeas came out quietly and after a while saw the Samian girl, Chrysis, suckling the baby. He is filled with horror : the child is hers, but who is the father ? Demeas himself, or— ? He will not put the thought into words, for the youth has always been well-conducted and shown reverence for Demeas. But the nurse's words ! Here his monologue is interrupted by his slave Parmenon,² who enters, chaffing the cook engaged for the wedding dinner. Demeas summons Parmenon and asks him ' Whose is the baby ? ' Parmenon with some embarrassment replies that it belongs

¹ v. 258, Korte: cp. p. xxxiii of his edition.

'What is the plot-value of this scene? It makes no difference at all to Demeas' feelings and later action. Why, then, insert it? Mainly to break up Demeas' soliloquy, which would otherwise be too long; secondarily to give a little relief: Demeas' brief questioning has its amusing side, and the cook is the stock comic figure in these plays.

to Chrysis. ' And who is the father ? ' ' You, master.' Demeas in a rage asserts that Moschion is the father, and threatens Parmenon, who runs away, leaving the other in a fury of pain and anger. But it cannot be Moschion's fault, for if it were he would still be opposed to his father, whereas he has given no explanation and has welcomed the suggested marriage. No ; Chrysis must have tempted and overborne him. Moschion cannot have deliberately wronged Demeas, ' not if he were ten times merely an adopted son . ' In anguish he strives to tear love from his heart, determined to thrust Chrysis out of the house. But he must not tell her the true reason : there is a good pretext in her adoption of the baby. He rushes into the house, almost knocking over the cook, who has come out looking for Parmenon.¹ In a moment Demeas returns with Chrysis and a nurse carrying the baby. Despite her amazement, grief, and affectionate pleading, he insists that she shall depart: he took her from a life of poverty, and this is her gratitude ; let her seek her proper place among the lowly courtesans. He goes within, leaving her at the door, weeping. Their neighbour, Niceratus, enters, bringing a scraggy sheep for sacrifice. Chrysis tells him that she has been cast out for adopting the baby, though Demeas had not been angry at the time. (*At this point occurs a gap of about a hundred and forty lines.*) Demeas and Niceratus have been conversing excitedly, and now Niceratus, exclaiming ' All is lost ! ' rushes into his house. Demeas soliloquizes in alarm on the other's hot temper. ' I ought to be put to death ! . . . Heavens, how he is shouting ! There ! He is calling for fire ! He says he will burn the baby !! In a minute I shall see a roast grandson !!! ' Niceratus flounces out again: Chrysis (The says) has persuaded his wife and daughter to confess nothing and refuses to hand over the child. ' Don't be surprised if I kill the woman ! ' ' Don't do that, Niceratus,' falters Demeas.

¹ This incident has no value beyond avoiding an empty stage: the cook talks for a moment until Demeas returns.

' I just thought I'd tell you,' explains the other, leaping into his house once more. Next moment, the terrified Chrysis, carrying the child, runs out pursued by her host, who brandishes his walking-stick. Demeas throws himself between them and bids Chrysis retreat into his house ¹ while he engages in a tussle with Niceratus. After she has disappeared the two seniors calm down a little and take to verbal conflict. In the end Demeas consoles his neighbour by reminding him of the story about Zeus and Danae. ' Doesn't your roof leak anywhere ? ' ' Everywhere. What of it ? ' ' In Danae's case Zeus turned himself into gold; this time it is water. Depend upon it: your daughter's child is of divine birth.' Moreover, says Demeas, Moschion will certainly marry her : ' put everything in order for the wedding '. (*Interval', in which the chorus performs.*) Moschion soliloquizes. He is so enraged by his father's accusation, though it has now been met and withdrawn, that he is inclined to go soldiering in Bactria or Caria. But he cannot leave Plangon, whom he loves. Still, he will pretend that he is going, so as to teach his father a lesson. Parmenon is sent by him to fetch a sword and a military cloak, but returns from the house without them, announcing that the marriage is afoot: all is well. Moschion drives him in again with savage blows to fetch the gear, and stands pondering: ' But suppose father doesn't beg me to stay, loses his temper, and agrees to my departure ? '

It has been thought better to give an account of the *Samia* first in this form rather than to begin with a reasoned but devitalized " story of the play," that the reader may relish the blend of suspense, amusement, and annoyance at enigmas inevitable for those who approach Menander's text as it now stands.

The story, then, is somewhat as follows. Demeas

¹ Exactly reversing his recent treatment of Chrysis. The wild fun of the scene may have been increased by " business " in which he and she interchange their earlier gestures.

has a Samian mistress called Chrysis, and they are heartily fond of one another, but he does not wish to have a child. He and Niceratus have both been from home for a considerable time. During their absence Chrysis bears a child¹ to Demeas, but it is still-born. Moschion seduces Plangon, daughter of Niceratus; apparently they dare not marry because Niceratus is poor² and therefore Demeas would not consent. Plangon bears a child which Moschion brings to his father's house, where Chrysis nurses it as if her own. All these facts are familiar to every one in the two houses, except the fathers, who know only that Chrysis has found a child which she persuades Demeas to let her adopt.³ Then Demeas, imagining an affair between Chrysis and Moschion, turns her out and she is given refuge in Niceratus' house. Demeas⁴ taxes Moschion with his fault and learns that Plangon, not Chrysis, is the child's mother; Niceratus sees or hears something in his own house between Chrysis, Plangon, and his wife (all three or any two of these) that makes him wonder about the baby's parentage; he consults Demeas, who ought to be the father of any child of Chrysis; the drift of their conversation forces Demeas to tell Niceratus that the baby is Plangon's, but his desire to shield Moschion makes him profess not to

¹ This, with what follows, seems the best account of the baby, or babies.

² Cp. the skinny sheep and the leaky roof.

³ Probably he finds her with it on his return and consents to a *fait accompli*.

⁴ The statements in this sentence cover the gap of 140 lines. They do not agree entirely with any of the editors, but none of these has offered an explanation that fits what immediately follows the gap and is completely plausible in itself; for instance, Allinson's idea, that Niceratus has been informed that the baby adopted by Chrysis is a foundling of unknown parentage, does not account for Niceratus' furious pursuit of the baby. In the explanation given above there is one weakness: it fails to show how the conversation between the two elders leads Demeas into the statement about Plangon; but that is not a flaw, only an incompleteness. Whether "taxes" is the right word or not, vv. 271-293 show that Moschion now knows of Demeas' former suspicion, which Demeas had intended to mention to no one (vv. 136 sq.). That Niceratus knows of Plangon's baby and does not know who is its father, the Zeus-passage proves incontestably: otherwise it would be as irrelevant as it is absurd.

know the father. This revelation drives Niceratus to frenzy : he chases Chrysis with his own grandson out of his house, but is calmed¹ at last by Demeas' promise that Moschion shall marry his daughter. Later Moschion makes a plan to pretend that he is going abroad as a soldier, in disgust with his father, and in this he persists though Parmenon tells him that the wedding preparations are afoot and all is well.

The rest is in outline obvious. Moschion acknowledges to all that he is the father of Plangon's child and they are married. Chrysis is reconciled to Demeas ; it may be that she is discovered to be an Athenian and so is married to him ; she may even prove to be Moschion's sister. But at least two difficulties remain. Why does Moschion angrily wave aside Parmenon's news that all is well because the wedding preparations are in progress ? There seems to have been trouble from the beginning about some marriage of Moschion's : to whom, and what is its relation with his love for Plangon ?² The other point is the youth's pretended enlistment. Certainly it is introduced with fair plausibility ; but to what can it lead, for he does not intend to leave home ?³ Now, Moschion has expected to be begged to stay ; later he has misgivings : ' Suppose father is angry and lets me go ! A pretty fool I shall look ! ' This leads us to suppose that Menander followed neither one line nor the other, but gave the interview a novel turn : Demeas, stung by grief and indignation, cries : ' Ah ! If only you were really my son ! ' Moschion, thunderstruck to find that he is only an adopted son and has meditated so ungrateful

¹The brilliant nonsense about Zeus has nothing to do with this : beyond amusing the audience, it has but one purpose—to give Niceratus time to simmer down.

²We may provisionally accept the view (van Leeuwen, p. 98) that Demeas, at first actually or potentially opposed to Moschion's marriage with Plangon, has suddenly seen cause to arrange the marriage. This would account both for the seduction and for the marriage preparations. But even so, one does not understand Moschion's attitude towards Parmenon's news.

³The extraordinarily clever and satisfying explanation that follows is van Leeuwen's (p. 100).

a return for nurture on which he has no claim, begs forgiveness and then asks about his true parents. This would bring about a scene of birth-tokens, and so perhaps the recognition of Chrysis as his sister.

Thus, possessing little more than one-third of this play, we can nevertheless work out the plot with tolerable confidence. We can even see how the construction depends on the psychology: Demeas' refusal to tell Chrysis the genuine reason for her expulsion, Moschion's concealment of his love from Demeas, his false enlistment—all these are levers of the action, and all spring from character. To Demeas' opening speech it is hard to render full justice—a triumph of the "New" manner: elegant without affectation, detailed without elaboration, exciting yet unhurried, it is a masterpiece of urbanity in style, of clearness in narration. Let anyone seek in Homer, Euripides, Plato, or the Orators, such perfect relation of a story containing several characters, household topography, varied emotion, and he will realize what Menander has achieved. Another first-rate passage is the expulsion, a touching scene of pathos on both sides. Chrysis' love, pain, and bewilderment are admirably depicted, but Demeas' plight is magnificent drama; the misery that he is forced to suppress heightens and excuses the cruel rage that he is at liberty to display. At the same instant he is hateful, pitiable, and absurd. Finally, the interview between the fathers is delicious, ranging from touches of the same pathetic comedy to knockabout farce. Niceratus popping in and out of his front-door with instalments of his bloodthirsty plan is quite as good as Ford's attempts to catch Falstaff.

In the SHORN LADY (*Περικειρομένη*) plot-details were probably complicated even in the first instance by a vivacious coming-and-going, which includes an abortive siege, as in Terence's *Eunuchus*. It will therefore be convenient to give the story first.

The wife of a Corinthian named Pataecus died in

giving birth to twins, a boy and a girl; at the same time he lost his fortune in a shipwreck and therefore exposed the infants. These were discovered by a poor old woman who kept the girl but handed over the boy to a rich lady named Myrrhine. When times grew bad, the old woman gave her foster-child, Glycera, to a soldier, Polemon, for his concubine. As her end approached, realizing that Glycera's position was insecure and that she might need the help of her rich brother, the old woman told Glycera all that she herself knew and gave her the birth-tokens found with her. She died. Polemon bought a house next to that in which Myrrhine is living with her adopted son Moschion, who thinks he is her real son (and with her husband Pataecus ?). Glycera has told no one of her relationship to Moschion, not wishing to spoil his brilliant position. But Moschion, while Polemon is absent, has conceived a passion for Glycera, and one evening as she stood at her door, he ran up, threw his arms round her and began to kiss her. Knowing that he was her brother she did not recoil.¹ At that moment Polemon returned, saw the encounter, and imagined that Moschion was a favoured rival. Moschion made himself scarce; Polemon in fury cut off Glycera's hair and retired in dudgeon to a country house; the girl took refuge with Myrrhine. Moschion thinks she has done this so as to be near him, but his self-complacency is destroyed by Myrrhine's stern refusal to permit his advances. Polemon soon repents and sends his slave Sosias to the town-house on trivial errands—really to see what is going on—and finds that Glycera has left him. He and his followers prepare to storm² her refuge, but Pataecus makes him see

¹ v. 37: οὐκ ἔφυγε.

² I cannot refrain from recording a strange and touching fact. Sudhaus (who was killed in the Great War) writes in the brief preface to his second edition, over the date 12th August, 1914: "Οἱ παῖδες ἐπὶ τὰ πелτία ['To arms, my lads I'] was the last verse that I annotated on the first of August. Twenty-four hours later I was standing on the frontier." Countrymen of Mr. A. E.

reason. The soldier begs Patæcus to intercede with Glycera and in his artless suffering insists on showing him the attractive belongings that he has given her. Something among her possessions makes Patæcus curious about her origin. Next he has an interview with her, urging a reconciliation. She replies with firmness and dignity. Her self-defence leads her to produce the casket of her birth-tokens, and Patæcus finds that she is his daughter. Still she says nothing of Moschion; but somehow his parentage comes to light. Polemon arrives, knowing at last that the kiss was "innocent" and feverishly urging his slave, Doris, to bring about a reconciliation: he is more afraid than ever that Glycera, having found a wealthy father, will not return to him. But she greets him with loving forgiveness, Patæcus gives her a substantial dowry, and the marriage is arranged. Of this Moschion is a concealed auditor, but when his father tersely continues: 'I have another wedding to arrange: for my son I am taking Philinus' daughter,' the youth suddenly cries 'Good God!' and our papyrus ends with amusing abruptness.

The date of the *Shorn Lady* lies in the latest years of the fourth century, when Menander was about forty. Our evidence is a mention of the "Corinthian troubles";¹ and other passages show that the scene was laid in Corinth. The selection of this city rather than Athens is vital. Glycera is not, indeed, a wife, but the most reputable kind of concubine.² Now, in Athens Polemon would have possessed a legal right to force her to return home,³ and the bottom would have

Housman will note with a thrill that the passage (vv. 202 *sqq.* Sudhaus) goes on to speak of a mercenary army:

Οἱ παῖδες ἐπὶ τὰ πελτῖ. οὔτοι πρὶν πτύσαι
 διαρπάσσονται πάντα, κἂν τετραβόλους
 καλῆς.

¹ Korte (p. xliii) dates the play at 305 or 304, Capps (p. 146) at 302 or 301.

² Polemon says (v. 239): ἐγὼ γαμετὴν νενόμκα ταύτην. *Cy.prouxore* in Terence (*Andra*, 273) and *in uxoris loco* (*Htaut.*, 104).

