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THE ORIGIN OF ATTIC COMEDY

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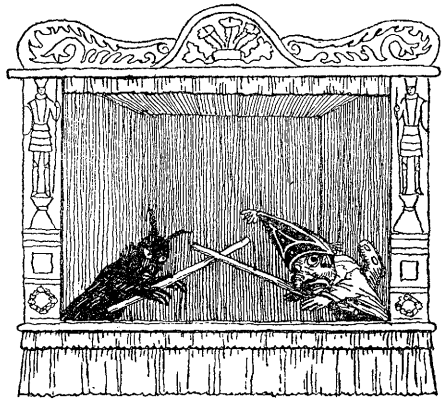
LONDON: EDWARD ARNOLD

THE ORIGIN OF ATTIC COMEDY

BY

FRANCIS MACDONALD CORNFORD
FELLOW OF TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE

Μοῦσα σὺ μὲν πολέμους ἀπωσαμένη μετ' ἐμοῦ
τοῦ φίλου χόρευσον,
κλείουσα θεῶν τε γάμους ἀνδρῶν τε δαῖτας
καὶ θαλίας μακάρων·
σοὶ γὰρ τάδ' ἐξ ἀρχῆς μέλει.



LONGMANS, GREEN, AND CO.
FOURTH AVENUE & 30TH STREET, NEW YORK
LONDON: EDWARD ARNOLD

TO

GILBERT MURRAY

PREFACE

ARISTOTLE observes that at the date from which the record of comic poets begins, Attic Comedy had already 'certain definite forms.'[1] The hypothesis put forward in this book is that these traditional 'forms,' still clearly traceable in the constant features of the Aristophanic play, were inherited from a ritual drama, the content of which can be reconstructed. Chapters II to VIII contain the argument for this theory, and Chapter IX deals with the paradox (if paradox it be) that the ritual drama lying behind Comedy proves to be essentially of the same type as that in which Professor Gilbert Murray has sought the origin of Tragedy.

I was not myself prepared for any such conclusion. This book was planned, and part of it (now cancelled) was even written, while I still accepted the current view that Aristophanic Comedy is a patchwork of elements loosely pieced together, and in origin possibly foreign to one another. A closer study of the eleven plays convinced me that this opinion was almost wholly mistaken. The plays, under all their variety and extravagance, have not only a unity of structure, but a framework of traditional incidents, which cannot, I believe, be otherwise explained than as the surviving fabric of a ritual plot. The hypothesis was thus forced upon me by the facts; but very probably it would never have occurred to me, if I had not had in my mind Professor Murray's theory of the 'ritual forms' in Tragedy. My debt to him is, therefore, great. The dedication marks my sense of it, as well as my gratitude for all that I have learnt from his imaginative and delicate interpretation of Greek poetry.

Among earlier writers, I owe most to Zielinski, whose *Gliederung der altattischen Komödie* contained the first serious effort to account for the unique structure of the Old Comedy. Pursuing further

[1] *Poetics*, 5: ἤδη δὲ σχήματά τινα αὐτῆς ἐχούσης οἱ λεγόμενοι αὐτῆς ποιηταὶ μνημονεύονται.

the lines suggested by Zielinski, I have reached many conclusions that are at variance with his; but this does not lessen my admiration for his masterly handling and fineness of insight. The other writings from which I have learnt most are mentioned in the Bibliography.

Two friends have given me much help: Miss Jane Harrison and Mr. Arthur Bernard Cook. To Mr. Cook I am particularly indebted for allowing me to see proofs of his forthcoming book, *Zeus*, which contains a most important discussion of Dionysiac ritual, and for consenting, with his unfailing generosity, to read my manuscript at a time when the pressure of his own work was heavy upon him. Miss Harrison has let me draw upon stores of learning far greater than my own. My theory, moreover, like Professor Murray's, rests upon conceptions which she has done much to elucidate.

For the convenience of the reader who may be unable to carry in his head the plots and structure of the eleven plays, I have added a *Synopsis* at the end of the volume, giving a brief summary of the action, and indicating the occurrence of the ritual motives discussed in the text.

That Tragedy and Comedy should have the same divine protagonist, the dying God whose defeat is a victory, the ironical Buffoon whose folly confounds the pretence of wisdom—this is a mystery of Dionysiac religion, the treatment of which here is necessarily incomplete; for this book contains no independent study of the essence of Greek Tragedy. I hope some day to return to the question, and try to define further the relations which Tragedy and Comedy have to each other, and to their common source in ritual. Meanwhile, I shall be content if those who feel the fascination of tracing literary origins find in this preliminary study of Comedy a fresh and not misleading clue to a very curious chapter in the history of drama.

F. M. C.

TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

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NOTE.—The design on the title-page is copied from a coloured drawing by George Cruikshank in Payne Collier's *Punch and Judy*, London, 1870.

THE ORIGIN OF ATTIC COMEDY

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTORY

1. *The Data for Inquiry*

An inquiry into the origins of the Old Comedy which flourished and declined at Athens in the century between the Persian Wars and the death of Aristophanes must be based partly on literary tradition, partly on a study of the eleven plays which are the only complete specimens left to us of this peculiar form of art. The literary tradition is, unfortunately, very meagre. Its most important data come, directly or indirectly, from Aristotle and his school, the first serious students of literary origins. When to these are added certain statements made by Aristophanes about his own work and that of his predecessors, we have before us the bulk of what deserves to be taken as evidence of first-rate authority. Precious as it is, and not to be set aside without the very strongest reasons, the consideration and reconsideration of it by many generations of scholars have not led to very clear conclusions. Above all, a number of remarkable features, which are characteristic of the Aristophanic play and distinguish it from every other form of Comedy, are still unexplained. Until these can be accounted for, the problem, under its most interesting aspects, remains unsolved. Zielinski, therefore, was well advised when he turned from these scraps of historical tradition to a direct study of the plays themselves, and sought to determine the laws of their structure and composition. Many of his minor conclusions will not stand; but the method has proved unexpectedly fruitful. I shall follow his example, and try to set in a clear light those constant features of Aristophanic Comedy which make it unlike the

Comedy of other lands and later days. I shall also put forward an hypothesis to account for them. Whether this hypothesis finds favour or not, I hope to convince the reader of the need of some explanation more adequate to the curious nature of the facts than any that has yet been given.

2. *The Structure of an Aristophanic Play*

Of all the strange characteristics of a play by Aristophanes, the one which most forcibly strikes the modern reader is the *Parabasis* of the Chorus—a long passage which cuts the play in two about half way through its course and completely suspends the action. This passage is almost wholly undramatic. It is delivered by the Chorus and its Leaders, and it normally opens with a farewell to the actors, who leave the stage clear till it is over, and then return to carry on the business of the piece to the end. The Chorus, meanwhile, turn their backs on the scene of action and advance across the orchestra to address the audience directly—the movement from which the *Parabasis* takes its name. The action of the play is thus divided into two parts.

Of these two parts, the first normally consists of the *Prologue*, or exposition scenes; the Entrance of the Chorus (*Parodos*); and what is now generally called the *Agon*, a fierce 'contest' between the representatives of two parties or principles, which are in effect the hero and villain of the whole piece. In the *Acharnians*, for instance, the conflict is between Peace and War; in the *Lysistrata*, between Man and Woman; in the *Wasps*, between the political ideals of the elder and the younger generation. The victorious principle is usually incarnated in the protagonist or hero of the play. In this contest the interest of the first part centres and culminates.

The second part, after the *Parabasis*, contains the rest of the action. It is especially with reference to this division of the play that the work of previous students needs to be supplemented. Zielinski concentrated attention on the *Agon*, with the result that scholars often speak as if the business of the play were finished with the first part, and nothing remained in the second but a string of 'loose burlesque scenes.' This is by no means a true account of the matter. When we compare the plays with one another, it is

soon evident, in the first place, that nearly all of them end with an incident no less canonical than the *Agon*—a festal procession (*Kômos*) and a union which I shall call a 'Marriage'—a use of the term to be hereafter justified. But that is not all. We shall also find in almost every play two other standing incidents which fall between the *Agon* and the final *Kômos*—a scene of Sacrifice and a Feast. In several of the earlier plays these form nearly the whole of the action, and fill nearly the whole time of presentation, in the second part. In the later plays, from the *Birds* onwards, plots of a more complicated type are developed, chiefly in this latter half of the play; but still the old sequence of fixed incidents in the old order remains as the substructure of the action: *Agon*, Sacrifice, Feast, Marriage *Kômos*. Another regularly recurring type of incident is the interruption of the Sacrifice, or the Feast, or both, by a series of unwelcome intruders, who are successively put to derision by the protagonist and driven away with blows. Each of these constant incidents we shall later examine in turn, and the proof of these statements will then be laid fully before the reader.

Meanwhile, for the sake of clearness, it will be well to state here the hypothesis we shall offer in explanation of these facts. It is that *this canonical plot-formula preserves the stereotyped action of a ritual or folk drama, older than literary Comedy, and of a pattern well known to us from other sources.* In the absence of direct external evidence, the proof of this proposition must necessarily be cumulative, and the reader is invited to suspend his judgment until the whole argument has been laid before him.

3. *Some current Theories of the Origin of Comedy*

That Comedy sprang up and took shape in connection with Dionysiac or Phallic ritual has never been doubted. In the older histories of literature, it was customary to draw more or less imaginative pictures of village feasts in honour of the God of Wine, with processions and dances of wild disorder and drunken licence. We were asked to conceive some rustic poet breaking out, when the new wine and the general excitement had gone to his head, into satirical sallies and buffooneries, taken up with shouts of laughter by the crowd of reeling revellers. The ultimate matter of Attic

Comedy was to be sought in these songs and broad jokes, varied occasionally by a set match in abuse. M. Maurice Croiset,[1] who sets before our eyes a brilliant bacchanalian piece on these lines, remarks, however, that in primitive Comedy, as so conceived, there is no element of 'dramatic fiction.' This observation may give us pause. The absence of dramatic fiction or dramatic *representation* (*μίμησις*) in the original phase of any kind of drama is a grave defect. It is as difficult to see how drama can come out of what is not, even in germ, dramatic as it was to Anaxagoras to conceive how hair could come out of what is not hair. M. Croiset is driven to suppose that his drunken *cortège* of Attic peasants must sometimes have indulged the natural love of mimicry in little '*scènes bouffonnes*.'[2] In the absence of any direct evidence that they did, he turns to Dorian countries and to the very doubtful tradition that Megarian Comedy was imported into Attica in the days of Susarion. We shall return to this view later. Here we need only note that our own hypothesis stands in sharp opposition to any such theory. We shall argue that Attic Comedy, as we know it from Aristophanes, is constructed in the framework of what was already a drama, a folk play; and that behind this folk play lay a still earlier phase, in which its action was dramatically presented in religious ritual. This view has the advantage of supposing that the element of dramatic representation was there from the very first.

Another point of difference between this hypothesis and other current accounts is that it seeks for traces of the original form of Comedy in the dramatic action of the plays, in the conventional pattern of the plot. It has been more usual to regard the *Parabasis* —the choral passage which breaks this action in two—as, in some sort, the nucleus of Comedy.[3] Round the *Parabasis*, we are told, a number of originally disconnected comic scenes have gathered, which, in the developed form of the art, as known to us from

[1] *Hist. de la lit. grecque*[2] (Paris, 1899), iii. 429. Mazon's description (*Essai sur la comp. des Com. d'Arist.*, p. 178) is similar. So, too, is Couat's (*Aristophane et l'ancienne Comédie attique*[3], Paris, 1902, p. 14 ff.).

[2] M. Croiset, *op. cit.* p. 557, regards primitive Comedy as consisting of these almost disconnected scenes, surviving in the second part of the Aristophanic play, while he thinks the first part '*manifestement une extension du prologue, qui avait servi d'abord à lier plus étroitement les scènes suivantes et qui, peu à peu, était devenu lui-même une partie considérable de la pièce.*'

[3] The *Parabasis* has also been regarded as a prologue, and as an epilogue.

Aristophanes, are strung on the thread of some guiding idea.[1] This view altogether ignores the plot-formula which we shall bring to light. It is certainly not easy to see how any form of drama worthy of the name could come into existence by such a casual process of aggregation. That a form of drama with a conventional plot-formula, and such distinct features as the *Agon*, should arise in this way may be frankly declared impossible.

Zielinski's brilliant work marks the first definite advance towards a more reasonable view. However little we may be convinced by some of his attempts to bring recalcitrant plays into line with the normal type, a great step was taken when the importance of the *Agon* was established. But the emphasis laid upon this moment of the action to the exclusion of the rest, together with the contrast between the two sorts of composition—epirrhematic and episodic—which Zielinski held to be characteristic of the two halves of the play, led him to break an Aristophanic Comedy into two parts, each of a different type. This entailed the supposition that these two parts must at some time have been juxtaposed. Comedy must have arisen, not merely by the confluence of two streams of influence, but by the patching together of two kinds of dramatic performance originally distinct. Zielinski, accordingly, saw in the *Parabasis* the epilogue of the first part, and treated the second part as an appendix.[2]

[1] This seems, for instance, to be the view of Christ-Schmid (*Griech. Litteraturgesch.*[6], München, 1908, i. 384): *In diesem Teil* (*Parabasis*) *der altattischen Komödie schimmern noch deutlich kultliche Vorgänge aus dem alten Dionysosfest hervor. An diesem Mittelpunkt schlossen sich wohl, vorhergehend oder nachfolgend, schon beim alten Volksfest verbindingslos die allerlei komischen Szenen, die dann durch die Kunstkomödie leidlich auf einen Faden gezogen worden sind und die J. Poppelreuter passend mit den Entremeses bei den Kirchenfesten in Spanien verglichen hat.* Poppelreuter's theory will be criticised below, § 71.

[2] Kaibel's view (s.v. *Aristophanes*, Pauly-Wiss. ii. 987) seems to be similar: *Die Parabase redet in der Person des Dichters den Epilog . . . Bis zur Parabase ist sie* (*die Komödie*) *ganz individuell; wie die epirrhematische Composition dieses Teils zeigt: was hinzu kommt, lediglich um den Umfang zu erweitern, hat fremde Form, die epeisodische Composition der Tragödie. Inhaltlich sind es ganz freie, meist possenhafte Scenen, die mit der Handlung vor der Parabase in ideellem, aber nicht in logisch zwingendem Zusammenhang stehen.* Starkie (*Wasps*, p. xxi), after summarising Zielinski's view of the *Parabasis* as an epilogue, says: 'It seems to me more probable that down to the end of the *Parabasis*, the Attic Comic poets constructed their plays after the model set by Epicharmus. The succeeding scenes are a survival of the old Phallic *Possenspiel*, which suited too well the taste of the ordinary Athenian playgoer to be omitted with impunity.'

Various considerations seemed to point to a Dorian origin of these later scenes.[1] Poppelreuter took another step along the same lines, when he suggested that the type of drama from which they must have come was some sort of popular play like the *Kasperlespiel* of modern Germany. A later writer, W. Süss,[2] has gone further still, and maintained that this type of popular mime, whose influence he detects in all parts of the plays, is the oldest form of Aristophanes' Comedies, and he speaks of the Chorus as having 'crept into the mime.' Another[3] traces even the *Agon*, in which, if anywhere, the Chorus have a real part in the action, to the non-choral Comedy of the northern Peloponnese. The present tendency is, thus, to derive nearly all the characteristic features of Aristophanic Comedy, except the *Parabasis* and *Exodos*, from foreign sources; and hardly anything is left for the native tradition of Attica, beyond certain choral dances of beast-clad mummers, known to us from early vases, but otherwise obscure.

This theory, in some form, is now widely held, and that it contains some elements of truth will not be denied. We shall later see good reason to recognise certain affinities with Dorian forms of mime. But we shall not admit that the structure of Aristophanic Comedy could have been made by the simple juxtaposition of two blocks of different origin. It will, I hope, become clear that there is a unity of action running through both parts of the plays, consisting precisely in that recurrent plot-formula which has already been indicated. If the existence of such a structural unity can be made out, the theory of mere juxtaposition falls to the ground at once. We shall be compelled to suppose—what, after all, seems antecedently much more probable—that in that underlying formula of the action we have the fundamental framework of the original drama complete from beginning to end. Some amount of foreign influence coming in upon the top of it can then be admitted. In respect, however, of the extent and importance of this foreign influence, our hypothesis will run directly counter to the prevalent

[1] Others, however, regard the so-called 'loose scenes' as survivals of an old 'Ionian *Possenspiel*,' and suppose that it is the early part of the play that follows the Dorian model set by Epicharmus. Cf. Starkie, Introd. to the *Wasps*.

[2] *De personarum*, etc., p. 100.

[3] H. E. Sieckmann, *de comoediae atticae primordiis* (Gottingae, 1906), p. 26. W. Süss (*Zur Komp. der altatt. Kom.*, Rh. Mus. (1908), 12 ff.), while correcting some of Sieckmann's statements about Epicharmus, agrees that the origin of the *Agon* type of composition is to be sought in Dorian lands.

tendency, and claim not only all the principal features of plot and structure, but also the main types of character as the indigenous growth of Attic soil. We shall end by reducing the contributions of Megarian or Dorian mime within very narrow compass.

Our task, then, is to establish the existence of the underlying plot-formula, to discover the ritual sources from which it derives, and to show how our results can be reconciled with such of the external evidence of literary tradition as deserves respect.

CHAPTER II

THE EXODOS

4. *The* Exodos : *Marriage and* Kômos

RESERVING the *Agon* for a later chapter, we shall begin our examination with the last term in the fixed series of incidents which make up the plot-formula of Aristophanic Comedy. The plays regularly end with a procession in which the Chorus marches out of the orchestra, conducting the chief character in triumph and singing a song technically known as the *Exodos*.[1] The hero, moreover, is accompanied in this *Kômos* by a person who, perhaps because she is (except in one play) always mute, has attracted less notice than she deserves. This person is sometimes a nameless courtesan, sometimes an allegorical figure. She is the temporary partner of the hero in what is, in fact though not always in the legal sense, a marriage. She exists solely for that purpose, and has no other part in the action, only making her appearance in time to take her place beside the hero in his triumphal *Kômos*. Superficial dissimilarities of literary form and variations dictated by the needs of the several plots have diverted attention from the fact that what is fundamentally the same incident—this marriage with its *Kômos*—ends almost every play of Aristophanes, no matter what its subject may be. Before we discuss its significance, the facts must be set before the reader in detail. We shall, accordingly, pass in review the final scenes of all the plays in their order of date. Besides the uniform character of the concluding incident, the reader is invited to notice several cases in which the hero is treated with royal, and even divine, honours—hailed as a new King or a new God.

[1] That this term as applied to Comedy properly denotes the final song, not including the scene which precedes it, is rightly pointed out by Ascherson, *Jahrb. f. klass. Philol.* iv. Suppl. 3 Heft (1862), p. 423 ff., and explicitly asserted by the '*Tractatus Coislinianus*' (Kaibel, *C. G. F.* i. p. 53): ἔξοδός ἐστι τὸ ἐπὶ τέλει λεγόμενον τοῦ χοροῦ. Cf. Poppelreuter, *de com. att. prim.*, p. 37 ff.

5. *The* Exodoi *of the Plays*

The ACHARNIANS ends with the scene (1190 ff.) in which Dikaiopolis and Lamachus return, the one from the banquet with the priest of Dionysus, at which he has won the drinking-competition of the *Choes*,[1] the other from the battlefield, covered with wounds and other marks of the miseries of war. Dikaiopolis has a courtesan on each arm; there are two of them, to match the two slaves who support the hobbling Lamachus. The two heroes perform a duet, Lamachus bewailing his discomforts in the tone of a tragic *Lament*, Dikaiopolis capping him with ribald lines which set in contrast his own enviable condition. While Lamachus calls for a surgeon, Dikaiopolis demands to be taken to the 'King' of the festival,[2] to receive his prize, the skin of wine, which he presently holds up empty. He then raises the cry of τήνελλα καλλίνικος (Hurrah for the Victor!), and calls upon the Chorus to sing it as they follow him. This cry is well known as the refrain of the *Kômos* Song of Archilochos, chanted by the victor's friends in the evening procession after the Olympian contest. It is to be noted that Dikaiopolis, like the Olympic victor, himself leads the triumphal strain: he acts as *Exarchos*.[3] Evidently, the actual Song of Archilochos, though it is not written out, formed the *Exodos* of the *Acharnians*.[4]

In the KNIGHTS, the victory of the Sausage-seller in the long competition with his rival is at last admitted by the Paphlagonian, who resigns to him the wreath of office (1250). When he has piously

[1] 1143. Dikaiopolis has been dismissed by the Chorus to this banquet with the wish: τῷ δὲ καθεύδειν | μετὰ παιδίσκης ὡραιοτάτης.

[2] Perhaps, as Starkie holds (note *ad loc.*), the Archon Basileus, who presided at the Lenaea.

[3] Pind. *Ol.* ix. 1: τὸ μὲν Ἀρχιλόχου μέλος φωνᾶεν Ὀλυμπίᾳ, καλλίνικος ὁ τριπλόος κεχλαδώς, ἄρκεσε Κρόνιον παρ' ὄχθον ἀγεμονεῦσαι κωμάζοντι φίλοις Ἐφαρμόστῳ σὺν ἑταίροις. Christ *ad loc.*: *Victor vero ipse vice praecentoris* (ἐξάρχου) *fungebatur sodalibus praeeuntis, id quod Pindarus verbo* ἀγεμονεῦσαι *significavit et scholiasta hac adnotatione confirmat:* κωμάζει δὲ πρὸς τὸν τοῦ Διὸς βωμὸν ὁ νικήσας μετὰ τῶν φίλων, αὐτὸς τῆς ᾠδῆς ἐξηγούμενος. Cf. F. M. Cornford, chapter on the 'Olympic Games,' in J. E. Harrison, *Themis* (Cambridge, 1912), p. 256 ff.

[4] *Ach.* 1227. *Dik.* . . . τήνελλα καλλίνικος. | *Chor.* τήνελλα δῆτ' εἴπερ καλεῖς γ', ὦ πρέσβυ, καλλίνικος . . . | τήνελλά νυν ὦ γεννάδα . . . | *Dik.* ἕπεσθέ νῦν ᾄδοντες ὦ τήνελλα καλλίνικος. | *Chor.* ἀλλ' ἐψόμεσθα σὴν χάριν | τήνελλα καλλίνικος ᾄ|δοντες σὲ καὶ τὸν ἀσκόν. Schol. *ad loc.* τήνελλα· μίμημα ἐπιφθέγματος αὐλοῦ τὸ τήνελλα. Ἀρχίλοχος· τήνελλα, ὦ καλλίνικε χαῖρ' ἄναξ Ἡράκλεες, αὐτός τε κἰόλαος, αἰχμητὰ δύο. Zielinski, *Gliederung*, p. 187.

ejaculated 'O Zeus Hellanios, thine the prize of victory!' the Sausage-seller is hailed as *καλλίνικος*.[1] After an interval of preparation for the final festivities, filled by the Second *Parabasis* of the Chorus, the Sausage-seller reappears, calling for religious silence, and declaring that, like Medea, he has regenerated Demos by cooking him to a new life. The Propylaea are thrown open, and Demos is revealed in all the splendours of the old Ionian dress, to be hailed as 'King of the Hellenes.' When he has proved the amendment of his character by being put through a sort of political catechism, the Sausage-seller presents him with a folding stool and a boy to carry it. Finally he calls out *Libations* (*αἱ Σπονδαί*), courtesans who represent allegorically the old peace days of the thirty-years truce.[2] Demos in return invites him to dine in the Prytaneum and gives him a green-coloured robe, such as was worn by the King in tragedy.[3] Demos ordains that the defeated Paphlagonian shall be degraded to the vile condition formerly held by his rival. He calls the wretched man a *Pharmakos*, and orders that he shall be 'carried off to his trade' of sausage-selling, and exhibited to those whom he has outraged in the days of his power.[4] Here the text of the play ends; but the Chorus can hardly have left the orchestra in silence. It may be conjectured that it was divided into two parties. One half would escort Demos with 'Libations' and his new favourite in triumphal procession to the Prytaneum, probably singing the Song of Archilochos. The other half would hound the Paphlagonian out with cries of execration, perhaps literally treating him as a *Pharmakos*, a scape-goat carrying all the evil of the city upon his head.[5]

[1] 1254: *ὦ χαῖρε καλλίνικε κτλ.* The lines are variously assigned to the Chorus or to Demosthenes.

[2] Schol. *ad v.* 1390: *εἰσῆλθον αἱ Σπονδαὶ ἑταῖραι ὡραῖαι.*

[3] 1406: *ἔπου δὲ ταυτηνὶ λαβὼν τὴν βατραχίδα.* Pollux, iv. 116: *ἐσθῆτες μὲν τραγικαὶ ποικίλον . . . τὰ δὲ ἐπιβλήματα ξυστίς, βατραχίς. . . .*

[4] 1404: *Demos.* *καί σ' ἀντὶ τούτων ἐς τὸ πρυτανεῖον καλῶ*
ἐς τὴν ἕδραν θ', ἵν' ἐκεῖνος ἦν ὁ φαρμακός.
ἔπου δὲ ταυτηνὶ λαβὼν τὴν βατραχίδα·
κἀκεῖνον ἐκφερέτω τις ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν τέχνην,
ἵν' ἴδωσιν αὐτὸν οἷς ἐλωβᾶθ' οἱ ξένοι.

[5] The suggestion that the Paphlagonian was so treated is put forward by Mazon, *Essai sur la comp. des com. d'Aristophane* (Paris, 1904), p. 47: *Cléon était sans doute traîné dans l'orchestra. Là, on le traitait peut-être comme une victime expiatoire* (1405, *φαρμακός*); *on lui mettait dans la main un fromage, une galette, des figues, et le chœur le suivait en le huant et en le flagellant avec des scilles et autres*

The CLOUDS, exceptional in this respect as in so many others, has no *Kômos* at its almost tragic close. The torches which elsewhere light the final procession are here used to burn the house of Socrates. This ending was substituted in the play as we have it for a different ending in the first edition.[1] It has been conjectured[2] that originally Socrates and Chaerephon were driven out of the theatre by Strepsiades and Xanthias. In any case the play leads up, not to the triumphal *Kômos* of the good principle, but to the riddance or expulsion of the evil.

In the second part of the WASPS the same situation comes twice over. There are two *chorika* (1265 ff and 1450 ff) sung while the actors are feasting or drinking behind the scenes. At the conclusion of each, a slave comes out to complain of the riotous behaviour of Philocleon, who shortly afterwards appears in a state to justify the slaves' descriptions. On the first occasion, he is returning from the dinner-party with a *Kômos* of other guests, beating every one he meets and quarrelling with his companions. He enters singing the opening words of Cassandra's mad Hymenaeal in the *Troades*,[3]

plantes sauvages. (Cf. Tzetzes, *Chil.* v. 726; Hipponax, frag. 5 and 7.) Mazon, however, does not suggest the division of the Chorus into two parties, which seems to me necessary. For the *Pharmakos*, see below, p. 55. Mazon's conjecture is, I think, supported by *Frogs* 731, where the Chorus complains that Athens uses for all her purposes the vilest politicians, 'men whom in former days she would have thought twice before she used as *pharmakoi*': οἷσιν ἡ πόλις πρὸ τοῦ | οὐδὲ φαρμακοῖσιν εἰκῇ ῥᾳδίως ἐχρήσατ' ἄν. The Chorus exhort the people to 'change their ways' (μεταβαλόντες τοὺς τρόπους), (as Demos changes his in the *Knights*) and once more make use of good men. St. Paul (1 *Cor.* iv. 6 ff.) refers to a similar ceremony (at Corinth?), where he contrasts the Corinthians, who are 'filled' (κεκορεσμένοι), 'have become rich' (ἐπλουτήσατε), and 'kings without us' (χωρὶς ἡμῶν ἐβασιλεύσατε), with the apostles, designated by God to be 'last of all, as men doomed to death' (ἐσχάτους, ὡς ἐπιθανατίους), made a 'spectacle' (θέατρον) to angels and men, 'fools' (μωροί) for Christ's sake, reviled (λοιδορούμενοι), persecuted (διωκόμενοι), defamed (δυσφημούμενοι). He ends: ὡς περικαθάρματα τοῦ κόσμου ἐγενήθημεν, πάντων περίψημα. κάθαρμα and περίψημα are both used of the *Pharmakos*. What is specially interesting to us is the contrast with the Corinthians who have 'become kings.' Compare also the expression 'we are made a spectacle to men and angels' with the last line of the *Knights*: ἵν' ἴδωσιν αὐτὸν οἷς ἐλωβᾶθ' οἱ ξένοι.

[1] *Hypothesis* vii., which is by Eratosthenes or some other well-informed grammarian.

[2] Bücheler, *N. Jahrb.* lxxxiii. 678. Cf. the last words of the Chorus, δίωκε, βάλλε, παῖε, κτλ.

[3] 1326: *Philocl.* ἄνεχε πάρεχε, κτλ. Schol. R. ἐκ Τρῳάδων Εὐριπίδου οὗ Κασάνδρα φησίν· ἄνεχε, πάρεχε, φῶς φέρε, κτλ.

and he is accompanied by a flute-girl,[1] the regular mute person, whom he addresses in the broadest language.[2] Later, he enters his house to renew his potations, during an interval covered by the next *chorikon*.

Then his own slave, Xanthias, appears, to tell the Chorus that the old man is spending the whole night in dancing. He is closely followed by Philocleon himself, in the violent motions and shocking postures of a dance which he challenges the whole field of modern tragedians to outdo. The three sons of Karkinos take up the match, which is thought to have been suggested by the proposed *Kômos* of the drunken Polyphemus in Euripides' *Cyclops*.[3] The Chorus join in, and the whole troupe dance out of the orchestra with such frantic flings and wild gyrations that no breath is left in them for further song.[4]

The *Exodos* of the PEACE is in the full form of the marriage *Kômos* with its hymenaeal song. The last scene opens with the demand for sacred silence, while torches are brought and the bride, the mute attendant of Peace, Fruits-of-Summer (Opora), whom the hero, Trygaeus, has received from the hands of Hermes (706), is led forth.[5] After a prayer for plenty of corn and wine and figs, for children and all the blessings of recovered peace, Opora and her bridegroom, carried shoulder-high, go off to the country, attended by the Chorus singing their fescennine verses with the refrain, '*Hymen, Hymenaee, O.*'

The BIRDS gives us the most elaborate and important instance of all. Pisthetairos, the founder of the city in the air, has, upon Prometheus' suggestion, won by diplomatic cajolery of the divine envoys no less a person for his bride than Basileia, the Queen of Heaven and maiden daughter of Zeus. A messenger announces his approach, comparing him and his bride in magnificent language

[1] Schol. on 1341 : ἑταίρα τις ἠκολούθει αὐτῷ, ἣν ἔλαχεν ἐκ τοῦ συμποσίου.

[2] His comparison of himself to an elderly Olympic victor (1381) is in accordance with Bdelycleon's instructions (1190).

[3] *Cycl.* 445 : ἐπὶ κῶμον ἔρπειν πρὸς κασιγνήτους θέλει
Κύκλωπας ἡσθεὶς τῳδε Βακχίου ποτῷ.
See van Leeuwen, *Mnem.* xvi. 421 ; Starkie on *Wasps*, 1499.

[4] This seems to be the meaning of the last words, which state that this dancing finale is novel. See Starkie *ad loc.*

[5] Trygaeus is an old man (856) with daughters.

to the Sun and Moon.[1] We are told that he is brandishing the very thunderbolt of Zeus himself; and it becomes clear as we proceed that he is in fact to be regarded as a new Zeus. His appearance with his consort is hailed by the Chorus with the hymenaeal song,[2] which likens his wedding to the marriage of Zeus and Hera, riding in their chariot driven by Eros. The Chorus are then called upon to celebrate his thunders and the fiery lightnings of Zeus, the dread and glancing bolt. This they do; it is Pisthetairos now who shall shake the earth and give her rain with his thunderings, for he has become 'master of everything that belonged to Zeus,' and even of his consort, Basileia.[3] Pisthetairos then calls upon his bird subjects to follow him to heaven, and bids Basileia to take his hand in the dance. The Chorus conduct him out with cries of victory and rejoicing. They call him 'Highest of the Gods' and break into the Song of Archilochos, *τήνελλα καλλίνικος*, which, as we have seen, was dedicated to the honour of the Olympic victor.[4] Presumably, here as in other cases, the song continued as the procession wound out of the orchestra.

The dénouement of the LYSISTRATA is effected when the heroine brings out the mute person, *Reconcilement* (*Διαλλαγή*), the love-charm which will appease the leading states of Greece.[5] She then preaches a sermon to the envoys of Sparta and Athens, whose attention is so divided between the diplomatic situation and the

[1] 1709: *προσέρχεται γὰρ οἷος οὔτε παμφαὴς ἀστὴρ ἰδεῖν ἔλαμψε χρυσαυγεῖ δόμῳ οὔθ' ἡλίου τηλαυγὲς ἀκτίνων σέλας τοιοῦτον ἐξέλαμψεν, οἷον ἔρχεται ἔχων γυναικὸς κάλλος οὐ φατὸν λέγειν, πάλλων κεραυνόν, πτεροφόρον Διὸς βέλος . . .*

[2] 1720: *Chor.* *ἄναγε, δίεχε, πάραγε, πάρεχε* κτλ. . . .
Coryph. *ἀλλ' ὑμεναίοις | καὶ νυμφιδίοισι δέχεσθ' ᾠδαῖς | αὐτὸν καὶ τὴν* Βασίλειαν.

[3] 1748: *ὦ μέγα χρύσεον ἀστεροπῆς φάος, | ὦ Διὸς ἄμβροτον ἔγχος πυρφόρον, | ὦ χθόνιαι βαρυαχέες | ὁμβροφόροι θ' ἅμα βρονταί, | αἷς δδε νῦν χθόνα σείει. | Δῖα δὲ πάντα κρατήσας | καὶ πάρεδρον Βασίλειαν ἔχει Διός. | Τμήν Τμέναι' ὦ.*

[4] 1763: *Chor.* *ἀλαλαλαὶ ἰὴ παιών, τήνελλα καλλίνικος, ὦ δαιμόνων ὑπέρτατε.*

Schol. *ad v.* 1764, *τὸ τήνελλα . . . ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐφυμνίου οὗ εἶπεν Ἀρχίλοχος εἰς τὸν Ἡρακλέα μετὰ τὸν ἆθλον Αὐγέου. τήνελλα ὦ καλλίνικε, χαῖρε ἄναξ Ἡράκλεες αὐτός τε κἰόλαος, αἰχμητὰ δύο.*

[5] The Scholiast on v. 1114 says that the play was called, from this part of it, *Λυσιστράτη ἢ Διαλλαγαί.*

attractions of the courtesan that they lapse into language ambiguously applicable to either, and come to an understanding. They are bidden to enter the citadel and take the oaths. After a banquet, two of them come out, thrusting the torches of the *Kômos* [1] into the bystanders' faces, and reflecting with drunken sagacity on the wisdom of not discussing international politics till after dinner. A Laconian envoy follows with a flute-girl and insists on dancing with his colleagues to the honour of Artemis the Huntress and of Sparta. The Chorus of men and women are then bidden to pair off in couples,[2] and they dance out of the orchestra singing a hymn to various Gods, including Zeus, with his fiery lightning, and Hera, and celebrating the peace which the Goddess of Love and Marriage has effected.[3] The reunion of men and women in this final dance is itself a sort of re-marriage. The song ends with shouts of victory and Bacchic cries.[4]

At the end of the THESMOPHORIAZUSAE, the canonical mute person is Elaphium, a dancing-girl, introduced, to fascinate the Policeman and lure him from his watch over Euripides' kinsman, by the poet himself, disguised as an old woman. 'What *Kômos* is this, waking me up?' mutters the Policeman, stirring in his slumbers. The girl's dance and kisses effect their purpose, and the Policeman, leaving his quiver as a pledge, goes off with her. Returning to find his birds flown, he is misdirected all ways at once by the Chorus, and the play ends with his rushing off the opposite way from his prisoner. The Chorus make their exit with a couple of anapaestic lines. In the light of the earlier examples, this dénouement is clearly an adaptation of the 'marriage' motive. Owing to the turn given to it, there can obviously be no *Kômos* Song as *Exodos*.

The FROGS ends with the torch-lit procession of the mystics,

[1] 1217: *μῶν ἐγὼ τῇ λαμπάδι | ὑμᾶς κατακαύσω*; Schol. *ad loc.* *ἐπικωμάζει λαμπάδα ἔχων.*

[2] 1275: *Lys.* *ἀνὴρ δὲ παρὰ γυναῖκα καὶ γυνὴ | στήτω παρ' ἄνδρα.*

[3] 1285: *Chor.* *Δία τε πυρὶ φλεγόμενον, ἐπί τε | ποτνίαν ἄλοχον ὀλβίαν, | εἶτα δὲ δαίμονας, οἷς ἐπιμάρτυσι | χρησόμεθ' οὐκ ἐπιλήσμοσιν | Ἡσυχίας πέρι τῆς ἀγανόφρονος, | ἣν ἐποίησε θεὰ Κύπρις.*

[4] 1291:

ἁλαλαὶ ἰὴ παιήων,
αἴρεσθ' ἄνω, ἰαί
ὡς ἐπὶ νίκῃ, ἰαί
εὐοῖ, εὐοῖ, εὐαί, εὐαί.

escorting Aeschylus up from the realm of Pluto to a world which needs a tragedian with sound political views. The necessary conclusion is thus a resurrection, not a marriage; and the marriage-motive is absent.[1] The *Exodos* is in hexameters, chanted to an Aeschylean air. The drama ends in a serious key.

The ECCLESIAZUSAE, late as it is, preserves the old pattern. A female servant of the heroine [2] takes the place of the usual mute person. Praxagora has sent her to fetch her husband Blepyros to the feast which inaugurates the new regime. She appears intoxicated alike with Thasian wine and with the unguents of the courtesan [3] on her hair. When Blepyros appears, armed with the torch (1150) which will light him home again in the *Kômos*, she addresses him with the courtesan's oath by Aphrodite [4] and in terms which show that Praxagora is prepared to begin at home the practice of community of women which she has recommended.[5] Blepyros, nothing loath, descends into the orchestra, while the girl [6] sings 'a before-dinner song.' The choral *Exodos* consists of the same Bacchic cries that end the *Lysistrata*.

Even in the PLUTUS the traditional termination survives. In one of the latest scenes we find the motive, already used in the *Ecclesiazusae*, of the old woman and the young man who rejects her advances. The youth comes on with wreath and torch, as if

[1] That a resurrection, however, was an integral part of our supposed ritual will appear later.

[2] If, that is to say, we accept (as I do) the view of van Leeuwen and others that the persons in the last scene are the servant and the husband of Praxagora, not two quite unknown characters. See van Leeuwen's note on p. 2 of his edition.

[3] 1117, cf. 525.

[4] 1136. Cf. Schol. *ad v.* 999: *μὰ τὴν Ἀφροδίτην· ὡς ἑταίρα οὖσα τοῦτό φησι.*

[5] 1138: *ὅμως δ' ἐκέλευσε συλλαβοῦσάν μ' ἡ γυνὴ | ἄγειν σε.* Cf. the conclusion of Praxagora's discourse in the *Agon*, 690:

πᾶσι γὰρ ἄφθονα πάντα παρέξομεν
ὥστε μεθυσθεὶς αὐτῷ στεφάνῳ
πᾶς τις ἀπειτιν τὴν δᾷδα λαβών,
αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες κατὰ τὰς διόδους
προσπίπτουσαι τοῖς ἀπὸ δείπνου
τάδε λέξουσιν· 'δεῦρο πρὸς ἡμᾶς' κτλ.

[6] If we assign (with van Leeuwen) lines 1151-3, 1163-6, 1166-77 to her and not to the Chorus.

he were going in a *Kômos*.[1] The last scene takes the usual form of a procession with torches. The priest of Zeus Soter comes, complaining that since the blind God of Wealth has received his sight, no one will worship the elder Gods, and his occupation, as well as his livelihood, is gone. But he is told that the only 'Saviour Zeus'—Plutus himself—has already come of his own accord; and we have seen Hermes in the previous scene arrive as a deserter from the service of Zeus, to beg a situation in the new God's household. Nothing remains but to install Plutus in the back-chamber of the Parthenon. Plutus is called out, and the procession forms. The old woman is induced to take part with the promise that she shall have her young man in the evening. The *Exodos* consists of two anapaestic lines in which the Chorus declare that they will follow in the procession with songs.

6. *The Problem of the final Marriage*

The above review of the whole series of Aristophanic plays establishes that a 'marriage' with its accompanying *Kômos* is the canonical ending of the oldest extant Comedy. This fact has not been sufficiently considered. The neglect is, no doubt, due to our familiarity with innumerable comedies, romances, and novels, which terminate in a happy marriage. Such a finale is as regular in these forms of literature as the death of the hero is in Tragedy. But, for reasons that will soon appear, this is not the last word on the matter. A moment's reflection will show that, whereas a marriage is the natural ending led up to by the whole course of the modern romantic love-story, there is nothing whatever in the previous incidents of an Aristophanic plot to prepare the spectator for any such conclusion. The formula of the romantic plot in modern comedies and novels, reduced to its barest and most abstract form, would be something of this sort. Two young lovers, prevented by circumstances from attaining their desires, are, after various dangers and adventures which bring them to the brink of despair, at last united by a sudden turn of good fortune and live happily ever afterwards. If illustration were needed, *The History of Tom*

[1] 1040: *Old Woman.* ἔοικε δ' ἐπὶ κωμον βαδίζειν.
Chor. φαίνεται·
στέφανον γέ τοι καὶ δᾷδ' ἔχων πορεύεται.

Jones, which stands at the head of the great series of English novels, is a typical instance. The tradition of this romantic plot might be followed up through renaissance and mediaeval novels to the romances of later antiquity, such as *Daphnis and Chloe*. Another line would lead through the learned Comedy, influenced by Plautus and Terence, back to a common source of both traditions, the New Comedy of the Alexandrine age. There, for the first time, in the plays of Menander and his fellows, appears this formula of romantic love and its fortunes, in its necessary outlines already complete.

But, if we seek to trace its ancestry still farther back, we shall find that its essential elements—the conception of romantic love itself, and the various plot motives, such as the child lost or exposed in infancy or captured by pirates and other evil-doers—are derived, not from the stock-in-trade of Aristophanes and his predecessors, but directly from the Tragedy of Euripides. The plays of Aristophanes [1]—and the same is true of all fifth-century Comedy at Athens, so far as we know it—are entirely free from any conception of romantic love. The hero is normally an old man (*γέρων*), who is married already and has grown-up children. The youthful and romantic heroine is conspicuously absent. Where there is a heroine at all—a Lysistrata or a Praxagora—she replaces the hero, and she is not merely married, but distinguished for her hostility to the other sex. The courtesan or allegorical personage who is the female partner in the 'marriages' we have reviewed, is a mute figure with no other part in the action; in no sense the heroine of the play. The plots, again, do not turn on the interests or fortunes of love. They are concerned with the rival merits of war and peace, the Athenian passion for serving on juries, the sex strike as a weapon in politics, the founding of a city in the air, the superiority of Aeschylus and the culture of his generation over the new culture of Euripides and the Sophists. No one, setting out to read a series of comedies dealing with social and literary themes of this sort and totally devoid of love-interest, would dream of expecting that nearly all of them would end with a *Kômos*-procession and a marriage. There is in the nature and whole treatment of the subjects no reason whatever for such a termination. True, the

[1] With the possible exception of his last play, the *Cocalus*, which appears to have resembled the New Comedy.

satirical operas of W. S. Gilbert, the Victorian Aristophanes, end in this way; but then they are built round the love-story of the traditional pattern with its youthful couple, now indispensable in the lighter forms of Comedy. Strike these characters and their romance out of the play, and it would be as surprising to find Gilbert's Chorus invariably singing the curtain down to the tune of *The voice that breathed o'er Eden*, as it is to find the hymenaeal hymn or the triumph song of the Olympic victor ending so many of the plays of Aristophanes.

7. *The Sacred Marriage*

We are left, then, with a problem which cannot be lightly dismissed with false analogies from later forms of the comic art conceived on a radically different plan. This canonical marriage is so far from being dictated by the social and literary themes of the Old Comedy, or demanded by the general design of the plays themselves, that it cannot be regarded as the product of poetic invention, working free from any sort of tradition. Yet it certainly cannot be accounted for by any literary convention known to us. I do not see what remains but to suppose that the tradition which lies behind this standing feature of the comic plot is not literary, but ritual. This hypothesis cannot be proved outright. It will, however, become increasingly probable when we go on later to examine other fixed incidents of the plot, notably the *Agon*, which is equally important and no less canonical. We shall also have to consider in the next chapter how this supposition squares with the literary tradition, which for the present we have left on one side. But before we do so, it will be well to take account of the implications of the hypothesis itself—to make out precisely what it is that we are supposing, when we take this marriage to be the survival of one moment in a ritual action older than any form of comic literature.

A ritual marriage means a 'sacred marriage' (ἱερὸς γάμος), as the Greeks called it; and in a sacred marriage the bridegroom and bride are the representatives of divine or spiritual beings, the powers of fertility in nature, however these may be conceived.[1] Such rituals are mimetic in two ways.

[1] This whole subject has been so abundantly elucidated by Frazer, *The Magic Art*, vol. ii. (London, 1911), that I limit myself to a bare mention of the points which here concern us.

In the first place, their object, which is to promote fertility of all kinds, is effected by the methods of mimetic ('sympathetic') magic: a sexual union is consummated or feigned in order that all natural powers of fertility may be stimulated to perform their function and give increase of crops and herds and of man himself. Between the imitative rite and the natural events it is intended to cause there is the bond of sympathetic *mimesis*, consisting in the actual likeness of the act ritually performed to the desired event.

In the second place, where the belief in spirits and Gods has taken a more definite shape, a further element of *mimesis* comes in. Instead of trusting, as of old, to the direct sympathetic operation of their own act, the worshippers may specially designate two individual performers to impersonate the divine husband and wife, whose union now stands as a type for all the corresponding processes in nature. We have here the essential of dramatic representation (*mimesis*)—an assumed character impersonated or incarnated in a human actor.

The pair often represent, under a more or less transparent disguise, the two great agents of vegetable fertility, the Earth-mother and the Heaven-father, whose rain falls in a life-giving stream into the womb of Earth. In Greece there is the marriage of Zeus and Demeter at Eleusis, or of Zeus and Hera in various other cities. In these cases, the divine beings have reached the stage of fully anthropomorphic development. There are also clear traces of a stage in which the divinity was conceived in animal form, as a bull, a goat, or a ram, and the worshippers disguised themselves in the skins of the sacred beast. We hear of bands of dancers calling themselves Goats (*τράγοι*) or Rams (*τίτυροι*)[1]; and, if the common account is true, these and their congeners, the Satyrs, are very nearly related to the sister form of drama, Tragedy. In other instances, the spirit of fertility may be Dionysus himself, or the vaguer figure of Phales, who is little more than the emblem of human procreation, the *phallus*, barely personified. We shall presently examine Aristotle's statement that Comedy took its rise in the Phallic performances, in honour of Phales himself, who in the 'Phallic Song' was invoked to be present at the dance and procession of his worshippers. In the plays of Aristophanes we find the protagonist,

[1] O. Kern (*Tityroi*, Hermes, 1913, p. 318) concludes that Tityroi are rams, just as *τράγοι* are he-goats.

certainly in some cases and possibly in all, wearing an artificial *phallus* as part of his costume.[1] We have seen too, that he regularly leads a *Kômos* at the end, as male partner in a marriage. If we are right in supposing that this is the survival of a ritual marriage, little doubt can remain as to the further point that, in that case, the protagonist in Comedy must originally have been the spirit of fertility himself, Phales or Dionysus. Who else, indeed, can lead the *Kômos* from which, in all probability, Comedy (*κωμ-ῳδία*) derives its name ?

8. *The New God and the New King*

There are some further remarkable features of Aristophanes' plays which seem to gain a fresh significance in the light of our hypothesis, and to these we must now turn. Where the ritual of a sacred marriage is performed, it is always periodic and nearly always annual, for the simple reason that the fertility of the Earth needs to be renewed after every winter. The ritual, therefore, involves a succession of human representatives, a new impersonator of the God at each festival. The new God is also a new King—a title still given to the May Kings, Leaf Kings, Grass Kings, whose marriage with their Queens is celebrated at the spring and summer festivals of modern Europe.[2] Dr. Frazer's researches have shown how the conceptions of God and King meet in the functions attributed to the King in early society, the magical control of the thunder and rain, and, therefore, of the fertility of the Earth. One fundamental idea of such festivals, accordingly, is the succession of a new divine King to one who stands for the old year whose powers have failed in the decay of winter. We shall later have occasion to note the varieties of dramatic symbolism in which this idea is expressed. It may be figured as the expulsion or death of Winter, while Summer is brought in ; or the young King may kill the old and marry his wife or daughter ; or, again, the God may be put to

[1] Cases which seem to me indisputable are Philocleon in the *Wasps* (1343), Euripides' kinsman in the *Thesmoph.* (62, 239 (?), 643, 1114). Trygaeus in the *Pax* (142) seems very probable ; cf. Schol. *ad loc.* *τὸ αἰδοῖον δείκνυσι.* The wearing of the phallus is not confined to the protagonist. It is worn, for instance, by the Spartan envoys at *Lysistrata*, 991. The question, which has been much debated, will be discussed later, p. 183.

[2] See Frazer, *The Magic Art*, chap. x.

death and rise again in renewed youth and vigour. That such conceptions are at home in the cult of Dionysus is so well known that we need not dwell upon the point here: some of the actual rites will be discussed later. What now concerns us is to point out that in several of Aristophanes' plays this idea of the succession of a new God or King of fertility is prominently associated with the concluding marriage and triumph.

9. *The New Zeus in the* Birds

When Pisthetairos propounds to the Birds his design of founding a new City in the air,[1] he begins with the startling declaration that the Birds were once kings over all, even over Zeus himself; nay, their sovereignty is older than Kronos and the Titans. If they had duly thumbed their Aesop, they would remember that the Lark was the first bird, and, being older than the Earth itself, had nowhere to bury her father, save in her own head. How much more are they older than the Gods. ('Zeus,' interposes Euelpides, 'will soon give back his sceptre to the woodpecker.') After other proofs of the royal powers once enjoyed by the Cock over the Persians,[2] the Hawk over the Greeks, and the Cuckoo over the orientals, Pisthetairos, in the second part of his discourse, tells the Birds how to recover their kingdom. They must fortify the air all round, like Babylon, with baked bricks, and then, if Zeus refuse to abdicate, declare a holy war upon heaven, debar the Gods from visiting mortal women, and send a herald to mankind to bid them sacrifice first to the Birds, before they offer anything to the Gods. ('Now let Zeus thunder!' interjects Euelpides.) If man will not respect them, all the seed of his crops shall be eaten up by the fieldfares and the eyes of his cattle pecked out. Then let Demeter give them corn, if she can! If mankind is submissive, the Birds will spare their fruits, give them omens, find hidden treasure to enrich them, and bestow on them health and lives as long as the crow's. They will make much better kings than Zeus.[3] The Birds are beside themselves with enthusiasm, and in the *Parabasis* they confirm

[1] *Birds*, 462 ff.

[2] Later in the play (828) Athena Polias is rejected as guardian divinity of the new City, and replaced by the Cock.

[3] 611: *Euelp.* ὡς πολλῷ δὴ κρείττους οὗτοι τοῦ Διὸς ἡμῖν βασιλεύειν.

these promises. The City is built, and the Gods are starved into making terms.[1]

The final scene shows us Pisthetairos, dressed in his bridal robe, and hailed not only as King of the new city, with the Queen of Heaven for his bride, but also as a new Zeus—a new master of the thunder and fertilising rain. The details here are significant, because the whole passage institutes an elaborate comparison between Pisthetairos and the Olympic victor.[2] This analogy is peculiarly instructive.

We have seen how the appearance of Pisthetairos and his bride, Basileia, is compared by the messenger in words of almost Aeschylean grandeur, to the Sun and Moon shining in all the splendour of their golden rays, and how, in the hymenaeal song that follows, their wedding is likened to the marriage of Zeus and Hera, driven by Eros in a chariot with golden reins. The same conjunction of ideas seems to have been attached to the pair of Olympic victors—the winner of the chariot-race and the winner of the Virgins' race at the Heraea. As I have argued elsewhere,[3] this couple, whose prototypes are Pelops and Hippodameia in Pindar's First Olympian Ode, were regarded as periodic representatives of Zeus and Hera, and also as impersonating the Sun and Moon, united in one form of that sacred marriage which was often celebrated at midsummer feasts. Like Pelops and Hippodameia, the Sun and Moon are represented both in art and in literature, though in despite of natural

[1] At 1514 Prometheus, describing their distress, says simply, 'It is all over with Zeus' (*ἀπόλωλεν ὁ Ζεύς*).

[2] This was observed by Mr. M. S. Thompson of Aberdeen, who, after reading my chapter on the Olympic Games in Miss Harrison's *Themis*, pointed out the comparison in a letter to Miss Harrison, which she has kindly communicated to me.

[3] In Miss Harrison's *Themis*, p. 224 ff., following a suggestion from Mr. A. B. Cook. Dr. Frazer independently reached the same conclusion. He writes (*G. B.*[3], pt. iii. p. 91): 'If the olive-crowned victor in the men's race at Olympia represented Zeus, it becomes probable that the olive-crowned victor in the girls' race, which was held every fourth year at Olympia in honour of Hera, represented in like manner the god's wife; and that in former days the two together acted the part of the god and goddess in that sacred marriage which is known to have been celebrated in many parts of Greece. This conclusion is confirmed by the legend that the girls' race was instituted by Hippodamia in gratitude for her marriage with Pelops; for if Pelops as victor in the chariot-race represented Zeus, his bride would naturally play the part of Hera. But under the names of Zeus and Hera the pair of Olympic victors would seem to have really personated the Sun and Moon, who were the true heavenly bridegroom and bride of the ancient octennial festival.'

facts, as driving together in one chariot across the sky.[1] The story of Pelops also preserves the *Agon* between the young King and the old weather and fertility King, Oenomaus, who is slain with his own spear. The Olympic victor, as a new incarnation of Zeus, wields his royal and divine powers of control over the weather. His attributes are worn by Salmoneus, who defied Zeus and essayed to mimic the sky-god's thunder.[2] So, in the *Birds*, Pisthetairos comes 'brandishing the thunderbolt, the winged shaft of Zeus,'[3] while all the circle of the sky is filled with the smoke of incense.

For we have already been told that Basileia, like Athena in Aeschylus, has the keys of her father's thunder, with which go all the attributes of the Heaven-father.[4] When the Chorus are bidden, after their hymenaeal song, to celebrate 'the thunders underground and the fiery lightnings of Zeus and the dread flashing thunderbolt,' they break out into a song which declares that Pisthetairos is now 'master of everything that belongs to Zeus': it is he who now will shake the earth with rumbling thunders that bring the rain.[5] He is not merely *like* Zeus, but, transfigured in the beauty of his renewed youth,[6] he is a new Zeus, a new lord of the thunders and dispenser of the fertilising rain. He demands to be escorted to 'the floor of Zeus and his bridal bed.'[7]

The whole point is summed up in the last words of the *Exodos*: 'Hurrah for the victor! O highest of the Gods'—

τήνελλα καλλίνικος, ὦ
δαιμόνων ὑπέρτατε.

Pisthetairos, leading[8] the procession of the Chorus, as the Olympic

[1] For references see J. E. Harrison, *Themis*, pp. 200, 227.

[2] On the fifth century Krater figured and interpreted by A. B. Cook, *Class. Rev.* xvii. (1903) p. 275; *Themis*, pp. 80, 223.

[3] 1714: πάλλων κεραυνόν, πτεροφόρον Διὸς βέλος.

[4] 1537: *Pisth.* τίς ἐστιν ἡ βασίλεια;
Prom. καλλίστη κόρη
ἥπερ ταμιεύει τὸν κεραυνὸν τοῦ Διὸς
καὶ τἄλλ' ἁπαξάπαντα . . .
Aesch. *Eum.* 829: *Ath.* κἀγὼ πέποιθα Ζηνί, καὶ τί δεῖ λέγειν;
καὶ κλῆδας οἶδα δωμάτων μόνη θεῶν
ἐν ᾧ κεραυνός ἐστιν ἐσφραγισμένος.

[5] See the lines quoted in the note on p. 13, n. 3.

[6] 1724: ὦ φεῦ φεῦ τῆς ὥρας τοῦ κάλλους. The context shows that these words refer to Pisthetairos, who is changed from an old man into a youthful bridegroom. The meaning of this rejuvenation will appear later.

[7] 1757: ἐπὶ πέδον Διὸς | καὶ λέχος γαμήλιον.

[8] 1755: *Pisth.* ἕπεσθε νῦν γάμοισιν . . .

victor led the *Kômos* of his friends in the evening celebrations, is hailed in the words of the Song of Archilochos, consecrated to that occasion. We have noted already that the same song seems to have served for the *Exodos* of the *Acharnians*, and perhaps also of the *Knights*. When we remember that the protagonist who is fêted in the torchlit *Kômos* of Comedy, is normally also the victor in the *Agon* at the beginning of the play, we may suspect something more than a superficial analogy between the programme of ritual action which we suppose to underlie the comic plot, and the programme of the great panhellenic festival. How complete the analogy in fact is—whatever be the explanation—we shall see as we proceed.

10. *The Sacred Marriage of Dionysus and the Queen at Athens*

The identity of Pisthetairos' bride, Basileia, has been much debated.[1] Whoever she may be, she is certainly the partner in a sacred marriage and her husband is a God. She is a 'Queen,' and her husband is a new King. Mr. J. T. Sheppard has pointed out that the last scene of the *Birds* could not fail to recall to the Athenian spectator the sacred marriage of Dionysus to the Queen (*βασίλισσα*), the wife of the King Archon, which was annually celebrated, perhaps at the Anthesteria.[2] 'Whatever the date of the wedding,' says Dr. Frazer, 'its object can hardly have been any other than that of ensuring the fertility of the vines and other

[1] Two recent contributions to the subject are: J. T. Sheppard, '*τίς ἐστιν ἡ βασίλεια*;' in *Fasciculus Ioanni Willis Clark dicatus* (Cantabrigiae, 1909), pp. 529 ff.; and A. B. Cook, 'Nephelokokkygia,' in *Essays and Studies presented to William Ridgeway* (Cambridge, 1913). Mr. Sheppard sees a reference, not only to the sacred marriage of Zeus and Hera, but also to the sacred marriage of Dionysus and the Athenian *βασίλισσα*. My own argument seems to confirm this view, which is anticipated by J. E. Harrison, *Myth. and Mon. of Anc. Athens* (1890), p. 52.

[2] See J. G. Frazer, *G.B* [3], *Magic Art*, vol. ii. (London, 1911), p. 136 ff., who points out that, while the Queen took her oath of purity at the Anthesteria, there is no positive evidence that the marriage was held at that festival. Mr. Cook, in his brilliant restoration of the reliefs of the stage of Phaedrus in the Athenian theatre (*Zeus*, vol. i. p. 708, pl. xl.), finds the scene of this sacred marriage depicted on the third slab. The four slabs represent, he believes, (1) the birth of Dionysus; (2) his entrance into Attica; (3) the sacred marriage with the Basilissa; (4) Dionysus finally installed in his own theatre.

fruit-trees, of which Dionysus was the god. Thus both in form and in meaning the ceremony would answer to the nuptials of the King and Queen of May.' It is not, of course, necessary to suppose an exclusive reference to this ceremony; the similar rite of marriage between Zeus and Hera is also clearly referred to, and, as we have argued above, probably the marriage of the pair of Olympic victors. What is important to our argument is the indisputable fact that the yearly ritual of Dionysús at Athens included precisely that rite which we have supposed to be the basis of the canonical *Exodos* of Aristophanes' plays.

11. *The New Zeus in the* Plutus[1]

The case of Pisthetairos does not stand alone in Aristophanes. The *Plutus* likewise ends with the plain declaration that the God of Wealth has become a new Zeus, and the reign of the old Zeus is ended. At his first appearance,[2] Plutus has no sooner disclosed his identity than he complains that Zeus in his jealousy blinded him in his youth, to prevent him from carrying the blessings of wealth to the just and virtuous only. If his sight is restored, he promises to inaugurate a new reign of justice, but he fears that, if he does so, Zeus may blast him.[3] Chremylus protests: 'Why, do you suppose that Zeus' kingly power and those thunderbolts of his will be worth twopence, if you get back your sight?' To what does Zeus owe his rule? To money, the gift of Plutus himself! For what else do men sacrifice to him? Without Plutus' consent, they will not even be able to pay for a victim, and the Gods will starve. Plutus single-handed can overthrow the power of Zeus,[4] and all will go well with mankind. The reader will notice how closely this argument resembles Pisthetairos' discourse to the Birds, and the means by which the new kingdom is established are the same: the Gods are starved out and their ministers make their submission. At the end of the play, not only does the priest

[1] It will appear that the *Plutus*, though the latest of the plays, is in some respects nearer in structure to the earliest plays than some of its predecessors. The explanation probably lies in the fact that it is the second edition of a play first produced in 408 (Schol. on *Plutus*, 173).

[2] 87 ff.

[3] 119: *Plut.* ὁ Ζεὺς μὲν οὖν . . . εἰ | πύθοιτ' ἂν ἐπιτρίψειε.

[4] 141: ὥστε τοῦ Διὸς | τὴν δύναμιν, ἣν λυπῇ τι, καταλύσεις μόνος.

of Zeus transfer his services to the new God, but the divine lacquey, Hermes, after blustering threats of Zeus' vengeance on the whole house of Chremylus, is tempted by the offer of food to take a situation in Plutus' household.

The new Saviour Zeus is to be installed in the back-chamber of the Parthenon. The conjunction of Zeus Soter and Athena Soteira is known to us from inscriptions. They had a common sacrifice at the Diisoteria,[1] and one of the seats in the theatre is inscribed with the title of their common priest.[2] The obvious reason for installing Plutus in this chamber is that it was the treasury of the state; and that, no doubt, is what Aristophanes intends. But, in the light of a conjecture of Mr. Cook's,[3] we may perhaps see a further significance, curiously suitable to our own hypothesis, and, for all we know to the contrary, familiar to the minds of Aristophanes and his audience. In discussing the plan of the Erechtheum, Mr. Cook has argued that the back-chamber of the Goddess' temple was nothing less than the room occupied by her divine husband. He believes that when Peisistratus drove into the city with a woman habited as Athena at his side and re-established his tyranny, he wished the people to regard him in this light and to see the Goddess escorting her consort to her dwelling on the Acropolis. If this is so, we have here an historic instance of the new King going in procession with his divine bride, and Peisistratus must have relied on the conception being familiar to the simple-minded folk in ritual.

To this I would add a further point. I have elsewhere[4] tried to show that the sacred marriage of Kore and Pluto at Eleusis is to

[1] *C.I.A.* ii. 469, 326.

[2] *C.I.A.* iii. 281: Ἱερέως Διὸς Σωτῆρος καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς Σωτείρας.

[3] Mr. Cook kindly allows me to mention this conjecture, which is as yet unpublished. He writes to me in a letter dated 8th September 1913: 'Briefly my point was this. The Erechtheion (almost certainly), the Hekatompedon (certainly), the earlier Parthenon (probably), and the Parthenon (certainly), were double temples, the western part being completely cut off from the eastern. Why? Possibly because the western part was reserved originally for the king or human consort of the goddess. The Erechtheion presupposes a palace. Peisistratos was escorted by Athena to the Acropolis. Demetrios Poliorketes, who posed as Zeus, was domiciled in the western part of the Parthenon.' Wieseler (*Adversaria in Aesch. Prom. V. et Ar. Aves*, Gottingae, 1843, p. 124) identified the Basileia of the *Birds* with Athena; cf. Tz. in Lyc. *Al.*, Ἀθηνᾷ τινι βασιλίδι τῇ καὶ Βαλενίκῃ λεγομένῃ, θυγατρὶ δὲ Βροντέου ὑπαρχούσῃ.

[4] F. M. Cornford, *The* Ἀπαρχαί *and the Eleusinian Mysteries* in *Essays and Studies presented to William Ridgeway* (Cambridge, 1913).

be explained as the descent of the Corn-maiden into the underground storehouse after harvest, in order that she may be fertilised by the God of the grain-store and re-emerge as seed for the new sowing in autumn. The *Plutus*, the wealth, of a primitive community consists quite as much in the precious store of grain on which the next harvest depends as in gold and silver, and we are familiar with representations of Plutus as an infant holding the cornucopia filled with the fruits of the year. If the back-chamber of the Goddess' temple originally contained the store of grain as well as other treasures, the Eleusinian sacred marriage would come into line with Mr. Cook's conjecture. Nor is other confirmation lacking, once more in curious agreement with what we have said earlier. A votive relief discovered in 1893 near the Southern Long Wall between Athens and Phalerum shows Echelos and Basile (inscribed) driving together in a chariot conducted by Hermes. It has been pointed out [1] that they are the counterparts of Pelops and Hippodameia, and that the relief witnesses to the otherwise unknown legend of the founding of the contests at the Athenian Hippodrome, which was situated in Echelidai near the *herôon* of Echelos. Usener [2] identified Basile with the Queen of Heaven; others maintain that she is a variant of Persephone and lady of the underworld.[3] The dispute is unimportant: in either case she is the bride in a sacred marriage.[4] There is just the same ambiguity about the divine bride of Trygaeus in the *Peace*, Opora, Fruits-of-Summer. Trygaeus goes up, like Bellerophon, to heaven, receives her from Hermes, and brings her down to earth; yet she is at the same time an attendant of the Goddess Eirene, who rises from underground. When we put all these cases in conjunction, we are perhaps justified in adding the *Exodos* of the *Plutus* to the list of plays which end in a divine marriage. Whether this be so or not, we have at any rate a clear case of the new God whose reign supersedes that of Zeus.

12. *Trygaeus as Bellerophon in the* Peace

The *Peace*, like the *Birds*, is based on the general idea of the man

[1] See Milchhöfer in Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. *Echelidai*.

[2] *Götternamen*, 230.

[3] Robert and Ed. Meyer, *Hermes*, xxx. (1895) 286.

[4] Basile has actually been identified with the Basileia of the *Birds* by O. Kern, Pauly-Wiss. iii. 41.

who scales heaven to beard Zeus in his own domain, and returns to earth with a celestial bride. Trygaeus, mounting through the air on his dung-beetle, is modelled on the Bellerophon of Euripides' tragedy. His 'madness,' of which his slave complains, is like that of Salmoneus. 'He stands all day looking up at the sky, gaping like this, and abuses Zeus.[1] He says, "O Zeus, what dost thou mean to do? Put down that besom; do not sweep Hellas clean away!"'[2] Resolved upon reaching the presence of the God, he has tried various unfortunate means of scaling the sky, and at last found his Pegasus in the reluctant and gluttonous beetle. He means to ask Zeus himself, once for all, what his intentions are.[3] Aristophanes, as always, refrains from bringing Zeus upon the scene. When Trygaeus asks for him, Hermes makes excuses for his absence, and only Polemos appears. Trygaeus, of course, carries his point with Hermes, whom he induces to help in dragging up Peace from her underground cavern and to give him the divine bride, whose spousals are celebrated in the hymenaeal *Exodos*. The play thus presents the New Zeus motive in a milder form.

13. *The New Zeus in the* Clouds

With the two examples before us, in the *Birds* and *Plutus*, of plays ending with the installation of a new Zeus, we gain a fresh light on the peculiar economy of the *Clouds*. This play presents the same idea, only in an inverted form: the place of Zeus is temporarily usurped by a new-fangled deity, Dinos, who is dethroned at the end, while Zeus is restored.

When Strepsiades has submitted to the instructions of Socrates,

[1] The description recalls the attitude of Salmoneus on the vase above referred to (p. 23, n. 2). Salmoneus stands with head thrown back and looking upwards, while he brandishes a sword as if threatening Zeus, whose thunderbolt he holds in his other hand.

[2] 56 :
δι' ἡμέρας γὰρ ἐς τὸν οὐρανὸν βλέπων
ὠδὶ κεχηνὼς λοιδορεῖται τῷ Διΐ
καί φησιν· ὦ Ζεῦ, τί ποτε βουλεύει ποιεῖν ;
κατάθου τὸ κόρημα· μὴ 'κκόρει τὴν Ἑλλάδα.

[3] 103 :
Slave. . . . ὅποι πέτεσθαι διανοεῖ.
Tryg. τί δ' ἄλλο γ' ἢ
ὡς τὸν Δί' ἐς τὸν οὐρανόν ; . . .
ἐρησόμενος ἐκεῖνον Ἑλλήνων πέρι
ἁπαξαπάντων ὅ τι ποιεῖν βουλεύεται.

the adept in the mysteries of the meteorosophists, and the Clouds have made their majestic entrance, the first and greatest secret of the new irreligion is revealed.[1] These Clouds, says Socrates, are the only divinities; all the rest is rubbish. 'But Zeus,' exclaims the astounded neophyte, 'our Olympian Zeus, is he not a God?' 'Nonsense,' replies Socrates; 'what do you mean by Zeus? There is no Zeus.' 'What do you say? Then, who is it who sends the rain?' 'Why, the Clouds of course! Did you ever see it rain without clouds? If Zeus sends the rain, he might as well send it from a clear sky and give the clouds a holiday.' It is the Clouds, too, whose rolling motion causes the thunder. 'But who makes them move? Is it not Zeus?' 'Certainly not; it is Dinos, the heavenly Whirl.' 'Dinos!—and I never knew there was no Zeus, but Dinos now is king instead of him!'[2]

When the new doctrine has been brought to the reach of Strepsiades' intelligence by homely analogies, he raises the objection: 'Whence comes the thunderbolt, flashing with fire, that strikes and shrivels us, and scorches where it does not kill? This, at any rate, is clearly sent by Zeus to fall upon the perjurers.' The answer is forcible: we need not look far to find perjurers who have never been blasted; and the bolt quite as often strikes the temple of Zeus himself or his own trees, the oaks, which cannot be guilty of impiety. The thunderbolt is explained physically by the action of a dry wind on the clouds.

The deposition of Zeus by the usurping Dinos leads to consequences which, at the end of the play, finally revolt Strepsiades, when he hears the same doctrine from the lips of his son. In Pheidippides' mind it has led to the practical conclusion that there is no harm in beating his father.[3] The incident is the occasion of the *Agon*,[4] in which the young man all but triumphs over the old, were it not that his offer to maintain the 'worse reason' and prove

[1] 365 ff.

