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The Oxford Handbook *of*
GREEK AND ROMAN
COMEDY

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and

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List of Abbreviations

APF Davies, J. K. 1971. *Athenian Propertied Families*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

BOC Rusten, J. 2011. *The Birth of Comedy. Texts, Documents, and Art from Athenian Comic Competitions, 486–280*. Translations by J. Henderson, D. Konstan, R. Rosen, J. Rusten, and N. W. Slater. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

CAD Csapo, E. and W. J. Slater. 1995. *The Context of Ancient Drama*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

CGFP Austin, C. 1973. *Comicorum Graecorum Fragmenta in Papyris Reperta*. Berlin: de Gruyter.

DFA[2] Pickard-Cambridge, A. 1968. *The Dramatic Festivals of Athens*. 2nd ed., rev. by J. Gould and D. M. Lewis. Reissued with supplement, 1988. Oxford: Clarendon Press. [First edition 1953.]

FGrHist F. Jacoby. 1923–. *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*. Berlin and Leiden: Weidmann, Brill.

IG Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin. 1913–. *Inscriptiones Graecae*. Berlin: Reimer, de Gruyter.

K-A Kassel, R. and C. Austin. 1983–. *Poetae Comici Graeci*. 8 vols. Berlin: de Gruyter.

Koster Koster, W. J. W. 1975. *Scholia in Aristophanem*. Fascicule 1A: *Prolegomena de Comoedia*. Groningen: Bouma.

MNC[3] T. B. L. Webster. 1995. *Monuments Illustrating New Comedy*, Vol. 1, 3rd ed., rev. and enlarged by J. R. Green and A. Seeberg. *BICS* Suppl. 50. London: Institute of Classical Studies.

PA Kirchner, J. 1901–1903. *Prosopographia Attica*. 2 vols. Berlin: Reimer.

PCG See K-A, above.

PhV² Trendall, A. D. 1967. *Phlyax Vases*. 2nd ed. *BICS* Supplement 19. London: Institute of Classical Studies.

Stephanis Stephanis, I. E. 1988. *Dionysiakoi Technitai*. Heraklion: Panepistemiakes Ekdoseis Kretes.

TrGF Snell, B., S. L. Radt, and R. Kannicht. 1971–2004. *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*. 5 vols. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

INTRODUCTION

Ancient Comedy: The longue durée

ADELE C. SCAFURO

NOT quite arbitrarily, a glance at the 1960s and '70s is the starting point for reflection. Baby boomers might recall, firsthand and vividly, the escalation of the Vietnam War with the Tet Offensive in January 1968 and the ensuing spring as the season of student revolt, when members of SDS and SAS took over buildings at Columbia University, when students rioted angrily in Paris streets, and Malraux suggested, by way of explanation, God was dead. The Beatles produced *Sgt. Pepper's Lonely Hearts Club Band* in 1968, *Abbey Road* in 1969, and broke up in 1970. Martin Luther King Jr. promoted black workers, equality, civil disobedience and, not yet forty, was assassinated on April 4, 1968, in Memphis, Tennessee. The Black Panther Party, endorsing a socialist agenda, engaged in confrontational activities; in Oakland, California, its seventeen-year-old treasurer Bobby Hutton was killed by police on April 6, 1968. In Los Angeles, Robert F. Kennedy, Attorney General of the United States, was assassinated on June 5, 1968. Responding to student demands, universities in the United States expanded curricula to include Departments of Black Studies and African-American Studies.

At the same time, the "sexual revolution" was in full swing in the United States; sexual mores were rapidly changing and sexual experimentation on the rise, well beyond the gates of college campuses. In 1962, Helen Gurley Brown published *Sex and the Single Girl*; Masters and Johnson's scientific study *Human Sexual Response* appeared in 1966; both were blockbuster sellers. "Pornography" proliferated, was prosecuted in the courts, and defied definition. In 1957, the Supreme Court had issued a groundbreaking ruling about a bookseller who sent erotic literature through the mail: obscenity was not protected by the First Amendment; Congress could ban material that was "utterly without redeeming social importance," meaning "whether to the average person, applying contemporary community standards, the dominant theme of the material, taken as a whole, appeals to prurient interest" (Roth v. United States 354 U.S. 476 [1957]). In 1959, Grove Press sued Robert K. Christenberry, the postmaster of New York City, for restricting its use of the postal

service to send unexpurgated versions of D.H. Lawrence's 1928 novel *Lady Chatterley's Lover*;[1] the press won the case in the U.S. District Court for the Southern District of New York and the ruling was affirmed on appeal by the Second Circuit Court of Appeals.[2] The court found that the book was not obscene, since the sexual content was not its central purpose: "In short, all these passages to which the Postmaster General takes exception—in bulk only a portion of the book—are subordinate, but highly useful, elements to the development of the author's central purpose. And that is not prurient" (excerpt from the Court of Appeals decision). In 1964, Grove Press appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court a Florida decision banning the sale of Henry Miller's 1934 novel *Tropic of Cancer* and won the case.[3] And in 1965, G. P. Putnam's Sons appealed to the Supreme Court a Massachusetts decision banning John Cleland's *Memoirs of a Woman of Pleasure* (*Fanny Hill*) and won.[4] In all three cases, the judges who reversed lower-court decisions provided different definitions or tests for obscenity. In the Grove Press case for *Tropic of Cancer*, the judges had cited the opinions they gave on the same day in *Jacobellis v. Ohio*. In that case, the majority held that the First Amendment, as applied through the Fourteenth, protected a movie theater manager from being prosecuted for showing a film that was not obscene;[5] insofar as the film *Les Amants* was not obscene, it was constitutionally protected. The most famous opinion in that case was Justice Potter Stewart's, that the Constitution protected all obscenity except "hard core pornography"; he continued:

> I shall not today attempt further to define the kinds of material I understand to be embraced within that shorthand description; and perhaps I could never succeed in intelligibly doing so. But I know it when I see it, and the motion picture involved in this case is not that.[6]

Obviously, debate on the definition of obscenity continued. In *Miller v. California*, 413 U.S. 15 (1973), the Supreme Court took up the case of Marvin Miller, convicted for mailing illustrated brochures advertising "adult" books. The Justices now imposed a more clearly defined test for obscenity that is not offered protection by the First Amendment. The decision was neither unanimous nor greeted with universal acclaim; it has been modified and expanded; nevertheless, it has not been overturned.

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[1] The press had published Lawrence's third manuscript version of the novel, which had been privately distributed in Florence; it was "a sumptuous edition selling for $6.00, with a prefatory letter of commendation by Archibald MacLeish, poet, playwright, and Boylston Professor of Rhetoric and Oratory at Harvard University, and with an extensive Introduction and a concluding Bibliographical Note by Mark Schorer, Professor of English Literature at the University of California and a Lawrence scholar," Grove Press, Inc. v. Robert K. Christenberry 276 F.2d 433, (1960), para. 1.

[2] Grove Press, Inc. v. Christenberry, 175 F.Supp. 488 (decided July 21, 1959) and 276 F.2d 433 (decided March 25, 1960).

[3] Grove Press v. Gerstein, 378 U.S. 577 (1964).

[4] Memoirs v. Massachusetts, 383 U.S. 413 (1966).

[5] Jacobellis v. Ohio, 378 U.S. 184 (1964).

[6] *Jacobellis*, v. Ohio, 378 U.S. 184, 197 (1964).

While the sexual revolution flourished, while "make love not war" became a younger generation's slogan for the policy of now, and while the Supreme Court adjusted its rulings, concurrences, and dissents on obscenity to changing community values, feminists in the women's liberation movement campaigned for equal pay and equal opportunity; universities responded by expanding curricula to include Departments of Women's Studies. The Women's Classical Caucus, an affiliate of the American Philological Association founded in 1972, promoted feminist studies of the ancient world and diversity in the profession. The "Other" was being talked about—and institutionalized.

In 1973, Steve Jobs dropped out of Reed College; in spring 1976, he began assembling Apple computers with Steve Wozniak in the family garage.

From Politics to Literary Interpretation

Elsewhere in the academic universe, in the pre-Twitter, pre-Facebook, pre-Google, pre-blog, pre–word search, pre-laptop period, some areas of published literary scholarship, traditionally a few years behind the present, were now running with the pack. New waves of criticism followed quickly one upon another: New Criticism, reacting against the "Old Criticism" of the nineteenth century that had looked to the biography of the author and the circumstances of his times to explain a text, now studied the "autonomous text," examining its intrinsic units apart from the world that once had been thought to produce it; by the early sixties, New Criticism was itself being washed away by a structuralism that imported much from linguistics and social anthropology; that, in turn was washed away by deconstructionism, and that by poststructuralism. Other critical waves, not successor but simultaneous ones, showed durable resistance—Marxist, psychoanalytic, feminist, and reader-response theories. Speech act theory, having roots (misplaced or not) in J. L. Austin's *How to Do Things with Words* (1962) in combination with works by John Searle, inspired new linguistic approaches to literary and dramatic texts. These and other linguistic and anthropological theories (whether recently untied from the fundamentals of structuralism or never tied there at all) spawned new, or remanipulated older, theories of language and sociolinguistics, revising approaches to literary evolution and ritual and welcoming visual semiotics and proxemics. New critical approaches would come later—e.g., the New Historicism in the eighties, returning, to some degree, to the pre–New Criticism stage. But that is later, and we are looking at the sixties and seventies.

Many literary critics among classicists (some of whom would, decades later, designate themselves "cultural historians") kept pace. In the field of Roman comedy, however, traditional studies of analytic critics maintained healthy production levels during the '60s and '70s. Often, the titles of their works were dead giveaways: e.g., *Das Original des plautinischen Persa* (Mueller 1957); "The *Curculio* of Plautus: An Illustration of

Plautine Methods in Adaptation" (Fantham 1965); "The *Poenulus* of Plautus and Its Attic Original" (Gratwick 1969); "Die plautinische *Cistellaria* und das Verhältnis von Gott und Handlung bei Menander" (Ludwig 1970); *Der Miles gloriosus des Plautus und sein griechisches Original: Ein Beitrag zur Kontaminationsfrage* (Schaaf 1977).[7] Change did come. Toward the end of this period ('60s and '70s), in the realm of comedy and drama criticism, Elaine Fantham published a pioneering essay, "Sex, Status, and Survival in Hellenistic Athens. A Study of Women in New Comedy" (1975), and E. Schuhmann at the same time published *Die soziale Stellung der Frau in den Komödien des Plautus* (1975). A few years later, Helene P. Foley edited a landmark anthology called *Reflections of Women in Antiquity* (1981), including her own essay, "The Concept of Women in Athenian Drama" and one by Froma Zeitlin titled "Travesties of Gender and Genre in Aristophanes' *Thesmophoriazousae*." The first edition of Eva Keuls's *The Reign of the Phallus: Sexual Politics in Ancient Athens* appeared in 1985, adding visual testimony to the classicist/feminist's arsenal. Alan Sommerstein published "The Naming of Women in Greek and Roman Comedy" in 1980 and David Bain "Female Speech in Menander" in 1984. Jeffrey Henderson's *Maculate Muse* with its examination of obscenity in Aristophanes had appeared almost a decade earlier (1975), bringing the language of sodomy and coitus interruptus out of the Latin tongue and into the joyful translating classroom.[8] His doctoral thesis (Harvard 1972, directed by Zeph Stewart) on the topic had been hard enough to pull off; while he could write in the preface to the second edition of the 1975 study (1991) that "scorn of the old taboos about human sexuality and its social expressions had become socially fashionable among members of my generation" (vii), few in the older generation of the professoriate had been fired with similar enthusiasm. Nonetheless, the U.S. Supreme Court had cleared the way with the decisions mentioned earlier, in 1957 (*Roth v. United States*), 1959 (*Grove Press, Inc. v. Christenberry*), 1964 (*Grove Press v. Gerstein* and *Jacobellis v. Ohio*, with Potter Stewart's defining moment: "I know it when I see it"), 1966 (*Memoirs v. Massachusetts*), and 1973 (*Miller v. California*).

On the Latin side, gender issues often transmogrified into studies of linguistic characterization. W. G. Arnott in the early '70s illustrated such characterization specifically in Roman comedy (1970 and 1972); so did J. N. Adams in 1972 with "Latin Words for Woman and Wife" and in 1984 with "Female Speech in Latin Comedy"; R. Maltby followed suit in 1979 with "Linguistic Characterization of Old Men in Terence." M. Gilleland provided a statistical method for such studies in a 1979 dissertation and

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[7] Sometimes such works appear with less obvious titles but nevertheless are easily identifiable to the knowing reader, e.g., "Micio und Demea in den terenzischen *Adelphen*" (Tränkle 1972) and "Plautus-Studien: I: Der doppelte Geldkreislauf im *Pseudolus*" (Lefèvre 1977). The titles here and in the text above are a mere sampling. Lefèvre and his Freiburg colleagues in the last two decades have become energetic advocates for the influence of the improvisatory techniques of Atellan farce on Plautus (see Fontaine and Petrides, this volume).

[8] Comparable work in Latin studies appeared in the eighties: J. N. Adams, *The Latin Sexual Vocabulary* (1982), and Amy Richlin, *The Garden of Priapus: Sexuality and Aggression in Roman Humor* (1983).

followed this in 1980 with "Female Speech in Greek and Latin." On a broader playing field, Niall Slater introduced an expansive notion of metatheatrics into modern discussions of ancient drama with *Plautus in Performance* (1985; PhD thesis 1981), distinguishing his view from Lionel Abel's restrictive one as formulated in his 1963 study *Metatheatre: A New View of Dramatic Form*. The latter had argued that metatheater had come to replace tragedy as a genre in the Renaissance; for Slater, metatheater "is theatrically self-conscious theatre, i.e., theatre that demonstrates an awareness of its own theatricality" (1985:10). Moreover, Plautus had incorporated the improvisatory traditions of native Italian theater by characters who *simulate* improvisation in scripted plays. Plautine studies were especially receptive; Plautus's originality, brilliantly articulated in 1922 in Eduard Fraenkel's *Plautinisches im Plautus* (Berlin: Weidmann), reproduced and revised in the Italian edition of 1960, *Elementi plautini in Plauto* (Florence: La Nuova Italia Editrice), had now been reinvigorated. Arnott (*Gnomon* 59 [1987]:18) shot back, reminding readers that carefully scripted pieces simulating improvisational spontaneity (as in the pirate tale at *Bacch*. 251–347) were likely to be Menandrian in origin. The Greek vs. Roman originality contest continued.

Beyond the Literary Critique

The sixties and seventies were a period of tremendous scholarly activity in the broad field of classical antiquity, some of it taking place in libraries, some in archaeological excavations and museums, and some onstage, where it often served as a frame for theater experiments and political agendas, whether one thinks of Burt Shevelove's "splashy" production of *Frogs* by the Yale Repertory Theater in the swimming pool of Payne Whitney Gymnasium on May 21, 1974 (with the not-so-famous-at-the-time Meryl Streep, Sigourney Weaver, and Christopher Durang in the chorus) or the *first* public performance of *Lysistrata* in Britain in 1957[9] and the spate of performances of that same comedy in the late '60s and '70s on college campuses in the United States in protest of the Vietnam War,[10] or Richard Schechner's production *Dionysus in 69* which premiered on June 6, 1968 (a day after the assassination of Robert F. Kennedy). Indeed, Edith Hall, in her introduction to a volume on the reception of Greek tragedy (Edith Hall, Fiona MacIntosh, and Amanda Wrigley, eds., *Dionysus since 69: Greek Tragedy at the Dawn of the Third Millenium*, Oxford University Press, 2004) argues that the end of the '60s with

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[9] The British theatre was under the control of the Lord Chamberlain, who served as censor until 1968 (Walton 2010, 15–16). The production of *Lysistrata* by the English Stage Company in 1957, under the direction of Minos Volonakis and using Dudley Fitts's translation, was the first allowed. Walton (ibid.) reports that it "was condemned as 'savagely pornographic' by the monthly periodical *Theatre World*."

[10] See Hardwick 2010 for an account of the "Lysistrata Project of 2003," involving over a thousand "coordinated readings" all over the globe on March 3, 2003, as a protest against the imminent attack on Iraq by the US-led coalition.

"its seismic and cultural shifts" (p. 1) produced, inter alia, a revival of interest in Greek tragedy heralded by Schechner's production; 1968–1969 was a "watershed" after which new performances of Greek tragedies increased by quantum leaps (cf. Revermann 2008, 177 col. 1). Here, a bit differently, the '60s and '70s are envisioned as a Janus-like gateway to past and future scholarship on ancient comedy.[11] During those decades, many significant scholarly books were produced and significant scholarly projects (or simply trends) initiated, with long tentacles reaching to the present and some notable ones straddling both sides of the date-gate, instantiated by the appearances of "second editions" in the '60s and "third editions" decades later. Many of the initiators of important projects are dead, in retirement, or nearing that moment.[12] This introduction is, in some ways, a salute to their work, but it also presents the case, in brief, not only for their collective achievement in amalgamating the interdisciplinary studies of comedy in classics but also for the vision of comedy produced by that amalgamation, namely its own *longue durée*. The 2010s are a watershed moment in the history of comedy scholarship.

Contributions to comedy scholarship in the '60s and '70s ranged over numerous subfields and topics, and many are treated in this volume. Performance studies (of Greek and Roman plays, tragedies and comedies, even satyr plays and mimes), for example, have blossomed, some looking to the ancient text to provide directions for the ways it was performed onstage, others incorporating knowledge of material finds in their envisioning of performance, still others looking to the experience of performing, and some combining two or three of these approaches at once. These, along with reception studies of performance, are possibly the biggest growth industries in the field of Classics.[13] Let me focus here for a moment on performance studies that are "text-derived." From earliest times (i.e., from early scholia and early modern commentators), learned readers and scholars have used texts to envisage performance (see, e.g. Demetriou, this volume, on Donatus). In the modern era, it would be a rare commentator, indeed, who showed no curiosity to find links between text and stage.[14] To take a well-known example from

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[11] As the author was writing this introduction, the announcement arrived of a work by James T. Patterson (Emeritus Professor of History at Brown University), *The Eve of Destruction: How 1965 Transformed America* (2012). The title alludes to the plaintive song of protest written by P. F. Sloan and sung by Barry McGuire in 1965.

[12] Eric Handley died soon after this Introduction was written, on January 17, 2013; Colin Austin died on August 13, 2010 (see n. 34 below); Geoffrey Arnott on December 1, 2010.

[13] In this volume, one may consult especially chapters 2, 3, 7, 9, 17, 18, 20, 21, 23, 24, 41 and appendices 1 and 2 in which, while not always a main topic, performance is certainly touched upon in meaningful ways; ancient reception is discussed in chapters 5, 18, 22, 27 and more particularly in chapters 34 and 37–41.

[14] A beautiful early modern example of a "text-derived" study emerged from the debate over the stage in the the theatre of Dionysus: J. W. White's (1891) "The 'Stage' in Aristophanes," *HSCPh* 2: 159–205, masterfully composed with the knowledge of Dörpfeld's then provocative theory that there was no stage (actors and chorus performed on the same level in the orchestra) but before it was fully published. White criss-crossed the fields of archaeology (the first chairman of the Managing Committee of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens) and philology with ease, publishing works of lasting value, e.g., *The Verse of Greek Comedy* (1912) and *The Scholia on the Aves of Aristophanes* (1914) and essays in *HSCPh* 29 (1918) and 30 (1919) coauthored with E. Cary.

tragedy, all one need do is to read carefully the pages of Fraenkel's grand commentary on *Agamemnon* (1950) to realize how often he ponders stage action, as when, for example, the question of the timing of Clytemnestra's first entrance arises: is she onstage when the Elders pose questions of her at *Agamemnon* 83–87 and does she then remain silent for some 165 verses, or does she only enter at the end of the long *parodos*, immediately before she speaks (255–258)? For anyone reading the play and imagining it played (as we must), the question begs for an answer and has exercised dozens of scholars (for references, see Fraenkel 1950, Vol. 2, 83–84; Taplin 1972: 89–94 and 1977: 280–285). Such text-derived considerations of performance have produced numerous studies that focus on exits and entrances, on "asides" and "eavesdropping scenes," the "three-actor rule," scene structure, and act division. Oliver Taplin's *Stagecraft of Aeschylus* published in 1977 and *Greek Tragedy in Action* in the following year, as well as David Bain's *Actors and Audience* in 1977, seemed almost to herald a new age: e.g., D. J. Mastronarde's *Contact and Discontinuity: Some Conventions of Speech and Action on the Greek Stage* appeared in 1979; Bain's *Masters, Servants and Orders in Greek Tragedy: A Study of some Aspects of Dramatic Technique and Convention* in 1982; David Seale's *Vision and Stagecraft in Sophocles* in the same year; and K. B. Frost's *Exits and Entrances in Menander* in 1988. Taplin's later work would incorporate more of the material world as he sought to show the spread of Greek drama, first in South Italy in *Comic Angels: And Other Approaches to Greek Drama through Vase Painting* (1993), more broadly in *Pots and Plays: Interactions between Tragedy and Greek Vase-Painting of the Fourth Century B.C.* (2007), and more recently in a multiauthored volume of essays edited with Rosie Wyles, *The Pronomos Vase and its Content* (2010).

This last little sketch, beginning with text-derived performance studies, has brought us well beyond the '60s and '70s, to a time when the study of material artifacts had already twined with numerous text-driven studies of drama, when performance studies seemed less and less the fringe of classics (compare, e.g., responses to Rush Rehm's *Greek Tragic Theatre* in 1992 and *The Play of Space, Spatial Transformation in Greek Tragedy* in 2001), and when a reviewer of Martin Revermann's *Comic Business* (2006), speaking of the author's perspective on performance and stagecraft, could say that it "could only have been written in a post-Taplin era" (Rosen, *BMCR* 2007.04.69)—which is not exactly right but not absolutely wrong, either: it simply elides the generation that was Taplin's rocket ship.

