CARL A. SHAW

SATYRIC PLAY

The Evolution of Greek Comedy and Satyr Drama

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CARL A. SHAW

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For my parents.

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

1. All dates are BCE, unless otherwise noted.
2. Unattributed translations are my own.
3. The spelling of Greek terms, names, and play titles in English requires a certain amount of compromise, which occasionally leads to inconsistency. For reasons of familiarity, I try to follow popular convention in all instances. Typically, this means employing Latinate forms, but occasionally convention calls for a more faithful transliteration of the Greek (e.g., Cratinus' *Dionysalexandros*, not *Dionysalexandrus*).
4. The abbreviations of ancient authors' names and works adhere to those used in the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ABV	Beazley, J. D. *Attic Black-Figure Vase-Painters*. Oxford, 1956.
AP	Palatine Anthology.
ARV²	Beazley, J. D. *Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painters*, 2d edn. Oxford, 1963.
CAD	Csapo, E. and W. J. Slater. *The Context of Ancient Drama*. Ann Arbor, MI, 1994.
FGrH	Jacoby, F. *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*. Leiden, 1923–1958.
FRH²	Beck, H. and U. Walter (eds.). *Die Frühen Römischen Historiker*, 2nd edn, 2 vols. Darmstadt, 2001–2004.
GP	Gow, A. S. F., and D. L. Page. *The Greek Anthology: Hellenistic Epigrams*. Cambridge, 1965.
IG II²	*Inscriptiones Graecae: Inscriptiones Atticae Euclidis anno posteriores*, 2nd edn. Berlin, 1913–1940.
IG Urb. Rom.	Moretti, Luigi. *Inscriptiones Graecae Urbis Romae*, 4 vols. in 5 parts. Rome, 1968–1990.
K-A	Kassel, R. and C. Austin. *Poetae comici Graeci*. Berlin, 1983–.
KPS	Krumeich, R., N. Pechstein, and B. Seidensticker. *Das griechische Satyrspiel*. Darmstadt, 1999.
LSJ	Liddel, H. G. and R. Scott. *A Greek-English Lexicon,* 9th edn., rev. H. S. Jones and R. MacKenzie, and suppl. P. G. W. Glare. Oxford, 1996.
P.Oxy.	*The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*. London, 1898–.
RE	Pauly, A., G. Wissowa, and W. Kroll. *Real-Encyclopädie d. klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*. Berlin, 1893–.
SEG	*Supplementum epigraphicum Graecum*. Leiden, 1924–.
SIG	Dittenberger, W. *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*, 3rd edn., 4 vols. Leipzig, 1915–1924

Stefanis   Stefanis, I. E. Διονυσιακοί τεχνίται: συμβολές στην προσωπογραφία του θεάτρου και της μουσικής τών αρχαίων Ελλήνων. Iraklio, Crete, 1988.

TrGF   Kannicht, R., S. Radt, and B. Snell, *Tragicorum Graecorum fragmenta*, vols. I–V (vol. II, 2nd edn.) Göttingen, 1971–2004.

Satyric Play

| Introduction

IN ARISTOPHANES' *THESMOPHORIAZUSAE*, THE tragedian Agathon proclaims that a dramatist must adopt the personalities and behaviors of his characters to depict them successfully onstage, to which Euripides' unnamed relative responds (157–58): "Well, let me know when you're writing satyr plays; I'll get behind you with my hard-on and show you how."[1] This scene offers a punchy, aggressive joke at the expense of Aristophanes' fellow dramatist, combining the sexual nature of satyrs and satyr drama with the abusive and sexual humor of comedy.[2] It also provides the only extant passage in all of ancient Greek comedy to mention satyr plays (σατύρους), which may help explain why "comedy's engagement with satyr drama...has never been a favourite of classical scholarship."[3] But the relationship between comedy and satyr drama was not as insignificant as the remains of comedy suggest. From sixth-century proto-drama, through classical productions at the Athenian City Dionysia, to bookish Alexandrian plays of the third century, the remains of comic and satyric performances reveal a range of literary, aesthetic, historical, religious, and geographical connections.

Since antiquity, scholars have studied comedy and tragedy through their mutual relationship, comparing and contrasting them, using one to better understand the other, but satyr play has largely been left out of comparative studies of ancient drama.[4] Aristotle sets an important, but unfortunate,

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[1] Translation adapted from Henderson (2002).

[2] Throughout this study, the terms "comedy," "comic," and "comedic" are used not in the general sense of "humorous," but rather to refer to the genre of Greek stage comedy from the fifth through third centuries.

[3] Bakola (2010, 82).

[4] See especially Taplin's influential work on tragedy and comedy (1983; 1986; 1996). Cf. Gredley (1996), Rosen (2005), Foley (2008), and Silk (2013). For a discussion of comedy's use of tragedy and paratragedy, see Rau (1967), Silk (1993), and Mastromarco (2006). On the appropriation of fifth-century tragic plots and themes by poets of New Comedy, see Katsouris (1975), Goldberg (1980, 17), and Porter (1999–2000). For tragic poets' use of comic elements, see Herington (1967), Knox (1979), Seidensticker (1982), Taplin (1986), Gregory (1999–2000), Dobrov (2001, 70–85), and Sommerstein (2002). For a collection of essays on *kômôidotragôidia* in the fifth century, see Medda et al. (2007). In all of these studies, "There remains, of course, the notorious question of what to do with Greek satyr play" (Rosen: 2005, 265n1). Cf. Taplin (1986, 163).

precedent when, at the start of his *Poetics* (1447a13–15), he lists genres that were currently performed at Athenian festivals, but overlooks one major form of "mimesis:" satyr play. He establishes instead a theatrical binary that juxtaposes tragic/high/serious poetry with comic/low/trivial poetry, creating a system that fails to accommodate the generic complexities of satyr play.[5] This trend has continued into modern scholarship, where it has become commonplace to note that tragedy and comedy are "fascinatingly related" but "on the whole reject…rather than invite overlap,"[6] and to ignore satyr drama almost completely.

As we will see, however, satyr play is "fascinatingly related" to both genres but *invites* rather than rejects overlap. Satyric drama was performed alongside tragedy and comedy at the Athenian City Dionysia for centuries, and it shares the same formal theatrical elements: performance space, time, and occasion, actors speaking in verse, a chorus dancing and singing lyrics, masks, costumes, musical instruments, and similar meters. Traditionally, though, stress has been placed on the tragic-satyric relationship, since satyr plays were composed by tragedians and played an integral part of the tragic competition.[7] They were performed after a set of three tragedies by the same tragic actors and choreuts and, like tragedy, they were typically conservative in their use of meter.[8] Non-satyric characters also wore the same dignified costumes that they did in tragedy and, it seems, moved, danced, and gestured in the same manner.