[2] 380: *Streps.* Δῖνος; τουτί μ' ἐλελήθειν, | ὁ Ζεὺς οὐκ ὤν, ἀλλ' ἀντ' αὐτοῦ Δῖνος νυνὶ βασιλεύων. It is not accidental that 'O King Zeus!' was formerly Strepsiades' favourite oath, *Clouds* 1, ὦ Ζεῦ βασιλεῦ τὸ χρῆμα τῶν νύκτων ὅσον, and 153, ὦ Ζεῦ βασιλεῦ τῆς λεπτότητος τῶν φρενῶν. Perhaps παμβασίλεια Ἀπαιόλη (1150) might be regarded as the wife of Dinos, the impious counterpart of the Basileia of the *Birds*. (The Clouds are called παμβασίλειαι at 357.)

[3] He has learnt from the Unjust Reason (904) that there can be no Justice, or Zeus would have perished for binding his father Kronos.

[4] 1345 ff.

the rightness of beating his mother too, brings about a revulsion in his father. Strepsiades calls upon him to respect Zeus Patrôos. 'Hark at you with your Zeus Patrôos!' cries Pheidippides; 'how old-fashioned you are! As if there were any Zeus!' 'There is!' affirms Strepsiades emphatically. 'There is not,' answers his son; 'Dinos has driven out Zeus, and he is King now.'[1] The old man vehemently recants his former follies, accusing the heavenly Whirl of having turned his head. He calls for his slave to bring a ladder and a mattock, and to climb on the philosophers' roof to dig it down, while he himself takes a torch to set it on fire.[2] Thus, as if armed with the 'pick of Zeus' and the lightning itself, he batters and burns the dwelling of impiety.

That this analogy is present to Aristophanes' mind seems probable in view of the similar threats exchanged by Iris and Pisthetairos in the *Birds*. The usurping new Zeus of that play has just declared that the Birds alone are gods, and men must not sacrifice to Zeus. Iris bids him not to excite the awful anger of heaven, 'lest Justice, with the pick of Zeus, overturn the whole race in one common destruction, and the murky flame bring thy body and thy house to ashes.' Pisthetairos, nothing daunted by this tragic outburst, retorts the threat. If Zeus gives him any trouble, he will send his fire-bearing eagles to burn down his house.[3] In the *Clouds*, Strepsiades acts

[1] 1468: *Str.* ναὶ ναὶ καταιδέσθητι πατρῷον Δία.
Ph. ἰδού γε Δία πατρῷον· ὡς ἀρχαῖος εἶ.
Ζεὺς γάρ τις ἔστιν;
Str. ἔστιν.
Ph. οὐκ ἔστ', οὔκ, ἐπεὶ
Δῖνος βασιλεύει τὸν Δί' ἐξεληλακώς.

[2] He is prompted to this by (the statue of) Hermes, whom he has asked not to blast him for his former impiety, 1479 ff. Hermes, as usual, represents Zeus.

[3] 1238: *Iris.* ὦ μῶρε, μῶρε, μὴ θεῶν κίνει φρένας
δεινάς, ὅπως μή σου γένος πανώλεθρον
Διὸς μακέλλῃ πᾶν ἀναστρέψῃ Δίκη,
λιγνὺς δὲ σῶμα καὶ δόμων περίπτυχὰς
καταιθαλώσῃ σου Δικυμνίαις βολαῖς.
Pisth. . . . ἆρ οἶσθ' ὅτι Ζεὺς εἴ με λυπήσει πέρα,
μέλαθρα μὲν αὐτοῦ καὶ δόμους Ἀμφίονος
καταιθαλώσω πυρφόροισιν αἰετοῖς;

The Scholiast on this passage quotes Soph. frag. 659 (*Chryses*), μακέλλῃ Ζηνὸς ἐξαναστραφῇ. The language of *Clouds* 1486, σμινύην φέρων . . . τὸ τέγος κατάσκαπτ' recalls Aesch. *Agam.* 525: Τροίαν κατασκάψαντα τοῦ δικηφόρου | Διὸς μακέλλῃ, and the Scholiast perhaps refers to similar phrases in his note on σμινύην· ἀντὶ τοῦ δίκελλαν.

as the repentant minister of the old Zeus, now reinstated after the interregnum of inverted morality and licence under Dinos.[1]

There are thus three (or, if we count the *Peace*, four) plays of Aristophanes whose chief motive is the accession of a new God to the throne of the old Zeus. We must next turn to others, in which the closely allied notion of the accession of a new King dominates the plot and especially its end.

14. *The New King in the* Knights *and the* Frogs

Two other plays, the *Knights* and the *Frogs*, are alike in that there is in each a long struggle between two competitors for a seat of honour, in presence of a judge who represents the Athenian public of the *pnyx* (Demos) or the theatre (Dionysus). In the *Knights*, the contest is, in a sense, between young and old, for the Sausage-seller is supported by the youthful knights, while Cleon, the Paphlagonian, appeals to the 'old men' of the law courts.[2] The competition throughout is for the seat at the public table in the Prytaneum. Cleon's enjoyment of this privilege is repeatedly mentioned, and the transference of it to his conqueror is the last fruit of victory.[3] But, though the Sausage-seller wins the wreath and privileges of office and is hailed as *kallinikos* (1254),[4] while his

[1] In view of the frequency of the New Zeus motive, it is curious that the Old Man, Philocleon, in the *Wasps*, in the course of his *Agon* with the Young Man, his son, compares his power in the law courts to the kingdom of Zeus: 620 ff. ἆρ' οὐ μεγάλην ἀρχὴν ἄρχω καὶ τοῦ Διὸς οὐδὲν ἐλάττω, | ὅστις ἀκούω ταῦθ' ἅπερ ὁ Ζεύς; | ἦν γοῦν ἡμεῖς θορυβήσωμεν, | πᾶς τίς φησιν τῶν παριόντων, | οἷον βροντᾷ τὸ δικαστήριον, | ὦ Ζεῦ βασιλεῦ. | κἂν ἀστράψω, ποππύζουσιν | κἀγκεχόδασίν μ' οἱ πλουτοῦντες | καὶ πάνυ σεμνοί. At the beginning of the *Agon*, he is addressed as pleading for his kingdom: περὶ τῆς πάσης μέλλων βασιλείας ἀντιλογήσειν. Bdelycleon, beginning his reply in the *Antepirrheme* (662), addresses him as Zeus: ἀλλ' ὦ πάτερ ἡμέτερε Κρονίδη. There seems to be a faint reminiscence of the Old King, or Old Zeus, defeated by the Young.

[2] 255: *Paph.* ὦ γέροντες ἡλιασταί, φράτερες τριωβόλου, . . . παραβοηθεῖτε . . .
270: *Chor.* ὡς δ' ἀλαζών, ὡς δὲ μάσθλης· εἶδες οἷ' ὑπέρχεται | ὡσπερεὶ γέροντας ἡμᾶς . . .

[3] 1404: *Demos.* καί σ' ἀντὶ τούτων ἐς τὸ πρυτανεῖον καλῶ
ἐς τὴν ἔδραν θ', ἵν' ἐκεῖνος ἦν ὁ φαρμακός.
Earlier references are 280, 709, 766 (where, at the beginning of *Agon* II., Cleon prays that if successful he may keep his seat in the Prytaneum), 823.

[4] It may be noted here that in the *Knights* the two suitors for the favour of Demos, who are called his 'lovers' (ἐρασταί), run a race while the object of their affections 'plays the coquette': v. 1159, *Sausage-seller:* ἄφες ἀπὸ βαλβίδων

antagonist is reduced to his rival's former menial trade, the final triumph is reserved for Demos himself. He has been promised by the Sausage-seller that he shall drive in a golden chariot, wearing a diadem and a purple robe bespangled with gold.[1] In the last scene he appears in all his glory and is saluted as 'monarch of Hellas and of this land' and 'King of the Hellenes.'[2]

In the *Frogs*,[3] we learn that it is a law in the underworld that the best representative of any noble art shall be entertained in the Prytaneum and have the seat next to Pluto, until a greater artist come to dispossess him. Aeschylus has held the throne of Tragedy; but now Euripides has arrived, and, emboldened by his success with the more disreputable characters in Hades, has laid claim to the succession. The public have demanded a trial. Sophocles, when he arrived, behaved very differently, kissing Aeschylus with reverence and taking his hand; and Aeschylus made room for him. But in the present strife Sophocles will stand as odd man out, and dispute the victory only if it falls to Euripides. When Aeschylus is taken back to the upper world, he bequeaths his throne during his absence to Sophocles.[4]

In both these plays the main interest turns on a contest for what is, in a democracy, the nearest equivalent to a royal throne. The Prytaneum, containing the common hearth and household gods of the state, was a survival of the King's palace. Once more, too, we find an analogy with the Olympic victor, who, at the conclusion of the Games, was feasted in the Prytaneum.

It may be noted here that the greatest of all the demagogues, Pericles himself, was again and again compared by the writers of the Old Comedy to Zeus, and given the title of tyrant or king. Kratinus calls him a tyrant born of the marriage of old Kronos and the spirit of Revolution, *Stasis*.[5] Pericles is the 'squill-headed

ἐμέ τε καὶ τουτονί, | ἵνα σ' εὖ ποιῶμεν ἐξ ἴσου. Demos· δρᾶν ταῦτα χρή. | *ἄπιτον. Paph.:* ἰδού. *Demos:* θέοιτ' ἄν. *Saus.:* ὑποθεῖν οὐκ ἐῶ. | *Demos:* ἀλλ' ἦ *μεγάλως εὐδαιμονήσω τήμερον | ὑπὸ τῶν ἑραστῶν; νὴ Δί' ἦ 'γὼ θρύψομαι;* This race, which is followed by a feast and sacrifice in one (Neil on 1168) and the crowning of the victor, saluted as καλλίνικος (1254), resembles the race of suitors for the bride. The Paphlagonian whose wreath is taken away is like Oenomaus, the defeated old king.

[1] 967. The Sausage-seller produces an 'oracle' to this effect.

[2] 1330: *Chor.* δείξατε *τὸν τῆς* Ἑλλάδος *ὑμῖν καὶ τῆς γῆς τῆσδε μόναρχον . . . χαῖρ', ὦ βασιλεῦ τῶν* Ἑλλήνων.

[3] 761 ff. [4] 1515 ff. [5] Frag. 240 K.

Zeus who wears the Odeum on his head ' like a crown.[1] With his Olympian lightnings and thunders he confounds all Hellas, and carries the thunderbolt in his tongue.[2] The name of Hera was satirically bestowed on Aspasia.[3] In his *Nemesis* Kratinus represented the loves of Pericles and Aspasia under the guise of the amours of Zeus and Nemesis. In the light of our inquiry, it seems likely that these comparisons were, if not suggested, at least helped out, by the New Zeus motive.

15. *The Women Plays*

The reign of Zeus stood in the Greek mind for the existing moral and social order; its overthrow, which is the theme of so many of the comedies, might be taken to symbolise, as in the *Clouds*, the breaking up of all ordinary restraints, or again, as in the *Birds* and the *Plutus*, the restoration of the Golden Age of Justice and Lovingkindness, that Age of Kronos which lingered in the imagination of poets, like the after-glow of a sun that had set below the horizon of the Age of Iron. The seasonal festivals of a Saturnalian character celebrated the return, for a brief interregnum, of a primitive innocence that knew not shame, and a liberty that at any other time would have been licentious. Social ranks were inverted, the slave exercising authority over the master. At Rome each household became a miniature republic, the slaves being invested with the dignities of office. A mock king was chosen to bear rule during the festival, like the mediaeval Abbot of Unreason or Lord of Misrule.

This idea may underlie the two plays of Aristophanes in which the social position of men and women is reversed. In the *Lysistrata* the women seize the Acropolis and refuse to have anything to do with their husbands till the war shall be ended.[4] Praxagora, in the

[1] Frag. 71 K: ὁ σχινοκέφαλος Ζεὺς ὁδὶ προέρχεται | ὁ Περικλέης, τῳδεῖον ἐπὶ τοῦ κρανίου | ἔχων. Plutarch *Vit. Per.* 13: τὸ 'Ωδεῖον . . . εἰκόνα λέγουσι γενέσθαι καὶ μίμημα τῆς βασιλικῆς σκηνῆς, ἐπιστατοῦντος καὶ τούτῳ Περικλέους.

[2] *Ach.* 530. Plut. *Vit. Per.* 8: αἱ μέντοι κωμῳδίαι τῶν τότε διδασκάλων σπουδῇ τε πολλὰς καὶ μετὰ γέλωτος ἀφεικότων φωνὰς εἰς αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῷ λόγῳ μάλιστα τὴν προσωνυμίαν δηλοῦσι, 'βροντᾶν' μὲν αὐτὸν καὶ 'ἀστράπτειν,' ὅτε δημηγοροίη, 'δεινὸν δὲ κεραυνὸν ἐν γλώσσῃ φέρειν' λεγόντων.

[3] Kratinus, frag. 241 K: Plut. *Vit. Per.* 24.

[4] Mr. A. B. Cook points out to me that the *Lysistrata* glances at the story of the Amazons, who encamped on the Areopagus to attack the Acropolis. The allusion actually occurs in the *Parabasis*, 678, τὰς δ' Ἀμαζόνας σκόπει, ἃς Μίκων ἔγραψ' ἐφ' ἵππων μαχομένας ταῖς ἀνδράσιν.

Ecclesiazusae, packs the assembly with women disguised in their husbands' clothes, and by a snap vote puts her sex in absolute authority over the state. She then establishes a Utopian Constitution, with a likeness, probably more than accidental, to some features of Plato's Republic—a form of government more than once compared by its author to the Reign of Kronos in the Golden Age. In Aristophanes, the exchange of dress between the sexes reflects a custom which frequently marks Saturnalian festivals.[1] The general atmosphere of licence, and in particular the sexual freedom which marks the Old Comedy, are explained and justified by the persistence of these associations. The Golden Age is an extraordinarily frequent motive in the Old Comedy.[2]

It can hardly be a mere chance that so many of the extant plays are based on the general idea of an inversion of the existing order. We have seen, too, how the notion of the new God or new King is bound up with the Sacred Marriage, in which, year by year, a fresh representative of the power of fertility must take the part of divine husband in the magical sacrament. From the fact that almost every play ends with a 'marriage,' we have conjectured that what we called the underlying plot-formula of the Old Comedy preserves the outlines of a ritual or folk drama performed at some seasonal festival. Other fixed features of the comic plot have still to be examined, with results which, it is hoped, will considerably strengthen our hypothesis. But before we turn to them, we shall break off here to ask how this supposition squares with the literary tradition of the origin of Comedy. At the head of this external tradition stands Aristotle; and from his authoritative statement we must take our start.

[1] The motive is used in the Prologue of the *Ecclesiazusae* and in the *Thesmophoriazusae*, where Euripides and his kinsman both disguise themselves as women. Compare the female disguise of Pentheus, violating the mysteries of the Maenads in the *Bacchae*.

[2] Athenaeus, vi. 267 E ff., cites on this topic the *Pluti* of Kratinus, the *Theria* of Krates, the *Amphictyones* of Telecleides, the *Metalleis* and *Persai* of Pherekrates, the *Tagenistai* of Aristophanes, the *Thuriopersai* of Metagenes, the *Seirenes* of Nicophon. Cf. Couat, *Aristophane*, p. 199. Add to these the *Golden Race* of Eupolis.

CHAPTER III

THE PHALLIC SONGS

16. *Aristotle's Statements about the Origin of Comedy*

THE loss of the second book of the *Poetics*, which dealt with Comedy, leaves us in the main dependent on a few unsystematic remarks dropped in the extant first book. It is true that the summary known as the *Tractatus Coislinianus* [1] is supposed to be based on the lost part of Aristotle's treatise; but it tells us nothing about origins. Perhaps this fact, coupled with Aristotle's own statement [2] that the early stages of Comedy had left no record, because it was for a long time an amateur performance not officially recognised, makes it fairly certain that, if the lost book of the *Poetics* were recovered, it would not add to our knowledge in this particular. We fall back, accordingly, on the well-known passage in the fourth chapter of Book I. A summary of the context will be useful here, because we shall see later that the statement is incomplete, and that this incompleteness is due to the general drift of the passage.

17. *The Fourth Chapter of the* Poetics

The chapter opens with a derivation of all poetry from the innate human instinct for imitative representation (*mimesis*), aided by a natural sense of harmony and rhythm. Starting from these original aptitudes, men, by a series of gradual improvements on their first efforts, 'created poetry out of their improvisations.' [3]

Poetry was divided into two kinds,[4] according to the difference of

[1] Published by Cramer, *An. Par.* i. 403, and discussed by Bernays, *Zwei Abhandl. über d. Ar. Theorie des Dramas*, Berlin, 1880. It is now printed in Kaibel's *Com. Gr. Frag.* i. p. 50.

[2] *Poet.* 5, 1449 *a*, 37.

[3] ἐγέννησαν τὴν ποίησιν ἐκ τῶν αὐτοσχεδιασμάτων.

[4] Aristotle here follows Plato, who speaks of 'each of the two sorts of poetry,' *Theaet.* 152 E, τῶν ποιητῶν οἱ ἄκροι τῆς ποιήσεως ἑκατέρας, κωμῳδίας μὲν Ἐπίχαρμος, τραγῳδίας δὲ Ὅμηρος.

character in the poets. The graver sort, representing noble persons and actions, produced hymns and panegyrics; the more frivolous and worthless represented the actions of the ignoble, and composed invectives (*ψόγους*). The natural metre for invective is the iambic —a term, indeed, the use of which to describe this metre is derived from these primitive invectives, for to '*iambise*' a person means to make him the object of abuse, satire, lampoon, and 'it was in this metre that they used to iambise one another.'[1]

There are thus two main traditions, the graver poets writing heroic verse, the others iambic. Homer's position is peculiar, for his *Margites* gives him a place in the ancestry of Comedy, as the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* make him the forerunner of Tragedy. When, however, Tragedy and Comedy made their appearance, natural inclination and the grandeur of these new forms drew the writers of epic to become tragedians and the writers of iambic to take to Comedy.

Aristotle now goes back to his point that poetry had its origin in improvisation; and here comes (in a parenthesis) the most important statement that 'Comedy originated with the leaders of the Phallic Songs, which survive to this day as institutions in many of our states.'[2] He then passes on to describe the early phases of Tragedy. To this meagre information the *Poetics* adds little more than that no record had been preserved of the early stages of Comedy, though it is implied that a long course of development lay behind the 'late moment' in its history when official recognition substituted a regular Chorus for the amateur performers of its earlier phases—a date now fixed at 488-7. We are only told that Comedy, in that pre-official phase, had certain definite forms (*σχήματα*), and it is implied that it had masks, a prologue, and a plurality of actors.[3] These last remarks we shall consider at a later stage.

[1] *ἐν τῷ μέτρῳ τούτῳ ἰάμβιζον ἀλλήλους.* Note that the phrase suggests a set match in abuse or invective. *Iambi* is used of prose satire, *τοῖς καταλογάδην ἰάμβοις*, Ath. x. 445 B. Gorgias is said to have remarked of Plato's dialogue called after him, *ὡς καλῶς οἴδε Πλάτων ἰαμβίζειν*, Ath. xi. 505 D.

[2] 1449 *a*, 9: *γενομένης <δ'> οὖν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς αὐτοσχεδιαστικῆς—καὶ αὐτὴ (ἡ τραγῳδία) καὶ ἡ κωμῳδία καὶ ἡ μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐξαρχόντων τὸν διθύραμβον, ἡ δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν τὰ φαλλικὰ ἃ ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἐν πολλαῖς τῶν πόλεων διαμένει νομιζόμενα—κατὰ μικρὸν ηὐξήθη (ἡ τραγῳδία) κτλ.*

[3] 1449 *a*, 37: *αἱ μὲν οὖν τῆς τραγῳδίας μεταβάσεις καὶ δι' ὧν ἐγένοντο οὐ λελήθασιν, ἡ δὲ κωμῳδία διὰ τὸ μὴ σπουδάζεσθαι ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἔλαθεν· καὶ γὰρ χορὸν κωμῳδῶν ὀψέ ποτε ὁ ἄρχων ἔδωκεν, ἀλλ' ἐθελονταὶ ἦσαν. ἤδη δὲ σχήματά τινα αὐτῆς ἐχούσης οἱ λεγόμενοι αὐτῆς ποιηταὶ μνημονεύονται. τίς δὲ πρόσωπα ἀπέδωκεν ἢ προλόγους ἢ πλήθη ὑποκριτῶν καὶ ὅσα τοιαῦτα, ἠγνόηται.* For these last statements see below p. 216.

The statements of fact contained in this passage, though they are sometimes lightly put aside, have the highest authority. None but the most cogent reasons ought to make us reject them, so far as they go. Until such reasons come to light, we shall take it as a matter of history that Comedy had one root—probably its main root—in the *Phallika*, which Aristotle speaks of as a well-known and widespread institution in the Greece of his own day.

18. *The Phallic Song in the* Acharnians

The best illustration of what Aristotle means by ' the Leaders of the Phallic Songs ' is provided by Aristophanes himself, who gives us a miniature representation of the ritual in the scene which follows the *Parodos* of the *Acharnians*. This passage has often been discussed, but we must go back upon it once more, because it brings out the point in which Aristotle's statement needs to be supplemented.

The grim old charcoal-burners of Acharnae, who form the Chorus of the play, have got wind of Amphitheos, as he was returning with specimens of wine for libations, which are to symbolise a private treaty of peace he had been sent to conclude between Dikaiopolis and Sparta. The emissary has barely had time to hand over the thirty-years' sample before his pursuers are heard in full cry on his tracks. Amphitheos makes a clean bolt, while Dikaiopolis retires to his farm in the country,[1] where the new-made peace enables him to celebrate once more the Country Dionysia, intermitted during six years of war. Pursuing their search, the Acharnians are startled at hearing from within the farmhouse the ritual cry for silence ; and inferring at once that their quarry must be close at hand, they conceal themselves to catch him when he comes out. The cry ' Silence ! Silence ! ' is again heard, and Dikaiopolis appears at his front door, carrying a large pot and marshalling a miniature procession, which consists of his daughter, as *Kanephoros*, bearing on her head the sacred basket containing the implements of sacrifice, and two slaves holding erect a pole surmounted by the phallic emblem. When the procession has marched some way round the orchestra, Dikaiopolis bids his daughter set down the basket, that they may

[1] On the change of scene see Nilsson, *Studia*, 69 ff. If the 'stage' of Aristophanes had, as is probable, the same dimensions as those of the first permanent stage buildings, this long narrow space would allow of two or three scenes being set simultaneously, as in the mediaeval mysteries.

begin the sacrifice—a ceremony abridged to the pouring of soup over a flat loaf. The celebrant, standing presumably before the image of Dionysus set up in the theatre to watch the dramatic performances, invokes the blessing of the God. The procession is then re-formed and proceeds on its way, while Dikaiopolis sings the hymn to Phales. Since he is both priest and congregation, he has not only to perform the part of 'Leader' of this Phallic Song, but also to act as his own Chorus. The form of the Song is important.

It opens with an invocation of Phales, the companion of Bacchus in his nightly revels, who is greeted once more after six years of neglect. This passage is no doubt sung by the 'Chorus.' It is followed by iambic trimeters, evidently extemporised by the 'Leader,' for they mention individuals by name. The tone and subject are appropriate to the cult of a phallic divinity. The song might be continued indefinitely on the same plan; but it is interrupted by the Acharnians breaking out from their hiding-place and dispersing the procession with a shower of stones.

In spite of this curtailment, the scheme of the ritual performance seems to be complete in outline. There is (1) a procession to the place of sacrifice;[1] (2) the sacrifice itself; (3) the procession resumed with a *Kômos* song addressed to Phales—*πομπή, θυσία, κῶμος*. But what immediately concerns us is first the form, and secondly the contents, of the Phallic Song.

19. *The form and content of the Phallic Song*

We can now see what Aristotle means by the 'Leaders' (*ἐξάρχοντες*) of the Phallic Songs. The function of a leader, or leaders, is characteristic of many types of popular poetry. The simplest case of all is the work-song, or rudimentary chanty, used where some piece of work performed by a number of persons at the same time needs to be regulated in a recurrent rhythm.[2] Thus, when the Chorus of farmers in the *Peace* are hauling up the image of the Goddess, Hermes acts as 'leader' with the cry '*Heave-ho!*' (*ὦ εἶα*),

[1] Nilsson's description of the scene (*Studia*, 91) ignores this first procession, but the text (241-243) seems to imply it. I agree with the stage directions as given in Starkie's edition.

[2] An interesting, though one-sided, study of the relations of work to poetic rhythm will be found in Bücher's *Arbeit und Rhythmus* (4 Aufl., Teubner, 1909).

repeated by the Chorus at each pull on the ropes.[1] Again, there is the boatswain's '*O-op*'; but instances need not be multiplied of so universal a custom. On the basis of this simple practical device, it is easy to trace the growth of poetical forms like the seaman's chanty and a host of other work-songs. There is no line dividing these work-songs from the recurrent cries of ritual, where the work done is the magical or religious 'dance,' as when the priests of Baal 'leaped up and down at the altar'[2] on Carmel, calling from morning even until noon, 'O Baal, hear us!' A similar form survives in the litanies of modern ecclesiastical use, where the priest utters a series of short prayers, and the congregation join in a recurrent response.

Another popular form, in which there are a number of 'leaders,' who improvise in succession, is the Lament. The classic instance is the mourning for Hector at the end of the *Iliad*.[3] As soon as the body is laid upon a bed in the palace, the women gather round, and, one after another, Andromache, Hecuba, and Helen 'lead the wailing.' Each utters her grief in eloquent words, and, as she ends, the whole company howl together. In this case the improvised solos are, of course, 'serious' (*σπουδαῖα*, as Aristotle would say); but on happier occasions the same form naturally lent itself to encomia of a lighter kind; for instance, the Marriage Songs—hymenaeal and epithalamium—with their ribald stanzas and the refrain '*Hymen, O Hymenaee!*'[4]

We approach still nearer to what Aristotle indicates, in the Children's Songs which accompany the *quête* in the festal processions of many countries. In these there is commonly a choral verse sung by the whole company at every house-door as they come to it. Then follows that other element mentioned by Aristotle, of improvised 'iambic,' often taking the form of imprecations upon the householder, either of blessings if he gives liberally or of the reverse

[1] Schol. *ad Pac.* 459: *τὸν Ἑρμῆν καὶ ταῦτα ἐξάρχειν θέλουσι . . . ταῦτα ἀνὰ μέρος λέγεται, τὸ μὲν τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ κελεύοντος καὶ ἕλκοντος, τὸ δὲ τῶν ἑλκόντων ὑπακουόντων.*

[2] 1 Kings xviii. 26 A.V. marg.

[3] xxiv. 718 ff.: *τῇσιν δ' αὖθ' Ἑκάβη ἀδινοῦ ἐξῆρχε γόοιο* (747). For the *ἀοιδοὺς θρήνων ἐξάρχους* of v. 720 see Nilsson, 'Der Ursprung der Tragödie,' *N. Jahrb. f. klass. Alt.* xxvii. (1911) 618 ff.

[4] Agathon's *Kômos*-song (v. 104, *τίνι δαιμόνων ὁ κῶμος*;) in Aristoph. *Thesmoph.* 101 ff. is a good instance. The leader sings three or four lines alternately with three or four lines by the Chorus.

if he is stingy. The Pseudo-Homeric *Eiresione* Song preserves the type, and better still the Rhodian Swallow-Song recorded by Athenaeus.[1] This last has the choral verse beginning 'The swallow has come, has come,' followed by iambic lines in which the children threaten to carry off the wife of the grudging householder, and promise that, if he gives, he shall get much good. L. von Schröder,[2] in his interpretation of *Rg Veda*, ix. 112, as a hymn belonging to a popular procession at the Soma festival, finds in the third verse, which begins 'I am the Singer,' the figure of 'the *Vorsänger* and Leader of the procession who sings the stanzas of the song, while the rest only join in the refrain,' and remarks that he is a typical figure whose congeners appear in the European processions, such as that of the Sword-dancers.

In the procession of the mystics, whose ritual songs form the *Parodos* of the *Frogs*, the Iacchos Song consists of three stanzas in iambic metre, each ending with the refrain invoking Iacchos to join in the procession. It is immediately followed by a passage resembling, no doubt, the canonical 'Jesting at the Bridge' (*Gephyrismos*), where the procession at the Greater Mysteries rested on its tiring journey from Athens to Eleusis.[3] The short stanzas of three lines each should probably be assigned alternately to one or more Leaders and the Chorus.[4] It is evident that the series might be carried on so long as the improvisers could think of new victims, just as I have heard a gathering of modern students sing, until their wits were exhausted, extempore couplets at one another's expense, with the chorus:

'Vive la,
Vive la,
Vive la compagnie!'

The marching songs of various English regiments, with their

[1] viii. 360 B. For a good discussion of these songs with modern parallels see Dieterich, *Sommertag* (*Kleine Schr.* 1911, p. 324 ff.). Examples from modern Greece will be found in A. J. B. Wace, 'North Greek Festivals and the Worship of Dionysus,' *Brit. Sch. Ann.*, xvi. (1909-10) p. 233 ff. These are used in processions which include a mummers' play of the type described below, p. 62.

[2] *Mysterium u. Mimus* (Leipzig, 1908), p. 451.

[3] Cf. v. 372 ff.: χώρει πᾶς . . . κάπισκώπτων καὶ παίζων καὶ χλευάζων. I am inclined to agree with Tucker (*Class. Rev.* xviii. 416 ff.) that the procession which forms the *Frogs Parodos* is not the Eleusinian procession, but perhaps belongs to a similar ritual at the Lesser Mysteries of Agrai. But this does not affect our present point.

[4] Van Leeuwen accepts this arrangement in his edition, following Arnoldt.

ribald satire on the officers, still perpetuate the fescennine tradition of the Roman triumph.[1]

The essential features, then, of the Phallic Song are those which we have found illustrated in the miniature specimen sung by Dikaiopolis. In point of form, the song is divided in alternation between a Chorus and a succession of Leaders. In point of content, it consists likewise of two elements. There is first the invocation of the God or genius of the rite, who is invited to be present among his worshippers :—O Phales, Phales !—Hymen, O Hymenaee !—Io, Paian ! etc.[2] Second, there is the 'iambic' element of ribaldry or satire, improvised by the Leaders at the expense of individuals by name. From Aristotle's statement it is clear that, in his opinion at any rate, the 'iambic' element of personal satire and abuse, which he takes as the essential feature of the Old Comedy, was derived from these improvisations, and modern students agree with him.[3]

Before we consider how this statement needs to be supplemented, we shall glance at another type of performance, evidently of kindred origin, which preserved the same two features—the iambic abuse on which Aristotle lays stress, together with the invocation of the God of fertility, of which he makes no mention.

20. *The Phallophori, Ithyphalli, Autokabdali*

In the well-known passage in which Athenaeus [4] describes various forms of the Mime and of primitive Comedy, he quotes extracts

[1] Similar customs lived on through the Middle Ages at church festivals, especially those which perpetuated the Roman *Kalends*. Thus, the Synod held at Rome in 826 (*canon* xxxv.) speaks of bad Christians who go to church on feast days, *ballando, verba turpia decantando, choros tenendo ac ducendo, similitudinem paganorum peragendo.* Du Méril, *Hist. de la Comédie* (Paris, 1864), i. p. 67. A good collection of similar texts from the Fathers and Church Councils is given by E. K. Chambers, *The Mediaeval Stage* (Oxford, 1903), vol. ii. Appendix N.

[2] Dionysus is invoked to lead the κῶμος in *Thesmoph.* 987, ἡγοῦ δέ γ' ὦδ' αὐτὸς σὺ | κισσοφόρε Βάκχειε | δέσποτ'· ἐγὼ δὲ κώμοις | σὲ φιλοχόροισι μέλψω. He is actually called ἔξαρχος, Eur. *Bacch.* 141 ὁ δ' ἔξαρχος Βρόμιος, cf. 115, Βρόμιος ὅστις ἄγῃ θιάσους. Soph, *Ant.* 154, θεῶν δὲ ναοὺς χοροῖς παννυχίοις πάντας ἐπέλθωμεν, ὁ Θήβας δ' ἐλελίχθων Βάκχιος ἄρχοι.

[3] Cf. Reich, *Der Mimus*, i. 327, who points out that the other root of Comedy, the Mime, was free from this element of personal abuse.

[4] xiv. 621 D ff.

from two authors, Sosibios of Laconia (about 300 B.C.) and Semos of Delos (not later than the first century B.C.), both of whom mention a kind of performance closely related to the Phallic Songs we have been studying. Sosibios confuses it with the quite distinct varieties of the Peloponnesian Mime—the Spartan *Dikelon*, the Tarentine *Phlyax*, etc. Semos does not make this confusion, and he supplies us with short descriptions of what evidently are merely local varieties of the performance in question. Athenaeus quotes textually from Semos' book *On Paeans*:

'The Autokabdali ("Improvisers"), as they are called, used to wear crowns of ivy and deliver extempore speeches. Later the name "Iambi" was given both to the performers and to their compositions.

'The Ithyphalli wear masks of drunken men and wreaths; they have flowered sleeves and tunics with a white stripe down the middle, and they are girt with a Tarentine mantle (a long transparent garment) which covers them down to the ankles. They enter in silence through the door (in the back-scene of the theatre), and when they reach the middle of the orchestra they turn towards the audience and say:

Come, make way for the God;
Erect and in full vigour,
He will pass through the midst.[1]

'The Phallophori,' he continues, 'wear no mask, but they put on a visor made of the flowers *serpyllum* and *paideros*, and above it they wear a thick wreath of violets and ivy.[2] Wrapt in thick cloaks, they enter (the theatre), some by the side entrance, others by the central door (in the back-scene), marching in step and saying:

This song to thy glory, Bacchus, we pour,
In simple rhythm with various tune;
Fresh is our muse and virginal;

---

[1] ἀνάγετ', εὐρυχωρίαν ποι-
εῖτε τῷ θεῷ· 'θέλει γὰρ [ὁ θεὸς]
ὀρθὸς ἐσφυδωμένος
διὰ μέσου βαδίζειν.

The God, of course, is Phales, or the phallus borne erect on its pole.

[2] στέφανον δασὺν ἴων καὶ κίττου, like the wreath worn by Alcibiades in the epilogue of Plato's *Symposium* (212 E, ἐστεφανωμένον κιττοῦ τέ τινι στεφάνῳ δασεῖ καὶ ἴων).

She has not the old songs in use,
But maiden is the song that we begin.[1]

Next they ran forward and satirised persons whom they had fixed on. They performed standing still. The bearer of the phallus . . . was smeared with soot.' [2]

'It is evident at the first glance,' says Reich,[3] 'that these Autokabdali, Phallophori, Ithyphalli are not mimes, but totally distinct from them. Their external appearance at once distinguishes them from the mime. They appear in chorus, and have their chorus-leader; they perform a choral dance and sing a choral song in dignified language; then they ridicule individuals among the audience, that is to say, sing derisive songs at them. Their place is in the orchestra. The mimes, on the other hand, appear singly, or at most in a small company, never in a Chorus; they speak in a burlesque style, they represent definite types and eschew iambic ridicule; they have nothing to do in the orchestra.'

These remarks rightly emphasise one important point about these companies of revellers—that they are an undifferentiated Chorus, not a body of actors assuming distinct parts. They wear a uniform dress, which is not the grotesque costume worn by the mimes on the Lower Italy vases. Above all, they do not wear the phallus.[4] Their Sikyonian title 'Phallophori' means only that one of their number, explicitly mentioned in Semos' description as 'the Phallophoros,' carried the emblem aloft on a pole, as Xanthias and his

[1] σοί, Βάκχε, τάνδε μοῦσαν ἀγλαΐζομεν,
ἁπλοῦν ῥυθμὸν χέοντες αἰόλῳ μέλει,
καινάν, ἀπαρθένευτον, οὔ τι ταῖς πάρος
κεχρημέναν ᾠδαῖσιν, ἀλλ' ἀκήρατον
κατάρχομεν τὸν ὕμνον.

εἶτα προστρέχοντες ἐτώθαζον οὓς ἂν προέλοιντο, στάδην δὲ ἔπραττον. ὁ δὲ φαλλοφόρος ἰθὺ βαδίζων (?) καταπασθεὶς αἰθάλῳ. The 'simple rhythm' is, of course, the iambic.

[2] I can see no reason to accept Poppelreuter's sceptical suggestion (*De com. att. prim.* 14) that Semos in this circumstantial description deserts truth to illustrate Aristotle's doctrine of the 'leaders of the Phallika,' as he understood it. The rural Phallic Songs were no doubt as familiar to Semos as they were to Aristotle before him, and to Augustine centuries later; and why should Semos invent all these curious details of dress and the actual text of the hymns?

[3] *Der Mimus*, i. 277. G. Thiele, *Anfänge d. griech. Kom.* N. Jahrb. ix. (1902) 405 should also be consulted.

[4] The dress of the Ithyphalli precludes the wearing of a visible phallus, in spite of their name.

fellow-slave carry it in Dikaiopolis' procession—the emblem called 'the God' in the song of the Ithyphalli. Their performance is evidently closely akin to the third part of Dikaiopolis' ritual—the procession resumed after the sacrifice and accompanied by the Phallic Song. The form and content of the Phallic Song remain essentially unaltered. There is first the invocation of the God, then the improvised 'speeches' (*ῥήσεις*) or 'Iambi,' containing personal satire (*τωθασμός*) upon individual spectators. The important change is that the performance has been detached from the old country ritual procession of which it once formed the concluding part, and has become a stationary performance in a permanent theatre.

The authors of these descriptions do not state how they are related to the ruder Phallic Songs of country ritual, such as that sung by Dikaiopolis. But it seems probable that the Phallophori, Autokabdali, and the rest were guilds or societies of fashionable young men, like the Ithyphalli, Triballi, Autolekythi, whose drunken revels disturbed the peaceable citizens of the Athens of Demosthenes.[1] There was also a club of Fools ('The Sixty') who met in the precinct of Heracles at Kynosarges.[2] They may, perhaps, be alluded to by Aristophanes in the phrase *Διομειαλάζονες*.[3] Earlier than this, however, we cannot trace them. We hear of an encomium sung by the Ithyphalli at the entrance of Demetrius Poliorketes.[4] Another such society was presided over by Antheas of Lindos in Rhodes, 'an elderly man of good fortune, with a gift for poetry, who spent his whole life in the service of Dionysus, wearing Dionysiac dress and maintaining a large company of fellow-devotees. He was always leading a *Kômos* by day or night. He composed 'Comedies' (*i.e.* satires) and many other poems of the same sort, in which he 'led' his company who carried the phallus.'[5] A

[1] Dem. *in Conon.* liv. 14 and 39.

[2] Athen. xiv. 614 D.

[3] *Ach.* 605. Dieterich, *Pulcinella*, p. 42[4], calls this club '*eine Art Karnevalgesellschaft*,' and remarks that the Iobacchoi of the Athenian inscription have more resemblance to such clubs than to the Orphic cults. Some dispute the existence of the Diomean Club as early as Aristophanes' time; see Starkie's note on *Ach.* 605.

[4] Athen. vi. 253 D.

[5] Athen. x. 445 A (after Philomnestos): *Ἀνθέας ὁ Λίνδιος . . . πρεσβύτερος καὶ εὐδαίμων ἄνθρωπος εὐφυής τε περὶ ποίησιν ὢν πάντα τὸν βίον ἐδιονυσίαζεν, ἐσθῆτά τε Διονυσιακὴν φορῶν καὶ πολλοὺς τρέφων συμβάκχους, ἐξῆγέν τε κῶμον αἰεὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτωρ . . . οὗτος δὲ καὶ κωμῳδίας ἐποίει καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ τῶν ποιημάτων, ἃ ἐξῆρχε τοῖς μεθ' αὑτοῦ φαλλοφοροῦσι.* Rohde, *Griech. Roman*[2], p. 270, remarks that *κωμῳδίαι* would mean *scherzhafte Gedichte, ja wohl gar phantastisch erfundene Erzählungen in Prosa*, and illustrates this use of the word.

Christian writer records similar proceedings at Ephesus in connection with the famous cult of Artemis.[1] They had no doubt flourished there since the days of Heracleitus.[2]

It seems likely that these clubs were to some extent analogous to the *compagnies des fous, confréries des sots, sociétés joyeuses*, etc., of fifteenth-century France. These guilds were formed to carry on the popular Feast of Fools, when the reforming party in the Church succeeded in suppressing the official celebration. Similarly, perhaps, the Greek *sociétés joyeuses* may have kept up the old popular tradition of ribaldry and personal invective, under the emblem of Phales, when these elements were purged out of Comedy in the fourth century. In any case these Phallophori or Autokabdali throw no independent light on the origins of Comedy. We have mentioned them here to show how they perpetuate the form and contents of the Phallic Song, with its two elements of invocation and invective.

21. *The same elements in the* Parabasis

The discussion of the *Parabasis* must be kept for a later stage of our inquiry; but one undeniable fact about it is in place here, namely that, in point of content, the *Parabasis* closely resembles the Phallic Songs we have studied. After the introductory Anapaests, the rest of the *Parabasis* consists of an 'epirrhematic syzygy.' That is to say, an *Ode*, sung by one half of the Chorus, is followed by a speech called the *Epirrheme*, delivered by the leader of that half;[3] then the other half-Chorus sing the *Antode*, followed by the *Antepirrheme*, recited by their leader. We are not now concerned with this 'epirrhematic' structure, further than to note that it is not (as it

[1] *Martyr. S. Timoth.* (Lobeck, *Aglaoph.* 177), τῆς Ἐφεσίων ἐστὶ λείψανα τῆς πρώην εἰδωλολατρείας Καταγωγείων οὕτω καλουμένων, ὡς αὐτοὶ τότε ἐκάλουν ἑορτὴν ἐν ἡμέραις τισὶν ἐπιτελοῦντες, προσχήματα μὲν ἀπρεπῆ ἑαυτοῖς προστίθεντες πρὸς δὲ τὸ μὴ γιγνώσκεσθαι προσωπίοις κατακαλύπτοντες τὰ ἑαυτῶν πρόσωπα, ῥόπαλά τε ἐπιφερόμενοι καὶ εἰκόνας εἰδώλων καί τινα ᾄσματα ἀποκαλοῦντες (*sic*) ἐπιόντες τε ἀτάκτως ἐλευθέροις ἀνδράσι καὶ σεμναῖς γυναιξί.

[2] Frag. 127 (Byw.): εἰ μὴ γὰρ Διονύσῳ πομπὴν ἐποιοῦντο καὶ ὕμνεον ᾄσμα αἰδοίοισιν, ἀναιδέστατα εἴργαστ' ἄν. ὠυτὸς δὲ Ἀΐδης καί Διόνυσος, ὅτεῳ μαίνονται καὶ ληναΐζουσιν.

[3] I cannot agree with the writers who hold that *Pax* 1171-2, where the *Antepirrheme* follows the *Antode* without a complete grammatical break, shows that both passages must, at least in this play, have been delivered by the same voices. Van Leeuwen's distribution of parts in his edition seems to me right.

is sometimes said to be) identical with that of the Phallic Song, but very different.[1] It may, however, be relevant to point out here that, apart from form, the *Parabasis* contains the same two elements—invocation and invective—that we have met in the Phallic Songs and the compositions of the Phallophori. The *Ode* and *Antode* normally contain an invocation, either of a muse or of Gods, who are invited to be present at the dance, the divine personages being always selected with reference to the character of the Chorus.[2] The *Epirrheme* and *Antepirrheme* often contain the other element of satire or some milder form of advice or exhortation. But, though the content is 'iambic,' the metre is normally trochaic. We cannot here go into the difficult question how this fact is to be explained. All that now concerns us is the fact itself: that the *Parabasis* does contain these two elements—the hymn of invocation, and some sort of satire or exhortation, delivered directly to the audience by the Leader of a half-Chorus.

22. *The incompleteness of Aristotle's statement*

We have now made out what Aristotle means by 'the Leaders of the Phallic Songs,' and traced these from country festivals of Dionysus to regular performances of *sociétés joyeuses* in the permanent theatre of the city. With the improvised satire and invective used on these occasions Aristotle connects the corresponding element in the Old Comedy—an element which distinguished it from the Comedy of his own age. If this was a conjecture, it was an extremely acute one; but it seems more likely that so much of genuine tradition about the origins of Comedy was alive in Aristotle's time.

Against this account we have nothing to say, except that it

[1] The Epirrhematic syzygy is a closed system in two balanced antiphonal halves. The Phallic Song is a series of stanzas, which may be continued to any length, punctuated by a recurrent refrain sung by the whole (not the half) chorus. We shall discuss the Epirrhematic form later.

[2] *Ach.* 665 (*Ode*), δεῦρο Μοῦσα . . . Ἀχαρνική. *Knights*, 551 (*Ode*), Poseidon, patron of the Knights, and 581 (*Antode*), Pallas, invoked to bring Victory. *Clouds*, 583 (*Ode*), Zeus, Poseidon, and Aether, God of the meteorosophists; 595 (*Antode*), Phoebus, Artemis, Athena, Dionysus. The Wasps, 1061 (*Ode*), invoke their former selves, the ghosts of their youth. *Peace*, 775 (*Ode*), Μοῦσα σὺ μὲν πολέμους ἀπωσαμένα, 796 (*Antode*), Χάριτες. *Birds*, 737 (*Ode*), Μοῦσα λοχμαία. *Lysistrata* is exceptional; see below p. 125. *Thesmoph.* 829, Ode and Antode are wanting. *Frogs*, 675 (*Ode*), Μοῦσα χορῶν ἱερῶν.

is not complete, and that its author never intended it to be so. He was thinking of the *differentia* of the Old Comedy, the characteristic which sets it in polar opposition to the tradition of heroic encomia and the glorification of heroic Saga in Epic and Tragedy. Hence, he pitches upon satire and invective; and it must be remembered that the verb κωμῳδεῖν meant 'to satirise.' But the Comedy we know does not consist solely or mainly of personal satire and abuse. These are—and this is a fundamental point—not in any way dramatic; more, they involve no germ out of which a drama could grow. The form into which those old rude Phallic Songs of the country festivals could and did develop we have before us in the performance of the Phallophori in the theatre. These bands of young men are not actors; they have no assumed character; the disguise they wear is no more dramatic than the mask and domino assumed in the modern carnival, in order to conceal the wearer's identity, while he behaves in a way that might have unpleasant consequences if he were recognised. From such a performance we might derive something like the *Parabasis* of the Old Comedy, though even this has features which cannot be so explained. But the *Parabasis* is not the drama. It merely interrupts the action of the play; the actors leave the stage while it is performed; its contents are irrelevant and in no way help out the course of the action. The element of drama here sinks to the lowest point: the Chorus-leader in the introductory Anapaests drops the mask completely and delivers a message direct from the poet to the Athenian public. Nothing could be clearer than that the play itself, with all its curious and stiff conventions of form and plot, could not possibly grow out of the *Parabasis* as a nucleus.

Aristotle, moreover, never meant to say that it did. As we have already insisted, he was not, in the passage we summarised, professing to give a systematic account of the origin of Comedy. The parenthetic statement we have illustrated refers only to the element of personal invective; and of that we have every reason to think it gives a true explanation. But phallic rites—this is our next point—have another side of equal importance, of which Aristotle says nothing, because it does not happen to be relevant to his theme at the moment. We, however, who are looking for a complete account of the beginnings of Comedy, cannot neglect this other side, and to it we must now turn. We shall find there the

roots and essentials of the comic drama, as opposed to the non-dramatic performances of the Phallophori or of the Chorus in the *Parabasis*.

23. *The essential content of phallic rites*

It has never been doubted that the phallic procession, with its sacrifice and *Kômos*, belongs to a well-known class of rites, to be found all over Europe and in many other regions, and intended to secure the fertility of the earth and of man and beast. Plutarch [1] describes the corresponding procession in his native Boeotia as 'of a popular and joyful character. One carried an amphora of wine and a bough; another dragged along a goat; a third followed carrying a basket of dried figs; and, to crown all, the phallus.' Herodotus [2] believed that the institution of such festivals in Greece was due to Melampus, who 'introduced the name of Dionysus and his sacrifice and the procession of the phallus.' Melampus, he thought, had brought them from Egypt; and, though this affiliation may be dismissed as unhistorical, Herodotus was right in recognising the same essential content in the processions of Osiris. The women of Egypt, in their village festivals, carried about puppets of a cubit in height, fitted with a phallus of nearly the same length, moved by strings. A flute-player went before, and the women followed, singing to Osiris.

The main purpose of these fertility processions is well brought out by Mr. Chambers.[3] He remarks that 'the customs of the village festival gave rise to two types of dance. There was the processional dance of the band of worshippers in progress round their boundaries and from field to field, from house to house, from well to well of the village. . . . The other type of folk-dance, the *ronde* or "round," is derived from the comparatively stationary dance of the group of worshippers around the more especially sacred objects of the festival, such as the tree or the fire. The custom of dancing round the Maypole has been more or less preserved wherever the Maypole is known.'

'Maypole or church,' he says elsewhere,[4] 'may represent a focus

[1] *De cup. divit.* 8. For all these ceremonies see Nilsson's *Studia*, p. 90 ff.
[2] ii. 49.
[3] *Mediaeval Stage*, i. 164. Mr. Chambers refers to Kögel, *Gesch. d. deutschen Litteratur*, I. i. 6.
[4] *Ibid.* p. 118.

of the cult at some specially sacred tree or grove in the heathen village. But the ceremony, though it centres at these, is not confined to them, for its whole purpose is to distribute the benign influence over the entire community, every field, fold, pasture, orchard close, and homestead thereof. . . . Probably all the primitive festivals, and certainly that of high summer, included a lustration, in which the image or tree which stood for the fertilisation spirit was borne in solemn procession from dwelling to dwelling and round all the boundaries of the village. Tacitus records the progress of the earth-goddess Nerthus amongst the German tribes about the mouth of the Elbe, and the dipping of the Goddess and the drowning of her slaves in a lake at the term of the ceremony.[1] So too at Upsala in Sweden the statue of Freyr went round when winter was at an end; while Sozomenes tells how, when Ulfilas was preaching Christianity to the Visigoths, Athanaric sent the image of his god abroad in a wagon, and burnt the houses of all who refused to bow down and sacrifice. Such lustrations continue to be a prominent feature of the folk survivals.'

Mr. Chambers' description needs to be supplemented by taking into account precisely that other factor which Aristotle emphasises to the exclusion of the positive element of fertility magic. Besides the distribution of benign influence, of which Mr. Chambers speaks, these processions have also the converse magical intent of defeating and driving away bad influences of every kind. The phallus itself is no less a negative charm against evil spirits than a positive agent of fertilisation.[2] But the simplest of all methods of expelling such malign influences of any kind is to abuse them with the most violent language. No distinction is drawn between this and the custom of abusing, and even beating, the persons or things which are to be rid of them, as a carpet is beaten for no fault of its own, but to get the dust out of it. Professor Margoliouth,[3] illustrating Aristotle's

[1] *Germania*, 40.

[2] The magical potency of the phallus is well illustrated by the supposed connection of the words *fascinum* and *βάσκανος*, regarded by Kretschmer (*Einleitung*, 248[4]) as borrowed from Illyrian or Thracian speech. It is conjectured that *βάζω*, *βάξις*, *βάσκειν· λέγειν*, *κακολογεῖν*, Hesych., may come from the same source. Cf. Boisacq, *Dict. étym. de la langue grecque* (1910), s.v. *βάσκανος*; Walde, *Latein. Etym. Wörterb.* s.v. *fascinum*. Phallic objects are, of course, used to avert the evil eye.

[3] *The Poetics of Aristotle* (London, 1911), p. 142.

division of primitive poetry into encomium and invective, observes that Arabic poetry has never passed beyond this stage, and adds—what Aristotle did not know—that both are in origin the magical utterance of words fraught with blessings or curses. He instances the involuntary blessings uttered by Balaam in place of the curses desired by his employer, and the insults by which Apollonius of Tyana and his party got rid of a vampire on their travels. 'The spell against a demon usually takes the form of violent abuse.'

Examples from classical antiquity readily occur, notably in the fescennine[1] verses sung at the Roman triumph or the wedding procession. The same double intent of stimulating fertility and averting bad influences lies at the root of many forms of festival dance, which, when the serious purpose has died out of them, are kept up under the sanction of old custom, and partly for the sake of the inherent pleasurableness of obscenity. In the same way λοίδορος (abuse) passes into *ludus* (play).[2] There can be no doubt that the element of invective and personal satire which distinguishes the Old Comedy is directly descended from the magical abuse of the phallic procession, just as its obscenity is due to the sexual magic; and it is likely that this ritual justification was well known to an audience familiar with the phallic ceremony itself. Many centuries later, the double purpose of the phallic procession was quite understood by Augustine, who quotes Varro's description of how the phallus was carried at the Liberalia on carts, at first through the villages of Italy and later into Rome itself. 'By such means,' he adds with pious horror, 'the God Liber had to be placated *for the success of the crops*, by such means must *malign influences be*

[1] The derivation of *fescenninus* from *fascinum* (=φαλλός) is still in dispute. Walde (*Latein. Etym. Wörterb.*[2] p. 286) rejects it in favour of the derivation from the town Fescennium; but the Roman antiquarians were always tempted to derive whatever was obscure in their customs and language from Etruria, and may well have invented this. Cf. Hendrickson, 'The Dramatic Satura,' etc., *Amer. Journ. Phil.* xv. (1894), p. 5.

[2] Walde, *Latein. Etym. Wörterb.*[2] (1910) s.v. *ludo, ludus: Sehr wahrscheinlich zu gr.* λίζει· παίζει, λίζουσι παίζουσι *Hes.*, λινδεσθαι· ἀμιλλᾶσθαι *Hes.*, λοίδορος '*schimpfend*,' λοιδορεῖν '*schmähen*.' So *Fick*, 1[4], 533, *Prellwitz Wb.* The name of Iambe is connected at Eleusis with a type of sexual dance (for which cf. Diels, *Arcana Cerealia*, in Miscellanea di Arch. di Storia e di Filol. dedicata al Prof. A. Salinas, 1907). Iambe cannot be dissociated from ἴαμβος, 'invective.'

driven from the fields.'[1] The Phallic Song is sung by Dikaiopolis at the Country Dionysia, a festival held in the villages of Attica soon after the winter solstice, when the seeds of the new crop had just been deposited in the ground.[2] This was the critical moment for inducing the powers of fertility and expelling all adverse influences of blight and death.

24. *The transition to ritual drama*

In the phallic procession, the ceremonies centre round the sacred emblem of human fertility, borne high upon a pole. In the Egyptian equivalent described by Herodotus, the same emblem is the attribute of a human figure, moved by strings, the hieratic marionette,[3] already capable of figuring as the first actor in a genuine drama, the puppet-show. At the great round lake in the temple precinct at Sais, the sufferings of Osiris were enacted by night in a passion-play, perhaps by means of puppets, more probably by human actors.[4] We have here in epitome every necessary stage linking the processional dance to the drama. In the phallic ceremony of the *Acharnians*, not only is the emblem visibly there, but the vaguely personified genius, Phales, is invoked to lend his unseen presence. Let him but appear incarnate in a human form,[5] and we shall have the first actor, the hero of our supposed ritual drama, which ends—how else should a fertility drama end ?—in the sacred marriage of the divine protagonist, that mystical and magical union by which the whole creation is moved to bring forth the fruits of the year in due season.

[1] *Civ. Dei*, vii. 21: *Sic uidelicet Liber deus placandus fuerat pro euentibus seminum, sic ab agris fascinatio repellenda.* Nilsson, *Studia*, p. 93. The two aspects are illustrated by the gigantic phallus-plough with its apotropaic eyes, carried by a row of naked men on the black-figured vase figured by Dieterich, *Mutter Erde* (1905), pp. 107, 108.

[2] Nilsson, *loc. cit.*

[3] See Magnin, *Histoire des marionnettes*, for the movable statue of a God as the first puppet.

[4] Herod. ii. 171: ἐν δὲ τῇ λίμνῃ ταύτῃ τὰ δείκηλα τῶν πάθεων αὐτοῦ νυκτὸς ποιεῦσι, τὰ καλέουσι μυστήρια Αἰγύπτιοι. The term δείκηλα is the name also of the oldest known type of drama at Sparta.

[5] The notion of an abstract spirit or genius incarnate in a representative, though earlier than any drama, is of course not primitive. The abstraction itself must first arise by a process of generalisation from repeated concrete facts. On this process see J. E. Harrison, *Ancient Art and Ritual* (1913), pp. 70-73.

Here, in the very type of ritual to which Aristotle bids us look for the origins of Comedy, we find the necessary germ from which could arise a form of drama strongly marked by the obscenity into which positive sexual magic must degenerate, and the invective which perpetuates the old negative element of magical aversion. Some of the various forms which such a drama may assume will be passed in review in the next chapter, before we return to the other fixed features of the Aristophanic plot, which they will serve to elucidate.

CHAPTER IV

SOME TYPES OF DRAMATIC FERTILITY RITUAL

25. *Classification of types*

THE forms taken by the rudimentary drama of the fertility ritual can be ranged under several heads. We shall here mention some of the most important, which specially concern us because we shall find clear traces of their influence on the comic plot. The account will be based on fuller statements, to which the reader is referred.[1]

All the varieties that we shall pass in review symbolise the same natural fact, which, in their primitive magical intention, they were designed to bring about and further by the familiar means of sympathetic or mimetic representation—the death of the old year and the birth or accession of the new, the decay and suspension of life in the frosts of winter and its release and *renouveau* in spring. Hence, in their essential core, they involve the two aspects we have studied in the phallic ritual: the expulsion of death, the induction of life. The ritual ceremonies may be classed according to the modes in which these two powers and the conflict between them is symbolised.

26. *The Carrying out of Death*

In the simplest type, an effigy of the power of evil, often under the name of Death, is carried out and burnt, or thrown into the water, or otherwise destroyed. In ancient Greece a ceremony of this kind was held at Delphi, where a puppet called Charila was beaten by the King with his sandal, hanged, and buried in a precipitous chasm. The rite is identical in content, and not improbably even in name, with the Russian Funeral of Yarilo celebrated at

[1] Frazer, *G. B.*[3], *The Dying God*, chap. viii. A useful short statement will be found in Chambers, *Mediaeval Stage*, chap. ix. A scientific classification ought to be based on the condition of society—pastoral, agricultural, etc. The tree represents fertility to the forest-dweller, the bull, ram, or goat to the pastoral nomad, and so on. This, however, lies beyond our present scope.

the end of June.[1] In this too, a puppet used to be put into a coffin, carried out of the town with dirges, and buried in the fields. Closely analogous to the Charila ceremony is the 'Driving out of Hunger,' recorded by Plutarch, at which a household slave was beaten with rods of a plant of cathartic powers and driven out of doors to the words, 'Out with hunger, in with wealth and health.'[2]

This simple ritual formula reminds us that such ceremonies have commonly their other complementary half. If Hunger and Death are driven out, Wealth and Life must also be brought in to take their place. 'In many Silesian villages the figure of Death, after being treated with respect, is stript of its clothes and flung with curses into the water, or torn to pieces in a field. Then the young folk repair to a wood, cut down a small fir-tree, peel the trunk, and deck it with festoons of evergreens, paper roses, painted egg-shells, motley bits of cloth, and so forth. The tree thus adorned is called Summer or May. Boys carry it from house to house singing appropriate songs and begging for presents. Among their songs is the following:

> "*We have carried Death out,*
> *We are bringing the dear Summer back,*
> *The Summer and the May,*
> *And all the flowers gay.*"'[3]

The Greeks had their *Eiresione*, more than once mentioned by Aristophanes. The songs which accompanied the procession of this Harvest May have been illustrated in the last chapter.

The festival at which the *Eiresione* was carried about and hung up over the doors of houses was the early harvest festival of the Thargelia. This feast has links with the Dionysia that preceded it in the spring: both were under the management of the same

[1] Frazer, *G. B.*[3], *The Dying God*, p. 262. The identification of Charila and Yarilo is suggested by Mr. G. Calderon, 'Slavonic Elements in Greek Religion,' *Class. Rev.* xxvii. (1913), p. 80.

[2] Plut. *Q. Symp.* vi. 8. These ceremonies and the *Pharmakoi* are fully discussed by J. E. Harrison, *Prolegomena*, p. 95 ff.; G. Murray, *Rise of the Greek Epic* (1907), Appendix A; J. G. Frazer, *G. B.*[3], *The Scapegoat* (London, 1913), pp. 252 ff. In the last named volume an enormous mass of evidence is collected bearing upon the periodic expulsion of evil and induction of good influences, discussed in the last chapter. O. Kern (*Arch. f. Religionswiss.* xv., 1912, 642) thinks that Ar. *Plutus*, 873, δῆλον ὅτι βουλιμιᾷ, taken with its context, is evidence of the existence of a βουλίμου ἐξέλασις at Athens in 388 B.C.

[3] Frazer, *G. B.*[3], *ibid.* p. 246, where many parallel customs are collected.

magistrate, the Archon; both had cyclic choruses of men and boys. The Thargelia illustrates in distinct ceremonies each of the two aspects we have been considering—the induction of fruitfulness and wealth, and the expulsion of hunger, disease, sin, and death.

The bringing in of the new wealth of the harvest is symbolised in the simplest way by the procession of the *Eiresione*, an olive-branch, twined with wool, on which were hung figs and loaves, small vessels of wine and oil, and a drinking-cup. It was carried by a boy who, in order to symbolise fulness of life and dissociation from any contact with death, was required to be ἀμφιθαλής, the child of living parents. The other and darker side, the driving out of hunger, sin, and death, was expressed in the expulsion of the *Pharmakoi*. On the 6th of Thargelion[1] two men, with strings of figs hung on them, black and white to show that one was for the men, the other for the women, were led out of the city and 'set in an appointed place.' There cheese, barley cakes, and figs were put in their hands, and they were ceremonially beaten on the genital organs with leeks, branches of wild fig and other plants. Finally, it is said, they were burnt, and their ashes were scattered to the winds and into the sea, for a purification.[2]

The point we wish to emphasise is that the *Pharmakos*, by some primitive conjunction difficult for us to grasp, is a representative both of the power of fertility and of the opposite powers of famine, disease, impurity, death.[3] The ceremonies of the *Pharmakos* and the *Eiresione* are complementary. At the former we have the human victim, at the latter the olive-branch, conducted in procession. Both are hung with fruits. The *Eiresione*, again, has its figs, loaves, and vessels of wine and oil: the *Pharmakos* is given figs, a barley-cake, and cheese. Each has even its drinking-cup; for a *kylix* was hung on the *Eiresione*, 'that it might go drunk to bed'; while the *Pharmakos* carried a *phiale*, the ritual theft of which from the temple of Apollo was yearly enacted as part of

[1] Plutarch (*Symp.* 8. 1. 1.) tells us that the γενέθλια of Socrates were celebrated on the 6th of Thargelion, those of Plato on the 7th. This implies, not that the two philosophers were really born on those days, but that Plato was held to be an incarnate Apollo (cf. Mommsen, *Feste*, 469), and—what is much more striking—that Socrates, the purifier of men's souls, who suffered an unjust death, was regarded as a *Pharmakos*, who bore the sins of Athens on his innocent head.

[2] The sources are given and discussed by Mommsen, *Feste*, 468 ff.; J. E. Harrison, *Prolegomena*, 95 ff.; Farnell, *Cults*, iv. 270 ff.

[3] On this point see Frazer, *The Scapegoat* (1913), pp. 227-8.

the ceremony.[1] The human victims, with their burden of sin and death, are driven out and consumed with fire. Their ashes are scattered, both to get rid of the evil and to distribute the good fertility charm over the fields. They cannot be brought back again. In their place, the *Eiresione* branch comes in, bearing the wealth of the year and the promise of life and food in abundance. Our authorities do not tell us when this second ceremony occurred; but it is a natural conjecture that it was connected with the procession on the second and happy day of the festival, Thargelion 7.[2]

We may note here that one play of Aristophanes, the *Plutus*, is on the theme: 'Out with Poverty and hunger, in with Wealth and health.' Wealth is brought into the house, which overflows with abundance; Poverty, who comes to make her protest and plead her beneficence in the *Agon*, is driven away with curses, like a *Pharmakos*.

27. *The Fight of Summer and Winter*

In other cases, the two powers of evil and of good are personified as two antagonists who fight together. This clear distinction and opposition of the two spirits is easy, because, in the succession of the seasons, each in turn has his separate reign, the period during which he triumphs over his rival. 'Thus in the towns of Sweden on May Day two troops of young men on horseback used to meet as if for mortal combat. One of them was led by a representative of Winter clad in furs, who threw snowballs and ice in order to prolong the cold weather. The other troop was commanded by a representative of Summer covered with fresh leaves and flowers. In the sham fight which followed the party of Summer came off victorious, and the ceremony ended with a feast.'[3]

Usener[4] explained on these lines the Macedonian *Xandika*, held

[1] Eustath. *Il.* xxii. 496, p. 1283: ἦδον δὲ παῖδες·

εἰρεσιώνη σῦκα φέρει καὶ πίονας ἄρτους
καὶ μέλιτος κοτύλην καὶ ἔλαιον ἐπικρήσασθαι
καὶ κύλικα εὔζωρον ἵνα μεθύουσα καθεύδῃ.

Harpocr. p. 180 Bekk., s.v. Φαρμακός. . . . ὅτι δὲ ὄνομα κύριόν ἐστιν ὁ Φαρμακός, ἱερὰς δὲ φιάλας τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος κλέψας ἄλους ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἀχιλλέα κατελεύσθη, καὶ τὰ τοῖς Θαργηλίοις ἀγόμενα τούτων ἀπομιμήματά ἐστιν, Ἴστρος ἐν ἁ τῶν Ἀπόλλωνος ἐπιφανειῶν εἴρηκεν.

[2] Cf. Mommsen, *Feste*, 481.

[3] Frazer, *G. B.*[3], *Dying God*, p. 254.

[4] 'Heilige Handlung,' *Arch. f. Religionswiss.* vii. (1904) p. 301.

in the month Xandikos before the Spring equinox. The rite marked the opening of the campaigning season, and was regarded as a purification of the army. On the occasion described by Livy[1] it consisted of three parts. First came the *Lustration*: the army marched between the two halves of a slain dog. Then followed the Parade (*Decursus*); and finally the two halves of the army engaged in a sham fight, led by the two royal princes. A banquet and *Kômos* followed in the evening.

The combat often takes forms which are still familiar as games. The Tug-of-War, for instance, is practised among many primitive peoples as a magical means of procuring the victory of the powers of fertility. A well-known case is the autumn contest among the Central Esquimaux, in which two parties, the Ptarmigans comprising all persons born in winter and the Ducks all persons born in summer, tug at a long rope of sealskin. If the Ptarmigans are beaten, then Summer has won the game and fine weather may be expected in the coming winter.[2] In his general remarks on ceremonies of this type, Dr. Frazer[3] says: 'We may surmise that in many cases the two contending parties represent respectively the powers of good and evil struggling against each other for the mastery.'[4]

28. *The Young and the Old King*

In the battle of Summer and Winter the two powers are clearly opposed and distinct. In other forms the good spirit and his antagonist are felt to be, after all, only two successive representatives of the same principle. Here again, the explanation is obvious with reference to the order of time. The spirit of the new year and of its

[1] xl. 6 ff., *in lustratione et decursu et simulacro ludicro pugnae.* Cf. also Plut. *Vit. Alex.* 31, which describes a mock battle between two parties of Alexander's followers, led by an 'Alexander' and a 'Darius.' Polyb. xxiii. 10, 17 (Suid. s.v. ἐναγλίων). Similar sham fights in Java and Turkestan are described by Frazer, *G. B.*[3], *The Scapegoat* (London, 1913), p. 184.

[2] F. Boas, 'The Central Eskimo,' *Sixth Ann. Rep. of the Bureau of Ethnol.* (Washington, 1888), p. 605; Frazer, *The Dying God* (London, 1911), p. 259.

[3] *The Scapegoat* (London, 1913), p. 180, where many instances are collected.

[4] Mr. A. B. Cook suggests to me that some such festival *Agon* may lie behind the myths of the contests of Heracles with Death (*Alcestis*); Old Age (the earliest illustration being a bronze found at Olympia, *Olympia* iv. Bronzen, pl. xxxix. no. 699*a*); or Epiales (Sophron, frag. 70, Kaibel). The explanation would give body to what seem somewhat thin abstractions. Cf. also J. E. Harrison, 'Helios-Hades,' *Class. Rev.* xxii. (1908) 12 ff.

fertility is merely the spirit of the old year come back again. The old year is a force of evil and obstruction, only because it has grown old and yielded to the decay of winter. When this is remembered, the contest may take the form of a struggle between the Old and the Young King, ending in the death of the former and the succession of the latter to his throne. We have already had this type before us in the myth of Pelops, who defeats the old weather-king, Oenomaus, and wins his daughter, Hippodameia. Oedipus, again, kills his father Laius, marries the Queen, and succeeds to the kingdom. There are many other similar stories of the contest for the hand of a princess which carries the kingdom with it.[1] In this type, it must be noted, the action ends in the triumph of the new King and the sacred marriage with the local Earth Goddess. Another widespread version makes the hero rescue his bride from a monster. St. George defeats the Dragon and carries off Sabra, the king of Egypt's daughter; Perseus rescues Andromeda; Heracles delivers Hesione, and so on.[2] Besides the monster, the hero in these stories often has to deal with two other forms of the antagonist—the wicked Old King, a Laomedon or an Eurystheus, who would defraud him of his rightful reward, and an impostor who falsely pretends to have killed the monster and all but wins the bride, when the hero appears in the nick of time with convincing proof of his own claim.

29. *The Death and Resurrection type*

Another very important variant is that in which the same Spirit of Life dies yearly and is brought back to life. In this form the identity of the old Year Spirit with the new is recognised still more clearly than in the contest of the old and the new king. We cannot here discuss the implications and developments of this rite, which may, in its origin, be linked with the mock death and resurrection of the candidates for tribal initation,[3] and undoubtedly gives rise to a certain type of mystical 'sacrifice.' But a few points must

[1] See Frazer, *G. B.*[3], *The Magic Art*, II. chap. xviii.

[2] These legends and countless parallels are exhaustively studied in Mr. Hartland's *Legend of Perseus* (London, 1894). See also L. von Schröder, *Vollendung d. arischen Mysteriums* (München, 1911), p. 65 ff.