³ This was the right of a husband over his wife unless indeed she succeeded in a suit of ἀπόλειψις, and it is a natural assumption that this right included a παλλακή also.

dropped out of our play. As it is, Patæcus tells him bluntly : ' She may have loved you ; but now that she is grievously offended you must win her back : she is her own mistress (ἐαυτῆς ἐστ' ἐκείνη κυρία) \i The *locale* of the drama thus makes possible a human and permanently interesting situation. The prologue presents two important features. As in the *Hero* and in *Arbitration*, it occurs after the first act, when the attention of the audience has been gained, and tells the earlier history of ' the girl whom you saw just now \² It is delivered by Ignorance (Ἄγνοια) who states \³ that she intends to bring about the revelation and recognition. What a promise to put into the mouth of personified ignorance ! Is there any excuse ? We shall see.

Even in its mutilation, this is a fascinating work, full of sparkle and gracious charm. There are many things we do not know : the relation of Pataecus to Myrrhine, what part Habrotonon the courtesan plays \⁴—even whether she speaks or not—whether Moschion drives away \⁵ the besiegers or skulks till they have gone, \⁶ how his relationships are revealed, and often who is the speaker of a given line. But at least two beautiful qualities are here unmistakable. One, strange though it appears, lies in construction. For, however defective one's knowledge of the details, it is plain that Menander has wrought superbly : he has achieved that most difficult, rarest and most charming feat of a dramatist, to make the plot *solve itself*. Glycera finds her father and secure happiness because of Polemon's outrage; that outrage was caused by Moschion's amorous outbreak *combined with* Glycera's reception of it; and that combination happens only because their origin is a secret. Moschion is discovered to be

¹ vv. 241 sqq. ² v. 7. ³ vv. 42 sqq.

⁴ She has no doubt been playing the flute at the party wherewith Polemon sought to drown his sorrows ; but why does he bring her into town for the onslaught upon Myrrhine's house ? (One of the rare obscenities in the extant Menander is addressed to her.)

⁵ So Korte, p. xli.

⁶ So Allinson, p. 251.

her brother precisely because no one (save Glycera) knows that he is. Menander was naturally proud of this masterpiece: he causes Glycera to expound part of it in her last words to Polemon, and he indicates the quality of the whole by giving his prologue to Ignorance, of all people, who boasts that she will reveal all.

Further, there is beautiful characterization. Pataecus and the slaves do not count for much here, and Moschion is not striking, though we enjoy his bump-tious¹ pride in his imaginary powers as a lady-killer, which makes him clay in the none too skilful fingers of Daos. Polemon is more vivid. His passion for Glycera, his sudden madness of jealousy, his remorse, his artless pleading with Pataecus and simple pride in the delightfulness of his beloved when arrayed in her wonderful clothes, and his half-hysterical talk with the slave-girl who is to plead his cause ('Excellent! Excellent! Go in. I'll make you a free woman this very day, Doris')—all these skilful touches combine to win our rather amused affection. And each of those qualities is directly dramatic: every one of them causes a development of the action. Glycera herself is the radiant centre of the whole comedy. Loving Polemon deeply, she yet will not return to him at the price of her self-respect: 'After this let him wreak his insolence on others: he has wickedly ill-treated me as though I were a slave.'² But in the hour of his suppliant repentance she forgives, with no weak sentimentality or patronizing tartness, but with the sunny wisdom of a fine nature: 'Why yes; for it was your fit of anger that began all our happiness.'³ Her trouble sprang entirely from the goodness and sagacity wherewith she guarded the comfort of her unconscious and undeserving brother. When Polemon taxed⁴ her with infidelity, two words from her would have made all well,

¹ He resembles the young country squires of English social comedy, for instance Tony Lumpkin in *She Stoops to Conquer*.

² w. 315 sqq.

w. 443 sqq.

⁴ We do not possess this scene, but it must have been acted or reported early in the play.

but they were not spoken, and she quietly faced his brutal yet not unnatural anger. All these virtues unite to compose a beautiful scene whereof a mutilated passage survives, the interview¹ in which Pataecus urges her to be reconciled to her lover. So much is plain, that she not only refuses to accept love on such unworthy terms but sees occasion also to defend herself for taking refuge in the house where Moschion lives. ' Can you believe that I fled to his mother so that he should marry me ?—or no: why that ?—in hopes to become his mistress ? If so, should we not both have avoided his parents ? Would he have thus rashly brought me to his father ? Should I without a blush have embraced such folly as to offend Myrrhine and give you a suspicion of my immodesty that nothing would wipe out ? Can it be that you, Pataecus—you too !—have come to me convinced of that, thinking that I was such an one ? ' Pataecus answers with kindness, but urges the " wise " course, that she return to her protector ; she replies firmly : ' I best know my own affairs \² In this strength is no hardness : the long-past sorrow of another draws from her an instant cry of sympathy.³

Glycera has been described as " almost Shakespearian/" which is meant as high praise but is in fact ruinously bad criticism. There can be little comparison between the two dramatists. Shakespeare's heroines are either vastly greater, more vital, than Glycera, or vastly inferior to her—in character, however, they surpass her in beauty of language. It would be ludicrous to speak of Cleopatra in the same breath as of her. On the other side, Cordelia, Miranda, and Desdemona are mere lovely puppets, dramatically effective only in a negative way—that is, by the force of the opinions and emotions they arouse in others. Imogen and Portia of Belmont may, by their enterprise, remind us a little of Glycera ; but Portia is in no danger, and of Imogen we know that ' her beauty and her brain go

¹ vv. 301 sqq, ² v. 326: ἐγὼ δὲ τὰ μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς.

v. 377.

not together'. As for the Helena of *All's Well*, her dogged bed-hunting may arouse compassionate wonder and even respect, despite the cold-blooded indecency of her stupid talk with the Clown ; but she is wooden, utterly below the gallant finely-strung girl whom Menander portrays.

Most notable of all is ARBITRATION (*'Επιτρέποντες*, 'persons submitting their dispute to an arbitrator') which was among the most celebrated Menandrian works and of which we possess some three-fifths : one mass gives no less than three hundred and sixty consecutive lines.

The reader comes abruptly upon two quarrelling slaves : Daos, a shepherd, and Syriscus, a charcoal-burner, with whom is his wife, carrying a baby. They submit their cases to an old man who approaches, Smicrines. Daos explains ¹ that a month ago he found in the woods a baby, which he at first decided to rear ; later he began to count the cost, and when his acquaintance Syriscus begged the child he handed it over. Afterwards, Syriscus heard of certain ornaments exposed with the child and is now demanding them. Skilful argumentation is laid before Smicrines, Daos insisting that Syriscus has enough already and should not demand jewellery as well as child, Syriscus urging that the child is being robbed not only of property but also of a clue to his parentage. Smicrines adjudges the jewellery to the infant and the infant to Syriscus, and departs after making Daos surrender the trinkets. Syriscus is counting them over into his wife's gown when Onesimus, another slave, catches sight of a ring, which he recognizes as belonging to his master Charisius, who lost it when drunk. He takes it for delivery to Charisius. An interval ² follows, after which Onesimus comes out and tells the audience that he has several

¹ Here Menander commits the fault which Terence (*Eun.*, prol., 10 sqq.) twits Lusius Lanuvinus with committing in his version of the *Θησαυρός*—causing the defendant to open the case.

² Marked by XOPOY in the MS.

times been on the point of showing the ring to Charisius but has shirked, for his " revelations " have already got him into trouble. " Again and again he says ' Zeus destroy the evil man that told me this ! ' I fear he may be reconciled with his wife and kill me who told him this and know the secret." While Onesimus stands irresolute, Habrotonon comes out, but neither sees the other for a while. He mutters over his perplexity. Her remarks show that she is a musician whom Charisius has hired for his party ; she has been in his house two days, but he has had no amorous dealings with her. Syrisus enters and talks about the ring to Onesimus, who explains (part of) his hesitation. The ring proves Charisius father of the baby ; he lost it during the Tauropolia, an all-night festival celebrated by women ; clearly there was a rape and the unknown girl has exposed the infant thus begotten. Syrisus goes. Habrotonon, who has overheard, comes forward and discusses the affair with Onesimus. She remembers observing at that very festival a girl belonging to the company for whom she herself was playing : she wandered away by herself and came back with her clothes torn and in great distress. Who this girl was Habrotonon did not know, but she would recognize her if they met. This may well be the child's mother, but Habrotonon feels that she must first discover its father, since, though the child's ring belonged to Charisius, he may have parted with it in some other way, and so need not be the father. Till she finds who wronged the girl she saw, she is unwilling to reveal the rape to the girl's friends, of whom it would be necessary to ask her name and family. Habrotonon therefore decides to pose, with infant and ring, to Charisius as the child's mother. If he lost the ring while committing the rape, he will reveal it ; then, knowing the father, she will seek the true mother. Incidentally she will surely be given her freedom as a reward ; she promises to give Onesimus credit also. He remains to soliloquize on her cunning, till he sees Smicrines approaching in excitement. The

text now tails off into scraps, but apparently he withdraws and Smicrines enters talking angrily about the dissolute behaviour of his son-in-law Charisius.

Another fragment shows Habrotonon recognizing some woman (either Pamphile, the wife of Charisius, or Sophrone, the old nurse of Pamphile) and revealing that she is not the mother but has so given it out in order to find the true mother. They enter the house to confer (and no doubt the baby is restored to its mother, Pamphile, who learns that Charisius, her husband, is its father). Onesimus enters and relates that he has watched Charisius over-hearing a conversation between his wife and her father Smicrines, which has filled Charisius with violent remorse. Onesimus dreads punishment for slandering Pamphile, and retreats on hearing his master's approach. Charisius in an agonized soliloquy reproaches himself for punishing his wife because of an involuntary act similar to one that he himself voluntarily committed: she has nobly told her father that she married him for better for worse; with what stupid pride he has requited her!

In a much briefer passage Habrotonon reveals to Charisius that the child, which he knows to be his, is also the child not of Habrotonon but of Pamphile.

Another, evidently close to the end, shows Smicrines again furiously approaching the house, apparently to fetch his daughter away by force. Onesimus reads him a lecture on morals and theology, finally revealing (supported by Sophrone) that Smicrines has a legitimate grandson.

This account ignores a number of passages. Readers who examine *Arbitration* in any of the editions will gain a fuller conception of this comedy; but the idea gained will depend upon the edition used, for many of our papyrus scraps are so tattered that reconstructions diverge disconcertingly. Certain characters—Chaerestratus and the Cook¹—hover fitfully on the

¹ We know from Athen., 659b, that he provided the funny element.

verge of our knowledge. The St. Petersburg fragment (parchment, not papyrus), if correctly assigned¹ to this play, shows that Charisius' quarrel with his wife has gone so far that he is actually living in a brothel.² We are not certain that Pamphile had a speaking part: her speech of loyalty is only reported by Charisius. Above all, we do not know how important Habrotonon's imposture was: that is, how long did she pose as the mother? Was it long enough to create a new situation for Pamphile? That is a vital question.³

But the mere "story" is plain enough. At a midnight festival Charisius violated Pamphile; neither saw the other's face, but the girl snatched a ring from him during the struggle. Four months later she was given with a large dowry by her father Smicrines in marriage to Charisius. Later the husband went away on business, and during his absence Pamphile bore a child, the result of her misfortune. Helped by Sophrone, she exposed it together with certain tokens, including the ring. Charisius' slave, Onesimus, discovered these facts and on his master's return divulged them to him. Charisius, in rage, left his wife and stayed

¹By Capps (pp. 34 sq.), followed by van Leeuwen, Wilamowitz and others.

²The house next to that of Charisius is supposed to belong to Chasrestratus but to have been rented by a *leno*.

³In any case her imposture gives her importance. Thus Wilamowitz, (p. 124) regards her fortunes and those of Pamphile as equally engrossing. But was there a substantial part of the play during which she was accepted by all as the mother? If so, as Croiset (*L'Arbitrage*, p. 2) aptly remarks, she both prepares and retards the solution. Capps (p. 39) seeks to prove that when Smicrines and Pamphile engage in the talk overheard by Charisius, they cannot have been told that Charisius is father of Habrotonon's child; but his proof fails because we cannot assume (see his own text) that Smicrines goes in to see Pamphile at the same time that Habrotonon enters to tell Charisius her story. There is an admirable German play, *Das Schiedsgericht*, "translated by Alfred Korte, completed by Friedrich von Oppein-Bronikowski" (Leipzig, no date), which assumes, and makes striking use of, the assumption that Pamphile does hear Habrotonon's story. It contains an impressive speech (p. 60) to this effect: "My rival overbears me in the eyes of Charisius because she has a child and I have none. I put my baby away so as to keep my husband, and through that very fact I am losing him." This is excellent, precisely that blend of pathos and clever ratiocination so notable in Euripides and bequeathed by him to Menander.

in a neighbouring house, where he lived dissolutely ; in particular he hired a girl-musician, Habrotonon, but did not actually co-habit with her owing to his love for Pamphile. Smicrines, hearing of this extravagant behaviour, and trembling for the dowry more than for his daughter,¹ comes to fetch her home. On the way he arbitrates between Daos and Syriscus, thus unconsciously saving his grandson for his true parents. He seeks in vain to persuade Pamphile to leave Charisius. Habrotonon lays the plan already described. Charisius learns almost at the same moment both that he is the father of an illegitimate child and that his wife, whom he has treated brutally for bearing one against her will, regards him with unselfish loyalty. After realizing his own vanity and baseness he learns that his child and his wife's are one and the same ; he goes within and the three are united. Smicrines, who has gone back to town, returns to take his daughter away by force, learns the truth from Onesimus and Sophrone, and is reconciled. Habrotonon (surely) is given her freedom ; probably she speaks for Onesimus and gains his liberty also ; no doubt these two marry.

The two important scenes that survive witness eloquently to Menander's power, each in a different way. Habrotonon's talk with Onesimus exemplifies his skill in plot. First she describes the night-scene at the Tauropolia, briefly but how vividly ! ' At that time I did not know what a man was. . . . Suddenly she ran up—no one with her—crying and tearing her hair; her frock was ruined—such a lovely delicate dress ! It was just one rag '—

εἴτ' ἔξαπίνης κλάουσα προστρέχει μόνη,
τίλλουσ' ἐαυτῆς τὰς τρίχας, καλὸν πάνυ
καὶ λεπτόν, ὃ θεοί, ταραντῖνον σφοδρὰ
ἀπολωλεκυῖ, ὅλον γὰρ ἐγεγόνει ῥάκος.