PERFORMANCE AND THEATER ARTIFACTS

The contribution of T. B. L. Webster (1905–1974) to the study of ancient theater texts and practice is monumental. Though our formal starting point is the '60s, some dots in the trajectory of his early years call for connection to his later career, especially as his active engagement with art and drama spanned more than half a century—if we start with his student days at Oxford in the early twenties when he studied, inter alia, Greek

vases with John Beazley and later, in 1928 in Leipzig, when he studied Menander *and* theater artifacts with Alfred Körte.[15] Thereafter, in the thirties and forties, Webster made numerous contributions to *The Classical Review*, often reviews of Ciceronian texts or works on Greek tragedy or vases and sculpture, but also original contributions on different aspects of Greek drama (such as plot structure and "preparation and motivation"); he also began publishing books on other dramatists (thus, a Clarendon *Introduction to Sophocles* in 1936) and works linking art and literature (see n. 18 below). Webster reports in the preface to his 1950 *Studies in Menander* that its form owes something to its period of gestation: "When I went on military service in 1940, texts of Menander, Plautus, and Terence were compact enough to take with me. The stimulus to publish the results of my reading was given by Dr. H. Guppy when he invited me to lecture in the Rylands Library in December 1944." One of the immediate publications in the *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* was a short pamphlet titled *Restorations in Menander* (Vol. 30, Manchester, 1946), elegantly rebuffed by Gomme the following year (*CR* 61 [1947]: 94–95) on grounds that would become a familiar refrain among his literary critics over the years: his reconstructions of scenes were too mechanical, relying on parallels in other comedies, Greek or Roman, and without internal support. Undeterred, Webster would continue to write about fragmentary Greek drama; after the first monograph on Menander, he published *Studies in Later Greek Comedy* in 1953 (treating comedy from 400–370 and from 370–321, followed by New Comedy). His *Tragedies of Euripides* appeared in 1967; here he lavished attention on the fragmentary plays, reconstructing plots and scenes and hypothesizing not only plot structures but rules of dramatic competition to explain changes in those structures. His *Introduction to Menander* appeared posthumously in 1974. Of this work, one laudatory reviewer exuberantly remarked: "Webster has written a book which, almost as far as is possible, will transform a modern reader into an Athenian citizen sitting in the theater of Lykourgos, complete with the knowledge and expectation of the kind of play he will see in the newest Menandrean work" (J. N. Grant, *CW* 71 [1977]: 199).

Those words have an eerie ring, resonating as they do with contemporary emphasis in performance studies of Greek and Roman drama, where it has become almost formulaic to set the scene, to recreate the moment of original performance, no matter how impossible everyone knows that is, but nevertheless, to use every legitimate means possible to understand the size and shape of the acting space, a matter of great controversy in the nineteenth (see n. 14 above) and twentieth centuries (even as late as the 1970s: Gebhard 1974), to envision how it was used, and to locate it in a city or countryside; to envision costumes and masks and of course the actors who wore them and how they may have used them, and to conjecture their number in any given production (or scene), their rehearsals, scripts (and actors' interpolations), voicings, gestures,

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[15] E.W. Handley (2003: 450–451) points out in his short and informative biography of Webster that "[t]his was then a twofold meeting of minds. It is still the case, as it was throughout the Webster years, that the publication and study of new papyri and new archaeological material have gone on in parallel, with gains to knowledge that neither master nor pupil in Leipzig would have dared to dream of while some of the foundations of future work were being laid."

onstage arrivals and departures (or "exits and entrances"), fees, and fame.[16] The audience is also envisioned: its size, its composition, and the gradient of its intelligence and expertise.[17] And now it is not only the Athenian citizen who is imagined as spectator, but the Corinthian in Corinth or Alexander's mercenaries in Susa and elsewhere (references in *DFA*²: 280). The economics of performance are set out, too—not only the cost of attendance but of performance itself, and where all that funding came from. And beyond these topics, the meaning of theater to the lives of polis inhabitants all around the Mediterranean is reflected upon through different media (Green 1994, Green 2000). Among epigraphic texts, we can look, for example, at the honorary decrees for actors, playwrights, and *choregoi* (the funding sponsors of choruses: Makres 1994 and this volume, chapter 3; Wilson 2000) that are inscribed on statue bases or stone pillars, and at leases for theaters or contracts for their repair, and we can ask: what social values do such documents unveil? We can examine literary texts, treatises like Plato's *Symposium* in which both Agathon and Aristophanes appear, orations like Antiphon 6 *On the Chorus Boy* and Demosthenes 21 *Against Meidias* in which *choregoi* appear, and works such as Athenaeus's *Dinner of the Sophists* with long discussions of and quotations from comedy; and again, we can ask: what social values do these texts unveil? We can study archaeological finds; in addition to considering the theaters themselves and their spread throughout the Greco-Roman world, we can examine theater tickets and consider the proliferation of vase paintings of actors and choruses, actor figurines, terracotta masks, and glorious mosaics of once famous theater scenes, and we can ask: what does all this theater paraphernalia and decorative art suggest about the societies that produced it (see, e.g. Nervegna, this volume, chapter 37)? And we can study papyrus texts over time and consider what they have to tell us not only about the tastes of the reading public or of school studies and the evolution of a canon, but also what they might tell us about contemporary readings and possibly performance (consider no. 76 in Bathrellou's discussion of a third-century CE papyrus, in Appendix 1 in this volume).

Much of this (by no means all, but especially the evaluation of archaeological finds) owes something to Webster, who early on saw the importance of vases and other material artifacts for reconstructing the theater scene. As alluded to earlier, Webster had begun to publish more directly about connections between literature and objects in the

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[16]   See, e.g., on the Greek side: E. Csapo and W. J. Slater, *The Context of Ancient Drama* (1995), and bibliographies by J. R. Green, "Theatre Production," *Lustrum* 31 (1989): 7–95, 273–278; *Lustrum* 37 (1995, for 1987–1995): 7–202, 309–318; *Lustrum* 50 (2008, for 1996–2006): 7–302 and 367–391; among recent works highlighting theatre performance, M. Revermann, *Comic Business: Theatricality, Dramatic Technique, and Performance Contexts of Aristophanic Comedy* (2006); D. Stuttard (ed.), *Looking at Lysistrata* (2010); D. K. Roselli, *Theater of the People: Spectators and Society in Ancient Athens*. On the Roman side: W. Beare, *The Roman Stage* (1950, 2d ed. 1955, 3d ed. 1965 [completed by N. G. L. Hammond]); R. C. Beacham, *The Roman Theatre and Its Audience* (1991, 2d ed. 1995); T. Moore, *The Theater of Plautus: Playing to the Audience* (1998); C. W. Marshall, *The Stagecraft and Performance of Roman Comedy* (2006).

[17]   See, e.g., on the Greek side, Revermann 2006, and on the Roman side, Goldberg 1998 and Fontaine 2010.

late thirties, especially on vases that illustrated drama, theater masks, and comic costume.[18] In 1956, the first edition of *Greek Theatre Production* was published, a precursor of his later volumes that would catalogue the material artifacts of Greek theater, with some 1,500 monuments used as its foundation for research and with a select list of some 270 items for discussion.[19] The triadic first edition of *Monuments* arrived in 1960, 1961, and 1962: *Monuments Illustrating Old and Middle Comedy* (*MMC*[1]); *Monuments Illustrating New Comedy* (*MNC*[1]); *Monuments Illustrating Tragedy and Satyr-Play* (*MTS*[1]). A second edition of the triad appeared at the end of the decade (1967 *MTS*[2], 1969 *MMC*[2] and *MNC*[2]). A more general reference work, in collaboration with A. D. Trendall, appeared in 1971, *Illustrations of Greek Drama*. The third edition of *Monuments* came later, posthumously, in 1978 (*MMC*[3], revised by J. R. Green) and in 1995 (*MNC*[3], two vols. including material published up to late 1986, revised by J. R. Green once again, and now with A. Seeberg).[20] The catalogues that formed the basis of *Monuments* grew steadily through the editions; approximately 600 items had been catalogued in *MMC*[1], about 150 new pieces were added to *MMC*[2], and another 250 to *MMC*[3]. The greatest number of finds belonged to New Comedy, with over 1,400 items catalogued in *MNC*[1] and some 375 items added to *MNC*[2], and, remarkably, over 3,500 items catalogued in the third edition. New finds (terracotta actor figurines and masks) from the Lipari Islands increased the totals in the later editions of both *MMC* and *MNC*, and in the latter, mosaics also added significantly. L. Bernabó-Brea and M. Cavalier in 1965 had published the first theatrical terracotta masks and actor figurines from the Contrada Diana necropolis with its (then excavated) 565 tombs dating from the sixth century BCE to the second century CE; Trendall had contributed a chapter on the Lipari vases to that volume, and Webster a commentary on the theatrical items. It was the 1981 Lipari materials, however, that especially contributed to the greater nuancing of interpretation, taxonomy, and chronology, especially of masks, in the latest edition of *MNC* in 1995 (see the Museum Index in 1.172–174). A like interval between excavation and dissemination in *MNC* transpired in the case of the now well-known third-century CE mosaics from "the house of Menander" in Mytilene. These had been excavated in the early sixties by S. Charitonides, announced by

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[18]   See, e.g., essays by Webster in 1948, 1949, 1951, 1952, 1954, 1955. A series of books began in 1939, connecting Greek art and literature: *Greek Art and Literature 530–400 BC*; *Art and Literature in Fourth Century Athens* (1956); *From Mycenae to Homer* (1958, repr. 1960); *Greek Art and Literature 700–530 BC* (1959); *Hellenistic Poetry and Art* (1964).

[19]   The large catalogue was based on M. Bieber's *Denkmäler zum Theaterwesen* (1920) and *The History of the Greek and Roman Theater* (1939, 2d ed. 1961) and A. Simon's *Comicae Tabellae* (1938), but with a great many additions.

[20]   The practice of passing on editions to "surviving" scholars is not so unusual, but is nevertheless prominent for, in some cases, large-scale revision among works on ancient theatre. Webster, at the end of 1951, on Pickard-Cambridge's request, took over the manuscript of the first edition of *The Dramatic Festivals of Athens* (1953) and "saw it through the press." Webster made only minor alterations here. Pickard-Cambridge for his part had revised the third edition of A. E. Haigh's *The Attic Theatre* ("revised and in part re-written") in 1907, where, aside from much else, he vastly expanded the second appendix on dramatic inscriptions and added the third on the original place of the Lenaea. Other examples are mentioned in the text above and in n. 31.

Webster in the preface to the second edition of *MNC* in 1969, published posthumously in 1970 after the Greek excavator's death in a motor accident (S. Charitonides, L. Kahil, and R. Ginouvès, *Les mosaïques de la maison du Ménandre à Mytilène*, Bern: Francke), reviewed that same year by Webster (*JHS* 91: 210–211), but only integrated into discussion in the third edition of *MNC* by Green and Seeberg (1995, Vol. 2, 469–471), though widely discussed before then as testimony to Menander's plays and aids to reconstructing the fragmentary remains.

What is immediately evident in *MNC*[3] is the broader geographical distribution of material all over the Greek and Roman world, as well as the diachronic span of that material, beginning ca. 250 BCE and extending (through *six* periods) to ca. CE 180 and later. While items in the last period are exceedingly difficult to date, two ivory consular diptychs may be among the latest: one shows an "actor as youth" (6DI 1) and the other an "actor disrobing" and receiving applause from those watching the games (6DI 2); both date to the early sixth century CE. Green and Seeberg have suggested, regarding the latter diptych (St. Petersburg ω 263 [Byz 925/16]), that if the youth's Phrygian cap indicates Act IV of the Menandrian *Eunuchus*, then the applause occurs before the end of the play; and if so, the dramatic implication is quite important: "the ivory could be taken to mean that what the consul put on at the games was not the staging of a complete Menander play, but a speech or speeches from Menander rendered in stage dress by a *cantor*. This at least agrees with the fact that Menander was handed down in the main Byzantine tradition not as a playwright, but as an author of set speeches and quotations" (*MNC*[3]1.76; cf. Nervegna 2007: 23–41, esp. 38). The transitions and alterations of theater stagings over the centuries are a mirror of cultural preoccupations.

The twin phenomena of ancient theater's long diachronic span and broad geographical spread were already becoming evident in the '60s but were given ever more material proof in publications as the end of the century approached. As was said earlier, the '60s and '70s were a gateway to the past and future. One reviewer of Webster's second edition of *MMC* pointed to the '60s as a decade when "an astonishing number of books on theatre have gone into a second edition" (B. A. Sparkes, *JHS* 91 [1971]: 210): indeed, the '60s saw not only the first and second editions of Webster's *Monuments*, but additionally, in the same year as *MMC*[1] (1960) appeared, Webster published a second edition of *Studies in Menander*, and in the same year as *MTS*[1] (1962), he produced a much revised second edition of Pickard-Cambridge's (1927) *Dithyramb, Tragedy, and Comedy*. J. Gould and D. M. Lewis extensively revised Pickard-Cambridge's *Festivals* in 1968 (with "generous assistance in the choice and collection of illustrations" from Beazley and Webster: p. x). The second edition of M. Bieber's *The History of the Greek and Roman Theater* (1939) appeared in 1961, the second edition of A. D. Trendall's *Phlyax Vases* (*BICS* Suppl. 19) in 1969, and in that same year the second edition, with additional material, of Webster's *Sophocles* (Methuen). In 1963, Webster published *Griechische Bühnenaltertümer*, a short history of Greek theater production from its beginnings to late imperial times, updating earlier work and summarizing more recent; and in 1970, he published a second edition of *Greek Theatre Production*—as well as a revised edition of *Studies in Later Greek*

Comedy.[21] Second editions look not only backwards to the now meager appearance of predecessor editions, but also robustly forward into the promising future.

All the while, the study of ancient Greek drama was becoming a much broader and more interdisciplinary study, exemplified, e.g., by the work of E. W. Handley and J. R. Green. Over the last three decades of the twentieth century and into the current one, the latter has brought expert knowledge of vases into the theater realm in grand ways, insisting on a broader understanding of the meaning of theater in the lives of the Greeks not only by carrying on and vastly expanding Webster's *Monuments,* but additionally with a protreptic agenda evident in collaborative works such as *Images of the Greek Theatre* (with Handley in 1995), in bibliographies on theater production (n. 16 above), and in various articles on vases, mosaics, and the theater world (e.g. 1985, 1991, 2001). Handley himself, for a longer period (beginning in the fifties), has so frequently crossed between art, archaeology, stage history, papyrology, and philology that it hardly makes sense to speak of boundaries at all. This is evident in numerous works, among them other collaborations with Green (2000, 2001), as well as in edited volumes (e.g. 1990, 1993) and essays (e.g., 2000, 2001, 2002). No finer heir could have written the brief and eloquent biography of Webster that appeared in the *Proceedings of the British Academy* in 2003.

Texts and Scholia

Elsewhere in the '60s and '70s, our starting point, classical scholarship stepped cautiously forward. In the world of Aristophanic studies, new critical texts of the scholia, later known as the "Groningen edition,"[22] began to appear in 1960. Paleographer and metrician W. J. K. Koster served as its first general editor; D. Holwerda succeeded him in 1975 and brought the enterprise, divided into four parts and composed of eighteen fascicles produced by eight contributors, to its conclusion in 2007. This was the first complete edition since Dindorf's three volumes (1838) and Dübner's singleton in 1842. Some of the scholia had never been edited before (e.g., the greater part of the commentaries of Tzetzes and many scholia belonging to the *vetera*). The quality of material varies; the *Prolegomena de Comoedia* (ed. Koster), for example, are mostly useless, though anecdotal material such as the story of Eupolis's drowning by Alcibiades after the production of *Baptai* is not without interest, and, on the more serious side, there is good reason to think that parts

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[21] Webster's Cambridge edition, *Sophocles Philoctete*s, and also *The Greek Chorus* were published the same year (1970).

[22] The project was sponsored by what was subsequently called NWO, *Nederlandse Organisatie voor Wetenschappelijk Onderzoek* (Netherlands Organization for Scientific Research). Part IV was published first, but its four fascicles appeared over a number of years. Similarly the other volumes, so that, for example, Part I appeared as follows: (1A) *Prolegomena* on Comedy, ed. W. J. W. Koster (1975); (1B) Scholia to *Acharnians*, ed. N. G. Wilson (1975); (2) Scholia to *Knights,* ed. D. Mervyn Jones, N. G. Wilson (1969); (3.1) Ancient Scholia to *Clouds*, ed. D. Holwerda (1977); (3.2) Recent Scholia to *Clouds*, ed. W. J. W. Koster

of *Prolegomenon* III go back to Aristophanes of Byzantium, with useful information on numbers of plays assigned to poets and duration of poetic careers (Nesselrath 1990: 43–51; 172–187). Not surprisingly, some manuscripts of the scholia yield alternative readings or emendations for Aristophanes's plays (and also for other authors) that are helpful for editors of texts, as well as miscellaneous interpretive information such as explanations of jokes and topical allusions.[23]

Nearly coinciding with the initial publications of the new volumes of scholia, the Oxford Clarendon series of commentaries on Aristophanes got underway. This was envisioned to be, eventually, a complete series of critical editions with commentary, and as such, would be the first since Van Leeuwen's twelve volumes (including prolegomena, Leiden 1893–1906) and Rogers's volumes with less commentary and less reliable texts (London 1902–1916) nearly fifty years earlier. M. Platnauer's edition of *Peace* appeared in 1963, followed by K. J. Dover's *Clouds* in 1968, D. MacDowell's *Wasps* in 1971, and R. G. Ussher's *Ecclesiazusae* in 1973; since then, six more have been published, including a new edition of *Peace* to replace Platnauer's inaugural one, J. Henderson's *Lysistrata* (1987, 1989), K. J. Dover's *Frogs* (1993), N. Dunbar's *Birds* (1995), S. D. Olson's *Peace* (1999) and *Acharnians* (2002), and C. Austin and Olson's *Thesmophoriazusae* (2004).[24] Most of these texts were major advances on predecessors' editions; thus, e.g., Henderson, before producing his text of *Lysistrata*, collated its eight pre-sixteenth-century MSS in situ. During this same "Clarendon period," A. Sommerstein began producing his critical editions of the comedies of Aristophanes for Aris and Phillips commencing with *Acharnians* (Vol. 1) in 1980 and ending in 2002 (Indexes, Vol. 12). Henderson published the first volume of the (long-awaited) second Loeb edition of Aristophanes in 1998 and finished with *The Fragments* (Vol. V) in 2007.[25] Both Sommerstein and Henderson continue a tradition of endorsing translations that are readable *and* actable; stage versions and versions for the study are a false opposition. Thus Sommerstein: "Although Aristophanes, like his tragic contemporaries, wrote primarily for the stage, neither he nor they can have been unaware that their works would be read as well, and there is no evidence that the reading texts differed in any way from the acting texts" (1973: 142–143, with n. 1). Henderson, pointing to an archival custom of preserving scripts, likewise sees Aristophanes as writing "with both performers and readers in mind" (1992, 81–82). The sentiment is articulated by earlier translators as well, e.g. by P. Dickinson in the Introduction to his 1957 translation of three Aristophanic comedies: "Aristophanes

(1974). A full listing of the contents of the four parts appears in *CR,* n.s., 51, 2001: 18–19 (C. Austin) and *BMCR* 2008.09.24 (R. Tordoff).

[23] For a quick survey of the contents of these and other publications of Aristophanic scholia, see Dickey (2007: 28–31). Special mention should be made of Ada Adler's magnificent critical edition of the Suda (*Suidae Lexicon I–V* (1928–1938 Leipzig) with an apparatus that, inter alia, gives references to direct sources that in certain cases are Aristophanic scholia.

[24] A new edition of *Wasps* is now underway by Olson and Z. Biles to replace MacDowell's 1971 edition.

[25] The first editors of the series (E. Capps, T. E. Page, and W. H. D. Rouse) had wanted to appoint the great Aristophanic scholar J. W. White (see n. 14 above) to the task in the 1910s, but he died in 1917 before composing the critical edition of the eleven plays that he had planned. The editors subsequently decided to use B. B. Rogers's texts and translations, filling in the parts that Rogers had omitted as being

wrote for the theatre, words for actors to speak, just as Shakespeare did. It is therefore no use translating him into language that cannot be spoken on a stage." No doubt debate will continue over the best way to translate comedy for contemporary audiences (e.g., whether to compose in prose or verse, whether to use anachronisms, stage directions, and explanations as notes or somehow tucked into the translation) and that debate will include assessments of particular audiences for particular translations; in this respect, it is apt to point out that both Sommerstein and Henderson wrote about the "actable/readable script" before publishing translations with Greek on one side of the page and English on the other (or rather, British-English in the one case and American-English in the other). On both sides of the pond, obscenity is in, euphemism and Latin obfuscation out.

In most instances, the Greek texts (in the Oxford Clarendon series as well as Sommerstein's editions for Aris and Phillips and Henderson's editions in the Loeb series), replaced both Hall and Geldart's long obsolete Oxford texts (1900, 1906) and also the more reliable Budé of V. Coulon (1923–1930).[26] A new collective edition, however, was in the making. N. G. Wilson, who had edited two fascicles in the Groningen series of scholia in 1969 and 1975,[27] produced a new Aristophanes (2 vols., OCT) in 2007 (see chapter 33), but one with neither *stemmata codicum* for the plays nor a fresh collation of MSS (which to some extent had been carried out by the individual editors in the Clarendon series). Naturally, this is not the end of the story of today's text of Aristophanes (as if the telos of the Groningen edition were to be the near-simultaneous publication of Wilson's Aristophanes and the completion of Sommerstein's and Henderson's separate editions with translations—spectacular as that quadruple near-simultaneity is); but as this is not a story about the text of Aristophanes but an essay that reflects both on the massive scholarly work undertaken in the last fifty or sixty years and on its substantive consequences, a rerouting must be made.

obscene (often with Latin) and abridging introductions and notes; this was published in 1924, five years after Rogers's death. Sommerstein successfully approached the later series editor (E. H. Warmington) in 1972 with a notion for a new edition, but in 1978 the series, on financial grounds, had to postpone his publication for a five-year period. Handley and G. Goold (both at UCL, and the latter now Loeb series editor) brought the situation to the attention of Aris and Phillips—and so Sommerstein's editions found a home there (see Sommerstein 2006: 130–134). Henderson, who would become general editor of the Loeb series in 1999, had undertaken the second edition of Aristophanes in the early 1990s under Goold's headship. The series itself had now been reinvigorated after the financial woes of the '70s, and a new policy prevailed: "the seemingly harmless edict included in the early contracts to alter or omit licentious and obscene passages—anything that 'might give offense'—is now considered to be shabby scholarship" (from the *History of the Loeb Classical Library*, www.hup.harvard.edu/features/loeb/history. html, accessed Dec. 27, 2012). It should be noted that the "new policy" regarding "licentious and obscene passages" could hardly have been inaugurated legally in the US or UK before the late '60s or early '70s.