[3] On this subject in connection with the mummeries held by societies of young men at Spring festivals, see H. Schurtz, *Altersklassen u. Männerbünde* (Berlin, 1902), pp. 102 ff.

here be noted. The first is that in this form it is the good principle that is slain; its triumph, the necessary conclusion to a ritual designed for a beneficial purpose, must take the form of a resurrection. Again, the killing may be done either by the worshippers themselves, who tear the representative of the spirit to pieces (σπαραγμός) and then lament his death, or by a wicked antagonist, in which case the death will be preceded by a contest similar to those we have passed in review. To these points we shall return later.

The significance of this form of fertility drama with reference to the origin of Tragedy has been elaborated by Professor Gilbert Murray,[1] who, while studying the 'fixed forms' of the Tragic plot, came to recognise in them the sequence of a ritual procedure which he summarises as follows:[2]—

'1. An *Agon* or Contest, the Year against its Enemy, Light against Darkness, Summer against Winter.

'2. A *Pathos* of the Year-Daimon, generally a ritual or sacrificial death, in which Adonis or Attis is slain by the tabu animal, the Pharmakos stoned, Osiris, Dionysus, Pentheus, Orpheus, Hippolytus torn to pieces (σπαραγμός).

'3. A *Messenger*. For this Pathos seems seldom or never to be actually performed under the eyes of the audience. . . . It is announced by a messenger. "The news comes" that Pan the Great, Thammuz, Adonis, Osiris is dead, and the dead body is often brought in on a bier. This leads to

'4. A *Threnos* or Lamentation. . . .

'5 and 6. An *Anagnorisis*—discovery or recognition—of the slain and mutilated Daimon, followed by his Resurrection or Apotheosis or, in some sense, his Epiphany in glory. This I shall call by the general name *Theophany*.'

I am not now concerned with the details of this theory, though I may be allowed to say that I am convinced that it is, in general, true, and that it provides an indispensable root for the growth of the tragic drama. Whether Tragedy so originated or not, at any

[1] The theory was, I believe, first published at the meeting of the Classical Association on January 8, 1912 (*Proceedings*, vol. ix. (1912) p. 35 ff.). It is restated in an excursus to J. E. Harrison, *Themis* (Cambridge, 1912), p. 341 ff. See also Murray, *Four Stages of Greek Religion* (Oxford, 1912), p. 46.

[2] Excursus in J. E. Harrison, *Themis*, p. 341 ff.

rate the Death and Resurrection play is a most important variety of the fertility ritual drama, and it is as such that it has a place here. Especially we must observe that the nature of this form entails that the antagonist shall be regarded as a purely evil power. His sole function is to cause the passion and death of the good Spirit. It is forgotten that he had also a right to be considered as having been, in his own day, the good Spirit himself. It is owing, however, to this forgotten fact that his fate is sometimes identical with the usual death of his rival. Thus Pentheus, in the *Bacchae*, is torn in pieces and has his pitiful and tragic Recognition at the close.[1]

30. *Survivals of these rites in folk plays*

Such are some of the chief varieties of the dramatic ritual associated with the renewal of life in spring. The essential content of them all is ultimately the same as that of the Phallic Song, the victory of the Spirit of life over the adverse influences of blight and death. The only difference is that this Spirit, instead of being merely invoked to be present at the procession of his worshippers, is visibly embodied in the person of one of them, and his contest with the adversary, his death and resurrection, are enacted in pantomime.

In modern Europe, this primitive magical ceremony has given birth to two main types of festival performance, according as one or other of its two elements, the choral dance or the rudimentary drama, has tended to prevail. The Sword-dance, including the Morris Dance, probably, as Mr. Chambers [2] argues, has its origin here, not in the war-dance : some of the figures retain traces of the mock slaying or sacrifice which was the kernel of the dramatic part. In ancient Thrace we shall presently see an instance of the sword-dance enclosing a scene of mimic death and resurrection: but elsewhere in Greece, the armed or 'Pyrrhic' dance became detached.

[1] See further below, p. 149.

[2] *The Mediaeval Stage* (Oxford, 1903), i. 203. An interesting confirmation of this view is supplied by a sword-dance combined with a Mummers' Play, performed in Piedmont. It is described at length by E. Canziani and E. Rohde, *Piedmont* (London, 1913), 59 ff. One figure in the dance consists of all the sword-dancers placing their swords round Harlequin's neck. He is tried, condemned to death, and told that his skin will be made into a wine-bag. He dies and is carried out to burial by two 'Moors.' See Miss J. E. Harrison's note *ad loc.*

Along the other line of development, the dance remained subordinate to the dramatic action, giving us the type which survives in the English Mummers' Play. We shall glance at this performance before passing to other examples of the same type of drama on Greek soil.

31. *Description of the English Mummers' Play*

This popular drama has three parts, the Presentation, the Drama, the Quête.[1] 'In the first somebody speaks a prologue, claiming a welcome from the spectators, and then the leading characters are in turn introduced. The second consists of a fight followed by the intervention of a doctor to revive the slain. In the third some supernumerary characters enter and there is a collection.'

In the dramatic nucleus, 'the leading fighter is generally St. George, who alone appears in all the versions . . . George's chief opponent is usually one of two personages who are not absolutely distinct from each other. One is the "Turkish Knight." . . . He is sometimes represented with a blackened face. The other is variously called "Slasher," "Captain Slasher," "Bold Slasher," or, by an an obvious corruption, "Beau Slasher." Rarer names for him are "Bold Slaughterer" (Bampton), "Captain Bluster" (Dorset), and "Swiff, Swash, and Swagger" (Chiswick). His names fairly express his vaunting disposition, which, however, is largely shared by the other characters in the play.' After enumerating a long list of minor fighters on one side or the other, Mr. Chambers continues: 'The fighting generally takes the form of a duel or a succession of duels. In the latter case George may fight all comers, or he may intervene to subdue a previously successful champion. But an important point is that he is not always victorious. On the contrary, the versions in which he slays and those in which he is slain are about equal in number. . . .

'Whatever the nature of the fight, the result is always the same. One or more of the champions falls, and then appears upon the scene a Doctor, who brings the dead to life again. . . . The central action of the play consists, then, in these two episodes of the fight

[1] Chambers, *The Mediaeval Stage*, i. 211 ff., from whom the following description is quoted. Mr. Chambers gives the text of one version in an Appendix.

and the resurrection; and the protagonists, so to speak, are the heroes—a ragged troop of heroes, certainly—and the Doctor.'

Many similar ceremonies exist in northern Europe. A good parallel is furnished by the Whitsuntide mummery in Saxony and Thüringen, called 'Chasing the Wild Man out of the bush,' or 'Fetching the Wild Man out of the wood.' 'A young fellow is enveloped in leaves or moss and called the Wild Man. He hides in the wood, and the other lads of the village go out to seek him. They find him, lead him captive out of the wood, and fire at him with blank muskets. He falls like dead to the ground, but a lad dressed as a doctor bleeds him, and he comes to life again. At this they rejoice, and binding him fast on a wagon, take him to the village, where they tell all the people how they have caught the Wild Man. At every house they receive a gift.' [1]

32. *The Festival Plays in Northern Greece*

Several observers [2] have recently recorded similar mummers' plays in various districts of Thrace and northern Greece, and called attention to many remarkable points in which they resemble Dionysiac myth and ritual. When we compare them with the English plays, we note that the original connection with fertility magic is much more clear, and evidently well understood by the performers. The phallic element is still prominent; the sacred marriage at least equally important with the mimic death and resurrection which interrupts it. We shall give a short description generalised from the various instances, in some of which naturally this or that feature is missing.

Like the English mummers, these Greek masqueraders go round the village from house to house, demanding presents of food or

[1] From Frazer, *G.B.*[3], *The Dying God* (1911), p. 208, after E. Sommer, *Sagen, Märchen und Gebräuche aus Sachsen und Thüringen* (Halle, 1846), pp. 154 *sq.*; W. Mannhardt, *Baumkultus*, pp. 335 *sq.* For the Doctor, as a survival of the primitive medicine-man, magician, Schaman, etc., see L. von Schröder, *Mysterium und Mimus* (Leipzig, 1908), p. 370, who finds a humorous picture of this seller of magical herbs in *Rg Veda*, 10, 97. The Doctor as a comic figure thus goes back to the Aryan *Urzeit*. See also pp. 448 ff. of the same work. We shall return to the Doctor below, p. 156.

[2] R. M. Dawkins, 'The Modern Carnival in Thrace and the Cult of Dionysus,' *J. H. S.*, xxvi. (1906), 191; A. J. B. Wace, 'North Greek Festivals,' *Brit. Sch. Ann.* xvi. (1909-10), 232.

money, and singing songs of the type above described, which combine the invocation of blessings on the generous giver with personal references to the householder and his family, adapted to their ages and occupations.[1] In Thrace one of them carries a wooden phallus, afterwards used in the play, with which he knocks at the doors,[2] and an obscene pantomime is enacted on the straw-heaps before the houses by a male character and another man disguised as his wife. In the same instance the drama proper is prefaced by a hand-in-hand dance of all the characters, in which the 'Policemen,' two characters carrying swords and whips, with embroidered kerchiefs round their fezzes, brandish their drawn swords.[3] It may be conjectured that this is a relic of the sword-dance accompanying the play.

This dance is followed by a sort of *Vorspiel*, consisting of the mock forging of a ploughshare by two characters, called the Gipsy Smith and his wife. This pantomime is repeated after the play, and then leads to the yoking of a real plough, which is drawn round the village square, while a man walks behind scattering seed, and cries are uttered for plenteous crops.

In the first act of the play itself, an old woman, the 'Babo,' appears carrying in a basket a swaddled puppet, representing a seven months' child of which she seems to be the illegitimate mother. She declares that 'the baby is getting too big for the basket.' The child develops a Gargantuan appetite for meat and drink, and he demands a wife.[4]

This first act has in most of the recorded instances dropt out, though the old woman, sometimes with a doll in her arms, survives in some places.[5]

In the rest of the play the child, supposed to be grown to maturity, is represented by an actor, the bridegroom, and the action consists of his marriage with the bride, interrupted by his death and resurrection. The other essential character is the adversary who kills him. In view of what has been said above about the ultimate identity of the two antagonists, the old year and the new, it is interesting to note, in the Thracian play recorded by Mr. Dawkins, that the adversary is an exact double in name and dress of the

[1] Wace, p. 233 ff., quotes the text of several such songs.
[2] Dawkins, p. 197. [3] *Ibid.* p. 198. [4] *Ibid.* p. 198.
[5] The significance of this first Act will be discussed below, p. 86.

hero, except that he carries a bow, while the hero carries a phallus. Both wear bells tied at their waist and a mask consisting of an entire goatskin without the horns, with holes cut for eyes and mouth. Or the mask may be reduced to a fur cap, the face and hands being blackened. In Thessaly [1] the hero and his adversary are differentiated. The bridegroom wears a fustanella and red fez, carries a rusty sword, and has bells tied to waist and elbows. The 'Arab' has the black mask of sheep- or goatskin, a sheepskin cloak, and sometimes a tail as well. Elsewhere these two characters are actually reduced to one, called both bridegroom (γαμβρός) and Arab.[2] A fourth character is the Doctor (γιατρός), 'dressed in a black coat, a collar, and a black felt hat, to resemble a graduate of Athens University.' Where this personage is present, it is of course his business to resuscitate the slain hero. Some of these characters may be multiplied: at Léchovo there are three or four bridegrooms, at Viza two brides.[3]

Mr. Wace summarises this part of the action as follows: 'A bride is found for him (*i.e.* the child who has grown up), and the wedding is celebrated, . . . but during the wedding festivities he quarrels with one of his companions who attempts to molest the bride, and is killed. He is then lamented by his bride and miraculously restored to life. The interrupted festivities are resumed, and the marriage is consummated.'

In these modern instances we find, unmistakably surviving in northern Greece, exactly what our hypothesis requires. There is the phallic procession, going round the village to bring plenty and good luck to all its inhabitants, with its Phallic Songs invoking blessings or improvising maledictions with personal references to stingy householders. The procession pauses to perform a short play, the action of which culminates in a marriage, evidently intended to promote fertility by magical sympathy. Before this marriage is consummated, it is interrupted by a struggle between the hero and a black adversary, the Turkish Knight of the English play, in which the hero is slain and afterwards revived. The phallic procession and the sacred marriage we have already discussed at

[1] Wace, p. 233. [2] *Ibid.* p. 239.

[3] Mr. Dawkins, p. 199, says this doubling of the *koritsi* is hard to explain; but is it not because two are required to drag the plough to which they are yoked at the end (p. 200)?

length. Presently we must consider whether any traces of the struggle, the death, and the resurrection can be clearly made out in Aristophanic Comedy. But before we turn to that question, we shall glance at one or two evidences that have come down to us of similar ritual pantomimes of a popular sort in ancient Greece, which were associated with the armed dance, just as the Mummers' Play in England still has links with the Morris dance.

33. *The ancient Armed Dance*

Xenophon in the *Anabasis* [1] describes a series of dances performed after a sacrifice and feast. First some Thracians danced in arms to the flute, using their swords (*μάχαιραι*). The dance ended with one of them appearing to stab another, who fell and was despoiled of his arms. The victor went off singing, while others carried out the 'dead' man, who was really unhurt. The Aenianes and Magnetes followed with another armed dance called the *Karpaia*. One performer laid aside his arms and began sowing and driving his team, with signs of fear. Upon the appearance of a bandit, he snatched up his weapons and fought for his oxen—all this in rhythmical motion to the flute. Sometimes one, sometimes the other, proved victorious. The defeated, with hands bound behind him, was yoked and driven beside the oxen. Other local varieties of the armed dance followed.[2]

The armed dance called 'Pyrrhic' was performed by boys in Crete, where it was said to have been instituted by 'Koures.'[3] This dance of the armed priests formed part of a ritual pantomime in which the child Dionysus was screened from the jealousy of Hera. It has been so fully discussed [4] that we need not dwell upon it here. We find

[1] vi. 1.

[2] The connection between the armed dance and fertility has been elucidated by Frazer (*The Scapegoat*, 233 ff.), who points to the primitive custom of a number of armed men dancing to drive away demons that would harm the crops, while others are sowing. There is thus an original link between the sword-dancers and the performers of the mummers' play or other mimetic rites promoting fertility.

[3] Strabo x. 480, *ἀσκεῖν δὲ καὶ τοξικῇ καὶ ἐνοπλίῳ ὀρχήσει, ἣν καταδεῖξαι Κουρῆτα πρῶτον, ὕστερον δὲ καὶ συντάξαντα τὴν κληθεῖσαν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ Πυρρίχην, ὥστε μηδὲ τὴν παιδιὰν ἄμοιρον εἶναι τῶν πρὸς πόλεμον χρησίμων.* This language seems to bear out Mr. Chambers' view that the armed dance was not in origin a war-dance.

[4] See especially J. E. Harrison, *Themis*, chap. i. for the theory that the Kouretic dance is an initiation ceremony and linked with that form of death and resurrection ritual.

it again at Smyrna, where, upon one occasion, the Chians attacked the town when all the men were out on the mountains, celebrating Dionysiac orgies. The attempt failed, for the men of Smyrna were engaged in the armed dance and used their weapons to inflict on their assailants the fate of those who interrupt Bacchic rites.[1] Athenaeus[2] regarded the Pyrrhic dance as a war-dance, and such no doubt it became in effect in Crete and Lacedaemon. But he records that in his own time there was a Dionysiac variety, in which the performers held *narthekes*, torches, and *thyrsi* instead of spears, and danced the story of Dionysus and the Indians and the story of Pentheus. The Indian expedition of Dionysus may not be earlier than the campaigns of Alexander,[3] but the story of Pentheus is older than the Greek drama, and this and kindred motives may well have been the themes of pantomime armed dances from very early times. At Athens the Pyrrhic dance was associated with the victory of the Gods over the Giants, and in historic times it forms a distinct feature of the Panathenaea, the festival of the armed Goddess. For Pallas Bellerophon, too, seems to have performed an armed dance on horseback before he set out to kill the Chimaera.[4] Here again we probably have the mythical counterpart of a mimic slaying of a monster, combined with a weapon dance.

34. *The Fight of Xanthus and Melanthus*

We approach still nearer to the origins of Athenian drama in a legend attached to the cult of Dionysus of the Black Goatskin (*Melanaigis*), the very God whose image was brought from Eleutherae to Athens and was annually set up in the theatre to witness the performance of his sacred plays. His cult was said to have been instituted at Eleutherae by the eponymous hero, Eleuther, to deliver his daughters from madness that had been sent upon them, because they 'saw an apparition of Dionysus wearing a black goatskin and they reviled him.'[5] The story is a double of the more famous instance of the madness sent upon the women of

[1] Aristid. *Or. in Smyrn.* i. 230.

[2] 630 D.

[3] Kern, *Pauly-Wissowa*, v. 1040.

[4] Pind. *Ol.* xiii. 86, *ἀναβὰς δ' εὐθὺς ἐνόπλια χαλκωθεὶς ἔπαιζεν.* Schol. *ad loc.* . . . *ἢ ἐνόπλιον ὄρχησιν ἐποιεῖτο* is certainly the right interpretation.

[5] Suidas, s.v. *Μέλαν.* The 'reviling' points to a ritual *αἰσχρολογία.*

Thebes, when the God came to his own, and his own received him not.

Another legend of this same cult tells of a duel between Xanthus ('fair man') and Melanthus ('black man'), who is, as the story shows, a double of Dionysus of the Black Goatskin himself.[1] As the two were about to fight, Melanthus saw behind his opponent a figure wearing a black goatskin, and accused him of having brought a second to this single combat. Xanthus, turning to look, was killed.

Usener,[2] in the light of the spring combat of the Macedonian Xandika, saw that this duel was the fight of the God of light and summer against his antagonist of darkness and winter. He added: 'I have no doubt that the contest (*ἀγών*), in which Zielinski has taught us to see a constant and central element of the Old Attic Comedy, was originally the regular battle of the Gods of Summer and Winter.' This suggestion has since been taken up by Dr. Farnell[3] and applied to the origin of Tragedy. In reviewing this theory, Mr. A. B. Keith[4] supplies an important parallel from India. 'The earliest notice of the Indian drama which we certainly possess is that contained in the *Mahābhāṣya*, or "great commentary" on the grammar of Pāṇini, a work of about 145 B.C. In illustrating the use of the present of the causative, the commentator alludes to the story of Kaṃsa's death at the hands of Kṛṣṇa. He tells us that it was represented by actors who actually killed Kaṃsa—we may hope merely in show, the whole being a sort of Punch-and-Judy show with human actors—and also that it was represented by rhapsodists (*granthika*), who reproduced in dialogue the feelings of the persons concerned in the whole episode of the relations of Kaṃsa and Kṛṣṇa, part taking one side, part the other, and the supporters of Kaṃsa having black faces, the supporters of Kṛṣṇa having red faces. . . . There must have been dialogue in the recitation, and the conflict of "black" and "red" men is clearly a remnant of a nature conflict between the representatives of winter and spring or summer, in which the black man is in this case the victim. Moreover, in the Hindu version the play cannot have been altogether tragic, for Kaṃsa is killed and the young Kṛṣṇa

[1] Usener, *Götternamen*, 21.
[2] 'Heilige Handlung,' *Arch. f. Relig.* vii. (1904) 304. See above, p. 56.
[3] *Cults*, v. 235.
[4] *Class. Quarterly*, iv. 283.

is preserved. It is fair to suppose that the primitive Attic drama combined both elements of tragedy and comedy, and it may well be that after all Aristotle is right in holding that the early drama was only slowly developed into the solemn tragedy which no doubt marks one side of the Attic drama ; the practice of writing satyric dramas can thus best be accounted for, and it is admitted that Aeschylus is not adverse to an admixture of somewhat broad comedy in his tragedy.'

Returning to the same subject elsewhere, Mr. Keith [1] remarks that Dr. Farnell has over-emphasised the seriousness of the early ritual. 'The modern parallels from Thrace are certainly not overburdened with sadness, and the essence of the ritual is its double side, the tragedy of the death and the joy of the revival of the vegetation spirit. It is much more in keeping with primitive thought to find these sides closely allied than to believe in a solemn ritual of death alone, and the earlier mummeries, now lost, no doubt showed in combination those elements which in separation gave us tragedy and satyric drama.'

Dr. Farnell's application of Usener's suggestion to the problem of Tragedy is valuable and, I believe (subject to Mr. Keith's correction), sound. But it has diverted attention from the other problem, the origin of Comedy, to which it was applied by its author. It may well be that the satyric drama preserves traces of an original joyful element in the ritual or folk-play from which Tragedy may have come. But it is, as I hope will be clear, at least equally likely that Comedy itself has sprung, not necessarily from the same ritual, but from one closely allied to it and belonging to the same class. In Tragedy, apart from the satyric plays, the element of sex magic and consequent obscenity has, if it ever was there, been totally suppressed. The emphasis has come to fall on the death, the resurrection surviving only in rudiments, such as the *Anagnorisis* and Theophany. In Comedy the emphasis still falls on the phallic element and the fertility marriage ; and, from that day to this, not only has a marriage been the canonical end of Comedy, but this whole form of art, together with other romantic forms which it has influenced, has been marked all through its history by an

[1] 'The Origin of Tragedy and the Akhyana,' *Jour. Royal Asiatic Soc.*, 1912, p. 421, which contains an admirable criticism of Ridgeway, *The Origin of Tragedy*.

erotic tone, and in its lower manifestations relied openly on the stimulus of sex attraction. This emphasis is faithfully kept in the northern Greek folk-plays, where the marriage is still the central act, the death and resurrection episode is a mere interruption. But Comedy has its *Agon*, in which Usener has detected the old strife of Summer and Winter, or of the new and old fertility spirits. In the next chapter we shall study this feature, to see how far the extant plays bear out the hypothesis.

CHAPTER V

AGON, SACRIFICE, AND FEAST

35. *The* Agon *contrasted with the struggle of the romantic plot*

It is often remarked that every drama involves a struggle. In the comedies and novels of modern times the hero has to traverse all sorts of dangers and difficulties before he wins his bride at the dénouement, and in the course of them he is led through all the intricacies of the romantic plot. In works of a melodramatic turn, moreover, the element of struggle takes the form of a prolonged conflict, in which the hero is persecuted by the machinations of the villain. Defeated at last, the wicked antagonist retires, grinding his teeth in despair, while the hero and his bride sail into the smooth haven of married bliss.[1]

With this traditional scheme the Aristophanic plot has one point in common. The *Agon*, which, together with the scenes leading up to it, normally occupies the first half of the play between *Parodos* and *Parabasis*, stands in a fixed relation to the concluding marriage, in that the bridegroom in that marriage is usually the victor in the *Agon*. Here, however, the resemblance ends. For, in the Comedy of Aristophanes, as we have seen, there is no romantic plot, no complication of intrigue to be straightened out in a dénouement, no pair of lovers separated and reunited by the turns of fortune. The contest, the *Agon*, is not with a favoured rival for the hand of the bride; nor are its dangers and difficulties occasioned by the morose old father who exists in later Comedy to see that the course of true love shall not run smooth. On the contrary, the hero is often himself a morose old father, and the *Agon* turns, not upon his love affairs, but upon his political and social views. The normal plan is that the action of the play should begin with a quarrel or

[1] Legrand, *Daos* (Paris, 1910), p. 389, says of the New Comedy: *La réitération, dans le cours d'une même pièce, des obstacles et des expédients n'empêche pas que l'intérêt ne demeure concentré sur un unique problème, le plus souvent sur une sorte de duel, engagé entre deux adversaires ou deux groupes d'adversaires.*

fight, which leads as quickly as possible to the *Agon* proper. This is not, as in the romantic plot, a whole train of action with well-laid schemes and counter-machinations prolonged to a dénouement. It is more like a sort of trial, with a strict rule of procedure. The hero, who has been attacked and even threatened with death, is put upon his defence. He makes out his case and turns the tables upon his accuser. The debate lasts for, perhaps, two hundred lines, during which the action does not advance. Then, in the second half of the play, after the *Parabasis*, we are shown the hero enjoying the fruits of his victory and at last led in triumph in his marriage procession. So far from being prolonged to the close, as it must be in the romantic plot, the *Agon* is often over and the victory proclaimed before the play is half way through, with all the rest of the action still to come. However this extraordinary feature of the Old Comedy is to be explained, it is certain that, in its nature and its relation to the economy of the piece, the *Agon* is radically different from the machinery of the romantic plot.

In seeking to account for it, we shall follow the clue put into our hands by what has gone before, and see what light can be obtained by supposing that in the *Agon* we have to do with the first term in some ritual sequence, of which the last term is a sacred marriage. We shall begin with a description of its essential features.

36. *The Characters in the* Agon

Three, or sometimes four, rôles are involved in the *Agon*: never more than four. First there are the two Adversaries (as we shall call them). For the sake of convenience, we shall distinguish them as the 'Agonist' and the 'Antagonist.' The Agonist is the hero, who is attacked, is put on his defence, and comes off victorious. The Antagonist is the villain, who is in the stronger position at first, but is worsted and beaten from the field. Besides these there is the Chorus, whose Leader directs the trial and sometimes pronounces the verdict; the rest of the Chorus sing their *Ode* and *Antode* at the proper moments. Finally, there is in some cases a minor character, a friend or companion of the Agonist, who plays the part of Buffoon, interjecting remarks and anecdotes, naïve, humorous, or obscene, aside to the audience.

37. *The Form of the* Agon

The *Agon* is, in most of the plays, a perfectly definite section with a structure as fixed and canonical as that of any other part. It is referred to in the text as 'the *Agon*' with a frequency which warrants our use of the word, since Zielinski's work, as a technical term.[1]

The structure of the regular *Agon* is antiphonal, in two balanced halves. First comes the *Ode*, in which half the Chorus, according as their sympathies incline, encourage one or both of the adversaries to do their utmost. Then the Leader, in the *Katakeleusmos*, calls on the Antagonist to speak first. The party who will ultimately be defeated always begins.[2] He opens his case in the *Epirrheme*, usually interrupted by objections and questions from the Agonist. The passage ends in a *Pnigos*.

The second part is parallel in form and contents. In the *Antode*, the other half-Chorus encourages the Agonist, who is called upon, in the *Antikatakeleusmos*, to make his defence. He does so in the *Antepirrheme*, ending with an *Antipnigos*. Finally, in the *Sphragis*, the leader of the Chorus pronounces the verdict in favour of the Agonist.

Zielinski confined the term *Agon* to passages which are written on this formal pattern. Consequently, he did not recognise the existence of an *Agon* in the *Acharnians* and the *Thesmophoriazusae*. The former play, however, has an *Agon* at the usual place, though its form is not normal and the passage is written in iambics.[3] In

[1] *E.g. Ach.* 392: ὡς σκῆψιν ἀγὼν οὗτος οὐκ ἐσδέξεται, 481: ὅσον τὸν ἀγῶν' ἀγωνιεῖ τάχα. *Knights*, 688: ὅπως ἀγωνιεῖ φρόντιζε. *Clouds*, 958: ἧς πέρι τοῖς ἐμοῖς φίλοις ἐστὶν ἀγὼν μέγιστος. *Wasps*, 533: ὁρᾷς γὰρ ὥς σοι μέγας ἐστὶν ἀγών. *Frogs*, 883: νῦν γὰρ ἀγὼν σοφίας ὁ μέγας χωρεῖ πρὸς ἔργον ἤδη, 785: ἀγῶνα ποιεῖν αὐτίκα μάλα καὶ κρίσιν | κἄλεγχον αὐτῶν τῆς τέχνης. Frag. 331: ἀγὼν πρόφασιν οὐ δέχεται. *Telmesses*, frag. 3: οὐ γὰρ τίθεμεν τὸν ἀγῶνα τόνδε τόν τρόπον | ὥσπερ τέως ἦν, ἀλλὰ καινῶν πραγμάτων is doubtful.

[2] *Knights*, 335, where the Sausage-seller snatches the first word, is no exception, for the Paphlagonian protests (οὐκ αὖ μ' ἐάσεις;) and succeeds in claiming his right to take the lead in the *Epirrheme*.

[3] The structure is as follows:—

Ode: 490-494.

(? *Katakeleusmos*: 494 εἶα . . . λέγει.)

Epirrheme: 496-565, monologue of Dikaiopolis, followed by quarrel between the Leaders of the half-Choruses.

Antode: 566-571, calling on Lamachus.

Quasi-Antikatakeleusmos (spoken by Leader of 2nd half-Chorus): 576-7.

Antepirrheme: 572-625, scene between Dikaiopolis and Lamachus.

Sphragis=κομμάτιον of *Parabasis*: 626, ἀνὴρ νικᾷ τοῖσι λόγοισι κτλ.

the *Thesmophoriazusae*, the *Agon* is replaced by a debate in the women's assembly, which fits fairly well into the general outline of the normal *Agon*,[1] though the *Ode* and *Antode* are out of place, the *Ode* being used to divide the *Epirrheme* between two speakers. The fact that the *Peace* contains no *Agon* is explained by the action in the first part of that play being based on a different ritual, the *Anodos* of the Earth Goddess.[2] Zielinski's theory of the inauguration of a statue by Pheidias is superfluous.

Such, then, are in outline the essentials of the *Agon*. There are several points to be discussed. The simplest plan will be to put aside for the present the rôle of the Chorus, important though it be, and the minor character who sometimes plays the Buffoon, and fix our attention on the Adversaries.

38. *A 'dramatised debate'*

Professor Butcher remarks, in a sentence often quoted: 'A play of Aristophanes is a dramatised debate, an ἀγών, in which the persons represent opposing principles; for in form the piece is always combative, though the fight may be but a mock fight.' This dictum is in the main true, but it is not a complete account. In the first place, the *Agon* proper is not the whole play, but the first moment in the action: and, though it is the chief and critical moment, there are those other standing incidents already mentioned,

[1] *Katakeleusmos:* 381-2.
Epirrheme: 383-458, divided by
Ode: 434-442.
Antepirrheme: 466-519.
Antode: 520-530.
Quasi-Sphragis: 531-2.
The fact that these two plays have *Agônes* in this wider sense was pointed out by Weil, *Études sur le drame antique*, 290 ff. Kaibel, solely on the grounds that there is no *Agon* in the *Acharnians*, *Peace*, and *Thesmophoriazusae*, and that the *Agon*, no more than the *Parabasis*, has an absolutely fixed form, denies Zielinski's view that the *Agon* was an integral part of the oldest Comedy (Art. 'Aristophanes,' *Pauly-Wiss.*, ii. 989). Neither reason seems to me to have any weight. Dieterich (*Pulcinella*, 78) says that the *Agônes* of Greek Comedy *sicher zu deren ältesten Bestandteilen gehören.*

[2] Mazon (*Essai sur la comp. des com. d'Arist.* p. 86) describes *Peace*, 601-705, as an *Agon*, though admitting the extreme irregularity of its form. Perhaps all that can be said is that the substance of this passage might well have been put into the *Agon* form in a play constructed on the usual lines.

that follow it in a regular order. In the second place, the term 'dramatised debate' is too mild. When Mr. Starkie[1] speaks of the 'philosophic calm' of the *Agon* in the *Wasps*, as forming 'an admirable contrast with the Sturm und Drang of the preceding scenes,' the English reader who recalls Bdelycleon's passionate denunciations and his father's successive threats of suicide and murder, will admire the Irishman's notion of philosophic calm in a debate. The *Agon* of the *Wasps*, moreover, is one of the mildest. In some plays, it is less like a debate than a criminal trial, and less like a trial than a duel, with the two half-Choruses acting as seconds and the Leader as umpire. It is several times preceded by an actual fight with fists or missiles, which is somehow arrested in order that the flushed combatants may have it out with their tongues instead. Though the victory is finally won by argument—a term which must include all the arsenal of invective—the *Agon* is no mere 'dramatised debate'; it ends in the crisis and turning-point of the play, reverses the situation of the adversaries, and leads not to an academic resolution, but to all the rest of the action that follows.[2] Above all, it is, as we have said, organically related to the final marriage in which the victor is bridegroom, the triumph of the new God or the new King.

The hypothesis we are to consider is that the *Agon* had its origin in one of those ritual contests between the representatives of Summer and Winter, Life and Death, which we studied in the last chapter. We have seen how such ceremonies, once performed with the serious intent of promoting the fertility of the year—an intent still clearly remembered in Thrace—survive in folk-dramas like those of northern Greece or the Mummers' Play in England. They bear the unmistakable mark of their ritual origin. They keep the old plot, always the same from year to year, and the old unvarying characters. They have never passed into the literary stage, but have degenerated, by an inevitable decline, into plays or games.

When rites like these sink below the religious plane, the most serious elements are naturally the first to be softened and reduced to harmless mummery—a process, indeed, that sets in even while

[1] *The Wasps of Aristophanes*, p. xv.

[2] The central importance of the *Agon* is illustrated by the fact that Aristophanes can describe his first play, the *Banqueters*, by the names of the two adversaries in its *Agon*: *Clouds*, 528: ἐξ ὅτου γὰρ ἐνθάδ' ὑπ' ἀνδρῶν, οἷς ἡδὺ καὶ λέγειν, | ὁ Σώφρων τε χὠ Καταπύγων ἄριστ' ἠκουσάτην.

the religious meaning is still alive. The actual death of the human God or of the substituted victim gives place to a transparent pretence; the resurrection becomes a simple matter of the slain man jumping up again. No shadow will be allowed to fall across the general cheerfulness and jollity of the occasion.

But, however such a crude procedure may suit the rustic folk-drama, we must, of course, not expect to find in the literary Comedy of Aristophanes anything so naïve as the simulated death and revival of the hero. What we do find is that the *Agon* is the moment in the play at which the tone becomes most serious, through this seriousness may no longer be religious, but due to the real gravity of the political and social themes, the real contemporary contest between War and Peace or the New and Old Culture. In a general atmosphere of very high-spirited Comedy, shot through with flashes of these serious issues, a dramatic death and resurrection of either adversary would be either too serious or too silly. The *Alcestis* of Euripides shows plainly enough how difficult it is for an artist, setting such a theme in a half-comic light, so to hold the balance as to avoid the tragic tone on the one side and a jarring levity on the other. In pure Comedy the situation is impossible, unless the death is so obviously unreal that it threatens to become childish. At the same time, if our hypothesis is sound, we might expect to find some reminiscences of the death and resurrection motive clinging to the *Agônes* in Aristophanes. We will pass some of them in review, in order that the reader may judge whether there are sufficient traces to strengthen the supposition we were led to on other grounds.

39. *The* Agônes *in the Plays*

In the ACHARNIANS, the stern old charcoal-burners, pursuing the peace emissary of Dikaiopolis, declare that they will take their fill of pelting the traitor with stones. After the episode of the phallic procession they proceed to discharge their missiles at Dikaiopolis, declaring they will stone him to death—a fate with which, by the way, Pentheus threatens Dionysus in the *Bacchae*.[1] Dikaiopolis claims a hearing, offering to speak with his head over a block. The more irreconcilable half of the Chorus still shout that he shall die; until Dikaiopolis, parodying a situation in the *Telephus* of

[1] 356.

Euripides, rushes into his house and fetches out a carving-knife and a coal-basket, which he threatens to butcher, if he is not heard. This appeal works upon the softer feelings of the Acharnian coal-heavers, who drop their stones and allow Dikaiopolis to fetch his chopping-block and plead his case over it. Here the *Agon* would begin,[1] but that Dikaiopolis, still frightened, thinks it more prudent to borrow the pathetic rags and beggar's outfit of Telephus from the wardrobe of Euripides. After this episode comes the *Agon*. The Antagonist, Lamachus, has not yet appeared; so the *Epirrheme* of the first half consists of a long speech by Dikaiopolis on the rights and wrongs of the Peloponnesian War, which divides the Chorus against itself. The two Leaders engage in a tussle, ending in a cry of appeal (the *Antode*) from the defeated party to Lamachus. In the *Antepirrheme*, Dikaiopolis puts this *miles gloriosus* so out of countenance that the Chorus are converted. At the end of the play, while Dikaiopolis feasts and triumphs, we see Lamachus, the Antagonist, covered with wounds, hobbling to the hospital.

The first *Agon* in the KNIGHTS (303 ff.), again, is led up to by a scene of fighting. The Paphlagonian has no sooner appeared, breathing threats of death and destruction, than the Knights are invoked by Demosthenes to the assistance of the Sausage-seller. They instantly fall upon the Paphlagonian and beat him; then match him and the Sausage-seller to outdo one another in shameless screaming. The *Agon* follows. The adversaries exchange the most tremendous threats, and it ends with the Paphlagonian being again thrashed, this time by the victorious Sausage-seller. In the second *Agon* (756 ff.) the adversaries begin by each imprecating the most horrible death upon himself, if he is not patriotic. At the end of the last competition between the rival demagogues, the Paphlagonian, degraded by Demos and stripped of his wreath of office, demands to be wheeled into the house in a fainting condition, taking farewell of his former glories in words borrowed from the dying Alcestis.[2]

[1] It is announced at this point in the words, *ὡς σκῆψιν ἀγων οὗτος οὐκ ἐσδέξεται*, 392.

[2] 1250: *ὦ στέφανε, χαίρων ἄπιθι κεἰ σ' ἄκων ἐγώ*
λείπω· σὲ δ' ἄλλος τις λαβὼν κεκτήσεται,
κλέπτης μὲν οὐκ ἂν μᾶλλον, εὐτυχὴς δ' ἴσως.

Eurip. *Alc.* 177. Alcestis says farewell to her marriage bed:
σὲ δ' ἄλλη τις γύνη κεκτήσεται,
σώφρων μὲν οὐκ ἂν μᾶλλον, εὐτυχὴς δ' ἴσως.

At the conclusion of the play, as we saw, Demos pronounces his final doom. He is to be reduced to the vile trade from which his adversary has risen. Demos expressly calls him a *pharmakos* (1405), one of those human scape-goats who served for the annual expulsion of evil at the Attic Thargelia. That the word is not, as sometimes, a casual term of abuse, is made slightly more probable by an earlier passage, where the Chorus recommend Demos to fatten up his demagogues 'like public victims,' and then, when he needs a delicate morsel, to sacrifice and make a meal of them.[1] As the expulsion of the *Pharmakoi* was a rite of the same type as the Driving out of Death or Winter, we seem here to have something like a reminiscence of the original fate of the Antagonist. We have already mentioned the probable conjecture that this ritual of expulsion was actually parodied in the *Exodos* of the *Knights*.[2]

[1] 1131 ff.: *Chor.* χοὕτω μὲν ἂν εὖ ποιοῖς, | . . . εἰ τούσδ' ἐπίτηδες ὥσ|περ δημοσίους τρέφεις | ἐν τῇ πυκνί, κἄθ' ὅταν | μή σοι τύχῃ ὄψον ὄν, | τούτων δς ἂν ᾖ παχύς, | θύσας ἐπιδειπνεῖς. It is true that the Scholiast's note, 1136, δημοσίους δὲ τοὺς λεγομένους φαρμακούς, οἵπερ καθαίρουσι τὰς πόλεις τῷ ἑαυτῶν φόνῳ, cannot be correct, as the *Pharmakoi* were not eaten or fattened up for that purpose (cf. Mommsen, *Feste*, p. 475); but the analogy is close between the fattening up of sacred animals for sacrifice and the common custom of allowing a Saturnalian victim a period of unlimited self-indulgence before his death; and, for all we know, the *Pharmakoi* may have been given this alleviation, as the corresponding victim at Marseilles was *alendus anno integro publicis sumptibus* (Serv. *Aen.* 3, 57). Note also that, just before the Chorus give Demos this advice, Demos himself has said: 'I choose to maintain one thief as my προστάτης, and when he is full, I hoist and beat him.' (κλέπτοντά τε βούλομαι | τρέφειν ἕνα προστάτην· | τοῦτον δ', ὅταν ᾖ πλέως, | ἄρας ἐπάταξα.) The *Pharmakos* was, according to legend, a *thief* who robbed Apollo's temple, and this ritual theft was represented yearly at the Thargelia (Harpocr. s.v. φαρμακός); as embodying the sins of all Athens, he was a sort of προστάτης τοῦ δήμου; and he was beaten, as he was led out of the city. Again, in the *Antode* of the *Agon* (400), the Chorus express the delight they would feel if Cleon were made to disgorge (ἐκβάλοις τὴν ἔνθεσιν), and they say that 'the son of Ioulios' (whoever he was) would in his delight ληπαιωνίσαι καὶ βακχέβακχον ᾄσαι. It may be worth while to point out that, at the expulsion of the *Pharmakoi* at *Apollo's* festival, lὴ παιάν would be appropriate; and that the *Pharmakoi* were called σύβακχοι or σύμβακχοι (Helladios, *Phot. Bibl.* 279, p. 534, Bekk. Both readings have MS. authority). The Scholiast on *Knights*, 408, says that the κλάδοι carried by the *mystae* were called βάκχοι, and Hesych. (s.v.) tells us of a κραδίης νόμος sung while the *Pharmakoi* were led in procession and beaten κράδαις καὶ θρίοις. I conjecture that the song indicated in ληπαιωνίσαι and βακχέβακχον ᾄσαι was this κραδίης νόμος.

[2] We may compare the driving away of the *Proboulos* loaded with grave-ornaments, at the end of the *Agon* in the *Lysistrata* (see below, p. 81), and the similar expulsion of the Informer of the *Plutus* (below, p. 136), decorated with the cast-off cloak and shoes of the Just Man. Both these resemble the expulsion of the *Pharmakos*.

The final *Agon* in the CLOUDS[1] is preceded by the scene in which Pheidippides beats his father Strepsiades on the stage—a proceeding which he all but justifies in the ensuing debate. It is interesting that this contest between father and son contains two allusions to the *Agon* between Admetus and Pheres in the *Alcestis*—a passage itself barely intelligible except in the light of the old ritual conflict of the Young King claiming to supersede the outworn Old King.[2] Pheidippides would be completely victorious, were it not that at the last moment he turns Strepsiades against him by declaring that he will beat his mother too. This leads to Strepsiades' reconversion and the vengeance he executes on the house of Socrates, who is, in reality though not in form, the Antagonist and principle of evil in the play. We have already noted the suggestions that Strepsiades is a sort of minister of the restored Zeus, blasting the priest of the usurping Dinos.

Earlier in the play, the usual place of the *Agon*,[3] between *Parodos* and *Parabasis*, is occupied by the instruction of the neophyte Strepsiades in the mysteries of philosophy. It is curious to note that at this point of the action, just where it is to be looked for, we find something like a death and resurrection of the hero. When the preliminary instruction is ended (497), Strepsiades is bidden to lay aside his upper garment and enter the low-browed sanctuary of thought.[4] He expresses horror at the idea of becoming 'half-dead' (*ἡμιθνής*) like the pallid and skinny Chaerephon, and asks for a honey-cake to appease the subterranean guardians of this 'Cave of Trophonius.'[5] Those who were to go down into the real

[1] 1345 ff. The earlier *Agon* between the two Reasons will be considered later.

[2] 1416: *κλάουσι παῖδες, πατέρα δ' οὐ κλάειν δοκεῖς;*
Alc. 691: *χαίρεις ὁρῶν φῶς, πατέρα δ' οὐ χαίρειν δοκεῖς;*
1420: *Streps. ἀλλ' οὐδαμοῦ νομίζεται τὸν πατέρα ταῦτα πάσχειν.*
Alc. 683: *οὐ γὰρ πατρῷον τόνδ' ἐδεξάμην νόμον | παίδων προθνῄσκειν πατέρας οὐδ' Ἑλληνικόν.*

[3] Mazon (p. 54) speaks of *Clouds*, 358-475, as an *Agon*; but the use of the term seems to me indefensible.

[4] The door of the *Phrontisterion* is so low that Strepsiades kicks it instead of knocking: *τὴν θύραν λελάκτικας*, 136. It may be that a similar reason makes Dionysus, at Pluto's door in the *Frogs*, ask 'how they knock at doors in this country,' 460: *ἄγε δὴ τίνα τρόπον τὴν θύραν κόψω; τίνα; | πῶς ἐνθάδ' ἄρα κόπτουσιν οὐπιχώριοι;*

[5] 507: *δός μοι μελιτοῦτταν πρότερον, ὡς δέδοικ' ἐγὼ*
εἴσω καταβαίνων ὥσπερ ἐς Τροφωνίου.
The Scholiast says that at the real Cave of Trophonius, *οἱ μυούμενοι καθέζονται ἐπὶ τοῦ στόματος γυμνοί.* Pausanias, ix. 39, tells us the ritual dress was a linen tunic. Cf. *Clouds*, 498: *Socr., γυμνοὺς εἰσιέναι νομίζεται.*

Cave of Trophonius drank first of the waters of Lethe and Mnemosyne, that they might forget what they knew before and remember what was revealed to them in their trance below. There seems to be a reference to this when Socrates, just after the *Parabasis*, calls Strepsiades out again 'to the light,' complaining that the old boor is so oblivious that he has forgotten all he has learnt, before learning it. At any rate, we know from trustworthy sources [1] that those who were brave enough to consult that subterranean oracle at Lebadeia went through an experience which was made to resemble death as closely as was consistent with an actual return to life. When the consultant emerged, dazed and barely conscious, he was seated on the throne of Memory—the equivalent of which in the *Clouds* is the pallet-bed (*ἀσκάντης*) which Strepsiades is bidden to bring out with him—and when he had told what he had seen and heard, he was carried by his friends to the house of the Agathos Daimon and Agathe Tyche. Later, he recovered his wits and the power to laugh returned.

Further on in the play (1113) Strepsiades' son likewise submits to the philosopher's instructions. After the first *Agon*, in which the Just and Unjust Reasons contend for his soul, Pheidippides enters the Cave of Thought, to emerge soon afterwards, transformed into the likeness of a pale and disputatious sophist. The words of the text clearly indicate an actual change of mask.[2] Overjoyed at this transfiguration, Strepsiades, singing a *Kômos* Song (*ἐγκώμιον*), carries off his son in triumph, in order to feast him within.

In the WASPS, the *Agon* is again introduced by a fight, in which the Chorus attack the Agonist Bdelycleon, as the Acharnians attacked Dikaiopolis. For all the 'philosophic calm' of the *Agon*, Philocleon, before it begins, calls for a sword in order that he may fall upon it, like Ajax, if he is defeated.[3] Later, he threatens instead to murder Bdelycleon, if he is not defeated and converted

[1] The principal evidence is collected and discussed in J. E. Harrison, *Themis*, p. 508 ff.

[2] 1170: *Streps.* *ἰὼ ἰώ, τέκνον, ἰὼ ἰοῦ ἰοῦ.*
ὡς ἡδομαί σου πρῶτα τὴν χρόαν ἰδών.
νῦν μέν γ' ἰδεῖν εἶ πρῶτον ἐξαρνητικὸς
κἀντιλογικός . . .
ἐπὶ τοῦ προσώπου τ' ἐστὶν Ἀττικὸν βλέπος.

[3] 522: *Philocl.* *καὶ ξίφος γέ μοι δότε,*
ἢν γὰρ ἡττηθῶ λέγων σου, περιπεσοῦμαι τῷ ξίφει.

by his son's arguments.[1] Bdelycleon's exposure of the slavery that is masked as democratic freedom reduces the old man to a fainting condition. The sword drops from his nerveless hand.[2] Already his eyes are fixed on a better land of everlasting service on the jury, and his soul is taking flight, when his son coaxes him back to life with the promise of a private lawcourt at his own fireside.[3] Philocleon's words are full of reminiscences of the languishing heroes and heroines of Euripides.[4] In this passage we come as near as possible to a sort of simulated death and revival.

In the BIRDS there is the regular pitched battle between the Chorus and the Agonist, Pisthetairos; but when a truce has been sworn, things go smoothly; for the Hoopoe, who plays the Antagonist, is already convinced. He merely puts objections and leading questions, and the Birds are easily persuaded. The Hoopoe, it may be noticed, is the old King of the Birds, and a metamorphosis of one of the ancient kings of Athens. The *Agon* is between the old King and the new who succeeds to his position.

The LYSISTRATA has both a quarrel between the two halves of the Chorus and also a fight between the *Proboulos* with his policemen and the women supporters of the heroine. In the *Agon* (476 ff.) the *Proboulos* plays Antagonist. Towards the end, Lysistrata launches into a serious and even pathetic description of what war means to women. The veteran returned can easily find a wife; but the young maiden's time is short in which to get married; once it is past, she may sit and watch for omens of the lover that will not come.[5] The *Proboulos* interrupts; but Lysistrata cuts him short with the surprising question: Why on earth he does not die.

[1] 653: *Philocl.* *εἰ μὴ γὰρ ὅπως δουλεύω 'γώ, τουτὶ ταχέως με διδάξεις,*
οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως οὐχὶ τεθνήξεις, κἂν χρῇ σπλάγχνων μ' ἀπέχεσθαι.

[2] 714: *Philocl.* *οἴμοι τί πέπονθ'; ὡς νάρκη μου κατὰ τῆς χειρὸς καταχεῖται,*
καὶ τὸ ξίφος οὐ δύναμαι κατέχειν, ἀλλ' ἤδη μαλθακός εἰμι.

[3] 765: *ἐκεῖσε* (to Hades) *μὲν μηκέτι βάδιζ', ἀλλ' ἐνθάδε*
αὐτοῦ μένων δίκαζε τοῖσιν οἰκέταις.

[4] 751: *κείνων ἔραμαι, κεῖθι γενοίμαν* κτλ. Schol. *ἐξ Ἱππολύτου Εὐριπίδου* (230). *Alcestis*, 866: *κείνων ἔραμαι* κτλ.

756: *σπεῦδ' ὦ ψυχή. ποῦ μοι ψυχή; | πάρες ὦ σκιερά.* Schol. *παρὰ τὰ ἐκ Βελλεροφόντου παίζει ταῦτα.*

763: *τοῦτο δὲ | Ἄιδης διακρινεῖ.* Eurip. *Κρῆσσαι*, frag. 465 (N²), <Ἄιδης> *κρινεῖ ταῦτ'.*

[5] 595.

There is nothing to prevent him: 'there is a place for you (to be buried in); a coffin can be had for money; a honey-cake (for Cerberus) I will make for you with my own hands; here is a funeral wreath for you.' Lysistrata and her companion Kalonike load him with the usual grave-ornaments and tell him that Charon is waiting for him.[1] The *Proboulos* goes off to show himself thus arrayed to his colleagues. Lysistrata calls after him to know if he is going to complain that the women have not laid him out for burial, and promises to come on the third day and do the customary offices. This passage, which can hardly be said to be led up to by anything in the preceding context,[2] is dramatically a very odd and unexpected device for getting the Antagonist off the stage.

In the THESMOPHORIAZUSAE, the *Agon* takes the form of a debate in the women's Ecclesia. It is preceded by a parody of the ritual prayer, invoking destruction on any man who commits various offences inconvenient to women (331 ff.). In the *Agon* itself, the hero, disguised as a woman, defends his kinsman Euripides with such an outrageous justification of the poet's attacks on the sex as to lead to his detection. He is tied up to a plank and only saves himself from being burnt to death by the infuriated women by repeating Dikaiopolis' trick, borrowed from the *Telephus*, of seizing a child from the arms of one of them and threatening to kill it. Though the child turns out to be an illicit skin of wine, the ruse is successful and the hero is finally saved, like a second Andromeda, by the tragedian.

The *Agon* in the FROGS ends in the resurrection of the Agonist

[1] 601: *Lys.* σὺ δὲ δὴ τί μαθὼν οὐκ ἀποθνῄσκεις;
χωρίον ἐστί· σορὸν ὠνήσει·
μελιτοῦτταν ἐγὼ καὶ δὴ μάξω.
λαβὲ ταυτὶ καὶ στεφάνωσαι.
Kalonike (?) καὶ ταυτασὶ δέξαι παρ' ἐμοῦ.
καὶ τουτονγὶ λαβὲ τὸν στέφανον.
τοῦ δεῖ; τί ποθεῖς; χώρει 's τὴν ναῦν.
ὁ Χάρων σε καλεῖ,
σὺ δὲ κωλύεις ἀνάγεσθαι. κτλ.

For the distribution of parts see W. Süss, *Rhein. Mus.*, 1908, p. 16.

[2] In the counterpart of this passage, at the end of the first half of the *Agon* (530 ff.), Lysistrata and her companion offer the *Proboulos* a woman's veil and wool-basket, telling him to leave war to women. Is it fanciful to recall that Pentheus, Dionysus' antagonist in the *Bacchae*, is dressed as a woman, before he is led out to his death at the hands of the women?

Aeschylus, while the Antagonist Euripides complains that he is 'left for dead' in the underworld[1]—a phrase which gains point if we suppose a reminiscence that such had originally been the Antagonist's fate. Dionysus replies to this appeal with a quotation from a play of Euripides' own, the *Polyidos*, which itself turned on a death and resurrection motive:

Who knows if to be living be not death?

In the *Frogs*, as in the *Clouds*, the principal *Agon* is postponed to the second part of the play; but, just as in the *Clouds* we found a sort of death and resurrection at the point where the *Agon* usually comes, so at the same point in the *Frogs*, before the *Parabasis*, there is the scene in which Dionysus and his slave submit to torture, as a test of their respective claims to divinity. The trial is inconclusive. They are carried off to be judged by Pluto himself and Persephone, and the true God comes off victorious. The torture scene contains what sounds like even a verbal echo of the trial of Dionysus by Pentheus in the *Bacchae*.[2]

The *Agon* of the ECCLESIAZUSAE is imperfect,[3] as there is no violent opposition to the political projects of Praxagora. Blepyros merely puts objections, like the Hoopoe in the *Birds*. He is convinced, and all goes forward peacefully.

In the *Agon* of the PLUTUS, the Antagonist, Poverty, gets the better in the argument; but she is driven away with curses 'to the crows' or 'to the pillory' (604). Her real adversary, Wealth, is not confronted with her in the *Agon*, which is accordingly imperfect in form. But, as we have already noted,[4] the expulsion of Poverty is balanced by the bringing in of Wealth, as the driving out of the *Pharmakos* had its counterpart in the carrying in of the *Eiresione*.

[1] 1476: *Eur.* ὦ σχέτλιε, περιόψει με δὴ τεθνηκότα;
Dion. τίς οἶδεν εἰ τὸ ζῆν μέν ἐστι κατθανεῖν κτλ.
Cf. J. E. Harrison, 'Sophocles, Ichneutae, etc.' in *Essays and Studies presented to W. Ridgeway* (Cambridge, 1913), p. 149.

[2] 628: *Dion.* ἀγορεύω τινὶ | ἐμὲ μὴ βασανίζειν ἀθάνατον ὄντ'. εἰ δὲ μή, | αὑτὸς σεαυτὸν αἰτιῶ. Van Leeuwen *ad loc.* cites *Bacchae*, 504, αὐδῶ με μὴ δεῖν σωφρονῶν οὐ σώφροσιν.

[3] *Ode* (571-580); *Katakeleusmos* (581-2); *Epirrheme* and *pnigos* (583-709). The other half of the structure is wanting.

[4] Above, p. 56.

40. *Summary and conclusions*

To sum up the results of this survey. In five plays (*Acharnians, Knights, Wasps, Birds, Lysistrata*) the Chorus before the *Agon* make a violent assault upon one or other of the adversaries and threaten him with death. In the *Acharnians* and *Lysistrata* the two halves of the Chorus also quarrel among themselves. After the *Agon*, one or other of the adversaries is wounded (finale of the *Acharnians*); is beaten by his adversary and the Chorus, and finally degraded and expelled as if he were a *Pharmakos* (*Knights*); endures the terrors of a descent into the Cave of Trophonius (*Clouds* [1]); faints almost to death and is recalled to life, after threatening to kill first himself and then his son (*Wasps*); is adorned for burial (*Lysistrata*); tied to a plank and only saved from death by a ruse (*Thesmophoriazusae*); 'left for dead' in Hades, while his adversary is brought back to life (*Frogs*); driven away with curses, as Hunger or Death was driven out, while Wealth is brought in instead (*Plutus*).

The strength of this evidence may be variously estimated. No one instance taken by itself would have much weight; but when all are taken together, and it is seen how constant this motive is, it appears to me that the probability that we have here survivals of an original simulated death of one or other adversary is considerably stronger than we should expect to find it, even if we knew on other grounds that the hypothesis were true. Granted that an Old Comedy play is a 'dramatised debate'—a fact which itself, of course, calls for explanation—still it is possible for a debate, even on political topics of burning interest at the moment, to be conducted without so much murderous violence, which not seldom goes beyond the ordinary limits of good-tempered Comedy among a civilised people. In point of taste, there is no reason to suppose that the audience which enjoyed the plays of Sophocles and Euripides was much ruder than the audience which applauded Menander a century later. On the whole, it seems probable that the physical violence and horseplay of the Old Comedy, like the element of personal satire and the obscenity, is to be explained as part of the

[1] Not after the *Agon* proper, where he is merely beaten, but at the point where the *Agon* usually comes, just before the *Parabasis*.

inheritance from the crudities of folk-drama. It is not at all unlikely that a theatrical public who were more squeamish about physical violence in Tragedy than any modern Europeans, may have felt that nothing but the sanction of tradition would excuse any of the three features mentioned. Since two of them—the personal invective and the indecency—are admittedly traceable to the phallic origin of Comedy, it seems likely that the third is also derived from a motive which we have seen to be altogether in place in any dramatic form of the same ritual of the expulsion of evil and the induction of the powers of fertility.

41. *The Resurrection Motive*

So far we have been concerned to show that there are sufficient traces left in the *Agon* to warrant our supposing that this regular feature of the comic plot originally, in its ritual form, led to the death of one or other of the Adversaries, followed, at the end of the play, by the marriage and triumph of that one who represents the good principle, the King of the festival, the God or Fertility Spirit himself. The type of drama we have had chiefly in view is that in which the evil principle of Death or Hunger or Winter, which is driven out or slain, is represented by the Antagonist, who in the plays becomes the discomfited villain. But we must not lose sight of another type, which we have already had before us in the English Mummers' Play, the folk-plays of northern Greece, and the ancient Thracian armed dance, where it is the representative of the good principle that is killed by the evil, and afterwards brought back to life. If we look again at the series of Aristophanic plays, we shall not merely find isolated vestiges of this motive of resurrection, or rebirth, or renewal of life, but we shall see how it governs, in several cases, the general course of the action after the *Agon*.

We must here draw a distinction hitherto neglected. We must now put aside the cases in which the Antagonist, or evil principle, is maltreated and expelled, and turn to those in which it is the good principle, the hero, who passes through the danger of death or is represented as renewing his life or youth.[1] By the 'hero' is meant the person who is led in triumph at the end as a partner in the sacred marriage.

[1] The two types can of course be combined.

42. *The* Frogs *and the* Peace

The only play which ends with an actual resurrection of the good adversary in the *Agon* is the *Frogs*. This is also the only play in which Dionysus takes a leading part; but it is hardly fair to lay much stress upon it, because the whole conception of the plot demands that it shall be modelled on a Descent into Hades. We cannot, however, pass it over without remarking that we have here another point of contact with the Athenian Lenaea. In the ritual that lay behind these Descents—or one form of that ritual—it was the male power of fertility who went down to bring back from the underworld either his mother or his bride. Orpheus fetches Eurydice; Heracles recovers Alcestis from the clutches of Death. At Lerna the Argives said that Dionysus went down to Hades through the Lake Alkyonia to bring up his mother, Semele; and yearly rites were performed there by night.[1] It is across a lake, tenanted by the Frogs, that Dionysus of the *Limnae* descends to bring up the tragedian.[2]

In the closely allied ritual of the *Lenaea*, the male divinity figured as a child. 'At the Lenaean contests of Dionysus,' we are told,[3] 'the *daiduchos*, holding a torch, says: "Call ye the God," and the hearers shout: "Iacchos, child of Semele, Giver of wealth."' It is highly probable that, in response to this evocation, the infant God appeared in his mother's arms from some cave or artificial mound. The 'Giver of wealth' would hold his cornucopia. The type is that of the famous statue of Eirene, bearing the child Plutus. This ritual combined the Resurrection of the Mother, the Earth-Goddess, from her winter sojourn beneath the ground, with the New Birth of the Child, the wealth and promise of the coming year.

Now the scheme of this *Anodos* ritual is the basis of the first

[1] Paus. ii. 37, 5: τὴν Ἀλκυονίαν λίμνην, δι' ἧς φασιν Ἀργεῖοι Διόνυσον ἐς τὸν Ἅιδην ἐλθεῖν Σεμέλην ἀνάξοντα. Farnell, *Cults*, v. 183. Cf. Paus. ii. 31, 2.

[2] Aristophanes used a similar motive in the lost *Gerytades*, in which a deputation was sent by the poets to the dead poets in Hades, Athen. xii. 551 A. It was used also by Pherekrates in his *Krapatali* (Meineke, *Comici*, i. 84), and by Eupolis in his *Demoi* (Mein. *ibid.* 126), where he is said to have resuscitated several statesmen from the underworld.

[3] Schol. R. Ar. *Frogs*, 479: κάλει θεόν· . . . ἐν τοῖς Ληναϊκοῖς ἀγῶσι τοῦ Διονύσου ὁ δᾳδοῦχος κατέχων λαμπάδα λέγει 'καλεῖτε θεόν,' καὶ οἱ ὑπακούοντες βοῶσιν 'Σεμελήιε Ἴακχε πλουτοδότα.' See A. B. Cook, *Zeus* (Cambridge, 1914), vol. i. p. 669 ff.

part of the *Peace*. The image of Eirene is dragged up by the Chorus of farmers, apparently out of an artificial cave or mound in the orchestra. The Chorus, it may be noted, are armed with the same agricultural tools (*σφῦραι*) that are used by the Satyrs on the vases which represent the *Anodos* of Gaia.[1] Hermes presides over the operation, as he does over the *Anodos* of Pherophatta on the Dresden *krater*.[2] The *Peace* is the only play which has no *Agon*. Its exceptional economy is explained by its being modelled on a Lenaean ceremony in which no contest was involved.

In discussing the various types of fertility drama in Chapter IV we omitted this type, for the sake of simplicity. The Rising of the Earth-Mother with her new-born child involves a symbolism distinct from that of the contest, death, and resurrection of the God. But the two symbolisms can be combined; they are only, as it were, two acts in the drama of the divine life. The miraculous Birth of the wonder-child can be followed by his death at maturity. There is some ground for believing that this sequence actually existed in the ritual of the Lenaea, for that included also 'the Rending (*σπαραγμός*) of Dionysus,' at least as the theme of a 'rustic chant.'[3]

Now, it is a very striking fact that the same sequence is preserved in the folk-play observed by Mr. Dawkins in Thrace.[4] It will be remembered that the first act of that drama showed us the Old Woman, called Babo, nursing her infant ('*Liknites*'), who, like Dionysus, is the seven-months child of no known human father. The child grows to maturity with miraculous speed—a constant trait of these divine infants, which may be illustrated from the

[1] *Peace*, 566: *νὴ Δί' ἡ γὰρ σφῦρα λαμπρὸν ἦν ἄρ' ἐξωπλισμένη.* Schol. *ad loc.*: *νοῆσαι δεῖ τὸν χορὸν σφύρας ἔχοντα, αἷς βωλοκοποῦσι. . . .* This clod-beating gives its title to the *Πανδώρα ἢ Σφυροκόποι* of Sophocles. C. Robert ('Pandora,' *Hermes*, xlix. 1914, 17 ff.) points out that Pandora at her *Anodos*, represented on the Oxford Krater (*J. H. S.* xxi. 1901, Pl. 1; J. E. Harrison, *Prolegomena*, p. 281, fig. 72), is veiled as a bride. He calls attention to the deliverance of Peace in Aristophanes as founded on this nature-myth of the release of the Earth-Goddess in spring from her winter prison.

[2] *Jahrb. d. k. d. arch. Inst.* viii. (1893) 166. The vase is figured also in J. E. Harrison, *Prolegomena* (1903), p. 277, fig. 68.

[3] Schol. Clem. Al. *Protrept.* p. 297, 4 (Stählin): *ληναΐζοντας· ἀγροικικὴ ᾠδὴ ἐπὶ τῷ ληνῷ ᾀδομένη, ἣ καὶ αὐτὴ περιεῖχεν τὸν Διονύσου σπαραγμόν.* Farnell, *Cults*, v. 176; A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, vol. i. p. 672.

[4] Above, p. 63.

newly discovered *Ichneutai* of Sophocles.[1] In the Old Woman we must recognise the Earth-Mother, and in the sordid pantomime of this first part of the play a last survival of the supernatural birth and growth of Dionysus. In the *Peace* the infant is not mentioned, though he may have been represented, as Plutus, in the arms of the statue of Eirene. His rôle is already occupied by Trygaeus, who is to become the bridegroom of the final marriage. The rarity of this motive is soon accounted for. The birth of an infant and his miraculous growth to maturity are not easily represented in Comedy that has once passed out of the naïve crudities of folk-drama.

43. *The Rejuvenation of Demos in the* Knights

The *Peace* and the *Frogs* have given us one point of contact with Dionysiac ritual; the *Knights* provides another, no less curious. In the English Mummers' Play the resurrection of St. George, foully slain by the Turkish Knight, is effected by the Noble Doctor, who can cure

> '*All sorts of diseases,*
> *Whatever you pleases.*'

The same figure appears in the northern Greek folk-plays and in similar performances in Germany and elsewhere. The Doctor in Aristophanes' *Plutus* is no less a person than Asclepius, the God of Medicine himself, who was slain by the thunder of Zeus for raising

[1] 256 ff. Kyllene describes the divine birth of Hermes in her cave, and how she has nursed him (*λικνῖτιν τροφήν*). He grows daily to her amazement, and attains maturity in six days, *οὔπω γὰρ ἕκτον ἦμαρ ἐκπεφασμένος | γυίοις ἐρείδει παῖδος εἰς ἥβης ἀκμήν*. It may be worth while to point out a possible parallel in the case of Veiovis, the youthful Jupiter, to whom March 7 (six days after the beginning of the old Roman year) was sacred. The Epiphany of Christ, who, according to the *Protevangelion*, was born in a cave in his father's absence, is on January 6. This manifestation on the sixth day may explain the obscure phrase used of Iamos in Pindar, *Ol.* vi. 53, where the king's servants tell him that 'they had seen or heard nothing of the *child that had been born five days*,' *τοὶ δ' οὔτ' ὤν ἀκοῦσαι | οὔτ' ἰδεῖν εὔχοντο πεμπταῖον γεγενημένον*. As the servants could not know this fact, the words are pointless, unless they have a ritual meaning. Compare also the miraculous growth of the infant Zeus: Callim. *hymn. Zeus* 55, *καλὰ μὲν ἠέξευ, καλὰ δ' ἔτραφες, οὐράνιε Ζεῦ. | ὀξὺ δ' ἀνήβησας, ταχινοὶ δέ τοι ἦλθον ἴουλοι. | ἀλλ' ἔτι παιδνὸς ἐὼν ἐφράσσαο πάντα τέλεια*. The situation in Sophocles' *Ichneutai* has been discussed by J. E. Harrison in *Essays and Studies presented to W. Ridgeway* (Cambridge, 1913).

the dead to life.[1] He is not, of course, a character in the play; but Plutus recovers his sight at his temple. We shall later find other traces of the Doctor in very important parts in the Old Comedy. Meanwhile, we turn to the allied figure of the Cook, who performs upon the hero of the *Knights* a magical ceremony of rejuvenation.

The *Knights* ends with a burst of splendour. After the Second *Parabasis*, the ex-Sausage-seller, Agoracritus, adorned with the symbols of his newly-won office, comes out and calls for a paean over the good fortune of Athens. Presently the gates of the Propylaea will be flung wide and reveal Demos, arrayed in the old Ionian attire, such as he wore when he dined with Aristides or Miltiades, to be hailed as King of Hellas. The Sausage-seller comes first to prepare us for this amazing transformation, which is so complete that Demos 'does not know what he was like before, nor what sort of things he used to do, or he would think the Sausage-seller a God to have so reformed him.'[2] How has this transfiguremement, this rejuvenation of the grim, testy, deaf old ruffian been effected? The Sausage-seller himself has done it by the exercise of his art as Cook: '*I have boiled your Demos and changed his ugliness to beauty.*'[3] The trade of the Sausage-seller, who is repeatedly called a 'Cook' (*μάγειρος*), has, in fact, been chosen solely in order that he may render this last brilliant service to Demos. We do not need the Scholiast to remind us that Medea more than once performed the same operation of turning an old man into a youth in the flower of his age, by boiling his dismembered limbs in a cauldron.[4] Aeson, Jason, and Pelias were all submitted to this treatment.

[1] Schol. ad. Eurip. *Alc.* 1, *ἀνίστη γὰρ ἰώμενος τοὺς τεθνεῶτας.* The Scholiast adds that Asclepius was said to have resurrected various persons: Hippolytus (Apollodorus); Glaucus (Amelesagoras); Tyndareus (Panyasis); Hymenaeus (the Orphics); the Phineidae (Phylarchus); Orion (Telesarchus). Stesichorus said it was 'on account of Kapaneus and Lycurgus.' 'Pherekydes in his history says that he raises to life those who die at Delphi;' Polyarchus of Cyrene that he healed the daughters of Proetus, and for that was struck by the thunderbolt.

[2] 1336: *Saus.* *ἀλλ' ὦ μέλ' οὐκ οἶσθ' οἷος ἦσθ' αὐτὸς πάρος*
οὐδ' οἷ' ἔδρας· ἐμὲ γὰρ νομίζοις ἂν θεόν.