¹ Cp. Schol. Ambros. on *Odyssey*, VII, 225 : Κομιδῇ γὰρ σμικρολόγος φαίνεται (sc. ὁ Ὀδυσσεὺς) προτάσσει τῶν φιλάτων τὴν κτήσιν, ὥς παρὰ Μενάνδρῳ ἐν Ἐπιτρέπουσιν (a good evidence of the fame of this play).

Then she lays her plan: there can be few examples of complication so elegantly constructed—"spun" is the better word. She considers every one, the baby that has won her affection (ὥς κομψόν, *rakav*—'so nice, bless it!'), the girl at the *Tauropolia*, and Charisius. When we have appreciated this (not before) Onesimus drily adds: 'And you, no doubt, will get your freedom \ She agrees, with passionate hope, but we are sure that her other motives too are strong. Her plan itself is marked by the same delightful balance. She has to find the father while finding the mother, with no clues save one, the ring; it is a strange dramatic algebra: how to solve one equation containing two unknown quantities.

The arbitration scene is of the opposite kind. All is perfectly easy as a matter of construction, and interest is confined to presentation. Menander succeeds by his skill in forensic eloquence, which drew the warmest praise from Quintilian¹ himself. That he borrows the situation from Euripides' *Alope* matters little: the arguments plainly cannot have been taken from the tragedian. Daos and Syrus give truly admirable displays: eloquent, convincing and somewhat amusing too, because though they make excellent sense they have a touch of formality that suggests burlesque of the professional barrister. And they are delightfully contrasted. Daos' speech is austere logical, quite unadorned, appealing to the intelligence alone. His story gives the facts with utter bareness, implying a superhuman honesty. 'He kept on all day. I yielded to his prayers and arguments. I gave the child. He went away, invoking a thousand blessings. When he got the child he kissed my hands'—

ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν
κατέτριψε· λιπαροῦντι καὶ πείθοντί με
ὑπεσχόμεν. ἔδωκ'· ἀπῆλθεν, μυρία
εὐχόμενος ἀγαθὰ· λαμβάνων μου κατεφίλει
τὰς χεῖρας.

His peroration is equally terse. ' Conclusion. I gave you willingly one of my possessions. If it pleases you, keep it. If not, and you have changed your mind, give it back, inflicting no wrong and receiving none. But that you should have everything—part through my consent, part by force—is not right. I have finished.' Syrisus provides a perfect foil to this : his speech is florid, owes little to logic,¹ appeals openly to the emotions. He works up pathos about the child, bringing him forward in his arms as a mute pleader. ' He makes demand of you, Daos : these trinkets (he says) were hung upon him for his adornment, not to buy your meals.' It is a brilliant effect: good burlesque of the professional bar, yet perfectly sound emotional drama. Indeed Syrisus is in very truth " dramatic "—more so than anyone outside Sheridan's *Critic* : he appeals to the judge's theatrical experience. ' I am sure you have often been to the theatre (τρεῖσσαι τραγῳδοῦς, *olk on*): well, remember the story of Neleus and Pelias, how they were found by an aged goat-herd, dressed in skins like me, how by a wallet of tokens they found their true estate and the erstwhile goat herd boys became kings. Now, if Daos had found *their* amulets and sold them for a few shillings. . . .' That is the acme of pathetic comedy : smiling yet earnest, charming yet utterly sophisticated.

We find only one other character so well drawn ; for all that we know of Pamphile and Charisius² is two good emotional outbursts and the suggestive fact that Pamphile, for all her nobility, does not go so far as to tell Smicrines that she has born an illegitimate child.³ But Habrotonon is a masterpiece. We have

¹ It does not occur to him to remark that Daos' whole argument implies that the baby is valuable, whereas he gave it away because it was a nuisance.

² Nevertheless his psychology is important to the action. Legrand (*Daos*, p. 407) excellently remarks : " Si Charisios etait un brutal il aurait renvoye Pamphile' et devoild au pere la mesaventure de la malheureuse femme. S'il avait du sang-froid et s'il e'coutait sa raison, il aurait pardonne de prime abord . . . une pretendue faute."

³ " Else he would not be so arrogant in his attitude towards Charisius " (Capps, p. 39).

noted how self-seeking and thought for others are very naturally and engagingly combined in her device to discover the child's parents. She is a good-hearted girl: the baby delights her, and when she finds the mother she is full of sympathetic pleasure. If we had both this play and the *Shorn Lady* complete, it would be fascinating to compare her with Glycera. Even now the study is attractive. Both are kind, firm, and enterprising; but Glycera is a lady, whereas Habrotonon lacks delicacy: *ἀγνὴ γάμων* is her phrase to describe her relations with Charisius; she is just what the best of girls would be were she always attending Athenian wine-parties. A faintest faltering of that unequalled pen¹ would have made her either crude or "a perfect lady".

Two passages are important both in themselves and also as showing Menander's ability to vivify a hackneyed theme. Near the close Smicrines, during his altercation with Onesimus, exclaims: 'Now by the gods. . . .' The slave pulls him up sternly. 'Smicrines! Do you imagine the gods have such abundant leisure that they allot evil and good to each person day by day? Let me explain. There are in the world approximately one thousand cities, each inhabited by thirty thousand people. Do the gods damn or save each of these individually? Impossible. That would mean a toilsome life indeed! "Then do not the gods take thought for us?" you may object. To each of us they assign, as commandant of the citadel, his character which dwells within and damns one man if he outrages it, but saves another. This character is the god in our life, the cause of each man's prosperity or ruin. Propitiate it by avoiding eccentric and misguided conduct so that you may prosper.' He applies this sermon to Smicrines' behaviour in attempting to take his daughter away by force, and ends superbly: 'Mind I don't catch you a second

¹ *Menander litterarum subtilitati sine aemulo genitus* (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* XXX, 27).

time acting so recklessly'.¹ Again, Charisius, bursting forth from his house in a passion of self-contempt and of adoration for his wife, astonishes us by a notably "modern" sentiment: he repudiates the so-called double law. Though Euripides often implies² this new moral equilibrium in discussing a woman's fate or conduct—indicating (that is) indirectly the double standard as the cause of her sorrow or sin—in no extant play does he raise the topic so explicitly as it is raised here. Charisius imagines God (*τὸ δαιμόνιον*) addressing him:³

ἀκούσιον γυναικὸς ἀτύχημ' οὐ φέρεις,
αὐτὸν δὲ δείξω σ' εἰς ὅμοι' ἐπταικότα.
καὶ χρήσεται αὐτῇ σοι τότ' ἡπίως. σὺ δὲ
ταύτην ἀτιμάζεις. ἐπιδειχθήσει θ' ἅμα
ἀτυχῆς γεγυνώς καὶ σκαιὸς ἀγνώμων τ' ἀνὴρ.
ὁμοιά γ' εἶπεν οἷς σὺ διενόου τύτῃ
πρὸς τὸν πατέρα.

ⁱ Thy wife's innocent mischance thou endurest not, but I will show that thou hast thyself stumbled into the same act. Then she shall use thee gently, but thou dishonourest her. Thou shalt be shown a wretch, stupid and heartless. Like thine own thoughts, verily, are the words she spoke to her father !'

We are now able to describe more at large Menander's quality under the three headings of style, dramaturgy and governing ideas or topics.

His style is one of the most perfect instruments to be found in any literature. A perfect instrument: that is, a style meant for a particular purpose and not for many: he wrote for the stage, and his excellence of style is a dramatic excellence. Certain purists cen-

¹ For the guardian genius cp. fr. incert 550 Kock (pp. 167 sq.):

ἅπαντι δαίμων ἀνδρὶ συμπαρίσταται
εὐθὺς γενομένῳ, μυσταγωγὸς τοῦ βίου
ἀγαθός.

A. Marpurgo (*Studi di Filologia Classica*, III, pp. 5-8) shows that the lecture as a whole is an absurd *pot-pourri* of Epicurus, Heraclitus, pseudo-Epicharmus and the Stoics.

² E.g. *Medea*, 606: *τί θρῶσα; μὲν γαμοῦσα καὶ προδοῦσά σε*; The active voice of *γαμῶ* is appropriate only to the man.

³ w. 493 sqq.

sured him viciously for incorrectness. " Menander's *ὀψωνιασμός* is abominable; he should have said *ὀψώνιον*." ¹ " *Αἰχμαλωτισθῆναι* is so incorrect that not even Menander used it." ² They would have had him employ good Attic words found in writers not later than Demosthenes, whereas like a sensible man he insisted on the speech of his own day. Vocabulary and idiom he uses precisely as does Plato ³ in his lighter dialogues, and precisely as every other writer of good conversation; he writes what is ostensibly the talk one hears while walking home from the theatre, but gives it point and finish. Yet it is also dramatic—brilliantly clear and thus tending to short sentences. With this simplicity is combined a limpid elegance, an unforced urbanity that defies translation and perhaps comparison. Terence has what measure of it the Latin language will permit; Congreve is more mannered, Goldsmith more commonplace; of all modern playwrights Schnitzler perhaps comes nearest, as one might have expected, the Viennese culture being a fascinating blend of the German and the French. Menander is rarely " brilliant "; except where the situation demands it, as in the pleading of Syrriscus, he is never rhetorical. This explains why opinions may differ as to the precise degree of his excellence in style, even in the same reader's opinions from time to time. For it is a peculiarity of rhetoric that our estimate of it never varies. Henry the Fifth's harangue about St. Crispin's Day affects us always in exactly the same manner; not so the love-making beneath the stars of Verona. Lucan remains a steady blare of superhuman cleverness; Virgil changes like a landscape under sun, storm and twilight. Menander,

¹ Pollux, VI, 38.

² Phrynichus, *Epit.*, 418.

³ The artistic principle is the same, but not (of course) the results. Wilamowitz makes the interesting remark (*Menander*, pp. 158 sq.) that between Plato and Menander the level of cultivated conversation has notably fallen: " the well-to-do Philistines of comedy and their sons have scarcely higher education and interests than their house-slaves ". On the other hand, slaves in Menander are much " higher " than the Aristophanic.

for all that his range is narrower beyond comparison than Shakespeare's or Virgil's, shows this variable complexion too, because in him also humanity suffuses the very texture of the sentence.

There has been much ill-judged talk about his "poetry". Menander is not a poet at all, except as the name is often conferred, by a natural looseness, on all dramatists using verse. He might as well have written in prose :^x all the praises just given would have been equally in order. His verse, strictly as verse, possesses no merit whatever : it scans, that is all, sometimes easily, sometimes after effort : but how much rhythm is there in ὡς εὔρον, ὡς ἀνειλόμην· ὁ δὲ τότε μέν. . . ? Other metres than the iambic are rare. In the *Samia* trochaics occur in the excited colloquy of the two fathers ; there was a lyrical scene in the *Possessed Woman* ; a few anapaests survive from the *Woman of Leucas*. Poetry, then, in the strict sense must be denied to Menander ; but he has two other methods of intensifying literary effect. One is an occasional tinge of tragic diction where appropriate. That he was an enthusiast for Euripides is well-known ; and we find one direct quotation from his master. At the close of *Arbitration* Sophrone explains Pamphile's plight by a verse or two from the *Auge* :

ἡ φύσις ἐβούλεθ', ἥ νόμων οὐδέν μελει·
γυνή δ' ἐπ' αὐτῷ τῷδ' ἔφν.

' It was the will of Nature, which cares naught for law ; and a woman is born for this very purpose.' She threatens to recite the whole speech if Smicrines still does not understand. Syrus in the arbitration scene quotes a precedent from the *Tyro* of Sophocles, and Demeas in the *Samia* gives "the tragedians" as his authority for Danae and the shower of gold. Menander's own diction rises at more solemn moments :² our best example is Charisius' soliloquy,

¹ Cp. Plutarch, *Quaest. Conviv.*, VII, 8, 3, 7 : ἡ τε γὰρ λέξις ἡδεῖα καὶ

² Cp. Horace, *A.P.*, 93 : vnterdum tamen et vocem comædia tollit.

where effect is gained by the simple device of avoiding resolved feet.

The other device is wit. From the "old" fragments one gathered that Menander was full of epigrams; this is hardly borne out by the recent discoveries,¹ and what general maxims we do find are mostly uttered by slaves, as in tragedy by the chorus-leader.² Downright jokes are not found, but there is plenty of quiet bizarrerie giving edge to perfectly relevant dialogue. In the *Samia*³ Demeas, wishing to question his slave, begins: 'Listen, Parmenon: by the Twelve Gods, I have many reasons for my unwillingness to thrash you.' The spoiled young Moschion of the *Shorn Lady* recites a pompous speech that comes to a laughable anti-climax.^c In this present age many have sunk into misery, for throughout the Greek world (whatever be the cause) a flourishing crop exists thereof; but of all these, numerous as they are, I believe that no human being is so wretched as—I.'⁴ The distraught Onesimus in *Arbitration* exclaims: 'Saviour Zeus, save me—if possible.'⁵

We have next to consider Menander's dramaturgy, his merits on the strictly dramatic side. Here our first impression may well be surprise at his submission to conditions that surely cramp his powers amazingly. First, why this omniscient prologue? Why introduce a deity who either reveals the progress and outcome of the action or at least tells us in narrative what should be revealed dramatically? The answer⁶ falls into several parts. The prologue he inherited from Euripides; it is found in Aristophanes too, though less fully articulated; and at first social comedy (it appears)

¹Cp. Sir F. G. Kenyon, *Quarterly Review*, 208, p. 341.

²Wilamowitz, *Menander*, p. 151.

³vv. 90 sqq.

⁴*Περικειρομένη*, vv. 282 sqq.

⁵v. 486.

⁶M. Croiset (*Revue des Deux Mondes*, 1909, p. 818) takes an utterly different view: "En donnant directement au public les explications nécessaires . . . le poète s'affranchissait de certaines exigences gênantes qui Pauraient obligé à charger son drame d'entretiens peu animés. Il se débarrassait des difficultés qui auraient entravé son génie, et il lui assurait ainsi un jeu plus franc et plus vif."

could hardly be imagined without it. Again, ancient audiences were less interested than we in finding how all is to end and very engrossed in the method by which the end is produced ; ¹ they would not usually feel that a prologue had spoiled the drama by giving away the secret. Then, as to imparting such information dramatically, we may observe Menander working towards this method. Sometimes he sets his prologue later than the opening, as in the *Hero* and the *Shorn Lady*. This may seem a clumsy device,² but it secured attention by a bright dramatic first scene ; a similar method is common in our novels. Had he lived long enough, he might have woven his exposition entirely into the genuine drama ; even now we observe " an ingenious piecemeal surrender of contributory details " ³—the *Rosmersholm* effect in embryo.