But satyr drama also had a substantial relationship with comedy. Both genres regularly conclude with happy endings and share many of the same characters, plots, titles, and themes. The greatest point of contact, however, is related to satyr drama's chorus of satyrs and their father, Silenus. The satyric costume (though not as grotesque as costume in comedy) is similarly "other"

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[5] Griffith (2008, quote on 62) has provided a useful critique of Aristotle's comic-tragic dyad, showing that "as a pair these two 'types' do not begin to exhaust, or even exemplify in any adequate way, the possibilities of dramatic experience; and certainly they do not do justice to the chronological, generic, and geographical variety of the ancient Greek theatrical traditions." To illustrate the limitations of the Aristotelian binary, Griffith concentrates primarily on the romantic, "middle-brow" genre of satyr drama.

[6] Taplin (1986, 173 and 163).

[7] See especially Easterling (1997b, 40), Voelke (2001), Seidensticker (2003, 120), Hall (2006, 142–69), and Griffith (2002; 2005a; 2010). Didascalic records (e.g., *IG* II² 2319–23) indicate that satyr drama was not judged on its own, and no prize was offered to the best "satyr dramatist" or actor of satyr play until the second half of the fourth century, when the genre was separated from the tragedian's multi-play production and staged as an opening act (during this period, it is possible that composition of the yearly satyr play may have fallen to a comic poet). Cf. Ion of Chios (*ca.* 490–420, *ap.* Plutarch, *Per.* 5.3), who conveys the perceived interconnectedness of tragedy and satyr drama: "Like a tragic production, *aretê* (excellence) should have its share of the satyric," (ὥσπερ τραγικὴν διδασκαλίαν, ἀξιοῦντα τὴν ἀρετὴν ἔχειν τι πάντως καὶ σατυρικὸν μέρος).

[8] For a detailed treatment of the formal and conceptual connections between tragedy and satyr play, see esp. Griffith (2002; 2005a, 166–72; 2010), Seaford (1984, 44–48), and KPS (12–34).

than the Athenian ideal and has a comparable focus on the phallus,[9] and satyrs regularly use language of the lower register: colloquialisms, non-verbal sounds, word play, and sexual innuendo, as well as references to food, breasts, buttocks, penises, farting, crotch-grabbing, erections, chamber pots, and other items and acts not found in tragedy.[10] The stage action of satyrs also includes ecstatic dancing, leaps and bounds, crawling on the ground, and masturbatory gestures.[11] And after satyric drama was divorced from the tragic production in the later fourth century, it included elements traditionally associated with Old Comedy, such as overt topical references, personal invective, and greater metrical freedom.[12] Comedy sometimes even uses a chorus of satyrs.[13]

Despite these connections to comic and tragic performance, satyr drama was neither comedy nor tragedy, and as a separate genre, it deserves to be reintegrated into comparative studies of ancient theater. My analysis will concentrate on satyr play and comedy, arguing that these genres were conceptually closer than satyr drama and tragedy, despite being formally more distant.[14] Tragedy and satyr play look very similar textually, and it is often difficult for modern scholars to distinguish tragic fragments from satyric ones, but the original performances would have presented a much clearer generic distinction.[15] The chorus of satyrs, which was the defining feature of satyr play and never appeared in tragedy, ensured that the ancient audience did not mistake satyr drama for tragedy or vice versa.[16] A satyr was a half-man, half-horse hybrid,

[9] On the otherness of comic choruses, see Rothwell (2007, 33–34) and Foley (2000). Cf. Bierl (2001, 98), Bowie (1993, 13), and Seeberg (1995, 7). For images of choreuts wearing satyr costume, see figs. 0.1, 0.2, 0.3, 2.11, 2.12, and 3.1.

[10] Sommerstein (2002a) shows that tragedy sometimes contains comic diction as well, but the character and quantity of satyr drama's humorous diction outdo tragedy's without necessarily approaching that of comedy.

[11] The Pronomos Vase (*ca.* 410, fig. 0.1 and 0.1a) provides the most helpful visual record of the satyr chorus, depicting a group of young men wearing furry costume shorts with tail and phallus attached. All of the choreuts carry a satyr mask, except for one who has already placed it over his head. He alone assumes the satyric persona, dancing, flailing his arms and legs, and facing the viewer in an obscenely sexual manner. On the comic and vulgar aspects of frontality, see Lissarrague (1990b, 55–57).

[12] See chapter 6 for more on post-classical satyr drama.

[13] Comedies with a chorus of satyrs were offered by the fifth-century dramatists Ecphantides, Cratinus (twice), Callias, Phrynichus, and the fourth-century playwrights Timocles (twice) and, perhaps, Ophelio. On comedy's use of satyrs and relevant bibliography, see chapter 4.

[14] Seidensticker (1979, 247–48) similarly maintains that satyr drama's connections to comedy are deeper and more varied than to tragedy: "Die typischen Elemente des Satyrspiels zeigt, daß seine Beziehungen zur Komödie vielfältig sind und tiefer gehen als die eher äußerlichen Verbindungen mit der Tragödie." Cf. Seaford (1984, 5): "In its obscenity, hilarity, and joyful endings satyric drama resembles comedy, from which it is at the same time sharply distinct: in form it appears to resemble tragedy."

[15] Griffith (2008; 2010, 52) is one of the few scholars to view satyr drama as "a dramatic form with its own distinct and positive appeal," although he tends to stress how satyr drama and tragedy (rather than comedy) "play together." On the difficulty differentiating Sophocles' tragic and satyric fragments, see Griffith (2006, 52).

[16] The only known example of a satyr play without a chorus of satyrs is Euripides' *Alcestis* (438), but as I show in chapter 4, this performance was likely an anomaly based on a recent edict

with a balding head, pointed ears, long tail, and constantly erect phallus,[17] and the satyr's character was just as complex as his form. He was a companion of Dionysus with greater wisdom and divinity than mankind, but he was also more base than man, with inexhaustible animal appetites for wine, dance, and sex.[18] For the Athenian theater goer, the presence of such a paradoxically sexual, amusing, and semi-divine chorus of satyrs differentiated satyric drama from tragedy, despite its obvious integration within the "tragic experience." A satyr play could never be staged in place of a tragedy because its chorus was too far outside the capacity of the tragic genre, but a satyr play could, in theory, be performed in place of a comedy.[19] Even if satyric drama did not precisely embody the literary trends and dominant features of comedy at any given time, the capaciousness of the comic genre could always accommodate satyr play.

Comic-Satyric Interplay

The guiding principle for understanding how and why comedy and satyr drama interacted over the course of centuries is best illustrated by Alastair Fowler's observation that every literary work alters the genres to which it relates.[20] Although a comic or satyric performance would have had the greatest effect on its own genre, these performances were so closely related that each also affected the other genre. They had a substantial contextual relationship, since both were performed during the same period at the same religious festival for centuries (in Athens, at least, at the City Dionysia), and employed many of the same theatrical techniques (chorus, actors, dialogue, costume, etc.). But comedy and satyr drama's relationship was also influenced by their shared generic territory, by their related ritual (pre-)history, and by their overlapping aesthetic functions.

forbidding comedy. Sutton (1980c, 180–90) suggests that other "pro-satyric" plays may have existed (e.g., Euripides' *Electra* and *Orestes*), but his labeling of tragedies as satyr drama without any ancient support seems imprudent. On the satyr chorus, see esp. Seidensticker (2003).