[3] 1321: *τὸν Δῆμον ἀφεψήσας ὑμῖν καλὸν ἐξ αἰσχροῦ πεποίηκα.* The *Argument* recognises that this is a *rejuvenation*: *τοῦ ἀλλαντοπώλου τὸν Δῆμον ἀφεψήσαντος, εἶτα νεώτερον ἐξαυτῆς ἐς τοὐμφανὲς γεγονότα προάγοντος.*

[4] Schol. 1321: *ἀφεψήσας· καλῶς, ὡς μάγειρος. ὥσπερ ἡ Μήδεια λέγεται, ὡς μὲν Αἴσχυλος ἱστορεῖ* (Nauck[2] frag. 50, *Διονύσου τροφοί*) *τὰς τροφοὺς τοῦ Διονύσου ἀφεψήσασα ἀνανεάσαι ποιῆσαι μετὰ τῶν ἀνδρῶν αὐτῶν. ὡς δὲ ὁ τοὺς Νόστους ποιήσας*

But it is not so generally recognised that these stories reflect a rite of regeneration or resurrection, which has an established place in the cycle of Dionysiac ritual. I have argued elsewhere [1] that the story of the boiling of Pelops, who is taken to be simply a double of Pelias, is to be so explained; and Mr. Cook [2] has collected the evidence for the 'cauldron of apotheosis' and carried the explanation much further. The argument is too intricate to be repeated here. It leads Mr. Cook to conjecture that the original Thraco-Phrygian ceremony of the death and resurrection of Dionysus involved a ritual boiling of the God, in the form of a kid, in milk, preparatory to the sacramental eating of his flesh. 'Let us suppose, then, that the early Thraco-Phrygian "kings," the Titânes of the myth, after killing Dionysos as a kid, pitched him into their cauldron and boiled him in milk with a view to his being born again. The mystic who aspired to be one with his god underwent, or at least claimed to have undergone, a like ordeal.[3] He had fallen as a slain kid into a milky cauldron: henceforward he was called "a god instead of a mortal."' [4]

The legends ultimately based on this ritual, the stories of Pelops, Pelias, Aeson, and the rest, have come down to us in forms which date from a time when their original meaning had been forgotten. There is naturally some degree of confusion. A neophyte who was actually boiled would have taxed the skill of cook or medicine-man to restore him to life. Miss Harrison points out to me that boiling was a very early and economical form of cooking. On Dartmoor the stones which used to be heated and dropped into their cooking-pots by the primitive inhabitants are still to be found in the hut-

καὶ τὸν Αἴσονα, λέγων οὕτως· Αὐτίκα δ' Αἴσονα θῆκε φίλον κόρον ἡβώοντα | γῆρας ἀποξύσας' εἰδυίῃσι πραπίδεσσι, | φάρμακα πόλλ' ἔψουσ' ἐνὶ χρυσείοισι λέβησιν. (*Nosti*, frag 6, Kinkel.) Φερεκύδης δὲ καὶ Σιμωνίδης τὸν Ἰάσονα. The Argument of Eurip. *Medea* has almost the same statement.

[1] In a chapter on the 'Olympic Games' in J. E. Harrison, *Themis*, p. 243 ff.

[2] *Zeus* (Cambridge, 1914), vol. i. p. 676.

[3] Thus Mr. Cook explains the mystic formula: 'A kid, I have fallen into milk,' of which certainly no simpler explanation has been offered.

[4] Mr. Cook kindly calls my attention to a curious piece of evidence which has come to light too late for inclusion in his forthcoming *Zeus*. An inscription from Salonica, published in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* xxxvii. (1913) 97 ff., mentions a female γαλακτηφόρος and an ἀρχιμαγ[ει]ρεύς in connection with a 'Cave-Father.' The suggestion that the inscription is Mithraic is not supported, so far as I know, by any known instance of a Cook or arch-Cook as a functionary in Mithraic ritual.

circles. The sacramental victim destined to be eaten in the communal meal would be boiled. The burnt sacrifice, consumed and offered only to the Gods, comes later. The boiling, therefore, may be regarded as the primitive sacrifice or sacrament. The God who was torn to pieces, boiled, and eaten could not literally rise again, though a simulated resurrection might be contrived by some mummery comparable with the old Bouphonia ritual at Athens, where the slain ox was flayed, and his skin, stuffed with straw, was set up on its legs and yoked to a plough. To the candidate for the rebirth of initiation, who must undergo what his God had suffered, the process could be still further tempered by religious fiction.

I venture to think that Mr. Cook's hypothesis is strengthened by the instance of Demos in the *Knights*, who renews his youth in the Sausage-seller's cauldron and emerges as a new King and (as the parallel cases allow us to add) a new God, ready for his marriage. No wonder he does not know what manner of man he was before. When the scene is read in this light, there is a certain ritual air about the catechism through which his restorer puts him, to ascertain whether his heart too is changed and he will amend his life. The passage may be compared with the solemn lines in which Plutus, his sight restored, declares that he did not know what sort of men he had consorted with in his blindness, and that now he will reverse his whole manner of life and conduct.[1] A Cook who can perform such miraculous operations is manifestly a magician, and his profession coalesces with that of the Doctor in the primitive functions of the medicine-man—a figure who, as we shall see later, stands out in the dim past behind the Doctor who revives the slain in the folk-plays.

44. *Rejuvenation in other plays*

This turning of an old man into a youth is by no means confined to the *Knights*. It was the principal theme of the lost play called *Old Age*. In this comedy the Chorus appears to have consisted

[1] *Plutus*, 774 ff:

αἰσχύνομαι δὲ τὰς ἐμαυτοῦ συμφοράς,
οἵοις ἄρ' ἀνθρώποις ξυνὼν ἐλάνθανον,
τοὺς ἀξίους δὲ τῆς ἐμῆς ὁμιλίας
ἔφευγον, εἰδὼς οὐδέν· ὦ τλήμων ἐγώ.
ὡς οὔτ' ἐκεῖν' ἄρ' οὔτε ταῦτ' ὀρθῶς ἔδρων·
ἀλλ' αὐτὰ πάντα πάλιν ἀναστρέψας ἐγὼ
δείξω τὸ λοιπόν κτλ.

of old men who threw off their age, as the serpent casts his slough, and behaved themselves with youthful licence and indecorum.[1] Meineke remarks that the hero must have been an old man himself, and deduces from the fragments that he expelled his wife from the house and married a young woman—the marriage motive already familiar to us.[2] Two of the fragments may possibly indicate that the process of rejuvenation was performed by a Cook.[3] We should then have a comic parallel to Medea's boiling of the whole Chorus in Aeschylus' *Nurses of Dionysus*.[4] The same motive was used again in the *Amphiaraus*, where a superstitious old man goes on pilgrimage to Oropus, to recover his youth by Incubation in the temple, as Plutus recovers his sight in the temple of Asclepius.[5]

But, besides these cases, it is the usual thing for Aristophanes' elderly heroes in the course of the play to throw off the slough of sour and morose old age, and emerge at the end carrying their youthful behaviour to the point of scandal. In the *Wasps*, for instance, we see Bdelycleon converting his deplorable old parent to the dress and manners of a smart young man about town, with more success than he had bargained for. At the dinner-party the old man outdoes the wildest young aristocrats.[6] He appears

[1] Ar. frag. 178 Dind. = Athen. iii. 109 F: *κριβανίτην· τούτου μνημονεύει Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν Γήρᾳ· ποιεῖ δὲ λέγουσαν ἀρτόπωλιν διηρπασμένων αὐτῆς τῶν ἄρτων ὑπὸ τῶν τὸ γῆρας ἀποβαλόντων·*

—τουτὶ τί ἦν τὸ πρᾶγμα ;—θερμούς, ὦ τέκνον.
—ἀλλ' ἢ παραφρονεῖς ;—κριβανίτας, ὦ τέκνον.

[2] Meineke, *Frag. Com. Graec.*, ii. 994. Frag. 192 Dind. = Schol. Nicand. *Theriac.* v. 295: *καὶ Ἀρ. ἐν τῷ Γήρᾳ γυναῖκα ποιήσας ἐπὶ ζεύγους ὄνων ὀχουμένην παράγει τινὰ ἐρῶντα αὐτῆς, ᾗ καὶ ἐρεθίζουσά φησι πρὸς αὐτὸν·*

ἀποπλευστέον ἐπὶ τὸν νύμφιον
ᾧ γαμοῦμαι τήμερον.

[3] Frag. 184 Dind. = Pollux x. 104: *Ἀριστοφάνους γοῦν ἐν Ἱππεῦσιν ὁ μάγειρος λέγει 'μαχαιρίδων τε πλήγας' ὥσπερ καὶ ἐν τῷ Γήρᾳ ὁ αὐτὸς ποιητὴς εἴρηκε 'κοπίδι τῶν μαγειρικῶν.'* When this reference to the cook's knife is taken in conjunction with Frag. 185*a* as restored by Fritzsch: *ἐγῷδ' ἀπολοπίζειν γε καὶ τἀπ' ἀνθράκων*, it seems certain that a cook was a character in the play, and possible that he rejuvenated the old men by peeling off their skins, as if they were snakes. See below, note 5.

[4] Above, p. 88.

[5] See Kaibel, s.v. 'Aristophanes' in *Pauly-Wiss.* ii. 979, citing frag. 102 Dind. = Erotian, 93, 8 Kl. *Λεβηρίδος· ὑμενώδους ἀποσύρματος, ὅπερ ἐστὶ τὸ τῶν ὄφεων λεγόμενον γῆρας, ὡς καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν Ἀμφιαράῳ.* Hesych. *Γυμνότερος Λεβηρίδος· Ἀριστοφάνης φησί, τυφλότερος Λεβηρίδος. ἔστι δὲ Λεβηρὶς τὸ τοῦ ὄφεως γῆρας διὰ τὸ λέπος εἶναι.*

[6] 1300.

dancing and thrusting his reveller's torch in the face of a fellow-guest, who threatens legal proceedings, 'though you are such a very young man!'[1] In his speech to the courtesan he says:[2] 'As soon as my son is dead I will have you for my concubine; at present I am not master of my own fortune; I am so young, and they keep such a sharp eye on me. It 's my son who looks after me; he 's such a crabbed old skinflint, and so he 's afraid of my wasting it. You see, I 'm the only father he 's got.' All through these scenes the fun lies in the reversed positions of son and father—Bdelycleon reproving his parent for youthful extravagances.[3]

Strepsiades in the *Clouds* is another instance. He goes to school instead of his son, and assimilates the latest thing in culture to such purpose that at their next meeting he accuses the fashionable youth of being quite out of date.[4] It is worth noting that this rejuvenation is begun by Socrates performing the hocus-pocus of mystic initiation—a ceremony of new birth, the details of which make the patient fear that he is going to be sacrificed like Athamas. As Strepsiades after his initiation disappears into the 'Cave of Trophonius,' the Chorus, singing farewell, congratulate him on having put off his years and 'dyed his nature in the colours of newer things.'[5]

Both in the *Clouds* and in the *Wasps* the plot turns upon the contrast and conflict of the older and younger generations and their ideals, and of course too much stress must not be laid on these instances. But it is certainly a curious feature which distinguishes Aristophanes' plays from all other forms of Comedy, that they present a whole series of heroes who are old men and behave as such at the beginning, while at the end they are more or less transfigured into youthful bridegrooms. When Trygaeus returns from heaven, the Chorus sing that 'the old man' seems to have found happiness and prosperity. 'What will you say, then,' says Trygaeus, 'when you see me in my glory as a bridegroom?' 'All will envy you, old man, when you have become a youth once more and are

[1] 1333: *κεἰ σφόδρ' εἶ νεανίας.* [2] Schol. 1353: *μιμεῖται τοὺς νεανίσκους.*

[3] Cf. Starkie's note on *Wasps*, 1367: 'A complete reversal of their original positions. The father has become the Bdelycleon of the beginning of the play, and attributes to the new Philocleon the tastes of the old.'

[4] 821: *φρονεῖς ἀρχαικά.*

[5] 512: *εὐτυχία γένοιτο τἀν|θρώπῳ, ὅτι προήκων | εἰς βαθὺ τῆς ἡλικίας | νεωτέροις τὴν φύσιν αὐ|τοῦ πράγμασιν χρωτίζεται | καὶ σοφίαν ἐπασκεῖ.*

anointed with myrrh.'[1] The case of Trygaeus is not exceptional, but typical: Dikaiopolis, Demos, Strepsiades, Philocleon, Pisthetairus, Blepyrus, Plutus—all these undergo, in some sense, a similar rejuvenation. This is not an obvious course for the action of a comedy to take, and that not once or twice, but so normally that we find it in eight out of the eleven extant plays, while of the remainder, one (the *Frogs*) leads up to the resurrection of the elder poet, another (the *Lysistrata*) has no male hero at all. Such are the facts. Whether the explanation here offered is right or wrong, we are justified in insisting that some explanation is required.[2]

45. *The Sacrifice and the Feast*

There is a further point of considerable importance for the completion of our argument. The hypothesis we have been following throughout, has been based on the observation that, as a matter of fact, underlying the plots of a whole series of comedies on very diverse themes, we can distinctly make out the framework of a regular series of incidents. The hypothesis is that these form the moments in a ritual procedure. We have now examined the first and the last terms in this series—the *Agon* and the Marriage. The ritual, if ritual it be, begins with a fierce and deadly conflict of two adversaries; it ends with the marriage and triumph of the victor. Between these two points we have looked for traces of that resurrection or rebirth which, in known instances of the kind of ritual drama we are considering, follows the conflict and death of the Agonist. We must now go back to the actual plots of the plays

[1] *Peace*, 856: *Chor.* εὐδαιμονικῶς γ' ὁ πρεσ-
βύτης, ὅσα γ' ὧδ' ἰδεῖν,
τὰ νῦν τάδε πράττει.
Tryg. τί δῆτ' ἐπειδὰν νυμφίον μ' ὁρᾶτε λαμπρὸν ὄντα;
Chor. ζηλωτὸς ἔσει, γέρον,
αὖθις νέος ὢν πάλιν
μύρῳ κατάλειπτος.

[2] The rejuvenation motive occurs in the *Bacchae* in the persons of Cadmus and Teiresias: 184 ποῖ δεῖ χορεύειν, ποῖ καθιστάναι πόδα; | καὶ κρᾶτα σείσαι πολιόν; ἐξηγοῦ σύ μοι | γέρων γέροντι, Τειρεσία· . . . ἐπιλελήσμεθ' ἡδέως | γέροντες ὄντες. *Teir.* ταὐτ' ἐμοὶ πάσχεις ἄρα· | κἀγὼ γὰρ ἡβῶ κἀπιχειρήσω χοροῖς. Van Leeuwen cites these lines to illustrate the song of the Mystics in the *Frogs*: 345 γόνυ πάλλεται γερόντων· | ἀποσείονται δὲ λύπας | χρονίους δ' ἐτῶν παλαιῶν ἐνιαυτούς. Cf. the Chorus of Old Men in the *Lysistrata* (*Parabasis*): 669 νῦν δεῖ νῦν ἀνηβῆσαι πάλιν κἀναπτερῶσαι | πᾶν τὸ σῶμα κἀποσείσασθαι τὸ γῆρας τόδε.

and point out what are the regular incidents which fill in the outline of the underlying plot—the ritual plot, as we suppose it to be—between the *Agon* at the beginning and the Marriage at the end. It is in this part of the play, between the *Parabasis* and the *Exodos*, that the complicated plots of the later plays are developed. But underneath this diversity we can discern one or both of two incidents which in the earlier plays, apart from interrupting episodes, constitute the whole, or nearly the whole, of the action between the *Agon* and the final *Kômos*. These are a scene of Sacrifice and prayer, and the cooking and eating of a Feast.[1]

Before we consider the possible ritual significance, the facts must be set before the reader.

46. *Sacrifice and Feast in the Plays*

In the ACHARNIANS the Sacrifice motive is combined with the *Agon*. Dikaiopolis pleads his case with his head over the chopping-block—a cooking utensil for cutting up meat.[2] There is also the threatened sacrifice of the coal-scuttle, which wins him a hearing.

After the *Agon* and *Parabasis*, the action is divided into two chief parts. First, there is the series of scenes in which Dikaiopolis holds his market. These come under the head of preparations for sacrifice and feast. The Megarian disguises his daughters as pigs for the mysteries, and he maintains that they are old enough for sacrifice, at any rate, to Aphrodite.[3] The sacrifice motive is thus given a comic turn. The Boeotian brings game and eels for the feast afterwards prepared by Dikaiopolis. Then, after the Second *Parabasis*, the Feast of the *Choes* is proclaimed, and Dikaiopolis sets about cooking on the stage the delicacies he has

[1] For the Feast as a standing incident preceding the *Kômos* in the second part of an Old Comedy play, cf. Plut. *Lucullus* 39, *ἔστι δ' οὖν τοῦ Λουκούλλου βίου, καθάπερ ἀρχαίας κωμῳδίας, ἀναγνῶναι τὰ μὲν πρῶτα πολιτείας καὶ στρατηγίας, τὰ δ' ὕστερα πότους καὶ δεῖπνα καὶ μονονουχὶ κώμους καὶ λαμπάδας καὶ παιδιὰν ἅπασαν.* This notice is important because it refers to the Old Comedy in general, not merely to Aristophanes. Owing to the accident that so many of the comic fragments are preserved in the Deipnosophists, there are abundant traces of the frequency of the Feast motive throughout the Old Comedy, comparatively few of the other standing incidents.

[2] Schol. 318 *ἐπιξηνὸς καλεῖται ὁ μαγειρικὸς κορμός, ἐφ' οὗ τὰ κρέα συγκόπτουσι.*

[3] 764 *χοίρους μυστικάς.* 784 *Dik.* *ἀλλ' οὐδὲ θύσιμός ἐστιν αὐτηγί.* *Meg.* *σά μάν; πᾷ δ' οὐχὶ θύσιμός ἐστι; . . κάλλιστος ἔσται χοῖρος Ἀφροδίτᾳ θύειν.*

purchased.[1] The cooking is interrupted by unwelcome intruders. Next, Dikaiopolis is invited to the banquet held by the Priest of Dionysus, at which he wins the prize wine-skin of the drinking competition. This carries us to his final appearance as victor with his courtesans.

In the KNIGHTS the last competition between the suitors for the favour of Demos begins with a race (1158 ff.), followed by a feast which is also a sacrifice. The Paphlagonian is first in fetching a chair for Demos, but his rival provides the table. When the former produces a cake kneaded of barley grain[2] from Pylos, the Sausage-seller has ready a bread-spoon moulded by the ivory hands of Athena herself.[3] The soup also has been made by Pallas; as *Phobesistrate* she offers fish, as *Obrimopatra* other viands of a somewhat coarse character, and so on. The Sausage-seller wins the match by stealing a dish of hare which his rival had in reserve, and offering it as his own. The Paphlagonian is beaten and deprived of his official wreath.

The rest of the action consists only of the Cooking of Demos, which takes place off the stage during the Second *Parabasis*, and the last scene, already described, in which the rejuvenated hero is brought out and leads away his new favourite to feast in the Prytaneum.

The structure of the CLOUDS, as we have seen, is abnormal; but we have already noted the initiation scene which the neophyte mistakes for a sacrifice like that of Athamas, and his 'death and resurrection,' when he goes down to the 'Cave of Trophonius.'

The feast, interrupted by unwelcome intruders, comes at its usual place, going on[4] behind the scenes up to the moment where the

[1] 1015: *Chorus.* ἥκουσας ὡς μαγειρικῶς
κομψῶς τε καὶ δειπνητικῶς
αὐτῷ διακονεῖται;

[2] The term ὅλαι is used, elsewhere always applied to barley grain used in sacrifice.

[3] Neil on 1168 says: 'The idea that a feast and a sacrifice are one runs through the passage: but here the goddess almost waits upon Demos with offerings, and gets little thanks or respect. Probably the scene is suggested by the banquet given to the citizens of Athens at the Panathenaea after the hecatomb offered to Athena on the Acropolis, *C. I. A.*, ii. 307.'

[4] 1212-1320.

old man rushes out screaming under his son's blows. Then follows the *Agon* and the concluding scene.

In the WASPS we find again the normal order of events. The *Agon*, as we have seen, leaves Philocleon in a fainting condition, bidding farewell to his soul. When his son's cajoleries have at last brought him back to life with the promise of a domestic law-court, and all is ready for the Dog Trial, Bdelycleon calls for myrtle-boughs and incense, which he offers while the Chorus sing a solemn Paean to Apollo. He then prays to the Agyieus before his door to bless the new rite they are inaugurating, and to turn the old juror's heart to a milder temper. The Chorus add their prayers for a blessing on these 'new beginnings.'[1] The serious tone of this whole passage makes it an amusing preface to the criminal prosecution of a house-dog for stealing cheese. The trial ends in a verdict of acquittal, which, in spite of Philocleon's regeneration, is almost too much for him. He faints again, and is supported by his son into the house.

The *Parabasis* follows, and after it the action consists of preparations for feasting (1221-1264), the dinner-party itself, behind the scenes (1265-1291), the *Kômos*, interrupted by unwelcome intruders (1292-1449), the renewed feasting at Philocleon's house (1450-1481), and the final scene of dancing.

In the PEACE, the first half of the play, as we have seen, is modelled on the ritual *Anodos* of the Earth Goddess. It ends with Trygaeus setting out, with the two brides, Opora and Theoria, on his return from heaven to earth. After the *Parabasis* we see him arrive. He sends his own bride into the house to be prepared for the wedding, and hands over Theoria to the Chairman of the Council.

Then follow the preparations for a sacrifice to Peace. The sacrifice, accompanied by a long prayer, is conducted up to the point where the sheep is to be slain, but this final act is transferred to behind the scenes on the excuse that the altar of Peace must not be stained with blood.

Trygaeus is ordering the thighs to be cooked for the feast, when the unwelcome intruder appears in the person of an oracle-monger

[1] 885: *Chor.* ξυνευχόμεσθα <ταῦτά> σοι κἀπᾴδομεν
νέαισιν ἀρχαῖς.

attracted by the smell of roast meat. The victim is cut up and cooked, while the greedy visitor is kept at bay and finally driven away with blows. During the subsequent scenes the feast goes on inside, and various dealers in the weapons of war are disposed of. The remains of the sacrificial feast are eaten on the stage by the Chorus (1311). Then follows immediately the concluding *Kômos*, and the Marriage hymn.

The BIRDS follows the same lines. After the *Agon* and *Parabasis*, a sacrifice is begun to inaugurate the new city (810). Pisthetairos intones a long prayer to the new feathered deities of the air; but the proceedings are so interrupted by a long series of intruders that, as in the *Peace*, the final slaying of the goat has to be done behind the scenes (1057). This sacrifice fills the space between the first and second *Parabasis*.

Further on, we come to the cooking scene, greedily watched by the three envoys from the Gods, who are starving for lack of sacrifices. The offer of a free breakfast at once wins over Heracles and leads to a happy conclusion of the negotiations. This cooking scene is an especially good instance of a fixed motive. It is separated by a considerable interval from the sacrifice, with which it has no connection. The birds cooked by Pisthetairos are explained to be criminals condemned to death for revolt against the patriotic birds (1583). When Heracles has concluded the bargain and invites the hero to go with him to heaven and fetch his bride, Pisthetairos says the dishes will come in very well for the marriage-feast (1688); but no marriage-feast is actually held. The cooking is introduced partly for the sake of the glutton Heracles—a favourite comic motive.

In the LYSISTRATA the conflict continues well on into the second part of the play. The men and women who compose the two halves of the Chorus are not reconciled till the Second *Parabasis*.[1] There is no sacrifice; but the feast, at which the envoys are entertained in the Acropolis, comes in its usual place and leads to the final *Kômos*.

In the THESMOPHORIAZUSAE we have, after the *Agon*, the mock

[1] 1014-1071.

sacrifice of the wine-skin illicitly introduced in the disguise of baby-clothes by one of the women—the motive borrowed from the *Telephus*, and used before in the *Acharnians*. By this ruse the hero saves himself from being burnt alive. After this the plot is continued on the lines of Perseus' rescue of Andromeda. There is no feast; but we have seen how the 'marriage' motive is used to cheat the policeman of his prisoner.

The chief *Agon* in the FROGS falls in the second part of the play. It is preceded by a sacrifice of incense, a prayer addressed to the Muses by the Chorus, and an invocation of Demeter by Aeschylus and of Aether by Euripides.

After the *Agon* Dionysus and Aeschylus are entertained by Pluto at a farewell feast, and the play ends with their departure to the upper world.

In the ECCLESIAZUSAE the place usually filled by the sacrifice is occupied by the curious scene in which the Neighbour marshals his household goods in the street in the form of the Panathenaic procession, so that he may conduct them as offerings to the common store of the new community. It almost looks as if this odd motive, amusing as it is, were suggested by the canonical requirement of some sort of sacrificial scene at this point of the action.

Then the Herald comes to invite all the citizens to a feast, which continues behind the scenes until the end of the play. The Chorus and the well-disposed spectators are also invited to the banquet (1138 ff.).

In the PLUTUS a sacrifice of a pig, a ram, and a goat is celebrated upon the return of the hero from his miraculous cure (819), and the *καταχύσματα* are poured over him (789 ff.).

The Just Man comes to dedicate the old coat and shoes of his days of poverty now to be ended. The hungry Sycophant, scenting the cooking of the feast inside the house, is driven away. Then, after the episode of the old woman and her young lover, the starving Hermes applies for a share in the good victuals and the post of footman, and the priest of Zeus is allowed to join in the final procession to install the new God.

47. *The Significance of the Sacrifice and Feast*

This review of the course of the action in the second half of the several plays can leave little doubt that a Sacrifice and its usual sequel, the cooking and eating of a Feast, are incidents no less canonical than those we have examined earlier. They fill in the outline of the action between the *Agon* at the beginning and the Marriage at the end.

If the hypothesis we have so far followed is true, the sacrifice and feast occupying this fixed position are open to two constructions. In the first place they can be regarded, as they sometimes are in the actual plays, as celebrating the victory of the successful adversary in the *Agon*. They will then complete the parallel between our supposed ritual drama and the procedure at the Olympic Games. The victors in these contests, after their *Agon*, offered solemn sacrifice at the altar of Zeus, and then went to the banquet in the Prytaneum and the torchlit *Kômos*.

But we have seen sufficient traces of an older form of ritual in which it is the God himself, in human or animal form, who is the victim. He is dismembered, and the pieces of his body are either devoured raw in a savage omophagy, or cooked and eaten in a sacramental feast. Or again, in yet simpler forms, the fragments of the divine body are distributed among the worshippers to be placed in stall and manger, or strewn upon the fields for the fertilisation of the crops. In all these cases, the fundamental need is the same; the essential purpose is that of the phallic rites, which aim at spreading the benign influence as widely as possible, so that all members of the community may have their share.

This dispersal, moreover, is the prelude to a resurrection. The scattered limbs of Osiris are reverently collected and the God returns to life. Zagreus, cooked in the Titans' cauldron, Pelops, boiled and partly eaten at the feast of Tantalus, live again. Indeed, if Mr. Cook's conjecture be sound, the rite of cooking, symbolically performed upon the initiate in his bath of milk, is actually the means of regeneration.

Let us suppose, then, that the original ritual *Agon* was of the type in which the good principle is slain and then brought back to life. In the comedies this principle is represented by the hero or the sympathetic adversary, who triumphs at the close. A fair number

of the plays have shown us something like a death and resurrection of this personage. Demos is cooked into renewed youth; Strepsiades goes down into his Cave of Trophonius; Philocleon faints to the point of death; Euripides' kinsman is crucified on his plank, all but burnt alive, and rescued by the author of the *Andromeda*; Aeschylus is fetched up from the underworld by the God of Tragedy; Plutus has his sight restored by the painful therapeutics of the God of Medicine. Unless our hypothesis is false from beginning to end, we cannot refuse to see in the canonical sacrifice a survival of the original death of the divine Agonist, and in the scenes of cooking and feasting that follow with such surprising regularity, the sacramental meal and the cauldron of apotheosis through which the God passes to his resurrection.

48. *The scattering of sweetmeats to the spectators*

In support of this interpretation, the *Plutus* preserves, I believe, a curious piece of evidence. At the first appearance of the divine hero after his sight has been restored, he is met by the wife of Chremylus, who offers to pour over him, 'according to custom,' the *καταχύσματα*, which appear to be figs and other fruits brought in a basket.[1] Plutus prevents her. It will be more decent, he says, to go inside the house and perform this ceremony at the hearth, 'as the custom is.' Then for a moment he drops his mask and speaks for the poet. 'Besides,' he adds, 'in that way we shall escape that piece of vulgarity. It would not be seemly for our author to force a laugh from his audience, in return for figs and sweetmeats thrown to them.' 'Very true,' replies the woman; 'there 's Dexinikos already rising in his place to snatch at the figs.'[2]

The scholium on this passage rightly refers to the Prologue of the *Wasps*,[3] where Aristophanes has mentioned this very 'piece

[1] The Scholiast on 791 calls them *τραγήματα*.

[2] 796: *ἔπειτα καὶ τὸν φόρτον ἐκφύγοιμεν ἄν.*
οὐ γὰρ πρεπῶδές ἐστι τῷ διδασκάλῳ
ἰσχάδια καὶ τρωγάλια τοῖς θεωμένοις
προβαλόντ' ἐπὶ τούτοις εἶτ' ἀναγκάζειν γελᾶν.

[3] *Wasps* 58: *ἡμῖν γὰρ οὐκ ἔστ' οὔτε κάρυ' ἐκ φορμίδος*
δούλῳ διαρριπτοῦντε τοῖς θεωμένοις.

At *Ach.* 805 Dikaiopolis orders figs to be brought for the Megarian's pig-daughters: *ἐνεγκάτω τις ἔνδοθεν τῶν ἰσχάδων | τοῖς χοιριδίοισιν. ἆρα τρώξονται;*

of vulgarity' among the devices of the older Comedy which he intends to abandon: 'We shall not have a pair of slaves scattering nuts from a basket among the audience.' The *Plutus* shows us the moment in the proceedings when this distribution occurred. Note that the woman says nothing about scattering her figs among the audience; she offers to pour them over Plutus. But he takes it as a matter of course that they will afterwards be thrown to the spectators, and speaks of avoiding 'that vulgarity' before it has been even mentioned. No doubt such a custom would be kept up by Aristophanes' 'vulgar' predecessors for reasons easily understood; but, given the place it occupies in the *Plutus*, it may well be that it had its origin in the distribution of things that had been in contact with the sacred victim and were charged with his beneficent influence, and perhaps, earlier still, of the fragments of the victim himself.[1]

This suggestion is strengthened by the scene of sacrifice in the *Peace*. Trygaeus is just about to kill the sheep and has poured water over its head. He orders the slave Xanthias to take from the basket the barley grains (*κριθάς*) for sprinkling, and to throw some of them to the spectators.[2] The Chorus is next drenched

βαβαί | οἷον ῥοθιάζουσ'. Starkie (*ad loc.*) suggests that the figs were here thrown to the audience, who are suddenly treated as pigs. This is pure conjecture; but if it is sound, we may note that there is the same play on the meaning of *ἐρέβινθος* (801, Schol. *ἔπαιξε πρὸς τὸ αἰδοῖον τοῦ ἀνδρὸς, ἐπεὶ καὶ ἐρέβινθον αὐτὸ καλοῦσι*) as there is in the *Peace* on the meaning of *κριθή* (see below).

[1] The custom of pouring *καταχύσματα* over a newly married pair when they first entered their house, and over a new slave on entering the house of his master, might be explained on similar lines. The object might be to get the newcomers into communion with the existing household, by a sort of symbolic communal feast. As they could not be eaten themselves, objects that had been in contact with them were substituted. See p. 102, n. 1 on the *οὐλόχυται*. At the Apaturia, another rite of the admission of a new member to a group, portions of the victim were distributed. The *ἀπαρχαί* of boiled *ὄσπρια* at the inauguration of a new statue or altar (Schol. on *Peace* 923, *χύτραις ἱδρυτέον*) may have had a similar meaning.

[2] 962: *Tryg.* *καὶ τοῖς θεαταῖς ῥῖπτε τῶν κριθῶν.*
Slave. *ἰδού.*
Tryg. *ἔδωκας ἤδη;*
Slave. *νὴ τὸν Ἑρμῆν ὥστε γε*
τούτων ὅσοιπέρ εἰσι τῶν θεωμένων
οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδεὶς ὅστις οὐ κριθὴν ἔχει.
Tryg. *οὐχ αἱ γυναῖκές γ' ἔλαβον.*
Slave. *ἀλλ εἰς ἑσπέραν*
δώσουσιν αὐταῖς ἄνδρες.

Schol. *ad. v.* 965: *πρὸς τὴν κριθὴν παίζει, ὅτι τὸ τῶν ἀνδρῶν αἰδοῖον κριθὴν ἔλεγον.*

with more than the usual dose of lustral water. Both the ritual actions here parodied are intended to make the onlookers partakers of the rite. Later on, the spectators are directly invited to share in the feast that follows the sacrifice,[1] as they are again in the *Ecclesiazusae* (1141), and the Chorus actually finish the remains of the feast on the stage just before the *Exodos*.

Van Leeuwen on the above passage innocently says that the barley grains cannot have been really scattered among the spectators, because, in the *Wasps* and the *Plutus*, the poet forswears the distribution of sweetmeats to the audience. Aristophanes, however, is not to be taken too strictly at his word. All the other devices of his 'vulgar' predecessors which he renounces, he uses himself whenever he chooses.[2] In view of the punning use of the word *κριθαί* in our passage, I suspect that little barley-cakes in the form of *phalli* were tossed to the lower tiers of spectators.[3] I conclude that this distribution, which was a regular incident in the 'vulgar Comedy' of Aristophanes' predecessors, may have been a survival from the old ritual, in which originally portions of the slain God, and later grain that had been sprinkled over the sacrificial victim, were given to the worshippers to be used for spreading the beneficent influence of the fertility rite throughout the community.[4]

[1] 1115: ἄγε δὴ θεαταὶ δεῦρο συσπλαγχνεύετε μετὰ νῷν.

I suspect that this intention of making the congregation partakers of the rite lay behind the οὐλόχυται, which consisted of *κριθαί* and salt (Eustath. on *Il.* i. 449, p. 132, 23: οἱ οὐλόχυται οὐλαὶ ἦσαν, τουτέστι κριθαὶ μετὰ ἁλῶν, ἃς ἐπέχεον τοῖς βωμοῖς πρὸ τῆς ἱερουργίας. ἐποίουν δὲ τοῦτο ἢ πολυπλήθειαν καρπῶν οἰωνιζόμενοι, ὧν ἀπαρχαὶ οἷον αἱ οὐλαὶ αὗται προσήγοντο, ἢ κτλ.). Plutarch says they were used by 'most of the Greeks' at their '*very ancient* sacrifices': οἱ πλεῖστοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων πρὸς τὰς πάνυ παλαιὰς θυσιὰς ἐχρῶντο ταῖς κριθαῖς, ἀπαρχομένων τῶν πολιτῶν. This would fit in with the view that the more ancient form of sacrifice was a communal meal at which the God was eaten. When the burnt sacrifice came in, the οὐλόχυται became meaningless, and were merely poured on the altar.

[2] See below, p. 183.

[3] Compare the distribution by the King of grain and pulse to both strangers and citizens at the Charila ceremony at Delphi, Plut. *Qu. Graec.* xii. Cakes in the form of the male and female sex-organs were used at the Haloa (Schol. on Lucian, *Dial. Meretr.* vii. 4) and other kindred festivals. Mr. A. B. Cook informs me that they are still handed about at Easter in Italy.

[4] In connection with the scattering of sweetmeats, Couat (*Aristophane*, etc., p. 18) calls attention to the obscure story in Athen. ix. 406 D ff., that Hegemon of Thasos, a contemporary of Alcibiades, εἰσῆλθέ ποτε καὶ εἰς τὸ θέατρον διδάσκων

49. *Conclusion*

The outline of our supposed ritual plot is now complete. Starting from Aristotle's authoritative statement, we sought the nucleus of Comedy in the Phallic ceremonies, illustrated by Aristophanes himself in the rites performed by Dikaiopolis at his Country Dionysia. We found there, in barest outline, a ritual procedure in three parts. (1) The procession of the worshippers of Phales moves on its way, carrying the emblem of the God on a pole and the instruments of sacrifice. (2) It pauses at some fixed place for the sacrifice, accompanied by a prayer to Dionysus. (3) The procession moves on again singing the Phallic Song. This *Kômos* hymn reflects the two essential elements: invocation and induction of the good influence or spirit, magical abuse and expulsion of the evil. The same two elements we found perpetuated in the comic *Parabasis*. In the *Agon* which regularly precedes the *Parabasis* we now have come to see the equivalent of the sacrifice which precedes the Phallic Song. The *Agon* is the beginning of the sacrifice in its primitive dramatic form—the conflict between the good and evil principles, Summer and Winter, Life and Death. The good spirit is slain, dismembered, cooked and eaten in the communal feast, and yet brought back to life. These acts survive in the standing features of the comic plot between the *Parabasis* and the *Exodos*. Finally comes the sacred Marriage of the risen God, restored to life and youth to be the husband of the Mother Goddess. This marriage is the necessary consummation of the Phallic ritual,

κωμῳδίαν λίθων ἔχων πλῆρες τὸ ἱμάτιον, οὗς βάλλων εἰς τὴν ὀρχήστραν διαπορεῖν ἐποίησε τοὺς θεατάς. καὶ ὀλίγον διαλιπὼν εἶπε·

λίθοι μὲν οἵδε· βαλλέτω δ' εἴ τις θέλει·
ἀγαθὸν δὲ κἂν χειμῶνι κἂν θέρει φακῆ.

(Φακῆ was a nickname of Hegemon). The anecdote is told on the occasion of the handing round of roast game, and χύτραι containing φακῆ and πισοί. One guest says: Let us have a share of the φακῆ, or at least of the χύτρα itself, μὴ καὶ λίθοις τις ὑμῶν βεβλήσεται κατὰ τὸν Θάσιον Ἡγήμονα. Another asks: τίς δ' αὐτὴ ἡ λιθίνη βαλλητύς; saying he knows the Eleusinian Βαλλητύς. Then this anecdote is quoted from Chamaileon, ἐν ἕκτῳ περὶ τῆς ἀρχαίας κωμῳδίας. Meineke (*Comici*, i. 214) remarks on Athen. xv. 699 A, γέγραφε δὲ καὶ κωμῳδίαν εἰς τὸν ἀρχαῖον τρόπον, ἣν ἐπιγράφουσι Φιλίνην, that, as Hegemon lived in the period of the Old Comedy, the phrase εἰς τὸν ἀρχαῖον τρόπον may point to a form of Comedy older than Cratinus. Did Hegemon provide his stones for a βαλλητύς between audience and performers, like the pelting of the actors by the Chorus in the *Acharnians* prologue?

which, when it takes a dramatic form, simulates the union of Heaven and Earth for the renewal of all life in Spring.

Our discussion of the *Agon* is, however, not yet complete; for we have simplified it by omitting the part played in the contest by the Chorus. This omission must now be made good; and we must also consider the literary form in which the primitive ritual action is clothed.

CHAPTER VI

THE CHORUS IN *AGON* AND *PARABASIS*

50. *The part of the Chorus in the* Agon

ZIELINSKI, in his discussion of the cast of the *Agon*, started from a remark in Lucian's tract *On not giving easy credence to Slander*, to the effect that in slander, '*as in comedies*,' three rôles are involved: the slanderer, the slandered, and the third person who listens to the slander.[1] The phrase 'as in comedies' must refer to the *Agon*, in which the third person is certainly the Chorus. In three cases (*Knights*, the two Reasons in the *Clouds*, *Frogs*) an individual judge—Demos, Pheidippides, Dionysus—is chosen; but even here, Zielinski says, the judge is really in the second instance the Chorus, and in the third the public. These individual judges, if they speak at all in the course of the *Agon*, speak not as judges but in the character of Buffoon—a part taken in other plays by a separate person, who interposes humorous asides, unnoticed by the principal speakers. The function of the Chorus, according to Zielinski, is to keep the lists for the combat, as *agonothetes* or *rhabduchus*. The Leader opens and closes the debate. But in the *Epirrhemes* themselves the Chorus generally does not intervene.[2] The part of the Chorus thus mainly consists in opening the debate (*Katakeleusmos*), encouraging the adversaries to do their best (*Ode* and *Antode*), and pronouncing the verdict (*Sphragis*).

If, however, we consider, not their formal function, but their attitude of mind, we shall find that this is very far from the im-

[1] Zielinski, *Gliederung*, 112. Lucian, *op. cit.*, 6: τριῶν δ' ὄντων τῶν προσώπων, καθάπερ ἐν ταῖς κωμῳδίαις, τοῦ διαβάλλοντος καὶ τοῦ διαβαλλομένου, καὶ τοῦ πρὸς ὃν ἡ διαβολὴ γίγνεται.

[2] Zielinski maintained (*Gliederung*, 117 ff.) that the Chorus never speaks in the *Epirrhemes*. This opinion is criticised by J. W. White (*An Unrecognised Actor*, etc., p. 117), who allows the Chorus to speak where the arguments are mainly addressed to it, as in the *Birds*. This, however, does not apply to the typical *Agon*, in which two actors are the adversaries. Mr. White gives the evidence of the MSS.

partiality of a judge or of the steward of a contest. We have seen how often the *Agon* is preluded by a scene in which the Chorus attack one or other of the adversaries with fists or missiles. In every play, when the *Agon* opens, the Chorus is either more or less violently on the side of one of the adversaries against the other, or else divided against itself, one half taking each side. Where it is on the side of the victorious principle, as in the *Knights*, it remains so throughout the play. Where it is at first hostile to the Agonist, as in the *Wasps* or the *Birds*, it is converted by his arguments and changes over. Where it is divided against itself, as in the *Lysistrata*, it remains divided at the end of the *Agon*. There is no instance of an impartial Chorus, except perhaps in the *Frogs*, and there the rôle of the Chorus is negligible, for they take no part in the action, and there is an individual judge, Dionysus, who represents the Athenian public in their character of theatre-goers. There is thus a curious contrast between the formal function of the Chorus as stewards of the conflict and their attitude of mind, which is, almost without exception, violently partisan.[1]

The pursuit of our hypothesis demands that we should make out what was the original ritual function of the Chorus. The first point must be to make sure that it had such a function—that there was any Chorus at all in the type of phallic ritual from which we suppose Comedy to have sprung. On this head there can be no doubt. The presence of a Chorus is guaranteed by the *Parabasis*, which in point of structure hangs together with the *Agon* and the other epirrhematic parts. The epirrhematic structure is absolutely unintelligible except as based on the division of the Chorus into two halves (*Antichoria*) : [2] without a Chorus this peculiar arrangement could not exist. As the function of the Chorus dwindles and fades out in the Middle and New Comedy, epirrhematic structure necessarily disappears. To judge from that part of the development which we can trace, the presumption is that the further back we could go, the more important the rôle of the Chorus would be

[1] The Chorus in the *Clouds* have a quite exceptional position, which has been described as that of 'passive but malignant onlookers' (Starkie on *Clouds*, 1113). In the *Agon* they are impartial, merely calling on each speaker in turn. Strepsiades turns upon them, considered as deities of the sophists, at the end; but they tell him coldly that he has only himself to thank, and that they have been leading him on, that he may learn to fear the Gods.

[2] See below, § 52.

found to be. There can be no question that the original ritual, if ritual there was, involved a Chorus.

51. *The Function of the comic Chorus*

When we pass to the next question: what part that Chorus played, we must first allow for the difference between a dramatic performance in presence of a body of spectators and a religious ceremony, in which all who are present take part and the mere onlooker is altogether left out of account. A rite needs no audience; and, when a rite passes out of the purely religious stage into the dramatic or spectacular, the performers acquire a new relation to the body of spectators, who have now gathered to watch, but not to take any active part in, the proceedings. The congregation or band of worshippers now becomes a Chorus, standing in an intermediary position between the actors, still absorbed in the action, and the spectators, who are only concerned in the drama by way of sympathetic contemplation.

So far, what we have said applies to the Chorus in Comedy and in Tragedy alike. But here a vital difference comes into view. The comic Chorus has not, from the standpoint of art, the justification and utility which kept the Chorus alive in Tragedy to the last days of the ancient drama. In Tragedy it is needed for a high function, not to be so well fulfilled by any other means. It has to utter emotions that can be expressed only in lyric poetry, to say things which the audience longs to have said, but which cannot be said by any character on the stage. For this purpose a homogeneous Chorus is needed: there is one common feeling, one common thought, that craves for utterance. The twelve members of the tragic Chorus always had, and must have, the same dress, the same mask, the same sex, age, and character. Their function, too, is integral, and need never decay.

Nothing of this applies to the comic Chorus. The audience here can completely relieve their feelings in laughter; there are no thoughts or emotions stirred that lie too deep for stage dialogue, no remoter universal meaning to be caught only in the passionate images of lyric poetry. From this point of view to compare, as Zielinski does, the structure of the second part of an Aristophanic play with the 'episodic' structure of Tragedy is quite misleading.

After the *Agon* and *Parabasis*, the comic Chorus has no part in the action until the *Exodos*; it is merely waiting for the moment to form the final procession of the *Kômos*. But, unlike the Chorus in Tragedy, it has also nothing relevant to say. Its sole business is to keep the audience amused through intervals during which something is done off the stage. It fills up the gap with funny anecdotes or anything the author can think of: but it might just as well be silent and execute a comic dance. In the latest plays of Aristophanes this is recognised. The irrelevant little lyrics no longer appear. The omission is not a symptom of decline. The earlier plays, as plays, would lose nothing if the practice had been changed a generation sooner.

It is in the first half of the play, or wherever the *Agon* occurs, that the Chorus is wanted; and here, as we have seen, it has a relation on the one side to the action, on the other to the audience. It is evident, too, that when we ask what its original function in ritual can have been, one of these—the relation to the audience—has to be discounted, as a thing which only springs into existence when the performance ceases to be a rite and becomes a spectacle.

When we set our problem in that light, we see how to explain the contrast between the judicial function and the partisan sympathies of an Aristophanic Chorus. Their sympathies belong to them as characters in the play and are dictated by their mask. The Knights are for the Sausage-seller, because they support the character of young Athenian aristocrats, who prefer any demagogue, however shameless, to the particular demagogue they know, as conservatives in the frying-pan sometimes cry out for the fire. On the other hand, their judicial functions fall to the Chorus as representatives of the audience, or of some part of it—that part, namely, to which the Agonist's arguments are to be addressed. The Wasps, for instance, stand for the Athenian Demos, in its juridical capacity. As such, it is their business to hear what Bdelycleon has to tell them of how they are hoodwinked by their adored leaders. They must sheathe their stings, hush their buzzing, and listen for their own good. But all this is incidental to the drama considered as a spectacle. In a word, the judicial function of the Chorus belongs to the spectacular stage and must be eliminated. The probability remains that their partisan sympathies

survive from their original function as participants in the ritual drama without an audience.

52. Antichoria *and Epirrhematic structure*

This probability is raised almost to certainty by considerations urged by Zielinski, and now, perhaps, generally accepted.[1] *Antichoria*—the division of the Chorus into two halves performing antiphonally—is, as Zielinski says,[2] 'the soul of epirrhematic composition.' In other words, the whole structure of the most important part of the play implies this opposition between the two half-Choruses. This division explains the fact that the comic Chorus is twice the size of the tragic. It has twenty-four members, including its two Leaders. Moreover, in one extant play (the *Lysistrata*), the two half-Choruses have distinct masks: twelve are men, twelve women. If we consider that in the thirty-two extant tragedies and in all the others whose cast is known from the fragments there is not a single case of a Chorus with more than one mask,[3] the fact that such a thing is possible at all in Comedy is a strong argument that it was traditional. Another instance is afforded by the *Odysses* of Aristophanes' predecessor, Kratinus, which is held to have had a Chorus of twelve Companions of Odysseus and twelve Cyclopes.[4] There is, further, the case of the *Acharnians*, where the Chorus, though uniform in mask, is divided against itself, and the two Leaders actually quarrel and fight in the course of the *Agon*. Still fainter traces survive in those *Agônes* where each half of the Chorus in turn encourages, in *Ode* and *Antode*,

[1] They are endorsed by the high authority of Kaibel (*Hermes*, xxx. p. 80) who regards the double Chorus in the oldest art form of Comedy as a certain fact. See also J. W. White, *An Unrecognised Actor*, etc., Harvard Studies in Class. Philol., xvii. (1906), 106.

[2] *Gliederung*, 272.

[3] Kaibel (*Hermes*, xxx. p. 88) thinks that a double chorus of Nymphs and their 'husbands' (Satyrs) was required for Aeschylus' Διονύσου τροφοί; but that was a satyric drama, not a tragedy.

[4] Kaibel, *loc. cit.* There is an odd hint of a double Chorus in the *Knights*. At the beginning of the *Parodos* (247 ff.) the first half-Chorus of young Knights enters and attacks Cleon. He calls out for help to the Old Men of the law-courts (255: ὦ γέροντες ἡλιασταί . . . παραβοηθεῖθ', ὡς ὑπ' ἀνδρῶν τύπτομαι ξυνωμοτῶν). The audience must have expected the second half-Chorus to consist of these old men; but to Cleon's dismay, when they appear at 258, they turn out to be twelve more knights. 'Do you join in the attack on me?' gasps Cleon: ξυνεπίκεισθ' ὑμεῖς; cf. Mazon, *Essai*, p. 36.

one of the two adversaries to do his best. It has been pointed out[1] that in this respect again there is a significant contrast between the comic Chorus and the tragic. In Tragedy, where there is an *Agon*, in the sense of a set debate between two characters, of the kind so common in Euripides, the Chorus always do what they can to soothe and pacify the adversaries. In Comedy, on the contrary, they always incite them to greater efforts. Once more, the inference is that in Comedy we have to do with two opposed bands, each of which encourages a champion. There is thus a strong probability that in the earlier forms of Comedy the *Agon* was a contest between the Leaders of two bands distinct and opposed in character, like the men and women in the *Lysistrata*.[2]

53. *Choral matches in abuse* (*αἰσχρολογίαι*)

In the fertility cults of Greece there is good evidence for the ritual custom of two or more companies of worshippers engaging in a set match of abuse. Herodotus[3] tells us that the two Earth-Goddesses, Damia and Auxesia, at Aegina were propitiated by abusive Choruses or dances of women. Ten men were designated for each Goddess, to arrange these choral performances: but the abuse was directed, 'not at any man, but at the women of the place.' The same ceremonies were in use at Epidauros, and apparently connected with rites described as 'secret' (*ἄρρητοι ἱρουργίαι*), and probably of a phallic nature. At Troezen the women worshippers of the same Goddesses did not limit themselves to the exchange of abuse, but pelted one another with stones.[4] At a more famous seat of the same cult, Eleusis itself, the women at the winter *Haloa* abused one another; and we hear also of an 'ancestral *Agon*,' the nature of which is unfortunately unknown.[5] At Eleusis the young men also held a mimic battle every year, known as the *Pelting* (Βαλλητύς).[6] We approach still nearer to the double Chorus with

[1] Weil, *Études sur le drame antique*, p. 303.

[2] This is Zielinski's conclusion, *Gliederung*, 312.

[3] Hdt. v. 83.

[4] Paus. ii. 32, 2.

[5] Farnell, *Cults*, iii. 315 ff.; Frazer, *G. B.*[3], *Spirits of the Corn, etc.*, vol. i. p. 61.

[6] *Hom. Hym. Dem.* 236. Mr. A. B. Cook suggests to me that this word might help out the rather poor joke at *Ach.* 234, where the Koryphaeus bids his followers *βλέπειν* Βαλλήναδε, when they are pelting Dikaiopolis with stones.

its two masks in the cult of Apollo at Anaphe, in whose honour there was a ritual of 'strife and abuse' carried on between parties of men and women.[1] The abuse flung at the passers-by or at one another by the worshippers riding in carts at the *Kômos* of the *Choes*, in the Eleusinian procession, and at the Lenaea, may have been unorganised.[2]

54. *Ritual Combats for fertility*

The custom of holding more or less serious battles, as a means of promoting the fertility of the crops, has been illustrated by Mannhardt from Europe and by Dr. Frazer from various other parts of the world.[3] Sometimes it is the blood drawn from the combatants that is sprinkled on the fields, sometimes the portions of the dismembered representative of the principle of Life, whether in human or animal form or in the shape of a puppet. No clear line can be drawn between these contests of two bands and the

[1] Apoll. Rhod. iv. 1726:

τὰς δ' αἰσχροῖς ἤρωες ἐπεστοβέεσκον ἔπεσσιν
χλεύῃ γηθόσυνοι· γλυκερὴ δ' ἀνεκαίετο τοῖσιν
κερτομίη καὶ νεῖκος ἐπεσβόλον. ἐκ δέ νυ κείνης
μολπῆς ἡρώων νήσῳ ἔνι τοῖα γυναῖκες
ἀνδράσι δηριόωνται, ὅτ' Ἀπόλλωνα θυηλαῖς
Αἰγλήτην Ἀνάφης τιμήορον ἱλάσκωνται.

μολπῆς implies that regular choral songs of abuse were performed.

[2] Suidas *s.v.* τὰ ἐκ τῶν ἁμαξῶν σκώμματα. Ἀθήνῃσι γὰρ ἐν τῇ τῶν Χοῶν ἑορτῇ οἱ κωμάζοντες ἐπὶ τῶν ἁμαξῶν τοὺς ἀπαντῶντας ἔσκωπτόν τε καὶ ἐλοιδόρουν. τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ καὶ τοῖς Ληναίοις ὕστερον ἐποίουν. (It is conceivable that οἱ ἀπαντῶντες might mean a party of people who met the procession and made a show of resisting it. See the instance next quoted from Egypt.) ὅτι ἐπὶ τῆς ἁμαξῆς ὀχούμεναι αἱ γυναῖκες αἱ τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ἐπὰν εἰς τὰ Ἐλευσίνια ἐβάδιζον εἰς τὰ μέγαλα μυστήρια, ἐλοιδόρουν ἀλλήλας ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ.

[3] Mannhardt, *Baumkultus*, 548 ff.; Frazer on *Pausanias*, ii. 30, 4. Add to these G. Calderon, 'Slavonic Elements in Greek Religion,' *Class. Rev.* xxvii. (1913), p. 79 ff., who describes fighting between two organised parties as a common feature of Slavonic spring-rites. 'The Russian Spring-fight is sometimes enacted by two parties of women, with their hair flying, like the Maenads, and, where the body of the Whitsun doll is made of straw, it is torn up when victory declares itself, and scattered over the fields in order to distribute the productive energy concentrated in the figure. The existence of such a custom among the Thracians would afford the most satisfying explanation for the frequency of the legend of a man being torn in pieces in connection with Dionysian rites, as Orpheus, Pentheus, and Dionysus himself.' Doutté, *Relig. et Magie dans l'Afrique du Nord*, p. 554 ff., describes the game of Koura, in North Africa, a kind of ritual football played generally in spring, sometimes in seasons of drought, and in many places reserved to the *t'olba* (*savants, clercs*). Cf. the games played by Abbots and Canons of the Mediaeval Church.

beating or killing of some individual victim for the double purpose of 'purification' (the expulsion of evil influences) and the promotion of fertility. A faded survival may be seen in the battles of flowers or *confetti* which accompany the modern Carnival.

Herodotus[1] describes a ritual battle at Papremis in Egypt which is connected with a procession and a sacred marriage. The priests of the God identified by Herodotus with Ares, armed with clubs, took their stand at the doors of the temple in the evening. Opposite them were drawn up more than a thousand votaries, also with clubs. On the day before the festival, the image of the God in his shrine was drawn in a four-wheeled car by a few of the priests to another sacred building. Others, supported by the votaries, opposed his entrance. In the fight that followed heads were often broken. The myth was that the mother of the God once dwelt in this temple. The God, reared apart from his parents, desired, on reaching manhood, to have intercourse with his mother. Her attendants, to whom he was a stranger, shut him out. But he went to another city and collected a band of men by whose aid he forced his way in. The myth shows that the occasion of the procession was a divine marriage.

Another ritual combat which is specially interesting because the two parties, like so many of the beast Choruses in Attic Comedy, are disguised as animals, is cited by Du Méril. '*A Comapa, deux troupes d'acteurs, distingués les uns des autres par la peau d'un animal dont la tête est ramenée sur leur front, viennent encore se ranger en bataille ; des propositions d'arrangement sont faites, discutées par l'autre, et définitivement repoussées ; alors un signal est donné, et le combat s'engage au milieu des cris de guerre. Après une lutte acharnée la victoire se déclare pour le parti qui porte des peaux de daim ; les vaincus abandonnent le champ de bataille, et les vainqueurs y tracent avec un long bâton la figure d'un animal.*'[2]

In the Indian example, above described,[3] of the battle between the supporters of *Kaṃsa* and *Kṛṣṇa*, the black party and the red, we have the choral *Agon* combined with the dramatised death of one of the individual adversaries. At Orchomenos the women called *Oleiai* performed some Dionysiac rite which involved the

[1] ii. 63.

[2] From a letter of Don Urrutia on the antiquities of Cinaca-mecallo in the *Athenæum*, 13 Dec. 1856, p. 1537.

[3] P. 67.

dismemberment of a youth.[1] Whether they engaged in a battle with their 'husbands,' the *Psoloeis* ('Sooty Ones'), we do not know. But it is certainly curious that these *Oleiai* are 'daughters of Minyas'—belong, that is to say, to the old Minyan stock, with which Melanthus, the antagonist of Xanthus in the *Agon* at Eleutherae, is connected, as a Neleid.[2] The conjunction makes it not improbable that behind these scattered notices lies a ceremony identical in essence with the Indian battle of the parties of *Kaṃsa* and *Kṛṣṇa*, involving a choral *Agon* and a duel of the two antagonists represening Winter and Summer. The intimate connection of the Chorus in Comedy with the *Agon* and the division of it into two parties make it necessary to presuppose a ritual of this type.

The *Agon* proper, the duel of the adversaries, has already been discussed. We have seen in it the survival of a ritual combat of the two champions, on its way to become a mere debate, but still keeping sufficient traces of the time when it ended in the real or simulated death of one of the combatants.[3] In this debate the

[1] Plut. *Qu. Gr.* xxxviii.

[2] Farnell, *Cults*, v. 236. For Xanthus and Melanthus, see above, p. 67. At Eleutherae also there is a trace of the choral *αἰσχρολογία* in the statement that the daughters of Eleuther 'reviled' the apparition of the God of the Black Goatskin. Above, p. 66.

[3] It should be added that two *Agônes* in the plays are prefaced by a rapid interchange of abuse in short metre. The Sausage-seller and the Paphlagonian interchange threats, *Knights*, 284 ff. So do the two Reasons, *Clouds*, 889 ff. *Birds*, 386 ff. is somewhat similar. Strepsiades describes a similar passage between himself and his son before their *Agon*, *Clouds*, 1375, *ἔπος πρὸς ἔπος ἠρειδόμεσθα*. Aeschylus and Euripides are heard engaged in a *λοιδορησμός* before they appear (*Frogs*, 758), and Dionysus tells Aeschylus not to *λοιδορεῖσθαι*, but to argue the case out (857). It is tempting to see in these *λοιδορησμοί* the preliminary brags of the two champions, familiar in the folk-plays, and illustrated by Harleian MS. 1197, where a champion presents himself singing:

I ame a Knighte,
and menes to fighte,
and armet well ame I;
lo, here I stand
with swerd in hand,
my manhood for to try.

Another champion answers:

Thow marciall wite,
that menes to fighte,
and sete upon me so,
lo, here I stand
with swérd in hand
to dubbelle evrey bloue.

Then the fight begins.

rôle of the Chorus, though integral, has dwindled in most cases to something between the functions of seconds in a duel and of judges in a contest. The main interest lies in the arguments of the two actors. But we shall presently argue that in the *Parabasis*, immediately following the individual *Agon*, Attic Comedy probably preserves a survival of the choral contest or match in abuse. We shall suppose, in fact, that the original ritual contained a combat between two parties, representing Summer and Winter, with their two champions, one of whom was dramatically slain by the other, and that, while the duel of the two champions gives the *Agon*, the contest of their supporters remains in the purely choral *Parabasis*.

Before we turn to the *Parabasis*, however, something more must be said of the *Agon* proper and of its affinities with some species of a large class of literature which takes the form of a debate. In particular, we have to meet the possible objection that the comic *Agon* has no ritual origin, but is sufficiently explained as modelled on debates of a forensic or rhetorical type.

55. *The Sophistic Antilogy*

The first *Agon* in the *Clouds*, which we have so far left out of account, is a contest for the soul of Pheidippides, held between the two Reasons or Arguments (*Logoi*), the Just and the Unjust. In the Prologue of the play Strepsiades says he has heard tell that the Sophists have 'a pair of Arguments, the stronger (or 'better,' *κρείττων*), whatever that may be, and the weaker (or 'worse,' *ἥττων*). Of these two it is said that the weaker wins, by pleading the more unjust cause.'[1] Strepsiades wishes to send Pheidippides to learn this weaker, or worse, or unjust, argument, so that he may be able to save his father from paying his debts.

The old man has heard and misinterpreted the famous profession of the first and greatest of the sophists. We are told of Protagoras of Abdera that he was the first to maintain that 'for every argument there is a counter-argument,' or that 'on every subject two argu-

[1] 112: *Streps.* *εἶναι παρ' αὐτοῖς φασιν ἄμφω τὼ λόγω,*
τὸν κρείττον', ὅστις ἐστί, καὶ τὸν ἥττονα.
τούτοιν τὸν ἕτερον τοῖν λόγοιν, τόν ἥττονα,
νικᾶν λέγοντά φασι τἀδικώτερα.

ments can be made out.'[1] He accordingly composed a series of '*Antilogies*,' or specimen arguments on both sides of a number of questions. We can form an idea of these from the anonymous *Dialexeis* or *Pairs of Arguments* (δισσοὶ λόγοι), written in the Doric dialect soon after 404 B.C.[2] In these the first argument supports a paradoxical thesis, such as that Good and Evil are the same; the second supplies the refutation. It was Protagoras' 'profession' (ἐπάγγελμα) that he could 'make the weaker (or worse) argument the stronger (or better)' and teach his pupils the same art.[3] Now, it is clear that a teacher who lived to a considerable age in the enjoyment of general respect in many cities of Greece, cannot have professed to make the argument which was 'worse' in a *moral* sense, win over the 'better.' He must have used κρείττων and ἥττων in their other sense of 'stronger' and 'weaker,' with no moral implication. What he was prepared to do, as a teacher of rhetoric, was to take both sides of any question and show how the intrinsically weaker case could be strengthened so as actually to be a match for the 'stronger,' which had common sense on its side to start with. The enemies of the sophists, wilfully or innocently, took 'better' and 'worse' in a moral sense, and represented the sophists as teaching the art of making the wrong side triumph over the right. And, of course, as Plato and Isocrates complained, the weapon they put into their pupils' hands could be turned to such uses.

In the *Clouds*, the two Arguments, the better and the worse, identified simply with the Just and the Unjust, are produced in person to have out their quarrel in presence of Pheidippides.[4] It is to be noted that in this *Agon* the unsympathetic principle, the

[1] Clem. Alex. *Strom.* vi. 65: Ἕλληνές φασι Πρωταγόρου προκατάρξαντος, παντὶ λόγῳ λόγον ἀντικεῖσθαι. Diog. Laert. ix. 51: καὶ πρῶτος ἔφη δύο λόγους εἶναι περὶ παντὸς πράγματος ἀντικειμένους ἀλλήλοις. See, for this whole subject, the interesting discussion of Protagoras in H. Gomperz, *Sophistik u. Rhetorik*, Leipzig u. Berlin, 1912.

[2] These are printed by Diels, *Frag. d. Vorsokratiker*[2], vol. ii. p. 635 ff. For a discussion and references to earlier literature see Gomperz, *op. cit.* p. 138 ff.

[3] Ar. *Rhet.* B 24, 1402 *a*, 23: καὶ τὸ τὸν ἥττω δὲ λόγον κρείττω ποιεῖν τοῦτ' ἐστι. καὶ ἐντεῦθεν δικαίως ἐδυσχέραινον οἱ ἄνθρωποι τὸ Πρωταγόρου ἐπάγγελμα.

[4] Certain terms seem to refer to Protagoras: ἀντιλογῆσαι (321), ἀντιλέξαι (1040) recall his *Antilogiai*. (Cf. *Frogs*, 878, ἀντιλογοῦντες, 998 and 1007, ἀντιλέγειν.) *Clouds*, 1229, τὸν ἀκατάβλητον λόγον, cf. the title of Protagoras' work, Καταβάλλοντες.

worse Reason, speaks second and is victorious. The same is true of the other *Agon* in the play, between father and son. Pheidippides there offers his father the choice of whichever argument he prefers, the better or the worse. The worse falls to himself, and he almost succeeds in his undertaking to make it prevail.[1] That the second speaker should be victorious is the rule in all Aristophanes' *Agônes*, but it is only in the *Clouds* that the evil or unsympathetic side wins. This is of a piece with the inverted economy of the whole play. It illustrates the sophist's misunderstood profession of making the worse argument the stronger.

The influence of Protagoras and the sophistic Antilogy is traceable also in Euripides. The best instance occurred in a lost play, the *Antiope*, where the twins, Zethus and Amphion, argued each in favour of his own manner of life in a way that reminds one of Cain and Abel. A fragment survives in which some speaker says, 'There is no subject on which one who is a clever speaker could not set up an *Agon* of twin arguments.'[2] Euripides has given us in many plays a proof of his own cleverness in this art.[3]

I have gone into these details of the Sophistic *Agon* with a view to the possible objection that the *Agon* in Comedy and Tragedy is derived from the tradition of Rhetoric and has no root in ritual. The objection, however, is easily met. The *Agon* exists already

[1] 1334: *Pheid.* ἔγωγ' ἀποδείξω καί σε νικήσω λέγων.
Streps. τουτὶ σὺ νικήσεις;
Pheid. πολύ γε καὶ ῥᾳδίως.
ἑλοῦ δ' ὁπότερον τοῖν λόγοιν βούλει λέγειν.
Streps. ποίοιν λόγοιν;
Pheid. τὸν κρείττον' ἢ τὸν ἥττονα.

1444: *Pheid.* τί δ' ἦν ἔχων τὸν ἥττω | λόγον σε νικήσω λέγων | τὴν μητέρ' ὡς τύπτειν χρεών;

[2] Eurip. *Antiope*, frag. 189 N².

ἐκ παντὸς ἄν τις πράγματος δισσῶν λόγων
ἀγῶνα θεῖτ' ἄν, εἰ λέγειν εἴη σοφός.

Cf. P. Decharme, *Euripide et l'esprit de son théâtre* (Paris, 1893), p. 47 ff.; Starkie, *Clouds*, p. 333.

[3] Compare *Androm.*, 957, σοφόν τι χρῆμα τοῦ διδάξαντος βροτοὺς | λόγους ἀκούειν τῶν ἐναντίων πάρα, with *Wasps*, 725, ἦ που σοφὸς ἦν ὅστις ἔφασκεν, πρὶν ἂν ἀμφοῖν μῦθον ἀκούσῃς | οὐκ ἂν δικάσαις. *Heracles*, 204 (Amphitryon's ἀγών with Lycus), λόγοι μὲν οἵδε τοῖσι σοῖς ἐναντίαν | γνώμην ἔχουσι τῶν καθεστώτων πέρι. This last is a good instance of an *Agon* or *débat* which strikes the modern reader as very undramatic. The tyrant and Heracles' aged father, who, with the rest of Heracles' family, is threatened with instant death, argue the question whether it is braver to fight with a bow or with a spear.

in the Sicilian Mime of Epicharmus, the senior contemporary of Aeschylus.[1] Among the titles of his works we find *Land and Sea*, *Logos and Logina*, which were certainly *Agônes* or Debates. In this form of literature, Comedy was in the field before Rhetoric. Another species which flourished on Sicilian soil was the pastoral *Agon*, familiar in Bucolic poetry. There is evidence to connect this, as well as the Sicilian Mime, with ruder forms native to the Peloponnese and perhaps associated with ritual.[2] Since Sicily was the principal home of the art of Rhetoric, the probability is that, if any borrowing took place, it was the rhetoricians who took the *Agon* form from the Mime. The form itself is popular and much older than the sophistic movement. This conclusion is borne out by very close analogies in mediaeval literature.

56. *The mediaeval* Débat

The Middle Ages in Europe produced a similar literature of debates.[3] There was the Provençal '*tenso* (French *tençon*), in which two speakers freely discussed a given subject, each taking the point of view which seems good to him. And there was the *joc-partitz* or *partimen* (French *jeu-parti* or *parture*), in which the challenger proposed a theme, indicated two opposed attitudes towards it, and gave his opponent his choice to maintain one or the other.'[4] Again, of the *dits* and *fabliaux dialogués* Mr. Chambers says: 'These dialogues naturally tend to become of the nature of disputes, and they merge into that special kind of *dit*, the *débat* or *disputoison* proper. The *débat* is a kind of poetical controversy put into the mouths of two types or two personified abstractions,

[1] Christ-Schmid, *Gr. Lit.*[5] (München, 1908) i. p. 378, gives Epicharmus' date as *circ.* 550-460.

[2] The Argument to Theocritus connects the origin of Bucolic poetry with the cult of Artemis in Lacedaemon (Karyatis), at Tindaris in Sicily, and at Syracuse. It describes contests of peasants wearing wreaths and staghorns and holding λαγώβολα. They had loaves stamped with figures of animals, a wallet full of πανσπερμία, and wine in a goatskin. For all this subject see Knaack, *Pauly-Wiss.* s.v. 'Bukolik,' who follows up the connections with ritual and the various other forms of ἀγών, σύγκρισις, etc.

[3] See Chambers, *Mediaeval Stage*, i. p. 78 ff., from whom I borrow the above statements.

[4] Mr. Chambers adds that these were originally improvised verbal tournaments, and have nothing to say to the drama. See, however, his remarks presently quoted on the *débats*.

each of which pleads the cause of its own superiority, while in the end the decision is not unfrequently referred to an umpire in the fashion familiar in the eclogues of Theocritus. The *débats* thus bear a strong resemblance to the lyric *tençons* and *jeux-partis* already mentioned. Like the *chansons*, they probably owe something to the folk festivals with their "flytings" and seasonal songs.'

This last hint is followed up by Mr. Chambers later on.[1] Discussing the various ways in which the Spring *renouveau* may be dramatically represented, he says: 'Finally there is a fairly widespread spring custom of holding a dramatic fight between two parties, one clad in green to represent summer, the other in straw or fur to represent winter. Waldron describes this in the Isle of Man; Olaus Magnus in Sweden. Grimm says that it is found in various districts on both sides of the middle Rhine. Perhaps both this dramatic battle and that of the Coventry Hox Tuesday owe their origin to the struggle for the fertilising head of a sacrificial animal, which also issued in football and similar games. Dr. Frazer quotes several instances from all parts of the world in which a mock fight, or an interchange of abuse and raillery taking the place of an actual fight, serves as a crop-charm. The summer and winter battle gave to literature a famous type of neo-Latin and Romance *débat*. In one of the most interesting forms of this, the eighth or ninth century *Conflictus Veris et Hiemis*, the subject of dispute is the cuckoo, which Spring praises and Winter chides, while the shepherds declare that he must be drowned or stolen away, because summer cometh not. The cuckoo is everywhere a characteristic bird of spring, and his coming was probably a primitive signal for the high summer festival.'

Mr. Chambers might have cited 'the dialogue that the two learned men have compiled in praise of the owl and the cuckoo,' which 'should have followed in the end of the show' presented by Armado in the last scene of *Love's Labour's Lost*. 'This side is *Hiems*, Winter; this *Ver*, the Spring; the one maintained by the owl, the other by the cuckoo. *Ver*, begin.' Then follow those marvellous songs of Spring and Winter:

'*When daisies pied and violets blue*,' etc.

and

'*When icicles hang by the wall*,' etc.