A second kind of narrowness is found in the topics—or topic. His invariable " story " concerns, not love at large, but love-escapades. Satyrus' *Life of Euripides* reinforces the impression made by our fragments : ' . . . The quarrels that we remark in comedy between husband and wife, father and son, master and slave, or the climaxes brought about by rapes, supposititious children, recognitions by rings and necklaces ; for these of course are the framework of New Comedy and were brought to perfection by Euripides.'⁴ A strange manner of holding up the mirror to life !⁵ Such activities cannot be the staple

¹ Compare any extant tragedy, above all the (*Edipus Tyrannus*).

² Menander seems to have learnt it from Alexis, who employed it in his *Κονίς*.

³ Aulinson, p. xvi. A later playwright (see p. 71 above) makes his prologuizing Dionysus ridicule the ordinary prologue-god.

⁴ *Ox. Pap.*, IX, p. 49. Plutarch calls *ἔρως* the backbone of Menander's plays (*ὁμαλῶς ἀπάντων ἐν συνεκτικόν ἐστιν*, *ap. Stob.* 393), but praises him for his edifying treatment (*Symp.*, 712C). Croiset (*loc. cit.*, p. 824 f.) writes a brilliant comment on this feature. In Moliere, " l'amour intervient généralement comme une cause de perturbation qui met l'homme en contradiction avec lui-même et par là fait ressortir plus fortement l'habitude morale qui le caractérise. . . ." In Menander, " le caractère se fait sous nos yeux et il se fait par l'amour."

⁵ Quint., X, 70: *Ita omnem vitæ imaginem expressit.*

occupation of any society. Whatever we may have to say on Menander's method of filling in this outline, we cannot avoid astonishment that the outline satisfied him. Again the answer is complex. First, he must have been primarily more interested in treatment than in subject-matter,¹ herein resembling Shakespeare and differing utterly from Ibsen, whose combination of vital topic with superb workmanship makes him the greatest of all dramatists. Nor must the simple fact be forgotten that most playwrights wish their work to be produced : there is little sense in adopting an art-form that presupposes a large assembly and yet writing in a manner or on a subject that makes it certain there will be no assembly. Here lies whatever justification can be claimed for that oft-ridiculed couplet:

The drama's laws the drama's patrons give :
For they that live to please must please to live.

Menander was compelled to write on themes that would " please " and we are justified by his practice in assuming that no other than " love " had a prospect of success.

Thirdly, how small is the " world " whereof he treats ! The *dramatis personae* are few and stereotyped, their social conditions show little variety : the families belong to the undistinguished well-to-do or to the undistinguished poor. The social intercourse is notably casual. Every one at the slightest excuse goes off to live in the house of some one else; if that cannot be arranged, they run in and out of one another's houses or break holes in the walls like the ingenious Plataeans in Thucydides. So constant is this practice that the street becomes more secluded than the hearth : if people have any private business to discuss they step out into the street, whereupon the neighbours edge up behind the porch to listen. All this social equality and unfettered coming and going will amuse us as crude technique until we observe that it is by no means

¹ What could be duller than the bald story of the *Priestess* set out above (pp. 325^Λ.)?

confined to Menander.¹ We light here, in fact, upon a topic of the first importance for dramatic criticism.

Our customary use of the word "comedy" is absurdly wide and therefore misleading: the *Knights* and *Le Misanthrope* are both "comedies"; if we are to define comedy so as to include all such works we shall have to say that it is any drama of light tone, that (even if it treats of serious distress) at any rate excludes unrelieved agony. Such a definition is useless, and a great deal worse than useless, because it causes the innocent to compare work like Menander's with the Old Comedy. That is why discussion of critical labels is anything but waste of time, for blind acceptance of labels may ruin appreciation. Many plays are spoiled for us because we approach them in the wrong mood: it is disastrous to watch Euripides' *Helena* with a long face because Euripides is a tragedian, and *Arbitration* with a grin because Menander is a comedian. The *Helena* is a burlesque, the *Birds* is a farce; and many fail to enjoy them fully through taking Theonoe seriously and looking for a "message" in the streets of Cloud-cuckootown. Most of fifth-century "comedy" is farce, not strictly comedy at all. The difference between these types is that in comedy people act in a fairly logical and natural way; in farce they, with their author, play the fool: comedy has poise, farce is lopsided. These facts are often ignored because of a widespread notion that farce must be bad, and we are too loyal to attribute farce to a great writer.² The fact is that, farce being unnatural, it is particularly hard to write it well. But it can be done: *Charley's Aunt* is good farce; the *Birds* is sublime farce. Between this and the writings of Menander, Moliere, and

¹ In fact most of our evidence for this method comes from Roman Comedy which (for such externals) drew upon the whole New Comedy, not Menander alone.

² In the same way we are content to go on shaking our heads over certain elements in *Othello* because we refuse to see that it is not a tragedy but a melodrama.

Congreve, there is an almost ¹ complete difference. That is why critics who happen to be more interested in comedy strictly so called than in comedy roughly so called—in farce, that is to say—occasionally astound us by their judgments ; the French ² have a great way of ignoring Shakespeare altogether when discussing comedy. We may put the distinction in other words—so as not to become the slaves of labels—and say that Aristophanes writes broad comedy, Moliere and Menander the Comedy of Manners. This latter depicts more frequently types than individuals, and a situation that can without grave difficulty be supposed to occur every other week. It is " real " life made significant by deletion of irrelevance and alluring by skill in dialogue, deftness in construction. And here is the point at which we have been aiming throughout this paragraph : such qualities, realism, polish, deftness, necessitate precisely that circumscription which seemed a self-imposed clog upon Menander : it is a vital element in his art. This type of comedy needs people who fully understand one another's notions of life, who share the same accomplishments, the same degree of culture, even the same kind of language.³ That is why the slaves are so near to their masters : one could not write a comedy of manners about Robinson Crusoe and Man Friday. Moreover, such work involves frequent confrontations or narrow escapes therefrom, so that they must all live close together, in the same house or contiguous houses. In brief, not only does the Comedy of Manners arise in a " world " that is small, sophisticated, equally sophisticated, and leisured ; further, it is such a world,

¹ For they themselves now and then turn to farce, as in the " roast grandson " scene of the *Samia* and the sack-and-cudgel scene in *Les Fourberies de Scapin* (a passage censured by Boileau).

² Cp. Benoit, *La ComJdte de Me'nandre*, e.g. pp. 3 and 35 ; Croiset, *Hist. de la litt. grecque*, III, p. 631 ; Legrand throughout his magnificently copious *Daos*.

³ On this, and the whole topic, see Meredith's sparkling and masterly *Essay on Comedy*.

and such a world only, that it depicts.¹ These conditions explain why our " Restoration " dramatists confine² themselves not merely to London, but to the fashionable world therein, with its attendant valets, seamstresses, and less reputable satellites; why even Moliere is externally less varied than romantics like Rostand ; why Crates was overshadowed by Cratinus in an Athens dominated by politics both domestic and imperial; why in the same city, as soon as politics became a remoter and less intelligible topic under Macedonian rule, Menander found excellent scope for this art by the simple device of ignoring both the great³ and the lowly (save, indeed, the satellites aforesaid) and concentrating on the bourgeoisie ;⁴ why, in a field analogous to drama, Dickens wrote novels utterly unlike such comedy because he ranged so widely, whereas Meredith, an excellent Menandrian, dextrously carved for himself out of Victorian England a *milieu* containing only people of rank, fashion and culture—therefore leisured and sophisticated—who, with their dependants as always, gave him the ideal arena for his consummate wit and comedic genius.

So the tiny " world " of a Menandrian play is marked off, a circle containing some dozen people, each closely connected with the other eleven. Equally important, he is not connected with anyone outside the circle, unless indeed the plot demands that a child be born in his absence ; if so, he is suddenly allotted absurdly vague business in Imbros or some other

¹Wilamowitz seems mistaken, therefore, when he laments {*Menander*, p. 164) Menander's indifference to great events and achievements outside Athens, " which had become a little town ". Legrand (*Daos*, p. 651) develops the same lament with eloquence. So might one grieve that Jane Austen did not live in Paris.

²Not entirely : we find a fascinating hybrid in such plays as Farquhar's *The Beaux Stratagem*.

³It is often suggested that he and his school feared the Macedonian officials; as our own dramatists are said to fear the Tired Business Man. But the reason given above is in this respect better, that it accounts for a peculiarity shown by all social comedy.

⁴Cp. Aulus Gellius, II, 23: *illud Menandri de vita hominum media sumptum* (of a passage in the *Πλόκιον*).

island and duly packed off. But no one cares about Imbros.¹ Such places are mere starting-points whence the elderly uncle may arrive, bringing wealth or good news, just as he now arrives from Johannesburg or New Zealand. But the artificial congestion enables the artist to perform prodigies of skill, like Wilde's fan-scene that induces Lord Windermere and his wife to change completely, and in opposite directions, their opinions of Mrs. Erlynne; the marvellous dovetailing in the *Double-Dealer*, where Congreve achieves the ideal, *vera dicendo ut eos ambos fallam*²—¹ to deceive them both by telling the truth'; the complications of Terence's *Self-Punishment* and the *Brothers*, where the fathers suppose the girl to be one youth's *inamorata* when she is really the other man's. The aim in such drama is not novelty of story, but novelty of treatment. The scheme stands, but different elements are emphasized and embellished in different plays. The exposed baby is found by a peasant: this can be dealt with in two lines, but in *Arbitration* it is wrought up into a long and splendid scene that gives its name to the whole. The hero comforts himself with a courtesan, but whereas in the *Shorn Lady* she has apparently no additional function, the whole action of *Arbitration* swings upon her. It is a standard feature that the amorous youth's real or supposed conquest should excite jealousy; but observe the difference between the passionate distress of Demeas and the naive misery of Polemon. The braggart always has a toady; in the *Flatterer* we see even from the scanty fragments that he outshone his principal. And in complication Menander, like his

¹ It has been said that for a Parisian the world is divided into three portions: Paris, the departments, and *Id-bas*. This polished parochialism is equally marked in the descendants of Themistocles and Alcibiades. Imbros and Caria are *Id-bas*, like "the Colonies" in a nineteenth-century novel or play: merely a dumping-ground for persons not wanted at the real centre. So John Worthing in Oscar Wilde says of his scapegrace brother: "He must choose between this world, the next world, and Australia".

² Terence, *Heaut*, 711, which Congreve prefixed as a motto to his play.

successors, exhibits an eye-defeating virtuosity recalling those diagrams where at one moment the black squares stand out of a white background and, at the next, white squares on black. Habrotonon's device to trace mother by father, father by mother—to find two unknowns with only one equation to help her—is beautiful. Pamphile in the same comedy sacrifices her baby so as to keep her husband, but by that very plan she loses ¹ him, yet later regains him because the device to keep him has failed. Polemon by quarrelling with Glycera binds her more closely to him : his ill-treatment brings about their marriage ; and (most marvellous of all) the whole puzzle of that play solves itself. Some will have it that the presiding deity of New Comedy is Chance. This is a complete misunderstanding: Menander tells us, or allows his characters to tell us, that Chance governs life, but he will not admit her into the theatre. The neatness of his confrontations, the deftness wherewith events interlock, are not her work, but the outcome of that insistence upon a small homogeneous world which, once formed, compels his people to meet constantly.

But are there not certain misgivings that after a while chill our admiration : censure, perhaps, attaching to Menander alone, or to the whole Comedy of Manners?

Plutarch ² relates that a friend of Menander once expressed surprise that though the Dionysiac festival was at hand the poet had not yet written his comedy. ' My play is written,' was his reply, ' for the plot is devised : I have only the lines to compose '. This of course implies that the plot (worked out in minute detail, to be sure) is independent of the actual words, which are only the matter filling in an outline. But in the perfectly-written play construction enters into

¹ This stage, it will be remembered, depends on the (probable) assumption that Habrotonon is for some considerable time recognized as the founding's mother.

² *De Gloria Ath.*, 347e: πεποίηκα τὴν κωμῶδιαν, ὥκονόμηται γὰρ ἡ μάθεσις· δεῖ δ' αὐτῇ τὰ στιχίδια ἐπῆσαι.

details even minuter than those. Every word helps structure: pressure of the plot and its development tinges each crevice of the dialogue. It is not for nothing that the childless Electra calls Night 'thou nurse of golden stars'¹ or that Medea echoes a high-flown word of her husband's.² Can we believe that the (*Edipus Tyrannus* did not grow in and through its dialogue? Hervieu's work, especially *La Course du Flambeau*, derives much of its significance and intensity from this method. Ibsen has carried it to amazing perfection: one can hardly discover a passage in his superb later period that is not an example, the finest of all being the "casual" reference to little Thea Elvsted's hair, which gives such terrific power to the scene where the manuscript is burned. Plutarch's anecdote implies that Menander knew nothing of this. Wonderfully as his scenes interlock, they are not interfused: the dialogue serves its own purpose but does not echo and foretell by its mere turns of expression the dominant notes of scenes that precede or are to come. A strong example of this is seen in the *Samia*, where we find three passages, each splendid but out of tune with the others: anxious narrative, pathetic altercation, and farce. He composes a marvellous mechanism, not a fabric.

And is not all such comedy but a carving of cherry-stones, this superbly skilful manipulation of artifice in an unnaturally narrow area? Shall we not regard Menander as belonging to the race of Sardou and Pinero? Is he not a mere "man of the theatre," or, more accurately, a theatrical dramatist, by which is meant a dramatist whose "great moments" instil in the onlooker not a deeper appreciation of life but only admiration for the dexterity that has engendered them? No; because having perfected his vehicle he goes on to employ it for non-theatrical effects, precisely like Terence after *Phortnio* and Ibsen after the *League of*

¹ Eur., *Electm*, v. 54.

² Eur., *Medea*, vv. 597, 1322.