[26]   Two other omnibus editions (including text, commentary, and Italian translation) since the 1960s are: (1) G. Mastromarco's and P. Totaro's: Mastromarco, *Commedie di Aristofane, I* (Turin 1983), including *Acharnians –Peace*; Mastromarco and Totaro, *Commedie di Aristofane, II* (Turin 2006), including *Birds–Frogs*. The texts are based on existing editions but with departures. (2) B. Marzullo, *Aristofane: Le commedie* (Rome 1968, 1982[2], 1989[3], 2003[4]).

[27]   In 1969, with D. M. Jones, the scholia to *Knights* (Part I.2); in 1975, the scholia to *Acharnians* (Part I B).

A papyrus codex of Menander "discovered" in Egypt and acquired by Martin Bodmer after World War II originally contained three plays. *Dyskolos,* almost in its entirety (thus a first for Menander), was published in 1958 by the Swiss papyrologist Victor Martin as *Papyrus Bodmer IV*; Handley's important edition was published in 1965. *Samia* and *Aspis*, with mutilated text at the beginning of the former and at the end of the latter, were published by Kasser and Austin in 1969 as *Papyrus Bodmer XXV* and *XXVI*; Austin published a critical edition of the two plays in the Kleine Texte series that same year. Discoveries made in Paris from a different papyrus led to an editio princeps of *Sikyonios* in 1964 by A. Blanchard and A. Bataille. These, of course, were the "second wave" of grand Menandrian discoveries in the twentieth century—the earlier one arrived with Lefebvre's publication of the Cairo codex in 1907 (see Blanchard, chapter 11, and Bathrellou, appendix 1, this volume). First appraisals of *Dyskolos* that stepped beyond the important critique of text are especially good reminders of the sometimes long digestive period required for the absorption of a new work (e.g., how it fits into the corpus, or how it illumines New Comedy dramaturgy generally) and a learning tool for reimagining a territory once unmarked and whose early routes and trailblazers have sometimes been forgotten. P. W. Harsh, writing a review of Victor Martin's editio princeps in 1959, found the play vastly inferior to *Epitrepontes*, dramaturgically flawed, and, on the basis of comparison with Terence's *Adelphoe* (modeled on a "developed" Menandrian original), argued that *Dyskolos*'s inferiority was due to the playwright's inexperience (*Gnomon* 31: 577–86). L. A. Post, writing a review of the same edition in the same year, was more enthralled; far from seeing dramaturgic flaws, he could exclaim, "Each episode is not only a surprise itself but leads to future surprises and delights" (*AJPh* 80: 402–15 at 405). *Dyskolos* is a brilliant, fast-moving play, calling for agile acting, something that contemporary audiences (of the mid-twentieth century), accustomed, as Post put it, to such slow-paced reflective plays as Beckett's *Waiting for Godot*, might incorrectly associate with farce (ibid. 404–405). Still, Post seemed to think the play would not have been to everyone's taste in the late fourth century, and so he pondered, "Was Menander's victory, his first, due to the plaudits of the multitude, or had Demetrius introduced a reform urged by Plato (*Laws,* II, 659 A–C) and emboldened the judges to disregard applause and decide the merits of the play by philosophic standards?" (ibid. 402).[28] Post opted for Demetrius's legislative intervention; the audience may not have enjoyed the play, but the judges knew better. Political interpretation, via an extraneous door (a soaring inference based on Plato's *Law*s to explain an imagined negative audience response to a play that only the morally attuned minds of imaginary finer men might appreciate!), stood at the head of the hermeneutic enterprise. More sophisticated interpretations would arrive by the end of the next decade.[29] Nonetheless, here at the outset, we see an interest in the original

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[28]   Similarly, Barigazzi 1959 had seen the influence of Demetrius of Phalerum.

[29]   E.g., Keuls's "Mystery Elements in Menander's *Dyscolus*" (1969), with its focus on the δίκελλα (double-pronged hoe) as symbol of rustic hard labor with "overtones of penance or moral improvement" (213); the double-pronged hoe is found on Hellenistic gems and is often combined with shackles, an aspect of the Eros and Psyche myth that, in Menander's play, establishes a tie with the dream vision of Sostratus's mother as well as with mystery and cultic symbolism (214).

spectators, even if without any attempt to sort out methodically who those spectators might have been.

F. H. Sandbach would publish in 1972 a new critical edition (Oxford Classical Text) of the longer extant plays and fragments found in the direct (papyri) and indirect (book quotations) traditions.[30] His commentary followed in the next year; in it, he used but heavily revised Gomme's notes and typescript of a commentary on *Heros*, *Epitrepontes*, *Perikeiromene*, and *Samia* (Gomme died in 1959—he had seen the text of *Dyskolos* but not written on it: Sandbach 1973, p. v),[31] and he extended its reach to include new finds not only from the Bodmer Papyri (*Dyskolos, Samia, Aspis*) but also from new papyri sources (e.g., *Sikyonioi, Dis Exapaton*). In 1990, Sandbach published a revised edition with an Appendix comprised of recently discovered and important fragments (esp. of *Epitrepontes* and *Misoumenos)*. Arnott in his three-volume critical edition with verse translation for the Loeb series (1979, 1996, 2000) added *Leukadia*, scraps of *Synaristosai* (from recent papyrus finds), and *Encheiridion* (from earlier papyrus finds, but with argument for ascription in 1979: 358-64); he also added nine *Fabulae Incertae* (Sandbach had included but one), newly ascribed to Menander though with varying degrees of likelihood. This major accrual to Menander's oeuvre that had begun in the late fifties (and that has now been published together with new finds in Arnott's Loeb volumes) is not the end of the story—and not least because new finds (e.g., additions to *Epitrepontes*) have been discovered since then (see Bathrellou's Appendix to this volume), but also because, once again, this is not a story (only) about the text of Menander; another rerouting is warranted.

For this, we turn to interesting developments that were taking place in Plautine studies in Italy. After writing a number of essays in the late 1950s and early '60s on textual and metrical matters in Menander, Plautus, and Terence, C. Questa published in 1967 what soon became a standard reference work on Plautine meters, *Introduzione alla metrica di Plauto* (Bologna); forty years later (a span that has become familiar in the course of this essay!), he produced an amplified work, *La metrica di Plauto e di Terenzio* (Urbino 2007), and this, too, has quickly become a standard work of reference. In the interval between the two (in fact, a bit before the publication of the first), Questa and colleagues undertook detailed studies of the text of Plautus. Questa supervised editions with Italian

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[30] Other important editions of Menandrian plays appeared after the editio princeps of *Dyskolos*; thus, e.g.: D. del Corno, vol. I (Milan 1967), without *Samia* and *Aspis*, with Italian prose translation; J. M. Jacques (Budé) I.1 *Samia*, 1971; I. 2 *Dyskolos*, 2nd ed. 1976.

[31] See also M. F. McGregor's review of Gomme's commentary on Thucydides, vols. I–III, "completed the day before the news came of A. W. Gomme's death, after a long illness, on January 18 [1959]": *Phoenix* 13 [1959]: 58–68.); A. Andrewes and K. J. Dover completed the commentary (vols. IV and V, 1970, 1981). This is an apt point to observe the profound hybrid proficiency of these and other scholars (historians/ philologists) and the length of their careers: Gomme (publications begin in 1925); Dover (in 1950); MacDowell (in 1959). D. M. Lewis, primarily an epigraphist and historian (1952 dissertation, "Towards an Historian's Text of Thucydides"), revised *DFA* with J. Gould and wrote occasional reviews and learned notes on "literary" texts (1983, 1984, 1987).

translations of *Pseudolus* (1983), *Casina* (1988), *Trinummus* (1993), *Asinaria* (1994), *Amphitryo* (2002), *Persa* (2003), *Mercator* (2004), and *Stichus* (2008), all published by the Biblioteca Universale Rizzoli; he also inaugurated the important and critical Sarsina series in 2001 with an edition of *Casina* that has now been followed by six Plautine texts, including his own text of *Bacchides* in 2008. This was the third edition that Questa had produced of the play; the first appeared in 1965 (Florence: Sansoni)—interestingly, the very same year as Handley had published his edition of *Dyskolos*. As every classical scholar knows, a remarkable—nay, an absolutely sensational—event had taken place a few years after the appearance of Questa's 1965 edition of *Bacchides*, namely, Handley's first but partial publication of *Dis Exapaton* ("Twice a Swindler") in *Menander and Plautus: A Study in Comparison* (Inaugural Lecture, University College, London, 1968); surely here is an "aha!" moment in the history of Menandrian/Plautine scholarship. The recovered verses (lines 11–30 and 91–112) provided the most extended piece of extant Greek text for which a Roman adaptation is available (it is the model for *Bacchides* 494–562: see Fontaine, chapter 26, this volume for discussion and references).[32] Questa published a review of Handley's text that same year (*RFIC* 96: 502) and followed with a second edition of *Bacchides* in 1975 (Florence: Sansoni), reprinting Sandbach's (i.e., Handley's) text in an appendix with minor changes and a much expanded introduction to Plautus's play. A quarter of a century later, R. Raffaelli and A. Tontini edited a volume of essays on *Bacchides* in the Sarsina series (*Bacchides: Sarsina, 9 settembre 2000*, Lecturae Plautinae Sarsinates 4, Urbino: QuattroVenti, 2001). It is not surprising to find the names of two Englishmen among the contributors, E. W. Handley and J. A. Barsby—the latter, inter alia, had published an Aris and Phillips edition of *Bacchides* in 1986 with the new text of *Dis Exapaton* tucked into an appendix at the end. Given Questa's publication of the third edition of *Bacchides* (in the Sarsina series) and its dedication to Handley in 2008, one can't help but wonder: what went on behind the scenes before, during, and after the colloquium that spawned the volume that appeared in 2001? Whatever it may have been, the exchange of scholarship has been a boon to classical studies.

FRAGMENTS

Another "monumental project" commenced in 1974 with the publication of C. Austin's *Comicorum graecorum fragmenta in papyris reperta* (*CGFP*, Berlin: de Gruyter). This was a collection of papyri fragments of Greek comedy, serving as a prelude to a

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[32] Handley provided Sandbach with a lengthier provisional text for the 1972 OCT, adding lines 47–63 and 89–90; Handley published the "definitive" text in 1997 (P.Oxy. 4407, with altered readings of already published verses and additions to fragmentary lines 1–10, 31–46, 64–88, and 113). Before the first publication of *Dis Exapaton* in 1968, the previous "record holder" (lengthiest extant Greek text with Roman adaptation) was Menander *Plokion* K-A fr. 296, with sixteen verses of Caecilius's fragmentary play (both preserved by Aulus Gellius 2.23.8).

completely modernized corpus that would replace the earlier collections: A. Meineke's *Fragmenta Comicorum Graecorum* (*FCG,* Berlin 1839–1857), T. Kock's *Comicorum Atticorum Fragmenta (CAF,* Leipzig 1880–1888), and J. Edmonds's *The Fragments of Attic Comedy (FAC,* Leiden 1957–1961). The first of these early editions was outstanding for its day; the second was much beholden to Meineke but had the independent virtue, at least, of supplying the fragments with continuous numbers; Edmonds's text, alleged apparatus criticus, and notes were appalling—nonetheless, its English verse translation drew followers, especially among those unacquainted with the Greek language.[33] The first volume of the new collective edition *Poetae Comici Graeci* (*PCG*, but abbreviated in this volume as K-A when associated with a particular ancient author or text), was edited by C. Austin and R. Kassel and appeared in 1983 (Vol. IV). There were to be eleven fascicles in all; so far, eight have appeared, all edited by the same twosome: *PCG* IV Aristophon–Crobylus (1983); III.2 fragments of Aristophanes (1984); V Damoxenous–Magnes (1986); VII Menecrates–Xenophon (1989); II Agathenor–Aristonymus (1991); VIII *Adespota* (1995); VI.2 fragments of Menander (1998); I *Comoedia dorica, mimi, phlyaces* (2001). In most volumes, the comic authors appear in alphabetic rather than in a (largely unattested and unverifiable) chronological order; Epicharmus and Sicilian poets comprise the first volume. Each has its standouts, by quantity and quality of material: thus Alexis, Antiphanes, and Archedicus in Vol. II; Cratinus and Crates in Vol. IV; Diphilus, Eubulus, and Eupolis in Vol. V; Pherecrates, Platon, Philemon, and that dynamic political duo Philippides and Timocles in Vol. VII. The *Adespota* in Vol. VIII beckon for identification, not only of author, but even as comedy: twenty texts in the volume stand with an asterisk before their number, indicating the editors' doubts. By the original plan, the volume of fragments of Aristophanes in III.2 was to be complemented, eventually, by III.1, the extant plays of Aristophanes; and VI.2, the fragments of Menander, by VI.1, an edition of the more fully preserved plays.[34] A volume of Indices was planned to conclude

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[33]   See Kassel's review, *Gnomon* 34 [1962]: 554–556, and the general overview of the three editions in Hunter, *JHS* 104 [1984]: 224–225. Another projected "collective" edition had a premature finish: Georg Kaibel only completed the first fascicle of his *Comicorum Graecorum Fragmenta* I.1 (1899) before his death in 1901; this provided exemplary treatment of Doric comedy and especially Epicharmus. His unpublished notes on the fragments of Old Comedy were made available to Kassel and Austin (Wilson *CR,* n.s., 26 [1976]: 15) and served well in *PCG* III.2 Aristophanes. J. Demiańczuk's *Supplementum Comicorum* (Krakow: Nakładem Akademii Umiejętności, 1912) provided additions to Kock and Kaibel. Earlier publications of *single* fragmentary authors or fragmentary plays (e.g., Pieters 1946 and Luppe 1963 on Cratinus; Plepelits 1970 on the *Demoi* of Eupolis; Hunter 1983 on Eubulus) were available before *PCG* but do not appear to have been numerous; see the useful bibliography (supervised by Prof. Lucía Rodríguez-Noriega Guillén from the University of Oviedo in Spain) at www.lnoriega.es/comedy.html ("Bibliography on the Greek fragmentary fifth-century comedy"), beginning with a list of editions and translations, followed by works on individual fragmentary authors (accessed Dec. 18, 2012).

[34]   *PCG* VI.2 replaces Koerte-Thierfelder, that is, vol. II of A. Koerte's Teubner edition of Menander, revised after his death by A. Thiefelder in 1953, with a second edition in 1959. At the time of Colin Austin's death in 2010, he was working on a new edition of Menander that would include all the plays not included in *PCG* VI 2. He was able to complete his version of eleven shorter pieces and that edition appeared in 2013 (see bibliography); it includes an autobiographical preface recounting the renowned scholar's first acquaintance with Menander. An editorial group plans to complete his work (Austin

the project. The publication of *PCG* has quickly and effectively become both goad and anchor for subsequent studies such as Arnott's commentary on Alexis, published in 1996 (which, not surprisingly, as reported in the preface, he began researching in 1953), and more recent studies, including Aristophanes's rivals (Harvey and Wilkins 2000, Storey 2003, Telò 2007, Napolitano 2012), later comic authors (Papachrysostomou 2008, Orth 2009, Pirrotta 2009, Bruzzese 2011), and both earlier and later poets combined (Belardinelli 1998, Olson 2007).[35]

The quality and exemplary presentation of the fragments in *PCG* has moreover encouraged new translations. Henderson's volume of Aristophanes's fragments in the Loeb series has already been mentioned (2007). I. C. Storey's three-volume edition of the fragments of Old Comedy (excepting Aristophanes) in the same series (2011) is another offshoot. Both editors retain *PCG*'s numbering of the fragments, so that the projects are interconnected. Another new translation source (without Greek text) is the monumental singleton *The Birth of Comedy: Texts, Documents, and Art from Athenian Comic Competitions, 486–20*, edited by J. Rusten with translations of his own and also many contributed by J. Henderson, D. Konstan, R. Rosen, and N. Slater. This is a remarkable florilegium of fragmentary and tantalizing tidbits small and large from scores of comic poets, with plenty of commentary (ancient and modern) and illustrations to envision performance; it is a book of the times, capturing the trends and industry of the scholarship of this and the last century.[36]

An edition of the fragments of tragedy, *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta* (*TrGF*), must also be mentioned: its publication parallels that of the fragments of comedy over the last three decades of the twentieth century (*CGFP* in 1974 and the volumes of *PCG* spanning 1983–2001). It began with B. Snell's volume of (inter alia) didascalic notices for tragedy and fragments of "minor tragic poets" in 1971 and concluded with Kannicht's two fascicles of Euripides in 2004. A revised edition of Snell's first volume appeared in 1986,[37] and second editions of other volumes appeared later (Sophocles in 1999, *Adespota* in 2007, Aeschylus in 2008). Translations of tragic fragments in the Loeb series were not long to follow: Sophocles in 1996 (Lloyd-Jones), Euripides in two volumes in 2008 and 2009 (Collard and Cropp); Aeschylus in 2009 (Sommerstein). The number of attested

2013, "Editorial note," iii). Austin's final publication appeared after the essays in this volume had been submitted to the press.

[35] A new "monumental project" called Kommentierung der Fragmente der griechischen Komödie is another offshoot of *PCG* and is now underway in Freiburg under the direction of Bernhard Zimmermann under the auspices of the Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften; it aims to produce a series (named *Studia Comica*) of commentaries on the fragments of Greek comedies. Thus far, four volumes have been published: those by Pirotta, Orth, and Napolitano mentioned in the text above, as well as one by S. Schirru (2009).

[36] Plautus's fragments have now appeared in vol. 5 (2012) of the Loeb edition translated by W. de Melo. The same press is spearheading a "new Warmington," to be called *Fragmentary Republican Latin*, planned for nine volumes, with Gesine Manuwald as editor of the new series.

[37] A new edition of the *Didascaliae*, the Fasti, and the Victors Lists was published by B. Millis and S. D. Olson in 2012: *Inscriptional Records for the Dramatic Festivals in Athens: IG II2 2318–2325 and Related Texts* (Brill).

"minor tragic poets" is comparable to the number of comic poets, though the fragments themselves are lesser in extent. The near parity of projects in tragedy and comedy could be extended beyond the collections of fragmentary texts and translations: there have been new editions of Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides throughout these decades, as well as a vigorous interest in performance (including theater paraphernalia) and reception. When we think of future grand projects, we should be thinking of comedy and tragedy together.[38] And we should also be considering the implications of the vast fragmentary terrain and ways to incorporate it into our map of ancient drama.

The *Longue Durée*

The absence of a definitive chronology for texts in *PCG* is both provocative and cautious: it beckons future users to discover ways to date its unanchored poets and plays and to heed new finds that may provide assistance, and it cautions against arbitrary and precipitate assignments. B. Millis (Appendix 2, this volume), working with the epigraphic tradition and literary dates provided in *PCG,* points out that whereas "almost exactly half of the ca. 250 poets in *PCG* postdate Menander," yet our modern "understanding of the genre's trends and development is focused on barely a quarter of a tradition that lasted nearly a millennium" (similarly Henderson 1995, 175). Of those many post-Menandrian comic poets, Millis can signal a handful of names of comic writers who composed in the first two centuries CE (Amphichares, Antiochus, Antiphon, Anubion, Onesicles).[39] This provides important emphasis: that comedies were being newly composed and performed so long after the deaths of Menander and Philemon and Philippides in the third century BCE, and that comedy remained a thriving genre for centuries (and tragedy as well: Jones 1993)—even if not in Athens, where attestation of dramatic competitions at the Dionysia are secure for 155/4 but almost certainly lasted until the mid-140s or 130s.[40] Important, too, is Millis's observation that our critical

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[38]   Two projects have been funded by the Australian Research Council at the University of Sydney: "Accounting for the Ancient Theatre: A New Social and Economic History of Classical Greek Drama" (2005–5009) and "The Theatrical Revolution: The Expansion of Theatre outside Athens" (2010–2014). The principal researchers, Eric Csapo and Peter Wilson, plan eventually to publish a two- or three-volume collection of documents (edited, translated, and with full commentary) called *Historical Documents for the Greek Theatre Down to 300 BC.*

[39]   The ballpark dates are based on epigraphic attestations in *PCG* for Amphichares, Antiphon, Anubion, and Onesicles (all four for performances); additionally, there is literary attestation for the posthumous production of a play composed by Germanicus (Suet. *Cal.* 3.2; *Claud.* 11.2). Another poet, Apollonaris, is given literary attestation (Sozem. *Hist. eccl.* 5.18.2 [p. 222.5 Bidez]) for the fourth century CE, but no attestation for the staging of his work. See Millis Appendix 2, below.

[40]   The calculation is based on the number of entries missing in the text of IG II^2 2323.524–582 compared with IG II^2 2325C (comic poets victorious at the Dionysia), Millis and Olson 2012: 76, 84,144). A similar dating for the Lenaea is suggested by IG II^2 2325E (comic poets victorious at the Lenaea) and,

view of comedy has been distorted by focusing on a mere quarter of its production. Such observations on the long tradition of drama from epigraphic and literary evidence are consonant, of course, with the picture of the tradition that has emerged from archaeological finds, including the study of vases, figurines, and other objects where the material survives into the sixth century.[41] It is, indeed, a *longue durée*.