[1] P. 187.

Dieterich [1] connects the *Agônes* of Comedy, which, he says, were certainly among its oldest constituents, and were probably common to the old '*Satyrpossen*' of Sicily, Lower Italy, and Attica, with these ancient and modern *débats*. Having little independent knowledge of mediaeval literature, I welcome the high authority of a writer so learned and intelligent as Mr. Chambers, in tracing them back to the battle of Summer and Winter. But it is more than a conjecture. Dr. Frazer gives a translation of such a *débat* still actually in use. 'In some parts of Bavaria the boys who play the parts of Winter and Summer act their little drama in every house that they visit, and engage in a war of words before they come to blows, each of them vaunting the pleasures and benefits of the season he represents and disparaging those of the other. The dialogue is in verse. A few couplets may serve as specimens :—

SUMMER

Green, green are the meadows wherever I pass,
And the mowers are busy among the grass.

WINTER

White, white are the meadows wherever I go,
And the sledges glide hissing across the snow.

SUMMER

I'll climb up the tree where the red cherries glow,
And Winter can stand by himself down below.

WINTER

With you I will climb the cherry-tree tall,
Its branches will kindle the fire in the hall.'

After some more verses in which the antagonists warm up and threaten one another, the dialogue ends thus :

WINTER

'*O Summer, for all your bluster and brag,*
You'd not dare to carry a hen in a bag.

SUMMER

O Winter, your chatter no more can I stay,
I'll kick and I'll cuff you without delay.

[1] *Pulcinella*, 78.

Here ensues a scuffle between the two little boys, in which Summer gets the best of it, and turns Winter out of the house. But soon the beaten champion of Winter peeps in at the door and says with a humble and crestfallen air:

O Summer, dear Summer, I'm under your ban,
For you are the master and I am the man.

To which Summer replies:

'Tis a capital notion, an excellent plan,
If I am the master and you are the man.
So come, my dear Winter, and give me your hand,
We 'll travel together to Summer Land.'[1]

There can be little doubt, then, that the *débat* as a literary form goes back to these seasonal *Agônes* from which we have derived the *Agon* in Comedy. The rhetorical *Antilogy* may have had an independent origin or have been based on this popular type. But there is no ground for deriving from it the comic or tragic *Agon*, though in the latter part of the fifth century the influence of rhetoric may have been felt by the dramatic writers.[2]

57. *The Choral* Agon: *the* Parabasis

The *Agon*, as we have studied it in the last two sections, is a debate between individual representatives of two abstract principles. As such it flourished in the Sicilian Mime of Epicharmus, which had no Chorus.[3] But we must not forget the Chorus in Attic Comedy, the two parties who support the opposed champions. Besides the *Agon* between two individuals, there were also, in the fertility cults, the choral matches in abuse (*αἰσχρολογίαι*) and set battles of two

[1] *G. B.*[3], *The Dying God* (London, 1911), 255. A dialogue in verse between representatives of Summer and Winter is spoken at Hartlieb in Silesia, near Breslau (Note).

[2] Perhaps a further trace of this influence may be seen in the tendency to regard (1) the speech in the first half as an *ἐπίδειξις*, (2) the reply in the second as an *ἔλεγχος*. (1) *Knights*, 334 (*Katakeleusmos*) *νῦν δείξον*. *Clouds*, 934: *Koryph.* *ἀλλ' ἐπίδειξαι σύ*. 949 (*Ode*), *νῦν δείξετον*. 1333, *ἔγωγ' ἀποδείξω*. *Wasps*, 548 (opening of *Epirrheme*), *ἀποδείξω*. (2) *Knights*, 843 ff. (*Antep.*), in *ἔλεγχος* form. *Clouds*, 1043 (*Antep.*), *σκέψαι . . . ὡς ἐλέγξω*. *Frogs*, 857 (Dionysus to Aeschylus before the *Agon*): *ἔλεγχ' ἐλέγχου· λοιδορείσθαι δ' οὐ πρέπει*.

[3] Epicharmus' pieces are called *δράματα*; there is no reason to believe that the term *κωμῳδία* was applied to them. There was in fact no *κῶμος*.

bands of people. This brings us to the consideration of a very important feature of the Old Comedy, which we have so far left almost out of account—the *Parabasis*. We shall next inquire what grounds there are for supposing that this is a survival of an old choral *Agon*, which has remained embedded in the structure of the play, alongside of, and normally next after, the individual *Agon* we have so far dealt with.

The *Parabasis* presents a difficult problem, for we may suspect that its form, as we know it in Aristophanes, has been modified and adapted to new uses in the long course of development that lies behind the extant plays. We shall begin by describing its normal structure and contents, and then consider whether we can make out what modifications it must have undergone.

58. *The Form of the* Parabasis

In point of structure, the *Parabasis* has a strict canonical form. In the plays where it is complete, it falls into two parts; and the imperfect *Parabases* of other plays consist of one or more portions of the same regular scheme.

1. The first part opens with a few lines (*Kommation*) in which the Leader of the Chorus, after wishing good speed to the retiring actors, orders his Chorus to make their 'advance' towards the spectators. When this movement is executed, he delivers an address to the audience, composed in the long anapaestic measure, and called by Aristophanes 'the *Anapaests*.' Here the mask is dropt and with it all pretence of dramatic illusion. The Leader delivers a message from the poet to the Athenian people, setting the transcendant merits of the author in contrast with the ridiculous inferiority of his rivals, and claiming credit for the services he has rendered in exposing those abominable rogues, his political opponents and the prophets of contemporary culture. The speech appropriately ends in a peroration called *pnigos*, because it was to be delivered in one breath with increasing rapidity, the voice, perhaps, rising to a scream capable of drowning any demonstrations of disapproval from the adherents of demagogue or sophist.

2. The second part has the epirrhematic structure already described. The Chorus of twenty-four is divided into two halves, each with its Leader—the *Koryphaeus* (who also leads the whole

Chorus when undivided) and the *Parastates*. The two halves perform antiphonally as follows:—

An *Ode*, sung by one half-Chorus, is followed by an *Epirrheme*, probably recited by its Leader. Then the other half-Chorus responds with the *Antode*, metrically equivalent to the *Ode*, and its Leader speaks the *Antepirrheme*. In this part of the *Parabasis*, though *Epirrheme* and *Antepirrheme* are usually addressed to the audience, the Chorus speak in character. The Knights praise their 'horses'; the Clouds complain, on the Moon's behalf, of the irregularities of the Athenian Calendar, and so on.

When this is over, the actors, without preface, return and the business of the play is resumed as if it had never been interrupted.

A feature so extraordinary as this, and, as judged by modern standards, so injurious to the conduct of a drama, naturally attracted the attention of critics, and even tended to divert attention from other features no less important. If we are looking out for survivals, for elements of form or content which no dramatist unhampered by tradition would be likely to invent, here is perhaps the clearest instance we shall find. The *Parabasis*, moreover, is the first of the formal features of the Old Comedy to decay. Complete in the *Acharnians*, the *Knights*, the *Clouds*,[1] the *Wasps*, and the *Birds*, already in the *Peace* the Parabasis has lost its *Epirrheme* and *Antepirrheme*; in the *Thesmophoriazusae*, *Ode*, *Antode*, and *Antepirrheme* are omitted; the *Frogs* has lost the whole of the first part; and in the *Ecclesiazusae* and *Plutus*, the Parabasis has vanished altogether. With its stiff canonical structure, it has all the air of a piece of ritual procedure awkwardly interrupting the course of the play. It will be convenient to consider the two parts separately.

59. *The Anapaests*

The introductory Anapaests, spoken by the Leader of the whole Chorus, are not, save for an occasional reference to some objection-

[1] In the *Clouds*, of which we possess only a revised edition, a passage in Eupolideans (with no *pnigos*) replaces the Anapaests: otherwise the form is complete.

able character, 'iambic' or abusive in tone.[1] In the five earliest plays (*Acharnians, Knights, Clouds, Wasps, Peace*) they contain a eulogy or defence of the author. In the two remaining plays which possess this passage at all (*Birds, Thesmophoriazusae*) the Koryphaeus speaks in character. The Leader of the Birds recounts their divine origin and boasts of their services to mankind. The Leader of the Thesmophoriazusae says, 'Let us eulogise ourselves,' and delivers an apology for women. The content of the Anapaests is thus generally eulogistic, either of the poet or of the Chorus.

It has been doubted whether the poet's oration on his own behalf was an original feature of the *Parabasis*. Poppelreuter[2] points out that the Anapaests in the earliest extant play, the *Acharnians*, begin with the statement that Aristophanes has never before come forward to tell his audience how clever he is; but that now the calumnies of his detractors make it necessary. Again, in the last play which contains a speech of this kind, the *Peace*, he declares that a comedian who praises himself in the Anapaests ought to be beaten; though, after observing that, if any poet deserves eulogy, it is Aristophanes, he proceeds in the usual strain. I cannot, however, agree with Poppelreuter's inference. In the former of these passages it does not seem to me that Aristophanes is announcing an innovation in the practice of comedians generally, but rather that he is taking credit for having abstained hitherto from an existing custom. How far back the custom went we cannot say.

The essential character of the Anapaests should, perhaps, be found, not in the nature of their contents, but rather in the practice of directly addressing the audience. Elsewhere in drama this is especially characteristic of the prologue; and it may be that the Anapaests stand in this relation to the second, epirrhematic, part. Whatever sort of performance lies behind that second part—a question presently to be raised—a short introductory speech, delivered by the Chorus Leader, would be a natural preface. The Anapaest is a marching rhythm; and it is obvious to compare the anapaestic lines spoken by the Koryphaeus as the tragic Chorus

[1] It is true that the Anapaests of the *Knights* blame the Athenians for their treatment of comic poets; but chiefly to show what difficulties Aristophanes has faced. The Anapaests of the *Wasps* also blame the spectators (1016), but consist almost entirely of boasting.

[2] *De com. att. prim.*, 33.

enters the orchestra—a passage which, in the oldest known type of Tragedy, serves the purpose of a prologue. The *Suppliants* and the *Persae* of Aeschylus both open with a simple statement in anapaestic dimeters,[1] explaining who the Chorus are and why they come.[2]

But, if the Anapests are a prologue, they are, of course, not a prologue to the play as a whole, the main action of which is already half over. The play, as we have it, has a prologue of its own, in which again the audience is directly addressed by one of the actors, and informed of the necessary facts. The Anapaests give the author a second chance of speaking straight to the spectators, this time without pretence of disguise and on subjects not connected with the action. That this should be done in an epilogue would be intelligible, and as the epilogue of the oldest form of the play Zielinski regarded the *Parabasis*. To this, however, there is the fatal objection that the action which has culminated in the *Agon* is resumed after the *Parabasis*, and moves through the other fixed incidents to the *Exodos*, its necessary termination.

The conclusion to which our argument points is that the Anapaests represent an originally brief prologue to the second part of the *Parabasis*. This, however we interpret it, certainly stands in isolation from the action of the play, which it simply interrupts.[3]

60. *The Second Part of the* Parabasis

It is, at any rate, generally agreed that the second, epirrhematic, part is the core of the *Parabasis*. It survives in cases where the

[1] The *Kommation* prefacing the (tetrameter) Anapaests of the *Knights Parabasis* is in anapaestic dimeters.

[2] Poppelreuter (*op. cit.* 34) regards the Anapaests in this light. Cf. also Croiset, *Hist. de la lit. grecque*, iii. 507. It has been pointed out that a fragment (306) of Kratinus in anapaestic tetrameters, described as ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῦ δράματος, resembles Aristophanes' addresses to the audience in the *Anapaests* (Starkie, *Wasps*, p. x).

[3] The Anapaests have been compared to the introductory lines spoken by the *Phallophori* as they entered the orchestra (above, p. 42). There is certainly one curious point of resemblance. The *Phallophori* insist on the *freshness* of what they are going to say. A similar claim is a commonplace of the Anapaests in Aristophanes. Even the simile of the virgin muse is echoed in the Eupolideans which take the place of the Anapaests in the *Clouds*, 537, ὡς δὲ σώφρων ἐστὶ φύσει (ἥδε ἡ Κωμῳδία) σκέψασθε, etc.

Anapaests have dropt away.[1] Its contents have already been described in another context,[2] where it was pointed out that the *Ode* and *Antode* contain the element of invocation or induction of a benign influence, while *Epirrheme* and *Antepirrheme* are normally 'iambic' in tone, either abusive or more mildly critical or hortatory.[3] The two elements, invocation and invective, are those of the Phallic Song; but the form is not the same. In the Phallic Song and kindred popular types, we find the introductory invocation followed by an unlimited series of improvised stanzas, punctuated by a choral refrain. This is totally different from the epirrhematic 'syzygy,' a closed system of balanced antiphonal parts, based, as we have seen, on *Antichoria*, the division of the double Chorus into two halves. If this form is original—and it is strictly adhered to[4]—we cannot see in the *Parabasis* a survival of the Phallic Song, the structure of which is rather preserved in the *Exodos*.

61. *The* Parabasis *of the* Lysistrata

Now, we have already seen, earlier in this chapter, that *Antichoria*, 'the soul of epirrhematic composition,' almost certainly points back to a time when the Chorus was not merely divided into two halves, but consisted of two opposed companies with different characters or masks. In one of the extant plays, the *Lysistrata*, this is actually the case. The Chorus consists of twelve Old Men and twelve Old Women. If we accept the strong arguments, which show that this is the original type, it is clear that in the *Lysistrata*, if anywhere, we are likely to find an earlier form of the

[1] Cf. Schmid, *Zur Gesch. des griech. Dithyrambus* (Tübingen, 1901), 13: *Nur der zweite (Teil) ist in allen Parabasen, vollständig oder wenigstens (in den Thesmophoriaz.) stückweise, vorhanden, während der erste in den Fröschen völlig fehlt. Daraus wird man folgen dürfen, dass der zweite Teil der ursprünglichere ist.*

[2] Above, p. 45.

[3] E.g. *Ach.* 676 (*Epirrheme*), *μεμφόμεσθα τῇ πόλει. Clouds*, 576 (*Epirrheme*), *ὑμῖν μεμφόμεσθα*, 610 (*Antep.*) *θυμαίνειν ἔφασκε (ἡ σελήνη). Lys.* 648, *τῇ πόλει παραίνεσαι. Thesm.* 830, *πόλλ' ἂν αἱ γυναῖκες ἡμεῖς ἐν δίκῃ μεμψαίμεθ' ἂν | τοῖσιν ἀνδράσιν. Frogs*, 686 (*Epirrheme*), *τὸν ἱερὸν χορὸν δίκαιόν ἐστι χρηστὰ τῇ πόλει | ξυμπαραινεῖν καὶ διδάσκειν.*

[4] Sometimes parts are missing, and once (*Lysistrata*) there are two Epirrhematic syzygies; but the structure, though in these instances imperfect or repeated, is always the same.

Parabasis than in the other plays. In point of fact, it is unique in structure and in contents.[1]

In the first place, the Anapaests are wanting. In this respect the *Lysistrata* is not singular; but if we are right in supposing that the form of the *Parabasis* in this play is more primitive, we gain some support here for our view that the Anapaests were not an important part of the original performance. Their absence in this instance is easily accounted for. The two parts of the Chorus are in fierce antagonism to one another; consequently they have no common Leader who can be authorised to make a long address to the audience on behalf of them all, or of the poet speaking through them. And such a speech would be out of place, as prefacing the quarrel which follows.[2]

The *Parabasis* consists of two epirrhematic syzygies of the type already described. The men speak in the first half of each, the women in the second. Each half of the first syzygy is prefaced by a *Kommation* of two lines, in which the Leaders of the men and women bid their followers lay aside their outer garment.[3] It is interesting to compare the passages in other plays where this order is given by the Chorus Leader. In the *Acharnians* it comes in the *Kommation* which prefaces the Anapaests of the *Parabasis*.[4] But

[1] That this passage is a *Parabasis* was held by Westphal. Its form is the same as that of the *Frogs Parabasis*, except that it is double. Other authorities have denied it the name, because there are no Anapaests and therefore (it is argued) no 'advance towards the audience' (*παραβαίνειν πρὸς τὸ θέατρον*). The objection is met by arguments advanced below. The Anapaestic address from the united Chorus to the audience can only exist where the Chorus is united, and where there is an audience (*θέατρον*) towards which they can advance. In the ritual stage neither condition would be satisfied. The use of '*Parabasis*' as a technical term has no authority earlier than the lexicographers and scholiasts.

[2] The *Argument* of the play notes that the Chorus is not united till the Second *Parabasis*, a passage described as follows: *οἱ δὲ γέροντες εἰς ταὐτὸν ταῖς γυναιξὶν ἀποκατασταντες ἕνα χορὸν ἐκ τῆς διχορίας ἀποτελοῦσι.*

[3] 614: *Kor.* *οὐκέτ' ἔργον ἐγκαθεύδειν ὅστις ἐστ' ἐλεύθερος,*
ἀλλ' ἐπαναδυώμεθ' ἄνδρες τουτῳὶ τῷ πράγματι.
634: *Par.* *οὐκ ἂρ' εἰσιόντα σ' οἴκαδ' ἡ τεκοῦσα γνώσεται.*
ἀλλὰ θώμεσθ' ὦ φίλαι γρᾶες ταδὶ πρῶτον χαμαί.

That this and the similar passages presently quoted refer to the taking off of the *mask* (as suggested by Christ-Schmid, *Gr. Lit.* i. p. 384, '*mit abgenommener Maske*') is an interpretation quite unwarranted by the texts. Poppelreuter (*de com. att. prim.* p. 34) pointed out that Zielinski's view of the meaning of *ἀποδῦναι* was wrong.

[4] *Ach.* 627: *ἀλλ' ἀποδύντες τοῖς ἀναπαίστοις ἐπίωμεν.*

in the *Wasps* and the *Thesmophoriazusae* the order is given earlier, in each case at the point where the Chorus are about to attack the protagonist.[1] The purpose is manifestly to free the limbs of the Chorus for violent action.[2] In the two instances quoted, this action is a fight with the protagonist; in the *Lysistrata* it is a sort of battle-dance between the two halves of the Chorus.

After this prelude, the Men sing their *Ode*. They declare their suspicions that the women, perhaps instigated by Sparta, are plotting to set up a female 'tyranny,'[3] and deprive them of the dearly loved wages they earn as jurors in the law courts. In the *Epirrheme* the Leader says it is monstrous that women should set up to give political advice. Men will never submit, but emulate the tyrannicides and wear swords hidden in myrtle-boughs. The Koryphaeus in conclusion offers to smite the Leader of the Old Women on the cheek.[4]

In *Antode* and *Antepirrheme* the Women reply. After the *Kommation*, bidding them lay aside their upper garments, they enumerate their claims to offer advice to Athens. They have taken part in the Hersephoria at seven years old, danced as bears in saffron robes to Brauronia, and gone through other ceremonies—been baptized, as it were, and confirmed into membership of the state. Their Leader in the *Antepirrheme* continues in the same strain. Why should women be grudged the privilege of advising a state to which they have contributed their quota in producing men? The service compares favourably with what the old greybeards have done. She retorts the threat by offering to strike the Koryphaeus on the jaw with her boot.[5]

In the *Ode* of the second syzygy the Old Men complain that this is insolence. Things will go from bad to worse, unless energetic

[1] *Wasps*, 408 (between the *Parodos* and the *Agon*, where the *Wasps* attack Philocleon): ἀλλὰ θαἰμάτια λαβόντες (βαλόντες, *suprascr. in B.*) ὡς τάχιστα, παιδία, θεῖτε καὶ βοᾶτε. . . . Whether λαβόντες or βαλόντες be read, the cloaks of the Chorus, not of the boys (who would not wear them), must be meant. Cf. Starkie, *ad loc.* *Thesm.* 655 (after the Debate and before the *Parabasis*. The women are seeking the disguised intruder. The seizure of Euripides' kinsman follows): χρὴ | ξυζωσαμένας εὖ κἀνδρείως τῶν θ' ἱματίων ἀποδύσας | ζητεῖν. . . .

[2] Cf. *Peace*, 729 (*Kommation* before Anapaests), where the Chorus hand over their agricultural tools to attendants.

[3] The phrase Ἱππίου τυραννίδος is, of course, obscene. Cf. *Wasps*, 502.

[4] 635: τῆς θεοῖς ἐχθρᾶς πατάξας (-ξαι codd.) τῆσδε γραὸς τὴν γνάθον.

[5] 656: εἰ δὲ λυπήσεις τί με,
τῷδε γ' ἀψήκτῳ πατάξω τῳ κοθόρνῳ τὴν γνάθον.

measures are taken. Pitching their shirts after their cloaks,[1] they call upon one another to renew their youthful vigour. The next thing, says the Koryphaeus in the *Epirrheme*, is that women will take to fighting by sea and on horseback like the Amazons. They ought to be seized by the neck and put in the pillory.[2]

The Women respond with suitable threats in the *Antode*, and imitate the men in casting off another garment.[3] The *Epirrheme* keeps up the fighting tone. There will be no end of the men's mischievous decrees, till some one catches them by the leg and breaks their necks.[4]

So the *Parabasis* ends. The feud is kept up till the Second *Parabasis* (1014), where the two parties are somewhat suddenly reconciled, and resume their cast-off garments.[5]

62. *The* Parabasis *a Choral* Agon

It is, I think, abundantly clear that this *Parabasis* is a choral *Agon*—something between a battle-dance and a *débat* between Man and Woman on the question of woman's rights. The epirrhematic form is justified and explained by the different characters of the two halves of the Chorus. In the *Parabases* of the other plays, where the *Chorus*, though it may have quarrelled earlier,[6] is uniform in character and at one when the *Parabasis* opens, this epirrhematic form of the second and principal part has not the same motive and justification. The critical or hortatory *Epirrhemes* are addressed not by one half to the other, but by the Chorus as a whole to the audience. Why should there be two of them, delivered by different Leaders? The *Odes* again are harmonious invocations of appropriate deities or muses, which might equally well be sung by all in unison, as they would be in Tragedy. The inference seems clear that the *Lysistrata* preserves the earlier type, and that the

[1] 662: ἀλλὰ τὴν ἐξωμίδ' ἐκδυώμεθα.

[2] 680: ἀλλὰ τούτων χρῆν ἁπασῶν ἐς τετρημένον ξύλον
ἐγκαθαρμόσαι λαβόντας τουτονὶ τὸν αὐχένα.

[3] 686: ἀλλὰ χἠμεῖς ὦ γυναῖκες θᾶττον ἐκδυώμεθα.

[4] 704: κοὐχὶ μὴ παύσησθε τῶν ψηφισμάτων τούτων, πρὶν ἂν
τοῦ σκέλους ὑμᾶς λαβών τις ἑκτραχηλίσῃ φέρων.

[5] 1021: The Leader of the Women offers to help the Koryphaeus on with his shirt.

[6] As in the *Acharnians*, where the two Leaders fight in the middle of the *Agon*.

Parabasis is a choral *Agon*, following immediately after the individual *Agon*, where, as we should expect, the rôle of the Chorus tends to become a merely judicial function, while the two individual adversaries fight out the main issue.

Some of the *Parabases* have something of the character of a *débat*. The Old Men in the *Acharnians* (676 ff.) contrast the helplessness of Age with the cleverness and shamelessness of Youth. The Young Men in the *Knights* (565 ff.) praise the warriors of the older generation, but maintain that they are not inferior themselves. The Wasps, again (1071), contrast their ancient valour against the Persians with the idleness of those drones of the present day who sit at home and steal the tribute. The *Parabasis* of the *Birds* (752 ff.) sets forth the advantages of bird-life as against human ways. In the *Thesmophoriazusae*, the *Parabasis* contrasts the services rendered to the state by women with those of men.[1]

Our hypothesis, then, is that the *Agon* and *Parabasis* have differentiated out of one original performance consisting of a ritual conflict between two parties, each with its champion. The two bands would spend themselves in a fight with sticks or stones or in a match of abuse, giving rise to the later literary forms such as the *débat*. The two champions, Summer and Winter, or the Old Year and the New,[2] would be engaged in a dramatic duel, ending in the death and resurrection of one of them. In the Old Comedy as we know it, this duel has itself become a verbal debate, though retaining traces of its dramatic action. The debate being concluded in the *Agon* and the parties reconciled, there can usually be no further debate in the *Parabasis*. Accordingly, this feature, while keeping its canonical form, now meaningless, is turned to other uses. The Chorus, like the *Phallophori*, no longer abuse one another; so they criticise the spectators. In the invocatory odes we may perhaps see a survival of the appeals made by each of the two parties to its own champion. The Anapaests may represent the

[1] 801: *βάσανον δῶμεν πότεροι χείρους. ἡμεῖς μὲν γάρ φαμεν ὑμᾶς*
ὑμεῖς δ' ἡμᾶς. σκεψώμεθα δὴ κἀντιτιθῶμεν πρὸς ἕκαστον,
παραβάλλουσαι τῆς τε γυναικὸς καὶ τἀνδρὸς τοὔνομ' ἑκάστου, κτλ.

[2] Numerical speculations are always very uncertain, but it is tempting to see in the two half-choruses of twelve in Attic Comedy, the twelve months of the Old and the New Years. Usener suggested (*Dreiheit*, Rh. Mus. (1903), 354 ff.) that the twenty-four choreutae represented the trieteric period of the Lenaea.

original prologue to the whole performance, introducing the two parties and their leaders, whose conflict in the *Agon-Parabasis* opens the action and leads on to the *Kômos* of the *Exodos*.

63. *The Second* Parabasis

The seven earliest plays contain a Second *Parabasis*. This normally consists simply of an epirrhematic syzygy. In the *Clouds* [1] it is reduced to one *Epirrheme*, containing an appeal to the judges to award the prize to the Chorus. Similar appeals are made in the *Antepirrheme* of the Second *Parabasis* of the *Birds*,[2] and the final chorus of the *Ecclesiazusae*,[3] a play which has no *Parabasis*. In the *Knights* [4] the *Epirrheme* contains personal abuse; the *Antepirrheme* a curious dialogue between the Athenian warships, attacking the politicians who would send them on an aggressive expedition. The corresponding passage in the *Wasps* [5] again consists of satire on individuals. The Birds [6] demand the instant execution of the poulterer, and promise all sorts of blessings to the judges if they award them the prize.

In the *Acharnians* and the *Peace*, the Second *Parabasis* is practically a *débat*. The *Peace*, in *Epirrheme* and *Antepirrheme*, contrasts the comforts and delights of farm life with the miseries of the campaigning season, when one is ordered about by a swaggering colonel, hated of the Gods. So again, in the *Acharnians*,[7] the Chorus praise Dikaiopolis for restoring a sort of golden age when war shall be no more, and declare that they are not too old for the enjoyment of peace. They reject *Polemos*, and hail 'Reconcilement' (*Diallage*).

Finally there is the Second *Parabasis* of the *Lysistrata*, where the two halves of the Chorus, hitherto at bitter feud, come to a reconciliation. In the *Ode* and *Antode*,[8] which follow the spoken part, the Men declare that they will *not* abuse any one, and offer

[1] 1115 ff. [2] 1101 ff.

[3] 1154 ff. There are also appeals for victory in the *pnigos* of the Anapaests in Parabasis I. of the *Knights* (544), and in the same part of Parabasis I. of the *Peace* (760 ff.). All these passages, with their promises of reward if the play succeeds, and threats of punishment if it fails, recall the popular songs (above mentioned, p. 39) usual in seasonal processions.

[4] 1264 ff. [5] 1265 ff. [6] 1072 ff. [7] 971 ff.

[8] 1040:

ἀλλὰ νυνὶ σπένδομαί σοι καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν οὐκέτι
οὔτε δράσω φλαῦρον οὐδὲν οὐθ' ὑφ' ὑμῶν πείσομαι.
ἀλλὰ κοινῇ συσταλέντες τοῦ μέλους ἀρξώμεθα.

to lend any one money, not to be repaid if peace is concluded. The Women ironically offer food and hospitality of other kinds.[1]

It seems possible that, as our argument about the *Parabasis* suggests, this reconciliation is the original motive of the Second *Parabasis*, providing a bridge between the original combat in the *Parabasis* and the united procession of the *Exodos*.[2] In the other cases, the Second *Parabasis* appears to be a mere reduplication of the first. When that was modified in the way we supposed, the second would no longer be needed for its original purpose.

64. *Epirrhematic and 'Episodic' composition*

It only remains to point out that our theory provides a satisfactory explanation of the fact that epirrhematic composition prevails normally in the first part of the play, and is generally dropped in the second, except where the *Agon* is postponed to the end. Zielinski's view that two distinct types of composition, with different origins, are simply juxtaposed is by no means acceptable. It is very difficult to believe that any form of drama could arise by such a process, and the supposition is excluded in this case by the unity of plot. We merely require to see that the early part of the play, the kernel consisting of *Agon* and *Parabasis*, is epirrhematic because the Chorus was divided into opposed parties until these two contests were over. They were then reconciled and could act as a united whole, like the Chorus in Tragedy. Hence, the later *chorika* are generally sung in unison. But the composition is not 'episodic.' The *chorika* are, as a rule, inserted, not to divide scene from scene, but merely at any point where some interval, covering an action behind the scenes, has somehow to be filled. Between the *chorika* there may be many scenes following one another without a break. The analogy with the tragic 'episode,' originally always marked by the entrance of a new character, is misleading. It may be noted, as an important point of difference between Comedy and Tragedy, that Tragedy has no trace of the choral *Agon*. The comedies end with the procession of the united Chorus in the victor's *Kômos*. Epirrhematic structure has disappeared, and the type of composition illustrated by the Phallic Song becomes appropriate to the *Exodos*.

[1] Further on (1188 ff.) the same strain is continued in an *Ode* and *Antode*.

[2] Cf. the *Argument* of the *Lysistrata* quoted above, p. 126, note 2.

CHAPTER VII

THE IMPOSTOR

65. *The unwelcome Intruders*

THERE is one more constant motive in Aristophanes' comedies, still to be accounted for—the unwelcome intruders who so often thrust themselves upon the hero in the second part of the play. These impertinents arrive when the victory of the *Agon* is already won. The scene of sacrifice, cooking, or feasting has no sooner begun than an oracle-monger, a poet, an informer, presents himself to interrupt the proceedings or to claim a part in the good things. Often there is a whole string of them. As they drop from the blue and have done nothing to earn a share, their generic character is that of Impostor (*ἀλαζών*)—an epithet several times flung at them by the exasperated hero. Their common fate is a well-deserved rebuff. When they have made an exhibition of themselves, they are driven off with abuse, frequently seconded by blows. The Impostors are always pitted against the hero, who draws out their absurdities with mocking irony.

We will begin, as usual, by passing in review the scenes in which these characters appear. We shall consider only those which fall between *Parabasis* and *Exodos*. There are a few other scenes in the comedies framed on the same pattern;[1] but the great majority fall in the second half of the play.

[1] *Acharnians* (Prologue), 64 ff. Dikaiopolis plays buffoon to the Envoys (*τῶν ἀλαζονευμάτων*, 87; *σὺ μὲν ἀλαζὼν εἶ μέγας*, 109); the scenes with Euripides (interpolated where the *Agon* should begin, 393 ff.) and Lamachus (substituted for the *Antepirrheme* of the *Agon*, 572 ff.); Euripides' Kinsman and Agathon, *Thesmoph.* (Prologue), 95 ff., similar to Dikaiopolis and Euripides in the *Acharnians*. These scenes are plainly mere episodes interpolated in the normal structure, not fixed incidents. The scenes between Strepsiades and Socrates in the *Clouds* will be discussed in the next chapter. In all these scenes, except the first in the *Acharnians*, the persons derided are characters with historic names, not, like the bulk of the Impostors, typical representatives of a profession—'a poet,' 'a priest,' etc.

66. *The Impostors in the Plays*

After the *Parabasis* in the ACHARNIANS, when Dikaiopolis is holding his private market, the action falls into two parallel scenes, in which the Megarian brings his daughters for sale as pigs, the Boeotian his eels and feathered game. In the first scene an Informer comes to denounce this contraband trading. He is soon expelled by the 'market officials' prudently provided by Dikaiopolis, with a view to such intrusions, in the shape of stout leathern thongs. In the second scene another fellow of the same trade, this time a real person, Nicarchus, comes poking round, just as Dikaiopolis has suggested that the Boeotian should take in payment for his wares some article of export characteristically Athenian. An Informer will do even better than the famous pottery of Attica or the sardines of Phalerum. Nicarchus is tied up and packed in straw, as if he were a jar, and the miserable bundle is tossed from hand to hand before it is carried off by the purchaser. Then, Lamachus' servant offers money from his master for a share of Dikaiopolis' game and eels. He is refused, and the hero carries off his merchandise into the house. The Second *Parabasis* follows.

As soon as it is over, the Herald proclaims the *Choes*, and Dikaiopolis comes bustling out to begin his cooking on the stage. Immediately a poor Farmer, who has lost in the war the yoke of oxen that were his sole support, begs in vain for a drop of the libation-wine that symbolises the peace concluded by Dikaiopolis for himself alone. The Groomsman from a marriage just celebrated is better received, because he brings an offering of some meat from the wedding-feast; but his request would be refused, were it not for a message from the bride, delivered in a whisper by the Bridesmaid who accompanies him.

In the CLOUDS the two money-lenders, Pasias and Amynias, interrupt the feast at which Strepsiades celebrates with his son their short-lived alliance for the discomfiture of all creditors. Though these two claimants have every right to be paid,[1] they are treated as 'impostors,' and confounded by means of the sophisms learnt

[1] Strepsiades' debts to them are mentioned in the Prologue, 21 and 31. This is the only case where the appearance of 'Impostors' is prepared for by earlier mention in the play, unless we count *Peace*, 447.

from Socrates, backed up in the second instance by the application of a horse-goad, borrowed by the old man from his sporting son.

In the WASPS the progress of Philocleon in his *Kômos* from the dinner-party to the renewed potations at home is interrupted by two claimants for justice. A Bakerwoman complains that the drunken old man has 'ruined her' by striking her with his torch and spilling her loaves.[1] Philocleon is seeking to distract her mind with a fable from Aesop and other anecdotes none too coherent, when another person, attended by a summoner, appears to tell him of his action of battery. The stream of anecdote is diverted upon this newcomer; but, as matters begin to look serious, Bdelycleon takes the law into his own hands and carries off the aged reprobate bodily into the house, the door banging upon the middle of the story of what happened to Aesop when he went to Delphi.

In the PEACE Trygaeus is cooking after the sacrifice, when a laurel-crowned personage is seen approaching. 'What an impostor he looks!' says the slave, taking him for a diviner.[2] It turns out to be Hierocles, the oracle-monger, who claims to share in the meal cooked under his nose. A last and desperate attempt to snatch some of the meat, while his servant simultaneously tries to steal a cushion, leads to both being driven off under a shower of blows.

The next incident is the marriage-feast. This is interrupted by two contrasted pairs of craftsmen. The pruninghook-maker and the cooper, grateful for the restoration of peace, bring wedding gifts and are sent to join the feast inside. The maker of helmet-crests laments that he and his friend, the spear-maker, are ruined; but this pair and a number of other weapon-manufacturers[3] are derided and dismissed with contumely.

[1] This incident appears to have been used again in the comedy entitled *Old Age*, which seems to have turned principally on the motive of the Old Men renewing their youth and behaving outrageously, like Philocleon: *Gêras*, frag. 178, Dind. Athen. iii. 109 F, *κριβανίτην· τούτου μνημονεύει* A. *ἐν Γήρᾳ· ποιεῖ δὲ λέγουσαν ἀρτόπωλιν διηρπασμένων αὐτῆς τῶν ἄρτων ὑπὸ τῶν τὸ γῆρας ἀποβαλόντων·*

—τουτὶ τί ἦν τὸ πρᾶγμα;—θερμούς, ὦ τέκνον.

—ἀλλ' ἢ παραφρονεῖς;—κριβανίτας, ὦ τέκνον.

[2] 1045: *ὡς ἀλαζὼν φαίνεται.* Trygaeus addresses him, *ὦ ἀλαζών* (1069), and says, *τέν θῃς εἶ σὺ καὶ ἀλαζὼν ἀνήρ. | παῖ' αὐτὸν ἐπέχων τῷ ξύλῳ, τὸν ἀλαζόνα* (1120).

[3] How many weapon-makers appear in this scene is disputed; but the point is of no importance to us.

The BIRDS has the longest list of Impostors. The Sacrifice, immediately after the *Parabasis*, attracts a priest, who is no sooner got rid of than a poet comes with an ode prepared 'long since' for the city that has only just been founded. Being a poet, he is less harshly treated than usual; and, being a frigid poet, he receives a shirt and jerkin, borrowed from a slave. The next comer, the inevitable oracle-monger, is discomfited by an oracle, extemporised by Pisthetairos, which declares in Pythian hexameters that, if an 'impostor' comes unbidden, he is to be beaten.[1] This divine command is religiously carried out. The mathematician Meton next appears, armed with an enormous pair of compasses and the scheme of rational town-planning, based on a central market-place with radiating avenues, which is now adopted by the designers of garden cities. But he is before his time, and yields to a forcible request to measure himself into the middle of next week.[2] An Inspector, who announces himself as duly appointed by lot to an office in Cloudcuckootown, is beaten; and so is a Hawker of Acts of Parliament, who enters reading aloud extracts from a brand-new constitution for the city. This last pair of intruders are too much for Pisthetairos' patience. He goes inside to finish his sacrifice in peace.

But the plague breaks out again later. A young man attracted by the morality of bird-life, which, as he understands, allows the young to peck and strangle their parents, applies for citizenship. Pisthetairos points to a statute which enjoins that the young storks shall nourish their father, and the young man is about to retire disappointed, when Pisthetairos offers to arm him with the crest and spurs of a cock, and sends him off to fight in the Thracian war. Kinesias, the dithyrambic poet, next applies for nightingale's wings on which to soar in pursuit of inspiration. An Informer seeks wings to carry him on his less creditable mission among the islands of the Athenian empire. Pisthetairos lends wings to his flight in another sort.

In the later plays the traces of this Impostor motive are faint,

[1] 983: *αὐτὰρ ἐπὴν ἄκλητος ἰὼν ἄνθρωπος ἀλαζών*, κτλ.

[2] Meton comes under the head of 'all these *impostors*': *σποδεῖν ἅπαντας τοὺς ἀλαζόνας δοκεῖ*, 1016. The Inspector is announced as a *Σαρδανάπαλλος* (1021), presumably as swaggeringly dressed.

as the plot now proceeds on more complicated lines. The PLUTUS has an Impostor of the old type—the Informer who laments that his occupation is gone, now that wealth goes to just men only. He is evidently 'dying of an ox-hunger,'[1] and he scents the meat roasting for the feast inside. He is stripped of his coat and shoes, made to put on the old cloak which the Just Man has brought as a votive offering to the God of his new fortunes, while the same person's old shoes are clapt to his forehead, like the votive offerings hung on olive-trees by persons saved from shipwreck. Thus decorated, he is told to run to the baths and get what warmth he can there, as the Just Man formerly had been driven to do. This reversal of the positions of the two men recalls the end of the *Knights*, where the Paphlagonian, degraded to his rival's former trade, is similarly bidden to go and drink the waste water of the baths.[2] Finally, at the end of the *Plutus*, the two starving applicants, Hermes and the Priest of Zeus, are allowed to gain a footing in the new divine establishment. The Just Man and the amorous Old Woman are treated by Karion and Chremylus with the ironical derision regularly accorded to Impostors; and they may be added to the list.

From this review it is clear that the Impostor's standing rôle is to disturb the scenes of sacrifice, cooking, or feasting, between *Parabasis* and *Exodos*. This motive is so constant in the earlier plays that we have as good reason to look for a ritual origin as in the case of any other fixed feature of the plot.

Before turning to this problem, we must consider the rôle of the hero in these scenes. In all the earlier plays it is he who is assailed by the Impostors, and, with few exceptions, he deals with them in a uniform manner, with a mixture of 'Irony' and 'Buffoonery' which must now be analysed.

67. *The* Eiron *and the* Alazon

Aristotle seems to have classified the characters in Comedy under three heads: the Buffoon (*bomolochos*), the Ironical type (*eiron*),

[1] 873: δῆλον ὅτι βουλιμιᾷ. See above, p. 54, note 2.
[2] 1401. See below, p. 151.

and the Impostor (*alazon*).[1] The Impostor we already know; we shall return to him presently. The Buffoon and the *eiron* are more closely allied in Aristotle's view than a modern reader might expect. They stand together in opposition to the Impostor in all his forms. It will be remembered that in the *Ethics*[2] the Ironical man and the Impostor or swaggerer confront one another in the two vicious extremes which flank the virtuous mean of Truthfulness. While the Impostor claims to possess higher qualities than he has, the Ironical man is given to making himself out worse than he is. This is a generalised description, meant to cover all types of self-depreciation, many forms of which are not comic. In Comedy the special kind of Irony practised by the Impostor's opponent is feigned stupidity. The word *eiron* itself in the fifth century appears to mean 'cunning' or (more exactly) 'sly.'[3] Especially it meant the man who masks his batteries of deceit behind a show of ordinary good nature;[4] or indulges a secret pride and conceit of wisdom, while he affects ignorance and self-depreciation, but lets you see all the while that he could enlighten you if he chose, and so makes a mock of you.[5] It was for putting on these airs that Socrates was

[1] The evidence is the *Tractatus Coislinianus*, 6 (Kaibel, *C. G. F.* i. 52; see above, p. 35, note 1): *ἤθη κωμῳδίας τά τε βωμολόχα καὶ τὰ εἰρωνικὰ καὶ τὰ τῶν ἀλαζόνων.* Cf. Ar. *Eth. Nic.* 1108*a* 21, *ἡ δὲ προσποίησις ἡ μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ μεῖζον ἀλαζονεία καὶ ὁ ἔχων αὐτὴν ἀλαζών, ἡ δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ ἔλαττον εἰρωνεία καὶ εἴρων. περὶ δὲ τὸ ἡδὺ τὸ μὲν ἐν παιδιᾷ ὁ μὲν μέσος εὐτράπελος καὶ ἡ διάθεσις εὐτραπελία, ἡ δὲ ὑπερβολὴ βωμολοχία καὶ ὁ ἔχων βωμολόχος, ὁ δὲ ἐλλείπων ἀγροῖκός τις κτλ.* See also *Rhetoric*, iii. 18, quoted below, p. 138, note 3.

[2] *Nic. Eth.* 1127*a* 21, *δοκεῖ δὴ ὁ μὲν ἀλαζὼν προσποιητικὸς τῶν ἐνδόξων εἶναι καὶ μὴ ὑπαρχόντων καὶ μειζόνων ἢ ὑπάρχει, ὁ δὲ εἴρων ἀνάπαλιν ἀρνεῖσθαι τὰ ὑπάρχοντα ἢ ἐλάττω ποιεῖν, ὁ δὲ μέσος αὐθέκαστός τις ὢν ἀληθευτικός, κτλ.*

[3] See on this question O. Ribbeck, *Ueber den Begriff des εἴρων*, Rhein. Mus. xxxi. (1876), 381 ff. The word occurs first in Comedy. *Clouds*, 449, *μάσθλης εἴρων γλοιὸς ἀλαζών* in a list of words expressing every sort of rhetorical cunning and trickery; *Wasps*, 174, *οἷαν πρόφασιν καθῆκεν, ὡς εἰρωνικῶς*, 'cunningly,' 'slily'; Philemon, 89, 6, *οὐκ ἔστ' ἀλώπηξ ἡ μὲν εἴρων τῇ φύσει ἡ δ' αὐθέκαστος.* Hesych., *εἰρωνεία· ἀπάτη χλεύη.* Photius, *κατειρωνεύεται· δολιεύεται.* Ribbeck, *Alazon*, 5, conjectures that Kratinus first introduced the term *ἀλαζών* to the stage, citing Bekk. *Anec. Gr.*, 374, 19, *ἀλαζών· ὑπερήφανος, ψευστὴς καὶ κομπαστής. οὕτω Κρατῖνος* (fr. 380 K.). *Ἀλαζονία* occurs in Aristoxenus of Selinus (Hephaest. 49, 6), but Kaibel condemns the verse as spurious (*C. G. F.*, i. 87).

[4] Plato, *Laws*, 908 D: *δοξάζων μὲν καθάπερ ἄτερος, εὐφυὴς δὲ ἐπικαλούμενος, δόλου καὶ ἐνέδρας πλήρης.*

[5] Plato, *Krat.*, 384 A: *ἐμοῦ ἐρωτῶντος καὶ προθυμουμένου εἰδέναι ὅτι ποτὲ λέγει, οὔτε ἀποσαφεῖ οὐδὲν εἰρωνευεταί τε πρός με, προσποιούμενός τι αὐτὸς ἐν ἑαυτῷ διανοεῖσθαι ὡς εἰδὼς περὶ αὐτοῦ.* Hence *χλεύη* is given as a gloss on *εἰρωνεία* by Hesych. and Suidas.

accused of 'irony' by his enemies.[1] The *eiron* who victimises the Impostors masks his cleverness under a show of clownish dulness. He is a fox in the sheep's clothing of a buffoon. His attitude is precisely expressed by Demos in a passage of cynical, and even sinister, self-revelation to the Knights, at a moment when the stage is clear of the two impostors who are competing for his favour. In the previous scene Demos has feigned simplicity almost to the point of idiocy, and when the two rogues are gone, the Chorus reproach him for being so easily deceived by flattery; his wits must be wool-gathering. Demos replies that his wits are safer than those sheltered by the young Knights' curled locks. He is letting the rascals feed fat before he gobbles them up. '*I play the simpleton like this on purpose.*'[2] Thus, in the concrete character-type as it exists in the Old Comedy, 'buffoonery' (*βωμολοχία*) is only the outer wear of 'irony'; and the Ironical Buffoon is in exact antithesis to the Impostor, who covers inward cowardice and folly under a vain pretence of bravery and wisdom. Hence, we find Aristotle, when he is thinking of Comedy, speaking as if there were only a minor shade of difference between Irony and Buffoonery. In the *Rhetoric*[3] he says that the one is more consistent with the character and position of a gentleman than the other, since the ironical jester makes fun for his own private satisfaction, whereas the buffoon does it to amuse others.[4] In the Old Comedy, the Impostor's opponent, though it must be owned that he is not, in most senses of the word, a very gentlemanly person, comes rather under the head of the *eiron*. All the fun he makes is for his own amusement. But it is often fun of the scurrilous sort that, in a dependent character, would be called 'buffoonery.' So he combines both types, and we have, over against the Impostor, one character only—the Ironical Buffoon.

[1] Thrasymachus in Plato, *Rep.*, 337 A; and (playfully) Alcibiades, *Symp.* 216 D, *εἰρωνευόμενος δὲ καὶ παίζων πάντα τὸν βίον πρὸς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους διατελεῖ.*

[2] 1123: *ἐγὼ δ' ἑκὼν ταῦτ' ἠλιθιάζω.*

[3] iii. 18, 1419 *b* 8: *ἔστι δὲ ἡ εἰρωνεία βωμολοχίας ἐλευθεριώτερον· ὁ μὲν γὰρ αὐτοῦ ἕνεκα ποιεῖ τὸ γελοῖον, ὁ δὲ βωμολόχος ἑτέρου.*

[4] Buffoonery here, no doubt, means specially the scurrilities of the parasites, those unhappy creatures who earned a place at the tables of the rich by allowing themselves to be a butt for every sort of joke and indignity. For the connection of *βωμολοχία* with the *κόλαξ* or *παράσιτος* see Ribbeck, *Kolax*, 15. Mr. Cook points out to me that Battus and Korydon in Theocritus' pastoral mime (*Idyl* iv.) are respectively good examples of the *eiron* and the *agroikos*. The scene belongs to the Mime tradition.

68. *The Minor Buffoon*

If the hero, as a person of independent position, is more *eiron* than Buffoon, or at least both at once, buffoonery pure and simple is the rôle of a subordinate character, in some way attached to the hero as friend or attendant. A word must be said here about this minor figure.[1]

In the *Knights* he is a slave, Demosthenes, who resigns the rôle to his master, Demos, as soon as the latter appears. Xanthias has a similar function in the *Wasps*. Euelpides, in the *Birds*, is a friend of the hero, and acts buffoon in the first part of the play, where Pisthetairos has a serious cause to plead. He is then dismissed, and Pisthetairos deals with the Impostors in the second part. Lysistrata again is a serious character, and remains so throughout the play. Her supporter, Kalonike, plays the clown. In the *Frogs* we again find a slave, Xanthias, who disappears and gives way to his master, Dionysus, in the second part. Praxagora in the *Ecclesiazusae* holds the same position as Lysistrata—the serious leader of an enterprise, with supporters who play the fool in the Assembly scene. But the principal buffoon is her husband, Blepyrus, throughout the play. In the second part the Neighbour is subtly ironical in his scene with the Miser. The *Plutus* again has Karion, who is on the way to become the cunning slave who controls the plot of later Comedy. In the remaining plays, the hero himself acts the Buffoon whenever occasion arises, slipping on the mask as soon as any sort of Impostor presents himself to invite derision. Dikaiopolis, Strepsiades, Philocleon,[2] Trygaeus, Euripides' Kinsman in the *Thesmophoriazusae*—all these old men are ready to assume the rôle of affected simplicity, to tell scurrilous anecdotes, to interject obscene comments and humorous asides.

In view of these facts, I incline to think that the subordinate buffoon who attends the more serious heroes has, so to say, no independent existence. He is a mere delegate on whom this side of the hero's rôle is devolved in situations where the hero himself has to keep up a less farcical character. Hence his services are

[1] W. Süss (*De personarum*, etc., pt. iv., and *Zur Kompos. d. altattischen Komödie*, Rh. Mus. 1908) has studied this figure in an interesting way; but his general conclusions differ radically from those maintained in this book.

[2] The *Wasps* has also the slave-buffoon Xanthias, but his buffoonery is confined to the prologue.

generally needed only till the *Agon* is over, and the hero, released from the arduous part of his action, can play the fool to his own and every one's content. This deputy clown is marked off as a distinct type only in that he is always in a subordinate position, never master of the situation as the *Eiron* is. Hence he is the Buffoon, pure and simple, as defined by Aristotle—the ungentlemanly person who makes fun for the amusement of others. We may dismiss him here, and confine ourselves to the two principals: the hero as Ironical Buffoon, and his antithesis, the Impostor.

69. *Who is the Impostor?*

In studying the Impostors and their constant rôle, we must keep steadily in view two essential points.

The first is their common characteristic. They are in general impudent and absurd pretenders, and that in two ways. In the first place, they put up a claim to share in advantages and delights which they have done nothing to deserve. In the writings of the philosophers '*Alazon*' is almost synonymous with 'liar.' The two words are constantly coupled in Plato;[1] and in Aristotle the vice of imposture or swaggering occupies one extreme in opposition to the mean of 'truthfulness.' Secondly, the Impostors are distinguished among themselves in a bewildering variety of professional types, as priest, oracle-monger, petty official, informer, and so on without limit. Under one or another of these characters, each boasts of his special merits, so that we have a whole gallery of quacks and humbugs standing for various professional classes in society. It is this secondary peculiarity that has attracted the attention of students, to the neglect of another, which, in the light of our whole argument, will be seen to be at least of equal importance.

This other essential of the Impostor is that, in all the scenes we lately reviewed, he stands in a fixed relation to the regular course of the action. He is essentially the unwelcome intruder who interrupts sacrifice, cooking, or feast, and claims an undeserved share in the fruits of victory. When we put aside the superficial

[1] Cf. Ribbeck, *Alazon*, who cites (p. 4) *Rep.* 490 A, 560 E, ψευδεῖς δὴ καὶ ἀλαζόνες; *Lysis*, 218 D, φοβοῦμαι μὴ ὥσπερ ἀνθρώποις ἀλαζόσι λόγοις τισὶ τοιούτοις ἐντετυχήκαμεν; *Gorg.* 525 A, ὑπὸ ψευδοῦς καὶ ἀλαζονείας; *Hipp. Min.* 369, ἀλαζών as synonym of πολύτροπος and ψευδής. Bekk., *Anec. Gr.* p. 374, 20, Πλάτων δὲ ἀλαζόσιν ἀντὶ τοῦ ψευσταῖς.

variety of his outward guise, this is the single part he takes in the underlying action; and the constancy of its recurrence suggests that it is integral to the original scheme. No explanation of him can be satisfactory which does not account for both these characteristics.

It is because the current view explains only the variety, not the constant rôle of the Impostor, that it seems insufficient. It is based partly upon an analogy with modern puppet-plays, which we shall presently see to be misleading, partly on certain statements of ancient grammarians, which have been thought to refer to these scenes as 'episodic,' and so not integral to the action of the play. These two grounds must first be examined, before we go on to our own explanation.

70. *The Impostor scenes as 'Episodes'*

It has been rightly pointed out that, in the usage of ancient scholarship, the term 'episode,' as applied to a scene in Comedy, had a different sense from its more familiar use to denote the 'acts' in a Tragedy. We find 'episode' defined as 'properly a scene inserted in a comedy outside the argument of the play for the sake of causing laughter.'[1] On the strength of this definition, and of a somewhat obscure statement in which Tzetzes[2] speaks of the earliest Attic comedians as bringing on their characters 'with no sort of order' (*ἀτάκτως*), Poppelreuter[3] treated the later scenes of an Aristophanic comedy as mere interludes, farcical scenes interspersed between the sections of an old choral dance-poem, the *Parabasis*, Second *Parabasis*, *Stasima*, and *Exodos*.

This view was, no doubt, also partly suggested by the traditional account of the growth of Tragedy from a choral lyric. Until very lately historians of literature were content to describe this development in some such terms as these: 'Gradually the custom arose' (a phrase consecrated to the concealment of ignorance) 'of a single

[1] See Poppelreuter, who cites *Et. Mag.*, p. 356, *ἐπεισόδιον κυρίως μὲν τὸ ἐν κωμῳδίᾳ ἐπιφερόμενον τῷ δράματι γέλωτος χάριν ἔξω τῆς ὑποθέσεως*, and a similar gloss in Suidas, *s.v.* He does not notice that Aristotle's use of the word *ἐπεισοδιώδης* comes near to implying this sense.

[2] Kaibel, *C. G. F.*, i. p. 18: *καὶ γὰρ οἱ ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ πρῶτον συστησάμενοι τὸ ἐπιτήδευμα τῆς κωμῳδίας—ἦσαν δὲ οἱ περὶ Σουσαρίωνα—τὰ πρόσωπα ἀτάκτως εἰσῆγον καὶ γέλως ἦν μόνος τὸ κατασκευαζόμενον.* On this see below, p. 216.

[3] *De Com. Att. Prim.*, p. 41.

member of the Chorus delivering a speech in the intervals of the song and dance, to give the performers a rest. Aeschylus added a second actor, thus making dialogue possible,' . . . and so on. We have but just come to see that this is not a conceivable process by which the great tragic drama we know, with its rigid conventional forms, could possibly have come to exist. One object of this book is to show that just the same impossibilities confront the corresponding theory for Comedy. The *Alazon* scenes are not disconnected burlesque episodes. The Impostors, as we have insisted, stand in one definite relation to the main action. So far as action goes, each is the merest reduplication of the one before. Why should burlesque episodes be framed on this monotonous pattern? What makes these scenes 'episodic,' in the only sense in which they really are so, is just this reduplication. The course of the action is interrupted again and again in a series of indefinite length, which might be cut down to one scene, or cut out altogether, without injuring what the grammarians call 'the argument of the play.' The effect is repeated for the best possible reason: because it is funny—'for the sake of causing laughter.' The scenes are 'episodes' in the sense of excrescences; but, if we call them so, we must not be misled into speaking as if the latter half of an Aristophanic play had no plot—no main action on which these excrescences can grow.

71. *The Analogy with the* Kasperlespiel

The second foundation of the current theory is an analogy which may turn out not to bear examination.

Dr. J. Poppelreuter, taking a walk one day '*in vico Brandoburgensi*,' paused to watch a puppet-show known and beloved in Germany under the name of *Kasperlespiel*. The drama opened with a short prologue, in which Kasperle himself explained who he was, his circumstances, the scene of action, and how the one thing he wanted was rest and quiet. But no sooner is his wish expressed than his repose is disturbed by a string of troublesome visitors, a tax-collector, a Polish Jew hawker, and other popular types, who give him not a moment's peace. He amuses himself awhile at the expense of each in turn, with side references, much appreciated by the street audience, to local affairs, and then drives each from his

presence with derision and a shower of blows. As Dr. Poppelreuter looked on, the vision of the Impostor scenes in Aristophanes sprang into his mind, and this conjunction gave birth to the hypothesis that these scenes must be relics of popular dramas of the same type in Greece—an hypothesis which he proceeded to develop with much learning and ingenuity in his well-known tract, *De Comoediae Atticae primordiis particulae duae*, published at Berlin in 1893.

H. Reich, who adopts Poppelreuter's view, gives a similar description of Kasperle's performances, seen by him as a child at Magdeburg.[1] Kasperle had no sooner appeared and given a short account of himself, than a series of popular types presented themselves, and 'one short scene followed another, without any story running through to connect them.'[2] A soldier, a Jew, a policeman successively came, then Kasperle's shrewish wife, and finally the Devil and Death. Each and all were driven off by Kasperle's tongue, reinforced by his truncheon. But, last of all, came the wicked Mother-in-law, who proved too much for the hero and put him to flight.

The Mother-in-law may certainly be cut out as a modern addition. The drama then culminates in the triumph of Kasperle over the Devil and Death. About this climax there can be no mistake; it shows that Kasperle is simply the double of a hero whom English scholars no less tenderly remember, Punch. The presence of the shrewish wife confirms the identification. Now, however disconnected the scenes of the German puppet-play may have seemed to the eyes of Poppelreuter and Reich, the English drama of Punch and Judy has unmistakable traces of a regular plot, though the traditional incidents have certainly suffered a good deal of dislocation, and all manner of new episodes have been, and no doubt still are, interpolated by individual puppet-players. That being so, this drama, in spite of certain resemblances to the Impostor scenes, does not furnish a type consisting solely of 'disconnected burlesque episodes.' As the plot, moreover, is very curious, and the type of drama is, in other ways, instructive, we shall describe it in detail.

[1] *Der Mimus*, i. 689. See also W. Süss, *De Personarum*, etc., p. 64.

[2] '*Eine kurze Scene reiht sich an die andere, ohne dass sie durch eine zu Grunde liegende Fabel mit einander verknüpft wären.*'

72. *Punch and Judy*

Punch came to England at least as early as the seventeenth century.[1] His greatest days were in the reign of Queen Anne, when he enjoyed such popularity that his attractions thinned the congregations of St. Paul's Church in Covent Garden, and even threatened the receipts of the neighbouring Opera-house.[2] Later in the eighteenth century we hear of more serious developments of this puppet-show. It took to representing regular comedies. The master of the puppet-show encountered by Tom Jones and Mr. Partridge on their travels[3] performed 'with great regularity and decency the fine and serious part of the Provoked Husband; and it was indeed a very grave and solemn entertainment, without any low wit, or humour, or jests; or, to do it no more than justice, without anything which could provoke a laugh.' The master's speech to Jones deserves to be quoted, both for its charm and for its curious likeness to certain passages in which Aristophanes boasts of his own improvements upon the 'vulgar Comedy' of his predecessors.[4]

'He said, "The present age was not improved in anything so much as in their puppet-shows; which, by throwing out Punch and his wife Joan, and such idle trumpery, were at last brought to be a rational entertainment. I remember," said he, "when I first took to the business, there was a great deal of low stuff that did very well to make folks laugh; but was never calculated to improve the morals of young people, which certainly ought to be principally aimed at in every puppet-show: for why may not good and instructive lessons be conveyed in this way, as well as any other? My figures are as big as the life, and they represent the life in every particular; and I question not but people rise from my little drama as much improved as they do from the great."

'"I would by no means degrade the ingenuity of your profession," answered Jones, "but I should have been glad to have seen my old

[1] According to E. K. Chambers (*Mediaeval Stage*, ii. 160) the earliest English notice of Punch in England is in the overseers' books of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields for 1666 and 1667. Puppet-plays were, of course, well known in the sixteenth century, and are frequently mentioned, under the name of 'motions,' by Shakespeare, Ben Jonson, and other Elizabethans.

[2] *Spectator*, No. 14; *Tatler*, No. 115.

[3] Fielding, *The History of Tom Jones*, Bk. xii. chap. v.

[4] See below, p. 177.

acquaintance master Punch for all that; and so far from improving, I think, by leaving out him and his merry wife Joan, you have spoiled your puppet-show."'

These life-size marionettes do not seem to have had a long career. Punch and his merry but shrewish wife resumed their place, and have held their little stage to the present day. A text of the play was taken down by Mr. Payne Collier [1] in 1828, mostly from the performance as given by 'an old Italian wayfaring puppet-showman of the name of Piccini,' who had 'perambulated town and county for the last forty or fifty years.' Piccini's version is interpolated with songs and airs from recent operas, but the main outlines of his plot are traditional, and are guaranteed by a ballad called *Punch's Pranks*, dating from about 1790, and a sonnet of Lord Byron's.

The reader who has forgotten his Punch may be glad of a summary of the action, in order that he may judge for himself whether it really does contain traces of an old broken-down plot, or can properly be described as a series of disconnected burlesque scenes.

Act I. Punch delivers the prologue. The dog Toby appears and bites his nose. Punch complains to Toby's master, Scaramouch, whose head he knocks clean off his shoulders. He then calls Judy to bring the baby, which, when its mother has gone, he throws out of window. Upon her remonstrating with a stick, he kills her too, and goes off with Pretty Polly (a mute person, supposed to be the daughter of the gentleman who quarrels with Punch for his performances on a sheep-bell, presently to be mentioned).

Act II. Punch appears with his horse, Hector, intending to ride and see Pretty Polly. [Here, in the Ballad, follow his travels in foreign lands, where only three females are found to resist him.[2]] Hector, however, throws him, and Punch, declaring that he is a dead man, calls the Doctor. While this person is looking for his injuries, Punch kicks him in the eye and leaps up. The Doctor applies a dose of the stick, but is made to take his own physic and

[1] *Punch and Judy*, fifth edition, London, 1870, p. 62. The scenes are admirably illustrated in twenty-four coloured drawings by George Cruikshank, made from the actual performance recorded. A copy of one of them is reproduced on the title-page of this book.

[2] The three chaste females are borrowed from Spenser's Squire of Dames, *Faery Queen*, iii. 7.

killed. Punch then fetches a sheep-bell and rings it violently, while he sings and dances. A gentleman's servant comes to complain of the noise. He too is slain.

Act III. A blind beggar, who appears to be dressed as a friar, asks for alms and is beaten off.[1] The Constable comes with a warrant to arrest Punch for killing Scaramouch. Punch knocks him down, and also his officer. The executioner, Jack Ketch, wearing a tall fur cap like a busby, with the help of the other two minions of the law, succeeds in marching Punch off to prison. A curtain then rises at the back, showing the hero rubbing his nose against the bars. A gibbet and a coffin are brought. Punch tricks Jack Ketch into hanging himself, and the executioner is put in the coffin and carried out.

Finally, the Devil appears, a terrible figure with horns and long claws and a tail. He appears to be dressed entirely in a black skin and looks very like a goat. A terrific combat rages for a long time, ending in the defeat of the Devil. Punch whirls him round in the air on his stick, shouting '*Huzza! Huzza! the Devil's dead!*'

This conclusion perhaps justifies the master of the puppet-show's view that the play was 'not calculated to improve the morals of young people.' It is certainly traditional. Dr. Johnson in the last note on *Richard III.* in his edition of Shakespeare (1765) records that he has seen 'the devil very lustily belaboured by Punch.' Payne Collier[2] mentions a marionette-player who had religious scruples about making Punch kill the Devil; but his audience were so attached to the canonical ending that they hooted and mishandled him. The defeat of the Devil is in striking contrast to the regular termination of the Moralities, in which the Old Vice (in whom some have seen a forerunner of Punch) is, like Judas and Dr. Faustus, carried off by the Devil to Hell. Magnin[3] suggests that the reversal dates from the incident in Ben Jonson's *The Devil is an Ass*,[4] where Iniquity carries off Satan; but this conjecture may not be meant, and certainly ought not to be taken, seriously.

The early history of Punch's drama is, unfortunately, lost. But,

[1] This personage is the only unwelcome intruder who corresponds to the Impostor of the comedies, appearing for no reason, and making a claim which the hero treats as impudent.

[2] *Punch and Judy*, 66.

[3] *Histoire des Marionnettes*, 251.

[4] Act. v. Scene iv.

whatever be the historic origin of its plot, it cannot be denied that it has surprising likenesses to the folk-plays we reviewed earlier. There is the scene of the hero's simulated death and revival by the Doctor, and a fierce *Agon* with an adversary dressed as a black goat. These incidents, and perhaps some of the others, appear to be the *débris* of an old fixed plot, oddly resembling a type now familiar to us. At any rate, the performance was not a string of disconnected scenes, all of the same pattern.

The comparison turns out unexpectedly fruitful, and, if there is any analogy, it supports our own view of the Aristophanic play as against Poppelreuter's. In both dramas there is, or was, a fixed conventional plot running through the whole. Both have the *Agon* as a principal incident. Further, in the case of Punch, the monotonous repetition of the beating and killing of one character after another has probably spread (no doubt, from its inherent pleasantness) from the fight with the Devil to the other episodes. Here the English Mummers' Play presents an exact, and perhaps not fortuitous, parallel.[1] The original *Agon* in this instance must have been a duel between St. George and a single antagonist, be he the Turkish Knight or Captain Bluster. In the actual plays, the two adversaries have been indefinitely multiplied into a whole miscellany of heroes, and the duel into a series of corresponding length, giving rise to the same monotony of structure and incident. When these minor combatants are not named after heroes (Alexander, Hector, King Alfred, etc.) or historical characters (Bonaparte, King of Prussia, Nelson, Wolfe, etc.), they are simply called 'Knight,' 'Soldier,' 'Valiant Soldier,' 'Noble Captain,' 'Bold Prince,' 'Gracious King.' They are manifest doubles of the chief antagonist, Captain Slasher or Captain Bluster, whose names, as Mr. Chambers remarks, 'fairly express his vaunting disposition, which, however, is largely shared by the other characters in the play.' There could not be a clearer illustration of the multiplied *Alazon*.

In the puppet-show of the humbler sort, where a single performer holds a puppet in each hand, it is almost impossible to present more than two characters at once. For this simple reason, *Punch and Judy* consists of a series of duologues. But the reason does not apply to living actors; and the (at first sight) similar monotony

[1] See Chambers, *Mediaeval Stage*, i. 206 ff.

of the duelling scenes of the Mummers' Play is more probably due to the process of multiplication. The Mummers' Play, at any rate, has certainly not passed through the puppet-show stage; whereas it is by no means certain that the plot of *Punch and Judy* has not come from a folk-play with living actors. The normal flow of influence sets that way—from the living stage to the miniature scene of the marionettes. Thus we have seen the master of the show in *Tom Jones* replacing Punch's antics by the fine and serious part of the *Provoked Husband*.

Our conclusion, then, is that the Impostor scenes are not to be explained as derived from the puppet-play; and that they are no more 'disconnected' than the scenes of *Punch and Judy*, but a good deal less so, in that all the Impostors have one fixed relation to the action, one function running through all their superficial variety, and one corresponding generic character—swaggering imposture. We may henceforth telescope them into a single character—the Impostor.

73. *The Impostor a double of the Antagonist*

The Impostor in Aristophanes, as we have seen, has three essentials: (1) he interrupts the sacrifice or wedding-feast, and claims a share in the fruits of the Agonist's victory; (2) he has a vaunting, boastful, swaggering disposition; (3) he is regularly mocked, beaten, or otherwise mishandled, and driven away. We have also found reason to suggest that he may be in some way a double of the Antagonist. We naturally look for further light to Dionysiac myth and ritual, where, I believe, we shall find the figure we seek to identify.

The special type we shall turn to, will be that in which the God and his adversary are distinct, and a conflict is fought out between them. But here we must bear in mind the curious confusion by which the enemy of the God is also a double of the God himself. This arises from the very nature of rites which involve the ritual killing, dismemberment, and eating of the divine victim, in animal, and earlier still in human, form. This is done by the worshippers themselves in a frenzied enthusiasm which lifts what seems from the outside a cruel and bloody act to the plane of a mysterious rite of

communion. As civilisation gains over barbarism, the mystery grows more obscure. Why must the God suffer and die? Must it not be in commemoration of his passion at the hands of some cruel enemy, some persecutor of his worshippers and profaner of his cult? The very band of devotees who still celebrate the rites comfort themselves by turning it into a drama, a passion-play that is still a religious service. Year by year they re-enact the awful mystery; but they transfer the seeming guilt to the soldiery of the wicked tyrant, who is nothing but the God transformed to a devil, that he may lead his own worshippers against himself. Out of this strange evolution of religious experience arise the figures of Pentheus and his Thracian counterpart, Lycurgus[1]; of Melanthus, the black and treacherous opponent of the Fair God; of the wicked Titans who tear Zagreus in pieces and eat his flesh, and others of the same stamp. And, because the enemy is the God himself, his fate is the same, the very likeness ministering satisfaction to the desire of vengeance. The Antagonist so conceived has all the traits we noted as essential to the Impostor. (1) He disturbs and outrages the rites which no profane eye should see.[2] (2) He vaunts his insolent authority in boasts, whose vanity the power of the God will expose. (3) He is set at nought, beaten, blinded, slain, torn to pieces, cast out, or, like the Titans, blasted to ashes.

The case of Pentheus, represented by Euripides in the *Bacchae* with close fidelity to the tradition followed before him by Aeschylus,[3] is a sufficient illustration. In this play the disturbance of the rites by profane intruders occurs twice over. First, the herdsmen conceal themselves in a thicket to spy upon the worship of the wild women. When they show themselves, and try to lay hands on the Queen and her attendants, they are hunted by the Maenads armed with the *thyrsus*, and only just escape being torn in pieces (*σπαραγμός*), when the women turn upon their cattle instead.[4] As the women rush with flaming hair through the country, the villagers attack them with weapons; but they are repelled and wounded

[1] Lycurgus was identified as *ein Bild des Winters* in Preller-Robert, *Gr.-Myth.*[2] 688, and connected with the conflict of Summer and Winter.

[2] This trait belongs also to Lycurgus' brother, Boutes, who carried off the Nurses of Dionysus on Mount Drios, while they were celebrating the God's orgies. Smitten with madness he flung himself into a well (Diod. v. 50).