[17] The physical characteristics of satyrs sometimes vary in their degree of humanness and beast-liness. For example, they were generally depicted with human feet but could also have a horse's hooves (e.g., figs. 2.6 and 2.10b), and they were traditionally portrayed with an erect, horse-sized phallus but could also have a more human-sized member, especially in theatrical costume. Satyrs were traditionally man-horse creatures, but through time—perhaps through associations with the god Pan—they began to be thought of and depicted as goat-men. On the physical nature of the satyr, see Brommer (1940, 222–28), Seaford (1984, 5–10) and KPS (1999, 19). Cf. Hedreen (1992; 2007), who prefers the term silen to satyr.

[18] On the indeterminate nature of the satyr, see Voelke (2001, 53–90). For specialized treatment of the "wildness" and "sexual nature" of satyrs, see Lissarrague (1990b and 1993).

[19] This would perhaps be similar to the (hypothetical) experience of staging Menander's comedies during the heyday of Old Comedy: while the audience would have certainly noted the novelty of New Comedy, it would still "be" comedy. Griffith (2006, 53) sees satyr drama's romantic "middle" status "as a sub-genre, or gradation, within the 'high.' " Formally, this is true, but I suggest that the humorous elements of satyr play make it conceptually a gradation within the "low."

[20] Fowler (1982, 23).

Comedy from the fifth to third centuries can be characterized as a dramatic performance intended to amuse or raise laughter in an audience, and satyr drama from the same period can be characterized as a dramatic performance with a chorus of satyrs.[21] Nothing in these descriptions inherently suggests generic overlap, but there is a certain fluidity between these bounds. Comic plays that incorporated a chorus of satyrs could technically be labeled satyr play. Even more important is the fact that satyr drama (whether romantic, rustic, and mythological, or satirical, urban, and topical) was defined by its satyr chorus. Although satyrs were simultaneously "high" and "low" figures, they were always trying to get a laugh with their animalistic, playfully rowdy, and, above all, sexual behavior. Cyllene expresses this point lucidly in Sophocles' *Ichneutae*: "All you [satyrs] do you do for the sake of fun! ... Cease to expand your smooth phallus with delight. You should not make silly jokes and chatter, so that the gods will make you shed tears to make me laugh."[22] The satyrs masturbate for fun and laughter, both their own and their audience's. Aristophanes' *Thesmophoriazusae* (quoted above) even seems to essentialize satyr drama as a genre of "hard-ons." The satyrs' sexual humor is intended to amuse and raise a laugh, but this is also the aim of Greek stage comedy.[23] The satyrs' humorous qualities do not mean that satyr drama *was* comedy, but that it was comedic. Satyr drama met the minimum criteria to fit comedy's generic description, and comedy (if it contained a chorus of satyrs) met the minimum criteria to fit satyr drama's generic description. The effect of this relationship is similar to Henry Home, Lord Kames' (1762, v.3, 219) artful description of literary compositions: comedy and satyr play "run into each other, precisely like colours: in their strong tints they are easily distinguished; but are susceptible of so much variety, and take on so many different forms, that we never can say where one species ends and another begins."[24]

In addition to sharing generic space during the fifth and fourth centuries, comedy and satyr drama also had historical connections to the Dionysiac *kômos*

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[21] These descriptions cannot begin to satisfy the complexities of comedy and satyr drama, but since genre is a flexible and shifting concept, "it is neither possible nor even desirable to arrive at a very high degree of precision in using generic terms," (Fowler: 1982, 130). This is especially true when trying to cover all plays examined in the study, since they come from various periods and locations. Griffith (2005; 2006; 2010) has convincingly shown that satyr drama of the classical period was primarily a "Romantic" genre (a theory I support throughout this book), but I do not use the label unequivocally because it fails to cover some examples of Hellenistic satyr play (cf. chapter 6). On the importance of genre in Greek literature as a dynamic mode of conceptualizing meaning and of categorizing literary expectations, see Rotstein (2010, 3–16). Cf. Rossi (1971a), Calame (1974), Rosenmeyer (1985), Conte (1992; 1994), and Mastronarde (2000; 2010, 44–62).

[22] Sophocles, *Ichneutae, TrGF* 314, 354–70. Trans. Lloyd-Jones (2003).

[23] The quality and quantity of laughter prompted by satyr drama differed significantly from Old Comedy, but the same could certainly be said of laughter prompted by many other Greek stage comedies (including, perhaps, some from the period of Old Comedy).

[24] This is unlike the species of satyr drama and tragedy, which—despite their formal relationship—have a very distinct line between them: the chorus of satyrs.

(revel). The pre-history of these genres is treated in detail in chapter 2, but it is worth mentioning briefly that in their earliest phases, comic and satyric performances were less differentiated *kômos*-songs and appear to have developed out of the same or similar pre-dramatic, ritual, phallic choral-revels.[25] The official terms for comedy (κωμῳδία and the verb κωμῳδεῖν) are made up of two parts etymologically, κῶμος (revelry, merry-making) and ᾠδή/ἀοιδή (song) or ἀείδειν (to sing).[26] These terms, however, are equally applicable to satyr play, since satyrs were conceived of as Dionysus' primary group of komasts.[27] This historical connection appears to have encouraged a sustained generic interaction even after the archaic age. For example, it seems more than mere coincidence that in the seven hundred lines of Euripides' satyric *Cyclops*, the noun κῶμος appears eight times, but in over 23,000 lines of his tragedies (over 24,000, if we include the *Rhesus*), the term appears only seven times.[28] In addition, there are a number of Athenian vases, particularly from the last third of the fifth century, on which satyrs have the name Komos.[29] These connections suggest an ongoing comic-satyric interaction based on a shared historical relationship to Dionysian revelry-performance.

As *kômos*-songs, comedy and satyr drama shared certain functions at the City Dionysia, but throughout this study I focus primarily on features of the plays that authors consciously manipulated in relation to generic expectations and intertextual relations. It is notable, however, that the majority of literary, religious, political, and social functions proposed for comedy or satyr drama can be equally applied to both genres. They may not apply to every play at every time and place, or to the same degree and in the same manner, but there are certainly examples of both genres that parody tragedy, reassert a collective male Athenian consciousness, are a place of male Athenian fantasy, worship Dionysus, "relax" the mind, unite elements of city and country, represent ritual,

[25] This is not to imply that they both developed *only* out of the same performance, but that they each had at least this one major influence in common. On *kômos*, see *RE*, s.v. "Komos," Greifenhagen (1929), Rossi (1971b), Ghiron-Bistagne (1976, 207–38), Bron (1988), Frontisi-Ducroux (1992), Isler-Kerényi (2007, 82), and Rothwell (2007, passim but esp. 7–8). On comedy and *kômos*-song, see Pickard-Cambridge (1962, 132–62), Reckford (1987, 443–51), Bierl (2000, 300–61; 2009, 267–325), and Pütz (2007, 121–50). For a discussion of the development of the term, see Adrados (1975, 37–48).

[26] Aristotle (*Poetics* 1448a 35) notes that those who attributed the genre's foundations to Dorian Greeks accepted an alternate (incorrect) etymology of comedy, from *kômê*, meaning "village song," rather than from *kômos*.