Youth. Sardou and Pinero seek for " questions " and " problems " so as to ensure a thrilling scene of climax, what Sarcey called *la seine a faire* ; these others reverse the process, employing their dramatic powers to convey illumination about life and its distressing or ludicrous complexities. A playwright thus developing is menaced by a terrible danger. Will he become a propagandist pure and simple ? That means ruin, for he will send his audience home arguing about " movements " and abuses, not glowing with a deeper vitality, a stronger relish for life itself.¹ Menander understood that art should not inculcate opinions but illumine the soul, bestowing not facts but spiritual appreciation. From him no one ever learned anything more definite than a knowledge of the human heart in all its quaint twists, its sudden meannesses, its unexpected nobility. In him is a splendid union of complete disillusionment and complete charity. The slave-characters so winningly drawn in *Arbitration*, those two delightful women, Habrotonon and Glycera, Charisius' outcry of self-discovery and protest, the separation of Demeas and his Samian concubine—all these penetrate far more deeply than the petty conditions of drawing-room comedy would suggest.

It may, indeed, be asked whether he does not transgress the bounds of comedy, far-flung as they are. Donatus in his commentary on Terence several times remarks: ' Here he diverges from Menander and does thus and thus lest his play should rise up into tragedy \ To suggest that it should not so rise is no vain pedantry. Too violent a change of tone may shake it to pieces, for nothing is more destructive of artistic effect than the crude juxtaposition of emotions that will not blend. Marlowe's *Dr. Faustus* sins horribly thus. The greatness of Shy lock causes a splendid play to rock dangerously. Ford is a grave threat to the *Merry Wives* : his rage when alone should be care-

¹ The conflict between artist and propagandist in Mr. Galsworthy's plays is a drama in itself.

fully "over-acted". The piteous anti-climax that follows Caesar's noble address to the Sphinx is a *gaminerie* not only of Cleopatra, but of Shaw, and distresses the audience no less than it startles Caesar. Now, in Menander, these dangers are, so far as we can now see, skilfully avoided. Why does he write, side by side, two accounts of Charisius' remorse? First Onesimus reports what he has heard his master exclaiming within: next moment Charisius comes forth and says much the same to us. Clumsy? Not so: we are prepared for what would otherwise be "too tragic" by Onesimus' report, which is mingled with the usual "comic" fears for his own safety. Similar tact marks the other emotional scenes: Polemon's agonized appeal to Pataecus is relieved by his artless insistence on showing Glycera's wardrobe to his reluctant hearer; Demeas' torture of Chrysis and himself is relieved by her amazement at his perversity in breaking out now of all times.

Menander has realized that mere holding the mirror up to life soon grows tiresome and empty: he will be not an echo but a commentator. Yet he will not write treatises. Not only does he avoid advocacy of definite reforms or causes: it is difficult to maintain even that he puts forth any specific moral teaching. An obvious question arises: do his works set forth the doctrines of his illustrious school-fellow, Epicurus? First, it is well known that Epicurus deplored the yoke cast upon men's hearts and minds by popular religion; the outbursts of his disciple Lucretius on that theme are among the most renowned passages of Latin poetry. Now, Menander wrote at least four plays dealing more or less fully with this: the *Priestess* (Ἱέρεια), the *Superstitious Man* (Δεισιδαίμων), the *Charioteer* (Ἡνίοχος), the *Woman of Thessaly* (Θεσσαλή). The last dealt with witches who pull down the moon; the *Charioteer* contained a biting remark¹ about strolling gods carried

¹ Fr. 202.

on a board from house to house by an old woman ; the *Superstitious Man* ridicules the omen of a broken shoe-lace.¹ The *Priestess*, as we have seen, contained a grave censure of witch-doctor's " religion ". Secondly, the sermon of Onesimus, absurd jumble as it is, nevertheless puts forward an Epicurean doctrine, that the gods do not meddle with human affairs. Thirdly, certain fragments recommend the Epicurean impassivity (*ἀραπαξία*), though they do not use that word or name the philosopher. Among them is that lofty passage² about the quiet enjoyment of the august unchanging spectacle afforded by the material Universe. Fourthly, Menander often dilates upon the importance of affection or friendship ; and Epicurus laid great emphasis on this. The proper conclusion to be drawn is plain. Menander, of course, knew the Epicurean doctrines, and the great passage about contemplation of the Universe is a notable borrowing. But there is no reason to consider him an actual convert, still less to suppose that he wishes to promulgate his friend's philosophy. Superstition is a theme that would easily offer itself, that could indeed hardly be avoided, in that age. Friendship or affection, unless we can show that Menander wrote plays to demonstrate its importance, provides no evidence at all ; of course, no writer of social comedy can help saying much about it. We have at present no reason to suppose that Menander used the beautiful device of Terence, who bifurcates his plot and employs each half to solve the other. The upshot is that, though of course we cannot deny Epicurean influence, it is certainly not so strong that we can point to anything in Menander not fully intelligible without it. He is neither a propagandist nor a mere entertainer, but an urbane yet pungent commentator on the quaintness, pathos, and generosity of life itself as lived by unheroic yet deeply attractive men and women.

¹Fr. 109.

²Fr. 481. See above, p. 321. Note *ἀλύπως*.

CHAPTER VIII

METRE AND RHYTHM IN GREEK COMEDY

§ i. INTRODUCTION

POETRY is illuminating utterance consisting of words whose successive sounds are arranged according to a recurrent pattern. The soul of poetry is this illumination, its body this recurrent pattern of sounds ; and it is with the body that we are now to deal. We must distinguish carefully between rhythm and metre. Rhythm is the recurrence just mentioned—the structure; metre is the gathering together of sounds into masses upon which rhythm shall do its work. Metre, so to put it, makes the bricks, while rhythm makes the arch.

Greek metre is based, not upon stress-accent,¹ but upon quantity—the length of time needed for the pronunciation of a syllable. In English the line

My bosom's lord sits lightly in his throne

is scanned as a series of five iambs; the iambus being a foot which consists of an unaccented, following by an accented, syllable. The word "bosom's" can stand where it does because the stress of the voice naturally falls upon the first syllable of "bosom"; to begin a line with "my controlled bosom" would clearly be wrong. The length of the syllables has no effect on the scansion. That "sits" needs as long a time for its utterance as the first syllable of "lightly" does not alter the fact that "sits light-" is an accentual

¹A totally different thing from the written Greek accents', ' , and" , which refer to, pitch, not stress.

iambus. Greek words, on the other hand, as metrical¹ material, are considered only from the quantitative point of view, not the accentual. The voice-stress in the word **λόγους** rests upon the first syllable, but the word is an iambus, a " short " followed by a " long " (marked respectively and -).

When is a syllable long and when short? All syllables are long—

(i) Which contain a necessarily long vowel (**η** or **ω**),
e.g. → **μῆν των**.

(ii) Which contain a diphthong or iota subscript, e.g., **οῖνος**, **αἰνῶνμεν**, **ῥᾶδιως**, save that the first syllable of **ποιῶ** and **τοιούτος** (and their parts) is often short.

(iii) Which end with a double consonant (**ζ**, **ξ**, **ψ**),
ὄζος, **ἔξω**, **ὄψον**.

(iv) Which have the circumflex accent, e.g., **υμῶν**, **μῦς**.

Most syllables are long the vowel of which is followed by two consonants. But there is some difficulty about this very frequent case. It can arise in three ways :—

(a) Both consonants may be in the same word as the vowel. Then the syllable is generally long, but the rules are complicated.² It may be noted specially that when the consonants are a mute followed by a liquid the syllable is usually short: e.g., **κάπνος**, **ἄγρος**,
o<f>pn<;

(b) One of the consonants may end its word and the other begin the next. Such syllables are *all* long. Thus, **οσὼν στιλην**, **ανδρες σοφοι**, although both these long syllables are " short by nature ".

(c) Both consonants may occur at the beginning of the second word. If the vowel is naturally short, the syllable is usually short, but if the second word begins with a double consonant or cr followed by another consonant, the syllable is always long. Thus **ὁ ξενος**, **τί ζητεις**, **ταυτᾶ σκοπουμεν**.

¹ We shall see later that in *rhythm* stress-accent is important.

² See Prof. J. W. White, *The Verse of Greek Comedy*, pp. 364 sq.

A vowel, naturally short, when thus lengthened is said to be "lengthened by position".

The following types of syllable are *always* short:—

(i) Those containing a naturally short vowel (e or o) not lengthened by position, *e.g.*, ἔκων, ὅπως.

(ii) Final a of the third declension neuter singular (σώμα), third declension accusative singular (ἐλπιδᾶ, δρασαντᾶ), and all neuters plural (τᾶ, σώματα, τοιαυτᾶ).

(iii) Final t (*e.g.*, ἐστι, τι), save, of course, when it is part of a diphthong.

(iv) The accusative -as of the third declension (ανδρᾶς, πονουντᾶς). But μουσᾶς (first declension). The quantity is that of the corresponding nominative.

Hiatus is rare. That is, a word ending in a vowel is not to be followed by a word beginning with a vowel, unless one vowel or the other disappears. Almost always it is the first vowel which is thus elided. In verse one would not write πάντα εἶπε, but πάντ' εἶπε: not en *elvai*, but ε^r* *elvai*. When the first vowel is long and the second short, the latter is cut off by "prodelision," a much rarer occurrence. Thus ΤΟΥΤΩ *avei-rre* would become τούτῳ ᾿νεῖπε. Two long vowels, as in καλὴ ἡμέρα, are not used together at all. But the rule as to hiatus does not normally apply at the end of a verse; usually one can end a verse with an unelided vowel and begin the next with a vowel. If in any metrical scheme this liberty is not allowed, it is said that "synapheia"¹ prevails". Hiatus, practically unknown in tragedy, is found here and there in the colloquial style of comedy: *e.g.*, wepl 'AXxi/JiaSou {Frogs, 1422), TL cart; (Wasps, 37). Occasionally two vowels are scanned as one by synizesis,² *e.g.*, μὴ οὐχί, which is a trochee (- ^). Occasionally "weak hiatus" occurs: that is, a long vowel or a diphthong is shortened before a vowel.³

¹ Συνάφεια, "connexion," "continuity".

Συνίησις, a p s e " .

³ For an example see p. 167 (Plato). Cp. Prof. J. W. White, § 797.

§ 2. THE IAMBIC TRIMETER

This is the familiar line of ordinary dialogue: it consists of six feet, any one of which may be an iambus (υ-). But a "pure" iambic line, one in which every foot is an iambus, as in *Plutus*, 1017 :

μονος | γαρ ηδηεθ ως | εοικ|εν εσθ|ιων

is very rare. A speech written solely in such feet would be highly monotonous and far too rapid. Other feet are therefore allowed, under restrictions, to take the place of the iambus.

By far the commonest of these is the spondee, which consists of two long syllables (λογχη, παντων). This can occur in the first, third, or fifth places—one, two, or all three. Thus :

αλλ ως | ταχιστ|α τηνδ|ε την | θεωρ|ιαν (*Peace*, 715).

εσθει | προς ημ|ας δευρ|ο πυρρ|ιχην | βλεπ|ων (*Birds*, 1169).

εκ των | φρεσ|των τους | καθους | ξυλλαμ|β | ανειν (*Ecd.*, 1004).

Next, the lightness and variety is greatly increased by the use of "resolved" feet. Each long syllable being regarded as equal to two "shorts," it follows that the iambus can be resolved into υυυ, the spondee into -υυ, υυ- (and υυυυ, but this last is not employed in iambs).

The anapaest (υυ-) is the commonest of all the resolved feet, and may appear in any place save the sixth :

αλλ ει | δοκει | ρεγωμ | εν εγκ|εκαλυμ|μενοι (*Clouds*, 11).

The tribrach (υυυ) can occur in any place, save the sixth :

παι παι | φερ εξ|ω δευρ|ο τον | γυλιον | εμοι (*Ach.*, 1097).

σφραγιδ|ας επιβ|αλλουσ|ιν ηδη και | μοχλους (*Thesm.*, 415).

The dactyl (— ∪ ∪) is allowed in those places to which the spondee is admitted, but somewhat rarely in the fifth. Thus:

ἀδελ|δε χρησ|μοις ο δε|γερων|σιβυλλ|ια (*Knights*, 61).
 εχθ|ρος ετ|ι προς|τουτοι|σιν ανδρ|ι δημ|οτη (*Clouds*, 1219).
 ου δειν|ον ουν|δητ εστ|ιν ημ|ας δεομ|ενοvs (*Birds*, 27).

Three important features, one metrical, two rhythmical, must be mentioned.

First, the last syllable of the line may be short: no doubt the pause at the end of the line was felt to help it out. Verses of this kind are innumerable, e.g.:

ησθην|δε βαι|α πανν|δε βαι|α τεττ|αρα (*Arch.*, 2).

(This is followed by a vowel, a.) It matters little whether such final vowels are marked as long, or as short, or with the sign of doubtful quantity (— ∪).

Next is the usage as to caesura ("incision"). The rule in tragedy is that a word-ending must occur in the middle of the third or of the fourth foot. This usage is essential to rhythm. That co-extension of word and foot which is naturally frequent must at one point be emphatically excluded so that the whole line may be felt as a single rhythmical whole. Such "lines" as ταύτην ἄναξ λέγει καλὴν εἶναι πόλιν or Ὀδυσσεὺς φίλοι μαχοῦμενοι τάχα are utterly impossible: the first falls into six scraps, the second into two lumps, of equal length. But the caesura may be dispensed with if the third foot ends with an elision, apparently because, if the word could be written in full, the fourth foot would be divided between two words. Whereas tragedy observes these rules closely, comedy allows a good many exceptions. Such lines as

εγω|δε θεισ|α || τουτ|ε στεφαν|ους | περιδ|ησομαι (*Eccl.*, 122)

are in this respect exactly like the tragic line. But exceptions are fairly common, *e.g.* :

ινα τουμ|ον ιμ|ατιον | φορων | μεμνητ|ο μου (*Plutus*, 991).

δεδρακ|ας ειρ|ηνην | ποιησ|ας ως | προ του (*Peace*, 1199).

Thirdly, the " rule of the final cretic " ¹ is ignored in comedy. The rule is that if the fifth foot contains a caesura, the foot must be an iambus. In tragedy there are hardly any breaches of this rule. In comedy they are numberless, *e.g.* :

σκεψασθε παιδες την αριστ|ην || εγγ|ελυν (*Ach.*, 889).