The establishment of this period with all its rich furniture of texts and artifacts is the legacy of the projects that commenced in the fiercely kinetic decades of the '60s and '70s or of important published volumes that got a second hurrah (e.g., the triadic edition of Webster's *Monuments* in 1960–1962 and Pickard-Cambridge 1968, to name just two) during those decades. The grand vista, temporal and geographical, has been observed by specialists now and again for decades (Webster 1948, Csapo 1986, Taplin 1987a and 1987b, Henderson 1995, Green 2000, Csapo 2000, Le Guen 2001, Aneziri 2003). From these perspectives, does periodization still make sense? We can put a magnifying glass on fragmentary comic texts of the fourth century BCE, we can point to a heyday for the predominance of mythological themes and for extension of the role of cooks, we can chart the rise and fall and once again the rise and fall of political invective, and we can make observations here and there about the use of meter and less certain ones on the disappearance (and late [re]appearance) of the chorus and willy-nilly make a case for an evolution from Old to Middle to New Comedy. Now this might suffice, as apparently it did for Aristophanes of Byzantium, for comedy as it was composed from ca. the 480s until ca. 210 (when the Byzantine scholar may have been ca. fifty years old); it might suffice, if one stopped looking at comedy then and there. We might then recognize these designations as some kind of "Old Speak." But from a tradition of drama that extends for another 500 years, what are we to make of it?

Many of the authors in this volume address this and like questions. Some do so when they query canon formation or when they notice continuities and predominant styles in different periods rather than abrupt changes, or when they see Roman comedy in much greater proximity to Greek. Surely one feature to think more about in the future is the significance of revival productions. Should we consider Roman comedy a particular type of "revival comedy" of enormous creativity? And what do revival performances

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to a lesser extent, IG II² 2325F (comic actors victorious at the Lenaea). Le Guen (chapter 17) cites a new composition performed at the Rhomaia festival at Magnesia-on-Maeander in the first half of the first century BCE (p. 562), as well as later Greek performances well into the second century CE in the West (pp. 569–570).

[41] These late materials probably do not correspond to productions of plays—theater performances are not attested this late—but rather other forms of entertainment (e.g., recitations, solo singers). I. E. Stefanis, *Διονυσιακοὶ Τεχνῖται. Συμβολὲς στὴν προσωπογραφία τοῦ θεάτρου καὶ τῆς μουσικῆς τῶν ἀρχαίων Ἑλλήνων* (Heraklion, 1988) is an annotated catalogue in alphabetical order of 3,023 persons (nos. 2994–3023 are anonymous) who performed in Greek theatrical *and* musical contests and as ἀκροάματα ("entre-act" performers) in the period 500 BCE–500 CE in the Greek and Roman world; see SEG 38 1934. For detailed study of the Dionysiac *technitai* in the Hellenistic era, see Aneziri 2003 and Le Guen 2001; Le Guen in this volume considers evidence for an agonistic circuit in the time of Hadrian.

mean for contemporary artistic enterprises? How do they fit with the production of "theater art"—the commercialization or memorialization of drama on vases and mosaics and terracotta figurines? Do their meanings shift in time?

The 2010s are a watershed moment in the history of comedy scholarship. Comedy's 2,500th birthday is at hand. Celebrate!

* * *

This volume of essays is the first comprehensive introduction and reference work that presents the *longue dureé* of comedy, from its beginnings in Greece to its end in Rome, as well as its Hellenistic and Imperial receptions. Roman comedy is vitally connected to Greek comedy, by temporal and geographical proximities that permitted cultural and commercial exchanges that surely extended in both directions. Transmission and reception are an important part of this story, and not only in later ages but from its beginnings. Evidence for reception is discussed from a variety of perspectives, e.g., Eric Csapo, Andronike Makres, Brigitte Le Guen, and Benjamin Millis discuss different theatrical venues in Attica and elsewhere (and thus the early "reception" of Greek comedy outside Athens). Both Le Guen and Millis offer detailed studies of the evidence for the continuous existence and "travel" of comedy in the Mediterranean. Other authors examine Greek comedy's own reception of other genres: Johanna Hanink considers its absorption of tragedy and satyr play, David Konstan its absorption of contemporary philosophy, and Costas Panayotakis the reception of Hellenistic mime in Rome.

Indeed, the reception of Greek comedy in Rome has been a controversial question forever, or so it seems. Antonis Petrides offers a fresh analysis of previous scholarship on the question of Plautus's relationship both to Greek comedy and Atellan farce and uses Plautus's deployment of masks to suggest a corrective to current views on the "triadic" model (Plautus's originality, and his use of Greek and Italian models). Michael Fontaine takes up these issues in his chapters on Plautus and Terence and offers a new way of seeing Terence, that is, through a Hellenistic and neoteric lens. Gesine Manuwald examines Roman comedy's reception of tragedy and paratragedy.

Emphasis on reception is of a piece with the times, and so it is that the final segment of the volume puts together essays both on the transmission of comedy texts from their first appearance as scripts and also on their reception in later eras. Nigel Wilson's "Introduction" to his *Aristophanea* appears here (exceptionally, as the other pieces in this volume are here published for the first time) and provides a short history of the text of Aristophanes. Heinze-Günther Nesselrath discusses the reception of both Attic Middle and New Comedy in Hellenistic and Imperial times, with special attention to Athenaeus as a principal conduit. Walter Stockert literally examines the Ambrosian Palimpsest of Plautus, and Benjamin Victor presents the textual history of Terence. Two authors present the reception of comedy during the Second Sophistic: Regina Höschele discusses the reception of Greek comedy in the novel and epistolography and Regine May the reception of Roman comedy in both grammarians and literary authors, above all Apuleius. Sebastiana Nervegna presents a lively discussion of New Comedy's "graphic reception"

in Menandrian mosaics and Terentian miniatures. The segment ends with two complementary essays, one on Plautus's reception in antiquity by Rolando Ferri and the other on Donatus's commentary on Terence's comedies by Chrysanthi Demetriou—a fit finale, as Demetriou puts at the forefront of her essay the controversial question of Donatus's familiarity with contemporary theater, and thus shows the vibrancy of reception studies.

Also consonant with contemporary trends is the number of authors who pursue studies of performance and the economics of performance in this volume. Eric Csapo, Andronike Makres, George Frederick Franko, and Erica Bexley all make important contributions to these subjects for both Greek and Roman comedy.

It would be a mistake to think that all is reception and performance, pervasive as those strands of comedy scholarship are today. As noted earlier, some authors examine canon formation (Mario Telò), others notice continuities and predominant styles in different periods rather than abrupt changes (Ian Storey, Ioannis Konstantakos, Jeffrey Henderson, Adele Scafuro, Wolfgang de Melo). The origins of Greek and Roman comedy are examined by Jeffrey Rusten and Peter Brown, respectively. Major and not-so-major playwrights are discussed (Storey, Telò, Zimmermann, Konstantakos, Henderson, Scafuro, de Melo, Fontaine). Metrics, music, and language are given significant hearings not only in separate chapters devoted to those topics by Marcus Deufert and Evangelos Karakasis but also in the chapters devoted to major playwrights (Zimmermann, Scafuro, Fontaine). Alain Blanchard's chapter discusses the difficulties of the varied evidence for reconstructing Menander's plays and the perilous foundations for determining the playwright's theatrical practices.

Social, political, and religious spheres are not neglected: David Rosenbloom discusses the politicians who figure in Greek comedy, while Erich Gruen presents the "social scene" of Roman comedy; Emiliano Buis discusses law and Greek comedy, while Jan Felix Gaertner discusses law and Roman comedy; Scott Scullion discusses religion in Greek comedy, and Boris Dunsch discusses it in Roman comedy.

Eftychia bathrellou provides an informative appendix, noting comic papyri texts found between 1973 and 2010 and annotating some of the most interesting finds. Benjamin Millis' appendix provides a checklist of Greek comic poets who postdate Menander; the significance of this list and of Millis's observations about it has been mentioned earlier in this introduction.

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Adele C. Scafuro
January 1, 2013
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PART ONE

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GREEK COMEDY

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I

....

Beginnings

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IN SEARCH OF THE ESSENCE OF OLD COMEDY: FROM ARISTOTLE'S *POETICS* TO ZIELIŃSKI, CORNFORD, AND BEYOND

JEFFREY RUSTEN

INTRODUCTION

THOUGH the history of tragedy as a genre is usually considered without reference to other genres, when it comes to comedy, whose very name is a derivative of tragedy's, scholars ancient and modern often seem unable to examine it as a genre except in tragedy's shadow. But right from its origins, the evidence for Athenian comedy shows some important differences from that for tragedy:

Its starting date, at the Dionysia in March 486 BCE, is precisely known (Rusten 2006: 37n3);

Old Comedy is far more commonly depicted in art, including its early stages;

Its extant plays are all those of a single author, at a much later period than for the first preserved tragedy;

Old Comedy was not in itself stable—its form changed even within the lifetime of Aristophanes, and did not become fixed until the age of Menander (first production 321, died 290/1 BCE).

The *historical* basis of the precursors of Greek comedy is in fact better documented today than for tragedy, and its history in outline of this period through three stages—"Old," "Middle," and "New" Comedy—is the basis of near-universal agreement. Furthermore,

the last of these stages is well recognized as forming the basis, through its adaptations by Plautus and Terence, of a fairly homogeneous western tradition of dramatic comedy. But in contrast to what comes before and after, capturing the essence of "Old Comedy," a mixture of narrative chaos and formal complexity, grotesque obscenity and naive innocence, savage satire and high-minded optimism, is a greater challenge and has been undertaken in vastly different ways.

What are the assumptions that underlie both the Aristotelian and modern attempts to explain the appeal of Old Comedy? While certainly worth pursuing, universalizing theories of "comedy" or "the comic" in general are not at issue here. Rather, I will describe how various critics have tried to isolate the animating principle of Old Comedy and the extent to which their hypotheses account for—or fail to account for—the genre as we know it today.

1. Aristotle's Approach to Old Comedy

The comic authors mentioned in the *Poetics* (apart from Epicharmus, Chionides, and Magnes as the earliest) are Aristophanes and Crates, and they are what we would call Old Comedy; but the tripartite division of authors into Old, New, and "Middle" Comedy would not at all suit Aristotle's methods, and he does not use the terms *archaios* or *neos* even for their relative dating.[1] This partition seems not to predate Hellenistic scholarship, perhaps having been framed by Aristophanes of Byzantium (Nesselrath 1990, Rusten 1991, and in this volume).[2]

In the *Poetics*, no literary genre remains completely independent (see especially Heath 1989b); each is connected by succession or opposition to every other. Old Comedy, despite seeming to us the most eccentric of genres, is nonetheless frequently subordinated to others in Aristotle's analysis. Here are the ways in which the *Poetics* considers comedy primarily as parallel or in opposition to tragedy:

1. Tragedy's *difference* from comedy can be seen in the sort of characters it depicts: better than real versus worse than real.
   (1448a16–19: ἐν αὐτῇ δὲ τῇ διαφορᾷ καὶ ἡ τραγῳδία πρὸς τὴν κωμῳδίαν διέστηκεν· ἡ μὲν γὰρ χείρους ἡ δὲ βελτίους μιμεῖσθαι βούλεται τῶν νῦν. "This very distinction separates tragedy from comedy: the latter tends to represent people inferior, the former superior, to existing humans.")[3]
2. Homer hinted at the form of comedy in dramatizing the ridiculous; *Margites* is to comedy as the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* are to tragedy.

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[1] See *BOC* 579 Nr. 1. Aristotle does however use ἀρχαῖος/νέος of tragedy, *Poetics* 1450a25, 1450b7.
[2] For Old Comedy's authors and characteristics see *BOC* 81–92.
[3] This and all other translations from the *Poetics* are from Halliwell (1995).

(1448b35–a6: ὥσπερ δὲ καὶ τὰ σπουδαῖα μάλιστα ποιητὴς Ὅμηρος ἦν…οὕτως καὶ τὸ τῆς κωμῳδίας σχῆμα πρῶτος ὑπέδειξεν, οὐ ψόγον ἀλλὰ τὸ γελοῖον δραματοποιήσας· ὁ γὰρ Μαργίτης ἀνάλογον ἔχει, ὥσπερ Ἰλιὰς καὶ ἡ Ὀδύσσεια πρὸς τὰς τραγῳδίας, οὕτω καὶ οὗτος πρὸς τὰς κωμῳδίας. "Just as Homer was the supreme poet of elevated subjects…so too he was the first to delineate the forms of comedy, by dramatizing not invective but the laughable; thus *Margites* stands in the same relation to comedies as do the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* to tragedies.")

3. Iambic poets took up comedy, whereas epic poets took up tragedy.

   (1449a2–6: παραφανείσης δὲ τῆς τραγῳδίας καὶ κωμῳδίας οἱ ἐφ' ἑκατέραν τὴν ποίησιν ὁρμῶντες κατὰ τὴν οἰκείαν φύσιν οἱ μὲν ἀντὶ τῶν ἰάμβων κωμῳδοποιοὶ ἐγένοντο, οἱ δὲ ἀντὶ τῶν ἐπῶν τραγῳδοδιδάσκαλοι, διὰ τὸ μείζω καὶ ἐντιμότερα τὰ σχήματα εἶναι ταῦτα ἐκείνων. "And when tragedy and comedy had been glimpsed, those whose own natures gave them an impetus towards either type of poetry abandoned iambic lampoons to become comic poets, or epic to become tragedians, because these newer forms were grander and more esteemed than the earlier.")

4. Just as tragedy was improvised by dithyramb singers in the cult of Dionysus, so comedy was improvised by performers of the phallic songs there.[4]

   (1449a9–14: γενομένη δ' οὖν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς αὐτοσχεδιαστικῆς—καὶ αὐτὴ 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 προαγόντων ὅσον ἐγίγνετο φανερὸν αὐτῆς. "Anyhow, when it came into being from an improvisatory origin (that is, both tragedy and comedy, the former from the leaders of dithyrambs, the other from the leaders of the phallic songs which remain even now a custom in many cities), it was gradually enhanced as poets developed the potential they saw in it."

5. Plots that end happily for the good and unhappily for the bad are more characteristic of comedy than tragedy.

   (1453a35–39: ἔστιν δὲ οὐχ αὕτη ἀπὸ τραγῳδίας ἡδονὴ ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον τῆς κωμῳδίας οἰκεία· ἐκεῖ γὰρ οἳ ἂν ἔχθιστοι ὦσιν ἐν τῷ μύθῳ, οἷον Ὀρέστης καὶ Αἴγισθος, φίλοι γενόμενοι ἐπὶ τελευτῆς ἐξέρχονται, καὶ ἀποθνήσκει οὐδεὶς ὑπ' οὐδενός. "Yet this is not the pleasure to expect from tragedy, but is more appropriate to comedy, where those who are deadliest enemies in the plot, such as Orestes and Aegisthus, exit at the end as new friends, and no one dies at anyone's hands.")

Thus for Aristotle in *Poetics*, which is overwhelmingly concerned with tragedy, comedy is frequently just a convenient foil for illustrating his contentions.

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[4] See Csapo forthcoming on the history of *phallica*. As he points out, I should not have implied in Rusten (2006) that phallic processions stopped after 486; not only the evidence he cites, but also Aristotle himself (*Poetics* 1449 a12) specifically attests that they continued.

Furthermore, there are three features in the *Poetics* that the discussion of comedy, in contrast to tragedy, completely lacks:

1. The discussion of its parts, techniques, and ultimate function: this is promised also for hexameter poetry, but not preserved in the extant *Poetics*.[5]
   (1449b21–22: περὶ μὲν οὖν τῆς ἐν ἑξαμέτροις μιμητικῆς καὶ περὶ κωμῳδίας ὕστερον ἐροῦμεν· "We shall later discuss the art of mimesis in hexameters, as well as comedy.")

2. An account of its early development.
   (1449a37–b6: 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. "Now, tragedy's stages of development, and those responsible for them, have been remembered, but comedy's early history was forgotten because no serious interest was taken in it: only at a rather late date did the archon grant a comic chorus; previously performers were volunteers. It is from a time when the genre already had some formal features that the first named poets of comedy are remembered. Who introduced masks, prologues, various numbers of actors, and everything of that kind, has been lost.")

3. A description of comedy as reaching its own proper "nature" (*physis*, cf. 1449a15 for tragedy): perhaps this was supplied in a lost later discussion, but it cannot have consisted in New Comedy (*pace* Segal [1973], who however at least sees the problem), since Aristotle died in 322, before Menander's first production in 321.

Finally, there are three occasions in *Poetics* where Aristotle seems to find comedy distinctive, and more interesting than other genres:

1. *There are forms of comedy that predate the Athenian one and have influenced it* (1448a31–8): The invention of comedy is claimed by Dorian Megarians from the Peloponnese under a democracy, and by Sicilian Megarians because the oldest comic writer, Epicharmus, was from Sicily. They reject the genre's obvious derivation from *komos*, the group of revelers depicted on numerous vases in sixth-century Attica and Corinth (see note 12 below).
   (1448a29–b3 διὸ καὶ ἀντιποιοῦνται τῆς τε τραγῳδίας καὶ τῆς κωμῳδίας οἱ Δωριεῖς (τῆς μὲν γὰρ κωμῳδίας οἱ Μεγαρεῖς οἵ τε ἐνταῦθα ὡς ἐπὶ τῆς παρ'

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[5] This does not necessarily imply a lost section; it might be an "unfulfilled promise," on which see Vander Waerdt (1991). On the claim of Richard Janko to have found this lost discussion in an anonymous treatise called the *Tractatus Coislinianus* see the convincing objections of Nesselrath (1990) (not even mentioned by Janko in his 2002 update) and the review of Nesselrath by Rusten (1991).

αὐτοῖς δημοκρατίας γενομένης καὶ οἱ ἐκ Σικελίας, ἐκεῖθεν γὰρ ἦν Ἐπίχαρμος ὁ
ποιητὴς πολλῷ πρότερος ὢν Χιωνίδου καὶ Μάγνητος· καὶ τῆς τραγῳδίας ἔνιοι
τῶν ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ) ποιούμενοι τὰ ὀνόματα σημεῖον· αὐτοὶ μὲν γὰρ κώμας
τὰς περιοικίδας καλεῖν φασιν, Ἀθηναίους δὲ δήμους, ὡς κωμῳδοὺς οὐκ ἀπὸ
τοῦ κωμάζειν λεχθέντας ἀλλὰ τῇ κατὰ κώμας πλάνῃ ἀτιμαζομένους ἐκ τοῦ
ἄστεως· καὶ τὸ ποιεῖν αὐτοὶ μὲν δρᾶν, Ἀθηναίους δὲ πράττειν προσαγορεύειν.
περὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν διαφορῶν καὶ πόσαι καὶ τίνες τῆς μιμήσεως εἰρήσθω ταῦτα.
"Hence the assertion some people make, that dramas are so called because they
represent people in action. Thus, the Dorians actually lay claim to tragedy and
comedy (comedy being claimed by the Megarians both here on the mainland,
contending it arose during their democracy, and in Sicily, the homeland of
the poet Epicharmus, a much earlier figure than Chionides and Magnes; and
tragedy being claimed by some of those in the Peloponnese); and they cite the
names as evidence. They say that they call villages *komoi,* while the Athenians
call them *demoi;* their contention is that comic performers [*komoidoi*] got their
name not from reveling [*komazein*] but from wandering through villages when
banned from the city. And they say their own word for acting is *dran,* while the
Athenians' is *prattein.* So much, then, by way of discussion of the number and
nature of the distinctions within mimesis.")

2. The quality that makes comedy laughable is the *aischron* (1449a32–b27): Comedy
imitates people who are worse (*phauloteroi*, *cheirones*), not by every standard of
evil (*kata pasan kakian*) but by only one, the *aischron*, which is aesthetically
"ugly" and morally "disgraceful," and it is of this that the laughable (*to geloion*)
is a component. The laughable is any fault or instance of the *aischron* which is
not pain-inducing or destructive; for example, a mask represents the laughable
when it is *aischron* and distorted without pain.

   (1449a32–b27: ἡ δὲ κωμῳδία ἐστὶν ὥσπερ εἴπομεν μίμησις φαυλοτέρων μέν,
οὐ μέντοι κατὰ πᾶσαν κακίαν, ἀλλὰ τοῦ αἰσχροῦ ἐστι τὸ γελοῖον μόριον. τὸ γὰρ
γελοῖόν ἐστιν ἁμάρτημά τι καὶ αἶσχος ἀνώδυνον καὶ οὐ φθαρτικόν, οἷον εὐθὺς
τὸ γελοῖον πρόσωπον αἰσχρόν τι καὶ διεστραμμένον ἄνευ ὀδύνης. "Comedy,
as we said, is mimesis of baser but not wholly vicious characters: rather, the
laughable is one category of the shameful. For the laughable comprises any fault
or mark of shame which involves no pain or destruction: most obviously, the
laughable mask is something ugly and twisted, but not painfully.")