[27] For a useful discussion of komasts and satyrs in early literature and visual arts, see Csapo and Miller (2007, 12–24) and Isler-Kerényi (2007). Cf. Revermann (2006, 153), who notes the "Dionysiac link of licence and abandon which connects comedy and satyr play."

[28] These statistics do not include the *Alcestis* because it was performed in the place of a satyr play, but does not contain a chorus of satyrs. As my research in chapter 4 shows, the term *kômos* also played a significant role throughout the *Alcestis*, which reinforces the inherent connection between satyr drama and *kômos*-song. On the importance of the *kômos* in Euripides' *Cyclops*, see Rossi (1971b).

[29] For further discussion of these vases, see chapter 4.

explore the "other," serve as a negative educational paradigm, blur boundaries between high and low figures, and even criticize popular and political figures.[30]

Despite these connections, the evolution and interplay of Greek comedy and satyr drama reconstructed in the following chapters must remain speculative. First, the literary remains of these genres are extremely fragmented. Out of the more than one thousand comedies performed in Athens during the fifth and fourth centuries, only twelve have survived in their entirety, eleven by Aristophanes and one by Menander. The situation is even worse with satyr drama, which is represented by only one complete play, Euripides' *Cyclops*. Nevertheless, other evidence beyond the thirteen extant plays helps provide a clearer picture. There are play titles, plot descriptions, and literary fragments of both genres, as well as vase paintings, theatrical records, and the comments of ancient literary critics. A second challenge is the chronological, geographical, and generic breadth of satyr drama and comedy. It is difficult to offer universal observations that satisfy every time period, location, and performance. However, by examining a wide range of evidence, we can get a better (though still limited) sense of the original audiences' experience. And since poetry was typically composed and performed in conjunction with a particular occasion, there were certain constraints built into the generic systems of archaic and classical Greece. With fixed ritual/festival contexts, distinct performance schedules, and a competitive environment, each play was tied to its own tradition through audience expectations. The system discouraged a fast-moving, inorganic generic evolution, since even the boldest innovations would be staged and judged beside other more orthodox plays.[31]

Overview

Chapter 1 demonstrates an interest in the relationship between comedy and satyr play as early as the fourth century. Although Plato and Aristotle have very little to say directly about satyr drama, the *Symposium* and *Poetics* reveal a complex theoretical interpretation of the genre, representing satyr play as a third dramatic form with significant connections to comedy. Not only does Aristotle undermine his strict theatrical binary and subvert his theory that a poet's nature must match his genre in the *Poetics*, but he also describes the "satyric ethos" in language very similar to his description of Middle Comedy in the *Nicomachean Ethics*. Plato too establishes satyr drama as a separate, mixed

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[30] For recent discussions of satyr drama's "functions" (including useful surveys and original theories), see Seaford (1984, 26–33), Hall (1998; 2006, 142–69), KPS (1999, 34–39), Voelke (2001; 2003), Gibert (2002), and Griffith (2002; 2005). The political function is much more prominent in comedy, especially Old Comedy, than in satyr drama, but Python's satyric *Agen* (*ca.* 324) does attack the contemporary semi-political figure of Harpalus and brings Alexander the Great onstage (see chapter 6).

[31] Cf. Mastronarde (2000).

genre (high and low/tragic and comic) by connecting the *Symposium's* Erotic and Dionysiac themes to the romantic, middlebrow performance of satyr play. Socrates is presented as the satyric and Erotic star of Alcibiades' and Diotima's speeches, and even metaphorically represents "serio-comic" satyr drama in the dialogue's enigmatic final scene.

The second chapter examines the interrelated origins of comedy and satyr play, tracing their pre-dramatic and proto-dramatic evolution in and outside Athens. Several modes of humorous performance influenced each other as they developed in archaic Greece, but many of them also grew from the same less-differentiated choral *kômoi*. Satyric, "pre-comic," and dithyrambic performance overlapped in the sixth century, forging historical connections that served as the foundation of the comic-satyric interrelationship in later centuries. These connections can be noted in visual evidence, inscriptions, and ancient theorists, as well as in Pratinas' famous satyric hyporcheme. The style and tone of Pratinas' fragment reflect an interconnected, less differentiated humorous type of performance prior to comedy's official introduction in the festival.

Chapter 3 investigates the link between Athenian satyr drama and Sicilian comedy, particularly that of Epicharmus. Comedy thrived in Sicily before it was part of the official line-up at the City Dionysia, but its fragmentary remains resemble Attic Middle Comedy more closely than Old Comedy. Scholars have tended to dismiss these generic similarities, since the connections were not direct, but chapter 3 suggests that Athenian satyr drama bridges the gap between Doric and Middle Comedy. Epicharmean comic productions and Attic satyr play had a meaningful generic interrelationship, employing many of the same plots, themes, and characters (perhaps even a chorus of satyrs), and they also shared a similar humorous style. Many comic poets of the early fourth century adopted features of the fifth-century satyr play, indirectly linking their comedies to Sicilian comedy via the satyric stage.

In the fourth chapter, I look at Athenian Old Comedy and classical satyr drama. Comic dramatists of fifth-century Athens integrated a number of humorous modes of performance into their plays, which led to the decline of most of these earlier pre-comic "genres." Satyr drama, however, was exempt from this phenomenon during the fifth century, both because it was instituted at the City Dionysia before comedy and also because it had a clear and distinct religious function. Through close analysis of a number of comic and satyric plays, as well as visual evidence, this chapter examines the ways in which Old Comedy and satyr drama were interconnected but ultimately remained differentiated, even when comedy appropriated a chorus of satyrs. I pay special attention to the relationship between satyrs, *kômos*, and comedy after Euripides' *Alcestis* in 438, when comic poets suddenly started to bring satyrs onstage and Athenian vase painters began to name their satyrs Komos.