[3] Cf. for this point G. Murray, *Euripides and his Age* (London, 1913), p. 181 ff.

[4] *Bacch.* 734: ἡμεῖς μὲν οὖν φεύγοντες ἐξηλύξαμεν | Βακχῶν σπαραγμόν.

with the *thyrsi*.[1] Pentheus, on hearing it, calls out his army; but he is beguiled into going alone and in womanly disguise. 'Eager to see what ought not to be seen,'[2] the 'crafty spy' suffers the fate which his herdsmen had escaped. In another version, preserved in the *Lenai* attributed to Theocritus, the three *thiasoi* of women are worshipping at twelve altars—three for Semele, and nine for Dionysus—when the rash intruder is discovered. Autonoe overturns with her foot the sacred objects which no profane eye might see. Pentheus is chased and torn to pieces.

Throughout the *Bacchae* Pentheus appears to the eyes of Dionysus' worshippers as the insolent and vainly boastful 'fighter against God.'[3] He is warned by Cadmus to remember the fate of Actaeon, torn to pieces for vaunting himself superior to Artemis.[4] The God beguiles him with ironical gentleness, makes a mock of him,[5] and lures him to his death. It has been pointed out that, when Pentheus is set aloft on the tree to be the mark of the wild women's missiles, he suffers a sort of crucifixion. The Thebans were bidden by the Delphic oracle to honour that tree on which Pentheus was hanged, 'as if it were a God.'[6]

[1] *Bacch.* 758.

[2] *Ibid.* 912: *σὲ τὸν πρόθυμον ὄνθ' ἃ μὴ χρεὼν ὁρᾶν.* 956: *δόλιον μαινάδων κατάσκοπον.*

[3] Prologue v. 44, *Πενθεῖ . . . | ὃς θεομαχεῖ τὰ κατ' ἐμὲ καὶ σπονδῶν ἄπο | ὠθεῖ μ', ἐν εὐχαῖς τ' οὐδαμοῦ μνείαν ἔχει.* Cf. 325 (Teiresias) *οὐ θεομαχήσω.* 374 (*Chorus*) *ἄϊεις οὐχ ὁσίαν ὕβριν ἐς τὸν Βρόμιον,* 387, *ἀχαλίνων στομάτων κτλ.* 516 (*Dion.*) *τῶνδ' ἄποιν' ὑβρισμάτων | μέτεισι Διόνυσός σε.*

[4] 336:

ὁρᾷς τὸν Ἀκτέωνος ἄθλιον μόρον,
ὃν ὠμόσιτοι σκύλακες ἃς ἐθρέψατο
διεσπάσαντο, κρείσσον' ἐν κυναγίαις
Ἀρτέμιδος εἶναι κομπάσαντ', ἐν ὀργάσιν.

[5] 616: *Dion. ταῦτα καὶ καθύβρισ' αὐτόν, ὅτι με δεσμεύειν δοκῶν*
οὐκ ἔθιγεν οὔθ' ἥψαθ' ἡμῶν, ἐλπίσιν δ' ἐβόσκετο.
854: *Dion. χρῄζω δέ νιν γέλωτα Θηβαίοις ὀφλεῖν.*

[6] Cf. Farnell, *Cults*, v. 168, who also explains the epithet *αἰγοβόλος*, 'goat-shooter,' of Dionysus at Potniai by the theory that 'the animal was hung up as a mark to be shot at, just as the figure of Pentheus served as a target for the Maenads.' We are reminded, too, of Euripides' Kinsman, tied up to a plank by the infuriated Thesmophoriazusae, whose rites he had profaned. The elaborate dance and song which accompany the search for this intruder (655 ff.) have a sort of ritual air, as if a formal search for the profane had preceded the mystical service. The language is serious, and recalls that which the Bacchae use of Pentheus. Cf. *Thesmoph.* 668: *ἦν γάρ με λάθῃ δράσας ἀνόσια | δώσει τε δίκην καὶ πρὸς τούτῳ | τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνδράσιν ἔσται | παράδειγμ' ὕβρεως ἀδίκων τ' ἔργων | ἀθέων τε τρόπων· | φήσει δ' εἶναί τε θεοὺς φανερῶς, | δείξει τ' ἤδη | πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις σεβίζειν δαίμονας, κτλ.*, with *Bacchae* 373, 537, and many other passages.

There is yet another aspect in which the Antagonist-Impostor is seen to be ultimately identical with the suffering God. In discussing the expulsion of the *Pharmakoi* at the Thargelia we called attention to the undoubted fact that these miserable victims at once represented the beneficent powers of fertility and the adverse influences of famine, death, and impurity. We have seen, too, how more than one Antagonist in the plays, notably Cleon in the *Knights* and Poverty in the *Plutus*, are treated as *Pharmakoi* and hounded off the scene with execrations. The treatment of the Informer in the *Plutus* is closely analogous. He is dressed in the symbols of poverty cast off by the Just Man, as if he were visibly to carry away upon his person the evils that Wealth has come to expel, as a personification of that 'Ox-hunger' which he is said to show signs of.[1] In the dying representative of fertility and life, who also bears upon his head, as a scapegoat, the sins and evils of his people, we have throughout had before us the same fundamental combination of ideas—induction of good and expulsion of evil—that lie at the root of Comedy with its two elements of invocation and invective, already implicit in the Phallic Songs. The reviling and expulsion of the Antagonist-Impostor is the darker counterpart of the *Kômos* which brings in the new God, victorious over him in the *Agon*.[2]

We have thus found a place for the Impostor in our supposed ritual plot. In a serious form of the old passion-play the fate of

[1] 873: δῆλον ὅτι βουλιμιᾷ. See above, p. 54, for Kern's suggestion that the reference is to an actual 'Driving out of Ox-hunger' at Athens. According to the *Encycl. Britannica*, ed. 11 *s.v.* 'Punch,' 'the older Punchinello . . . fought with allegorical figures representing Want and Weariness.' This statement bears out our view that *Punch and Judy* reflects popular *Agônes* of the type we are considering.

[2] Compare the end of the *Bacchae* where Agave, after the καλὸς ἀγών (1162), comes in the *kômos* of the 'Victor' Dionysus: ἀνακαλοῦσα Βάκχιον . . . τὸν καλλίνικον, ᾧ δάκρυα νικηφορεῖ (1145); τὸν καλλίνικον κλεινὸν ἐξεπράξατε ἐς στόνον ἐς δάκρυα (1161); δέχεσθε κῶμον εὐίου θεοῦ (1167); δέξομαι σύγκωμον (1173), and calls on the Chorus to share the feast: μέτεχε νῦν θοίνας (1184), before the horrible truth breaks on her that the victim is Pentheus, the disturber of the rites.

It is, perhaps, not accidental that the last anecdote with which Philocleon puts off his Impostors in the *Wasps* (1446) is the story of how Aesop stole a *phiale* at Delphi. Aesop was stoned for this offence, or flung from a rock (Plut. *de sera num. vind.* 557 A, and Schol. on *Wasps*, 1446). The story is an obvious double of the Pharmakos' theft of a *phiale* at Athens, cf. Farnell, *Cults*, iv. 274, 281.

the disturber of the rites might well be perpetuated as a warning to the profane to keep clear of secret mysteries and as an example to all enemies of the God. Where the drama degenerated into a popular mummery, the incident would give an inviting opening for horseplay. Passing into the inheritance of Comedy, the mask of the Impostor neatly fits all those pretenders whose conceit of cleverness or of any outstanding quality marks them out as butts for what the Greeks called *phthonos*—the jealousy of the average man for whatever, truly or falsely, sets up to be above his level.[1]

74. *The Impostor in the Dragon-slaying myths*

In the long series of stories examined by Mr. Hartland in his *Legend of Perseus*, the Impostor plays a constant rôle. When the modest young hero has slain the monster, and so earned the hand of the princess he has delivered, there regularly appears an impostor who claims to have performed the deed, and is only confuted when the hero pulls out an indisputable proof, very commonly the tongue or tongues of the slain monster, which he has kept in his wallet. The story of Alkathoos of Megara is typical.[2] Alkathoos, son of Pelops, banished from Elis for killing his brother Chrysippus, came to Megara, and there slew the Lion of Cithaeron which had terrorised the country and torn to pieces the king's son, Euippos. The king's servants sent on the hunt claimed the honour of the victory. Alkathoos, however, produced the beast's tongue, and put the impostors to confusion. Thenceforth the king, after sacrificing to the Gods, placed the tongue last on the altars.

In the story of Perseus himself,[3] the impostor is Phineus, the brother of Kepheus and uncle of Andromeda, to whom he had been betrothed. He plotted against Perseus, but he and his fellow conspirators were turned to stone by the Gorgon's head. Ovid [4] adds a long description of how Phineus broke in upon the wedding feast to claim the bride. He ensconced himself behind an altar, and a bloody battle raged between his supporters and the party of Perseus, in which two hundred were slain and two hundred more turned to stone when Perseus showed the Gorgon's head

[1] For this *παιδικὸς φθόνος*, see below, p. 209.

[2] Dieuchidas, frag 8, ap. Schol. Apoll. Rhod. i. 517; Paus. i. 41, 3; Hartland, *Legend of Perseus* (London, 1896), iii. 172.

[3] Apollod. ii. 4, 3.

[4] *Metam.*, v. 1 ff.

and ended the fray. Whether this story is based on Euripides' *Andromeda* or not is disputed, but the figure of Phineus is older than Euripides.[1]

It is a curious fact that out of 101 stories classified by Mr. Hartland,[2] in which the Impostor appears, he is in 25 instances in some way a black man—a charcoal-burner (16), a negro, or moor (7), or a chimney-sweep (2). Add to this that 'in some versions of the story the hero is murdered by the villain, but brought to life again by some beasts, his faithful friends, who apply to the corpse a certain healing herb or the water of life.'[3] When we remember the black-masked Antagonist of the northern Greek plays, who breaks in upon the wedding celebrations, molests the bride, and kills the hero, it is hard to resist the conclusion that the Impostor motive in these stories has been influenced by the folk play. In the *Märchen* of the Dragon-slaying he temporarily triumphs over the hero, whose exaggerated modesty and humble exterior often set him in contrast to the swaggering impostor, as the *eiron* is contrasted with the *alazon*. Even when the hero is not slain by the impostor, the recognition of his true character at his final triumph is analogous to the recognition (*ἀναγνώρισις*) of the tragic hero, in which we have learnt to see the epiphany of the risen God.[4] This motive passed from Tragedy to the New Comedy, and thence into the long tradition of romance, where the hero of high birth is exposed or lost in infancy, brought up in humble circumstances, persecuted by the villain, and finally restored to the exalted rank which brings him within reach of his bride.

[1] See Jessen, *s.v.* 'Phineus' in Roscher, *Lex. Myth.* col. 2355.
[2] *Ibid.* vol. iii. pp. 203 ff.
[3] Frazer on Paus. i. 41, 3.
[4] See above, p. 59.

CHAPTER VIII

THE STOCK MASKS OF THE OLD COMEDY

75. *The major Impostors*

In dealing with the Impostor we have so far considered only those minor grotesques who flit across the scene in the second part of the play; and we have conjectured that they are doubles of the Antagonist. In this chapter we have to study the *alazones* of the higher order, that is to say, those characters, other than the hero, who play a leading part in the action. These too are all of them touched with some form of pretentiousness, swagger, conceit, which makes them ridiculous and incurs the irony of the hero-buffoon. But, besides being, in this wider sense, *alazones*, they can be more closely defined under specific heads. What we shall try to bring out is that these characters—especially certain very important ones, who bear historical names—are made to wear one or another of a definite set of stock masks. They are, to the almost complete sacrifice of realistic portraiture, conformed to the traditional traits of these masks, which we shall seek to define. When we have completed the collection, we shall turn to the question how these masks came to be fixed in the convention of the Old Comedy, and what bearing their presence there has upon our main hypothesis.

The characters we shall first examine are Lamachus, Socrates, Euripides, Aeschylus, Cleon, and Cleon's adversary, the Sausage-seller Agoracritus. This is a complete list of all the characters with historic names who play a leading part in the extant comedies of Aristophanes.[1] All of them, with one exception, figure as

[1] Lamachus (*Ach.*); Socrates (*Clouds*); Euripides (*Thesm.*, *Frogs*; and, as minor impostor, *Ach.*); Aeschylus (*Frogs*); Cleon and Agoracritus (*Knights*). The hero of the *Thesmophoriazusae* appears in many editions as 'Mnesilochus,' but there is no good authority for the name. Van Leeuwen points out that no definite person is intended, only 'a Kinsman' of Euripides. The minor historical characters are the 'Impostors,' Theorus, Nicarchus (*Ach.*); Pasias, Amynias (*Knights*); Hierocles (*Peace*); Meton (*Birds*), Kinesias (*Birds*, *Lys.*), Kleisthenes, Agathon (*Thesm.*); the Slaves, Demosthenes and Nikias (*Knights*); and Socrates' pupil, Chaerephon (*Clouds*).

adversaries in the *Agon* of one or another of the plays. The exception—Socrates—proves the rule; for Socrates, as we saw, is in effect the principle of evil in the *Clouds*, that principle which, in the abstract form of the Unjust Reason, actually takes part in the first of the two *Agônes* in the play. We shall find that all these characters, not excepting Aeschylus, belong to the general class of *alazones*; and, further, that they can be classified under several subordinate heads, the stock masks we spoke of.

76. *The Miles Gloriosus: Lamachus*

In Lamachus, the Antagonist who stands for the war-party in the *Acharnians*, every one recognises a figure familiar throughout the whole history of Comedy—the Swaggering Soldier. Ivo Bruns [1] has pointed out that Lamachus, at the date of this play, was not an important member of the war-party. He was very young, and his poverty made him obscure.[2] He appears to have been picked out for the sake of his name, which might be rendered 'Valiant Soldier,' and lends itself to puns on *μάχη*. Such character as he has belongs entirely to the *miles gloriosus*,[3] the ancestor of Pyrgopolinices and of Ancient Pistol, the Capitano of Italian Comedy. In the fourth century this *alazon*[4] took on traits borrowed from the wandering condottieri who sold their swords wherever they were in request, and came back from their travels in distant countries with tremendous stories of their prowess and of their conquests of female hearts. The campaigns of Alexander must have made them only too familiar in every Greek city. But their prototype in extant literature is Lamachus, who comes blustering in to crush Dikaiopolis' plea for peace with the tragic bombast inherited by all his descen-

[1] *Das literarische Porträt*, Berl. (1896), pp. 152 ff.

[2] Plut. *Alcib.* 17 and 21; Ar. *Acharn.* 601, *νεανίας*.

[3] Bruns, *op. cit.*, p. 153: *Nichts lamachisch ist als der Name. Im Grunde liegt die groteske Fratze des Renommisten im Elend, des hungernden und stöhnenden Prahlhanses, ein Wesen so unwirklich wie sein Pendant Dikaeopolis*, etc. The Son of Lamachus is brought into the *Peace*, to be rebuked by Trygaeus for singing of war: 1293, *ἀνδρὸς βουλομάχου καὶ κλαυσιμάχου τινὸς υἱός.* | *ἄπερρε καὶ τοῖς λογχοφόροισιν ᾄδ' ἰών.* Schol. *ad v.* 1290: *Λαμάχου· τοῦ ἀεὶ βουλομένου μάχεσθαι. ἔπαιξε δὲ παρὰ τὸ τέλος τοῦ Λάμαχος ὀνόματος.* *Peace* 304: *ἡμέρα γὰρ ἐξέλαμψεν ἥδε μισολάμαχος.*

[4] Aristotle, *Eth. N.* iii. 7, 8: *δοκεῖ δὲ καὶ ἀλαζὼν εἶναι ὁ θρασὺς καὶ προσποιητικὸς ἀνδρείας· ὡς οὖν ἐκεῖνος (ὁ ἀνδρεῖος) περὶ τὰ φοβερὰ ἔχει, οὕτως βούλεται φαίνεσθαι· ἐν οἷς οὖν δύναται μιμεῖται· διὸ καὶ εἰσὶν οἱ πολλοὶ αὐτῶν θοασύδειλοι.*

dants. A terrific crest of plumes ('boastard's feathers?' queries Dikaiopolis[1]) nods over his helmet, and the emblem on his shield is the Gorgon's head, as if he posed as a second Perseus and would strike his enemies to stone. What is especially interesting to us is that, while Lamachus is properly the Antagonist in the *Acharnians*, in place of the *Antepirrheme* of the *Agon* is substituted a duologue of the regular pattern, in which Dikaiopolis plays Buffoon, and uses his 'irony' to discountenance this bragging Impostor, and beat him from the field of argument. In Lamachus, then, we have our first instance of the same person playing the part of Antagonist in the general scheme of the play, and treated in the way in which the Impostors are regularly dealt with.[2] The Antagonist, in a word, is here an Impostor of the major type; and this may be taken to support the view that the minor Impostors of the last chapter are only doubles of the Antagonist.

77. *The Learned Doctor: Socrates*

A second stock mask, at least equally important, is that of the Learned Doctor, ancestor of the *scholasticus* of later comic anecdote[3] and kinsman of the *Dottore* in Italian Comedy. Shakespeare has him as the schoolmaster Holophernes, to whom, with his friend the parson Sir Nathaniel, Goodman Dull, the constable, plays buffoon.[4] In the *Merry Wives* he is Doctor Caius, whose extraordinary lingo is supposed to be the dialect of a 'French physician.'[5] In fifth-century Athens he is the 'Sophist.' This word had a wide sense. Its very form (σοφιστής) may imply the man who makes a profession of any sort of exceptional skill or learning, including the artist, the '*artiste*,'[6] the poet, and, above all, the higher teachers of Greece, the professors of culture. These were not commonly

[1] 589: ἆρα κομπαλακύθου;

[2] At *Ach.* 959 Lamachus' servant offers money for a share of Dikaiopolis' feast, and is refused. Lamachus here figures as an Impostor of the ordinary type.

[3] See Reich, *Der Mimus*, i. 454 ff. on Philistion's *Philogelos*.

[4] *Love's Labour's Lost*, iv. 11, a good example of the Buffoon-*Alazon* scene.

[5] The physician who talks dialect is, as we shall see (p. 181), a very ancient figure in the Mime tradition.

[6] Pindar uses σοφία seriously of his own art of poetry, and σοφιστής later came to denote what we call 'artistes,' professional entertainers, etc. See Athen. xiv. 621 F, where it is a general term applicable to the Italian mimes called Phlyakes and the Phallophori, Autokabdali, etc.

distinguished from the men we now call 'philosophers'; indeed, any serious students, such as the great medical school of Cos, would come under the name.[1] There is, accordingly, nothing surprising in the fact that this mask of the learned pedant is worn in Aristophanes' plays by Socrates and also by Euripides, the two great symbolic representatives of all that Aristophanes thought dangerous in the culture of the younger generation. The same mask also fits minor impostors like Meton the mathematician,[2] the ragged poet of the *Birds*, and so on. These are professed exponents of *Sophia*.

The glaringly unhistorical picture of Socrates in the *Clouds* has excited the wonder of many generations. Not only does the poet attribute to the philosopher many opinions and forms of speculation of which the historic Socrates was notoriously innocent, but—what is equally surprising, though less often noticed—he does not avail himself of many real traits which would seem to offer most attractive material for satire and caricature.[3] The famous *daimonion*, the midwife mother and the obstetric theory of education,[4] the Silenus-like figure and countenance with its prominent eyes and snub-nose [5]—all these are left untouched. It may, perhaps,

[1] Cf. the list in the *Clouds*, 331, *πλείστους αὗται βόσκουσι σοφιστάς | θουριομάντεις* (Lampon, who founded Thurii at the bidding of an oracle), *ἰατροτέχνας* (Hippocrates and other physicians), *σφραγιδονυχαργοκομήτας* (philosophical dilettanti), *κυκλίων δὲ χορῶν ᾀσματοκάμπτας* (dithyrambic poets), *ἄνδρας μετεωροφένακας* (natural philosophers). Cf. also Meineke's note on Kratinus, *Archilochi* frag. ii., *οἷον σοφιστῶν σμῆνος ἀνεδιφήσατε* (of poets and musicians). Compare Aristotle's third class of *ἀλαζόνες* in *Eth. N.* iv. 7, 13: *οἱ κέρδους (ἕνεκα ἀλαζονευόμενοι) ὧν καὶ ἀπόλαυσίς ἐστι τοῖς πέλας καὶ ἃ διαλαθεῖν ἔστι μὴ ὄντα, οἷον μάντιν, σοφόν, ἰατρόν.*

[2] Plutarch, *vit. Alcib.* xvii., records the legend that 'Socrates the philosopher and Meton the astronomer' both augured ill of the Sicilian expedition, Socrates being warned by his familiar spirit, Meton either by reasonable forecast or some kind of divination. Meton feigned madness, and, taking a torch, made as if he would burn down his house, or, as others say, actually burned it.

[3] This is pointed out clearly by W. Süss in his excellent dissertation *De personarum antiq. com. Att. usu atque origine*, Bonn 1905, from which I have borrowed freely here.

[4] Unless we count *ἐξήμβλωκας* (137) and *τοὐξημβλωμένον* (139). Professor Taylor (*Varia Socratica*, 1911, Essay iv.) seems to me to make far too much of a few points like this. I differ altogether from his conclusion that 'the *Clouds* is a historical document of the first rank' (p. 174).

[5] Süss (*op. cit.*) disputes the use of portrait masks in the Old Comedy, arguing that the conventional grotesque masks of the Comedy of Menander could not have been invented for realistic plays of that type, but must have been traditional on the Attic stage. Anyhow, the above-mentioned features are not referred to in the text of the *Clouds*. For the general point see below, p. 169.

be inferred from various passages that Socrates was actually represented as a pale and emaciated skeleton like his disciple Chaerephon.[1]

The secret of these curious facts was found when it was shown that the Socrates and Euripides of Aristophanes have several traits in common which the two actual men certainly did not share, and that these traits belong to the stock mask of the Learned *alazon*.[2] The epithet 'Impostor' is twice in the play applied to the philosophers,[3] who, in striking contrast with the real practice of Socrates, are supposed to dispense mysterious doctrines inside their Cave of Trophonius. The mask worn by these lean and unwashed ascetics is not individually characterised: it belongs to all philosophers on the comic stage,[4] as well as to the other types we have above enumerated.

With regard to the portrayal of Socrates in the *Clouds*, there is one special consideration which ought to put us very much on our guard against errors due to mistaking this representation for a likeness. It is more than possible that the mask of the learned sophist, as we see it in this play, is influenced by some corresponding figure in the Sicilian Mime of the school of Epicharmus. Now, in Sicily and Lower Italy, the most famous exponents of secret wisdom were the Pythagoreans, a mystical and religious school not clearly distinguishable from the Orphic sectaries. The founder, Pythagoras, is said to have been the first man to call himself a philosopher, a 'lover of wisdom,' disclaiming the title of 'wise man' (*σοφός*) with what must have seemed to his enemies an 'ironical' mock modesty, flattering a secret pride.[5] The austerities of the Pythagorean life made their school the constant butt of the

[1] Ll. 1112, 1011-1018 may imply this, as Süss thinks (p. 11).

[2] The Scholiast on *Clouds*, 363, where the Chorus praise Socrates, *ὅτι βρενθύει τ' ἐν ταῖσιν ὁδοῖς*, is explicit: *ἴδιόν ἐστι τῶν ἀλαζόνων*. Cf. Schol. on *Lysistr.* 887, *βρενθύεται· ἀλαζονικῶς θρύπτεται*. See for this subject Ribbeck, *Alazon*, pp. 11 ff.

[3] 102: *Pheid.* *τοὺς ἀλαζόνας*
τοὺς ὠχριῶντας τοὺς ἀνυποδήτους λέγεις,
ὧν ὁ κακοδαίμων Σωκράτης καὶ Χαιρεφῶν.

Schol. *ad loc.*: *ἀλαζόνας· . . . εἰκότως δὲ τοὺς φιλοσόφους ἀλαζόνας καλεῖ, ἐπεὶ λέγειν ἐπαγγέλλονται περὶ ὧν οὐκ ἴσασιν. ἢ ὅτι σεμνὰ ἔχοντες ἤθη ἀλαζόνες δοκοῦσιν.*

1492: *Streps.* *κεἰ σφόδρ' εἶσ' ἀλαζόνες.*

[4] Süss, p. 28, *omnes enim philosophi scenici secundum regulam certae cuiusdam normae mutati sunt.*

[5] See F. M. Cornford, *From Religion to Philosophy* (1912), p. 186, note 3.

writers of the Middle Comedy,[1] who laughed at their pallor, their vegetarian diet, their alleged dislike of washing, and above all their priggish pietism. Theseus in Euripides' *Hippolytus* expresses the plain man's distrust of this form of *alazoneia*, as it showed itself in the Orphic.[2] If we are right in suspecting that the traits of the 'Sophist's' mask were partly made up in the Sicilian Mime,[3] it follows that the *Clouds* gives no support whatever to any theory that the real Socrates was tinged with Orphism or Pythagoreanism. The special features borrowed from these schools or sects belong to the mask itself, not to any of the historic characters who are made by Aristophanes to wear it.

Some ancient critics saw clearly enough that 'Socrates' is a mask, and not a portrait. The author of the *scholium* on *Clouds*, 96, puts the whole point in a nutshell. Commenting on the line where Strepsiades speaks of the philosophers as 'the men who say the sky is an oven'; he says: 'This was anticipated by Kratinus in his play, the *Panoptai*, who says it in satirising the philosopher Hippon.[4] Hence some conjecture that Aristophanes was not led to compose the *Clouds* to satisfy any enmity, considering that he has not merely put in no individual or appropriate trait, but has not even taken up any accusation which applies to Socrates. The two accusations he does put forward are: calling the sky an oven, and professing to be able to teach the weaker as well as the stronger argument. The former of these might be brought against any

[1] The passages are collected in Diels, *Fragmente d. Vorsokr.*[2] (1906), i. p. 291 ff.

[2] 948:

σὺ δὴ θεοῖσιν ὡς περισσὸς ὢν ἀνὴρ
ξύνει; σὺ σώφρων καὶ κακῶν ἀκήρατος;
οὐκ ἂν πιθοίμην τοῖσι σοῖς κόμποις ἐγὼ
θεοῖσι προσθεὶς ἀμαθίαν φρονεῖν κακῶς.
†ἤδη νυν αὖχει καὶ δι' ἀψύχου βορᾶς
σίτοις† καπήλευ', Ὀρφέα τ' ἄνακτ' ἔχων
βάκχευε πολλῶν γραμμάτων τιμῶν καπνούς·
ἐπεί γ' ἐλήφθης. τοὺς δὲ τοιούτους ἐγὼ
φεύγειν προφωνῶ πᾶσι. θηρεύουσι γὰρ
σεμνοῖς λόγοισιν, αἰσχρὰ μηχανώμενοι.

[3] Aristotle, *Poetics*, 5, tells us that the influence of Epicharmus and Phormis affected Attic Comedy in a very important way in the days of Krates, a generation earlier than Aristophanes. See below, p. 217.

[4] Probably, then, the Learned Pedant was already familiar to the comic stage of Kratinus. The Chorus in the *Connus* of Ameipsias, produced in the same year as the first edition of the *Clouds*, consisted of *φροντισταί*. Cf. Starkie on *Clouds*, 94, *φροντιστήριον*.

philosopher; the latter does not touch philosophy at all. The philosophers do not profess to make able speakers; that is rather the speciality of rhetoric.' This is a very enlightened piece of criticism. It may safely be said that, if the name 'Socrates' did not occur in the text of the play, so far from our being tempted to identify the philosopher of the *Clouds* with Socrates, any competent student could convincingly prove, first, that no individual sophist or philosopher was here portrayed, and second, that while Protagoras, Prodicus, Archelaus, Diogenes of Apollonia, and others have all contributed something to the mixture, the real Socrates has contributed hardly anything. If the list of *dramatis personae* in the MSS. had contained the name Socrates, some editor with universal approval would have substituted '*A Sophist.*'

This casting of the Sophist or Philosopher for the rôle of Learned Impostor helps to explain the peculiar economy of the *Clouds*. The two *Agônes* in this play (between the Just and Unjust Reason, and Strepsiades and Pheidippides) are both postponed to the second half, after the *Parabasis*. The main bulk of the earlier part is constructed on the lines of the duologue of Buffoon and Impostor. Its theme is the instruction of Strepsiades by the *Dottore*, Socrates. For nearly six hundred lines[1] these two are (apart from the Chorus) the sole interlocutors. Strepsiades plays Buffoon with all the regular accompaniments of this rôle—the affected stupidity, the broad jokes and asides, and so forth. Socrates has the pontifical airs of the pedant, and the intolerable conceit of superior wisdom, which, when disclosed, turns out to be either blasphemous or absurdly trivial. Just as in the idea of the play we have already pointed out an inversion of the New Zeus motive, so its structure too is an inversion of the regular plan, the *Agon* being kept to the end. This exceptional arrangement is dictated by the subject. The struggle between the elder and younger generation, the father and son, cannot be fought out till the pretensions of the sophist have been completely exposed; and for this exposure the Buffoon-Impostor type of scene is appropriate. In form, then, the *Agon* is not between Strepsiades and Socrates; but, as we have said before, Socrates is in spirit the Antagonist

[1] The last scene of the Prologue (221 ff.), the *Parodos*, the long scene in Anapaests (314-456), an iambic scene (478-509), and two iambic scenes after the *Parabasis*, down to 812, where Pheidippides enters.

or principle of evil. So, here again, we have a case in which the arch-Impostor and the Antagonist are identical. The destruction of his house, if not of himself, by fire, is an appropriate ending, if we think of the Antagonist-Impostor as, in a sense, a *Pharmakos*.

One of the most curious things in all literary history is the way in which Plato, writing philosophy in dialogue form under the influence of the Sicilian Mime as practised by Sophron, exactly reversed the rôle of Socrates, and spent his early life as a man of letters in setting his master before us in the opposite character of the *eiron*.[1] Socrates was to him the one man in the Greece of Aristophanes' days who really practised the Delphic precept 'Know thyself'—that precept which, in his analysis of the spectator's emotion in witnessing Comedy,[2] he says is violated by every type of impostor. Socrates alone did not profess to know what he did not know, and his devoted follower wrests the weapon from his enemies' hands and turns it against themselves. They had attacked Socrates for his 'irony,' in which their meaner spirits could only read the hidden pride that apes humility. Plato would show them what this irony really was; and as a consequence of his treating Socrates in this light, the word 'irony' lost its necessarily bad association with cunning of a low sort and came to acquire the meaning it has to-day. A dialogue such as the *Euthydemus* is simply a farcical mime, exposing the *alazoneia* of the two sophists, Euthydemus and Dionysodorus, in a spirit not far removed from Aristophanic Comedy.[3]

[1] Xenophon already has Socrates as the converter of all sorts of *alazones* to better ways (*Memorabilia*, i. 7: ἐπισκεψώμεθα δὲ εἰ καὶ ἀλαζονείας ἀποτρέπων τοὺς συνόντας ἀρετῆς ἐπιμελεῖσθαι προέτρεπεν), but his tone, as usual, is the evangelist's, not the mime-writer's, and he sees Socrates as a preacher, not as an *Eiron*.

[2] This passage is quoted at length below, p. 209.

[3] It is worth noticing that Socrates in the *Euthydemus* (277 D) represents the sophists as initiators, executing a preliminary dance of dialectic round the bewildered young Kleinias, as the Korybants dance round the novice in the ceremony called θρόνωσις. This is taken straight from the initiation scene of the *Clouds*, where Socrates puts Strepsiades through this very ceremony. Still more curious, in the same connection, is the later passage (285 A ff.) where Socrates says that if the sophists know how to 'destroy' (ἐξολλύναι) men in the sense of turning them from foolish rogues into wise and good people—and evidently they do possess this art of destruction (φθόρον τινὰ καὶ ὄλεθρον)—then, if the young men shrink from the ordeal, he himself, being old, will 'submit to Dionysodorus, as if to Medea the Colchian. Let him destroy me, and if he pleases boil me, provided he will turn me out a good man!' This motive of regeneration by cooking an old man into a youth we have also seen in Aristophanic Comedy.

The Socrates who will live for ever is the Socrates of Plato, a figure as different from the hero of Xenophon's well-meaning and dull gospel as the philosophised Christ of St. John is from the Christ of the synoptics. He is a work of art, the creation of a great dramatic genius. How much is due to the creator we shall never know; but we shall do well to think sometimes of Plato as a mime-writer, casting Socrates for the rôle of *eiron*. At any rate, it is not likely that we can add anything whatever to our knowledge of the historic Socrates from the *Clouds*.

78. *The Learned Doctor: Euripides*

The mask, then, to which the name 'Socrates' is here attached is that of the pretender to more than ordinary wisdom or cleverness (*σοφία*). It fits just as well that other archpriest of cleverness, Euripides, whose dialectics filled the common man with suspicion tinged with awe—a feeling that they were altogether 'too clever by half.' We can, indeed, never be sure that our picture of Euripides as the austere hermit of the cave on Salamis is not, like almost all the anecdotes of his career, an invention of the same comic tradition which shows us Socrates as the pale and lean mystagogue of the Cave of Thought. 'It is not for nothing,' says Socrates in the *Republic*, 'that Tragedy in general is regarded as *sophon*, and Euripides as pre-eminent in Tragedy.'[1] To later ages Euripides was known as 'the philosopher of the stage.'[2] The ancients called him, after their manner, 'the pupil of Anaxagoras, Prodicus, and Protagoras, and the companion of Socrates.'[3] When the moderns add Diogenes of Apollonia, we have very much the group of sophists who go to make up the 'Socrates' of the *Clouds*. Perhaps it was this 'Socrates' who never went to the theatre except to hear a new piece by Euripides.[4]

This other great example of the Learned Impostor comes before us as Antagonist in the *Frogs*. Euripides has there some of the

[1] *Rep.* viii. 568 A: *οὐκ ἐτός . . . ἥ τε τραγῳδία ὅλως σοφὸν δοκεῖ εἶναι καὶ ὁ Εὐριπίδης διαφέρων ἐν αὐτῇ.*

[2] *ὁ σκηνικὸς φιλόσοφος*, Athen. iv. 158 E, where Euripides, Socrates, and Diogenes are all quoted as recommending a sparing diet; xiv. 561 A, Euripides is quoted for the philosophic doctrine of Love. Sext. Emp. *Math.* i. 288.

[3] *Vita*, i. 10, Schw.: *ἀκουστὴς γενόμενος Ἀναξαγόρου καὶ Προδίκου καὶ Πρωταγόρου καὶ Σωκράτους ἑταῖρος.*

[4] Aelian, *V. H.* ii. 13.

traits of the same stock mask. To mention one instance: his pedantic (and false) objection to the prologue of the *Choephori*: that ἥκω and κατέρχομαι are two words for one meaning, and the same cavil against the phrase κλύειν ἀκοῦσαι. These are of a piece with his disquisition to his Kinsman in the *Thesmophoriazusae* on the difference between seeing and hearing,[1] and again with the grammatical subtleties of Socrates, who complains of the use of the same word in Greek for cock and hen.[2]

79. *The Miles Gloriosus: Aeschylus*

Euripides' adversary in the *Frogs*, Aeschylus, though of course more sympathetically treated, still wears, like all these other historical personalities, a stock mask. It is the visage surmounted by the dreadful crest of the Soldier. The untranslatable chorus which precedes the entrance of the adversaries is full of the thunder of war, 'the strife of words with glancing helmets and plumes of horsehair,' and the bellowing of the champion 'whose mane bristles to a crest on his shaggy neck.'[3] He enters literally bellowing threats of destruction, and is with difficulty quieted down into inarticulate rumblings. Euripides, at the beginning of the *Agon* proper, at once opens fire by offering to prove that Aeschylus is an *alazon* and a cheat,[4] who bluffed his audience with effects stolen from Phrynichus. Then he stuffed his plays with 'phrases like shields made of twelve thicknesses of ox-hide, with terrific eyebrows and crests and bogey faces, Scamanders and trenches, and bronze-wrought griffins upon shields.' Dionysus admits he has lain awake at nights wondering what kind of bird a 'horse-cock'

[1] *Thesmoph.* 5 ff. This instance is taken from Süss, *op. cit.* p. 21. Cf. also Mazon, p. 126.

[2] *Clouds*, 659. I take this opportunity of suggesting a restoration of the lines which must have been lost after 661, as follows:

Streps. ἀλλ' οἶδ' ἔγωγε τἄρρεν', εἰ μὴ μαίνομαι·
κριός, τράγος, ταῦρος, κύων, ἀλεκτρύων . . . 661
<*Socr.* ἐπίσχες· ἀλλὰ πῶς τὰ θήλε' αὖ καλεῖς ;
Streps. τά γε θήλε', οἷς, αἴξ, βοῦς, κύων, ἀλεκτρύων . . .>
Socr. ὁρᾷς δ πάσχεις ; τήν τε θήλειαν καλεῖς 662
ἀλεκτρύονα κατὰ ταὐτὸ καὶ τὸν ἄρρενα.

[3] 818: ἔσται δ' ἱπολόφων τε λόγων κορυθαίολα νείκη σχινδαλάμων τε παραξόνια σμιλεύματα τ' ἔργων . . . ῥήμαθ' ἱπποβάμονα . . . φρίξας δ' αὐτοκόμου λοφιᾶς λασιαύχενα χαίταν, κτλ.

[4] 908: τοῦτον δὲ πρῶτ' ἐλέγξω | ὡς ἦν ἀλαζὼν καὶ φέναξ. 919, ὑπ' ἀλαζονείας.

(*hippalectryon*) might be.[1] Euripides next brags of having exercised the arts of the Learned Doctor on the body of Tragedy, 'swollen as she was with vauntings and indigestible language.' He put her on a spare diet to take down her weight, and then fed her up again with monodies and a simple democratic style of dialogue.[2] Aeschylus in his reply boasts that the audience he bequeathed to Euripides 'breathed spears, and shafts, and white-plumed crests, and casques, and greaves, and seven-oxhide courage,' because he showed them the *Seven against Thebes*, a drama 'full of Ares,' and the *Persians*. He was the successor of Homer, who taught the arming of men and produced so many heroes, Lamachus among them.

To us the plays of Aeschylus do not seem so exclusively warlike. The explanation is that we have here the Valiant Soldier breathing scorn upon the Learned Doctor. The economy of the *Frogs* is like that of the *Knights*. Each play shows us two *alazones* of different types competing for the favour of the Athenian public of the theatre (Dionysus) or of the Pnyx (Demos). The rivals try to outdo one another in boasting, while their judge plays the parenthetic part of Buffoon, and makes a mock of both.

80. *The Cook : the Sausage-seller, Agoracritus*

We turn next to the two adversaries of the *Knights*, whose title to the epithet *alazon* will not be disputed. We have already pointed out that the Sausage-seller is essentially a Cook, his trade being chosen that he may exercise his art in the rejuvenation of Demos. Here it must be added that, throughout the tradition of the Sicilian Mime and of the later Comedy of Greece and Rome,

[1] The *hippalectryon* comes again in the description of the triple-crested officer n the *Peace* (*Parab.* II.), 1177, *κἆτα φεύγει πρῶτος ὥσπερ ξουθὸς ἱππαλεκτρυὼν | τοὺς λόφους σείων.* Λόφος is of course used both of the cock's comb and of the horse's mane ; and the helmet crest was made of horse-hair (*ἱππόλοφος*).

[2] 939 (*Eurip.*): *ἀλλ' ὡς παρέλαβον τὴν τέχνην παρὰ σοῦ τὸ πρῶτον εὐθὺς | οἰδοῦσαν ὑπὸ κομπασμάτων καὶ ῥημάτων ἐπαχθῶν, | ἴσχνανα μὲν πρώτιστον αὐτὴν καὶ τὸ βάρος ἀφεῖλον | ἐπυλλίοις καὶ περιπάτοις καὶ τευτλίοισι λευκοῖς . . . | εἶτ' ἀνέτρεφον μονῳδίαις κτλ.*

This cathartic treatment may be compared with the cathartic method of Socrates, whose purging of the false conceit of wisdom is compared to the methods of the physician in Plato, *Sophist*, 230 C. In the 'Apology of Protagoras' (in Plato's *Theaetetus*, 166 E), which is probably based on what Protagoras actually said, the sophist as educator is a physician of the soul, compared to the doctor who gives health to the body.

the Cook is one of the principal species of *alazon*.[1] An exponent of the art in a play of Alexis[2] claims that the Cook should be enrolled among the 'sophists,' alike as professor of a learned subject and as artist. Others assert that the Cook must needs be a philosopher and a psychologist, and indeed that the culinary art embraces the whole catalogue of human sciences. Like the Doctor, he delights in using archaic and unintelligible terms, and draws on the Homeric vocabulary—*μέροπες* for 'persons,' *δαιτύμων* for 'guest,' *μῆλα* for 'sheep,' *οὐλοχύται* for 'salt,' etc.[3] There are evidences in the fragments of Epicharmus that the mask of the Learned Cook belongs also to the Sicilian Mime, and he has an ancestor in the Maison of the Megarian farce, who must have figured in scenes of heroic travesty with the glutton Heracles.

The scheme of the *Knights* demands that the Sausage-seller shall be a cook of the lowest possible station. He is not a *cordon-bleu*, and his culture is deficient; but he makes great play with the technicalities of his trade,[4] and exhausts the unpleasant part of its vocabulary in threats of what he will do to his opponent. At any rate, we have the same grounds as in the other cases to suppose that he is primarily the Cook, and only secondarily Agoracritus. Ivo Bruns[5] points out that the historic name is not given till the whole contest is over (v. 1259); up to that moment he is nothing more than 'a Sausage-seller.' Then, as the agent of the great metamorphosis of Demos that follows, he himself is transfigured to the height of his new dignity.

[1] Athen. vii. 290 B: *ἀλαζονικὸν δ' ἐστὶ πᾶν τὸ τῶν μαγείρων φῦλον.* Poseidippus, *Χορεύουσαι* frag. 24 M: *τῶν ἡδυσμάτων | πάντων κράτιστόν ἐστιν ἐν μαγειρικῇ | ἀλαζονεία.* See Ribbeck, *Alazon*, pp. 18 ff.; Legrand, *Daos* (Paris, 1910), 125 ff., where the references are collected.

[2] Frag. 146, 14: *εἰς τοὺς σοφιστὰς τὸν μάγειρον ἐγγράφω.*

[3] Alexis, frag. 140, 16. Athenaeus ix. 377 F: *οὐδὲν ἧττων τῶν ἰατρῶν εἰς ἀλαζύνειαν καὶ ὁ παρα Σωπάτρῳ μάγειρος.* These magnificent pretensions of the Cook explain the prominence of the art of Cookery, as an analogue of Rhetoric, in the *Gorgias*, where, by the way, Plato may have some actual mime or comedy in view when he suggests an *Agon* between Doctor and Cook: *ὑπὸ μὲν οὖν τὴν ἰατρικὴν ἡ ὀψοποιικὴ ὑποδέδυκε καὶ προσποιεῖται τὰ βέλτιστα σιτία τῷ σώματι εἰδέναι, ὥστ' εἰ δέοι ἐν παισὶ διαγωνίζεσθαι ὀψοποιόν τε καὶ ἰατρὸν ἢ ἐν ἀνδράσιν οὕτως ἀνοήτοις ὥσπερ οἱ παῖδες πότερος ἐπαίει περὶ τῶν χρηστῶν σιτίων καὶ πονηρῶν, ὁ ἰατρὸς ἢ ὁ ὀψοποιός, λιμῷ ἂν ἀποθανεῖν τὸν ἰατρόν.* The metaphor in *ὑποδέδυκε* ('impersonate') is taken from the stage: cf. W. H. Thompson, *Gorgias, ad loc.* (464 D).

[4] This is repeatedly pointed out in the *Scholia*, vv. 289, *ὡς μάγειρος λέγει*, 294, 301, 315, 345, 370, 372, 414, 708, 919-22, 1083, 1236.

[5] *Lit. Porträt*, p. 169 ff.

81. *The Parasite: Cleon*

Cleon, the Paphlagonian ('wind-bag') in the *Knights*, is nothing if not an impostor and a braggart.[1] His special type seems to be that of the Flatterer (*Kolax*).[2] In the prologue the slave describes him as follows. Demos has bought 'a slave, a Paphlagonian tanner, a slanderous rascal of the deepest dye. This windy hide-bag, as soon as he had mastered the old man's weaknesses, began to lick the boots of his lord and master, to fawn, and wheedle, and flatter, and humbug him with scraps of the subtlest leather-parings.' He induces Demos to sit down to dinner, sets before him delicacies prepared by the other slaves, and takes all the credit; for instance, the Spartan cake which the speaker (who represents the General, Demosthenes) had kneaded at Pylos. Then he drives away the other slaves, and will suffer no one else to attend to his master, but 'stands over Demos at his dinner with a leather fly-flap to scare away the politicians.'[3] He croons oracles to soothe the superstitious old fellow; and, when he has reduced him to a state of imbecility, maligns his fellow-slaves and gets them whipped, not forgetting to blackmail them under promise of his protection.

It is not clear whether the mask of the fawning Parasite is native to Attic Comedy. More probably it took shape in societies of a more aristocratic type. The word for Flatterer (*kolax*) originally meant simply a courtier or attendant, and was applied in an honourable sense[4] to the companions of princes in the East and in Asia Minor. Thus, we hear from Klearchos of Soli[5] that all the princes of Cyprus entertained *kolakes* of good birth—'a possession very suitable to a tyrant.' All these *kolakes* were descended from two

[1] He is called ἀλαζών by the Chorus in the *Parodos* (269), and himself threatens to harass his adversary with his swaggerings: περιελῶ σ' ἀλαζονείαις, 290.

[2] Schol. on *Knights*, 48: ἤκαλλεν' . . . ἐκολάκευε γάρ. 50, τοῦτο, φησί, κολακεύων ἔλεγε τὸν Δῆμον, etc.

[3] 59: βυρσίνην ἔχων | δειπνοῦντος ἐστὼς ἀποσοβεῖ τοὺς ῥήτορας. Athen. vi. 257 B, describing the κόλακες in attendance on a young man, speaks of one as scaring off the flies. Cleon is said to perform the same service to the old jurymen in the *Wasps*, 596: Κλέων ὁ κεκραξιδάμας . . . φυλάττει διὰ χειρὸς ἔχων καὶ τὰς μυίας ἀπαμύνει.

[4] For παράσιτος as an honourable title Athenaeus (vi. 234 C ff.) cites various authorities including a decree of Alcibiades in the Heracleum at Kynosarges, referring to the παράσιτοι who figured in Aristophanes' Δαιταλεῖς.

[5] Athen. vi. 255 F. Cf. Ribbeck, *Kolax*, p. 5 ff.

families at Salamis, the Gerginoi and the Promalanges, of whom the former acted as the King's Ears, picking up whatever they could hear in public places, while the latter sifted their reports. From such base occupations the *kolax* acquired his menial humility of character, which shrinks from no dirty work, as it ministers to the pride and vanity of its royal patron.[1]

At Athens, Ribbeck [2] remarks, the term *kolax* seems to have been introduced not long before Aristophanes' time. Prominent citizens of great wealth, like Kimon and the Syracusan Kephalos, kept open house, and no doubt were surrounded by a miniature court of dependants, who had some of the character of the eastern parasite. The type seems to have been fixed on the stage of Old Comedy in the *Kolakes* of Eupolis (422 B. C.), which had a whole chorus of them, dancing attendance on the notorious son of Hipponicus.[3] In the *Knights*, the Athenian Demos is emphatically warned of its resemblance to a tyrant, and represented with traits that might be borrowed from those Cyprian and Asiatic princes described by Klearchos. Where the sovereign people is tyrant, there the demagogue plays the mean and fawning part of courtier. Aristotle [4] draws out the comparison at length. In the extreme type of democracy, he says, where the decrees of the people, and not the written constitution, are the final authority, demagogues make their appearance, and the Demos becomes a monarch. Hence *kolakes* are held in honour. The position of the Demos is analogous to the tyranny of a sole ruler; the demagogue is the counterpart of the flattering courtier.[5] This passage brings out that the figure of the *kolax* comes from a monarchical and aristocratic type of society. The mask is transferred to the flattering demagogue by way of analogy. Probably it came into Attic Comedy from the

[1] Klearchos says: *τὴν κολακείαν ταπεινὰ ποιεῖν τα ἤθη τῶν κολάκων καταφρονητικῶν ὄντων τῶν περὶ αὐτούς . . . σημεῖον δὲ τὸ πᾶν ὑπομένειν εἰδότας οἷα τολμῶσι. τὰ δὲ τῶν κολακευομένων ἐμφυσωμένων τῇ κολακείᾳ, χαύνους καὶ κενοὺς ποιοῦντα (?), πάντων ἐν ὑπεροχῇ παρ' αὐτοῖς ὑπολαμβάνεσθαι κατασκευάζεσθαι*, Athen. vi. 255 D.

[2] *Kolax*, p. 9.

[3] Mein., *Comici*, i. 135.

[4] *Politics*, Z (Δ), iv. 3 ff., 1292*a*, 4 ff. Ribbeck, *Kolax*, p. 10.

[5] *ὁ δ' οὖν τοιοῦτος δῆμος, ἅτε μόναρχος ὤν, ζητεῖ μοναρχεῖν διὰ τὸ μὴ ἄρχεσθαι ὑπὸ νόμου, καὶ γίνεται δεσποτικός, ὥστε οἱ κόλακες ἔντιμοι, καί ἐστιν ὁ δῆμος οὗτος ἀνάλογον τῶν μοναρχιῶν τῇ τυραννίδι. διὸ καὶ τὸ ἦθος τὸ αὐτό . . . καὶ ὁ δημαγωγὸς καὶ ὁ κόλαξ οἱ αὐτοὶ καὶ ἀνάλογον.* *Knights* 1111, *ὦ Δῆμε καλήν γ' ἔχεις | ἀρχήν, ὅτε πάντες ἄν|θρωποι δεδίασί σ' ὥσ|περ ἄνδρα τύραννον. | ἀλλ' εὐπαράγωγος εἶ | θωπευόμενός τε χαί|ρεις κἀξαπατώμενος. . . .*

stage of Epicharmus and the courtly society of Syracuse. Epicharmus, in his *Hope or Wealth*,[1] has already a full-length picture of the *Parasite*, that humbler variety of *kolax* who earned a place at the tables of the great by making fun and submitting to every sort of indignity.

The passage quoted above from the prologue of the *Knights* refers to the great instance of Cleon's *alazoneia*—that boast which the sober Thucydides calls 'mad,' though he has recorded its success.[2] When Cleon undertook to capture the Spartans at Sphacteria within three weeks, and did so, he was bitterly attacked. Thucydides makes out that his success was due to luck;[3] Aristophanes represents him as stealing the palm of victory from Demosthenes, who had done all the hard work.[4] In this respect he is like the Impostors who claim an unmerited share of the feast in so many Aristophanic plays. His fate at the end of the *Knights*, as we have seen, is almost identical with that of the typical Impostor of the *Plutus*.[5]

82. *The absence of individual characterisation*

Of all these major Impostors with historical names—Lamachus, Socrates, Euripides, Aeschylus, Agoracritus, Cleon—the only one represented by anything like a recognisable portrait is Cleon. It is just in this case, too, that Aristophanes explicitly says that the mask worn by the actor was not a portrait of the demagogue's real features.[6] Why not? The excuse that no costumier could be found who was willing to make anything so terrific as a portrait-mask of Cleon, is a joke and not to be taken literally. As Aristophanes says, Cleon 'will be recognised anyhow.' The identity

[1] Frag. 34, 35, Kaibel. Athen. vi. 235 E.

[2] Thuc. iv. 39, 3, *καὶ τοῦ Κλέωνος καίπερ μανιώδης οὖσα ἡ ὑπόσχεσις ἀπέβη.* Schol. on *Knights*, 76, *πάλιν τῆς Πύλου μέμνηται, ἐπεὶ ὁ Κλέων ἐν αὐτῇ συνεχῶς ἠλαζονεύετο.*

[3] Cf. F. M. Cornford, *Thucydides Mythistoricus* (London, 1907), chaps. vi. and vii.

[4] *Knights*, 54, 1200, etc.

[5] See above, p. 151. *Knights*, 1401, *κἀκ τῶν βαλανείων πίεται τὸ λούτριον.* *Plut.* 951, *Just Man*: *καὶ μήν, ἐπειδὴ τὴν πανοπλίαν τὴν ἐμὴν | ἔχων βαδίζεις, εἰς τὸ βαλανεῖον τρέχε, | ἔπειτ' ἐκεῖ κορυφαῖος ἑστηκὼς θέρου· | καὶ ἐγὼ γὰρ εἶχον τὴν στάσιν ταύτην ποτέ.*

[6] *Knights*, 230, *καὶ μὴ δέδιθ'· οὐ γάρ ἐστιν ἐξηκασμένος.*
ὑπὸ τοῦ δέους γὰρ αὐτὸν οὐδεὶς ἤθελε
τῶν σκευοποιῶν εἰκάσαι. πάντως γε μὴν
γνωσθήσεται· τὸ γὰρ θέατρον δεξιόν.

of the Paphlagonian is transparent; indeed, he is actually named later in the play (976). The addition of a portrait-mask could add nothing whatever to any danger there might be to the author or producer of the *Knights*. I understand this passage to mean, not that portrait-masks were usual in the Old Comedy,[1] but that the Paphlagonian's character is so exceptionally like the real Cleon that the audience might expect to see Cleon's actual features. They are reassured by being told that nothing so frightful is to be anticipated.[2]

If Cleon's features were not reproduced, much less would there be any point in having a portrait-mask for any other of these characters with historical names; for, as we have seen, the individual characteristics of the actual men are not brought upon the stage. The clearest case is 'Socrates.' Is it likely that the actor would be dressed in the well-known Silenus-like visage and figure of Socrates, when almost everything he had to say and do was notoriously foreign to the real philosopher's nature and pursuits? So again is it with Euripides. Nearly all the personal jokes at his expense—his greengrocer mother, his unfaithful wife,

[1] That the Old Comedy had portrait-masks is alleged by Pollux, iv. 143, and Platonius *π. διαφ. κωμ.* 13, *ἐν μὲν γὰρ τῇ παλαιᾷ εἴκαζον τὰ προσωπεῖα τοῖς κωμῳδουμένοις, ἵνα πρίν τι καὶ τοὺς ὑποκριτὰς εἰπεῖν ὁ κωμῳδούμενος ἐκ τῆς ὁμοιότητος τῆς ὄψεως κατάδηλος ᾖ.* But this statement is coupled with the absurd remark that in the Middle and New Comedies the masks were specially made not to look like any human beings at all, for fear that they should by chance resemble some 'Macedonian official.' The New Comedy masks, as any one can see, represent certain stock characters with definite traits of temperament, conventionally expressed by exaggeration of feature. No 'Macedonian official' could have been such a fool as to think that any individual was pointed at in the irate fathers, prodigal sons, pandars, etc., of this Comedy of manners; or, if he had thought so, the distorted features of the mask would not have protected the author.

[2] Cleon's mask may have been specially copied from representations of Typhon, to whom he is repeatedly compared: *Knights*, 511, the Chorus say of Aristophanes *γενναίως πρὸς τὸν Τυφῶ χωρεῖ καὶ τὴν ἐριώλην.* Typhon causes bad winds; so does *ὁ Παφλάζων* (*Paphlagon*); *Knights*, 430 ff. (*Cleon*), *ἔξειμι γάρ σοι λαμπρὸς ἤδη καὶ μέγας καθίεις, | ὁμοῦ ταράττων τήν τε γῆν καὶ τὴν θάλατταν εἰκῇ κτλ.*, where the metaphor is drawn out at some length. He bursts out in thunder (*ἐλασίβροντ' ἀναρρηγνὺς ἔπη*, 626), and raises a wave before him (*ὠθῶν κολόκυμα καὶ ταράττων καὶ κυκῶν*, 692); his 'smoky boastings' (*ψολοκομπίαι*, 696) might recall the *ψολόεις κεραυνός* or the volcano. The conqueror of Typhon was either Zeus or Heracles, to whom Aristophanes likens himself in his conflict with Cleon, at *Wasps*, 1030 ff., where Cleon is a complicated monster with a 'hundred flatterers' heads,' like snakes curling round his head. As flatterer, Cleon is compared to the dog, *Knights*, 416, 1017, 1023, 1030 ff.

and so forth—were false and known to be false by every one in the theatre. If Aristophanes had meant to put the real Socrates or the real Euripides on the stage, he would have drawn the character with that amount of distorted resemblance which is necessary to caricature. Then the visible features might or might not be added, according to the prevailing convention of the stage. But, in point of fact, his Socrates and Euripides are not caricatures at all: so far from there being an exaggerated likeness, there is no likeness whatever. The names are affixed to stock characters with traditional traits. It is incredible that the visible masks should have been realistic; particularly if we remember that the original purpose of the mask was probably to disguise the performer's face,[1] and its later use was to express the traits of the stock character represented. The whole history of ancient portraiture, which hardly presents a single realistic likeness before the end of the fifth century, is against the portrait-mask in Old Comedy.

Shakespeare's treatment of Sir John Falstaff is a parallel case. Of the real Sir John Fastolf, the 'magnificent knight' who bequeathed estates to Magdalen College, Oxford, Fuller[2] writes: 'To avouch him by many arguments valiant is to maintain that the sun is bright.' He adds that 'the stage has been overbold with his memory, making him a *thrasonical puff*, and emblem of mock valour.' The truth is, of course, that this great comic figure owes his character and features, his wit, his cowardice, his devotion to sack and to Doll Tearsheet, even his baldness and round belly, not to the valiant benefactor of Magdalen but to the stock mask of the Buffoon, with some borrowings, perhaps, from that thrasonical puff, the Boastful Soldier.[3] Shakespeare did not send his property man to study portraits of Sir John Fastolf. Neither, we may be sure, did Aristophanes tell his mask-maker to copy the features of Euripides, or Aeschylus, or Lamachus. We must imagine all these historical characters wearing masks conventionally belong-

[1] Cf. Demosth., *Falsa Legat.*, 433: τοῦ καταράτου Κυρηβίωνος, ὃς ἐν ταῖς πομπαῖς ἄνευ τοῦ προσώπου κωμάζει.

[2] *Worthies of England* (1811), ii. p. 131.

[3] Cf. Reich, *Der Mimus*, i. p. 863 ff. I do not know whether the analogy has been noticed between the scenes in *Henry IV.* where the Chief Justice expostulates with Falstaff, and the episode in some versions of *Punch and Judy*, in which the Chief Justice appears, after the discomfiture of Jack Ketch, to arrest Punch, and is derided in the usual way. See Payne Collier, p. 89 note.

ing to the stock types they severally assume—the Boastful Soldier, the Learned Doctor, the Cook, the Parasite.

83. *The Age and Sex Types: the Old Man and the Young Man*

When we look at the remaining stock characters of the Old Comedy, four other types emerge, forming a group characterised not by profession, but by sex and age—the Old Man, the Young Man, the Old Woman and the Young Woman. We must consider the members of this group in turn.

We have already seen how the hero of an Aristophanic play is normally an old man at the beginning, who turns at the end into a young man, the radiant bridegroom of the *Exodos*.[1] We have also explained this extraordinary rejuvenation motive by reference to our supposed ritual in which the Old Year is transformed into the New. The ritual and the corresponding legends show us that, according as the symbolism varies, the Young Man may either be the Old Man restored to youth, or a distinct person, his successor. In the latter case, the Young King (Pelops, Oedipus) kills the Old, and takes the throne with the hand of his wife (Jocasta) or daughter (Hippodameia). In the plays of Aristophanes, besides the normal type with the rejuvenated Old Man, we also find in the *Clouds* and *Wasps* the other possibility, the Father and Son. Even here the rejuvenation motive is still prominent. Strepsiades tries to assimilate the culture, Philocleon the manners, of the younger generation. A further interesting point is that in both plays the principal *Agon* is between Father and Son. The son beats his father in the *Clouds*, and all but kills him in the *Wasps*.

What here concerns us, however, is that the Young Man is, so to say, identical with his reformed and rejuvenated parent. He is everything that his old father is not at the outset, and tries to become at the end. The Young Man has not, in fact, a distinct traditional mask, but is made up of traits opposed to his father's. In one of the two cases, the very names—Philocleon, Bdelycleon—are coined to symbolise the contradiction. If Strepsiades is

[1] As the hero always leaves the stage before this transformation, it is probable that an actual change of mask was usual. It seems certain in the cases of Demos and Pisthetairos (*Birds*, 1723), whose entries are announced beforehand, so that they may be instantly recognised with their new features.

a stingy rustic, Pheidippides must be an elegant spendthrift.[1] Philocleon is a morose old boor; so Bdelycleon is haughty[2] and fashionable. The traits of the Old Man, on the other hand, recur so regularly as to show that we have to do with a stock mask. The description of Demos in the prologue of the *Knights* is typical.[3] 'Our master,' says the slave, 'is a boor in temper, who lives on beans, a testy and morose old man, and rather deaf.' He is superstitious and easily deceived by his cunning slave, whose slanders cause him to beat the other slaves unmercifully.[4] The Old Men in the remaining plays are substantially the same type, with one or another trait thrown into relief as the subject demands.

Rusticity and boorishness (*ἀγροικία*) are a constant feature. Dikaiopolis is a countryman, hating the town to which the war has confined him. His boorishness is softened for the sake of contrast with the Acharnians, who have all the more rough and unpleasant features of the mask. Strepsiades, like Georges Dandin, is the rustic who has married a city madam.[5] His son complains of his moroseness.[6] He is thrifty to the point of stinginess—another fixed trait of this mask—and wished to call his son Pheidonides, on the principle of the Shandean Hypothesis. He beats his slave for putting too large a wick in the lamp.[7] His superstition

[1] Cf. Arg. I. to *Clouds*: *πρεσβύτης γάρ ἐστιν ἄγροικος ἀχθόμενος παιδὶ ἀστικοῦ φρονήματος γέμοντι καὶ τῆς εὐγενείας εἰς πολυτέλειαν ἀπολελαυκότι.*

[2] *Wasps*, 135: *ἔχων τρόπους φρυαγμοσεμνάκους τινάς.*

[3] 40: *νῷν γάρ ἐστι δεσπότης*
ἄγροικος ὀργήν, κυαμοτρώξ, ἀκράχολος,
Δῆμος πυκνίτης, δύσκολον γερόντιον
ὑπόκωφον.

[4] 61: *ᾄδει δὲ χρησμοὺς (ὁ Παφλαγών)· ὁ δὲ γέρων σιβυλλιᾷ. | ὁ δ' αὐτὸν ὡς ὁρᾷ μεμακκοακότα, | τέχνην πεποίηται. τοὺς γαρ ἔνδον ἀντικρυς | ψευδῆ διαβάλλει. κᾆτα μαστιγούμεθα | ἡμεῖς.* The word *μακκοῶν* is used again where the Paphlagonian says he is not afraid so long as *τὸ τοῦ δήμου πρόσωπον μακκοᾷ καθήμενον* (376). Neil remarks (*ad loc.*): 'The look on the mask of Demos is foretold.'

[5] *Clouds*, 43: *Streps.* *ἐμοὶ γὰρ ἦν ἄγροικος ἥδιστος βίος . . .*
ἔπειτ' ἔγημα Μεγακλέους τοῦ Μεγακλέους
ἀδελφιδῆν ἄγροικος ὢν ἐξ ἄστεως.

[6] 35: *Pheid.* *ἐτεὸν, ὦ πάτερ,*
τί δυσκολαίνεις;

[7] 56: *Servant.* *ἔλαιον ἡμῖν οὐκ ἔνεστ' ἐν τῷ λύχνῳ.*
Streps. *οἴμοι· τί γάρ μοι τὸν πότην ἥπτες λύχνον;*
δεῦρ' ἔλθ' ἵνα κλάῃς.
Servant. *διὰ τί δῆτα κλαύσομαι;*
Streps. *ὅτι τῶν παχειῶν ἐνετίθεις θρυαλλίδων.*
This little episode seems designed to bring in the slave-beating motive. It is repeated in the *Parodos* of the *Wasps*, 248 ff. Cf. Süss, *de Personarum*, 113.

and credulity need no detailed illustration. Philocleon is the same type, with the moroseness [1] and quick temper exaggerated to waspishness. The bean-soup which he so enjoys in his private law-court is a link between him and Demos, the 'eater of beans.' [2] It is the countryman's favourite diet. Trygaeus is more like Dikaiopolis, a comparatively genial countryman,[3] though capable of hurling strong language at Zeus for 'sweeping Hellas with the besom of war.' Pisthetairos is Dikaiopolis again, only still more genial and witty.

We need not pursue the series further. As we follow this character through the plays, we see clearly enough why Demos is the only old man who keeps nearly true to type, as the morose, testy, old boor. In all the other plays we have traced him through, the Old Man's part is the one which Aristophanes has written for himself, no matter whether he acted it or not. Hence it breaks through the traditional mask, and flowers with much of the charm and genius of its creator, like the parts that Molière wrote for himself in his lighter plays. In the same way, Falstaff and Mr. Pickwick, who were originally cast for the mask of the Bald Fool, and designed to be no more than the cause that wit is in other men, became witty in themselves, lovable, and even wise. Instances like these are the best measure we have for creative genius. The stock mask can be defined in half-a-dozen adjectives, which no more make a living character than half-a-dozen clothes make a man. Any dullard can put a dummy inside them and make it walk and talk upon the stage. In Aristophanes we can see the dummy touched into life, and the features behind the mask working with a play of expression very different from the traditional angry glare of the morose Old Man.

The Young Man, in the plays we possess, is a minor character. He is never the hero. Overshadowed all through by his father, he is eclipsed at the end, where the old man becomes the bridegroom

[1] 106, *ὑπὸ δυσκολίας*, 942 *οὐκ αὖ σὺ παύσει χαλεπὸς ὢν καὶ δύσκολος*, 873 *στρυφνὸν καὶ πρίνινον ἦθος*, 883 *παυσάμενον τῆς δυσκολίας ἀπὸ τῆς ὀργῆς τὴν ἀκαλήφην ἀφελέσθαι.*

[2] *Knights*, 41: *κναμοτρώξ*, of course, refers primarily to the beans used as counters at elections; but Dieterich sees a secondary reference to the *φακῆ* of *Wasps*, 814, and points to the analogy of Jean Potage, Hans Wurst, etc., and other interesting associations, *Pulcinella*, p. 90.

[3] *Pax*, 190. He introduces himself to Hermes as *Τρυγαῖος Ἀθμονεύς, ἀμπελουργὸς δεξιός, | οὐ συκοφάντης οὐδ' ἐραστὴς πραγμάτων.*

and enjoys the final triumph. The Young Man, of course, has a long and brilliant future before him in later Comedy, where he will have his revenge and throw his morose and stingy parent into the shade. Into that tradition he will carry on his traits of superior manners, fashionable tastes, and prodigality. But in the Old Comedy he seems to acquire these as the antithesis of his parent, rather than to have a long tradition behind him.

84. *The Old Woman and the Young Woman*

The Young Woman, as we have seen, hardly appears at all in Aristophanes, except as the mute person introduced to be the bride at the end. She starts into being to pair off with the hero, as suddenly as her bridegroom is transformed into a suitable mate. A marriage there has to be, because it is the canonical ending essential to the ritual of fertility; but, as nothing in the plot leads up to it, this female figure has to be conjured into existence just in time to take her place in the *Kômos*. We have indeed one hint foreshadowing the romantic heroine, in the 'Young Woman' of the *Ecclesiazusae* who disputes the new legal claims of the Old Woman to the attentions of the Young Man. But this incident arises necessarily out of the plot. The Young Woman is no heroine, and has no further part in the action.

In the two Women plays, the heroines, Praxagora and Lysistrata, and their companions are married women, apparently in the prime of life; for Praxagora, disguised in male costume, is described by an unsuspecting witness as 'a handsome youth with a fair skin.'[1] They do not appear to be stock characters, but owe their existence to the scheme of the plays, which demand a female protagonist. The most that can be said is that they contribute some hints for the shrews and termagants of later drama.

The Old Woman, on the other hand, though not a prominent person in Aristophanes, is ruthlessly caricatured on conventional lines.[2] Besides her wrinkles and other unpleasant physical traits, she is regularly drunken and amorous, as well as shrewish. The *Parabasis* of the *Clouds* gives us definite evidence that she was a

[1] *Eccles.* 427. Lysistrata (591) speaks as a woman still young. When she is called γραῦς (506), it is only an insult, which has misled Süss, *De Personarum*, 125.

[2] See Süss, *De Personarum*, 121 ff.

stock figure. Aristophanes there accuses Eupolis of having dragged the 'drunken old woman' into his *Maricas* in order that she might dance the *kordax*. He adds that Eupolis had stolen her from Phrynichus, who had put her in the place of Andromeda in a parody of the Perseus story. She seems to have figured in another Comedy as the mother of Hyperbolus.[1]

85. *The list of Stock Masks in the Old Comedy*

We have thus collected a little gallery of stock masks:

An *Old Man*, a rustic, testy, morose, stingy, given to beating his slaves.

An *Old Woman*, wrinkled and hideous, amorous and drunken, who dances the *kordax*.

A *Young Woman*, a mute person, who appears only as bride in the final marriage.

A *Learned Doctor* or *Pedant*, lean, pale, remote from the world (Socrates, Euripides).

A *Cook* (Agoracritus).

A *Parasite* (Cleon), probably borrowed from the Dorian tradition, and the Mime of Epicharmus and his school.

A *Swaggering Soldier* (Lamachus, Aeschylus).

A *Comic Slave*, or pair of slaves (the two slaves in the *Knights*, *Wasps*, *Peace*, etc. Xanthias in the *Frogs*, who offers in the prologue to go through the traditional antics. The minor Buffoon (Euelpides, etc.), of other plays may take his place, as attendant of the hero).

[The *Impostor* can hardly be called a stock mask. He is multiplied into an indefinite variety of professional types. These, again, are not stock masks, but generalised from life. They all fill successively one fixed rôle in the main action.]

Before considering this list further, we will glance at the masks in the New Comedy and observe how this group of types lives on in the more complicated and refined drama of ordinary life.

86. *The Masks in the New Comedy*

Pollux[2] has preserved a long list of the masks worn in the New Comedy. They are classified under five heads: Old Men (9),

[1] *Clouds*, 555: προσθεὶς αὐτῷ γραῦν μεθύσην τοῦ κόρδακος οὔνεχ', ἣν Φρύνιχος πάλαι πεποίηχ', ἣν τὸ κῆτος ἤσθιεν. and Schol. *ad loc.*

[2] iv. 143.