3. Comedy's independence from previous stories (1449b2–8, 1451b12). Since
tragedians begin from the preexisting names of myth and iambic poets write
about an individual (*ton kath' ekaston*), comedy, which makes up its plots and
uses any names it wishes (*katholou*),[6] is the least "fact-dependent" of all poetic

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[6] See especially Lowe (2000). Heath (1989a, 350) ingeniously argues that *katholou* refers to the plausibility
of comic plots, which, however, forces him into the conclusion that "Aristotle's requirement of causal
connection in comic plots should not be taken so rigidly as to exclude designed inconsequentiality" (352).

genres (see the often-cited fragment of Antiphanes K-A fr. 189, which says that comic writers have to be much more inventive than tragedians), and it is in this respect that Crates is mentioned as a pioneer (over Epicharmus, at least some of whose plots we know to have been mythological).[7]

(1449b5–9: τὸ δὲ μύθους ποιεῖν [Ἐπίχαρμος καὶ Φόρμις] τὸ μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐκ Σικελίας ἦλθε, τῶν δὲ Ἀθήνησιν Κράτης πρῶτος ἦρξεν ἀφέμενος τῆς ἰαμβικῆς ἰδέας καθόλου ποιεῖν λόγους καὶ μύθους. "The composition of plots originally came from Sicily; of Athenian poets Crates was the first to relinquish the iambic manner and to create stories and plots with an overall structure." And 1451b11–15: ἐπὶ μὲν οὖν τῆς κωμῳδίας ἤδη τοῦτο δῆλον γέγονεν· συστήσαντες γὰρ τὸν μῦθον διὰ τῶν εἰκότων οὕτω τὰ τυχόντα ὀνόματα ὑποτιθέασιν, καὶ οὐχ ὥσπερ οἱ ἰαμβοποιοὶ περὶ τὸν καθ᾽ ἕκαστον ποιοῦσιν. "In comedy, this point has by now become obvious: the poets construct the plot on the basis of probability, and only then supply arbitrary names; they do not, like iambic poets, write about a particular person.")

From all the observations noted above, but especially from this last triad, we may speculatively deduce some elements of an Aristotelian theory of comedy.

1. The goal of comedy for Aristotle seems to be laughter, an emotional response that Plato's *Philebus* 48a–50b criticizes, just as he does the emotional response to tragedy in *Republic* 2–3.

2. Political satire, since it deals in specific targets (even when allegorical) and intends to cause pain to them,[8] probably does not have a place in his theory; neither Epicharmus nor Crates (both mentioned as "firsts") seem to have engaged in it.

3. Since what comedy imitates is *aischron*, obscenity and scatology probably *do* have an essential place in it, and this seems to be clinched by Aristotle's derivation of the genre from the phallic processions, as well as the fact that his strictures on avoiding obscenity in civic education (*Politics* 7 1336b4–23) include a ban on watching *iamboi* or comedies (well discussed by Heath [1989a: 344–345]). This suggests he might even find the comedies of his own day a falloff, since they have abandoned *aischrologia* (*EN* 1128a22), which produced the desired result, analogous to his complaints about tragedies that have happy endings.[9]

4. For Aristotle, the chorus may not have been an essential part of comedy. The Dorian derivation from *kome* that he cites would eliminate the *komos* from its name and evidently substitute (individual?) exiles (*atimazomenous*);

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[7] Aristotle's contrast is between *ta genomena* "actual" (including transmitted mythical names) and *tuchonta* "coincidental, random" names and actions.

[8] I cannot agree with Heath (1989a, 353) that *anôdunon* in 1449a35 is "not meant to be prescriptive."

[9] Halliwell (2008, 326–327, 394) puts these three Aristotelian texts on *aischra* together in a very different way.

furthermore, the extensive fragments of Epicharmus, whom Aristotle accepts as the inventor of comic plots, show no evidence of a chorus or any lyric meters (see *BOC* 59). Is it possible that Aristotle thought that, whereas tragedy was originally a chorus out of which dramatic space was created for actors (citing dithyramb as its precursor, Aeschylus's invention of more actors), pre-comedy had individual performers (his "volunteers" and "singers of the phallic songs"), into which a chorus was integrated when it was accepted into the dramatic festival? Such a scheme would fly in the face of the numerous archaic artistic depictions of *komoi*,[10] but it might explain why, as we shall see in 2.A below, the participation of the chorus in comedy is so different from that in tragedy.

4. From this list of possible attributes of Aristotle's ideal comedy, one item, the absence of political satire of specific individuals, is certainly not true of the most famous comedies of Aristophanes, and yet this author himself seems to have represented for Aristotle the classic comic writer (1448a25–27, on the categories of imitation: ὥστε τῇ μὲν ὁ αὐτὸς ἂν εἴη μιμητὴς Ὁμήρῳ Σοφοκλῆς, μιμοῦνται γὰρ ἄμφω σπουδαίους, τῇ δὲ Ἀριστοφάνει, πράττοντας γὰρ μιμοῦνται καὶ δρῶντας ἄμφω, "in one respect Sophocles is the same class of imitator as Homer, because they both imitate serious people, in another as Aristophanes, because it is men in action and performance that they both imitate").

Without some retrospective Procrustean refitting of them ("Aristotle could not possibly have meant…he *must* rather have meant…"), it looks as if the attempt to unify Aristotle's various comments on the essence of comedy cannot succeed. That is true of most modern attempts as well.

2. Formalism, Folklore, Religion, Generic Parasitism: Modern Ideas about the Essence of Old Comedy

Most modern scholars bypass Aristotle's *Poetics* to seek the essence of Old Comedy largely from the eleven preserved plays of Aristophanes—this despite the fact that these plays postdate by more than half a century the first comic performances at the Dionysia, and, though by a single author in a single lifetime, display much greater diversity (some would say "development") than do the extant tragedies of three different authors over nearly three-quarters of a century.

Such theories differ widely according to how critics frame their inquiries, the scholarly tendencies they presuppose, and the aspects of comedy they emphasize.

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[10] Rusten (2006); important studies since then include Rothwell (2007), Smith (2010), Csapo (2013).

Furthermore, in their attempts to account for evidence at odds with their hypotheses, they often become extremely complex, so that most of the books described below are quite lengthy. What follows is not a full description but more of an aerial view of the warring camps pitched on the field of comic origins, chiefly as orientation for those who might want to descend for a closer look. None of these theories is a direct descendent or adaptation of any other, but they might be classified broadly, omitting much detail, into four approaches (the order is roughly chronological).

A. Metrical Form as Essence

Aristotle says (1449b2–4), "It was only when comedy already has some of its features (*schemata*) that its recorded poets are mentioned." He notes characters, prologues, number of actors, and "things like that" as already established when poets were first recorded in 486, and since Aristotle himself compiled *didascaliai*, "Victories at the Dionysia in the City and the Lenaea" (see *BOC* 739), we can assume that he is speaking of records of the festivals. "Things like that" could also have included structural forms that predate 486 and might be thought to give clues to its core. And in fact Old Comedy has a very complex metrical and dramatic structure, perhaps the one "thing" about it that is absolutely unique and sui generis, owing nothing to any previous known genre. Any reader of Aristophanic comedy, even in translation, will immediately notice some features that are surprising in a drama:

> The prologue often breaks the dramatic illusion by addressing the audience, with the characters of the scene sometimes even acknowledging that they are actors in a play.
> The chorus is not a bystander to the action, but enters with its own distinct agenda (the *parodos*).
> The greatest conflict in the play is in the middle (the agon).
> After this conflict, the stage is cleared for the chorus, which addresses the audience directly on behalf of the playwright, sometimes evidently "stripping" (*apoduntes*), which may even mean that it removes its costume (the *parabasis*).
> The rest of the comedy is usually a series of episodes separated by choral strophes, as in tragedy.

Those reading closely in the original will further observe that the metrical structure is different from tragedy, and more complex: tetrameters are as frequent as trimeters; lyric meters are mixed with stichic ones; more precisely, response (metrical symmetry between groups of verses) is not "strophic" (AB AB AB), but "epirrhematic" (ABC ABC D), and its components include stichic (trimeter, tetrameter, other units) as well as lyric verses.

   The ancient metrical writer Hephaestion and the scholia note some of these features, and in the late nineteenth century they began to be studied intensively. The most widely

accepted treatment was that of Tadeusz Zieliński in 1885 (at the age of twenty-six), who argued comprehensively that Old Comedy was a unique form of composition, and assumed that its structure (prologue, *parodos*, agon, and *parabasis*) was the key to its origins as an "Ionic" choral form as opposed to the traditional "Doric" one (a hypothesis he based on the "Doric" comedy of the *Poetics*). Unfortunately, he went still further: since the agon as he defined it (either metrically or dramatically or both) comes after the *parabasis* in *Knights* and *Frogs*, and is absent entirely not only from the late plays (*Ecclesiazusae* and *Plutus*) but also from *Clouds*, *Acharnians*, *Peace,* and *Women at the Thesmophoria*, he found it necessary to argue that all these comedies had been revised (as we know was the case for *Clouds*) or distorted in the process of displacing or omitting an original agon. He also argued that the *parabasis*, when the chorus takes off its costume, must originally have been the conclusion of the comedy, implying that Aristophanes's post-*parabasis* episodes were his own experiments in the genre. Much of this was encapsulated in a colorful chart created by Zieliński and reproduced here in monochrome as Figure 1.1.

Zieliński (1885: 215–216) explained the chart in this way (slightly modified to reflect the monochrome chart reproduced here):

> The uniqueness of comic composition will become even more striking if the reader consults the attached lithographic chart. I hope little effort will be required to become familiar with the graphic symbols applied there. The three shades of black signify the three different types of composition of ancient poetry, that is stichic composition (black), strophic (light grey), and συστήματα ἐξ ὁμοίων ["systems of similar lines"[11]] (dark grey). Within the stichic composition, trimeters are differentiated from longer verse forms (anapaests, tetrameters, Eupolideans, and other long stichic forms) by the lower height of their lines. (This meant the lyric parts as well as the hypermetric ones had to be adjusted to the height of the στίχοι of the section to which they belong.) The horizontal length of each section corresponds exactly to its number of verses (which can be checked by the general guidelines placed at 200-verse intervals). Vertical strokes indicate that the corresponding parts occur outside of symmetries, whereas an antistrophic relationship is represented by the slanting of the strokes against each other; this enables a syzygy to be instantly recognizable.
>
> Seven of the Aristophanic comedies have been illustrated in this way. For *Assemblywomen* and *Wealth,* the artlessness of the composition scarcely needs visual representation; for *Clouds* and *Women at the Thesmophoria* on the other hand, whose composition has been obscured by διασκευή ["reworking"], a color diagram would be of no value. Instead, three tragedies have been brought in for comparison, which represent three chronologically different periods of the development of the art of tragedy: *Persians*, *Antigone*, and *Bacchae*.
>
> Merely a quick glance at the chart allows us to discern the following fundamental principle for the composition of dialogue: *episodes occur only in the second half of the*

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[11] The Greek term is from Hephaestion *On Poems,* ch. 3, but Zieliński uses it differently, to indicate shorter anapaestic, iambic, or trochaic stichic blocks.
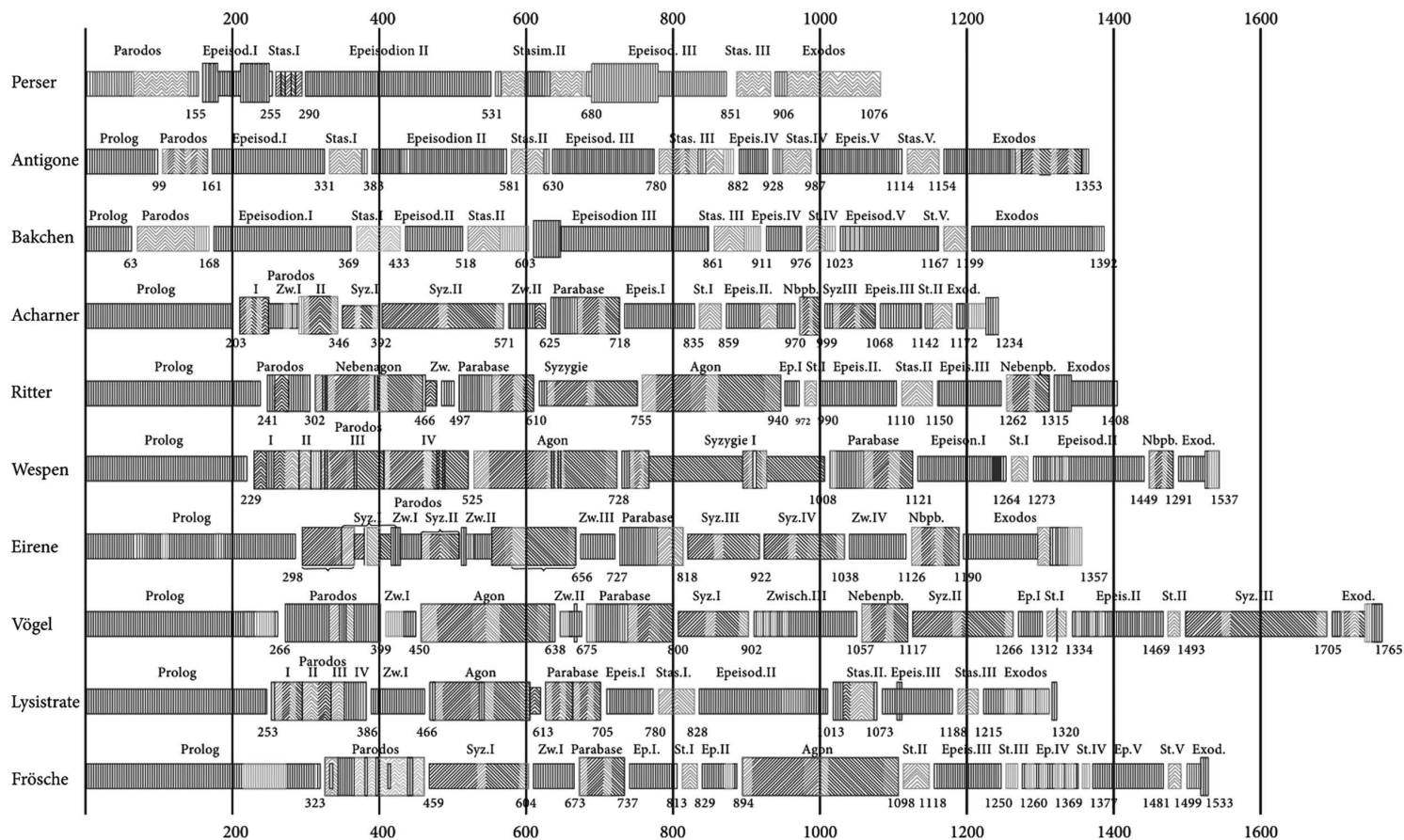
FIGURE 1.1 Translation of titles: *Dramas* (col. 1): Perser (*Persians* of Aeschylus); Antigone (*Antigone* of Sophocles); Bakchen (*Bacchae* of Euripides); Acharner (*Acharnians*); Ritter (*Knights*); Wespen (*Wasps*); Eirene (*Peace*); Vögel (*Birds*), Lysistrate (*Lysistrata*); Frösche (*Frogs*). Abbreviations of comedy components not readily recognizable: Epeis. or Epeisod. = Epeisodion; Nebenagon = "secondary agon"; Nbpb. or Nebenpb. = Nebenparabase ("secondary *parabasis*"); Stas. = Stasimon; Zw. or Zwisch. = Zwischenszenen ("in-between scenes"); Syz. = Syzygie.

drama, which follows the parabasis. Therefore, the Doric forms do not penetrate the original form of Ionic comedy; to this extent, Aristophanic comedy is conscious of its origins.

Zwischenszenen ("in-between scenes") do of course occur, but their occurrence has a good technical reason. Think of a comedy of the old style, where the *parodos* is followed by the agon, and the agon by the *parabasis*. No matter which form the *parodos* might be composed in, its last part was left for the chorus (either as *antode* or *antepirrhema*). The agon began with an ode, thus once again with a choral contribution. At the time of purely choral comedy, of course, such an unending claim on the chorus was unavoidable, but on the one hand, the comedies at that time were not as long; on the other, one can probably assume that a rest period was allowed to the speakers. Once actors were being used, it made sense to fill this rest period with dialogue. Thus was born the *proagon*, perhaps the earliest of the dialogue sections. It too immediately took in the content which would become a canonical position in comic composition; we have already said about its place what was necessary. For this application of *Zwischenszenen,* the *Lysistrata* offers a good example…

Zieliński's general description of comedy's structure is standard today,[12] though his detailed attempts to explain away any deviation are not. They were critiqued as overly rigid in the 1904 dissertation of Paul Mazon, who analyzed each preserved play to argue that Aristophanes felt free to adapt comedy's preexisting structures to suit his dramatic purposes (though Mazon's own account of what these purposes were is sometimes less than convincing), but that certain principles were more or less followed in all but the final two plays (as well as *Clouds*, which he regards as a daring experiment):

The prologue consists of three parts, the "parade," the "patter," and the start of the action (sometimes explained by the characters themselves).

The agon is expanded from a physical combat into a verbal debate.

The part of the comedy after the *parabasis* is much more conventional and adopts the form of tragedy, being a series of repetitive episodes separated by choral lyrics that stop the action (which, in the first part, had been continuous); in the second half of the play, the chorus loses its identity.

Metrically speaking, Mazon notes that 1) the action never stops for a choral ode in the first half of the play; 2) tetrameters are never found outside of the *parodos*, agon, and *parabasis*; and 3) scenes that are not one of these three types are written in iambic trimeters. He concludes that this unique form was derived from the archaic *komos*, in which a group of revelers attacked an individual who then defended himself vigorously, leading to a celebratory conclusion. Aristophanes's main innovation is to insert, between the *parabasis* and the komastic conclusion, the working-out in detail of his comic plot.

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[12] Subsequent outlines for all eleven comedies are in an appendix to Pickard-Cambridge and Webster (1962), and in greatest detail in Zimmermann (1984–1987). Zieliński (1931) provides a retrospective on the book's impact and some corrections of detail.

Zieliński's and Mazon's formalist approach to comic origins is open to the objection that its structures are constantly being reconfigured, but opponents must admit that its traditional structures remained largely unchanged, and lasted until their complete disappearance marked the end of Old Comedy itself. Analysts of Aristophanic structure and metrics today are no longer troubled by the variety of their appearance, perhaps because they do not see them as evidence for comic essence or origins (these include Sifakis 1971, Zimmermann 1984–1987, Gelzer 1993, Parker 1997).

B. Folklore

A natural conception of comedy is to view it as an opposition to high, urban, literary culture: low, popular, rural, subliterary, authentic. Here too Zieliński was a pioneer. In the same year as his book cited above, he also produced an emotional description of a sub-genre of Old Comedy—the *Märchen-* or folktale comedy. In contrast to the purely mythological comedy that he calls (appropriating for his own purposes Aristotle's variant) "Doric," he derives the folktale comedy from an Ionic tradition of popular stories that the audience would know well, and he offers examples from modern Greek and other European folktale collections. His paradigmatic case is the tale of the Eagle brother-in-law (Thompson 1946 type 552, p. 55) who alone can tell a young prince the location of the distant city where he can find his runaway bride, which he argues is reproduced (with much adaptation) in Aristophanes's *Birds*. His other examples come from fragmentary plays, especially those whose titles indicate animals or alien beings, like the very early comic poet Magnes as recalled in the *parabasis* of *Knights* (*BOC* 133 7A), or the *Beasts* of Crates, the *Fish* of Archippus, or numerous candidates by Pherecrates (*Ant-men*, *Savages*, *Persians*, *Mine-workers*). Zieliński's reconstructions are especially bold: in most cases, neither the Greek comedy nor the ancient folktale behind it is extant—both have to be reconstructed. His stated aim is, however, to rescue from oblivion the stories that relieved the otherwise joyless existence of the ancient lower classes (his conclusion seems to be evoking the end of Russian serfdom).

Süss (1905 and 1908) changed the focus from animals to humans, arguing that the prototypic figures of all comic plots are, first, the *alazon*, an intellectual or military imposter, and in opposition to him the *bomolochos*, the mocking respecter of no one; these popular types did not remain static, as in the masks of the commedia dell'arte, but were developed into lampoons of actual figures such as Euripides in *Acharnians, Women at the Thesmophoria* and *Frogs* and Socrates in *Clouds,* or else fulfilled their familiar functions under new identities. Sifakis (1992) made these functions central to his own comic folktale model, which, however, follows neither Zieliński nor Süss but applies the analytical categories of Vladimir Propp to reduce each comic plot to a limited number of folktale functions, which each character is charged to fulfill.

A more targeted and less ideological comparison of folktale motifs is Davies (2004), noting classic folktale patterns (especially of an initial "lack" and a quest for it, ending in marriage and feast), especially in *Peace*, but also in *Birds*, *Acharnians, Frogs* and even to

some extent in *Clouds*; but also that, whereas the questing heroes in folktale are always young, those in Aristophanes are elderly.

C. Religion

Although it is increasingly seen as misguided, ritual is still a widely accepted model for all dramatic origins (see Rozik [2002], Scullion [2002], and Nesselrath, chapter 34 in this volume). That comedies were performed in the context of the festival of Dionysus is a fact, as it is that the plays of Aristophanes are pervaded with undisguised religious expression in the form of rituals, prayers, hymns, and festival-settings. But proponents of religious origins do not stop there: they seek comic origins and audience appeal in rituals that lie submerged underneath the apparent plot and exist only in the subconscious of the spectators.

The most-cited such theory is that of F. M. Cornford's *Origin of Attic Comedy* (1914, often reprinted).[13] Rather than critiquing any previous work, he makes room for all of it—Zieliński on comic structure and Süss on characters are both incorporated into the mix, as well as Aristotle on phallic processions and Dorian comedy; but he moves the discussion decisively away from metrical forms to an impassioned argument ("es liest sich teilweise selbst wie ein Drama" [Zieliński 1935: 7]), under the influence of a collaboration with colleagues Jane Harrison and Gilbert Murray in *Themis: A Study in the Social Origins of Greek Religion* (see Beard 2000: 129–160 and Versnel 1990), that all Greek drama is inspired by rituals of the calendar, borrowing from the "year king" model of Frazer's *Golden Bough*. He takes the structures defined by Zieliński as stages in a ritual drama, and adapts Süss's three archetypal characters into aspects of the "sacred hero," who concludes the play in triumph with a sacred marriage, as in *Peace* and *Birds*. The presentation is bracing, with much comparative material (fertility rituals, feasts, and sacred marriage), and ahead of its time in positing Near Eastern influence on Greek culture; but as Henderson points out in his Introduction (xxiv–xxvi, see also Webster in *DTC*² 193–194), it is precisely his central concept of the year king that cannot be traced in Dionysiac or even Greek myth or cult.