Chapter 5 offers an in-depth look at "Middle Comedy and the 'Satyric' Style." A number of factors contributed to comedy's development during the fourth century, but a major influence that has not been fully appreciated is
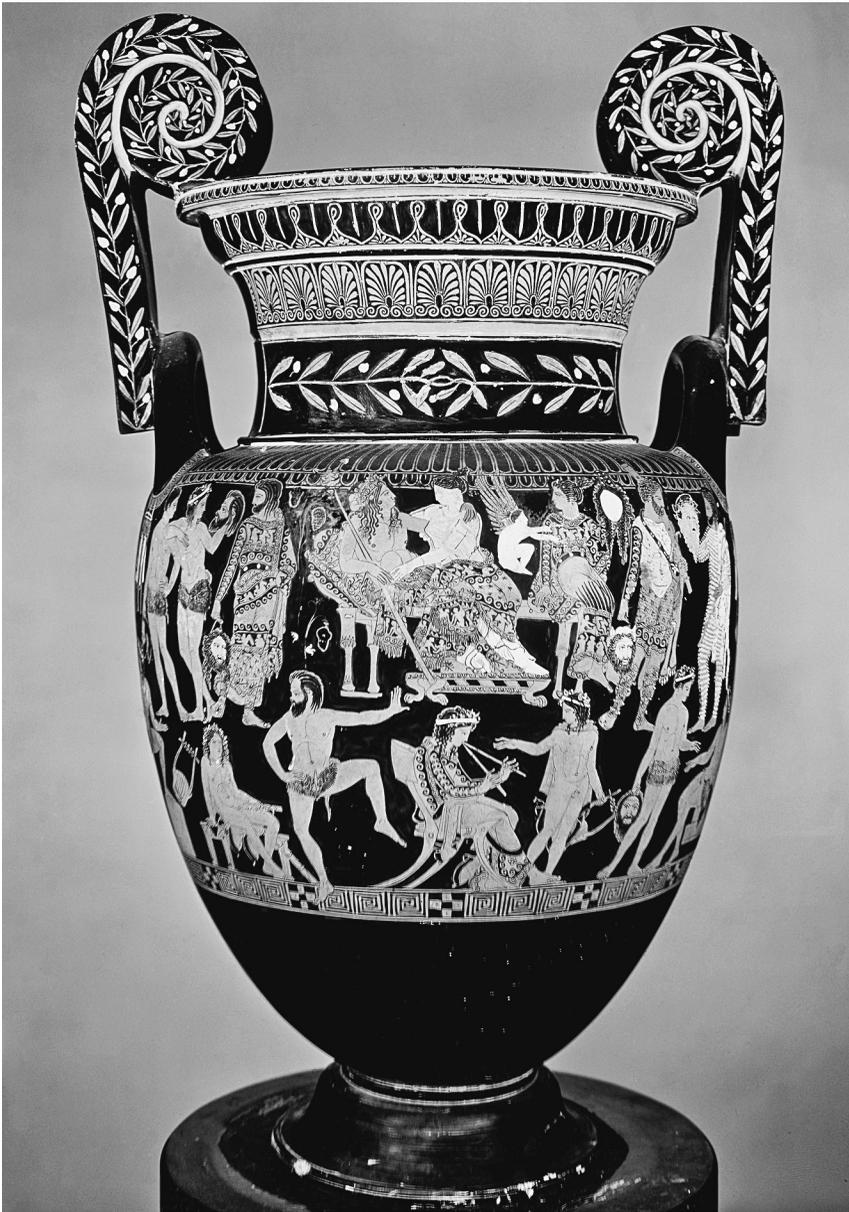
FIGURE 0.1 Pronomos Vase, Attic red-figure krater, *ca.* 410, Pronomos Painter. Naples, Museo Nazionale 81673. Photo Credit: Art Resource, NY. Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Naples, Italy.

fifth-century satyr drama. Analysis of fragments and ancient literary commentaries reveals that various characteristic elements of Middle Comedy (e.g., mythological burlesque, domestic and erotic themes, less political content, riddles, stock characters, and a playful style of humor) can be found in earlier
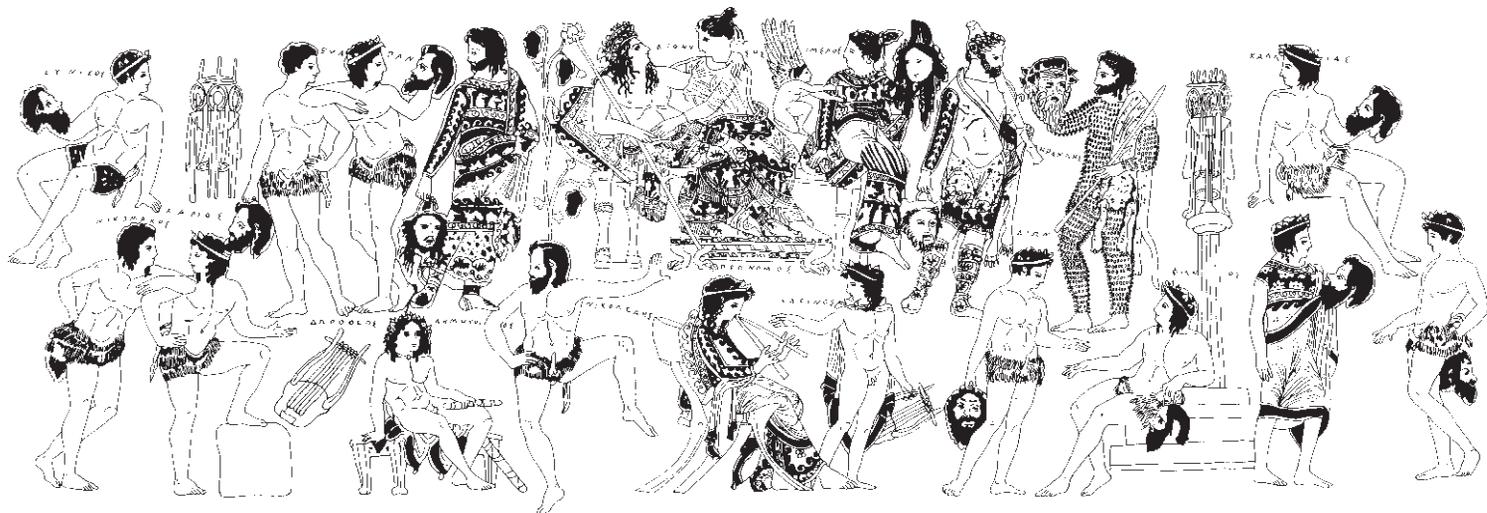
FIGURE 0.1A   Pronomos Vase, Attic red-figure krater, *ca*. 410, Pronomos Painter. Naples Museo Nazionale 81673. Drawing by E. R. Malyon.

FIGURE 0.2 Aulos player with satyr performer, Attic red-figure dinos, 420–400. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 13027. © Hellenic Ministry of Education and Religious Affairs, Culture and Sports.

satyr plays. Comic poets of this period looked to their satyric predecessors and transformed comedy into a more "satyric" genre, a transition that is noted by Euanthius, Aristotle, and the artist of the famous "Cleveland Dionysus" vase.

The final chapter offers a look at post-classical satyr drama, showing that from the second half of the fourth century through the first half of the third, satyr dramatists employed characteristic elements of Old Comedy in their satyric performances: looser metrical rules, paratragedy, parabases, and, most notably, satire. Python's *Agen*, for example, not only brought Alexander the Great on stage, but also ridiculed the rebellious satrap Harpalus and made paratragic allusion to Sophocles' *Electra*. Lycophron and Sositheus provide similar satirical treatments of contemporary philosophers. This chapter explores these literary developments, suggesting that comedy's own evolution influenced satyr drama's shift. By the middle of the fourth century, when comedy began to dominate at dramatic festivals, satyr play was detached from the competition and relegated to an opening act. With only one performance per year, outside the competitive environment and in new geographical and theatrical contexts, satyr dramatists were tied less to the literary tradition and began to experiment with their plays in form and content. In particular, they incorporated aspects traditionally associated with fifth-century Old Comedy, including *onomasti kômôidein*, the satirical abuse of contemporary Greek figures by name. In the last section of the chapter, I examine the evidence for Hellenistic

FIGURE 0.3   Three satyr choreuts, Apulian bell krater, 410–380, attributed to the Tarporley Painter. Nicholson Museum, Sydney, Australia, NM 47.05. Photo courtesy of the Nicholson Museum.

and Roman satyric performance, showing that satyr drama had a significant role in Greco-Roman theater for at least half a millennium and that it should be featured prominently in our comparative discussions of ancient drama. By understanding the interrelated development of comedy and satyr play, we gain insight not only into these two genres, but also into the theatrical experience as a whole as it evolved through the centuries.