Young Men (11), Slaves (7), Old Women (3), Young Women (14). In each group there are minor gradations of age, and varieties of complexion and feature, which conventionally represented differences of temperament and character. If we look through this list and pick out those that are also distinguished by their profession, we shall find nearly all the stock masks we are now familiar with—all, in fact, except the Learned Doctor.

Old Men.—There are two varieties of *Pappos.* The only old man with a specified profession is the *Pandar* (πορνοβοσκός), who has a bald forehead or pate, with crisp, curly hair, a long beard, the eyebrows drawn together and one of them raised, a slight grin on his lips, and the expression of a busybody. This figure, of course, belongs to the romantic plots of New Comedy.

Young Men.—The *Rustic* youth (ἄγροικος) has a dark complexion, broad lips, snub nose, and hair cut in a ring. Next to him comes the *Swaggering Soldier* (στρατιώτης καὶ ἀλαζών), whose special characteristic is the hair which nods in a crest over his brow, giving the mask its technical name, 'Shaken-over' (ἐπίσειστος).[1] Oddly enough (if we remember Xanthus and Melanthus), there are two varieties: one dark (μέλας) with black hair, and one fair (ξανθός) and more delicate. Then come the *Flatterer* (κόλαξ) and the *Parasite* (παράσιτος), both dark-skinned, hook-nosed, and luxurious. They are only slightly distinguished: the Parasite by his crushed ears and more cheerful expression, the Flatterer by brows drawn up with a more malignant look. The Sicilian parasite makes a third.

Slaves.—Among these are mentioned the two old Dorian masks of the *Henchman* (θεράπων) or *Cook*, Maison and Tettix. Both are bald, but Maison is fair, Tettix dark, with a few black locks.

Old Women.—These are distinguished simply as the Lean, the Fat, and the snub-nosed Housewife.

Young Women.—Apart from the *Maidservants*, the only profes-

[1] The earlier meaning of ἐπισείειν is to 'shake something *at* or *against* someone,' to scare them. *Il.* iv. 167: Ζεὺς . . . αὐτὸς ἐπισσείῃσιν ἐρεμνὴν αἰγίδα πᾶσιν. Luc. *Dial. Deor.* xix. 1: ἐπισείουσα τὸν λόφον ἐκπλήττει με. We are reminded of the apotropaic Gorgon masks, the oldest in the series of masks found in the Artemisium at Sparta (*Brit. Sch. Ann.* xii. 1905-6, p. 338 and Pl. x.-xii.). The later masks are indubitably dramatic. It is quite possible that the terrific mask of the Soldier developed directly from the Gorgon mask. Lamachus has the Gorgon on his shield. If the Soldier is the Antagonist, he stands for the apotropaic side of the ritual.

sional designation is that of the *Courtesan*, of whom there are six varieties.

The only omission we noted—that of the *Learned Doctor*—is made good by the fragments of the actual plays.[1] The physician can be traced through several poets of the Middle Comedy to the *Doctor* (Ἰατρός) of Philemon, the *Parasitus medicus* of Plautus, and a fragment of Diphilus,[2] where he promises his patient a speedy cure—or death. We see him at his best in the *Menaechmi* of Plautus, where he arrives after a studied delay; questions his guide by the way with a parade of technical expressions; is confident of saving his patient before he has seen him; when he does see him, declares it to be a difficult case; asks absurd questions for his diagnosis; looks solemn at the answers, talks much and does nothing. He has lost no symptom of *alazoneia*.

The long-bearded and austere Philosopher, whose profession of despising the world is consistent with a discriminating palate, also figured in the New Comedy. The various minor types of quack and charlatan, the diviners, sorcerers, and mendicant priests, are known from the titles of plays in which they must have taken a leading rôle.

Thus we can trace our old group of stock masks among the more varied figures of the later Greek and Roman stage. We must now turn back to Aristophanes and the evidence he supplies which may throw light upon their origin.

87. *Aristophanes on 'Vulgar Comedy'*

In several passages Aristophanes, in the course of pointing out his own superior merits, refers to certain stale tricks and characters of what he calls 'vulgar Comedy' (*φορτικὴ κωμῳδία*).[3] He makes it clear that the Athenian public was getting tired of these stereotyped antics, and he claims credit for giving Comedy a wider range, a larger construction, and newer themes.

The first is from the speech of the Koryphaeus in the *Parabasis* of the *Clouds*—a passage which is in substance a preface to the second edition of a play unsuccessful in its original form. He maintains that the *Clouds* is the wittiest (*σοφώτατ' ἔχειν*) of his comedies and

[1] The evidence is collected by Legrand, *Daos* (Paris, 1910), p. 127 ff.

[2] Frag. 98.

[3] On the meaning of *φορτικός* cf. Meineke, *Comici*, i. 223.

cost him the most pains; yet it was defeated by a crew of vulgarians.[1] So much the worse for the wit of his audience; but still he will not desert the cause of the clever. So, like Electra, his Comedy comes now to seek the lost brotherhood of wit.

'And see how modest she is. To begin with, she comes before you not decorated with that broad, red-tipped thing of stitched leather (the phallus), to raise a laugh among the children; then, there is no jeering at the Bald-head, no high-kicking *Kordax*; and the old man who speaks his lines shall not beat the bystander with his stick to conceal the badness of his jokes. My Comedy does not rush upon the scene with torches in her hands, screaming "Iou! Iou!"; she comes with full trust in herself and her verses.

'Yet, for all that I am a poet of this stamp, I do not put on airs; I do not seek to cheat you by bringing the same old thing on the stage again and again. No; I show my wit by the fresh notions I continually introduce, no two of them alike and all of them clever.'

The prologue of the next play, the *Wasps*, is in the same strain:

'Come then,' says the slave Xanthias, 'I had better explain the plot to the audience, with just these few hints by way of preface. They must not expect from us anything so very tremendous; but still it shall not be laughter thieved from Megara. We have *not* a brace of slaves scattering nuts from a basket to the audience; *not* Heracles cheated of his dinner; nor again, yet another mauling of Euripides; nor shall we make another mincemeat of Cleon, even if he has to thank pure luck for an aureole of victory. Ours is a simple plot with a moral to it, not too clever for the likes of you, but still wittier than Comedy of that vulgar sort.'

In the *Parabasis* of the *Peace* (734 ff.) the Leader claims blessings on the poet:

'For he alone has put an end to his rivals' everlasting jokes about rags and warfare upon fleas; he was the first to depose and drive off the stage that Heracles of theirs, who kneads his cakes or goes hungry; he dismissed those runaway slaves, and deceitful slaves, and slaves who get beaten on purpose that their fellow-slave may crack a jest at their stripes and then ask: "Poor wretch, what is the matter with your skin? Has the whip invaded your

[1] 524: *ὑπ' ἀνδρῶν φορτικῶν ἡττηθείς.*

ribs in full force and devastated your back?" He made away with all this rubbish and vulgarity and low tomfoolery, and created for you a noble art, building high its towered walls with fine verses and fine ideas and jokes not of the market-place.'

He adds that his satire did not fly at small game, but attacked no less a monster than Cleon.

88. *The Peloponnesian Mime and its derivatives*

We here enter upon difficult and disputed ground, to traverse which would lead us too far from the main purpose of this book. The reader will have noticed the reference in the *Wasps* prologue to 'a laugh stolen from Megara.' Similar expressions occur in fragments of two other poets of the Old Comedy. Ecphantides[1] says he is 'ashamed to make his play like a product of Megara.' Eupolis,[2] Aristophanes' rival and contemporary, speaks of a joke as being brutal and dull, like a joke from Megara, that would only draw a laugh from a child. Add to this Aristotle's statement that the invention of Comedy was claimed by the Dorians. The inhabitants of Megara in central Greece asserted that it arose among themselves when their city became a democracy (about 600 B.C.); and their colonists in Sicily alleged that their poet Epicharmus was a good deal earlier than Chionides and Magnes, (the great poets of the first generation of officially recognised Comedy at Athens).[3] In support of this claim a tradition somewhere arose that Susarion, the reputed founder of Comedy, came from Tripodiskos in Megara; but Clement of Alexandria speaks of him as belonging to Ikaria in Attica, and this is supported by the Parian Marble.[4] Susarion, therefore, had better be left out of account. If the Dorian claimants of Comedy could have pointed

[1] Frag. 2 K: Μεγαρικῆς | *κωμῳδίας ᾆσμ' <οὐ> δίειμ'· ᾐσχυνόμην | τὸ δρᾶμα* Μεγαρικὸν *ποεῖν*. See Kaibel, *C. G. F.*, i. 75; Meineke, *Comici*, i. 18 ff.

[2] Προσπάλτιοι, frag. 244 K (Schol. *Wasps*, 57): *τὸ σκῶμμ' ἀσελγὲς καὶ* Μεγαρικὸν *καὶ σφόδρα | ψυχρόν· γελᾷ γὰρ ὡς ὁρᾷς τὰ παιδία.*

[3] *Poetics*, 3, 1448*a*, 29, *διὸ καὶ ἀντιποιοῦνται τῆς τε τραγῳδίας καὶ τῆς κωμῳδίας οἱ Δωριεῖς· τῆς μὲν γὰρ κωμῳδίας οἱ* Μεγαρεῖς *οἵ τε ἐνταῦθα ὡς ἐπὶ τῆς παρ' αὐτοῖς δημοκρατίας γενομένης καὶ οἱ ἐκ* Σικελίας, *ἐκεῖθεν γὰρ ἦν* Ἐπίχαρμος *ὁ ποιητὴς πολλῷ πρότερος ὢν* Χιωνίδου *καὶ* Μάγνητος.

[4] For this point see Kaibel, *C. G. F.*, i. p. 77. *Marmor Parium*, 39 (ed. Jacoby, pp. 13, 105), *ἀφ' οὗ ἐν* Ἀθ[ήν]αις *κωμω[ιδῶν χο]ρ[ὸς ἐτ]έθη [στη]σάν[των πρώ]των* Ἰκαριέων, *εὑρόντος* Σουσαρίωνος, *καὶ ἆθλον ἐτέθη πρῶτον ἰσχάδω[ν] ἄρσιχο[ς] καὶ οἴνου με[τ]ρητής.*

to him, they would not have had to fall back on Epicharmus and a very dubious etymology of the word 'Comedy.'[1]

The question whether the 'vulgar Comedy' referred to by Aristophanes came to Athens from Megara, or existed at both places independently, is not of much importance here.[2] What we can make out from Aristophanes' own description is that it had certain stock masks and other peculiarities which are common to a burlesque form of drama traceable at Megara, in the Peloponnese, and in Magna Graecia. This variety of Mime flourished under the name of *Phlyax* at Tarentum, whither it may have been originally imported by the pre-Dorian settlers from Sparta.[3] It appears to have existed for centuries on the humble level of popular farce, probably extemporised by the actors, and first reaching the height of written literature in the hands of Rhinthon, in the days of the first two Ptolemies.

The Tarentine *Phlyax* can certainly be affiliated to the type of performance known as *Deikelon* at the parent-city, Sparta. Our knowledge of this drama is very scanty. It was an early form of Mime,[4] and evidently of a crude and popular character. Sosibius,[5]

[1] *Poetics*, ibid.

[2] In the next chapter we shall argue for an indigenous origin of Attic Comedy.

[3] Cf. Bethe, *Prolegomena*, 49. Mr. Cook reminds me that one of the vases representing scenes of the Phlyakes' drama (Wieseler, Denkm. ix. 14=Baumeister, fig. 1828, figured also in Haigh's *Attic Theatre*, p. 155), shows an *Agon* between Daidalos and Eneualios (both inscribed) who are fighting with spears and shields, in the presence of Hera (inscr.) seated on a throne and evidently to be the bride of the victor. Eneualios has the high-crested helmet of the Valiant Soldier; while Daidalos, the prince of 'Sophists,' may be taken as the Learned Doctor. Pauly-Wiss. *s.v. Daidalos*, 1995.

[4] Hesych. *δίκηλον* : *παρὰ Λάκωσι δίκηλον, φάσμα, ὄψις, εἴδωλον, μίμημα, ὅθεν καὶ μιμολόγος παρὰ Λάκωσι δεικηλίκτας.* Id. *δεικηλίκται· μιμηταὶ παρὰ Λάκωσι.* Suid. *δικηλιστῶν, καὶ μιμηλῶν· εἶδός ἐστι κωμῳδίας, ὡς φησι Σωσίβιος ὁ Λάκων.* Plut., *Lac. Apoph.*, 212 F, *Καλλιππίδας ὁ δεικηλίκτας· οὕτω δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τοὺς μίμους καλοῦσι.* This last passage makes it clear that the *δείκηλον* was not a puppet-play.

[5] Athen. xiv. 621 D: *παρὰ δὲ Λακεδαιμονίοις κωμικῆς παιδιᾶς ἦν τις τρόπος παλαιός, ὡς φησι Σωσίβιος, οὐκ ἄγαν σπουδαῖος, ἅτε δὴ κἀν τούτοις τὸ λιτὸν τῆς Σπάρτης μεταδιωκούσης. ἐμιμεῖτο γάρ τις ἐν εὐτελεῖ τῇ λέξει κλέπτοντάς τινας ὀπώραν ἢ ξενικὸν ἰατρὸν τοιαυτὶ λέγοντα, ὡς Ἄλεξις ἐν Μανδραγοριζομένῃ . . . ἐκαλοῦντο δὲ οἱ μετιόντες τὴν τοιαύτην παιδιὰν παρὰ τοῖς Λάκωσι δικηλισταί, ὡς ἄν τις σκευοποιοὺς εἴπῃ καὶ μιμητάς.* This passage has recently been discussed by Reich, *Der Mimus*, i. 231 ff.; G. Thiele, *Anfänge d. griech. Komödie*, N. Jahrb. ix. (1902), 405 ff.; Schnabel, *Kordax*, 51 ff., whose theory of ritual theft is criticised by C. Fränkel, Rhein. Mus. lxvii. (1912), 94 ff. The further study of the masks found at Sparta in the Orthia Sanctuary (*B. S. A.*, xii. 338 ff., and Plates x-xii) may throw some light on the *deikelon*.

a Laconian writer of about 300 B.C., describes it as 'an ancient form of comic entertainment of no very dignified character.' 'A performer,' he says, 'would represent, in vulgar language (*dialect* may be meant), people stealing fruit, or a foreign doctor saying the sort of things that Alexis, following this tradition, puts in his *Mandragorizomene*.' In the speech which he goes on to quote from Alexis' comedy, some character remarks that we will never listen to a doctor who calls his drugs and implements by their names as pronounced in our own dialect; but if he puts on a foreign accent, we all think him a wonder. It has often been remarked that here we seem to have our earliest glimpse of the stock mask worn by the Learned Doctor, the remotest ancestor of the Italian *Dottore*, of Doctor Caius, and of the *Médecin malgré lui*.[1]

Another branch was established as early as the sixth century at Syracuse. Here the creator of the literary Mime was Epicharmus, a contemporary of Aeschylus, who achieved such fame that in Plato's time he could be called the King of Comedy.[2] This brilliant tradition undoubtedly affected Comedy at Athens. Aristotle seems to date its influence from the time of Krates, about a generation earlier than Aristophanes. But this highly developed literary Mime is not now in question. It is certainly not what Aristophanes means by 'vulgar Comedy.' To study that we must go back behind literary developments to the popular farces, and first of all see what Aristophanes' own expressions imply.

89. *The Stock Masks in 'Vulgar Comedy'*

One thing is transparently clear. This 'vulgar Comedy' possessed stock masks. There is the Comic Slave in two varieties: the stupid slave whose function is to get beaten, and the cunning slave who passes on to him the beatings he himself has deserved, and makes a mock of his writhings. There is the Bald-head—the *stupidus calvus* —a mask under which I suspect that Aristophanes himself, whom

[1] Cf. Süss, *De Personarum*, 29. The imitation of dialect also appears in the dance of the κοῦραι Δηλιάδες, who mimicked the speech of the pilgrims at Delos, *hymn. Apoll.* 162. The most delightful specimen of the Learned Doctor's jargon is the final *Intermède* of the *Malade Imaginaire*: '*Savantissimi Doctores,* | *medicinae Professores,* | *qui hic assemblati estis;* | *Et vos, altri messiores,* etc.'

[2] Plato, *Theaet.*, 152 E: τῶν ποιητῶν οἱ ἄκροι τῆς ποιήσεως ἑκατέρας, κωμῳδίας μὲν Ἐπίχαρμος, τραγῳδίας δὲ Ὅμηρος.

Nature had afflicted with baldness at a very early age, was ridiculed by Eupolis. Baldness is a fixed trait of the Parasite.[1] There is the glutton Heracles, cheated of his dinner—a constant figure in Dorian Mime and in the Satyr plays, the two forms in which travesty of the heroic saga flourished all through their history. He figures in the *Alcestis* of Euripides, where, precisely because he is *not* cheated of his dinner, he saves the situation. Aristophanes uses him in the *Birds*.[2] Finally, there is the irascible Old Man, who beats any handy bystander with his stick. To these we may add from the Megarian tradition the Cook or Henchman (*θεράπων*).[3] The name attached to this mask was 'Maison.' Tradition also says that this was the name of an actor. There is here no contradiction. In the history of the Italian *Commedia dell' arte* there are famous instances of celebrated actors who went throughout life by the name of the mask in which they played.[4] Other obscurer masks are Myllus, Acco, and Macco.[5] This, then, is one essential trait common to the 'vulgar Comedy' which Aristophanes professed to shake off and the popular farces of Megara, the Peloponnese, and Magna Graecia: they all possessed a set of stock masks. Analogy warrants the supposition that they started with a small group of these fixed types, to which others were then added by the genius of individual actors, as we know to have happened in the *Commedia dell' arte*.

Aristophanes also mentions two other features which link the 'vulgar Comedy' to the Peloponnesian Mime—the *Kordax* and the leathern phallus worn by the actors. As these are not relevant to our present discussion we shall pass over them briefly. The *Kordax* has been discussed at length by Schnabel,[6] who has identified certain figures in this dance, described in literature, with the poses of three actors pictured on a red-figured amphora found in an Etruscan grave at Corneto. He has further identified the rôles

[1] Dieterich, *Pulcinella*, 38; Schnabel, *Kordax*, 21.

[2] Also in the lost *Aiolosikon*, and probably in the *Daitaleis*. Cratinus also (frag. 308) complains that the repetition of this motive made life not worth living. The Scholiast on *Peace* 740, who records this, mentions as other tedious motives *Διόνυσος δειλός* (used in the *Frogs*) *καὶ μοιχὸς Ζεύς*.

[3] Athen. xiv. 659 A. Kaibel, *C. G. F.*, i. p. 76.

[4] There is also the well known case of T. *Maccius* Plautus, whose name is borrowed from Maccus, the buffoon of the Atellane farces; Leo, *Plautin. Forsch.* 71. Dieterich, *Pulcinella*, 84 and 86 gives other parallels.

[5] See Dieterich, *Pulcinella*, 38 ff.

[6] *Kordax*, 1910.

of these actors as the Parasite, the Baldheaded Fool, and the Comic Slave. The dance itself is linked with the Peloponnesian cult of Artemis, the ancient Goddess of fertility.

The question whether the actor in fifth-century Athenian Comedy wore an artificial phallus as part of his uniform dress has been the subject of a long controversy.[1] Without going into all the arguments for and against, I shall be content to express my own view. Aristophanes' professed renunciation of this article of costume seems to imply definitely that it was familiar on the Attic stage, and that the public were getting tired of jokes about it. His professions must not be taken too seriously, for not only does he in the extant plays use all the other 'vulgar devices' which he condemns,[2] but the use of the phallus itself seems to me certain in the case of some of his own characters.[3] The probable conclusion seems to be that it had been a traditional part of the actor's dress, as it is of the Phlyakes', and that Aristophanes, and perhaps Eupolis too, were trying to get rid of it, but did not altogether succeed. No doubt it was still popular with the less refined part of their audience, and it had behind it a religious tradition. Our own hypothesis that the first protagonist was Phales himself squares well with these conclusions.

90. *The Stock masks in the Atellane farce*

The group of stock masks is likewise an essential feature of the Atellane farces, performed in the old Oscan dialect by the citizens of Atella in Campania, and transplanted in the third century B.C. to Rome. So far as we know, the characters in these plays never had personal names, but were always called after their mask. The chief character was *Maccus*, a name not to be separated from

[1] The dispute may be followed through the writings of Körte, Loeschcke, Bethe, Thiele, and C. Fränkel mentioned in the Bibliography. I wish here to protest against the deliberate omission of the artificial phallus in the illustrations in Haigh's *Attic Theatre*,[3] 257, though it is mentioned in the text. This garbling of scientific evidence (in the interests of whom or what?) seems to me indefensible.

[2] So explicitly Schol. on *Clouds*, 542, *ἰστέον δὲ ὅτι πάντα ὅσα ἂν λέγῃ εἰς ἑαυτὸν τείνει. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ φάλητας εἰσήγαγεν ἐν τῇ Λυσιστράτῃ, τὸν δὲ κόρδακα ἐν τοῖς Σφηξί, τοὺς δὲ φαλακροὺς ἐν Εἰρήνῃ, τὸν δὲ πρεσβύτην ἐν Ὄρνισι, τὰς δὲ ᾠδὰς καὶ τὸ ἰοὺ ἐν Νεφέλαις τοπρῶτον.* The note is not well-informed, but the general point is true.

[3] See above, p. 20.

the Greek Μακκώ.[1] He is the *stupidus* of the Mime. A second was *Bucco*, whose large cheeks betokened, it would seem, folly even more than greed.[2] Third comes the Old Man, *Pappus* (in Oscan, *Casnar*),[3] a name borrowed from Greek Comedy or from the Silenopappos, who is the constant stock mask in the Satyr plays. The fourth is *Dossennus*, the 'hunch-back,' who is none other than the Learned Doctor. He played a chief part in the *Philosophia* of Pomponius, and appeared as a schoolmaster in the same author's *Maccus as a Virgin*. The passing stranger is bidden to read his 'wisdom' in his epitaph quoted by Seneca.[4]

To these four Dieterich, by an ingenious combination, has added *Cicirrus*, the 'cock.' At a dinner-party on Horace's journey to Brundisium, the guests of Cocceius were entertained by a match in abuse between a *scurra*, Sarmentus, and an Oscan, Messius, who is called a *cicirrus*.[5] Hesychius[6] glosses this word as meaning 'cock.' Now, the cock lent its features—its comb, its hooked beak, its feathers—to various types of *Alazon*: it symbolised, in fact, any type of 'coxcombry.' But, above all, the cock was a fighter. The *Agon* of Greek Comedy is several times compared

[1] The derivative μακκοᾶν is twice used in the *Knights*, once of Demos (62), once of the people whom he personifies, 395, *Paph.* οὐ δέδοιχ' ὑμᾶς, ἕως ἂν ζῇ τὸ βουλευτήριον | καὶ τὸ τοῦ δήμου πρόσωπον μακκοᾷ καθήμενον. For these masks see Dieterich, *Pulcinella*, 84 ff., and Marx in Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. *Atellanae fabulae*.

[2] Apul. *de mag.* 81 (Helm) *omnes isti quos nominaui . . . si cum hac una Rufini fallacia contendantur, macci prorsus et buccones uidebuntur.* Plaut. *Bacch.* 1088 *stulti stolidi fatui fungi bardi blenni buccones. Script. physiogn.* i. 412, 7 (Förster), αἱ δὲ λίαν μακραὶ (παρειαὶ) φλυάρων καὶ ματαιολόγων. The fat cheeks are borrowed from the pig, who in Greece stands for stupidity (ἀμαθία).

[3] Varro, *Ling. Lat.* vii. 29, *item significant in Atellanis aliquot Pappum senem, quod Osci Casnar appellant.*

[4] *Ep.* xiv. 1 (89), 7: *Sapientia est quam Graeci σοφίαν uocant. hoc uerbo Romani quoque utebantur . . . quod et togatae tibi antiquae probabunt et inscriptus Dossenni monumento titulus:*

Hospes resiste et sophian Dossenni lege.

[5] Hor. *Sat.* i. 5, 51 ff.:

nunc mihi paucis
Sarmenti scurrae pugnam Messique cicirri
Musa uelim memores, et quo patre natus uterque
Contulerit litis: Messi clarum genus Osci . . .

Dieterich, *Pulcinella*, 94, adds that if Cicirrus is a name, it must have been a cognomen from the stage, as Maccus and Dossennus were names of historical persons (*ibid.* p. 84).

[6] Hesych.: κίκιρρος· ἀλεκτρύων. κίκκα· ἀλεκτορίς. κίκκος· ἀλεκτρυών, κλέπτης. κιξάλης· φώρ κλέπτης ἀλαζών.

to a cock-fight:[1] a cock-fight is sculptured on the chair of the priest of Dionysus in the Athenian theatre. A vase from Lower Italy[2] shows us two comic actors, armed with spear and shield, marching one behind the other. The leader is a handsome youth, crested with what looks like an enormous cock's comb; his follower is a hideous dwarf with the prominent belly and phallus of the Phlyax. He too has huge feathers standing upright on his helmet. The youth is manifestly a *miles gloriosus*, and he reminds us of the terrific crest of Lamachus.[3] Putting all these facts together, we may perhaps conjecture that the Oscan *Cicirrus* figured in this character in the Atellane plays. At any rate we may be sure that he was some kind of Impostor. It is curious that he should be pitted against a Buffoon (*scurra*) in the after-dinner dialogue at the house of Cocceius.

91. *The Affinities of these forms of drama*

If we now tabulate the lists of stock masks in the 'vulgar Comedy' repudiated by Aristophanes, Aristophanes' own plays, and the Atellane farces, the results show a very close resemblance:

Vulgar Comedy.	Aristophanes.	Atellane Farce.
Comic Slave.	Comic Slave and minor Buffoon.	Maccus (*buffoon*).
	Learned Doctor.	Dossennus.
Cook (Megarian Maison).	Cook.	
	Soldier.	(Cicirrus ?)
Baldhead (Parasite).	Parasite.	Bucco (?)
Old Man.	Old Man.	Pappus.
Old Woman.	Old Woman.	
	Young Woman (*mute*).	

[1] E.g. *Knights*, 496, and the two Reasons in the *Clouds* (Schol. *ad v.* 889, *ὑποκεῖνται ἐπὶ τῆς σκηνῆς ἐν πλεκτοῖς οἰκίσκοις οἱ Λόγοι δίκην ὀρνίθων μαχόμενοι*). Cf. Dieterich, *Pulcinella*, 242.

[2] Figured by Dieterich, *Pulcinella*, 239, after Tischbein, *Collection of Engravings from Ancient Vases of Sir W. Hamilton*, ii. Plate 57. Compare also the *Birds*, 1364, where Pisthetairos arms the young man with the spur and *λόφος* of the cock and sends him off to fight in Thrace.

[3] *Ach.* 575: *ὦ Λάμαχ' ἥρως, τῶν λόφων καὶ τῶν λόχων*. Dikaiopolis borrows a feather, asking if it comes from a 'Boastard': *ἆρα κομπαλακύθου*; Schol. *ad v.* 589: *ματαιοκόμπου καὶ κομπώδους ἐν τῷ καυχᾶσθαι. παρεποίησε δὲ καὶ παρέπλασεν ὄνομα ὄρνιθος, διὰ τὸ κομπαστὴν εἶναι τὸν Λάμαχον*.

Many writers have speculated as to the possibility of an historic connection between the Atellane plays and the *Commedia dell' arte* of modern Italy, especially the Neapolitan plays which are still in vogue in the very district which contains Atella.[1] Cautious scholars limit themselves to pointing out the extraordinarily close resemblance of the two forms. Among the bewildering variety of local personages in the modern Italian plays, some of the principal stock masks of our list emerge:

The *Buffoon*: Pulcinella, Arlecchino, etc.

The *Dottore*.

The *Capitano*: Capitan Matamoros, Capitan Fracassa, etc.

The *Old Man*: Pantalone.

In this form of drama also we have the phenomenon on which we have laid stress in this chapter: a group of stock masks, the members of which appear in all sorts of comic situations, and take on the traits of appropriate professional or social types. Thus the plays of Carlo Sigismondo Capece (born in Rome 1652) included *Pulcinella podestà*, *Pulcinella negromante*, *Pulcinella gravida*, *Pulcinella finta statua*, which are exactly like the titles of Atellane plays: *Maccus miles*, *Maccus sequester*, *Maccus virgo*, *Bucco auctoratus*, *Bucco adoptatus*, *Pappus praeteritus*, etc.[2] The plays of Aristophanes are, of course, not to be classed under the same head —the presence of a Chorus is a marked point of difference—but it should now be clear that they have strong affinities. Some of the comedies would not be unrecognisable, if we re-named them with titles on the same pattern:

The Old Man as peacemaker (*Acharnians*).
The Parasite and the Cook as demagogues (*Knights*).
The Doctor as philosopher (*Clouds*).
The Old Man as juryman (*Wasps*).
The Old Man as Bellerophon (*Peace*).
The Old Man as founder of a city (*Birds*).
The Soldier and the Doctor as poets (*Frogs*).

This nomenclature would, of course, overemphasise the stock masks; but it serves to bring out the unquestionable fact that Aristophanes' plays are deeply imbued in the tradition of a type of drama which closely resembled the Greek farces of the Peloponnese

[1] See Scherillo, *La commedia dell' arte in Italia*; Dieterich, *Pulcinella*, 251 ff.; Reich, *Der Mimus*, i. 675 ff.

[2] Dieterich, *Pulcinella*, p. 262.

and Magna Graecia and their Italian congeners, and which appears to be nothing else than that 'vulgar Comedy,' whether Megarian or indigenous, which Aristophanes so ostentatiously repudiates. He certainly protests too loudly; but all that he really asserts is consistent with the truth about his own plays. He has not broken with the tradition altogether: the stock masks still obliterate the real features of his Socrates, his Euripides, and the rest. But he has got beyond the stale antics and *lazzi*, the wearisome jokes about fleas and beaten slaves; not that he cuts these out altogether, but that he has added an astonishing wealth of 'new notions, no two alike and all of them clever.'

92. *How does such a set of stock masks originate?*

What are we to make of this 'vulgar Comedy'? It is now universally assumed that it consisted solely of disconnected farcical scenes, interspersed between the choral songs. I have already questioned this current opinion, which hangs together with a false view of the second part of the Aristophanic play. Partly, too, it is suggested by the later development of the literary Mime, those short realistic scenes which we find in mimes of Theocritus and Herodas, and no doubt in their predecessor, Sophron, who gave Plato the idea of writing philosophy in mime form. The 'vulgar Comedy' was evidently something much cruder—not a psychological study of social types in dramatic form, but a primitive popular farce, no more subtle and refined than *Punch and Judy*. Above all, the characters in it were not drawn direct from life, but were stock masks, belonging, moreover, it would seem, to a definite group with fixed relations to one another.

The question how such a group can originate is one that I have never seen discussed. In the modern instances the origin appears to be unknown; and the question of their derivation, through channels now only to be guessed at, from ancient types, is still unsettled. It was possible for Marx, writing on the Atellane plays before 1896,[1] to dismiss any historic connection of the *Commedia dell' arte* with the Oscan plays on the ground that similar figures occur in the Turkish puppet-play, Karagoz. But since the publication of Reich's researches in 1903 this consideration cannot be

[1] In *Pauly-Wissowa*, vol. ii. s.v. 'Atellanae fabulae.'

taken as final, for Reich looks to Byzantium as a centre from which the late Greek Mime could have spread to Italy on the one side and to Moslem countries on the other. If, therefore, we are considering the independent origination of such types of drama, we must leave the modern instances out of account.

How, then, is the existence of this group of stock masks to be explained ? The analogies we have pointed out show us that they are not a casual assemblage, but a definite set of six or seven characters, each sharply distinct from every other. The same set, moreover, recurs in different places, though, of course, with local modifications and additions: The Buffoon, the Doctor or Cook, the Soldier, the Parasite, the Old Man, the Old Woman. This group furnishes the stock masks for the major characters in Aristophanes' plays, who carry on the main business of the plot, if we add to them the Young Man (in two plays), and the Young Woman, the mute bride of the final marriage. The Parasite may, perhaps, be ruled out as borrowed from the Dorian tradition. But what of the remainder ?

For my own part, I cannot conceive how such a troupe should come to exist, in the first instance, except as actors in a fixed plot —a definite action which demanded just those characters, and in which each had his proper place and function. This proposition, if true, is very important for our subject. It seems to be so obvious that its not being a commonplace makes me think I may have overlooked some other possibility. The troupe of English Mummers, the similar set of characters in the Northern Greek festival plays stare us in the face. By this time, moreover, it must have occurred to the reader that they are fundamentally the same troupe as we have made out behind the Aristophanic play, lending their masks to one or another of the major characters. They are the set required for the fertility drama of the marriage of the Old Year transformed into the New, that marriage which is interrupted by the death and revival of the hero.

In that drama we can distinguish their original functions, and set each one in his due relation to the constant action. The Old Man and the Young Man are the Old and New Year: they may both appear and fight one another, or the Old may be turned into the Young. The Swaggering Soldier is Captain Bluster, the antagonist who kills the bridegroom. The Doctor recalls him to

life, or the Cook transmutes him from age to youth. This magical process of regeneration, as we have seen, is only a special variety of death and resurrection. The Cook is a magician, a dealer in enchanted herbs, a medicine-man. As such, he is not, in origin, distinct from the Learned Doctor. These two characters are alternative. The Young Woman is the mute bride of the marriage. The Old Woman is properly the Mother, who appears in the opening scene of the Thracian play, nurses her miraculous child, and disappears. In most of the versions this preliminary scene has dropt out, leaving the Old Woman without a function: and accordingly we find that she does not figure as a major character, either in Aristophanes or in the Atellane plays. This incident of the miraculous birth was, from its nature, sure to drop out in the transition from the childish make-believe of folk drama to literary Comedy.[1] In a comedy the hero cannot always be born in the first act and married in the last. Nor can the miraculously rapid growth to maturity, which recurs so often in legend, be represented on the stage. It can only be described, as in fact it is in the newly discovered Satyr-play, the *Ichneutae* of Sophocles. Clearly this old ritual induction is bound to disappear, and with it fades the figure of the Old Woman, whose function is gone. She remains only as the drunken and amorous hag who dances the *Kordax*. The rest of the play from the *Agon* at the beginning to the Marriage at the end requires just those other *dramatis personae* that we have enumerated. It can hardly be an accident that, with the addition of the Parasite, they provide the stock masks for Aristophanes' historical characters.

[1] The Old Woman is missing in several of the northern Greek festival plays recorded by Mr. Wace. See above, p. 63.

CHAPTER IX

COMEDY AND TRAGEDY

93. *How did Comedy and Tragedy differentiate?*

If the conclusions to which so many converging lines of argument have led us are in substance true, Athenian Comedy arose out of a ritual drama essentially the same in type as that from which Professor Murray derives Athenian Tragedy. The case for this origin of Comedy seems to me the clearer and more convincing of the two; and it reinforces Professor Murray's hypothesis. That the traces of the old ritual motives should be easier to make out in Comedy is just what we should expect; for, as we shall see, the type of drama which is the more careless of form and structure, and interested rather in character than in plot, naturally has less reason to obliterate its primitive outlines. The two theories help one another, and, if either could be regarded as proved, it would be in a fair way to carry the other with it. For, that the two types of drama which were presented to the same audience at the same festivals of Dionysus should have had their origins in different cults, is a thesis so paradoxical that only the most cogent proof could recommend it to serious attention. We cannot, at this stage, enter upon the whole difficult problem of the beginnings of Tragedy. Here, as hitherto, I shall provisionally assume that Professor Murray's hypothesis is, in the main, true, and pass on to a question which I may reasonably be required to answer. It is this: Given that Tragedy and Comedy have come from the same type of ritual drama, how and why did they part and take their divergent routes towards forms of art so widely different?

Before I attempt to answer this question, a word must be said about certain factors in any such problem which have so far been left out of account. Any one who states a theory of the historic

origin of any form of art is sure to be attacked for neglecting the creative power of individual men of genius, and—something that lies deeper still—the common impulse obscurely felt by the men of a certain society at a certain time, the common need that their apprehension of life, its laughter and its terror, shall find some expression in art. Such a criticism may be just. This book would deserve it, if I were for a moment to delude myself or the reader with the suggestion that there is nothing in the *Agamemnon* of Aeschylus or the *Birds* of Aristophanes, of which the germ is not already present in *Punch and Judy*. If it is necessary to disclaim anything so absurd, it shall here be set down that our argument does not suppose the original ritual drama or the degenerate folk-play which may have followed it to have contained, even in germ, either the wit of Aristophanes or the wisdom of Aeschylus, either the comic or the tragic perception of life. It admits, moreover, that all these factors were needed, as independent and original forces, to shape fifth-century drama. But there is a good reason for excluding them, so far as possible, from a scientific discussion of historic origins. To admit them is to offer the unknown in explanation of the known. That Aeschylus was a genius is patent enough; but to say that Tragedy owes its existence to that genius and its creative or inventive powers is to leave us no wiser than we were. It is certain, indeed, that such a statement must be in great measure true; but in what measure, we can only find out by discovering what Aeschylus did not invent. It may be true, again, that the tragic apprehension of life was astir in men's minds and ready to be brought to birth. But sociology has not yet discovered what conditions favour the growth of a tragic or a comic drama, though we might vaguely indicate a few special causes; and it is conceivable that there may be movements of spiritual life which the most complete sociology will never describe in general terms. We may, therefore, put these considerations aside, and confine ourselves to those rude beginnings whose existence we have inferred from features of the comic drama which no individual genius could have invented. All that we are bound to do is to indicate how Comedy and Tragedy, if their sources lay so close together, could have become so different.

94. *The ritual was probably indigenous*

That the ritual which lay behind Tragedy was native to Attica, in the sense that it existed as ritual in that country before the drama grew out of it, is generally admitted. I can see no serious reason to doubt that the same holds of Comedy. The Dorian claim is not supported by Aristotle: on the contrary he points to the Phallic Songs still existing 'in many Greek states,' and certainly existing in Attica, as we know from the *Acharnians*. So far as ancient tradition is concerned, the theory of Dorian origin rests on little more than the unquestioned fact that Epicharmus was writing mimes in Sicily before Comedy was officially recognised at Athens; Aristophanes' reference to 'laughter stolen from Megara' and the similar allusions in other Old Comedy poets; and a few statements of later grammarians which lie under strong suspicion of having been invented to explain those allusions. As for the works of Epicharmus, we now know them to belong to a different species of drama, clearly distinguished from Attic Comedy by the absence of any Chorus. That they influenced the Athenian writers from about the middle of the fifth century is asserted by Aristotle and is no doubt true. But few would now look to the Sicilian Mime as the main source of Attic Comedy. There is, however, the Peloponnesian farce, from which the Mime in Sicily and Southern Italy was derived. Was the laughter of Attic Comedy stolen from the Peloponnese by way of Megara?

It must be admitted that we do not know what is meant by the references to the bad quality of Megarian jokes. Perhaps Megara was despised because her Comedy never grew out of the 'vulgar' stage which the Athenian writers boasted of having left behind. It must be remembered that Megara is the nearest Dorian city to Attica, and had actually belonged to Athens for nearly the whole of the fifteen years preceding the birth of Aristophanes (460/59—446/5). The loss of the two Megarian ports under the treaty of Thirty Years' Peace was a severe blow to Athenian commercial relations with western Greece; and it is with a series of drastic measures against Megara that the Peloponnesian war opens. When the comic writers of this generation refer contemptuously to Megarian humour, it is more natural to take them as meaning 'jokes good enough for those stupid Dorians anywhere south and

west of Eleusis,' than to suppose that they allude to any importation of Dorian Comedy into Attica a century or more before their time.[1] The references were quite enough to set the late grammarians upon the tale that Susarion ' invented ' Comedy at Megara and brought it to Athens. This legend is refuted by the considerations that the Dorian farce never had a Chorus, whereas the Chorus is integral in Attic Comedy, and that, as we have shown, the whole structure of the plays hangs together, so that the parts in which the Chorus plays an important rôle cannot be separated from the rest. The modern believers in Megarian influence are generally disposed to see it only or chiefly in what we have called the Impostor Scenes, and to regard these as borrowed from a different type of drama. Our own hypothesis regards the Impostor as integral, but could very well admit some degree of influence from the Peloponnesian farce, traceable, perhaps, in the multiplication of the Impostor into professional types. In the main, however, the theory we have put forward is against the wholesale importation of undigested fragments from an alien tradition—a process which in any case is difficult to conceive. The unity of the plot in Comedy, if it be established, is almost fatal to such a view; and our whole argument tends to support the supposition that the ritual drama out of which Aristophanic Comedy grew was native to Attica.

95. *The Dionysiac festivals at Athens*

Friendly critics, to whom I have communicated the argument of this book, have urged that I ought to investigate the thorny question of the Dionysiac festivals at Athens, and identify the ritual basis of Comedy with the actual rites of some one of them.[2] But I am not convinced that any such demonstration is required. In the first place we have no ground for supposing that the folk-play which lay behind Comedy took shape in the *city* of Athens at all. The best tradition that we have connects both Susarion,

[1] It must be noted also that, where Aristophanes names any writers of ' vulgar Comedy ' who used the stale antics he repudiates, these writers are his own predecessors and contemporaries of the Attic stage: Phrynichus, Lykis, Ameipsias (*Frogs*, 13); the ἄνδρες φορτικοί who defeated the *Clouds* (524), Eupolis, Phrynichus, Hermippus (*Clouds*, 553).

[2] The sources are collected and discussed by Nilsson, *Studia de Dion. atticis.* The most recent treatment of the subject will be found in Mr. A. B. Cook's *Zeus*, vol. i. (Cambridge, 1914), pp. 665-718.

the reputed founder of Comedy, and Thespis, the founder of Tragedy, not with Athens, but with Ikaria, an outlying centre of Dionysiac worship. The phallic ceremonies of Dikaiopolis in the *Acharnians*, again, take place at the Country Dionysia, though I am willing to believe that this festival was no more than the rustic equivalent of the Lenaea. Such processions and rude mummers' plays are more likely to survive in country villages than in cities. It will be remembered how St. Augustine speaks of the corresponding Italian *Liberalia* as celebrated 'in the fields' and *later* brought into Rome itself. The English Morris Dance and play of St. George must be sought in the remotest hamlets; in the larger centres of population they are only now beginning to exist as deliberate importations. Why should we not accept the tradition that Comedy was imported from Ikaria to Athens?

The ritual of the Lenaea itself lived on as ritual; it never, so far as we know, sank to the plane of a degenerate folk-play. The natural inference is that Attic Comedy did not arise directly out of that actual festival, which maintained its ceremonies at the religious level. The Great Dionysia, again, has not the air of a primitive feast at all. It was probably the artificial creation of Peisistratus' desire to have a great musical festival at a season of the year when it was possible for foreigners to be present and see the glories of Athens.[1] At the Anthesteria there is nothing to show that either tragedies or comedies were ever performed. Everything seems to point to a country origin of Comedy, in a folk drama like the modern festival plays of Northern Greece, which somehow became important enough to claim official admission to the Great Dionysia in the time of the Persian wars. If it first took shape in the Country Dionysia (say) at Ikaria, its many points of resemblance to the Lenaean ritual are explained.[2]

Leaving the question of the Dionysiac festivals, then, to more

[1] Mr. Cook urges that the performance of the Dithyramb may be the original nucleus of the Great Dionysia and older than Peisistratus. I am willing to admit this possibility.

[2] The Dorian claimants of Comedy would not have argued from a derivation of the word from κώμη, 'village' (Arist. *Poet.* 1448*a*, 35), if Comedy had not been thought to have had a rural origin. Probably no independent value is to be attached to the strange stories told by later grammarians of the farmers who came into the town to avenge themselves on the citizens by lampooning them, Schol. in Dion. Thrac., p. 747 (Kaibel, *C. G. F.* i. p. 12).

competent hands,[1] we will go back to our problem of the divergence of Tragedy and Comedy, with the assumption that the ritual drama behind each was essentially the same in content, though not necessarily performed at the same season of the year.

96. *Plot and Character in Tragedy and Comedy: the primacy of Plot in Tragedy*

There is a very wise sentence in the *Poetics*,[2] in which Aristotle speaks of Tragedy as growing, like a living thing, through many changes, into the fulness of its perfect form, and then coming to a standstill. Of the inner principle of this growth, the tragic vision of life and the impulse driving the dramatic artist to seek ever a more complete expression for it, we have decided to say as little as possible; but, for our present question of the diverging tendencies of Tragedy and Comedy, it becomes important to look at the general course taken by each, so far as we can observe it. Here Aristotle will help us again, with another observation which goes deeper, perhaps, than he knew.

In discussing the general characteristics of Tragedy, Aristotle insists at some length on the fact that the action, or plot, is primary, the characters secondary. 'The persons in the play,' he says, 'do not go through the action in order to give a representation of their characters, but they include the representation of character for the sake of the action. Accordingly, the events or plot are the essential thing for which Tragedy exists—its end; and the end is always the most important thing.[3] A tragedy cannot exist without an action; it can exist without characters. The tragedies of most of the moderns are characterless. . . . One may string together a series of speeches which exhibit character, excellently composed both in style and thought, and yet not produce the true tragic effect. A play which is inferior in this respect, but has a plot or

[1] Mr. Cook's brilliant reconstruction of the Lenaean ritual and the light he has thrown upon it from kindred cults (*Zeus*, vol. i. pp. 665 ff.) has been of the greatest service to me. I am not, however, convinced by his ingenious theory of the mutual relations of the four Dionysiac festivals.

[2] 1449*a*, 14, *καὶ πολλὰς μεταβολὰς μεταβαλοῦσα ἡ τραγῳδία ἐπαύσατο, ἐπεὶ ἔσχε τὴν αὑτῆς φύσιν.*

[3] *Poetics*, 6, 1450 *a*, 20: *οὔκουν ὅπως τὰ ἤθη μιμήσωνται πράττουσιν, ἀλλὰ τὰ ἤθη συμπεριλαμβάνουσι διὰ τὰς πράξεις· ὥστε τα πράγματα καὶ ὁ μῦθος τέλος τῆς τραγῳδίας, τὸ δὲ τέλος μέγιστον ἁπάντων.*

combination of events, may be much more successful. . . . Beginners attain precision of style and exactness of character-drawing sooner than success in plot-construction. The same might be said of nearly all the earliest dramatists. The first essential, then, the soul (as it were) of Tragedy is the plot; the characters come second.[1] It is much the same as in painting: an artist may lay on the most beautiful colours at haphazard, and not give so much pleasure as if he drew a portrait in mere outline. The very essence of Tragedy is to be a representation of action; it is, above all, for the sake of the action that the persons concerned in it are represented.'

It is the fashion now to sneer at Aristotle, largely because certain general statements in which he formulates the actual practice of Greek tragedians have been injudiciously quoted as if they were rules intended to bind all future writers of serious drama. If we avoid this elementary mistake, we shall find his observations of the facts of ancient Tragedy extraordinarily acute. But the piece of criticism just quoted has a wider application. That action is primary, character secondary, seems to be true of any drama, ancient or modern, that can be called tragic.

Tragedy must represent the way of the world, the movement of life, the workings of destiny, the end that grows inevitably out of a given beginning, as a plant or animal grows out of its germ.[2] The sense of internal structural necessity seems indispensable to the

[1] *ἀρχὴ μὲν οὖν καὶ οἷον ψυχὴ ὁ μῦθος τῆς τραγῳδίας, δεύτερον δὲ τὰ ἤθη.*

[2] I believe that this metaphor of development into the 'full-grown' form (*φύσις τελεία*) is in Aristotle's mind when he says that the action represented in Tragedy must be *τελεία καὶ ὅλη* (*Poetics*, 7). *ὅλον* is defined as *τὸ ἔχον ἀρχὴν καὶ μέσον καὶ τελευτήν*. In the same chapter, discussing the question of magnitude (*μέγεθος*), he compares a plot to a living creature (*ζῷον*). He is there following Plato, *Phaedrus*, 264 C: *δεῖν πάντα λόγον ὥσπερ ζῷον συνεστάναι σῶμά τι ἔχοντα αὐτὸν αὑτοῦ, ὥστε μήτ' ἀκέφαλον εἶναι μήτ' ἄπουν, ἀλλὰ μέσα τ' ἔχειν καὶ ἄκρα, πρέποντ' ἀλλήλοις καὶ τῷ ὅλῳ γεγραμμένα.* The last phrase is repeated with reference to the structure of the tragic plot, *Phaedrus* 268 D: Sophocles and Euripides would laugh, *εἴ τις οἴεται τραγῳδίαν ἄλλο τι εἶναι ἢ τὴν τούτων σύστασιν, πρέπουσαν ἀλλήλοις τε καὶ τῷ ὅλῳ συνισταμένην.* At *Poetics* 23 *init.* Aristotle repeats the comparison to a living thing with reference to Epic: 'The plots should be constructed as in a tragedy, and deal with a single action that is whole and complete—*περὶ μίαν πρᾶξιν ὅλην καὶ τελείαν ἔχουσαν ἀρχὴν καὶ μέσα καὶ τέλος, ἵν' ὥσπερ ζῷον ἓν ὅλον ποιῇ τὴν οἰκείαν ἡδονήν.* In an animal the seed is the *ἀρχή*, the full-grown form the *τελευτή* or *τέλος*. Similarly, the end of the tragic plot is related to its beginning as fruit to seed: Aesch. *Pers.*, 821, *ὕβρις γὰρ ἐξανθοῦσ' ἐκάρπωσεν στάχυν | Ἄτης, ὅθεν πάγκαρπον ἐξαμᾷ θέρος.* The end is implicit (*δυνάμει*) in the beginning and unfolds out into its fulness.

tragic effect. It is not really absent even where the fatal moment is a clash between the unaccountable spontaneity of will and the stroke of blind chance. There is still the feeling that such things must be;[1] and chance itself no sooner ceased to be a power of malignant purpose than it was resolved into inexorable law. There is no room for accidents that are insignificant, in other words, *particular* accidents, without what Aristotle calls a 'universal' meaning.

Among such particular accidents we must reckon all the richness of individuality which any real person has, in so far as it is irrelevant to the action. The weaker a tragedian is, the more he will be tempted to make his characters look real and life-like, by admitting these casual traits. The stronger he is, the more his characters will possess the inner coherence, or rather the indivisible unity, which belongs, not to the life-like, but to the living; and, by virtue of this unity, his characters may be indefinitely rich without irrelevance, or any sacrifice of the sense of necessity. Still, it remains true that the character is dominated and dictated by the action or 'experience'—the Greek language is happy in having one word (πρᾶξις) for both these meanings.

97. *The primacy of Character in Comedy*

Nothing of all this applies to Comedy. It is true that the spectator may have an exquisite delight in foreseeing some turn of events to which the characters in the play are advancing blindly; but, in general, the most unexpected incidents are the most amusing. Fortune was the acknowledged divinity of the New Comedy[2]; and accident has always been allowed a large place in the comic plot. In the construction we may demand neatness and a lightly balanced symmetry; but no one wants a sense of closely knit necessity. In proportion as this is present, Comedy approaches the borderland where it can no longer be clearly distinguished from Tragedy, and both terms lose their application and had better be

[1] Marcus Aurelius, xi. 6, 'At first tragedies were brought on the stage as a means of reminding men of the things which happen to them, and that it is according to nature for things to happen so, and that, if you are delighted with what is shown on the stage, you should not be troubled with that which takes place on the larger stage' (Long's Translation).

[2] On this subject cf. Legrand, *Daos* (Lyon, Paris, 1910), pp. 392 ff.

dropt. The earliest Comedy is the furthest removed from this stage. The Attic comedians learnt the lesson of plot-construction from the tragic poets, with some help from the Sicilian Mime. The intrigue plot of the New Comedy is an inheritance from Euripides, not from Aristophanes or any of his predecessors in the fifth century, with the possible exception of Krates.[1] The Old Comedy in general is content with a much laxer construction. It is not primarily the representation of an 'action' or 'experience,' to which character is secondary, but its bent is always towards the representation of a set of characters, turned loose to bring about the action by their interplay. In the still laxer form of the novel, great writers have often described how their characters seem to come alive and take the action into their own hands, carrying it to conclusions undesigned by their creator.

The extreme of this concentration on character is found in the Mime, which stands at the opposite pole to Tragedy. As practised by the Alexandrian writers, the Mime has no action at all; it represents a few characters in a situation which does not change. The interest is entirely focussed on the study of character, and no preoccupation with larger issues stands in the way of extreme realism. It seems to be an essentially Dorian product, holding up to the absurdities of Nature the mirror of a commonsense *Sophrosyne*—a mirror which can faithfully reflect the actual, but distorts the heroic into the grotesque ugliness of travesty. These two traditions—the imitative representation of real life and burlesque of the heroic saga—run through the whole history of the Mime. Outside those limits it never moved; inside them it reached its peculiar glory of realistic character-study. It has no background and no perspective. In our own literature the most perfect exponent of this sort of art is Jane Austen. Her amazingly close observation; her sceptical distrust of the romantic; her resolute avoidance of any lapse into tragic moods or into that moralising from which no male English novelist can refrain; the narrowness of her stage, on which English life at the turn of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries goes forward as if the French Revolution had never happened and Napoleon never been born—all this is characteristic of the Mime, though she may never have read Theocritus, and Herodas had not been discovered.

[1] For Krates, see below, p. 217.

98. *The tragic Myth and the comic Logos*

The Old Comedy stands somewhere between Tragedy, with its all-important plot, and Mime, where the interest is solely in character. As contrasted with Tragedy, it is indifferent to plot-construction, and for that very reason Comedy keeps nearer to the old ritual outline. The tragedian had to take some traditional story ('myth') with its quasi-historic characters, and, although he might modify details and even invent new characters, he could not alter the most important incidents. The treatment of such a myth necessarily obliterated the sequence of incidents which formed the primitive ritual scheme. These survive, in general, rather as conventional motives, or 'fixed forms,' such as the messenger speech or the theophany. In Comedy, on the other hand, the plots were not 'myths,' but were freely invented. The proper term for the comic plot is not *mythos*, but *logos*.[1] The term seems to mean the 'theme,' or 'idea,' of the piece. There is no suggestion of a closely spun web of incidents running all through. Whereas the Euripidean prologue will foretell the whole general course of the action to the end, the prologue in Aristophanes only states the main idea. In the *Peace*, for instance, Trygaeus' slave tells the audience no more than that his master is mad and has procured a dung-beetle to carry him, like Bellerophon, to heaven. Aristophanes repeatedly boasts of the novelty of his ideas.[2] His method is to take some general theme (*logos*), such as the notion of a strike of women in favour of peace, and to illustrate it by the most amusing incidents he can devise. For such a purpose no well-knit intrigue is required. Consequently, the traditional framework of the ritual plot serves well enough. Any artist—above all a Greek artist—will sooner adapt a conventional scheme to his own ends than exercise invention where it is not wanted. Hence it

[1] *E.g. Wasps*, 54 (Prologue), *φέρε νυν κατείπω τοῖς θεαταῖς τὸν λόγον*, 64 *ἀλλ' ἐστιν ἡμῖν λογίδιον γνώμην ἔχον. Peace*, 50 (Prologue), *ἐγὼ δὲ τὸν λόγον γε . . . φράσω.* Cf. *Lysistrata*, 119, *λέγοιμ' ἄν· οὐ γὰρ δεῖ κεκρύφθαι τὸν λόγον.* Kratinus, *Odysses*, 144. Antiph. frag. 191.

[2] *Clouds*, 547, *οὐδ' ὑμᾶς ζητῶ 'ξαπατᾶν δὶς καὶ τρὶς ταῦτ' εἰσάγων*, | *ἀλλ' ἀεὶ καινὰς ἰδέας εἰσφέρων σοφίζομαι*, | *οὐδὲν ἀλλήλαισιν ὁμοίας καὶ πάσας δεξιάς. Wasps*, 1044, *καινοτάταις διανοίαις*, 1053 *τῶν ποιητῶν . . . τοὺς ζητοῦντας καινόν τι λέγειν κἀξευρίσκειν. Eccles.* 578. Plato, *Laws*, 816 E, mentions this novelty as if it were a recognised principle in Comedy, *καινὸν δὲ ἀεί τι περὶ αὐτὰ φαίνεσθαι τῶν μιμημάτων*; it is not relevant to his own point in the context.

comes about that the very freedom of the comic plot left standing the old scaffolding which Tragedy, bound to its epic sources and itself requiring the utmost internal coherence, was obliged to break up.[1]

99. *Character in Tragedy*

Turning from plot to character, we find again that Comedy alike enjoys a greater freedom than Tragedy, and, as a consequence, departs less from the old tradition. In Tragedy, as Aristotle says, 'the persons in the play do not go through their action (or 'experience') in order to give a representation of their characters; they include a representation of character for the sake of the action.' The tragic poet starts with a given action, the experience of a certain group of legendary persons. These persons generally have only that one context, in which their whole being moves: they are the people who went through just that great and significant experience (*οἱ πράττοντες*). Their very names—Agamemnon, Clytaemnestra, Aegisthus, Cassandra—bring that action at once before us, and nothing else.[2] They come (so to say) as supporting this action, which is itself the primary thing. It dictates their characters, demanding that these shall be moulded to fit the experience they must carry through to its traditional end. Hence, the tragedians were forced to create characters capable of doing and suffering what the story relates. The action requires certain

[1] These remarks, of course, apply chiefly to the earlier plays of Aristophanes. In some of the later, the beginnings of a new tendency appear, ultimately to triumph in the New Comedy, of whose poets it can be truly said, *κατασχολοῦνται πάντες περὶ τὰς ὑποθέσεις*, Anon. *de Com.* (Kaibel, *C. G. F.*, i. p. 9). (This statement is actually made of the writers of the Middle Comedy.)

[2] The comedian Antiphanes (*Ποίησις* ii. 90 K) complains that tragedians have this very advantage:

> *μακάριόν ἐστιν ἡ τραγῳδία*
> *ποίημα κατὰ πάντ', εἴ γε πρῶτον οἱ λόγοι*
> *ὑπὸ τῶν θεατῶν εἰσιν ἐγνωρισμένοι,*
> *πρὶν καί τιν' εἰπεῖν· ὥσθ' ὑπομνῆσαι μόνον*
> *δεῖ τὸν ποιητήν. Οἰδίπουν γὰρ † φῶ . . . †*
> *τὰ δ' ἄλλα πάντ' ἴσασιν· ὁ πατὴρ Λάιος,*
> *μήτηρ Ἰοκάστη, θυγατέρες, παῖδες τίνες . . .*
> *ἡμῖν δὲ ταῦτ' οὐκ ἔστιν, ἀλλὰ πάντα δεῖ*
> *εὑρεῖν, ὀνόματα καινά . . .*
> *. . . κἄπειτα τὰ διῳκημένα*
> *πρότερον, τὰ νῦν παρόντα, τὴν καταστροφήν,*
> *τὴν εἰσβολήν.*

motives; the characters must be such as can have those motives, and, further, such that those motives will be the characteristic motives. So the tragic poet must work from action to motive, and from motive to character. These causes led to the creation of types which had never before appeared in literature, and could not have been conceived except by a man of genius working under these stern necessities. We may instance the heroic maiden, Antigone, and a whole gallery of women in Euripides. These are not taken from the Epic, still less from ordinary Athenian life; for we know from Aristophanes how they startled and scandalised Athenian society. Once invented, these characters, of course, became types for the imitation of inferior artists. But originally they were imaginative creations. The effect was to enlarge and deepen knowledge of human nature, by discovering possibilities of character and motive that lie within its compass, but are rarely shown in common life, and are beyond the power of observation of ordinary men, who, indeed, not seldom remain unable to conceive them, even when the artist has put them before their eyes.

100. *Character in Comedy*

The comic poet had no such impulse driving him to explore the rarer possibilities of noble and heroic natures. His eye is fixed, not on what towers above the ordinary man and often escapes his comprehension, but on what lies beneath him, so that he can look down upon it and see all round it, with an amused contempt and a flattered sense of superiority. The characters can take the primary place and shape the incidents as they please. Human nature is so complex and infinitely various, that, wherever writers are not bound by the demands of a given plot, they always tend either to group people in certain classes of stock types, or to copy individual characters from the life and let them bring about the action as they will. Aristophanes inherited, as we have seen, a small group of stock characters or masks, and there were no exigencies of plot to force him to abandon them. Accordingly, he used them again and again. Advance could only take place in the direction of realism. It is interesting to trace its stages.

The general formula of progress for Comedy is a steady drift from Mystery to Mime. We saw how the original group of stock

masks were the characters required for a certain unvarying ritual action. They were at first serious, and even awful, figures in a religious mystery: the God who every year is born and dies and rises again, his Mother and his Bride, the Antagonist who kills him, the Medicine-man who restores him to life. When the drama lost its serious magical intent, probably the Antagonist and the Doctor were the first to become grotesque. The Antagonist, because he was the villain, was a fit mark for contempt: his idle vaunts and final discomfiture could easily be made ridiculous. In the same way Pontius Pilate soon turns to a comic character in the mediaeval Mysteries. The Medicine-man, again, as his power declines and his own faith begins to fail him, has always fallen back on the pretentious trappings of his art, while to others he becomes more and more obviously a humbug and a quack. His unintelligible spells begin to sound like gibberish; his paraphernalia of herbs and magic implements begins to look like a pitiful collection of rubbish; his wild gesticulations become the hocus-pocus of a conjurer. These two figures gave rise to two professional types, the Swaggering Soldier and the Learned Doctor, the false pretenders to superior courage and more than mortal wisdom. The medicine-man, moreover, combined a number of arts that later become distinct. His magic herbs pass into the remedies of the physician; his hocus-pocus lives on in the ceremonials of the priest; his incantations and *carmina* make him the ancestor of the oracle-monger and the poet. He generates, in fact, many of those minor professional types we find as the *alazones* in Aristophanes' plays. So we pass from the stock mask of ritual to the gallery of professional types, whose special traits in the literary stage of drama are, of course, filled in from observation of ordinary life. Their appeal depends on their generalised likeness to the impostors who walk the streets of the city in the common light of every day.

A further step is taken when the age and sex types undergo a similar subdivision. This leads to a classification, not of professional types, but of types of human character in general—what the Greeks called *ethology*. We have seen how in the New Comedy the Old Man is subdivided into nine varieties, each with a mask conventionally featured to express a certain character. There is the harsh father, the benevolent old gentleman, the old miser, distinguished by his close-cropped hair, and so forth. The Young

Man, again, includes eleven types—the boorish youth, the delicate youth with a soft white skin, the swarthy and black-haired youth who perpetuates the Swaggering Soldier, etc. The beginnings of this sort of differentiation can be traced in the latest plays of Aristophanes. The *Ecclesiazusae*, for instance, has four elderly men: Blepyrus, husband of Praxagora; Chremes; Blepyrus' whimsical neighbour; and his suspicious and parsimonious friend.[1] These persons are, of course, necessarily discriminated into types of character. The last-named, in particular, might stand for the portrait of the Parsimonious Man. Aristotle[2] holds that Comedy, when it deserves the name of poetry, represents universal types or abstracts of human character. The statements of poetry are universal, 'and by a *universal* statement I mean the *sort* of things that such and such a *kind* of man will probably or necessarily say and do, which is the aim of poetry, though it affixes proper names to the characters. . . . In Comedy this has now become clear (*i.e.* since the New Comedy superseded the Old); they first compose a story with probable incidents, and then give it a basis of any proper names that come to hand, instead of writing like the old iambic poets about particular persons.' The characters, in fact, have personal names only because people have them in real life. Their true names would be descriptive of character, as indeed they often were in the New Comedy (Thraso, Pyrgopolinices, etc.), and as they were again in English plays and novels from the seventeenth century onwards (Mr. Allworthy, Sir Courtly Nice, etc.).

Along this channel we reach the literature of 'Characters,' which has a long history starting from Theophrastus. Even Theophrastus' master gave the name of *Ethica* to the philosophical treatment of morals, as if the analysis of character-types, to which he devotes so large a part of his treatise, were the central interest. Aristotle borrows much, and Theophrastus still more, from the comic stage.[3]

Beyond this point Comedy in ancient times did not move; nor, indeed, can it ever really pass out of that stage. The difference between a great comedian and a small one is not that the former puts real individual characters on the stage, the latter mere types.

[1] The corrector of R calls this last ἄλλος φειδωλός. See Van Leeuwen on line 746.

[2] *Poetics*, 9.

[3] See Reich, *Der Mimus*, i. chap. iv. pp. 305 ff. ἠθολόγος, ἀρεταλόγος, βιολόγος are all terms applied to the mimes.

It is that the lesser man puts together a bundle of qualities which never coalesce into a personality, while the genius creates a personality from within. But that personality remains what Aristotle calls 'universal.' It is a permanent possibility of human nature, independent of its accidental trappings of time and country. It is only the vulgar and corrupt realism of the modern stage that could ever disguise this fact for a moment. The ancient drama wisely preserved the mask, which suppressed so far as possible the individuality and the accidental features of the actor, and represented in a conventional language of signs what the poet wished to be represented—the universal character. The masks, which modern writers wonder at,[1] were retained, not because the theatres were so large as to make it impossible to follow the play of feature on a living face, but because the Greek spectator was trained in a tradition of art which taught him, when he went to the theatre, to look for something more important than the damnable faces of the celebrated Mr. So-and-so. It is no pedantic archaism, but a profound understanding of drama, that leads the greatest artist now interested in the production of plays to revert to the use of masks, and even to hanker after substituting the marionette for the living actor.[2] It might be well if the revival of Greek plays in the modern theatre could be prohibited until the public had learnt to tolerate nothing more realistic than the masked and stylised, puppet-like, figures that trod, with stilted gait, the stage of Aeschylus and Euripides.

101. *Why Tragedy represents 'exalted persons'*

Such, then, are the general tendencies whose drift carries Comedy and Tragedy along their divergent ways. Comedy is, in the main, bent upon character, and becomes, in the hands of Menander, the mirror of society. Its end now, though not 'at the first,' is 'to show virtue her own feature, scorn her own image, and the very age and body of the time his form and pressure.' The mirror is no magic mirror, capable of revealing far distant times and unknown regions. The scene is commonly Athens; the time, the present.[3]

[1] See, for instance, Haigh, *Attic Theatre*,[3] 262.

[2] E. Gordon Craig, *The Art of the Theatre*, London, 1911.

[3] Schol. in Dion. Thrac. (Kaibel, *C. G. F.*, i. p. 11, l. 25), *διαφέρει δὲ κωμῳδία τραγῳδίας ὅτι ἡ τραγῳδία ἱστορίαν ἔχει καὶ ἀπαγγελίαν πράξεων γενομένων, ἡ δὲ κωμῳδία πλάσματα περιέχει βιωτικῶν πραγμάτων.*

The atmosphere must be in the broad light of common day. When Comedy touched the figures of heroic legend, it was to shatter their sublimity and degrade them below the level of decent human beings —to make Ajax as vulgar as Thersites, and much more stupid. The Gods in Aristophanes, again, are always inferior to the human protagonist. These figures that might threaten to trail some clouds of glory from above and beyond the mortal scene, must be not merely brought down to the same footing with the human characters, but thrust still lower. The part of Dionysus in the *Frogs* is a good illustration. The effeminate coward of the first half of the play becomes the almost idiotic buffoon of the second. Yet, there is just one moment where we are in danger of recalling that he is, after all, a God—the lines in which he forbids Pluto's servant to torture him at his peril, 'for I am an immortal, Dionysus, son of Zeus.'[1] The impression is gone again in a flash; but it serves to show how assiduously Aristophanes has watched against this risk elsewhere, and to make us feel one reason why Comedy must either avoid the Gods and heroes altogether, or set them at a heavy discount.

Tragedy, on the other hand, is anything but the mirror of contemporary society. On the stage of Aeschylus all the principal characters are in a greater or less degree divine, Olympian Gods and Kings and Queens of the legendary past, who were either divinities that had come to be thought of as heroic men and women, or men and women who had come to be worshipped after death as demigods. The interval which separates these august persons from the Olympians above them is hardly greater than that which separates them on the other side from the minor characters, who have not the divinity of rank. These last have no personal names: they are 'a Herald,' 'a Nurse,' and so on. Further, they are definitely marked off by a considerable degree of realism, and often by comic touches. They stand at the limit beyond which Tragedy, as conceived by Aeschylus, will not move towards holding a mirror up to ordinary life. They are human types, caught up on to that

[1] 628: *Dion.* ἀγορεύω τινὶ
ἐμὲ μὴ βασανίζειν ἀθάνατον ὄντ'· εἰ δὲ μή,
αὐτὸς σεαυτὸν αἰτιῶ.
Servant. λέγεις δὲ τί;
Dion. ἀθάνατος εἶναί φημι Διόνυσος Διός.

higher plane, where their half-divine masters and mistresses can walk in the company of undying Gods.

Why does ancient Tragedy require this heroic atmosphere? Why was it, in Aristotle's words, 'a representation of exalted persons' (*μίμησις σπουδαίων*)? When the French critics of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries interpret this phrase to mean that 'Tragedy represented the life of princes; Comedy served to depict the actions of the people,'[1] we are disposed to set them down as snobs or, at the best, courtiers. But we may reflect that Shakespeare, who was not troubled by Aristotelian canons, followed the rule; and Shakespeare, though he accepted contemporary views of the divinity that hedged a king, was neither a courtier nor a snob. The French critics were not entirely wrong, even as interpreters of Aristotle's meaning. The persons in Greek tragedy are royal for a better reason than any secondary cause, such as Peisistratus' encouragement of the Epic at Athens. They are royal because at one time to be a King was to be half a God, and these divine princes can therefore tread the same stage with the higher Gods, whose will directs the course of human life and is itself immediately overshadowed by the ultimate power of Destiny.

Here the argument connects with our previous point—the primacy of the plot in Tragedy. Tragedy does not seek to ape the manners or portray the characters of everyday society; its function is to represent the destiny of man, the turning wheel of Time and Fate. To accomplish this, it must roll away the parti-coloured screen, the motley surface of social custom, the fashions and accidents of the place and the hour, and open to our sight a vision of man's life and death, which the bravest can hardly endure to contemplate until it is redeemed by art.[2] Greek Tragedy, thanks to the peculiar genius of Greek religion, had the great advantage of being able to bring upon its stage in visible form the divine powers at work behind the screen. Only the innermost mystery is never unveiled, whether it be called 'Zeus, whoever he be,' or Destiny, Moira, to whom Zeus himself had once been subject. With this reservation, however, we can be allowed to see the figures of the

[1] D'Aubignac, *La pratique du théâtre*, ii. ch. 10. This, and Dacier's notes to the same effect (on *Poet.* v. 4 and xiii.), are quoted by Butcher, *Aristotle's Theory of Poetry*[2] (London, 1898), p. 233.