Bowie 1993 (cf. 2010) also sees Greek myths and rituals underlying comic plots, but not in an overt way—mythological comedy about the gods and heroes themselves is largely lost, or from a later period—but rather through patterns or archetypes for the apparently nonmythical plots. Furthermore, many comedies evoke festivals that would stir in the audience a number of emotions not explicitly articulated: *Knights* hints at a divine succession myth known from Hesiod's *Theogony*; *Clouds* suggests the punishment of Ixion, who attempted to rape Hera but assaulted only a cloud-figment; *Women at the Thesmophoria* recalls the punishment of Miltiades (a historical figure) for invading a shrine of Demeter. Aspects of *Knights, Wasps,* and *Clouds* can be compared to rites of

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[13] Its publication on the eve of the First World War meant that the most interesting review, that of Zieliński himself, did not appear until many years later (Zieliński 1935).

passage; *Peace* and *Wealth* figure rituals of divine return. *Lysistrata* can suggest the myth of the Lemnian women who murdered their husbands (one of several backgrounds which can problematize an apparently happy ending). The fact that these patterns are by their very nature nearly invisible to the modern reader makes them impossible to verify, and puts them in tension with the definition of comedy, ever since Aristotle, as the least mythical and least factual form of composition. But searching for deep religious patterns in comic plots is certainly a healthy corrective to the search for a comic author's underlying political point of view, against which Bowie (1992, Introduction) offers cogent arguments.

Bierl (2009) makes comedy essentially religious through a new conception of the comic chorus: if every choral performance is (as he argues) a ritual celebration for a god, then comedy's chorus, too, is engaged in creating a ritual environment for performance. This is argued initially on a theoretical level (with the support of modern anthropological and performance criticism and recent studies of the tragic chorus), then with a detailed commentary on a single chorus which is actually composed of ritual celebrants, that of *Women at the Thesmophoria* (*Frogs* also has such a chorus, briefly). Such an argument involves, as he recognizes (49), rejecting the trends traced above that differentiate the comic chorus's involvement in the action from that of tragedy; he goes on to assert (54) that the structure of the comedy mimics that of the Dionysia: the *parodos* of the chorus is like the initial *pompe* (procession), the agon is like the central choral competitions, and then comes the concluding celebration. As ingenious and energetic as is the argument, one cannot overlook some similarities of methodology with Cornford: starting with deductions from contemporary theory (rather than inductively from the comedies themselves); the imposition of an abstract, external, theoretical model; and the minimization of the difference between comedy and tragedy.

Halliwell (2008: 207) disclaims any interest in comic origins, but does remind us (chapters 4–5) of the ritual basis of what we have seen was probably for Aristotle a central feature of Old Comedy, viz., its frequent obscenity. He surveys thoroughly the numerous Greek instances of "aischrology" (mandated obscenity in certain religious cults) and argues that it is a uniquely Greek phenomenon, one which Aristophanes in the *parodos* of *Frogs* makes a chorus of Eleusinian initiates reenact and assimilate to his own style of obscene mockery.

D. Generic Inheritance, Parody, and Appropriation

Comedy is the last of the classical genres to be created, and, as we have noticed, Aristotle largely views its origins in relation to its predecessor genres. It also often snatches its own contents from these generic rivals, in particular tragedy (see Hanink, chapter 12), which is extensively parodied for different purposes in *Acharnians*, *Women at the Thesmophoria,* and *Frogs*; Aristophanes's intimate relationship with tragedy is specially studied by Silk (2000, among his other publications). Cratinus (K-A fr. 342, *BOC* 216) documents the connection in his coinage of the verb "Euripidaristophanize," but

he himself is even more obsessed with other genres, employing characters, meters, and stories from epic, iambic, and satyr play, as documented by Rosen (2013) and Bakola (2010). But the most recent approaches to the essence of Old Comedy adopt what Bakhtin (1981) said about the novel—that it alone could appropriate other genres while remaining itself—and apply it to Old Comedy (Platter 2007).

Until now, all the seekers of Old Comedy's essence have had to admit that their candidates do not fit all the plays alike; there are major discrepancies that have to be explained away. But in today's theories of generic imitation and rivalry, the animating spirit of Old Comedy is to elude any permanent identity and refashion itself, which ensures its continuing diversity and lack of homogeneity. The newest book on the subject (Bakola, Prauscello, and Telò 2013) finds its generic interaction not only "essential" (ix), but also the means of rescuing Old Comedy from essentialism (x). After so many attempts to pin down Old Comedy to a single model that fall short, then, an approach that embraces its contradictions, and views Old Comedy's permanent carnival as an endless masquerade, is perhaps the best way to come to confront a genre that seems never to have progressed to its Aristotelian literary adulthood.

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PERFORMING COMEDY IN THE FIFTH THROUGH EARLY THIRD CENTURIES

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I. CHORUS AND ACTOR

IN Athens, performance in a dramatic chorus was regarded as a civic duty. Participation was (at least in theory) unpaid, but not altogether voluntary. Athens had elaborate legal mechanisms to force ordinary people to serve their term in performing choreutic service (MacDowell 1989). Dramatic choruses therefore embodied the broad public and frequently spoke with the voice of the common Athenian. Choral duty was restricted to (male) citizens for the Dionysia and to citizens or metics for the Lenaea. This helps explain both the initial importance and the eventual decline of the chorus. Comedy, as we know it, was probably never a ritual form, but it was in part modeled after the various "funny" choruses that participated in the Parade (*Pompe),* a carnival-type sacrificial procession that opened the Dionysia. It was the professionalization of the other performers, the actors and the musicians, that left the chorus behind, precipitating its decline over the course of the fifth and fourth centuries and its eventual segregation from the dramatic narrative; there is no evidence to suggest that the chorus ever disappeared from the performance of Greek comedy (as it did in Roman).

Athenian official discourse continued to regard the chorus as the core of comedy long after it had ceased to be so. When a poet, called the "teacher" (*didaskalos)* of a chorus, wished to perform a comedy, he went to the archon and "asked for a chorus" (Cratinus K-A fr. 17). The archon "granted a chorus" (Pl. *Rep.* 383c, *Laws* 817d7; Arist. *Poet.* 1449b1–2). At the competition, the herald invited the poet to "bring on your chorus" (Aristophanes *Acharnians* 11). The oath of the festival judges enjoined them to award the prize "to the chorus that sang well" (Wilson 2000: 99). The success of the chorus determined the success of the poet. The dramatic genres are regularly referred

to as "the tragedians," "the satyrs," and "the comedians," meaning precisely "the chorus" (Pickard-Cambridge 1968: 127).

The comic chorus, with twenty-four choreuts, was bigger than the tragic (twelve or fifteen) and initially more important to its drama (Pickard-Cambridge 1968: 234–236). Aristophanes structures his plays around the chorus and designs his plots to motivate its set pieces. Typically, a hero with a big idea overcomes obstruction by the chorus (*parodos*); persuades the chorus to support him (*agon*); departs as the chorus comments on his plan (*parabasis*); and then, after various episodes in which characters react to the implementation of his plan, each separated by short choral odes, is escorted out of the theater in a triumphant procession (*komos*). No other Old Comic playwright survives well enough to permit certainty, but the fragments suggest that Aristophanes's rivals sometimes used these choral movements differently, often placing them closer to the margins of the performance in order to develop more intricate plots. Aristophanes's political comedy may have been uniquely chorocentric.

As music grew more complex and actors more accomplished in the late fifth century, the musical burden gradually shifted from chorus to actor. The shift is large and swift in tragedy, but comedy was more conservative. It is only in Aristophanes's fourth-century plays that we can measure diminution in the importance of choral music. Perhaps a more decisive factor was the growth in market demand for drama (see below), as well as a recognition that contacts between actors, who traveled, and choruses, which were locally recruited, might be minimal, so that efficiency was best served by a compartmentalization of their parts.

By the time of Menander, the comic chorus is completely marginalized. It only ever appears in our manuscripts in the form of a one-word note meaning "choral song" where a choral performance occurred. Otherwise, the texts acknowledge its existence at most with a line announcing its approach. Menander probably did not write the choral lyrics that were performed in his plays (cf. Revermann 2006: 274–281).

Vase paintings show lively and obscene choruses from the late seventh century but it does not help to call these "comedy." Certainly Sicily and probably Megara had comedy from the beginning of the fifth century. At Athens, we have no good evidence for a chorus and at least one actor performing together until the introduction of tragedy in the last decade of the sixth century (and probably right after the building of the theater). The introduction of a comic competition to the Athenian Dionysia is attested for about 486 (see Rusten chapter 1, p. 40 and Makres chapter 3, p. 72). It had sophisticated models in tragedy and Sicilian comedy, and Aristotle does claim to know that "writing [comic] plots first came from Sicily" (*Poetics* 1449b5–9). Aristotle inferred evolutionary stages, such as a gradual increase in the number of actors, as happened in tragedy, but he admits that he could discover nothing about the early period. Despite Aristotle, comedy may have developed rapidly. The comedies of the 430s, the earliest for which we have adequate remains, reveal none of the awkwardness in the use of actors that we can detect in early tragedy. Unlike tragedy, however, comedy had no fixed number of actors until the time of New Comedy. Extant Menander can be performed with only three actors.

Aristophanes, by contrast, frequently requires four actors and can require as many as six (we cannot be sure of other Old Comedy). This may be another industry norm that was imposed to facilitate reperformance.

The early years were run by theatrical families (Csapo 2010: 88–89). Different families may have dominated production, providing the Athenian theater with both playwrights and actors for either tragedy or comedy (but never both). Ancient tradition maintains that many fifth-century poets also acted in their plays. We hear of comic poet-actors much longer than their tragic equivalents. One might wonder if Dicaeopolis in *Acharnians* slipped so easily into the persona of Aristophanes (501–518) because the actor was the poet himself, or if Cratinus played the main role in his autobiographical fantasy, the *Wineflask (Pytine)*. Talented outsiders are not clearly visible in comedy's professional ranks until the early forth century. In professional development, comedy lagged behind tragedy. The Athenian Dionysia instituted a prize for tragic acting in about 449, but no prize for comic acting until sometime between 329 and 312. It is also true that while some tragic actors attained international celebrity as early as 420, comic actors do not achieve stardom (Satyrus, Lycus, Philemon, Parmenon) until the mid-fourth century. On the other hand, the Lenaean contests seem to have had prizes for comic as well as tragic actors from their inception, about 432, and artifacts reveal that the comic actors captured the popular imagination from the 420s onwards (see section III).

II. Audience and Theater

Even in his lifetime, the plays of Aristophanes might have been performed at any one of thirty-two known theaters throughout the Greek world. By Menander's day, we know over one hundred. Our evidence is serendipitous; doubtless many more existed. Despite this, our texts only ever mention the Athenian theater; e.g., *Acharnians* 504 tells us the play was performed at the Lenaea, and the *parabasis* of *Clouds* tells us that "because I judged you [Athenians] a clever audience, I deemed you worthy of first sampling this cleverest of all my comedies" (21–23). But this last example should put us on our guard: it implies that as early as 423 there were other audiences that Aristophanes might have preferred. The production records that survive only record first performances at the Athenian festivals, not necessarily premieres. The often-repeated creed that Old Comedy, or at least Aristophanes, was too Athenocentric to be produced anywhere but Athens is challenged by West Greek vases (Figures 2.3, 2.4, 7.1, 7.2), all produced for local markets, that show scenes of Old Comedy in performance, among them plays of Aristophanes. They date to the first half of the fourth century. It is even less likely that all the plays of Menander were performed first in Athens, yet even they are set, by preference, in Athens. Greeks evidently liked their comedy to be "Athenian" in much the same way that Romans liked it to be "Greek," and indeed by preference "Athenian" (Pl. *Men*. 7–9).

Even in Athens, the audience for the Dionysia (though not the Lenaea) had a large international component. The Dionysia, held at the beginning of the sailing season, attracted not only tourists but merchants eager to exploit the large markets attracted by the event. Hermippus (K-A fr. 63) lists goods that Dionysus, figured as the captain of a merchant ship, brought from all corners of the Mediterranean ("from Cyrene silphium and cowhides, from the Hellespont mackerel and salt fish, from Thessaly barley flakes and sides of beef…from Sicily pork and cheese," etc., etc.). Aristophanes did the same in *Merchant Ships* (K-A fr. 425–431). Official delegates from the cities of the empire must have numbered well over a thousand. Allies and colonies (roughly 200 at the peak of the empire) were required to bring to the Dionysia, along with their tribute, choruses (probably twelve to fifteen men) to process a phallus pole in the Parade. The tribute, about 500 talents of silver, was displayed in the theater to a populace feasting on bread and beef (also in large part contributed by the allies). Wealthy citizens might add free distributions of wine. The theme of the Dionysia was inclusivity, plenitude, and a "Golden Age" abundance, a Dionysian theme we find frequently echoed in the comedies.

Plenitude and inclusivity applied to people as well as goods. In addition to the Athenian population of some 30,000 adult citizen males, boys and slaves attended the festival. Some scholars deny the presence of women, though the ambiguities they claim for the evidence point more to ideological than physical exclusion. Even poorer citizens were provided with distributions of money (*theorika*) to help pay for seating in the theater and extras for the feast. Pericles seems to have initiated one-off distributions during the fifth century, but they became regular for much of the fourth.

The number of people who could attend the theater was always therefore much greater than the theater could accommodate. The fifth-century Theater of Dionysus probably seated about 6,000 people. The population of residents and visitors might have numbered forty times that figure. Until the early fourth century the city appears to have leased the construction of the *theatron* (i.e., seating area of the theater) to entrepreneurs who built wooden benches and charged 2 obols a sitting (Dem. 18.28.6–7). If we can draw a crude equation, watching all the plays might cost an individual the equivalent of one and a third times the daily wage of a skilled workman in Athens in the late fifth century, not an altogether inconsiderable sum.[1] Above the *theatron* on the south slope of the acropolis there was space for perhaps another 2,000 to stand. Seating was therefore always sociologically layered: the first row of seats (*prohedria*) consisted of chairs with backs (Figure 2.1) for elite officials and recipients of special honors (Dionysus's icon and priest sat front center); there followed some twenty rows of wooden benches for those who could afford it; above that, standing room.

Because the benchwork was simple and temporary, it formed three straight sides around a dancing ground (*orchestra*) of about 28 × 30 m. All early *orchestrai*—we know twelve—have a rectilinear (or more properly "trapezoidal") shape, with at best slight

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[1] 2 obols × 4 days = 1.33 drachmas. One drachma per day is a typical daily wage of a skilled workman in Athens in the late fifth century

curvature as in the case of the theater at Thoricus, which uniquely had a stone *theatron*. The far end of the *orchestra* was bordered by the stage-building, the *skene,* erected by 458 (we know this from Aeschylus's *Oresteia,* where the building is not only necessary but virtually a main character). The *skene* was probably not permanent. We may suppose that it could be fitted with as many operational doors as required by any festival. From the 420s we have iconographic evidence (Figures 2.1, 2.3, 7.1) for a low stage (ca. 1 m. high) that stood in front of the *skene*. In the extant plays (with few exceptions), the chorus never departs the *orchestra* until the very end of the play; actors, on the other hand, used all available spaces (which is why Figure 2.1 shows a ladder descending into the orchestra), even the *skene* roof.

Because the Greek theater was open to the air, the vertical realm is often incorporated into the production, most particularly in the appearance of gods or airborne heroes on the *skene* roof or hanging from the crane (*mekhane)*. Comedy used the crane for para-tragic effect, e.g. in *Peace* (110–176) in a parody of Euripides's *Bellerophon,* or in Cratinus's *Seriphioi* in a generic parody of Perseus tragedy (Bakola 2010, 164–168, contemporary with our Figure 2.1, which shows a comic Perseus), or in a "tragic mode" to add pomp and grace to the grand entrances of gods and supermen (*Clouds* 218; *Birds* 1196–1261; Strattis *Phoenissai* K-A fr. 46). Even the subterranean realm cannot be excluded: tunnels leading from inside the *skene* to the center of the *orchestra,* called "Charon's stairs," are reported in fourteen ancient theaters, though none of them date from earlier than the third century.

FIGURE 2.1 Audience, abbreviated orchestra, stage and actor. Attic red-figured chous, Painter of the Perseus Dance, ca. 420 BCE, Athens BΣ 518. Drawing by E. Malyon. © E. Csapo.

Comedy is still freer in the use of the horizontal space from the *skene* interior out into the *theatron*. Tragedy used the *ekkyklema* or "out-roller," probably a shallow platform on wheels, to bring out interior tableaux, usually corpses, through the central doors of the *skene.* The tragic audience was to think of this device as revealing an interior scene, as if viewed through the open doors. In *Clouds* 183–201, however, the effect is more like walking into Socrates's Thinkery along with Strepsiades and glimpsing in succession the varied activities of its occupants. Sometimes the *ekkyklema* adds tragic grandeur to an entrance, e.g., Euripides's entrance in *Acharnians* or Agathon's in *Women at the Thesmophoria* or the tragically injured Cnemon's in *Dyskolos* 758. Comedy also engages the interior of the *skene* in ways unknown to tragedy; think of the various apertures from which Philocleon attempts to escape from the house in *Wasps* or the duets with the young woman at the window in *Assemblywomen*! Unlike tragedy, comedy can also breach the boundaries of its playing space and enter into the world of its audience. At the beginning of *Wasps,* for example, the two prologue slaves banter with the audience. In *Peace* 960–965, they throw them nuts and sweetmeats. Dionysus at *Frogs* 297 enters the front row of seats to seek protection from his priest. *Peace* 871–908 most expansively sends the actors into the section of the *theatron* reserved for the Council, where they deposit the gynecomorphic "Festival" on the lap of a red-faced city official. Old Comedy is particularly famous for addressing the audience, singling out individual audience members for mockery, or even briefly assigning the audience a role in the drama (e.g., *Frogs* 275–276).

The "fourth wall" did not exist for Old Comedy, and remained permeable for New. The audience is so regularly drawn into Old Comedy that it could never generate enough dramatic illusion to allow us to speak meaningfully of its rupture. For its part, the Athenian audience was far from passive. It clapped and shouted approval. If it was not satisfied it whistled, clucked, and banged its heels against the wooden seats. Sometimes it forced a drama to withdraw from the competition. It did not help that much of the audience was intoxicated: the Early Hellenistic historian of Athens, Philochorus (*FGrH* 328 F 171), informs us that stewards regularly poured wine for the audience (probably at the *choregos*'s expense) at the beginning and end of each drama. Old Comic performers hoped to elicit not just laughter but a show of partisan support. Attacking politicians or espousing popular causes was evidently not enough. The chorus made direct appeals for audience support (e.g., *Peace* 765–773). Some ancient sources suggest that the contest judges were swayed by the will of the crowd and others that the judges were obliged to be swayed by the will of the crowd. Plato tells us that in South Italy and Sicily the prize was determined by a direct show of hands by the audience (*Laws* 695a–c). Philemon is said to have engaged claques (Aul. Gel. 17.4, probably a malicious report, but doubtless a Hellenistic practice; cf. Plaut. *Amph.* 65–85). In general, it would appear that Old Comedy learned to manage those unruly energies of the festival crowd that other genres endured as random and dangerous disruptions.

Recent discoveries show that Athens began to build its earliest round theater (known to modern scholarship as "Lycurgan") in the early fourth century. Athens clearly felt the need for a more capacious theater. But while the theater became more inclusive by

midcentury (the date of the completion of the *theatron*, now holding about 16,000), it became less inclusive in the late fourth century. The disenfranchisement and expulsion of a significant sector of the poorest Athenians after 322, as well as the probable abolition of the distribution of festival money sometime afterwards, are likely to have changed the demographics of the audience, pushing it somewhat higher on the socioeconomic scale.

A new *skene* was built for the Lycurgan theater, but it remained a single story. By the middle of Menander's career, however, there were many theaters in Greece with a *proskenion*. This was a single-story building placed directly in front of a two-story *skene* so that the roof (*episkenion*) of the one-story building (*proskenion*) might then be used as a very high stage against the backdrop of the *skene*'s second story. At Athens, however, the earliest *proskenion* appears to have been built only in the second century. Here actors must have continued to perform at *orchestra* level. From the 320s, we have evidence of Athens' concern to maintain the priority of its dramatic festival by trading on its cultural heritage as the home of the classics. The spatial configuration of the Athenian theater probably remained conservative to permit "authentic" reperformances of Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides in which actors and chorus met at *orchestra* level. Nevertheless, scholars are frequently tempted to link the separation of chorus and actor in New Comedy with the gulf separating *orchestra* and *episkenion* in the Hellenistic theater. If this is correct, it shows the degree to which the topography of the Athenian theater had become irrelevant to dramatic performance. Poets like Menander must have had an eye to performance conditions elsewhere when they took the final step in severing the chorus from the dramatic narrative.

III. Costume and Mask

We know quite a lot about comic costume, thanks to a rich tradition of producing characters and whole scenes from comedy in art. A few highly realistic representations of tragic and satyric choruses (performing, dressing for performance, or undressing after performance) appear in vase painting as early as about 490. There survive only two (Attic) vase paintings that imitate or take inspiration from the paintings or reliefs dedicated by successful comic *choregoi* (some of which also survive). One of these is reconstructed in Figure 2.2.