CHAPTER 1 | Comedy and Satyr Drama in Plato
and Aristotle

THE EARLIEST SURVIVING DESCRIPTION of satyr drama is a short account found
in Demetrius' *De Elocutione*, a (probably) third- or second-century treatise that
famously characterizes the genre as τραγῳδία παίζουσα:[1]

> ἔνθα μὲν γὰρ γέλωτός τε χρεία καὶ χαρίτων, ἐν σατύρῳ καὶ ἐν κωμῳδίαις,
> τραγῳδία δὲ χάριτας μὲν παραλαμβάνει ἐν πολλοῖς, ὁ δὲ γέλως ἐχθρὸς
> τραγῳδίας· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐπινοήσειεν ἄν τις τραγῳδίαν παίζουσαν, ἐπεὶ σάτυρον
> γράψει ἀντὶ τραγῳδίας.
>
> Demetrius, *De Elocutione* 168–69

> For in some [arts] there is need of both laughter and charm, as in satyr
> drama and comedy; tragedy invites charm in many instances, but laughter
> is tragedy's enemy. No one would consider [writing] a playful tragedy, since
> he would be writing a satyr play instead of a tragedy.

The phrase "playful tragedy" has often been used to characterize satyr drama,[2]
but although it roughly conveys the production's formal tragic elements and
the playful, humorous actions of the satyrs, it fails to capture Demetrius' larger
observations about the genre. Throughout his discussion on charm, Demetrius
represents satyr drama as part of the middle, elegant style (γλαφυρὸς χαρακτήρ),
as a tertium quid related to, and in between, comic and tragic performance.[3]
But in his differentiation of charm (χαρίτων) and laughter (γέλωτος), he con-
cludes that some works of literature use both elements, citing comedy and

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[1] On the date and authorship of Demetrius' work, see Innes in Halliwell et al. (1995, 312–21).
The only complete treatment of satyr drama known from the ancient world, the *Peri Satyrôn* by
Aristotle's Peripatetic follower Chamaeleon, is not extant.

[2] Consider, for example, the title of Harrison's (2005b) collection of essays on satyr drama and
the first section of Seaford's (1984, 1–5) introduction to Euripides' *Cyclops*.

[3] Griffith (2008, 76–77) offers the best treatment of Demetrius' comment, showing that the
passage reveals a more nuanced conception of generic categorization that separates satyr play
from both tragedy and comedy.

satyr play as his only two examples. Demetrius forges a meaningful association between the two genres, noting that both satyr drama and tragedy *can* employ charm, but charm and laughter are necessities of satyr drama and comedy. He portrays the satyr play as a distinct, charming, playful, laughable production that shared with comedy a similar "purpose" (προαιρέσεως, 168), "effects" (ἐπακολουθούντων, 168), and "topic/context" (τόπου, 169).

Demetrius' evaluation of satyr drama proves to be more developed than the catchphrase "playful tragedy" signifies on its own, and it draws particular attention to satyr drama's substantial connections to comedy. However, his analysis does not necessarily characterize satyr drama in the classical period, since he wrote during the Hellenistic age, after the genre's separation from tragedy. During the fifth century and at least half of the fourth, satyr drama was composed by tragedians and staged in the tragic competition after a trilogy of tragedies, playing a crucial role in the "tragic experience" at the Athenian City Dionysia. At some point around the middle of the fourth century, though, the three satyr plays performed at the festival were reduced to a single production.[4] Instead of being presented alongside tragedy, satyr drama was staged as the festival's opening act, separate from the tragic competition. During this period, some poets even composed satyr plays in the style of Old Comedy.[5] In this new theatrical environment, Demetrius would naturally treat satyr play as a distinct mode of theatrical performance with particular comic associations. We will see in this chapter, however, that Plato and Aristotle also connect satyr drama and comedy, even before the Hellenistic era and satyr play's dissolution from tragedy. Although these critics explicitly endorse a dyadic theory of the theater, they implicitly treat satyr play as a third theatrical genre with a considerable generic relationship to comedy.

Plato

In book three of Plato's *Republic*, Socrates asks whether tragedy and comedy will be allowed in the ideal city (394d), but before further pursuing the question he turns to the issue of mimesis and the limitations of the individual. He notes that the guardians of the city should practice only one pursuit rather than dabble in many, since man is unable to succeed in diverse undertakings. To prove that individuals can do only one thing well, he directs the conversation back to drama and relies on an example from the theater:

> ἐπεί που οὐδὲ τὰ δοκοῦντα ἐγγὺς ἀλλήλων εἶναι δύο μιμήματα
> δύνανται οἱ αὐτοὶ ἅμα εὖ μιμεῖσθαι, οἷον κωμῳδίαν καὶ τραγῳδίαν
> ποιοῦντες … οὐδέ τοι ὑποκριταὶ κωμῳδοῖς τε καὶ τραγῳδοῖς οἱ αὐτοί·
>
> Plato, *Republic* III.395a–395b

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[4] *IG* II² 2320.

[5] For more on post-classical satyr drama, see chapter 6.

> For the same men are not able to represent two types of imitation success-
> fully even when both types seem similar to each other, such as writing com-
> edy and tragedy…and the same men are not even able to be actors in both
> comic and tragic plays.

Socrates notes that although tragedy and comedy are similar forms of mime-
sis, tragic poets and actors do not compose or act in comic plays, and comic
poets and actors do not compose or act in tragic plays. His remarks reflect
conventional practice at the theater during this time, for although dramatists
flirted with elements from other genres, there is no evidence of a poet entering
both the tragic and comic competition.

Nevertheless, one wonders how Socrates would have responded if
Adeimantus had asked about satyr plays, which were written by tragedians
but included humorous elements often found in comedy. What would he
have made of Sophocles' satyrs, "lying on the ground like hedgehogs in a
bush, or like a monkey bending over to fart at someone?"[6] Or Euripides'
Polyphemus dragging Papa-Silenus off to a cave for a sexual encounter?[7] Or
Silenus' attempt in Dionysius' *Limos* to administer an enema to Heracles
(which, incidentally, is described as κωμικά by the scholiast on *Iliad*
11.515c.26)?[8] All these scenes were composed by tragic poets and performed
by tragic actors and choreuts, but Socrates, like Plato's student Aristotle,
offers a simple, dyadic conception of poetry that cannot account for the
nuances and complexity of the satyr plays in which these humorous scenes
appear.