τω δητ αν αυτον προσαγαγοιμ|ην || δραμ|ατι (*Thesm.*, 849).

From this account it will be gathered that the iambic trimeter of comedy is (quite naturally) much rougher than the tragic and nearer to normal speech. It is often difficult to catch the rhythm at all owing to the absence of caesura and the frequency of resolved feet:

ουτως | υποκριν | ομενον | σοφως | ανειρ | ατα (*Wasps*, 53).

ο τοκος | ετ εν | πολει | τεκοιμ | ες την | κυνην (*Lys.*, 754).

§ 3- THE IAMBIC TETRAMETER

This consists of eight feet with catalexis ² (that is, the last foot has not its full number of syllables, the remainder being filled by a pause in delivery) :

πλακουσ|ιν εστ|ιν εντ|υχειν | πλανωμ|ενοις | ερημ|οις (*Peace*, 1143).

But such a line, *in* which all the seven complete feet are iambs, is exceedingly rare. The spondee is very frequently admitted, in the first, third, and fifth, but never the seventh, foot:

οιμοι | ταλας | εχουσ|ι γαρ | πορπακ|ας ω | πονηρ|ε (*Knights*, 858).

ουκουν | ορας | ορμωμ|ε νους | ημας | παλαι | προθυμ|ως (*Plutus*, 257).

¹ It is so called because the second half of the fifth foot *plus* the sixth will obviously have the metrical form — —, which sequence of syllables, when it forms a single foot (as, of course, it does not in iambs), is called a cretic.

²From *καταλήγω*, "to stop short".

Tribrachs are much rarer :

χωρωμ | εν αμα | τε τφ | λυχνοφ | παντη | διασκ | οπωμ | εν (*Wasps*, 246).

Dactyls are scarcely ever found :

συ θ ου | βαδιζεις ο δε | Χαρων | το συμβολον | διδωσιν (*Plutus*, 278).

Anapaests are excluded.

No rule exists as to caesura, but diaeresis normally occurs : that is, the end of the fourth foot generally coincides with the end of a word, as in all the examples hitherto offered. But exceptions are fairly frequent:

αλλ εστ | ι τουτ | ω Δημ | ε μηχ | ανημ | ιν ην | συ βουλ | η (*Knights*, 851).

That tragedy should not employ this metre is perfectly natural. Its length combined with cataiexis make it a splendid instrument of comic declamation, but it has no dignity. The same raciness marks its English equivalent:

With Admirals the ocean teemed all round his wide dominions.
{*The Gondoliers.*}

§ 4. THE TROCHAIC TETRAMETER

Under this head we shall deal with trochees (~ ~) only as used in the non-lyrical passages of comedy. Originally all dialogue was written in this metre ; but in extant comedy it is mostly confined to recitative by the chorus. The metre is always the trochaic tetrameter catalectic (sometimes called the trochaic octonarius), that is, a line consisting of eight feet, mostly trochees, with catalexis.

Pure trochaic verses are occasionally to be found :

ουκ ακουσομ | εσθα | δητα | δεινα | τατα | πεισομ | αι χ (*Ach.*, 323).

The mark χ means that there is a pause equivalent in length to a short syllable. (It is often found in the scansion of lyrics, and there one also at times uses χ χ χ which mean pauses equivalent to two,

three, and four short syllables respectively.) As in iambs, the last syllable may be short by nature :

εἰ δε | που πεσ|οιεν | ες τον | ωμον | εν μαχ|η τυν|ι (K^{nights}, 571).

Such purely trochaic lines are rare. Spondees are used freely in the second, fourth, and sixth feet :

τουτ εκ|ει καλ|ον παρ | ημιν | εστι | ην τις | τῷ πατρ|ι (B^{irds}, 758).

εξελ|ων ημ|ων μεν|οινων | προς βι|αν τανθρ|ηνη|α (W^{asps}, 1080).

Tribrachs, too, are very common :

τον ιερ|ον χορ|ον δικ|αιον | εστι | χρησ|τα | τῇ πολ|ει (F^{rogs}, 686).

της ε|ορτης | μη τυχ|ουτες | κατα λο|γον των | ημερ|ων (C^{louds}, 619).

This foot may occur in any of the seven places, but is extremely rare in the fourth and seventh :

αλλα | χουτος | ετερος | ουτος|ι μεν | εστι | φιλοκλ|ους (B^{irds}, 281).

Dactyls and anapaests are very rare.

There is no rule as to caesura, but, as in the iambic tetrameter, diaeresis normally occurs at the end of the fourth foot.

It will be seen that the trochaic tetrameter catalectic is almost as regular in comedy as in tragedy. This magnificent metre is in fact one of the finest and best loved elements in all poetry. Aristotle¹ indeed imputes to it lack of dignity, if not of decency : we should rather call it popular. Throughout the history of western civilization its splendid leaping vigour has been employed wherever simple strong emotion was to be expressed. Archilochus, the earliest of personal poets, employs it in his virile songs of love and revelry :

ὥς Διωνύσοι' ἄνακτος καλὸν ἐξάρξαι μέλος
οἶδ' αὖ διθύραμβον, οἶν' οὖν ξυγκεραυνῶθεις φρένας.

Epicharmus throws into this same form his vigorous popular philosophy:

νᾶφε καὶ μέμνασ' ἀπιστεῖν · ἄρθρα ταῦτα τᾶν φρένων.

¹ *Poet.*, IV, 14 : τὸ μὲν γὰρ πρῶτον τετραμέτρῳ ἐχρῶντο διὰ τὸ σατυρικὴν καὶ ὀρχηστικωτέραν εἶναι τὴν ποίησιν. In *Rhet.*, III, 1, 9, he calls it κορδακικώτερον.

Attic drama is full of it. Æschylus has set some of his most magnificent poetry in this measure :

τῆλε πρὸς δυσμαῖς ἀνακτος Ἡλίου φθινασμάτων.

In Latin popular poetry it flourished inextinguishably in that exquisite Pagan lyric, the *Pervigilium Veneris*—

totus est in armis idem quando nudus est Amor—

as in the noblest hymns of the Roman Church :

qualiter Redemptor orbis immolatus vicerit.

Later popular verse favours it no less, as in the old Austrian national anthem :

Über bluhende Gefilde reicht sein Scepter weit und breit;
Sauler seines Throns sind Milde, Biedersinn und Redlichkeit,
Und von seinem Wappenschild strahlet die Gerechtigkeit.

In English it moulds the best-known work of Longfellow (*The Psalm of Life*) and of Tennyson (*Locksley Hall*); it flourishes still in verse that one would call the complete antithesis of Æschylus, the comic song :

In a cabin, in a canyon, excavating for a mine,
Dwelt a miner, forty-niner, and his daughter Clementine.

§ 5. ANAPAESTIC SYSTEMS

The dimeter (or tetrapody) is a verse of four feet:

ελελιζ | ομενης δ | ιεροισ | μελεσιν (*Birds*, 213).

But lines consisting of anapaests alone are very uncommon. Spondees and dactyls, but no other feet, are often substituted, at any place in the verse :

διακιν|ησας | φαιδροις | ωσιν (*Peace*, 156).

καναπυθ|ωμεθα | τουσδε τιν|ες ποτε (*Birds*, 403).

Anapaestic dimeters are invariably closed by a catalectic verse:

Οεια J fiaKapav \ 0X0X17)77 — (*Birds*, 222).

This is called a " paroemiac " (a term of uncertain derivation). In systems of considerable length such

verses occur at intervals; Cratinus in his *Odysses* has a passage composed entirely in paroemiacs.

Unlike the dimeter, the tetrameter (eight feet) is unknown to tragedy, but in comedy it is extremely frequent, and is indeed called by Hephaestion ΤΟ 'Ἀπορρητικόν,' because of his skill in its use. The verse is always catalectic :

ο̄ μ̄εν ορτ|υγᾱ δους | ο̄ δε παρφ|υριων | ο̄ δε χην | ο̄ δε Περσ|ικον ορν|ιν [·] _{~~~~~}
(*Birds*, 707).

As usual, other feet are freely admitted: indeed the line just given is the only extant example of a purely anapaestic line. The spondee is frequent, being admitted to any of the first six ¹ feet:

ον̄ χρην | διᾱ τας | προ̄τερας | νικας | πινειν | εν̄ τω̄ | πρω̄ταει|ω̄ ^{~~~~~}
(*Knights*, 535).

The only other foot allowed is the dactyl, which is rarer, and practically confined to the first and third feet: it is never found in the sixth or seventh :

αυτον̄ επ|ηγει | προ̄ς το θε|ατρον | παρᾱβας | εν̄ τοις | ανᾱπαιστ|οις ^{~~~~~}
(*Peace*, 735).

Diaeresis is almost always to be found at the end of the fourth foot.

This metre, which exhibits better than any other the flexible vigour and the beautifully limpid though idiomatic Greek of Aristophanes, is often employed in those brilliant harangues that expound pompous theses, such as Socrates' lecture on the origin of thunder (*Clouds*) ; a series of this type regularly occurs in the parabasis. An excellent parallel is found in *Iolanthe*, e.g. :

And you're giving a treat (penny ice and cold meat) to a
party of friends and relations
(They're a ravenous horde), and they all came on board at
Sloane Square and South Kensington Stations.

¹See p. 131 for a unique example (from Cratinus) of a spondee even in the seventh place.

§ 6. LYRICS

The metres and rhythms of Greek songs form a difficult and complicated study, as we do not know the music composed for them. Nevertheless, we find much help in the fact that they are normally arranged in stanzas which closely correspond in metre and rhythm. Any pair of these is called strophe and antistrophe.

Our best preparation is the habit of reading aloud, with correct quantities and natural emphasis, the non-lyrical parts of Aristophanes. Let us, so prepared, address ourselves to the following passage from the Frogs (534-541):

ταῦτα μὲν πρὸς ἀνδρός ἐστι
νοῦν ἔχοντος καὶ φρένας καὶ
πολλὰ περιπεπλευκός,
μετακυλίνδειν αὐτὸν αἰεὶ
πρὸς τὸν εὖ πράττοντα τοῖχον
μᾶλλον ἢ γεγραμμένην
εἰκὼν' ἐστάναι λαβόνθ' ἐν
σχῆμα· τὸ δὲ μεταστρίψεσθαι
πρὸς τὸ μαλθακώτερον
δεξιῷ πρὸς ἀνδρός ἐστι
καὶ φύσει Θηραμένους.

- u | - u | - u | - u
 - u | -> | - u | ->
 - u | u u | - u | - A
 u u | -> | - u | ->
 - u | -> | - u | - u
 - u | - u | - u | - A
 - u | - u | - u | - u
 - u | u u | - u | ->
 - u | - u | - u | - A
 - u | - u | - u | - u
 - u | -> | - u | - A

The passage is trochaic, three only of the feet being resolved. Seven feet are irrational: that is, a long syllable is substituted for a short. The result is often called a spondee, but there can be no doubt that (in trochaics) ->, while taking longer to pronounce than --, was yet shorter than --.

So much for the metre. As for the rhythm, our passage reveals structure effected by the use of catalexis at intervals. This marks the whole strophe into

" periods " (*περίοδος*, " circuit ") which are sometimes printed each as one huge " line ". Why are they usually divided as above ? Because as the strophe is built up out of periods, so is each period built up out of cola (*κῶλον*, " limb "). Each colon, then, of this lyric is a trochaic dimeter (tetrapody) and we may indicate the scheme of the whole thus :

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{c} 4 \\ 4 \\ 4 \end{array} \right. \quad \left\{ \begin{array}{c} 4 \\ 4 \\ 4 \end{array} \right. \quad \left\{ \begin{array}{c} 4 \\ 4 \\ 4 \end{array} \right. \quad \left\{ \begin{array}{c} 4 \\ 4 \end{array} \right.$$

This is a very simple lyric. Similar examples are the antistrophe of course (*Frogs*, 542-8) and *Birds*, 1470-81 (= 1482-93). In the latter, however, as often, the end of a colon falls in the middle of a word :¹

πολλὰ δὴ καὶ καινὰ καὶ θαυ-
μάστ' ἐπεπτόμεσθα καὶ . . .

Rather more difficult is the delightful song from the *Knights* (551 sqq.):

ἵππ' ἀναξ Πόσειδον, ᾧ
χαλκοκρότων ἵππων κτύπος
καὶ χρεμετισμός ἀνδάνει
καὶ κυανέμβολοι θοαὶ
μισθοφόροι τριήρεις,
μειρακίων θ' ἄμιλλα λαμ-
πρυνομένων ἐν ἄρμασιν
καὶ βαρυνδαμονούντων,
βρυῖρ ἔλθ' ἐς χορὸν ὦ χρυσοστρίαν' ὦ
δελφίνων μεδέων Σουνιάρατε,
ὦ Γεραίστικε παῖ Κρόνον,
Φορμίωνί τε φίλτατ' ἐκ
τῶν ἄλλων τε θεῶν Ἀθην-
αίοις πρὸς τὸ παρεστός.

Like the former, this passage is trochaic, but we find rhythmical features hitherto unmentioned, which are of the first importance in lyric verse.

First, dactyls are admitted: the first colon is scanned:

— ∪ — ∪ — ∪ —
ἵππῃ ἀν|αξ Ποσ|είδον| ᾧ

(equivalent to four trochees), and the whole passage is plentifully sprinkled with dactyls. That is to say, trochaic

¹ See further p. 383.

lyric systems admit, not genuine dactyls, but "cyclic" dactyls. To the "long" of each foot and to the first "short" is given less than their usual length: the rhythm is accelerated, so that $\sim \cup$ is equivalent to $\sim$, and the whole cyclic dactyl, marked $\sim \cup \cup$, is equivalent to a trochee.¹ Whenever we see a number of apparent dactyls, we must examine the whole passage to find whether it is trochaic or not. Trochaic systems which contain cyclic dactyls are called "logaoedic".²

Next, we encounter *τονή* ("stretching"). Lyric metres recognize syllables of greater length than $\cup \cup$. Most frequent is that marked L, equal to $\cup \cup \cup$. Lyric trochaic systems freely admit a single "long" syllable (L) as a complete foot, and the swing of the whole composition will generally show where such a foot is to be postulated. Thus the fifth colon above runs

$\sim \cup \cup \sim \cup L \sim$
μισθοφοροι τριηρεις λ.