By contrast, depictions of comic actors become very popular. In Attica, only a few small wine pots (such as that in Figure 2.1), produced 430–400, show comic actors. But from about 410, Athenian coroplasts begin to produce comic figurines and clay masks, probably for sale as souvenirs to visitors attending the Athenian Dionysia. These figurines are found throughout the Greek world, and were soon imitated by coroplasts from Spain to Egypt. The figurines are particularly important for describing the evolution of comic costume because they form a continuous series through to late antiquity. In addition, from 400–320 West Greek vase painters working in Southern Italy and Sicily take a major interest in Old Comedy, apparently inspired by local performances
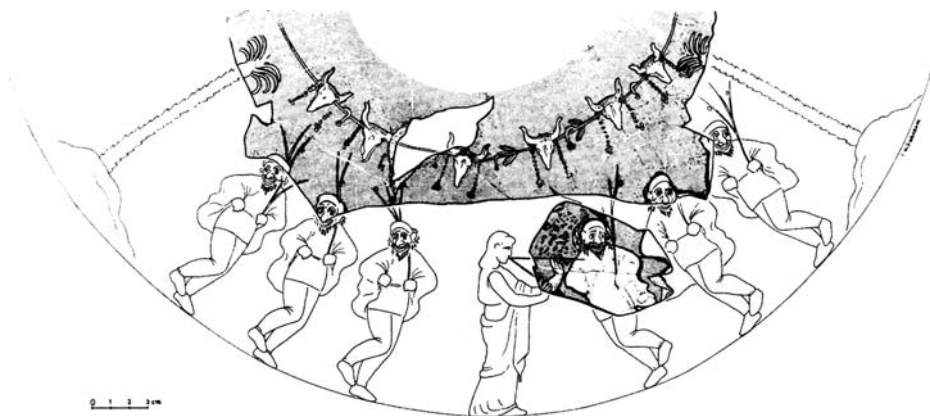
FIGURE 2.2 Abbreviated comic chorus in performance. Fragmentary Attic red-figured chous, 380–360 BCE, Benaki Museum 30895. Reconstruction by S. Pingiatoglou. Drawing by M. Miltsakakis. Reproduced courtesy of S. Pingiatoglou.

(Figures 2.3–4, 7.1–2). After 300, comic artifacts are produced in all media throughout the Mediterranean and they continue to be copied until the sixth century AD. New Comedy is therefore better attested iconographically than any dramatic or literary genre, with more than 3,500 surviving artifacts (Figures 2.5–9).

The artifacts show that the most basic costume of the Old Comic performer consisted of tights and a comic body that, unless covered by other costume, represented naked flesh. These appear most clearly on the central actor of Figure 2.3, which carefully renders the wrinkles of the loose tights on upper and lower body, leaving only the head, hands, and feet uncovered. On top of these is an apparently one-piece padded leather torso (*somation*). This *somation* included full breasts, protruding buttocks, a large beer belly, and, hanging below the belly, a large phallus. Sometimes the whole *somation* is painted red (Figure 2.4), though frequently only the phallus is singled out in this way. The *somation* was apparently put on over the head and then fastened tight to the actor's body (note the buckle, visible on the actor's right side). None of the four surviving depictions of comic choruses allow us to decide if choreuts wore a phallus, but it is clear that they shared the rest of the comic body with the actors (Figure 2.2).

Old Comedy's hermaphrodite body may have its roots in Dionysian ritual, but the combination of feminine breasts and buttocks with masculine belly and phallus had the added benefit of permitting actors to switch from male to female characters without changing bodies. The contours of the old woman on stage in Figure 2.3 reveal the same body shape as the "naked" men. Female clothing always covered the entire body down to the ankles, so that the uncompromisingly gender-diagnostic phallus never confused the audience about the character's intended gender. Nude females, who do sometimes appear in comedy (e.g. Festival in *Peace*), were never played by actors but by mute extras. The term "actor" was reserved in antiquity for performers who spoke—there was never any limit to the number of nonspeaking parts in either tragedy or comedy.

FIGURE 2.3 Scene from Old Comedy with actors in orchestra and on stage. Apulian red-figured calyx krater, Tarporley Painter, ca. 400. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Fletcher Fund, 1924 (24.97.104). Image © The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

The other essential component of comic costume was a full three-quarter mask (such as is seen floating near the top center of Figure 2.3). It left nothing of the actor's head exposed beyond teeth, lips (when closed), and the pupils of his eyes (the masks even included irises). The typology of Old Comic masks is known only from artifacts. There are some thirty recurrent types, and they are remarkably consistent between Attic and West Greek artifacts. One mask is used only for the character of Heracles. A mask consistently used for Zeus also seems to serve for other self-important men. Old Comedy seems to have used "portrait masks" to represent real individuals, though the crucial testimony, *Knights* 230–233, is just ambiguous enough to allow for dispute. In general, the repertoire of Old Comic masks revealed by the artifacts is strongly biased in favor of age and ugliness (in the Webster-Green typology, for example, apart from gods, heroes, and portrait masks of famous individuals like Socrates, we have among male masks only two young men, seven middle-aged men, and seven old men). It is also usually difficult to tell free men from slaves, unless the latter are carrying baggage or being beaten. Male characters regularly wore unconventionally short chitons in order to expose the phallus.

The art and literature of the fourth century are marked by an increased interest in human character. The development of the "science" of physiognomy had a particularly profound impact on rhetoric, drama, and the plastic arts. Physiognomics, a realm of philosophical speculation in which Aristotle's school took a particular interest, was premised upon a belief in the formal interdependence of mind and body, with the corollary that moral character and physical appearance are so closely correlated that one

could learn to "read" character from examining a person's physical appearance. While advances in ethical philosophy encouraged growth and variation in comedy's range of characters, advances in physiognomics encouraged differentiation in the comic body and mask. Forms of comic ugliness that in Old Comedy had been evenly shared by all characters were in the later fourth century very unevenly redistributed across an ethical (and ultimately social) grid.

Variations in body shape emerge by the second half of the fourth century. The (for male characters) improbably prominent breasts and buttocks gradually disappear. Big bellies increasingly distinguish slaves from free men. The phallus, or rather its visibility, begins to mark social and characterological distinctions; the garments of free men grow decently longer (Figure 2.4). By the time of New Comedy, only slaves (and occasionally pimps) still have large bellies. Citizen "gentlemen" (i.e., the independently wealthy) wear shin-length garments, distinguishing them from the dependent or laboring classes, whose chitons descend to just below the knee, and from slaves, whose garments rise well above the knee, making the phallus comically visible when the actor sits down facing the audience. If Roman comedy can be used as evidence for its Greek prototypes, New Comic slaves still withdraw the phallus for an occasional joke (Marshall 2006: 62–64).

FIGURE 2.4 Master (left) and slave (right). Paestan red-figured rhyton, Asteas, 340–330 BCE, Museo Archeologico Regionale "Paolo Orsi," Syracuse 29966. By permission of the Assessorato Beni Culturali e dell'Identità Siciliana della Regione Sicilia.

But it is perhaps significant that the plays in question (*Rudens* 428–429, *Mostellaria* 324–331) are based on originals by Diphilus and Philemon, not Menander. Differentiation of body shape made quick changes more difficult for actors, and one might speculate that this encouraged one of the actors (probably the protagonist) to specialize in the depiction of characters who still shared comedy's traditional body fat: slaves, old women, and the nastier varieties of working men and urban poor—these tended also to be the more colorful and challenging roles.

The typology of New Comic masks is well known because of both the abundance of New Comic artifacts and the preservation of a list by the second-century AD rhetorician Julius Pollux (the list is copied from a much older source). The striking difference between the masks of New and Old Comedy, as between the comic bodies, is the uneven distribution of comic ugliness. Most of the young men and young women of New Comedy (now the majority) have naturalistic and often even attractive bodies and faces. Old men, old women, and particularly slaves retain something of the traditionally distorted facial features, but they do so differentially. Pollux lists forty-four mask types, with a short physical description; most of them can easily be matched with recurrent types found in the art.

A few examples will show how the New Comic mask, under the influence of physiognomic theory, fused physical with moral qualities. It is important to New Comedy that a given mask create expectations of certain forms of behavior, both in the mind of the audience and in the minds of the other characters in the drama. These expectations are, moreover, sometimes unfair or misleading—if we can judge from Menander's comedy, New Comic physiognomics was never strictly deterministic. False inferences about behavior or morality on the basis of appearance or social standing, when made by other characters in the drama, contribute to the misunderstandings around which so many New Comic plots revolve. False inferences by the audience permit the plot to generate surprising turns. We will restrict ourselves to a few examples taken from New Comedy's "heroes," the class of free young men.

Mask 10, the Excellent Youth (*Panchrestos*), comes close to the elite ideal (Figure 2.5). Pollux (4.146) says the mask "has a ruddy complexion, is athletic, and has a few wrinkles on his forehead, a wreath of hair, and raised eyebrows." The physiognomic literature indicates that a ruddy complexion shows a man to be good-natured, intelligent, quick, and athletic. The wrinkles show seriousness. The raised brows show agitation. He is the sort of comic youth who gets more sympathy than laughs as he actively seeks to rectify the misdeeds of others. He is, for example, very likely to be the main character of the play by Diphilus that served as model for Plautus's *Rudens* (where he is described, 314, as "strong, ruddy-complexioned, and intense"). Several Excellent Youth masks retain their reddish-brown paint.

Also of good family, but of much weaker moral fiber, is mask 13, the Delicate Youth (Figure 2.6). Pollux says the Delicate Youth, "with hair like the Excellent Youth, is the youngest of all the young men and white-skinned, brought up in the shade, intimating delicacy." His face appears pudgy with residual baby fat. The Aristotelian *Physiognomica* (812a 13–14) makes white skin a sign of timidity and effeminacy. The Delicate Youth

FIGURE 2.5 Terracotta Mask of Excellent Youth, Würzburg H 4613. Courtesy Martin von Wagner Museum der Universität Würzburg. Photo: Peter Neckermann.

FIGURE 2.6 Terracotta Mask of Delicate Youth, 2nd c. BCE, Munich 5401. Courtesy Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek, Munich.

has had a protected upbringing, with always a slave or pedagogue to look after him. Sostratus in the *Dyskolos* probably wears this mask. Sostratus is white-skinned, and gives the immediate impression of being soft, lazy, and dependent on others. He initially relies on others to win his girl for him (though her father, unknown to him, prizes rugged self-reliance). He gains some self-reliance in the course of the play, even does hard work and acquires a bit of tan. This proves instrumental in gaining Cnemon's approval.

The Delicate Youth usually wears a festive wreath; he likes parties. He is also musical, and plays cymbals in *Theophoroumene*. He easily loses control. Frequently he is a rapist. The character behind Diniarchus in the original of Plautus's *Truculentus* was probably a Delicate Youth. He is described as "a soft adulterer, a curly-haired shadeling, a tambourine banger" (609–610). Against this background we are to understand Gorgias's alarm at the attention Sostratus pays his sister in *Dyskolos*. Because of his youth and uncontrolled friskiness, the wearer of mask 13 is frequently called "Moschion" ("Little calf"; e.g., *Sikyonios,* esp. 200 and 258; *Perikeiromene*).

Lower down the social scale is the poor but respectable Rustic Youth. Pollux's description of mask 14 lists the attributes "dark-skinned, thick lips, a snub nose, and a wreath of hair" (Figure 2.7). These features draw upon satyr and faun iconography. The physiognomic literature associates the snub nose with lasciviousness. Thick lips and a broad forehead are signs of stupidity. The rustic is dark from working the fields. He knows little leisure and consequently shows no grace or cultivation. To Theophrastus, rusticity is "a disfiguring sort of ignorance." Because he appears coarse, dirty, and poor, he is often treated with contempt by urban upper-class characters. As a result, he is suspicious, quick to take offence, and fierce in the assertion of his rights. The physiognomists make flaring nostrils a sign of a quick temper. One anticipates an explosion of wrath and resentment when Gorgias first confronts Sostratus in *Dyskolos*, especially after he accuses Sostratus of perpetrating a crime "deserving many deaths" (292). Pollux says the rustic wears a goatskin and carries a leather bag and a crook (4.119–120). He is likely to have a speaking name like Gorgias (*georgos* means "farmer").

New Comic masks were not invariable; it appears to have been up to the poet or mask-maker to emphasize different features. The Toady (mask 17) and Parasite (mask

FIGURE 2.7 Terracotta Mask of Rustic Youth, Late 4th—Early 3rd c., Louvre MNB 506. © RMN / Hervé Lewandowski.

FIGURE 2.8 Terracotta Figurine of Toady, 2nd c., National Archeological Museum, Athens 5027. © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Tourism/Archaeological Receipts Fund.

18) both belong to young men pursuing the same "profession" (flattering and sponging off rich patrons), and both have the same basic features. Many masks, while easily identifiable as either a Parasite or Toady, allow no clearer determination and would best be mapped at various locations along a continuum stretching from one mask to the other, depending on the impression of harmlessness or malevolence that each particular example evokes. According to Pollux: "The Toady and the Parasite are dark-skinned—but not more so than befits the wrestling-ground—and hook-nosed; they aspire to live the good life. The Parasite has more broken ears and is more cheerful, whereas the Toady raises his eyebrows more maliciously" (4.149). Figure 2.8 is only a six or seven on the scale of malevolence: his right eyebrow is raised, but not his left (clearer "Toadies" raise both). Contrast the more relaxed and good-natured appearance of Figure 2.9. The physiognomy of the raised brows shows mischievousness and vehemence; the hook nose indicates shamelessness; the short neck shows a treacherous nature; the hunched shoulders indicate an unfree disposition. This last points to the Parasite/Toady's ambiguous social status: he spends his time in the gymnasium and in the company of gentlemen, dining with the wealthy, but is entirely dependent upon their good will and usually performs servile duties. He carries an oil bottle and a strigil (the former still visible in the left hand, the latter lost from the right hand of Figure 2.8) in order to rub down his patron after a day at the gymnasium. His ears are broken because frequently boxed by

FIGURE 2.9 Terracotta Mask of Parasite, Early 3rd c., Lipari 11188. By permission of the Archaeological Museum "Luigi Bernabò Brea"—Lipari (Eolian Island—Italy).

his patron. He flatters his patron and endures mockery and insults but secretly despises him. The more toadyish of his tribe will betray their patrons the moment they have anything to gain by it. The best Parasites/Toadies are preserved in Roman comedy, where they are given names like Jawbone (Gnatho), Breadgnawer (Artotrogus), and Little Sponge (Peniculus), often explaining how they acquired the nickname in an entrance monologue.

IV. Acting

Old Comic acting was not illusionistic. Everything tended towards artifice: the padding, the oversized phallus, the grotesquely distorted mask, the absurd presuppositions and movements of the plot, even the manner of delivery. Old Comedies are half musical. The chorus's lines, normally a quarter of the play, were always delivered to the music of a piper who remained conspicuously visible in the *orchestra* or on stage from the time the chorus entered until the end of the drama. Actors too spoke barely half their lines: iambic trimeter, the meter of dialogue, was in comedy especially loose and close to natural speech, but the rest was sung to pipes (lyric meters), or chanted (regular meters other than iambic trimeter). Movement was also often unnatural. The chorus danced as it sang, or it performed a stylized march as it chanted (Figure 2.2). This was probably also often true of the actors. Finally, the texts show little concern to make the action believable or the characters consistent. Plutarch justly complained that Aristophanes did nothing to distinguish the language of one character from another. Although Plutarch should have made some allowance for Aristophanes's imitation of the inherently and immediately ridiculous speech of foreigners, or of tragic and dithyrambic poets, this

had more to do with mimicry than character acting. Parmenon, the most famous comic actor of the mid-fourth century, was best remembered for his imitation of a squealing pig (Plut. *Mor.* 18c, 674b–c).

Old Comic acting tends to staginess and virtuoso display, not the illusionism and naturalism that became increasingly popular in tragedy. Just as the plot could be loosely strung between set choral pieces, the acting was sometimes loosely strung between set routines, calculated crowd-pleasers. These are often prepared, carefully "framed" moments that mark off the discrete segments in the action that invite the audience to admire the actor's virtuosity and to give applause. For this reason Old Comedy is particularly fond of narrative modes that frame the artifice (metatheater, self-reference, paratragedy) and the related plot devices that "stage" it (disguise scenes, rehearsals, impersonations). There is indeed room for illusionistic acting in this kind of regime, but only when it is bracketed off as artifice, because illusionistic acting was hostile to Old Comedy's purpose, which was not to create a "suspension of disbelief" but to draw attention to the skill with which it aped other activities, genres, and cultural practices. Figure 2.3 nicely exemplifies how the action is arranged to showcase the actor's mimic talents.

Figure 2.3 shows an abbreviated and foreshortened theater filled by four characters. On the far left and on a higher plane, occupying the space of the audience and simply watching, we see a young man without mask or costume; he is mysteriously labeled *tragoidos* (tragedic poet, actor, or choreut). The other three characters represent actors: they wear masks and comic costume. Letters issue from their mouths, representing lines from the comedy. The old woman on the stage to the right says "I hand him over," the man in the *orchestra* on his tiptoes with raised arms says "he has tied up my hands," and the thuggish-looking character on the left says "Noraretteblo," which is not Greek, and which may indicate that he is a policeman, since in Athens the police function was performed by Scythians. The old woman's phrase is perfectly intelligible and is a formula by which she releases her slave for interrogation or punishment (which in Athenian law were the same thing, since the evidence of slaves was only admissible when extracted under torture). The old man is about to get a beating from the thug with the stick: it was also customary to suspend slaves before whipping them, in order to inflict maximum damage.

For a long time, however, it bothered iconographers that no ropes were visible upon or above the old man's wrists. They suggested that the phrase he speaks meant "he has bound up my hands [with a magical curse]." This presupposes the standard of illusionistic performance that I have just denied for the Old Comic theater; indeed, such a scene could never have been performed in the middle of the *orchestra,* where there is nothing to hang a man from. And yet there is a high degree of (pointedly non-naturalistic) illusionism. The old man is creating the illusion of being suspended (this is why the painter shows him on tiptoes and not actually hanging in the air). The line of his words also suggests, like a wake, the sudden movement as he rises up as if being hoisted by invisible men pulling invisible ropes. But it is what must follow that is of particular interest. He will be beaten, and he must sway his back violently to and fro while continuing

to dance *en pointe* in order to create the illusion of one suspended while beaten. The scene was evidently a favorite precisely because of the bravura performance involved (we have the same kind of beating scene at *Frogs* 632–671). But the important point is that these scenes are not illusionism for its own sake: if believability were important, the scene would either have been omitted or the old man would have been suspended from the *skene*. Attention is deliberately drawn to the absence of ropes, not away from the "unreal." He is beaten in order to show off the extraordinary body control that creates the illusion of a tortured man dangling in the air.

Old Comic actors needed an enormous range of talents. In addition to the gymnastic and balletic skills noted above, they needed an operatic singing voice; actor's monody became increasingly popular in the last two decades of the fifth century, largely because it became increasingly popular in tragedy. Many comic songs are paratragic, but even the parodic songs could be highly original compositions, like the song of the Hoopoe in *Birds,* requiring an extraordinary vocal range and expertise. Breath control was not the least of the necessary vocal and musical talents. The "choker" (*pnigos*) or "long song" (*makron*), a type of patter-song in anapaestic dimeters, usually containing lists, was meant to be delivered without pausing for breath (cf. Pollux 4.112, Σ Ar. *Ach.* 659; Σ Ar. *Eq.* 507, etc.). It is invariably quite short when delivered by the chorus, and one wonders how it acquired its name, but the same form of song when delivered by actors can stretch to extraordinary lengths precisely to create an opportunity for a bravura performance: twenty-eight lines in *Peace* 987–1015, forty-one lines in Mnesimachus's *Hippotrophos,* and an amazing menu of sixty-six lines recited by a cook in Anaxandrides's *Protesilaus* in just one (or two?) breath(s).

New Comedy, by contrast, did pursue illusionism and naturalism for their own sake. All aspects of production point this way. New Comedy dispensed with most of the "unreal" aspects of Old Comedy: *phalloi* and body fat, grotesque masks, highly poetic language, the *mekhane*. It severed the connection with the chorus and virtually got rid of all but the spoken forms of delivery. Its vocabulary was drawn from common speech, a choice praised by Aristotle as most illusionistic ("it deceives well")—Aristotle most admired it in his contemporary, the tragedian Theodorus (*Rhetoric* 1404b: "his seems the voice of natural speech, others' artificial"). The function of drama was, like that of rhetoric, to persuade (or, as Aristotle put it, to "deceive"), and this, Aristotle says, can only be done when words, voice, and character match one another (*Rhetoric* 1408b). Many studies have in fact shown the care with which Menander tailored the vocabulary, expressions, syntax, and contents of speech, not just to specific types but to individual characters, even endowing them with recurrent tics of speech, and sometimes allowing them to be flustered and, as in transcripts of real unrehearsed speech, ungrammatical.

It is surprising, given this context, that controversy could exist over whether (in accordance with Aristotle's prescription) voices were modulated to suit different characters. The surest proof is the frequent direct quotation of other characters in narrative monologues. Quintilian complains that "even if [comic actors] play the part of a youth they nonetheless speak with a quavering or effeminate voice when reporting the speech of an old man, as for example in the prologue of [Menander's] *Hydria,* or of a woman, as

in [Menander's] *Georgos*" (*Inst.* 11.3.91). It cannot have been any different in Menander's day; the use of direct speech without the use of quotatives (introductory words, such as "he said," that mark the quotation as such) is a distinctive feature of Menander's drama. Narratives with frequent and otherwise unmarked changes of voice would be unintelligible without mimicry of the voices quoted. Plato complained precisely about dramatic "imitation in voice and gesture" that required "every kind of pitch and rhythm if it is to be delivered properly" (*Rep.* 397a–c). Surely vocal mimesis is indicated by the admonition of "Euripides" to his kinsmen to "effeminize his voice" when he adopts a female disguise (*Women at the Thesmophoria* 267–268) and Praxagoras's command to the women in male disguise to speak "like men" (*Assemblywomen* 149).