Although Plato never provides an explicit treatment of satyr drama (men-
tioning it only once in his entire corpus), the context in which he refers to it in
the *Symposium* reveals a surprisingly well-developed theory of the genre that
draws attention to its relationship to comedy. Set after the Lenaean Festival of
416, Plato's *Symposium* celebrates Agathon's first dramatic victory.[9] The par-
ticipants, who are hungover from the previous night's revelry, decide to have a
philosophical dialogue on Eros rather than drink to excess again. Plato's narra-
tive provides ample discussion of the erotic theme, but the work includes a fair
number of interruptions, from Aristophanes' hiccups to the raucous entrance
of Alcibiades and other komasts; and the dialogue culminates in Plato's in-
triguing, aporetic conclusion. As day breaks, all the guests at the party have left
or nodded off except the philosopher Socrates, the tragedian Agathon, and the

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[6] Sophocles, *Ichneutae* 127–28. Translation adapted from Lloyd-Jones (1996).
[7] Euripides, *Cyclops* 582–83.
[8] Dionysius I, *Limos, TrGF* 3a.
[9] Athenaeus (5.217a, *TrGF* 39 T 1) informs us of the year: ὅτε γὰρ Ἀγάθων ἐνίκα, Πλάτων ἦν
δεκατεσσάρων ἐτῶν. ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Εὐφήμου στεφανοῦται Ληναίοις, "when Agathon
won, Plato was fourteen years old. For Agathon was crowned at the Lenaea when Euphemus
was archon."

comic poet Aristophanes. The narrator, Aristodemus, is also drifting in and out of sleep, but as he relates the events of the night, he remembers that Socrates attempted to force the two dramatists to concede that comedy and tragedy can be written skillfully by the same poet:

Ἀγάθωνα δὲ καὶ Ἀριστοφάνη καὶ Σωκράτη ἔτι μόνους ἐγρηγορέναι καὶ πίνειν ἐκ φιάλης μεγάλης ἐπὶ δεξιά. τὸν οὖν Σωκράτη αὐτοῖς διαλέγεσθαι· καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ὁ Ἀριστόδημος οὐκ ἔφη μεμνῆσθαι τῶν λόγων· οὔτε γὰρ ἐξ ἀρχῆς παραγενέσθαι ὑπονυστάζειν τε· τὸ μέντοι κεφάλαιον, ἔφη, προσαναγκάζειν τὸν Σωκράτη ὁμολογεῖν αὐτοὺς τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἀνδρὸς εἶναι κωμῳδίαν καὶ τραγῳδίαν ἐπίστασθαι ποιεῖν, καὶ τὸν τέχνῃ τραγῳδοποιὸν ὄντα <καὶ> κωμῳδοποιὸν εἶναι.

<div align="right">Plato, Symposium 223c–d</div>

[And Aristodemus saw] Agathon, Aristophanes, and Socrates were the only ones still awake, drinking from a large bowl that they passed from left to right. Socrates was engaged in dialogue with them. Aristodemus said he couldn't remember most of the argument, because he'd missed the start and was half-asleep anyway. But the key point, he said, was that Socrates was pressing them to agree that the same man was capable of writing both comedy and tragedy, and that anyone who is an expert in writing tragedy must also be an expert in writing comedy.

<div align="right">Trans. adapted from Gill 1999</div>

This passage contradicts Socrates' comments in the *Republic* (395a–395b), where a sharp distinction is drawn between the poets of tragedy and comedy, but no explanation is provided for Socrates' change of opinion. Before there is any resolution to the discussion, both dramatists fall asleep, the dialogue comes to a close, and Socrates goes off to spend his day as usual.

On the face of it, this enigmatic and abbreviated episode appears poorly connected both to the dialogue and to historical practice. Socrates' comments deviate from the erotic themes explored throughout the rest of the *Symposium*, and they also deviate from customary theatrical procedure in Athens during this period, when no dramatist staged plays in both genres.[10] Plato never explains the connection between his conclusion and the dialogue's purported exploration of Eros, nor does he explain the connection Socrates makes between tragedy and comedy. While scholars have made compelling links between the conclusion and the dialogue's broader themes, not much fruitful work has been conducted on the relationship between Socrates' cryptic final comments and the actual dramatic festival in Athens. We will see, however,

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[10] The dramatic date of the *Symposium* is 416, after Agathon won his first victory, but even at the dialogue's approximate composition date (*ca.* 380), poets were not—so far as we know—crossing genres from tragedy to comedy and vice versa.

that the key to understanding the end of the *Symposium* (both inside and out-side the context of the dialogue) is Plato's oblique identification of satyr drama as a third dramatic category.

The most productive connection between the dialogue and the epilogue lies in the *Symposium's* engagement with Dionysus and drama.[11] Not only is the banquet prompted by Agathon's dramatic victory, but the *Symposium* itself can be interpreted as a scaled-down version of the City Dionysia, with various characters corresponding to components of the festival.[12] Plato establishes Alcibiades, with his drunken, ivy-crowned entrance (212d–e), as a Dionysus-figure, and the three characters who are still awake at the conclusion represent each of the three categories of drama at the City Dionysia. As a tragic poet, Agathon metonymically represents tragedy, and as a comic poet, Aristophanes represents comedy. But Socrates' associations with satyr play are more complex. He was certainly not a "satyr dramatist," but he was a satyric figure, both in appearance and character. Earlier in the dialogue, in fact, Alcibiades eulogizes the philosopher in a protracted simile that explicitly connects him to satyrs:

> Σωκράτη δ' ἐγὼ ἐπαινεῖν, ὦ ἄνδρες, οὕτως ἐπιχειρήσω, δι' εἰκόνων. οὗτος μὲν οὖν ἴσως οἰήσεται ἐπὶ τὰ γελοιότερα, ἔσται δ' ἡ εἰκὼν τοῦ ἀληθοῦς ἕνεκα, οὐ τοῦ γελοίου. φημὶ γὰρ δὴ ὁμοιότατον αὐτὸν εἶναι τοῖς σιληνοῖς τούτοις τοῖς ἐν τοῖς ἑρμογλυφείοις καθημένοις … καὶ φημὶ αὖ ἐοικέναι αὐτὸν τῷ σατύρῳ τῷ Μαρσύᾳ. ὅτι μὲν οὖν τό γε εἶδος ὅμοιος εἶ τούτοις, ὦ Σώκρατες, οὐδ' αὐτὸς ἄν που ἀμφισβητήσαις· ὡς δὲ καὶ τἆλλα ἔοικας, μετὰ τοῦτο ἄκουε. ὑβριστὴς εἶ· ἢ οὔ; ἐὰν γὰρ μὴ ὁμολογῇς, μάρτυρας παρέξομαι.

<div align="right">Plato, Symposium 215a–b</div>

> The way I'll try to praise Socrates, gentlemen, is through images. Perhaps he'll think this is to make fun of him; but the image will be designed to bring out the truth not to make fun. My claim is that he's just like those statues of Silenus you see sitting in sculptors' shops … I also claim he's like Marsyas the satyr. Not even you, Socrates, could deny that you resemble these in appearance; but you're going to hear next how you're like them in other ways too. You're insulting and abusive, aren't you? If you don't admit this, I'll provide witnesses.

<div align="right">Trans. Gill 1999</div>

Throughout the remainder of his lengthy speech, Alcibiades compares Socrates to Marsyas and Silenus, noting the philosopher's external and internal similarities to these famous satyrs.[13] Not only does Socrates have a snub-nose and a balding head, but he has the power to enchant mankind

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[11] See, for example, Bacon (1959), Sider (1980, 47), Anderson (1993, 7–19), and Sheffield (2001). For a larger discussion of Plato as dramatist, see Puchner (2010).