If one asks "why not

$\sim \cup \cup \sim \cup - >$
μισθοφοροι τριηρεις?"

the answer is that the rest of the strophe falls into cola of four feet, not of three, and that therefore the assumption of *τονή* is better rhythm. So

$\sim \cup \cup \sim \cup \sim \cup L \sim$
βαρυδαιμονουντων λ

The two longer cola are scanned

$\sim > \sim \cup \cup L \sim \cup \cup L \sim$
δευρ ελθ | ες χορον | ω | χρυσοτριαιν | ω λ
 $\sim > \sim \cup \cup L \sim \cup \cup L \sim$
δελφινων μεδεων | συννιαρ | ατ | ε λ

giving us six "trochees" in each colon.

Other lyrics show anacrusis. Many scholars refuse to believe in its existence; but whether it is a figment³

¹ Before condemning this statement as a mere evasion, the student should reflect that all such poetry is written for music, which would in performance make the rhythm "come right".

² Λογαοδικός, "mingled of prose and verse".

³ Ancient writers on metric know nothing of it: Gottfried Hermann introduced it a little more than a century ago.

or not, Greek lyrics are vastly easier to scan if it is postulated. It is an introduction (*ἀνάκρουσις*, "striking up"), standing outside the metrical structure, and plainly neglect of this will often throw our scansion out completely. Consider the following (*Peace*, 1127-30)

ἦδομαι γ' ἦδομαι
κράνους ἀπηλλαγμένος
τυροῦ τε καὶ κρομμύων.
οὐ γὰρ φιληδῶ μάχαις.

The scansion of the syllables is plain enough :

- υ - - υ -
υ - υ - - υ -
- - υ - - υ -
- - υ - - υ -

Without anacrusis one cannot arrange this intelligibly into feet unless one accepts the trochee as the equivalent of the iambus, which is impossible. But with anacrusis the scheme is easy :

- υ - | - υ -
υ : - υ - | - υ -
- : - υ - | - υ -
- : - υ - | - υ -

Whether the passage should be scanned as cretics (- υ -) or as trochees (- υ -) is another question.

Not only is the strophe usually analysable into periods: there are sometimes isolated cola: a period may be preceded by a prelude and followed by a ostlude or epode; and such a member occurring between periods is called a mesode.

We have now become acquainted with three rhythmical masses: the colon, the period, the strophe. Are there others? What is a "verse" in lyrics? There is no such thing. One must of course distinguish between a line and a verse. Lines there must be: that is an affair of the scribe and the printer; verses are rhythmical units, and there is no rhythmical mass in Greek lyrics between the colon and the period.

We must now consider the most vital portion of

¹ Cola containing anacrusis are often printed so as to begin further to the left than others.

our subject. How are we to determine the cola? The colon is the very soul of the rhythm. The period is generally too long for the ear (unaided by music) to receive it as one artistic impression. The foot is too short; moreover, the mere foot too often tends to play one false: irrational syllables and *rovrvj* are against us. But the colon is neither too long nor too short. The colon-division serves the same purpose as non-commissioned officers in a regiment, or the determination of water-sheds in geography: it gives a sense both of grouping and of control.

What precisely is a colon? It is as much of a strophe as can be uttered without making a new start. It is the embodiment of rhythm: a series of feet bound into a rhythmical unity by the presence of one main ictus. Three questions, then, arise, (i) What is an ictus? (ii) Which is the main ictus of a series? (iii) Can we with certainty determine the beginning and end of a colon when we have identified the main ictus?

(i) Ictus is stress-accent. The ictus of any single word is usually obvious: in *πάντων*, *λυσαμένοις*, and *κατάπαστος*, it falls upon the first, second, and third syllable respectively. Greek metre is based upon quantity, but Greek rhythm (like all other rhythm) is based upon ictus. A strophe can, and must, be scanned foot by foot on quantity alone; but when we go beyond the foot-division to exhibit the structure of the whole, we must refer to ictus and nothing but ictus—for structure is an affair of cola, and the colon is created by the main ictus.¹

(ii) Among the many word-ictuses of a considerable passage, a few will be found which are heavier than the rest. These are simply the ictuses of the most important words. Each of these prominent ictuses gathers the neighbouring minor ictuses into a

¹The doctrine of ictus here stated is that generally accepted. But a number of scholars deny any ictus to Greek poetry. See, for example, Prof. J. W. White (*The Verse of Greek Comedy*, § 28). If they are right, it is impossible for anyone bred on Germanic language and literature to understand Greek poetry at all on its formal side.

group round itself. We should begin then by fixing some example where the main ictus is unmistakable, and on this basis attempt, by the help of the correspondences which we expect, to determine other main ictuses. The strophe will thus gradually fall into cola,

(iii) Can we with certainty determine the extent of each colon? Unfortunately no simple rule can be given for the settlement of this vital point. A well-trained ear is the chief guide. Intelligent and careful reading aloud of an English prose-passage will show this. Take first a famous sentence of John Bright:

The angel of Death is abroad in the land : you may almost hear the beating of his wings.

If we set a dash for each syllable and mark the ictuses by one or more dots according to their strength, we find this scheme:

So with longer passages, where, however, we shall find at times that our voice quite naturally makes a colon-ending in the midst of a grammatical sentence:

Therefore let us also, seeing we are compassed about with so great a cloud of witnesses, lay aside every weight, and the sin which doth so easily beset us, and let us run with patience the race that is set before us (*Hebrews*, xii, 1, R.V.).

Let us now attempt so to catch the rhythm of a passage from Aristophanes (*Peace*, 774 *sqq.*) if set out as " prose ":

Μοῦσα σὺ μὲν πολέμους ἀπωσαμένη μετ' ἐμῷ τοῦ φίλου χόρευσον,
κλείουσα θεῶν τε γάμους ἀνδρῶν τε δαίτας καὶ θαλίας μακάρων· σοὶ γὰρ τὰδ'
ἐξ ἀρχῆς μέλει. ἦν δέ σε Κάρκινος ἐλθὼν ἀντιβολῇ μετὰ τῶν παίδων χορεύσαι,
μήθ' ὑπάκουε μήτ' ἔλθης συνέριθος αὐτοῖς, ἀλλὰ νόμιζε πάντας ὄρνυγας οἰκογε-
νεῖς γυλιάυχενας ὀρχηστὰς ναννοφυεῖς σφυράδων ἀποκνίσματα μηχανοδίφας.
καὶ γὰρ ἔφασχ' ὁ πατήρ ὁ παρ' ἐλπίδας εἶχε τὸ δρᾶμα γαλῆν τῆς ἐσπέρας
ἀπάγξαι. τοιάδε χρὴ Χαρίτων δαμώματα καλλικόμεν τὸν σοφὸν ποιητὴν
ὑμνεῖν, ὅταν ἡρινὰ μὲν φωνῇ χελιδῶν ἐξομένη κελαδῇ, χορὸν δὲ μὴ ᾄχῃ Μόρσι-
μος μηδὲ Μελάνθιος, οὐ δὴ πικροτάτην ὕπα γηρύσαντος ἤκουσ' ἥνικα τῶν
τραγῳδῶν τὸν χορὸν εἶχον ἀδελφός τε καὶ αὐτός, ἥμφω Γοργόνες ὄψοφάγοι
βατιδοσκόποι Ἀρπυιαί, γρασσόβαί μαραιὶ τραγομάσχαλοι ἰχθυολύμαι· ὧν
καταχρεμψαμένη μέγα καὶ πλατὺ Μοῦσα θεὰ μετ' ἐμοῦ σύμπαυζε τὴν ἑορτήν.

If we first mark the quantities (ignoring, as we must at first, the possibility of L) and go over the whole carefully, we soon find that it falls into two corresponding portions: Μοῦσα σὺ μὲν . . . ἀπάγξαι is the strophe, τοιάδε χρὴ . . . ἑορτήν is the antistrophe. Next we look for rhythmical units. On the one hand, there is the great difficulty that, since we must have strophic equivalence, certain cola may take in words not belonging to the same sense-groups or grammatical clauses. On the other hand, we have enormous help in the fact that there are two great masses which correspond exactly. Next we read the first strophe aloud carefully to find the natural stress-arrangement, and so the cola. We shall soon find certain masses suggesting themselves :

τοῦ φίλου χόρευσον—σοὶ γὰρ τὰδ' ἐξ ἀρχῆς μέλει—ἀλλὰ νόμιζε πάντας—
ἀποκνίσματα μηχανοδίφας—ἐσπέρας ἀπάγξαι.

Let us then set out the strophe provisionally thus :

1. Μοῦσα σὺ μὲν πολέμους ἀπωσαμένη μετ' ἐμῷ
2. τοῦ φίλου χόρευσον
3. κλείουσα θεῶν τε γάμους ἀνδρῶν τε δαίτας καὶ θαλίας μακάρων
4. σοὶ γὰρ τὰδ' ἐξ ἀρχῆς μέλει
5. ἦν δέ σε Κάρκινος ἐλθὼν ἀντιβολῇ μετὰ τῶν παίδων χορεύσαι, μήθ'
ὑπάκουε μήτ' ἔλθης συνέριθος αὐτοῖς
6. ἀλλὰ νόμιζε πάντας
7. ὄρνυγας οἰκογενεῖς γυλιάυχενας ὀρχηστὰς ναννοφυεῖς σφυράδων ἀποκ-
νίσματα μηχανοδίφας
8. καὶ γὰρ ἔφασχ' ὁ πατήρ ὁ παρ' ἐλπίδας εἶχε τὸ δρᾶμα γαλῆν τῆς
9. ἐσπέρας ἀπάγξαι

Is there any of these nine which is too long for a colon ? The first probably, certainly the third, fifth, seventh, and eighth. The first falls into two correspondent

parts: *-ωσαμένη μετ' ἐμοῦ* is the same as the earlier part, except for catalexis. In the third we detect two portions similar to those in the first, namely: *κλείουσα θεῶν τε γάμους ἀνδρ-* and *καὶ θαλίας μακάρων with -ῶν τε δαίτας* in the middle. This collocation shows that we have to do both with real or apparent dactyls and with real or apparent trochees. These facts should help us in the fifth mass. Dactylic scansion suggests that we separate from the rest *ἦν δέ σε Κάρκινος ἐλθῶν* and *-ης συνέριθος αὐτοῖς*, which exactly equal one another.¹ As for the residue—*ἀντιβολῇ μετὰ τῶν παίδων χορεύσαι, μήθ' ὑπάκουε μήτ' ἐλθ-*—the last four words exactly equal the second colon shown in the preceding sentence: *-ῶν τε δαίτας* and we soon observe that *ἀντιβολῇ μετὰ τῶν παίδ-* equals the first colon of that sentence. This fifth mass thus falls into four almost identical cola, with *-ων χορεύσαι* in the middle, which is the same as *-ῶν τε δαίτας* above.²

The seventh passage is plainly dactylic: indeed, for those familiar with Homer it reads like a bad attempt at two hexameters. But it is not for this reason that we divide after *ὀρχηστάς*: it is because there is great difficulty in hearing dactyls or spondees in the middle of the passage by any other means. The eighth mass is perfectly dactylic, with a final long syllable, but the whole is too lengthy for a colon. The reader's ear will probably tell him definitely that the end comes after *ἔγχετο δρᾶμα γαλήν*. As for *εἶχε το δρᾶμα γαλήν*, dactylic scansion is best served by adding the next word, *rrjs*: *-ww-ww--*. Moreover *ἐσπέρας ἀπάγξαι, not τῆς ἐσπ. ἀπ.*, is a familiar colon: *-υ|-υ|L|-* (an ithyphallic—see p. 389).

¹ Counting the trochaic *-ιθος* as equivalent to the *d a c t* (*Κάρκινος*), in the assumption that the dactyls are cyclic.

² Shall we regard these two phrases, *-ων χορεύσαι* and *-ῶν τε δαίτας*, as too short to form separate cola, and the phrases that precede them as short enough to combine with them, thus making one colon of *ἀντιβολῇ μετὰ τῶν παίδων χορεύσαι* and another of *κλείουσα θεῶν τε γάμους ἀνδρῶν τε δαίτας*? This is a minor question, to be decided according as we wish either to emphasize the similarity of the four phrases indicated above in the fifth mass, or to avoid cola that are too brief to "fill the mouth".

The whole strophe is composed then of the following cola :

(i) Μοῦσα σὺ μὲν πολέμους ἀπ- (ii) -ωσαμένη μετ' ἐμοῦ (iii) τοῦ φίλου
 χόρευσον· (iv) κλείουσα θεῶν τε γάμους ἀνδρ- (v) -ῶν τε δαίτας (vi) καὶ
 θαλίας μακάρων (vii) σοὶ γὰρ τὰδ' ἐξ ἀρχῆς μέλει (viii) ἦν δέ σε Κάρκινος
 ἐλθὼν (ix) ἀντιβολῇ μετὰ τῶν παιδ- (x) -ων χορεῦσαι (xi) μήθ' ὑπάκουε
 μήτ' ἔλθ- (xii) -ης συνέριθος αὐτοῖς (xiii) ἀλλὰ νόμιζε πάντας (xiv) ὄρνυγας
 οἰκογενεῖς γυλιαύχενας ὀρηστὰς (xv) ναννοφυεῖς σφυράδων ἀποκνίσματα
 μηχανοδίφας (xvi) καὶ γὰρ ἔφασχ' ὁ πατήρ ὁ παρ' ἐλπίδας (xvii) εἶχε τὸ
 δράμα γαλῆν τῆς (xviii) ἐσπέρας ἀπάγξαι

How are these eighteen cola to be set out ? This is a question of minor importance. If we do not object to lines ending in the middle of a word we may write them out as eighteen lines. Or we may continue a line till we reach a colon-ending that is also a word-ending. This we shall now do, but at times we shall carry the line past the point just mentioned, because if we stopped at that point there would occur in the antistrophe (which must be written out to correspond) a word-break at the end of a line. Thus, if the last line of the strophe contained only *ἐσπέρας ἀπάγξαι*, the last line of the antistrophe must begin at the middle of *σύμπαιζε*. Two of our lines are set more to the left to indicate anacrusis:

Μοῦσα σὺ μὲν πολέμους ἀπωσαμένη μετ' ἐμοῦ
 τοῦ φίλου χόρευσον,
 κλείουσα θεῶν τε γάμους ἀνδρῶν τε δαίτας
 καὶ θαλίας μακάρων·
 σοὶ γὰρ τὰδ' ἐξ ἀρχῆς μέλει.
 ἦν δέ σε Κάρκινος ἐλθὼν
 ἀντιβολῇ μετὰ τῶν παιδων χορεῦσαι,
 μήθ' ὑπάκουε μήτ' ἔλθης συνέριθος αὐτοῖς, ἀλλὰ νόμιζε πάντας
 ὄρνυγας οἰκογενεῖς γυλιαύχενας ὀρηστὰς
 ναννοφυεῖς σφυράδων ἀποκνίσματα μηχανοδίφας.
 καὶ γὰρ ἔφασχ' ὁ πατήρ ὁ παρ' ἐλπίδας
 εἶχε τὸ δράμα γαλῆν τῆς ἐσπέρας ἀπάγξαι.