[2] Cf. Nietzsche, *Geburt der Tragödie*.

Gods themselves; and the human actors, whose experience we read in the awful light thrown upon it from those supernatural forms, must be magnified to the scale of those heroes who held converse with Gods and fought with them on the plains of Troy and Thebes.[1]

The above contrast between Tragedy and Comedy is based upon observation of the course they actually followed on the way to what Aristotle calls their 'perfect forms'—the fully realised possibilities of two species of dramatic art, starting from a given convention and growing up in a given environment. The nature of the impulses which were the inner principles of this growth we shall not here try to analyse. We must be content to infer their existence from their effects, without asking the further question, what it is that drives men, at certain times and places, to seek and find expression for the tragic or the comic vision of life. All that we have tried to indicate is an effect of the inherent difference between these two visions—the consequent divergence of the two species of drama. What remains to be shown, in the interests of our hypothesis, is that the original dramatic ritual we have supposed to lie at the root of both, contained the germs, however implicit and undeveloped, from which both might spring. To some degree we have done this already; but we can now set the matter in a more general light.

102. *The germs of Tragedy and Comedy in the original ritual*

Professor Murray has pointed out the affinity between the recurrent life-story of the Year Spirit, the theme of our supposed ritual, and that deep-rooted doctrine of *Hubris*, of the Insolence that brings vengeance on itself as the wheel of Time and Judgment inexorably turns, in which the Greek found the tragic philosophy of life. He says:[2] 'The life of the Year-Daemon, as it seems to be reflected in Tragedy, is generally a story of Pride and Punishment. Each Year arrives, waxes great, commits the sin of Hubris,

[1] On this whole subject much light is thrown by an admirable study of '"Psychical Distance" as a Factor in Art and an æsthetic Principle,' by E. Bullough, *The British Journal of Psychology*, v. (1912), p. 87.

[2] *Four Stages of Greek Religion* (New York, 1912), p. 47. Cf. the same author's *Euripides and his Age* (London, 1913), chapter iii.

and then is slain. The death is deserved; but the slaying is a sin: hence comes the next Year as Avenger, or as the Wronged One re-risen: "they all pay retribution for their injustice one to another according to the ordinance of time."'[1] Our supposed ritual, accordingly, as a representation of the cycle of seasonal life, of the annual conflict of Summer and Winter, provides the essential structure of the tragic plot, the fundamental conception of the tragic reversal or *peripeteia*.

Turning from this abstract scheme of action to its inner, psychological aspect, we have the doctrine of *Hubris*, the fatal pride or Insolence that provokes the Jealousy (*Phthonos*) of superhuman powers, and brings about its own destruction. This theory is the product of religious reflection. It suggests a tragic analogy between the succession of life and death in Nature and the rise and fall of the great ones among mankind. The kings of the earth whose dizzy exaltation upsets their moral balance are, like those old divine kings of fertility, cut off lest their waning strength should bring famine upon their people.

In Tragedy, the hero's enemy is his own *Hubris*; the conflict between this disastrous passion and its opposite, *Sophrosyne*, is fought out in his own breast. Thus, in the developed form of the tragic art, the two adversaries in the *Agon* are united in one person; though outside and above him there is always the watching Jealousy of immortal powers—Zeus, who abases the proud and exalts the lowly. But, in our review of the various forms of the ritual drama, we saw how the God comes to be doubled into the two adversaries —the suffering and triumphant Dionysus, and Pentheus, who, after insolently threatening his worshippers and breaking in upon their secret rites, himself endures the fate of the God. In this type, the element of *Hubris*, which brought the Year to its wintry ruin, is detached from the hero to become the characteristic of his double, the Antagonist, carrying with it the penalty of injustice, while the God triumphs as his own avenger. Further, we were led into this subject by our study of the Impostor, the impertinent intruder who molests the comic hero, and in whom we recognised a duplicate

[1] As this quotation from Anaximander reminds us, the war of hot and cold, wet and dry—the conflict of Summer and Winter, conceived in a more abstract form as a feud between the elements—lies behind a great deal of Greek scientific speculation. This point is elaborated in F. M. Cornford, *From Religion to Philosophy* (London, 1912).

of the evil adversary in the *Agon*. The common note of all the Impostors was *Alazoneia*. What now becomes clear is that *Alazoneia* is the comic counterpart of the tragic *Hubris*.[1] That the two conceptions were associated in the Greek mind is evident from an interesting discussing in Plato.

Analysing in the *Philebus*[2] those pleasures which are 'impure' in the sense of being mixed with pain, Plato takes, among other illustrations, the pleasures of the theatre. In witnessing Tragedy we enjoy our tears. The admixture of pain in the pleasure of Comedy is more obscure, and leads him into an analysis of the Ridiculous.

The Ridiculous derives its essence from the failure of some vice or defect to obey the Delphic precept, 'Know thyself.'[3] Three principal types are those who overvalue themselves in respect of external fortune, bodily advantages, or mental virtues, and think themselves richer, handsomer, or wiser than they are.[4] (We may note in passing that this is only a more exact statement of the definition of the *Alazon*, given by Xenophon's Cyrus: 'The name of *Alazon* should, I think, be given to those who affect to be richer or braver than they are, or undertake to do things beyond their powers.'[5])

Such persons, continues Plato, when their conceit is not backed by power so as to make them formidable and hateful, are merely ridiculous. The pleasure we feel in laughing at absurd pretensions is, however, mixed with a painful element of *phthonos*;[6] (there is

[1] If, with Suidas (*fort. recte*, van L.), we read at *Birds* 824, ἵν' οἱ θεοὶ τοὺς γηγενεῖς | ἀλαζονευόμενους (-νοι Codd.) καθυπερηκόντισαν, ἀλαζονεία is used to describe the *Hubris* of the Titans in their war with Heaven.

[2] P. 47 ff.

[3] This is, of course, the tragic failure also, the blindness that goes with insolent presumption.

[4] This is based on the philosophic distinction of (*a*) external goods from internal, whether (*b*) of body or (*c*) of soul.

[5] Xen. *Cyrop.* ii. 2, 12: ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἀλαζὼν ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ ὄνομα κεῖσθαι ἐπὶ τοῖς προσποιουμένοις καὶ πλουσιωτέροις εἶναι ἢ εἶσι καὶ ἀνδρειοτέροις, καὶ ποιήσειν ἃ μὴ ἱκανοί εἰσιν ὑπισχνουμένοις. Ar. *E. N.* ii. 7, 1108 *a*: ἡ δὲ προσποίησις ἡ μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ μεῖζον ἀλαζονεία. *Mag. mor.*, 1193 *a*: ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἀλαζὼν ἐστιν ὁ πλείω τῶν ὑπαρχόντων αὑτῷ προσποιούμενος εἶναι ἢ εἰδέναι ἃ μὴ οἶδεν. Note this last Socratic touch.

[6] *Phileb.* 49 A: τὸν παιδικὸν φθόνον. 50 A: γελῶντας ἄρα ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ τοῖς τῶν φίλων γελοίοις φησὶν ὁ λόγος, κεράννυντας ἡδονὴν φθόνῳ, λύπῃ τὴν ἡδονὴν συγκερανύναι. That φθόνος is painful has been admitted at 48 B.

a tinge of bitterness that is found also in envy and jealousy and what the Germans call *Schadenfreude*). The pleasure of Comedy is, thus, no less mixed than the pleasure of Tragedy, where we enjoy our tears.

It will, I think, be clear that the analysis which takes this somewhat unexpected form, is suggested by the now familiar antithesis of *Eiron* and *Alazon*. What is particularly curious is that Plato finds in the spectator of Comedy that *phthonos* which is similar in more than name to the feeling excited by the tragic *Hubris*.[1]

We saw how, in Comedy, *Alazoneia* finds its match in the mocking Irony of the hero, who draws out the Impostor's absurdities and sets them at naught. If, with that antithesis in mind, we read Pentheus' examination of Dionysus in the *Bacchae*,[2] we shall find there the tragic counterpart of the ironical hero confronting the boastful Impostor. The calmness of Pentheus' prisoner; his modesty in claiming a divine mission and a miraculous birth;[3] the exasperating coolness with which he speaks of a secret wisdom not to be profaned to the dull ears that can hear only the wisdom of this world (*σοφία*)[4]; the secure contempt, veiled under an almost gentle demeanour,—all this makes a masterpiece of 'irony,' which seems prophetic of two more famous scenes still to come in history: Socrates in presence of his Athenian judges, and Christ before Pilate. Pentheus is reduced to blustering threats, and the scene ends with a warning that he will pay for his *Hubris*.[5]

The relation of the two actors in this scene is the unmistakable analogue of the relation of *Eiron* and *Alazon*. In general, however, as we said, the tragic adversaries, *Hubris* and *Sophrosyne*, fight

[1] *ὕβρις* and *ἀλαζονεία* are coupled in the comparison of the soul to a two-horsed chariot. The bad horse is *ὕβρεως καὶ ἀλαζονείας ἑταῖρος*, the good is *τιμῆς ἐραστὴς μετὰ σωφροσύνης καὶ αἰδοῦς* (*Phaedrus*, 253 D E).

[2] 434 ff.

[3] 461: *Dion. οὐ κόμπος οὐδείς· ῥᾴδιον δ' εἰπεῖν τόδε.*

[4] The Bacchanals disclaim the vulgar form of *φθόνος* towards *σοφία*: *τὸ σοφὸν οὐ φθονῶ*, 1005; but elsewhere they speak of *σοφία* in the same breath with *Hubris*: 395 *τὸ σοφὸν δ' οὐ σοφία, τό τε μὴ θνητὰ φρονεῖν.* 427 *σοφὰν δ' ἀπέχειν πραπίδα φρένα τε περισσῶν παρὰ φωτῶν· τὸ πλῆθος ὅ τι τὸ φαυλότερον ἐνόμισε χρῆταί τε, τόδ' ἂν δεχοίμαν.*

[5] 516: *ἀτάρ τοι τῶνδ' ἄποιν' ὑβρισμάτων | μέτεισι Διόνυσός σ'. . . .*

their battle within the hero's breast. Here is a point of difference from Comedy. The *Sophrosyne* of Comedy is the spirit of genial sanity, in all its range from the flicker of lightning reason and the flash of wit, through the large humour of common sense, down to the antics of the fool, making ironical play with every form of absurdity. Its antagonist is pretence, assumption, arrogance, conceit, all the less serious and tragic species of imposture. The adversaries here are incompatible and must remain distinct. The duel of Comedy is everlastingly fought out between them.

This difference between Tragedy and Comedy leads to a further consequence. Tragedy, bent on revealing the working of human destiny, keeps to the fundamental conception of the old ritual plot. The stories it borrows from heroic legend are such as illustrate this conception ;[1] the characters are created to fit the ' experience ' they must undergo. Comedy, on the other hand, has no concern with the course of destiny. The substructure of the old plot is kept, just because it is a matter of indifference, and, when its serious element is toned down and its happy conclusion emphasised, it serves well enough. Comedy is bent on character, and fastens on those stock masks which Tragedy was bound to discard. It is in this little group of *Alazones* that she finds her legitimate prey. Progress consists in subdividing them into minor species of absurdity by that way we have traced, through a study, first of professional types, and finally of types of human character in general.

To sum up. The old ritual drama provided Tragedy with the abstract conception or movement of its plot, and the philosophy of *Hubris*. It provided Comedy with the stock masks which could serve as a basis for its ever subtler classification of all that is ridiculous in human character ; while the outlines of the ritual plot were retained in the Old Comedy, because they were sufficient for its purposes. It appears, then, that, if the inner impulses of the two kinds of drama are such as we described, the supposed ritual did contain the essential germs out of which each could grow to its full form.

[1] Aristotle (*Poetics*, 14 fin.) notes that ' Tragedies are restricted to a small number of (heroic) families . . . in which such horrors have occurred,' but he could not know the reason.

103. *Tragedy or Comedy, a difference of emphasis*

Not only did our supposed ritual drama provide Tragedy with its essential conception, and Comedy with its opportunity for character-study; it is also true that its central incidents could be given a sad or happy turn, according as emphasis were thrown on the conflict and death of the hero, or on the joyful resurrection and marriage that followed. This difference of emphasis was already present, at the religious stage, among the various local forms of the ritual. Thus, in the Asiatic cults, the sorrowful element seems to have predominated. We remember those untimely lamentations for Adonis which cast a shadow of ill omen over the departure of the Sicilian expedition. 'They were commanded to take ship on the day of the celebration of the feast of Adonia, on the which the custom is that women do set up in divers parts of the city, in the middest of the streets, images like to dead corses which they carry to burial, and they represent the mournings and lamentations made at the funerals of the dead, with blubbering, and beating themselves, in token of the sorrow the goddess Venus made for the death of her friend Adonis.'[1] From the Babylonian *Descent of Ishtar* to Bion's Elegy and Shelley's *Adonais*, the name and fate of Adonis or Tammuz have always kept their solemn and mournful associations. If any form of literary drama had arisen in this cult, it would certainly have been tragic in tone. Yet, in the ritual there is only a difference of emphasis. The resurrection and epiphany of the risen God with his divine bride is the necessary conclusion, as surely as the spring must follow the winter.[2] If the death, instead of dominating the story, had dwindled, as it has in the Thracian folk-drama and the Mummers' Play, to a piece of frivolous pantomime, while the marriage and the triumphal *Kômos* of the reunited lovers had become the prominent features, we should then have the basis for Comedy of the Aristophanic type, with its strongly marked sexual element and its riotous conclusion, drowning any serious note that is still to be heard in the *Agon*.

It must not be forgotten, too, that, though for us the word 'tragic' has come to possess an atmosphere of pervading sadness, the happy ending was normal in the trilogies of Aeschylus; and

[1] Plutarch, *vit. Alcib.* xviii. North's version expands the Greek: *Ἀδωνίων γὰρ εἰς τὰς ἡμέρας ἐκείνας καθηκόντων εἴδωλα πολλαχοῦ νέκροις ἐκκομιζομένοις ὅμοια προὔκειντο ταῖς γυναιξί, καὶ ταφὰς ἐμιμοῦντο κοπτόμεναι καὶ θρήνους ᾖδον.*

[2] On this point see Frazer, *Adonis Attis Osiris* (1906), chap. i.

in Aristotle's time it was still debatable whether a tragedy should not end happily, the critics blaming Euripides for his preference of what Aristotle, like ourselves, regards as the truly tragic close.[1] What historic causes made Tragedy take the serious turn is a question that cannot be followed up here. One thing is evident: that *Tragedy is the exceptional phenomenon that calls for some special explanation.* The Indian drama, which is said to have had a religious origin in the cult of Krishna,[2] the youthful favourite of shepherdesses and victor over the demons, deliberately prohibits the tragic ending. The plays of Kalidasa and of the other writers of the Sanskrit classical drama are romantic in atmosphere, full of tenderness and pathos, as well as of humour, but the tragic tone is absent, and the ending happy. True Tragedy has very rarely made its appearance at all. In the modern world, it has been always, directly or indirectly, influenced by Greek and Roman drama. There seems to be no parallel to its independent growth in Greece; and this fact makes the problem of its origin there peculiarly difficult to solve.

It is certain that, in general, the type of dramatic ritual we have studied, where it has passed into the phase of folk-drama, has lost its seriousness and degenerated into buffoonery.[3] There is reason

[1] Ar. *Poetics*, 13, 1453*a*, 23, *διὸ καὶ οἱ Εὐριπίδῃ ἐγκαλοῦντες αὐτὸ ἁμαρτάνουσιν ὅτι τοῦτο δρᾷ ἐν ταῖς τραγῳδίαις καὶ πολλαὶ αὐτοῦ εἰς δυστυχίαν τελευτῶσιν.*

[2] S. Lévi, *Le théâtre Indien* (Paris, 1890), says that the first positive document attesting dramatic representations in India associates them with Krishna; and that the Classical drama (Kalidasa, etc.) was due to a revival of Krishnaism. We must, however, allow for the ritual dramas detected by Schröder in the dialogue hymns of the Rg-Veda (*Mysterium und Mimus*, Leipzig, 1908). Fragments of Indian palm-leaf MSS. found in Central Asia prove that dramatic literature of substantially the same chief characteristics as the Sanskrit classical drama flourished in the first, or first and early second centuries A.D., three or four centuries before Kalidasa (Rapson in Hastings' *Encycl. of Relig. and Ethics*, s.v. *Drama*). The 'processional' folk-plays called *Yatras*, celebrating the life of Krishna and especially his love for Radha, more resemble what we have supposed to lie behind Greek Comedy.

[3] Cf. an excellent discussion in Doutté, *Relig. et Magie dans l'Afrique du nord*, p. 533 ff., and especially the following: *Le drame poignant du sacrifice d'un dieu, si la foi a disparu, n'est plus* [*qu'*] *une cérémonie ridicule: l'enterrement grotesque d'un personnage fantaisiste. Et nous avons dans les carnavals l'exemple le plus typique de ce que devient une cérémonie religieuse, vidée de sa croyance: elle tombe dans le burlesque, à cause de ce contraste de joie et de tristesse et à cause aussi de son caractère inexpliqué, c'est-à-dire déraisonnable; et elle devient un jeu, parce qu'elle n'est plus qu'une activité inutile, ce qui est la définition du jeu. Dès lors, elle peut se surcharger et se compliquer indéfiniment, comme toute manifestation esthétique.*

to believe that the same holds true of the stage of development that lies behind the Tragedy of Aeschylus. Aristotle [1] quite clearly states that Tragedy had emerged from a phase which he calls 'satyric,' in which the plots were 'slight' or trivial, and the style was 'ludicrous.' The metre used was the trochaic tetrameter, 'because the poetry was satyric and more connected with dancing' than it was later. He implies also that this phase had lasted for a long time; for he says that it was 'late' in its progress that Tragedy acquired its proper tone of stateliness and dignity.

Without going further into the historic problems, I will here express the opinion that, if 'Tragedy' had declined to this level, its dignity and stateliness can only have been conferred upon it by the deliberate and conscious effort of individual poets, probably under the direction of Peisistratus. The process may have involved the expurgation of that side of the drama which was most obviously connected with fertility.

On this point, however, it may be noted that if the emblem of fertility round which Tragedy centred was the goat, the human sexual element could not be so strongly marked as in Comedy, where the emblem was the phallus. A deity in goat form can be torn to pieces, mourned, sacramentally eaten, and resurrected; but the drama will not end with a marriage.[2] For that we require a representative in human form, a Phales. Moreover, once the protagonist is human, he cannot, when civilisation has come, really be killed and torn to pieces as a goat can. The death and resur-

[1] *Poetics*, 4: ἔτι δὲ τὸ μέγεθος· ἐκ μικρῶν μύθων καὶ λέξεως γελοίας διὰ τὸ ἐκ σατυρικοῦ μεταβαλεῖν ὀψὲ ἀπεσεμνύνθη, τό τε μέτρον ἐκ τετραμέτρου ἰαμβεῖον ἐγένετο. τὸ μὲν γὰρ πρῶτον τετραμέτρῳ ἐχρῶντο διὰ τὸ σατυρικὴν καὶ ὀρχηστικωτέραν εἶναι τὴν ποίησιν. As μικρῶν μύθων immediately follows the term μέγεθος, which means 'amplitude,' 'grandeur,' rather than mere length, μικρῶν probably means 'petty,' 'slight,' 'trivial,' rather than 'short,' as it is commonly rendered. I am convinced that ἐκ σατυρικοῦ μεταβαλεῖν does not mean that Tragedy developed out of a form like the Satyric dramas known to us, a century later, from Sophocles' *Ichneutae* and Euripides' *Cyclops*. This form, on the contrary, appears to be modelled on Tragedy. I take διὰ τὸ ἐκ σατυρικοῦ μεταβαλεῖν ὀψὲ ἀπεσεμνύνθη to be nearly equivalent to saying, 'it changed from satyric to dignified,' as if Aristotle had written ἐκ σατυρικοῦ εἰς σεμνὸν μετέβαλεν (cf. *Phys.* γ 5, 205 α 6, πάντα γὰρ μεταβάλλει ἐξ ἐναντίου εἰς ἐναντίον, οἷον ἐκ θερμοῦ εἰς ψυχρόν). Writing in his compressed way, Aristotle substitutes ἀπεσεμνύνθη to convey the additional idea that it reached the seriousness *appropriate to it in its final form* (ἀπο-). I doubt if the phrase (as contrasted with ἐκ τοῦ σατ. μεταβ.) can have any other meaning.

[2] Except possibly at an extremely primitive stage of ritual.

rection must become a mummery, and this—the solemn and mournful part of the performance—will inevitably decay and lose its serious meaning. The marriage, on the other hand, can be retained and cast its joyful and licentious atmosphere over the whole proceedings. We seem here to make out one of the conditions which led to the Song of the Goat becoming tragic, while the mummeries of the Phallic procession found their natural issue in Comedy.

But we cannot, I believe, dispense with the supposition of a conscious rescue of Tragedy from its 'satyric' phase—a deliberate expulsion of those elements which distinguish the satyric drama from the tragic plays to which it was so closely linked. The conclusion that concerns our present argument is that there is good reason to believe that, if we could see a 'tragedy' of the time before Aeschylus and Peisistratus, we might find that it was a performance not much more serious and dignified than the Old Comedy.

The various considerations we have put forward have, perhaps, removed any objection that may have been felt to the derivation of Comedy and Tragedy from similar ritual performances. All that remains is to point out that our theory of the descent of Comedy is consistent with such literary tradition of its history as we possess.

104. *The History of the Old Comedy*

In the case of Comedy we have not to suppose any such violent break with the popular tradition of the folk-play as I conjecture to have been deliberately effected for Tragedy. The history of Comedy down to the appearance of Aristophanes (427 B.C.) may be divided into three periods.[1]

I. The first, or prehistoric, period ends at 488-7, the date at which the archon first granted a Chorus to this form of drama. Aristotle[2] must be right when he says that this date falls at a 'late' point in its development. We cannot guess for how many centuries the Phallic processions had wound through the villages

[1] This sketch, of course, omits many important facts and details which are not relevant to our theme.

[2] *Poetics*, 5, 1449*b* 1, χορὸν κωμῳδῶν ὀψέ ποτε ὁ ἄρχων ἔδωκεν.

of Attica, pausing in the market-place or before the house doors, as they still do in Northern Greece, to perform their rude Mummers' Play. Behind that again lies the period during which the ritual drama was still a serious religious ceremony, annually performed for the fertility of man and beast and crop. At some time faith in its magical efficacy died out, perhaps under the influence of some new incoming system of belief, just as Christianity in its day brought about the degradation into folk-plays and May games of many an ancient pagan rite. How long Comedy existed on this lower level of folk-drama we cannot say. The examples still lingering on in modern Europe show that no limit can be set to the persistence of such survivals; but, on the other hand, it may have been only for a comparatively short time. What Aristotle tells us is that the performers were 'amateurs' (*ἐθελονταί*), and that Comedy 'already had certain definite forms (*σχήματα*) when the record of its poets begins.' He also seems to imply that in this first period it had a plurality of actors, masks, and a prologue.[1]

The word translated 'definite forms' is somewhat vague, but it appears to mean 'outlines,'[2] and it may fairly be taken to include conventional features such as the *Agon*, the *Parabasis*, the *Kômos*, etc. The 'plurality of actors' and their 'masks' we have tried to identify.

II. To the second period belong the first generation of officially recognised poets, of whom we know not much more than Aristophanes himself tells us in the *Knights*.[3] The fragments attributed to Chionides, Magnes, Ecphantides, if genuine at all, are too slight to give us any idea of the form of their plays. If Tzetzes means this generation of poets by the 'School of Susarion,' we can interpret his statement that 'they brought their characters on the scene

[1] *Poetics*, 5, 1449*b* 2, *ἤδη δὲ σχήματά τινα αὐτῆς ἐχούσης οἱ λεγόμενοι αὐτῆς ποιηταὶ μνημονεύονται. τίς δὲ πρόσωπα ἀπέδωκεν ἢ προλόγους ἢ πλήθη ὑποκριτῶν καὶ ὅσα τοιαῦτα ἠγνόηται.* Since the details of external representation must have been recorded from the date of official recognition, we may infer that the features named are older. Cf. Starkie, *Wasps*, p. ix. The statements of later writers who profess to know what Aristotle says was not known in his day may be ignored.

[2] See Bywater on *Poetics*, 1448*b*, 36, *τὰ τῆς κωμῳδίας σχήματα πρῶτος ὑπέδειξεν*, 'marked out for us the great outlines of Comedy.' Plato, *Laws*, 737 D, *σχήματος ἕνεκα καὶ ὑπογραφῆς*. In the text above discussed Bywater renders *σχήματα* 'definite forms.'

[3] v. 520 ff. If the Scholiast is right, Aristophanes refers to plays by Magnes entitled *Βαρβιτισταί*, *Ὄρνιθες*, *Αὐδοί*, *Ψῆνες*, *Βάτραχοι*.

without orderly arrangement'[1] as implying that in the Comedy of this date the old plot was broken down and so interpolated with episodes as to appear plotless, like *Punch and Judy*.

III. In the third period the greatest names are Kratinus and Krates, both of whom first appeared about the middle of the century. The only play of Kratinus about which we have enough information to allow of any reconstruction of its form is the Πυτίνη.[2] The poet, replying to attacks upon his drunkenness, represented himself as the husband of personified Comedy. She threatened him with divorce and a process for ill-treatment. Implored by the poet's friends not to act too hastily, she stated her case against him and complained that he gave himself up to her rival, Drunkenness. (Here there was evidently an *Agon*.) After hearing the oration of Comedy, the friends take counsel how to cure Kratinus, who urges that good poetry cannot be written by a water-drinker. Whether he was cured, and how, we do not know; but we may conjecture with certainty that the play must have ended with a reconciliation and re-marriage of Comedy and Kratinus.[3] The plot fits neatly into the same scheme that we have traced in Aristophanes.

Of Krates Aristotle[4] makes the important statement that he was the first Athenian poet to drop the 'iambic' element of invective and compose plots or fables of a 'universal' character. He took this step under the influence of the Sicilian poets Epicharmus and Phormis. It has often been observed that the fragments of Krates and Pherekrates are hardly distinguishable from the manner of the New Comedy; and there is no trace in Krates of personal attacks upon individuals. Aristotle seems to assert two things.

The first is that Krates dropped that element of invective in which Aristotle found the distinguishing mark of the Old Attic Comedy. This point specially interested the philosopher, because,

[1] Tzetzes, π. κωμῳδίας (Kaibel, *C. G. F.*, i. 18), iii. 16, οἱ ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ πρῶτον συστησάμενοι τὸ ἐπιτήδευμα τῆς κωμῳδίας (ἦσαν δὲ οἱ περὶ Σουσαρίωνα) τὰ πρόσωπα ἀτάκτως εἰσῆγον καὶ γέλως ἦν μόνος τὸ κατασκευαζόμενον. Poppelreuter (*De Com. Att. Prim.*, p. 32) argues that the author must mean the poets of Magnes' generation, and that the words ἦσαν . . . Σουσαρίωνα may be interpolated.

[2] See Meineke, *Comici*, i. 48, whose reconstruction I quote.

[3] Cf. Croiset, *Hist. de la lit. grecque*, iii. 480: *sans doute l'affaire finissait par s'arranger*.

[4] *Poetics*, 5, 1449*b*, 5, τὸ δὲ μύθους ποιεῖν [Ἐπίχαρμος καὶ Φόρμις] τὸ μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐκ Σικελίας ἦλθε * *, τῶν δὲ Ἀθήνησι Κράτης πρῶτος ἦρξεν ἀφέμενος τῆς ἰαμβικῆς ἰδέας καθόλου ποιεῖν λόγους καὶ μύθους.

in his view, the representation of the 'universal' ('not what actually happens, but the sort of thing that may happen') is the special function of poetry, as contrasted, for instance, with history. Hence, the Old Comedy, in so far as it consisted of invective against real persons, was not poetry at all, or, as we should say, not art. As a piece of aesthetic theory, this is an interesting judgment; but from our own standpoint in this book it is of minor importance. We must certainly not be misled into supposing that Comedy before Krates consisted entirely or mainly of personal invective; and we must remember that this element is still prominent in Aristophanes' earlier plays. The Sicilian influence is less marked in the younger poet, and it is quite probable that the structure of his plays is nearer to the old pattern.

Aristotle's second statement about Krates seems to be that he introduced the custom of inventing or 'composing' plots (*ποιεῖν λόγους καὶ μύθους*). This is generally assumed to imply that Comedy before Krates must have had no plot at all. But it is equally consistent with our own view that Comedy then had still in broken outline the old ritual scheme with its constant features. When Krates began to compose new imaginative plots, he may have been doing for Comedy something analogous to what Thespis or Aeschylus did for Tragedy, moving away from the old ritual formula towards a fresh variety of subjects and characters. But though Krates, under Syracusan influence, lifted the 'vulgar Comedy' of his predecessors to a higher plane, he did not banish the old stock masks and farcical incidents from the comic stage. The tradition of them was still alive in the next generation; for Aristophanes can boast of expurgating them, while in reality he kept them all, though in a very subordinate place. In this respect, again, Aristophanes is not the successor of Krates, but goes back to the older tradition. Krates, in fact, seems to stand outside the direct line, as one who attempted to import the Sicilian Mime, which already had a long history of independent development.[1]

[1] The Scholiast on *Knights*, 538, remarks that Krates aimed especially at giving *pleasure*: *σμικρὰ ἐποίει καὶ ἔτερπε τοὺς ἀκροατάς, γράφων ἡδέα.* Aristotle uses the same expression in contrasting the New with the Old Comedy, *Eth. Nic.* iv. viii. 7, 1128*a* 25, *ποτέρου οὖν τὸν εὖ σκώπτοντα ὁριστέον τῷ λέγειν μὴ ἀπρεπῆ ἐλευθερίῳ ἢ τῷ μὴ λυπεῖν τὸν ἀκούοντα ἢ καὶ τέρπειν*; so also Euanthius, ii. 6, *νέαν κωμῳδίαν . . . quae minus amaritudinis spectatoribus et eadem opera multum delectationis afferret.*

The attempt was premature, and only bore fruit later, when Aristophanes had shown the best that could be made of the old indigenous form inherited from ritual. We are told that in the *Cocalus*, which is conjectured to have been Aristophanes' last play, he introduced the new plot motives (including the 'Recognition,' borrowed from Tragedy) that were later used by Menander.[1]

That Aristotle should have said nothing of that primitive religious drama we have hypothetically reconstituted, is in no way surprising. In the *Poetics* he was not concerned with ritual origins. His mention of the Dithyramb and of the Phallic Song comes in a parenthesis; and to the cult of Dionysus he makes no further reference. Treating analytically the plays he had read or seen, he fixes upon the 'iambic element' as the *differentia* marking off the Old Comedy from the Comedy of his own time, which was, in his view, a higher form of art, just because it eschewed personal invective and was purely a universal representation of human character. How much more he knew or might have inferred about the earliest stages of Comedy we cannot tell. He may have known as little as Boileau knew of the beginnings of the modern French theatre. This celebrated critic could write:

> '*Chez nos dévots Ayeux le Théâtre abhorré*
> *Fut longtemps dans la France un plaisir ignoré,*

and represent the Mysteries and Miracles as played by *une Troupe grossière de Pélerins*, who were expelled for their *dévote imprudence*. If Boileau could be so ignorant of two centuries of ecclesiastical drama, of which tens of thousands of lines were in existence, we need not wonder if Aristotle did not know that the plays of Chionides and Magnes retained traces of a broken-down ritual plot, and that yet fainter traces survived in Aristophanes. And, if he did know it, he had no occasion to mention it. There is, so far as I can see, nothing in Aristotle's positive statements that is inconsistent with the hypothesis of this book, which I now commend to the reader's judgment.

[1] *Vita Aristoph.* (Dindorf, *Poetae Scenici*,[5] p. 25), παντάπασιν ἐκλελοιπυίας τῆς ὕλης τῶν κωμῳδιῶν διὰ τούτων αὐτῶν (ἴδιον γὰρ κωμῳδίας τὸ σκώπτειν τινάς) ἔγραψε Κώκαλον, ἐν ᾧ εἰσάγει φθορὰν καὶ ἀναγνωρισμὸν καὶ τἆλλα πάντα ἃ ἐζήλωσε Μένανδρος.

Many literary critics seem to think that an hypothesis about obscure and remote questions of history can be refuted by a simple demand for the production of more evidence than in fact exists. The demand is as easy to make as it is impossible to satisfy. But the true test of an hypothesis, if it cannot be shown to conflict with known truths, is the number of facts that it correlates and explains. The question left for the reader's consideration is whether, after following our argument, he understands better the form and features of this strange phenomenon, Aristophanic Comedy.

SYNOPSIS OF THE EXTANT PLAYS

ABBREVIATIONS

(*E.S.*)=Epirrhematic Syzygy.
(*AL.*)=*Alazon* (Impostor), Scene of the type described above in § 65.

The ritual motives are indicated by capital letters: FIGHT, AGON, SACRIFICE, NEW ZEUS (KING), COOKING, FEAST, MARRIAGE (COURTESAN, BRIDE), KOMOS.

ACHARNIANS (425 B.C. *Lenaea*)

DRAMATIS PERSONAE

Adversaries in Agon:	Dikaiopolis (*Old Man, Buffoon*).	
	Lamachus (*Soldier*).	
Chorus:	Acharnians (*Old Men*).	
Impostors:	An Envoy.	An Informer.
	Pseudartabas.	Nicarchus.
	Theorus.	A Farmer.
	Euripides.	A Groomsman.
Minor Characters:	A Herald.	A Megarian and his Daughters.
	Amphitheos.	
	Dikaiopolis' Daughter.	A Boeotian.
	Euripides' Servant.	Messengers.
Mute Persons:	Courtesans (*Exodos*), etc.	

PROLOGUE. Dikaiopolis, alone in the Pnyx, complains that every one is late for the Assembly. He will obstruct any discussion except proposals of peace with Sparta.

The Assembly meets. Amphitheos declares his divine commission to make peace. He is ejected, Dikaiopolis protesting.

(*AL.*) An Envoy, returned from Persia, introduces a bogus Persian official, the King's Eye, Pseudartabas. Dikaiopolis derides them.

Dikaiopolis sends Amphitheos to make a private peace for him with Sparta.

(*AL.*) Theorus, returned from an embassy to Thrace, introduces some sham Thracians. Dikaiopolis exposes them.

Amphitheos brings back three samples of peace-libations. Dikaiopolis choses the thirty years' brand and retires to his farm to celebrate the Country Dionysia.

204. PARODOS. (*E.S.*) The Acharnian charcoal-burners hunt for the traitor Amphitheos, whom they have sighted on his way from Sparta.

Dikaiopolis comes out of his house, leading the Phallic Procession. The Phallic Song.

(*E.S.*) The Acharnians pelt D. with stones (FIGHT). He pleads for a hearing, and brings out a coal-basket, which he threatens to SACRIFICE. The Chorus relent.

(*E.S.*) D. offers to plead with his head over a chopping-block, which he fetches. Still frightened, he asks leave to get a pathetic costume.

(*AL.*) D. begs from Euripides the stage-dress of Telephus.

490. AGON (*Ep.*). Dikaiopolis pleads for peace with Sparta. He converts Half-Chorus I. Their Leader FIGHTS with the other Leader, whose party call for Lamachus. (*AL.*=*Antep.*) Lamachus is mocked by D., who converts the Chorus and declares he will open a private market with the state's enemies, Megara and Boeotia.

626. PARABASIS (*Anap.*). Aristophanes' candour a benefit to Athens. (*E.S.*) Muse of Acharnae invoked. Grievances of old men, harassed by young lawyers.

719. SCENE. Dikaiopolis opens his market. A Megarian offers his daughters for sale as pigs for SACRIFICE.
(*AL.*) An Informer who comes to denounce the contraband traffic is driven away.
CHORIKON. Dikaiopolis is congratulated. He will not be vexed by various objectionable persons (satirised by name).
SCENE. A Boeotian brings game and eels.
(*AL.*) Nicarchus, an Informer, is seized and packed up like pottery.
LYRICAL DIALOGUE, during which Nicarchus is beaten or tossed from hand to hand.
(*AL.*) Lamachus' Servant asks for a share of D.'s purchases for the *Choes* Feast, and is refused. D. carries his purchases inside.

971. PARABASIS II. (*E.S.*) Contrast of Peace and War. (Preparations for FEAST within.)

1000. SCENE. A Herald proclaims the drinking competition of the *Choes*. Dikaiopolis begins COOKING.
(*E.S.*) (*AL.*) A Farmer is refused a share of the peace-libation wine.
(*AL.*) A Groomsman offers meat from a wedding feast. The Bridesmaid is given some wine for the Bride.
Messenger I. summons Lamachus to go on duty.
Messenger II. invites Dikaiopolis to FEAST with the priest of Dionysus.
Lamachus arms himself; Dikaiopolis packs his hamper. (*Exeunt.*)

1143. CHORIKON (*Anap. dimeters*). The Chorus bid them farewell. Abuse of Antimachus, a stingy *choregus*.

1174. SCENE. Lamachus' Servant announces his return, wounded. Lamachus enters hobbling between two slaves; Dikaiopolis, with two COURTESANS, claims the wine-skin won in the *Choes* competition. He calls on the Chorus to salute him as Victor (καλλίνικος).
EXODOS. The Chorus escort Dikaiopolis, singing the Song of Archilochus (KOMOS).

KNIGHTS (424 B.C. *Lenaea*)

DRAMATIS PERSONAE

Adversaries in Agon :	A Sausage-seller, Agoracritus (*Cook*). A Paphlagonian Slave, Cleon (*Parasite*).
Chorus :	Knights (*Young Men*).
Judge in Agon II. :	Demos (*Old Man, Buffoon*).
Minor Buffoon :	First Slave, Demosthenes. Second Slave, Nikias.
Mute Persons :	Libations (*Courtesans in Exodos*).

PROLOGUE. The two slaves, Demosthenes and Nikias, complain of the Paphlagonian. A Sausage-seller, destined by oracle to oust him, is persuaded of his mission ; but frightened when he appears. Demosthenes calls the Knights to the rescue.

242. PARODOS. The Knights rush in and beat the Paphlagonian (FIGHT). He and the Sausage-seller threaten one another.

303. AGON I. The Paphlagonian and Sausage-seller accuse one another. The Paphlagonian is again beaten.

SCENE. He declares he will go to the Council and denounce the conspiracy against him. The Sausage-seller follows him.

498. PARABASIS (*Anap.*). The merits of Aristophanes, and the ingratitude of the Athenians to the comic poets.

(*E.S.*) Poseidon invoked. Praise of the men of old ; the young Knights will do as well. Pallas invoked. Praise of the Knights' 'horses.'

611. SCENE. (*E.S.*) The Sausage-seller, in a messenger-speech, tells of his victory over the Paphlagonian at the Council.

The Paphlagonian returns. They will appeal to the people. Demos comes.

756. AGON II. With Demos as judge, they compete for his favour. The Sausage-seller is declared victorious.

942. SCENE. Demos transfers his seal-ring to the Sausage-seller. Both rivals go to fetch oracles.

CHORIKON. The Knights exult over the Paphlagonian's defeat.

SCENE. The rivals quote their oracles. Again the Sausage-seller prevails. They go to get a feast for Demos.

CHORIKON. Demos tells the Knights he is playing the fool on purpose.

SCENE. The rivals race to provide Demos' FEAST. They serve various dishes. The wreath of office is transferred from the Paphlagonian to the Sausage-seller, who is saluted as καλλίνικος.

1264. PARABASIS II. (*E.S.*) Personal abuse. Dialogue of the warships.

1316. SCENE. The Sausage-seller announces his success in COOKING Demos to a new life. Demos hailed as KING. The Sausage-seller produces COURTESANS ('Libations'), and is invited to FEAST in the Prytaneum. The Paphlagonian is degraded.

EXODOS (wanting).

CLOUDS (423 B.C. *Dionysia*)

DRAMATIS PERSONAE

Adversaries in Agon II. :	Strepsiades (*Old Man, Buffoon*). Pheidippides (*Young Man*).
Chorus :	Clouds (*Women*).
	Socrates (*Learned Doctor*).
Adversaries in Agon I. :	Just Reason. Unjust Reason.
Impostors :	Pasias. Amynias.
Minor Characters :	Strepsiades' Servant. Disciples of Socrates.

PROLOGUE. Strepsiades and Pheidippides in bed. Strepsiades wakes complaining of his debts incurred by his son's prodigality, and his mistake in marrying a city lady. Pheidippides refuses to go to the Philosophers and learn how to plead the unjust cause. Strepsiades decides to go himself. A Disciple admits him. Socrates is seen, hanging in a basket. Socrates initiates Strepsiades.

263. PARODOS. (*E.S.*) Socrates invokes the Clouds, who are heard singing.

SCENE. The Clouds appear. Socrates expounds their nature. They are the only Gods : ZEUS does not exist. The Clouds make rain and thunder. Dinos is KING. Strepsiades abjures all other Gods. He is bidden to lay aside his cloak and enters the 'Cave of Trophonius.'

510. PARABASIS (*Eupolideans*). Rebuke to the audience for not approving the first edition of the *Clouds*.

(*E.S.*) Invocation of Zeus, Poseidon, Aether, Helios. The Clouds complain that they are not worshipped. Invocation of Phoebus, Artemis, Athena, Dionysus. The Moon's complaint of the irregularity of the calendar.

627. SCENE. (*E.S.*) Socrates calls out Strepsiades into the light. He instructs him in metric and grammar, and sets him to think for himself. Strepsiades invents devices to avoid paying his debts. Socrates refusing to teach him more, he goes to persuade Pheidippides to come as pupil.

Strepsiades brings Pheidippides and tells him there is no Zeus and other things he has learnt. Socrates says the Two Reasons shall instruct Pheidippides.

889. AGON I. (*Anap. dimeters*). The Two Reasons abuse and threaten one another.

The Just Reason praises the old-fashioned education; the Unjust attacks it and praises the modern. The Just Reason is worsted and surrenders.

Pheidippides goes with the Unjust Reason into Socrates' house.

1113. PARABASIS II. (*Epirrheme only*). The Clouds promise the judges rewards if they give them the prize; threaten them, if they do not.

1131. SCENE. Strepsiades is told by Socrates that Pheidippides has learnt his lesson. Pheidippides appears, transformed to a pale sophist. Strepsiades, singing a KOMOS song, takes him in to FEAST.

(*A.L.*) Pasias serves a summons for debt on Strepsiades, who confounds him with sophisms.

(*A.L.*) Amynias claims payment of a debt. He is driven away with a horse-goad.

1303. CHORIKON (*while* FEAST *goes on within*). The Chorus foretell that Strepsiades will repent his son's new training.

1321. Strepsiades rushes out, pursued and beaten by Pheidippides, who undertakes to justify father-beating.

AGON II. Strepsiades recounts their quarrel at the Feast. Pheidippides proves the justice of chastising one's father. Strepsiades, however, is revolted by his offering to prove that one should beat one's mother.

1453. SCENE. Strepsiades recants his atheism. ZEUS is KING. Advised by the Statue of Hermes, Strepsiades burns and pulls down Socrates' house.

EXODOS. The Coryphaeus encourages Strepsiades to smite the atheists.

WASPS (422 B.C. *Lenaea*)

DRAMATIS PERSONAE

Adversaries in Agon :	Bdelycleon (*Young Man*). Philocleon (*Old Man, Buffoon*).
Chorus :	Wasps (*Old Men*).
Second Chorus :	Boys.
Minor Buffoon :	First Slave, Xanthias. Second Slave, Sosias.
Impostors :	A Bakerwoman. A Prosecutor.
Mute Persons :	A Courtesan. Two Dogs, etc.

PROLOGUE. *Night.* Xanthias and Sosias watching the house to prevent Philocleon from escaping to the law-court. Bdelycleon keeps guard on the roof. Philocleon tries to escape but is shut in.

230. PARODOS. The Chorus of old jurymen come with lanterns to fetch Philocleon.

They serenade him. He replies in a monody.

(*E.S.*) Learning that he is imprisoned, they tell him to let himself down by a rope.

(*E.S.*) The Chorus FIGHT Bdelycleon and the slaves, and are beaten off. Bdelycleon induces them to listen. Philocleon calls for a sword, to commit suicide if he is beaten in argument.

526. AGON. Philocleon dilates on the kingly power of the old jurors. The juryman is a KING, not inferior to ZEUS; he thunders and lightens.

Bdelycleon shows him that he is really the slave of the politicians. The Wasps are converted, and Philocleon nearly faints.

729. CHORIKON (*Anap. dimeters*). The Chorus urge Philocleon to change his ways. Philocleon says farewell to his soul.

SCENE. Bdelycleon promises him a law-court at home, and arranges one. Sosias drags in the dog Labes, who has stolen some cheese. The other dog will prosecute. Fire, myrtle boughs, and incense are brought for SACRIFICE. The Chorus sing a paean of peace, and Bdelycleon prays that the old man's heart may be softened.

SCENE. The Dog Trial. Philocleon, overcome by Labes' acquittal, is led in by his son, who promises to take him everywhere with him.

1009. PARABASIS (*Anap.*). Aristophanes' services to Athens.
(*E.S.*) The Wasps regret their lost youth, and recall its glories in the Persian wars. How they are like wasps.

1122. SCENE. Bdelycleon tries to dress Philocleon to go out to dinner and teaches him refined manners. They go to dinner (FEAST).

1265. PARABASIS II. (*E.S. imperfect.*) Personal satire.

1292. SCENE. Xanthias describes Philocleon's outrageous behaviour at the dinner-party. He is coming in KOMOS. Philocleon appears, singing and striking all he meets with his torch. He promises a COURTESAN to take her for his concubine when his son dies.
(*AL.*) A Bakerwoman, whose stall he has upset, claims redress. Philocleon derides her.
(*AL.*) A Prosecutor summons him for assault. Philocleon tells him anecdotes, till he is carried into the house by his son. (FEAST *continued within.*)
CHORIKON. The Wasps congratulate the old man on his changed nature.

1474. SCENE. Xanthias describes Philocleon's drunken behaviour. He enters, challenging all tragedians to dance. The sons of Karkinus dance against him.
EXODOS. The Chorus join in and dance out of the orchestra.

PEACE (421 B.C. *Dionysia*)

DRAMATIS PERSONAE

	Trygaeus (*Old Man, Buffoon*).
	War (*Soldier*).
	Tumult, *his attendant.*
Chorus :	Farmers (*Old Men*).
Minor Buffoon :	First Slave.
	Second Slave.
	Hermes.
Impostors :	Hierocles, *a priest.*
	A Pruninghook-maker.
	A Cooper (*mute*).
	Several Weapon-makers.
Minor Characters :	Trygaeus' Daughters.
	Two Boys.
Mute Persons :	Peace.
	Opora (*Bride in Exodos*).
	Theoria, etc.

PROLOGUE. Two slaves prepare food for Trygaeus' dung-beetle. Trygaeus starts on its back to go and ask ZEUS why he troubles Greece with war. Deaf to the appeals of his young daughters, he ascends to Zeus' house. Hermes tells him the Gods are away from home ; and War has imprisoned Peace in a cave. War enters with a mortar in which to bray the cities of Greece. He makes a salad of leeks (Prasiai), onions (Megara), cheese (Sicily), and honey (Attica), and sends Tumult to fetch a pestle (Cleon) from Athens ; but Cleon is dead, and so is Brasidas. *Exit* War. Trygaeus calls the Greeks to bring tools to extricate Peace.

301. PARODOS. The Chorus of Farmers comes and dances for joy.

(*E.S.*) Hermes threatens Trygaeus with death if he digs up Peace ; but the appeals of Trygaeus and the Chorus induce him to help. Hermes offers libations, and Trygaeus prays for peace and curses the warlike.

(*E.S.*) Led by Hermes, the Chorus drag out Peace, attended by Opora and Theoria. (ANODOS.) They all salute her.

Hermes tells how Peace was lost. Peace asks questions through Hermes about the state of Athens. Hermes gives Opora to Trygaeus and sends Theoria to the Council. Trygaeus departs to return to earth.

729. PARABASIS (*Anap.*). The merits of Aristophanes.
(*Ode* and *Antode*). Invocation of the Muse.

819. (*E.S.*) Trygaeus comes to earth with Opora and Theoria. He tells Xanthias what he has seen on the way, and orders him to prepare Opora for their marriage. He gives Theoria to the President of the Council.

(*E.S.*) Trygaeus and Xanthias fetch an altar and a sheep to SACRIFICE for the installation of Peace. The sacrifice is conducted: barley sprinkled over the audience, lustral water over the Chorus. Trygaeus prays to Peace. The sheep is led in to be sacrificed. Trygaeus prepares for COOKING.

(*AL.*) Hierocles, an oracle-mongering priest, is refused a share. He and his acolyte try to steal, but are beaten off.

1127. PARABASIS II. (*E.S.*) The pleasures of Peace contrasted with the discomforts of War.

1191. Trygaeus adorned for his marriage, gives orders for the wedding FEAST, held within.

(*AL.*) A Pruninghook-maker and a Cooper bring presents in gratitude, and are sent in to feast.

(*AL.*) Makers of helmet-crests, breastplates, trumpets, helmets, and spears are dismissed with derision.

Two boys, sons of Lamachus and Kleonymus, come to practise songs for the feast. The former is driven away for singing of war; the latter sent in to sing of peace. The Chorus eat the rest of the sacrificial FEAST.

1316. EXODOS. Trygaeus and Opora are conducted in the MARRIAGE KOMOS, with hymeneal song.

BIRDS (414 B.C. *Dionysia*)

DRAMATIS PERSONAE

Adversaries in Agon :	Pisthetairos (*Old Man, Buffoon*).	
	Hoopoe.	
Chorus :	Birds.	
Minor Buffoon :	Euelpides (*Old Man*).	
Impostors :	A Dithyrambic Poet.	A Hawker of Acts of Parliament.
	An Oracle-monger.	
	Meton, *a mathematician.*	A Youth.
		Kinesias, *a poet.*
	An Inspector.	An Informer.
Minor Characters :	The Hoopoe's Servant.	Iris.
		Prometheus.
	A Priest.	Poseidon.
	Two Messengers.	Triballos.
	A Sentinel.	Heracles.
	A Herald.	
Mute Persons :	Basileia (*Bride in Exodos*), etc.	

PROLOGUE. Pisthetairos and Euelpides are seeking the country of the Birds, to found a new city there. They knock at the Hoopoe's door and send his servant to fetch him. The Hoopoe questions them. Pisthetairos proposes that the Birds shall fortify the air and so control Gods and men. The Hoopoe calls the Nightingale to help him summon the Birds.

260. PARODOS. Four Birds enter, followed by the whole Chorus, who take alarm at the sight of two men.

(*E.S.*) The Birds prepare to tear to pieces the men, who entrench themselves in their baggage. (FIGHT.) The Hoopoe intervenes and persuades the Birds to make truce and listen.

451. AGON. Pisthetairos tells how the Birds were once KINGS before ZEUS, now persecuted by men. They must fortify the air and demand their kingdom back. If Zeus refuses, starve out the Gods ; if men refuse, eat all their crops ; if they consent, give them help. The Birds agree.

The Hoopoe welcomes the men to his house and brings in the Nightingale.

676. PARABASIS (*Anap.*). The Theogony of the Birds. The benefits they will give to man, if he acknowledges their divinity.

(*E.S.*) Invocation of the Muse of the thicket. Advantages of Bird-life over human life.

801. SCENE. Pisthetairos and Euelpides return, winged. They name the new city Nephelokokkygia. Euelpides is dismissed to superintend the building.

(*E.S.*) Pisthetairos and a priest conduct the SACRIFICE. The priest is driven away. The Sacrifice is interrupted by—

(*AL.*) a Dithyrambic Poet, who receives a tunic ;

(*AL.*) an Oracle-monger, driven away ;

(*AL.*) Meton, the mathematician, beaten ;

(*AL.*) an Inspector, beaten ;

(*AL.*) a Hawker of Acts of Parliament, beaten.

Pisthetairos, in despair, orders the sacrifice to be finished within.

1058. PARABASIS II. All will now worship the Birds. They set a price on the poulterer's head. Delights of bird-life. Rewards promised to judges for victory ; penalties threatened for defeat.

1118. Messenger I. describes the building of the walls. A Sentinel announces that a messenger from the Gods has passed the lines.

(*E.S.*) Iris, on her way to earth, is arrested. She threatens destruction by the lightning and pick of Zeus, and is turned back with contumely.

A Herald brings a crown from mankind and announces that crowds are coming to share in bird-life. Pisthetairos sends for baskets of wings.

1313. CHORIKON, while wings are brought.

(*AL.*) A Youth, who wants to strangle his father, is armed as a cock and sent to war.

(*AL.*) Kinesias, a dithyrambic poet, derided.

(*AL.*) An Informer, beaten.

1470. CHORIKON. Personal satire.

SCENE. (*E.S.*) Prometheus tells Pisthetairos that the Gods are starving and will send envoys. He is to insist on getting the sceptre of Zeus and Basileia for his wife. Satirical *Ode*. Poseidon, Heracles, and the Triballos come as envoys. Pisthetairos comes out and begins COOKING, and bribes the envoys. They take Pisthetairos to heaven in a wedding garment. Satirical *Antode*.

1706. Messenger II. announces the return of the rejuvenated Pisthetairos with his BRIDE Basileia.

EXODOS. A Hymeneal song salutes Pisthetairos as the NEW ZEUS, lord of thunder and lightning, and καλλίνικος. KOMOS.

LYSISTRATA (411 B.C. *Lenaea*)

DRAMATIS PERSONAE

Adversaries in Agon :	Lysistrata, *an Athenian wife.* A Proboulos.
Chorus (double) :	Twelve Old Men. Twelve Old Women.
Minor Buffoon :	Kalonike, *an Athenian wife.*
Minor Characters :	Myrrhine, *an Athenian wife.* Lampito, *a Spartan wife.* Kinesias. Athenian legates. Spartan legates.
Mute Persons :	Reconcilement (' *Bride* '), etc.

PROLOGUE. *The Slope of the Acropolis outside the Propylaea.* Lysistrata tells Kalonike she has summoned the women to propound a plan for stopping the war. When they come, she suggests a strike of wives. With Lampito's support she persuades them. They take the oath on a cup of wine. The old women have seized the Acropolis. The rest go in to help.

254. PARODOS. The Half-Chorus of Old Men come with faggots to burn the women out of the Acropolis. They light a fire. The Half-Chorus of Women bring buckets of water. The two Leaders FIGHT.

A Proboulos with Policemen, armed with crowbars, is about to attack the gates, when Lysistrata and three Old Women come out. The Policemen try to arrest them. The women from inside rush out and FIGHT, putting the Policemen to flight.

476. AGON. The Proboulos questions Lysistrata, who states the women's grievances. At the end the women offer him grave ornaments, and he goes to show himself so decked to his colleagues. The women retire into the Acropolis.

614. PARABASIS. (*E.S.*) The Half-Chorus of Men lay aside their cloaks and threaten the women. The women do the same. They dispute whether women should take part in politics.

(*E.S.*) Throwing off other garments, the two parties threaten and defy each other.

706. SCENE. Lysistrata announces that the women are deserting. Several women try to steal away. Lysistrata produces an oracle of victory and persuades them to re-enter the Acropolis.

781. CHORIKON. The two Half-Choruses tell satirical anecdotes at the expense of men and women, and threaten each other.

829. SCENE. Kinesias comes for his wife Myrrhine. She comes out and deludes him. He laments.

SCENE. A Herald from Sparta describes the distress of the men there. He and Kinesias agree to get peace legates appointed.

1014. PARABASIS II. The two Half-Choruses make up their quarrel and resume their garments. The Men offer money, the Women food, to the spectators.

1073. The Spartan and Athenian legates meet to discuss peace. Lysistrata produces Reconcilement (' BRIDE ') and brings them to terms. She invites them to feast in the Acropolis and afterwards to take each man his wife and go home.

1189. CHORIKON. The Men and Women renew their offers of money and food to the spectators. (FEAST *within.*)

1216. SCENE. The Athenian legates come out after the feast in KOMOS with torches. The Spartans follow with a flute-player and perform a dance.

EXODOS. Lysistrata bids the men and women to pair off with one another (' MARRIAGE '). They dance off singing to various divinities, including Zeus and Hera and Aphrodite, who has reconciled them.

THESMOPHORIAZUSAE (? 411 B.C. *Dionysia*)

DRAMATIS PERSONAE

Adversaries in quasi-Agon :	Euripides' Kinsman (*Old Man, Buffoon*). Mikka, *wife of Kleonymus.*
Chorus :	The Women at the Thesmophoria.
	Euripides (*Learned Doctor*).
Minor Characters :	Kritylla, *an Old Woman.* Second Woman. Kleisthenes. A Prytanis. A Policeman. Agathon's Servant. A Herald.
Impostor (*in Prologue*) :	Agathon, *the tragic poet.*
Mute Persons :	Elaphium, *a courtesan* (*last scene*), etc.

PROLOGUE. Euripides takes his Kinsman to Agathon's house. The Servant tells them Agathon is coming out to compose in the sun. The women at the Thesmophoria are to hold a meeting to destroy Euripides for traducing their sex in his plays. Euripides wishes to persuade Agathon to go, disguised as a woman, and plead for him.

(*AL.*) Agathon is wheeled out on a sofa, composing a processional song. He is dressed as a woman, so as to sympathise with the heroine of the tragedy he is writing. The Kinsman mocks him. Agathon refuses. The Kinsman, offering to go instead, borrows female dress from Agathon.

Euripides swears to rescue him, if necessary. The Kinsman goes to the Thesmophorium and sits down among the women.

295. PARODOS. A Priestess recites a prayer. The Chorus invoke Gods. Parody of the ritual curse on evil-doers.

371. QUASI-AGON. A Herald opens the Assembly. Mikka denounces Euripides for exposing the peccadilloes of women. (*Ode*) The Chorus approve. Another woman seconds. The Kinsman defends Euripides, as not having told a tenth of the wickednesses of women. (*Antode*) The Chorus protest.

533. SCENE. Mikka demands punishment of the Kinsman, who replies with more charges. They struggle. (FIGHT.)
SCENE. Kleisthenes brings word of a rumour that a Kinsman of Euripides has gained admittance in disguise. The Kinsman is detected. Kleisthenes goes to tell the Prytaneis.

655. The Chorus lay aside their upper garments and search the orchestra for other intruders.
(*E.S.*) The Kinsman seizes a baby from a woman and takes refuge at the altar. He threatens to SACRIFICE it. The women fetch faggots to burn him. The baby turns out to be a wineskin. The Kinsman sacrifices it.
Kritylla mounts guard, while Mikka goes to find the Prytaneis.

785. PARABASIS (*Anap.*). A defence of women.
(*Epirrheme*) Their grievance against men.

846. SCENE. The Kinsman pretends to be Euripides' Helen. Euripides comes as his own Menelaus. Before they can escape a Prytanis arrives with a Policeman. *Exit* Euripides. The Kinsman is taken in to be tied up to a plank.

947. CHORIKON. A ritual round dance and song.

1001. SCENE. The Kinsman, tied to his plank, is brought out and guarded by the Policeman. While the Policeman is gone to fetch a mat for himself, the Kinsman parodies the monody of Andromeda in Euripides' play. The Policeman returns. Euripides appears as Perseus, but fails to release him and goes to invent a new plan. The Policeman goes to sleep.

1136. CHORIKON. Invocation of Pallas and the two Goddesses.

1160. SCENE. Euripides, disguised as an old woman, make terms with the Chorus, promising never to attack women again. He makes Elaphium (a COURTESAN) dance and seduce the Policeman from his watch. Euripides releases his Kinsman and they escape. The Policeman returning is misdirected by the Chorus and runs the wrong way after his prisoner.
EXODOS. The Chorus march out.

FROGS (405 B.C. *Lenaea*)

DRAMATIS PERSONAE

Adversaries in Agon :	Aeschylus (*Soldier*). Euripides (*Learned Doctor*).
Chorus :	Mystics.
Judge in Agon :	Dionysus (*Buffoon*).
Minor Buffoon :	Xanthias, *a slave.*
Minor Characters :	Pluto. Heracles. A Dead Man. Charon. Pluto's Porter. Persephone's Maid. A Hostess. Plathane, *her maid.*
Mute Persons :	Women *in Dionysiac Procession.* Policemen, etc.

PROLOGUE. Dionysus, with lionskin and club, and Xanthias go to the house of Heracles, and consult him about going to Hades to fetch up Euripides. A Dead Man refuses to carry their luggage. Charon takes Dionysus across the lake, while the Frogs sing. The Chorus of Mystics is heard singing the Iacchos Song.

354. PARODOS. The Chorus sing processional hymns and satirical songs. They point out Pluto's House to Dionysus.

460. SCENE. Dionysus knocks and announces himself as Heracles. Terrified at the threats of Pluto's Porter, he changes dress with Xanthias.

SCENE. (*E.S.*) Persephone's Maid welcomes 'Heracles,' and invites him to feast. When she goes in Dionysus insists on changing back.

ODE. The Chorus congratulate Dionysus, and he plumes himself.

SCENE. A Hostess, defrauded by Heracles on his former visit, threatens Dionysus. He changes dress with Xanthias again.

ANTODE. Chorus warn Xanthias to be brave. He professes courage.

SCENE. The Porter reappears and orders slaves to seize and bind Xanthias, who offers his 'slave' (Dionysus) for torture. Dionysus declares himself. The Porter beats both to test which is divine (QUASI-AGON). Unable to decide, he carries them off to be judged by Pluto and Persephone.

674. PARABASIS. (*E.S.*) Invocation of Muse and personal satire. Political advice. Personal Satire. Political advice.

738. SCENE. Dionysus has won the case. The Porter fraternises with Xanthias. Aeschylus and Euripides are heard abusing one another. Euripides has challenged Aeschylus' right to the throne of Tragedy. Dionysus is to judge between them.

CHORIKON. The Chorus forecast the respective styles of the adversaries.

SCENE. Aeschylus and Euripides enter abusing one another. Dionysus quiets them and calls for fire and incense. He SACRIFICES. The Chorus sing to the Muses. Aeschylus prays to Demeter, Euripides to Aether, etc.

895. AGON. Euripides attacks Aeschylus as a pompous humbug, and boasts of his own plainer style and sophistic artifices. Aeschylus boasts of having made Athens warlike, criticises Euripides' love-sick heroines and beggar kings, and accuses him of corrupting youth.

1099. CHORIKON. The Chorus incite the adversaries to further efforts.

SCENE. Euripides criticises the *Choephori* prologue. Aeschylus derides the prologues of Euripides.

SCENE. They parody each other's lyrics.

SCENE. The weighing of lines.

SCENE. Pluto appears. Dionysus asks the poets to give political advice, and gives judgment for Aeschylus. Pluto invites them to FEAST before they start.

CHORIKON. The Chorus approve. (FEAST *within.*)

1500. EXODOS. Pluto gives Aeschylus a sword, a noose, and poison for various politicians. Aeschylus leaves his THRONE to Sophocles during his absence. The Chorus conduct Dionysus and Aeschylus in torchlit PROCESSION, singing in Aeschylean style.

ECCLESIAZUSAE (? 392 B.C. *Lenaea*)

DRAMATIS PERSONAE

Adversaries in Agon :	Praxagora, *wife of Blepyrus.* Blepyrus (*Old Man, Buffoon*).
Chorus :	Women (*Wives*).
Minor Buffoon :	A Neighbour (*Old Man*).
Minor Characters :	Two Wives. Chremes (*Old Man*). A Parsimonious Man (*Old Man*). A Herald. Three Old Women (*Old Woman*). A Young Woman (*Young Woman*). Epigenes (*Young Man*). Praxagora's Maid (*Exodos*).

PROLOGUE. Praxagora, disguised as a man, comes out of her house before dawn. Other women arrive, likewise disguised. Their plot is to pack the Assembly and vote the supreme power to women. They hold a meeting for practice. Praxagora rehearses her speech, and they go to the Pnyx.

285. PARODOS. The Women sing as they march to the Assembly. (*Exeunt.*)

311. SCENE. Blepyrus comes out of his house in his wife's clothes. His Neighbour talks to him out of window, and goes to the Assembly.

SCENE. Chremes describes the meeting to Blepyrus. The Women's plot has succeeded.

478. PARODOS II. The Women return and take off their male disguise.

SCENE. Praxagora, about to restore her husband's clothes, meets Blepyrus coming out. He tells her the result of the Assembly. She says she will explain the advantages of female rule.

571. AGON. Encouraged by the Chorus, Praxagora propounds her scheme of Communism and convinces Blepyrus.

She goes to the market-place to organise the new republic.

DANCE of the Chorus.

730. SCENE. The Neighbour marshals his household goods in a Panathenaic PROCESSION to the common store. A Parsimonious Man declares he will not surrender his.

A Herald summons all citizens to FEAST.

The two men go, the Neighbour carrying his goods.

DANCE of the Chorus.

877. SCENE. An Old Woman and a Young Woman, leaning out of opposite windows, sing against each other to attract the young men. Epigenes comes. He and the Young Woman make love in song.

The Old Woman comes out and claims him under the new law. A second and a third Old Woman, each older and uglier than the last, dispute over him and drag him off.

1112. SCENE. Praxagora's Maid, tipsy and anointed like a COURTESAN, comes to fetch Blepyrus and the Chorus to the FEAST.

EXODOS. The Chorus appeal to the judges for victory. The Maid sings and dances out with Blepyrus, followed by the Chorus uttering Bacchic cries (KOMOS).

PLUTUS (388 B.C.)

DRAMATIS PERSONAE

Adversaries in Agon :	Chremylus (*Old Man, Buffoon*). Poverty (*Old Woman*).
	Wealth (*Old Man*).
Chorus :	Farmers (*Old Men*).
Minor Buffoon : (*in* Agon) :	Karion, *a slave.* Blepsidemus (*Old Man*).
Impostors :	A Just Man. An Informer. An Old Woman. Hermes. Priest of Zeus Soter.
Minor Characters :	Chremylus' Wife. A Young Man.

NOTE.—This classification is only rough. Thus, Chremylus deals with some of the Impostors, Karion with others. The old distinctions are breaking down.

PROLOGUE. Chremylus returning with his slave Karion from Delphi, where the oracle has told him to follow the first person he sees, follows a blind old man, who turns out to be Wealth. He has been blinded from his youth by Zeus, that he may not go only to the just. Chremylus persuades him that if he can recover his sight he need not fear ZEUS, whose KINGDOM rests on wealth. Karion is sent to fetch the Farmers to share the new prosperity. Chremylus takes Wealth into his house.

253. PARODOS. Karion brings the Farmers and tells them that Chremylus will make them rich. He dances with them.

322. SCENE. Chremylus asks the Chorus to help. Blepsidemus, who has heard of Chremylus' new wealth, suspects him of having stolen it, but is convinced that it is Wealth himself. They are going to take Wealth to the temple of Asclepius, when Poverty meets them.

SCENE. Poverty indignantly denounces them for plotting to drive her out; and offers to convince them that this would be a misfortune to mankind.

487. AGON. Poverty argues that equality of wealth would mean universal idleness and the loss of all the arts of civilisation and virtues. She is driven away with curses.

Chremylus and Blepsidemus take Wealth to the temple of Asclepius.

DANCE of the Chorus.

627. SCENE. Karion announces that Wealth's sight is restored, and describes the cure to Chremylus' Wife.

771. SCENE. Chremylus comes with Wealth, who solemnly renounces his former ways. Chremylus' Wife offers to pour the καταχύσματα over him; but they go inside for this ceremony.

DANCE of the Chorus.

802. SCENE. Karion describes how the house is filled with plenty and Chremylus is making SACRIFICE within.

(*AL.*) A Just Man comes to dedicate his old cloak and shoes.

(*AL.*) An Informer laments that his occupation is gone. He scents the FEAST within. Karion despoils him of his fine clothes and drives him away, decorated with the Just Man's old cloak and shoes. Karion and the Just Man go inside to pray to Wealth.

DANCE of the Chorus.

959. (*AL.*) An Old Woman complains that a Young Man, now grown rich, has deserted her. Chremylus derides her. The Young Man comes with torch and wreath for a *Kômos*, and treats her insultingly. They go in together.

(*AL.*) Hermes comes, threatening the vengeance of Zeus; but the prospect of food tempts him to take service under Plutus.

1171. SCENE. The Priest of Zeus Soter, also starving, is told that Plutus is the NEW ZEUS, and joins in a torchlit PROCESSION to install him in the Parthenon. The Old Woman carries the χύτραι.

EXODOS. The Chorus join the procession with Songs (KOMOS).

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ADDENDA

To § 43. On the question of rejuvenation or regeneration by a magical boiling, an article by E. Maass, *Äschylus und Aristophanes*, in N. Jahrb. f. d. klass. Altertum, xxxi. (1913) 627 ff., contains a wealth of illustration from very various sources.

To § 103. Since this book was printed I have come to see more clearly what the significance and the original content of the Satyr-play must have been. If Tragedy and Comedy are based on the same ritual outlines, the Satyr-play at the end of the tetralogy must stand for the Sacred Marriage and its *Kômos*, which form the finale of Comedy. I suspect that Thespian Tragedy was still only emerging from the 'Satyric phase' and contained the elements of grotesqueness and obscenity which mark the fertility aspect of the old *dromenon*. Aeschylus, I believe, deliberately invented the tetralogy, expelling all this side of the performance from the tragic part and relegating it to an appendix, the Satyr-play. The scheme would then be:

COMEDY:	Agon.	Death and Resurrection.	Marriage Kômos.
TRAGEDY:	Aeschylean trilogy with happy ending.		Satyr-play.

The Epic heroes, whose connection with fertility was due to a fusion of their cult in many places with that of the old nameless local *daemons* of fertility, were thus cleared once more of these associations. Tragedy stops short of the Marriage, emphasising the Death and keeping a survival of the joyful Resurrection in the happy ending and the Theophany. Professor Murray, starting from the fixed forms of Tragedy, naturally overlooked the Marriage; but Comedy supplies this necessary end, and thus explains the original intent of the Satyr-play.

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Printed by T. and A. CONSTABLE, Printers to His Majesty
at the Edinburgh University Press

4 [illegible] Bruno

143 folgen [illegible] überzeugenden [illegible]

147 [illegible] 144 [illegible]
[illegible]

157 9

199 [illegible]

199 [illegible]

Herr Daum p 207 [illegible]

209 [illegible]

213 (216) Publikum [illegible]

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