But naturalism in New Comic acting is only part of the story. New Comic acting styles share the same dualism that permits New Comedy to juxtapose naturalistic costumes and masks for free leisure-class gentlemen to grotesque and residually Old Comic costumes and masks for slaves and working-class characters. Hunter (in Easterling and Hall 2002) identifies in Menander a "high" and a "low" acting style. In *Dyskolos,* for example, the low style is associated with the cook Sicon and the slave Getas, whose celebration in the play's final scene reproduces action previously negotiated by respectable characters earlier in the play, but through the distorted mirror of pure farce. After the more serious characters have withdrawn to celebrate the double betrothal of Sostratus and Gorgias to each other's sisters, the slaves begin their own celebration by ragging the misanthrope Cnemon. This happens through a series of door-knocking scenes, a comic shtick since Aristophanes, but in the case of Sostratus and Gorgias, Menander aborted the scenes as soon as the young men showed they had the gumption to call out the cranky old man. Having turned a hackneyed joke into serious drama, Menander now reproduces it, through the agency of the low characters, as violent farce. It is a reversion to full-scale Old Comic style, in which the slave and cook, for the only time ever in extant Menander, chant iambic tetrameters rhythmically to the accompaniment of the piper (metatheatrically addressed in 880 and 910), make obscene jokes, and engage in knockabout. It is also a planned and "staged" performance designed to infuriate Cnemon, although this time it is the comic mode that is framed within the naturalistic. In acting, as in everything else, Greek New Comedy seems an unresolved mixture of naturalism, adopted from tragedy, and Old Comic burlesque.

Further Reading

Green 1995 and Green 2008 offer a bibliographical survey of all literature relating to the production of ancient drama from 1987 to 2006. We lack a general work on the evolution of performance styles in the Greek theater. The best overviews are Wiles 2000 and the collection Easterling and Hall 2002, in particular the essays by Hall, Wilson, Valakas, Green, Csapo, Sifakis, Handley, Hunter, and Lada-Richards, though the emphasis in most of these essays is on tragedy. All aspects of Old Comic production are excellently served by Revermann 2006. Wiles 1991 contains much of interest on the performance of Menander.

The most important works on comic artifacts, though forbidding to the nonexpert, are Webster and Green 1978 for Old Comedy and Webster, Green, and Seeberg 1995 for New Comedy. Far more accessible introductions to the kinds of information that theater-related artifacts can yield are Green 1994, for a general overview; Taplin 1993, for West Greek vase painting; Nervegna 2013 for art illustrating scenes from Menander; and Csapo 2010, which also discusses the reception of theatre and actors in antiquity. Comic acting is a virgin field: Green 1997 and Green's essay in Easterling and Hall 2002 are pioneering studies in comic gestural language. while Csapo 1993 investigates the performance of the running slave shtick. Recent excavation and research have rendered obsolete all the standard discussions in English of theater topography. The most reliable and accessible general introductions are in French (Moretti 2001) and German (Goette 1995, Froning 2002). Roselli 2011 is a comprehensive study of the Athenian theater audience.

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DIONYSIAC FESTIVALS IN ATHENS AND THE FINANCING OF COMIC PERFORMANCES

ANDRONIKE MAKRES

THE institution of liturgies in Ancient Athens was a system whereby rich Athenians were assigned the task of providing funding for special public needs. There were two kinds of liturgy, military and festival. The major military one was the trierarchy, for which a rich funder (trierarch) equipped and commanded a trireme (warship) for a year; the main festival liturgy was the choregia (pl. choregiai), for which a rich funder (choregos, pl. choregoi) took charge of producing a dithyrambic, tragic, or comic chorus that performed at a public festival. Since the performances took place in a competitive context (the agon), the choregia was also termed an "agonistic liturgy." This chapter focuses on the latter type of liturgy, the choregia. It first offers some brief remarks on the ideological foundations of this institution, and then discusses the choregia for comedies performed in the dramatic contests at the two major city festivals, the City (or Great) Dionysia and the Lenaea, both in honor of the god Dionysus. Next, discussion turns to the duties and responsibilities of the choregos, and after that, to the monuments he dedicated when victorious in the festival contests. Theatrical performances, of course, were not events administered only at the central level of the polis; demes, too, had their own local theaters and festivals, and a subsequent section of this chapter is devoted to comedy at the Rural Dionysia in the demes of Attica. The end of the institution of the choregia in the last years of the fourth century BCE forms an appropriate—and controversial—subject for the conclusion.

IDEOLOGICAL FOUNDATIONS OF THE INSTITUTION OF CHOREGIA

The introduction of the choregia raises questions regarding its ideological founda-
tions; e.g., was it fundamentally a democratic or an aristocratic institution? From one
perspective, the institution of liturgies exemplifies fundamental characteristics of the
developing Athenian democracy. At the operational level, the institution manifests
the expansion of state control into the economic, religious, and military spheres that
was crucial to the entrenchment of democracy. The liturgical system formed an inte-
gral part of the mechanism that managed the public affairs of the city; its organization
and operation were based on the Cleisthenic civic order that was the foundation of the
democratic system. On the ideological level, one could argue that the institution of litur-
gies relied on a nonaristocratic principle of cooperation that imposed not only a moral
but also a statutory obligation on privileged or qualified individuals to contribute to the
common good (see the expression *ta prostattomena* "state orders," typically used when
referring to liturgies in Isaeus 4. 27; 7. 36; Lysias 7. 30–1; 16. 171; 18. 18; 21. 23; Dem. 38.
26; 47. 48). Thus, by emphasizing an intrinsic relation between liturgies and democracy,
one could argue—rightly, I think—that the institution of liturgies is more likely to have
emerged under the democratic order, and so its introduction might be dated soon after
the Cleisthenic reforms (508 BCE).

On the other hand, liturgies can also be viewed as an institutionalized version of
aristocratic largess, thus representing a survival of an aristocratic past, since the per-
formance of liturgies was proof of wealth and a source of prestige that might lead to
prominent positions in society. In support of this view, one can adduce J. K. Davies's
seminal work (1971) that shows that the Athenians who are known to have performed
liturgies in ancient Athens were also those who constituted the dominant class in terms
of public administration and political power.

Concerning the nature of the institution of choregia the following points can be made:

1. Under the democratic order, a high degree of organization is manifest in the
   public affairs of the city of Athens; specific religious and administrative tasks
   were precisely set for state authorities or citizens to carry out, and records of
   payments and accomplished duties were kept (Rhodes 2012: 57–77; Scafuro
   2010 and Scafuro 2013, Sinclair 1988, Stockton 1990). The institution of choregia
   reflects the same degree of organization.

2. From a financial point of view, it was important that the liturgical financing of
   festivals functioned as a regular source of revenue for the state in the sense that
   expenses that would otherwise be incurred by the state were instead transferred
   to wealthy individuals. Although the Athenians did not have a formal budget
   until at least the end of the fifth century BCE (Rhodes 2006: 263 = Rhodes

2010: 299), they did have some idea of their likely expenditures and revenues, and the liturgical system was one basic mechanism that was meant to strike a balance between the two.

3. On the ideological level, both the conception and the operation of the liturgical system were governed by democratic principles and values: it provided a mechanism for "taxing" the wealthy class; it ensured that their resources were used for the advancement of the majority's interest; and it ensured that those propertied individuals were not only financially but also personally involved in those duties, thus forcing the wealthy to be involved in the affairs of the democratic polis and preventing the alienation of the upper class from the rest of society. Finally, the reliance of the institution of liturgies, of which choregia was a part, upon the principles of *philotimia* (the desire or eagerness of an individual to be the recipient of public honors), of *philonikia* (the desire or eagerness to be the winner in a contest), and of public *charis* (a sense of obligation or gratitude of the community towards individual contributors) offered an alternative to upper-class attitudes: instead of pursuing narrow-minded self-interest that was potentially disruptive to the well-being of society, wealthy individuals were consistently challenged to experience the gratification of having pursued and served common causes.

4. Finally, it should be noted that while democratic principles may have guided the legislation that made the choregia and other liturgies work, the cooperation of the wealthy, and especially the harmonious fit of their own goals and sociopolitical aspirations with the democratic community, were crucial factors in the successful operation of the institution.

The two major dramatic festivals were the City or Great Dionysia and the Lenaea, both held annually in the urban center of Athens. The City Dionysia took place during Elaphebolion (the ninth month of the archontic year, approximately equivalent to our March) and were administered by the principal magistrate of Ancient Athens, the eponymous archon, who was designated simply archon. The festival served many ends, and two important and interrelated ones were to reinforce the civic identity of the Athenians and to advertise the democracy as a successful system of government (see Goldhill 1987, Connor 1989, and Rhodes 2011: 73–74). The City Dionysia comprised both dramatic (tragic and comic) and dithyrambic competitions. The Lenaea were held in Gamelion (the seventh month, a winter month approximately equivalent to our January) and were administered by the member of the board of nine archons designated basileus (king), who was primarily a religious official. The Lenaea comprised only dramatic competitions, not dithyrambic ones.

The official participation of comedy in the City Dionysia began, according to the *Suda*, in 487/6 BCE with a contest in which the victory was won by Chionides. Aristotle reports the admission of comedy to the festival in this way: "it was at a later time when the archon granted a comic chorus; previously the performers were volunteers" (*Poetics* 1449b καὶ γὰρ χορὸν κωμῳδῶν ὀψέ ποτε ὁ ἄρχων ἔδωκεν, ἀλλ' ἐθελονταὶ ἦσαν). The

archon's grant was "late"; probably Aristotle means "late" in comparison to the archon's grants of choruses to tragedy and dithyramb, but the reasons for the delay are not specified. Probably performances of comedy had not been absent from the City Dionysia before 487/6 BCE but had been held in an unofficial manner (see Rusten chapter 1, pp. 36–39). In Aristotle's report, the *official* participation of comedy is harbingered by the archon's grant of the chorus for comedies; the state had now taken control of the festival contests (the agon) through its highest magistrate (the archon), who became the main figure involved in the choregic organization of the City Dionysia. Probably the act of the archon's granting the choruses to the comic poets implies that the choruses were financed by liturgies; the choregic system was thus probably operating at least as early as 487/6 BCE, when comedy officially entered the City Dionysia, as well as earlier in support of the tragic and dithyrambic contests.

The performances of comedy (and of tragedy and dithyramb) were held in a competitive (agonistic) context. The first epigraphically documented comic victory (though the inscription mentioning it was inscribed much later) is that of Magnes at the City Dionysia in 473/2 BCE, with Xenocleides as choregos. In the same year, the victorious choregos in tragedy was Pericles, with Aeschylus as the poet. The epigraphic document that supplies this evidence is a much-discussed inscription known as the *Fasti* (IG II² 2318, *DFA²*: 71–2 and Millis and Olson 2012: 5–58) which listed all the victories at the City Dionysia starting from the point when the contests were formally introduced (perhaps in 501 BCE—unfortunately, a few of its first entries are lost). For each year the *Fasti* recorded first the archon's name, then the victorious tribes and choregoi for the dithyrambic competitions, then the victorious choregos and poet in comedy, and finally the victorious choregos and poet in tragedy (see Millis and Olson 2012:6, and 10 for an example of the entries in the Greek text).

The City Dionysia and the Appointment of its Choregoi for Comedy

The archon, as soon as he has entered on his office, first makes a proclamation that whatever each man possessed before his entry into office he shall possess and control until the end of it. Next he appoints *choregoi* [individuals who would be in charge of producing the choruses for the performances at the festivals] for the tragedies, the three richest of all the Athenians; formerly he also appointed five *choregoi* for the comedies, but these are now nominated by the tribes. The tribes nominate *choregoi* for the Dionysia (for men's choruses, boys' choruses, and comedies) […] The archon receives the names of the choregoi who were nominated by the tribes. Then he holds challenges to an exchange [*antidoseis*], and introduces into court claims for exemption [*skepseis*] when a man claims that he has performed this liturgy before, or is exempt because he has performed another liturgy

and his period of exemption is not yet over, or has not reached the required age (*choregoi* for boys' choruses must be over forty years old). (Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 56.2–3; translation based on P. J. Rhodes, 1984: 101–102.)

This passage from the Aristotelian *Athenian Constitution* is more or less the only available evidence on the procedure followed for the appointment of choregoi in comedy at the City Dionysia in Ancient Athens. At the time when the Aristotelian treatise was written, the second half of the fourth century BCE, the choregoi for comedy at the Dionysia were nominated by the ten Athenian tribes.[1]

We are not told how the nomination procedure itself was carried out. Nomination of choregoi by tribes, however, was a regular feature in contests that were tribally organized. A tribally organized festival contest meant that tribal authorities were involved both in the organization of the contests and in the procedure of appointing the choregoi; once appointed, the choregoi represented the tribe to which they belonged, they recruited the chorus among the members of their own tribes, and a victory was not considered an individual one, the choregos's, but a collective one—the victory belonged to the tribe. Dithyramb was tribally organized, but the tragic and comic contests were not, and this remained the case in spite of the change in the procedure of nominating choregoi for comedy from the tribes.

The distinction between nomination and appointment is noteworthy (see, e.g., Dem. 21.13, where speeches and recriminations were allegedly exchanged between archon and *epimeletai* when a choregos had not been appointed for the tribe Pandionis). The nomination of some choregoi seems always to have been the responsibility of tribal authorities (see, e.g., Dem. 20.130, referring to the exemption from liturgies of the descendants of Harmodius and Aristogeiton: unspecified choregoi nominated by tribes; 39.7: unspecified choregoi nominated by tribes since ca. at least 349 BCE, the approximate date of the speech) and was a less final act than the actual appointment made by the archon, which indicates that the archon was the authority with the last word in those arrangements. How did the ten Cleisthenic tribes nominate five choregoi for comedy at the City Dionysia? The tribal authorities responsible for their nomination in the fourth century are known as the *epimeletai* ("supervisors") of the tribes (see Dem. 21.13; also Traill 1986: 79–92 and MacDowell 1990: 237), with one coming from each *trittys* in each of the ten tribes, thereby producing a total of thirty (see n. 1 for "*trittys*"); the *epimeletai* were the most important tribal officials, whose range of duties included supervision of the tribe's funds. There is no evidence for the time of year when the nomination procedure for choregoi was held except for *Argument* II, 2 to Dem. 21 (a not particularly reliable document), namely that within the first month after the end of the festival, choregoi

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[1] Since 508 BCE, when Cleisthenes introduced his reforms, the population of Athens had been divided into ten tribes, each tribe comprising members of local communities (demes) situated in each of the three geographical subdivisions (*trittyes*) of Attica, namely the city (*asty*), the inland (*mesogaia*), and the coast (*paralia*). The demes were the local communities of Athens; they were both autonomous sociopolitical entities and constituents of the polis (see the comprehensive study on the demes of Attica Whitehead 1986).

for the next festival were nominated; if this is true, nominations by the tribal authorities for the City Dionysia took place in the month Mounichion, the third month before the beginning of the new archontic year.

The same passage from the *Athenian Constitution* also tells us that earlier, at an unspecified time, the archon had appointed five choregoi for comedy. Unfortunately no explanation is given for the subsequent change to nomination by tribes (to be followed by appointment by the archon) nor for the odd consequence, namely that choregoi for comedy at the Dionysia were nominated by tribes even though comedy was not itself a tribally organized contest like that of dithyramb. Perhaps the change suggests a limitation on the archon's powers, since he would now no longer be able to choose freely among the men who were members of the liturgical class (Davies, 1971: xx); instead, he would have to draw on a restricted pool of men nominated by the tribes. The change could thus be viewed as a further step in the gradual democratization of the official procedures involved in the choregic system, since the former concentration of power in the hands of the archon enabled him, if he wished, to choose and combine poets with choregoi on the basis of political sympathies.[2]

The date for the change in procedure for appointing comic choregoi can only be conjectured. J. Keaney (1970: 128–134, 330, nn. 17, 19) suggested that it took place around the middle of the fourth century and associated it "with one of the main themes in the historical part of *AP*," which is "that the demos appropriated powers which had originally belonged to the archons and to the Areopagos" (see also Rhodes commentary ad. loc.). In any case, we can be certain that in the fifth century BCE, the archon was responsible for appointing both the three choregoi for tragedy and the five choregoi for comedy at the City Dionysia. He had to choose among the wealthiest Athenians who had to pay for the cost of the production of the dramatic choruses. This may have been an oral agreement concluded on the spot, and it seems that the archon's discretion during this process was not officially restricted or controlled in any way.

The Lenaea and its Choregoi

The basileus managed the contests at the Lenaea (Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 57.1) and appointed the choregoi for the tragic and comic performances. In Dem. 39. 9, the basileus is mentioned as being responsible for appointing liturgists; it follows that these liturgists were choregoi for the Lenaea. The sources do not provide any details on the procedure; probably it was similar to that carried out by the archon at the City Dionysia. Davies (1967: 34 and nn. 17, 21;

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2 It is also logical to assume that the *epimeletai* who were responsible for the nomination of the choregoi for comedy reflected a democratic development; see Theophr. *Char*. 26.ii, where the oligarchic man objects to the appointment of democratic *epimeletai* to help the archon with the organization of a procession; also Rhodes 1981: 627.

similarly *DFA²* 1988: 40) dated the liturgical financing of the comic contests at the Lenaea to the 440s, the years in which the first entries for the victorious comic poets appear on the didascalic inscription, IG II ² 2325 (Millis and Olson 2012: 178). Davies (ibid.) further suggested that the tragic contest as well as its liturgical financing at the Lenaea may have begun in 432 BCE, at least a decade after the comic contest had entered the competition.

The Lenaea was the only festival at which metics were allowed to perform choregiai and noncitizens were allowed to perform as chorus members (see schol. Arist. *Wealth* 953: οὐκ ἐξῆν δὲ ξένον χορεύειν ἐν τῷ ἀστικῷ χορῷ…ἐν δὲ τῷ Ληναίῳ ἐξῆν ἐπεὶ καὶ μέτοικοι ἐχορήγουν; 'It was not possible for a foreigner to become a chorus member in the civic chorus [i.e., the City Dionysia]; at the Lenaean one, however, this was possible because metics were also appointed choregoi'). There is also epigraphic evidence that may attest the choregia of metics at the Lenaea, namely, a fragmentary list of men and *phialai* (vessels) dedicated by individuals who had performed liturgies ([φιάλας λειτουργι]κάς; Lewis 1968; Meyer 2010: 126–129). The list, dated to 331/0, includes the choregoi at the Lenaea and thus ll. 46–47 of *fragment d* could be restored as the name of the resident deme of a metic who was one of the choregoi for comedy.[3] The choregoi for comedy who had dedicated *phialai* in this list are named *before* the choregoi for tragedy; this order is consistent with that of the entries referring to the Lenaea in the didascalic inscription (see IG II² 2319–2323; *DFA²* 1988: 107 and Millis and Olson 2012: 59–118).

Another piece of epigraphic evidence that more certainly attests metic choregia at the Lenaea is an important dedicatory monument (Ag I 7168; SEG 32. 239, Camp 1986: 53, Milanezi 2004: 210–15), the marble base of a herm found in situ in front of the Royal Stoa (the seat of the basileus) in the Athenian agora that was dedicated by the basileus Onesippus (see Figure 3.1).

While he was holding office as basileus (ca. 400 BCE), Onesippus commemorated the victorious theater personnel at the Lenaea:[4] in comedy, the metic choregos Sosicrates, a "copper dealer" (his status as metic is evident from the absence of a patronymic), together with the poet Nicochares, and in tragedy, the choregos Stratonicus son of Straton (his citizen status is evident from his patronymic), together with the poet Megacleides.[5] Once again, the name of the victorious choregos for comedy was recorded before the one for tragedy. It is unclear whether this ordering suggests that the contest in comedy at the Lenaea was more important than that of tragedy or that it predated the admission of tragedy—or if it is simply an inexplicable habit.

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[3] A citizen is characteristically designated by his first name, then his father's name, followed by his demotic, i.e., the name of the deme in which he was registered (X the son of Y from the deme Z). A metic was not registered in any deme (thus showing he was not a citizen); he was designated by first name and name of the deme of residence (X, in [ἐν] deme Y residing [οἰκῶν]).

[4] It should be noted that this is not a choregic monument (as Goette 2007: 124–125 has misleadingly stated) but a dedication of the basileus commemorating his service.

[5] The Greek text runs as follows (see Figure 3.1):
Ὀνήσιππος Αἰτίο Κηφισιεὺς βασιλεὺς ἀνέθηκε[ν].
ο[ἵδ]ε Ὀνησίππο βασιλεύοντος χορηγõντες ἐνίκων·
κωμωιδῶν·   τραγωιδῶν·
Σωσικράτης ἐχορήγε χαλκοπώλης,   Στρατόνικος ἐχορήγε Στράτωνος,
Νικοχάρης ἐδίδασκε.   Μεγακλείδης ἐδίδασκε.

FIGURE 3.1 The dedication of basileus Onesippus (ca. 400 BCE) (Ag I 7168; SEG 32. 239). In line 3 (left) one can read κωμωιδῶν, and below it the name (Sosicrates) of the victorious metic choregos at the comic contest at the Lenaea. The name of the victorious poet Nicochares follows below. Photo by Craig Mauzy, American School of Classical Studies at Athens: Agora Excavations.

No tribally organized contests took place at the Lenaea, only contests of tragedy and comedy. This difference from the performances at the City Dionysia, together with the differences noted in the preceding paragraphs (namely that metics could serve as choregoi of comedy and that comedies may have been performed at the Lenaea before tragedies were performed there), is suggestive of another difference. It may be that the change that occurred at the City Dionysia before the middle of the fourth century, whereby choregoi for comedy were no longer appointed directly by the archon but were nominated first by the tribes, applied *only* to the City Dionysia (*pace* MacDowell 1989: 67): it is highly unlikely that tribal authorities would ever nominate metics, as they were not formal members of tribes. The wealthy metic choregos for comedy at the Lenaea will have been appointed by the basileus.

DUTIES AND RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE CHOREGOS

It seems that specific laws defined the duties of the choregos (see Dem. 4. 35–6) and that magistrates who were responsible for the contests at the festivals kept a close eye on the choregos's activities and the preparation of the chorus in general (see Xen. *Hiero*