Certain detailed hints may be added :

(i) The tetrapody is the most frequent length, the pentapody the rarest. (That is why *μήθ' ὑπάκουε μήτ' ἔλθ-* above was scanned ~ ~ | ~ ~ | ~ | ~ - ^ rather than as a tripod : ~ ~ | ~ ~ | ~ - >.)

(ii) The end of a colon is often indicated in dactyls by a spondee, in trochees by a single long syllable (whether ~ or - ^).

(iii) In any one period there is a tendency to conformity in length. If $6 + 5 + 4$ and $6 + \bar{6} + 4$ are *prima facie* equally possible, the latter is as a rule to be preferred. In spite of the difference in sum-total ($6 + 6 + 4 = 16$; $6 + 5 + 4 = 15$), this point often arises, because of the possibility of *τονή*.

§ 7. A LIST OF THE FEET USED IN LYRICS

(a) *Iambi*. Iambic systems are frequent and various: e.g. *Ach.*, 948 ff.:

ἀλλ' ὃ ξένων βέλτιστε συν-
θέριζε καὶ τοῦτον λαβῶν
πρόσβαλλ' ὅποι βούλει φέρων πρὸς πάντα συκοφάντην.

This is the rhythm of the English comic song :

I'm Captain Jinks of the Horse Marines :
I feed my horse on kidney beans.
Of course it's far beyond the means of a Captain in the Army.

(b) *Trochees*. These are the most frequent feet in lyrics. Such systems express ordinary strong interest :

καὶ τὰ τῆδε καὶ τὰ δεῦρο
πάντ' ἀνασκόπει καλῶς (*Thesm.*, 666).

So in English :

Then, upon one knee uprising,
Hiawatha aimed an arrow. (LONGFELLOW.)

Resolution into tribrachs, and the use of spondees (or irrational trochees), are frequent:

οὐ οὐ οὐ - > - οὐ οὐ οὐ
ὅτε μὲν | οὐν ἦν | χρηστὸν | ἦ τι (*Frogs*, 599).

Whenever more definite emotion is to be conveyed, either cyclic dactyls are introduced or a change is made to some other metre.

(c) *Dactyls*. These are found pure, or mingled with spondees or quasi-trochees (L ~). They are employed to convey a sense of majesty, as in the splendid entrance-song of the *Clouds* (275-313), or amid the dazzling finale of the *Birds* (e.g., 1748-49):

ὃ μέγα χρύσειον ἀστερόπης φάος
ὃ Διὸς ἀμβροτον ἔγχος.
- ~ ~ | - ~ ~ | - ~ ~ | - ~ ~
- ~ ~ | - ~ ~ | - ~ ~ | - ~ ~

Where $\text{—} = \text{— — — —}$, *i.e.*, (here) a dactyl. Ariel's lines in *The Tempest* (V, i) :

Merrily, merrily, shall I live now,
Under the blossom that hangs on the bough,

are dactylic tetrapodies with catalexis.

(d) *Spondees*. It is not certain that these are used as a base, though as a variant in anapaestic and dactylic metre they are common. *Birds*, 1058-64, may be taken as spondees :

ἦδη μοι τῷ παντόπῳ
καὶ παντάρχα θυητοὶ πάντες
θύσσουσ' εὐκταίαις εὐχαῖς.

But they may be quasi-anapaests.

(e) *Cretics*. This foot ($\sim^w$) is frequent, being used to express strong excitement, whether gleeful or angry. It is therefore very often resolved as — — — — , called a paeon, *e.g.*, *Ach.*, 214-17 :

ἐκπέφευγ', οἷχεται φροῦδος· οἴμοι τάλας τῶν ἐτῶν τῶν ἐμῶν.
οὐκ ἂν ἐπ' ἐμῆς γε νεότητος, δὲ γὰρ φέρων ἀνθρώπων φορτίον
— — — — | — — — — | — — — — | — — — — | — — — —
— — — — | — — — — | — — — — | — — — — | — — — —

Few cretics are found in English, though Tennyson's brief poem, *The Oak*, is written entirely in this metre, *e.g.* :

All his leaves
Fall'n at length,
Look, he stands,
Trunk and bough,
Naked strength.

(f) *Bacchiacs*. The bacchius consists of $\text{— — } \sim$, the system being invariably introduced by anacrusis.¹ It is rare :

φάνηθ' ὃ τυράννους στυγούσ' ὥσπερ εἰκός (*Thesm.*, 1144).
— : — — — | — — — | — — — | — — —

Ye storm-winds of Autumn !
Who rush by, who shake
The window, and ruffle
The gleam-lighted lake. (M. ARNOLD.)

¹ Those who do not believe in anacrusis of course describe the bacchius as consisting of $\sim \text{—}$.

(g) *Ionics*: --υυ. When anacrusis is found—the usual form—the foot is often called *Ionicus a minore* (i.e., υυ--); otherwise it is called *Ionicus a maiore* :

χαρίτων πλείστον ἔχουσιν μέρος ἄγναν, ἱερὰν (*Frogs*, 335).

υυ; --υυ|--υυ|--υυ|L]A

A strange variant is -υ-υ; the variation is called "anacclasis" ("breaking-up"). Thus :

φλογὶ φέγγεται δὲ λείμων (*Frogs*, 343).

υυ; -υ-υ|--A

Anacclasis is sometimes modified into ---υ, but the corresponding verse regularly shows complete anacclasis. Thus

πολύκαρπον μὲν τινάσσων (*Frogs*, 328)

υυ; ---υ|--A

corresponds to

γόνυ πάλλεται γερόντων (*Frogs*, 345)

υυ; -υ-υ|--A

in the antistrophe.

(h) *Choriambi*: -υυ-. It depends upon our methods of scansion whether we find this foot often or very seldom in comedy.

(i) *Dochmiacs*. It is convenient to discuss these here, though the dochmius is not a foot, but a colon, of which the simplest form¹ is υ--υ-, e.g., *κακορρημόνων*.

τί ταῦτα στρέφει τεχνάζεις τε καὶ παρίζεις τριβάς; (*Ac.*, 385).

υ--υ-|υ--υ-|υ--υ-

Resolution of one or more long syllables is very common. A frequent form is υυυ-υ- :

πόλεμος αἴρεται, πόλεμος οὐ φατός (*Birds*, 1188).

υυυ-υ-|υυυ-υ-

There is much variety, owing to resolution and irrational long syllables. Thus :

μηδόμενος ποιεῖν ὅ τι καλῶς ἔχει (*Thesm.*, 676).

>υυ-υ-|υυυ-υ-

λάβε δ' ἐμοῦ γ' ἔνεκα παρ' Ἱερωνύμου (*Ach.*, 386).

υυυ-υυυ|υυυ-υ-

ἀέρα² περιπέφελον ὅν ἔρεβος ἐτέκετο (*Birds*, 1194).

-υυυυυυυυυυυυυυυυ

¹ This important sequence may be conveniently memorized—if we substitute accent for quantity—by the sentence "Attack Rome at once".

² Scanned —υ by synizesis,

CHCERILEUM: - - - - - TWO dactylic trimeters, the second catalectic :

ἄξια σῇ φρενὶ συμβουλευσαμένους μετὰ σοῦ (*Clouds*, 475).

Marius Victorinus (III, p. 2558) discusses this type, giving a Latin example :

nunc age Pierios versus dea Calliope.

COLON REIZIANUM is a modern name for the " acephalous " ¹ Pherecratean, - - - - - e.g. :

τοῦ μηνὸς ἐκάστου (*Ach.*, 859).

CRATINEUM: - - - - - This is perhaps a pair of trochaic cola, the second catalectic :

εὖτε κισσοχαῖτ' ἀναξ χαῖρ', ἔφασκ' Ἐκφαντίδης.
πάντα φορητὰ πάντα τολμητὰ τῷδε τῷ χορῷ.

EUPOLIDEAN: - - - - - This curious and ugly metre was in great favour with the comic poets, including Eupolis, after whom it was named. We have a long example of its use in the parabasis of the *Clouds* (518-62), e.g. :

ὁ σώφρων τε χῶ καταπύγων ἄριστ' ἤκουσάτην (529).
ἐξέθηκα, παῖς δ' ἑτέρα τις λαβοῦσ' ἀνείλετο (531).

The line appears to consist of two cola, of which the second is usually a catalectic trochaic dimeter. The second half of the first colon is invariably a choriambus:

ο̣ σ̣ω̣φ̣ρ̣ων̣ τε | χ̣ω̣ κα̣τα̣π̣υ̣γ̣ων̣ | ω̣ν̣ α̣ρι̣στ̣ η̣κου̣σα̣τη̣ν̣.

The first half has four syllables, each of which, except the third, may be short or long at the poet's will, though - - is avoided. This random quantity is derived from the original Æolic verse in which all syllables might have any quantity. It is certainly impossible to get any feet out of the first four syllables of the colon.

GLYCONIC: - - - - - This lively and beautiful phrase is no doubt a logacedic trochaic dimeter

¹ I.e. "headless"; an acephalous colon has lost its first syllable. It is hard to believe in the existence of such a freak.

(tetrapody): a retarded trochee, a cyclic dactyl, a trochee, a catalectic trochee :

ἡδιστον φάος ἡμέρας (*Knights*, 973).

Cp. Horace (III, xiii, 4): *cut frons turgida cornibus*. The second syllable may be short :

οὗτος οὐ δύναται μαθεῖν (*Knights*, 995).

ITHYPHALLIC : e.g. :

ἐν βροτοῖσιν ἔξεις (*Clouds*, 460).

This is a favourite close of the Aristophanic trochaic stanza. It is not a tripod but a dimeter—i.e., scanned as four feet, $t\ h\ \bar{u} - \bar{u} | - \bar{u} | \bar{L} | - \bar{u} . l$ u t i o n is admitted :

νέκυσιν ἐπὶ παρείαν (*Thesm.*, 1055).

PARCEMIAC : $\bar{\bar{u}} - | \bar{\bar{u}} - | \bar{u} \bar{u} - | - \bar{u}$. This is the regular close of an anapaestic system, e.g. :

τοῦ σεμνοτάτου δι' Ὀλύμπου (*Thesm.*, 1069).

PHAIJECEAN : $\bar{u} - \bar{u} - - \bar{u} \bar{u} - \bar{u} - \bar{u} - -$

πολλὰ δὴ διεκόμπασας σὺ κἀγώ (*Wasps*, 1248).

Occasionally both the first two syllables are short:

τανυσίπτερε ποικίλα χελιδοῖ (*Birds*, 1411).

This is the metre of the celebrated Harmodius-song in the first two lines of its stanza :

ἐν μύρτου κλαδί τὸ ξίφος φορήσω
ὥσπερ Ἀρμόδιος κ' Ἀριστογείτων.

Cp. Cratinus 321, Kock (p. 140 above). It is familiar also in Latin as the hendecasyllabic line of Catullus and Martial, e.g., *quoi dono lepidum novum libellum?* (Cat., I, 1).

PHERECRATEAN : $- \bar{u} - \bar{u} \bar{u} \bar{L} -$: ἦν Κλέων ἀπόληται (*Knights*, 976). This is a catalectic form of the glyconic. The metre is named after Pherecrates, from whom we have a fragment which gives a long syllable regularly in the second place :

ἄνδρες, πρόσσχετε τὸν νοῦν
ἐξευρήματι καινῷ,
συμπύκτοις ἀναπαίστοις.

Cp. Horace (III, xiii, 3), *eras donaberis hcedo*.

Pherecrates himself calls these cola " collapsed anapaests," meaning apparently that the third and fourth feet in each colon are abbreviated by *rovrvj*. The Pherecratean is often used to close a series of Glyconics.

PRIAPEAN : - ♪ - ♪ ♪ - ♪ - | - ♪ - ♪ ♪ ♪ -, This is a glyconic followed by a Pherecratean :

οὐδ' Αἰξωνίδ' ἐρυθρόχρων | ἐσθίειν ἔτι τρίγλην
οὐδὲ τρυγύνος, οὐδὲ δειν|οῦ φὺν μελανούρου (Cratinus).

Catullus, *Carm.* X V I I, is written in this metre :

O Colonia) qucs cufiis ponte ludere longo.

The " first Priapean " (used in the fragment of Eupolis on p. 191) is a variation that makes the first foot of each colon a dactyl, and the second a trochee.

PROSODIAC : - ♪ ♪ - ♪ ♪ -, This, of course, can be scanned as anapaests, but Professor White, who gives great importance to this colon, regards it (§ 630), on the authority of Hephaestion, as consisting of Ionic *a maiore* and choriamb. It is found, *e.g.*, in Cratinus, fr. 323, followed by a catalectic iambic dimeter :

χαῖρ' ὦ μέγ' ἀχρειογέλως ὅμιλε ταῖς ἐπίβδαις.

We have said little concerning the nature, structure, and correspondence of periods, subjects too doubtful and complicated for the present brief statement. We may perhaps work out the period on paper, but our ear often cannot appreciate the balance and contour of the whole as it can in English lyrics, where we have the immense assistance of a rhyme-scheme. But it is no sound deduction that the study of Greek lyric metre and rhythm is therefore useless. We cannot always hear the period—that is a question of music ; but we can always hear the colon—that is a question of language. To utter the cola correctly is easy after a little practice ; and it is these " sentences " which, by their own rhythmical nature and by the identities or contrasts existing between them, reinforce and more pungently articulate the sense of the words wherefrom they are moulded.

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