[12] On "Plato's *Symposium* as Dionysian Festival," see Sider 1980. Krüger (1939, 82–92) also looks at "Das Symposion als dionysisches Fest."

[13] Xenophon's *Symposium* (6.1) similarly likens Socrates to a silen.

(215c). He is also "erotically inclined toward beautiful people" and " acts as if he knows nothing" (216d, ἐρωτικῶς διάκειται τῶν καλὼν … οὐδὲν οἶδεν, ὡς τὸ σχῆμα αὐτοῦ), characteristics that ultimately lead Alcibiades to conclude that Socrates can be compared to no human being either of the present day or from the past, only to silens and satyrs (221d).

Alcibiades suggests further that Socrates resembles satyrs in their similarly complex, mixed natures. Both the philosopher and his *logoi* possess and exhibit high and low qualities, a point illustrated by a comparison to the paternal satyr, Silenus:

Καὶ γὰρ οὖν καὶ τοῦτο ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις παρέλιπον, ὅτι καὶ οἱ λόγοι αὐτοῦ ὁμοιότατοί εἰσι τοῖς σιληνοῖς τοῖς διοιγομένοις. εἰ γὰρ ἐθέλοι τις τῶν Σωκράτους ἀκούειν λόγων, φανεῖεν ἂν πάνυ γελοῖοι τὸ πρῶτον· τοιαῦτα καὶ ὀνόματα καὶ ῥήματα ἔξωθεν περιαμπέχονται, σατύρου δή τινα ὑβριστοῦ δοράν. ὄνους γὰρ κανθηλίους λέγει καὶ χαλκέας τινὰς καὶ σκυτοτόμους καὶ βυρσοδέψας, καὶ ἀεὶ διὰ τῶν αὐτῶν τὰ αὐτὰ φαίνεται λέγειν, ὥστε ἄπειρος καὶ ἀνόητος ἄνθρωπος πᾶς ἂν τῶν λόγων καταγελάσειεν. διοιγομένους δὲ ἰδὼν ἄν τις καὶ ἐντὸς αὐτῶν γιγνόμενος πρῶτον μὲν νοῦν ἔχοντας ἔνδον μόνους εὑρήσει τῶν λόγων, ἔπειτα θειοτάτους καὶ πλεῖστα ἀγάλματ' ἀρετῆς ἐν αὑτοῖς ἔχοντας καὶ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον τείνοντας.

Plato, *Symposium* 221e–222a

This is something I forgot to say at the beginning: [Socrates'] discussions are also very like those Sileni that you open up. If you're prepared to listen to Socrates' discussions, they seem absolutely ridiculous at first. This is because of the words and phrases he uses, which are like the rough skin of an insulting satyr. He talks about pack-asses, blacksmiths, shoemakers and tanners, and seems to be always using the same words to make the same points; and so anyone unused to him or unintelligent would find his arguments ridiculous. But if you can open them up and see inside, you'll find they're the only ones that make any sense. You'll also find they're the most divine and contain the most images of virtue.

Trans. Gill 1999

Although someone who has never heard Socrates speak "would simply laugh" (καταγελάσειεν) at the philosopher, a deeper inspection shows that his *logoi* are full of excellence (ἀρετῆς). Socrates' multivalent nature is comparable to a nesting Silenus doll, as well as to the satyrs themselves, who demonstrate antithetical high and low qualities within one form. Although satyrs are sex-obsessed, alcohol-obsessed animal figures who inspire laughter, they are also semi-divine participants who enjoy the company of the god Dionysus and know the philosophical secrets of life.[14] Like Socrates, satyrs are simultaneously both lower than and superior to man.

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[14] Consider, for example, the story of Silenus, who tells King Midas that the best thing for a person is to have not been born at all, and the second best is to die young (Plutarch, *Moralia* 115b). On the paradoxical nature of satyrs, see introduction.

In addition to connecting Socrates to satyrs, Plato also makes significant literary connections between Alcibiades' speech and satyr play. After Alcibiades wraps up his diatribe, Socrates immediately calls the outburst a "satyric and silenic drama" (σατυρικὸν δρᾶμα καὶ σιληνικόν, 222d). The explicit mention of satyr play, especially as a description of Alcibiades' central speech, places the genre in a position of prominence, where it informs our interpretation of the dialogue as a whole. Diskin Clay, who pioneered much of the research on the *Symposium's* satyric elements, argues that the work is, in fact, analogous to satyr drama because both are "tragi-comedy."[15] For Plato, tragedy represented the high and serious, while comedy represented the low and laughable, but satyr drama and the *Symposium* combine these opposing elements. Scholars have tended to focus on the implications of this observation within the context of the dialogue, but it can also be used to understand Plato's overall conception of satyr drama. In fact, Clay's assessment of the *Symposium* effectively captures the nuances not only of Plato's program, but also of Greek satyr play. After dubbing the dialogue a tragi-comedy, he offers a more refined definition, suggesting that it is (1975, 249) a separate form "which, in the object of its imitation, comprehends and transcends both tragedy and comedy." This description is equally applicable to satyr play, which similarly has tragic and comic elements but "comprehends and transcends both tragedy and comedy."

Plato's dialogue suggests that the mix of high and low is an important characteristic of Socrates and satyrs, as well as of satyr drama and the *Symposium* itself.[16] Through his ample use of satyric imagery, Plato establishes the dialogue as a satyr play of sorts, a mixture of humorous and serious elements. This connection helps link the seemingly incongruous conclusion to the rest of the dialogue, since the Socratic paradox is explained by the format of the *Symposium*: Plato proves that the same man can write both tragedy and comedy competently because that is precisely what he has done in the dialogue. However, this explanation only makes sense if we connect it to actual satyr play and the literary world outside the dialogue. Socrates' assertion that the same dramatist can compose both tragedy and comedy is as applicable to satyr drama as it is to the *Symposium*. For Socrates/Plato, satyr play was proof that the same man could write both tragedy and comedy successfully, since it was composed by tragedians but exhibited humorous elements. And the manner in which Socrates formulates his concluding remarks is especially significant. He does not say that the comic poet could write both comedy and tragedy; instead, he says specifically that "the fully skilled tragedian could

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[15] Clay (1975, 249). Sheffield (2001, 203–4) similarly argues that the "serio-comic manner in which Alcibiades explores the virtues of Socrates is characteristic of the way in which satyric dramas explored serious themes in a different, humorous, spirit." Cf. Usher (2002, 205) and Griffith (2010, 51). Kannicht (1991, 298n7) draws specific associations between Plato's *Symposium* and Lycophron's satyric *Menedemus*.

[16] Rowe (1998, 214) also notes that Socrates "combine[s] equal ability in the areas both of the tragic, or serious…and the comic." On the simultaneously high and low elements of satyr drama, see Griffith (2002; 2005; 2008).

be a comedian as well." He frames the issue explicitly in terms of the tragedian producing comedy, thereby attributing generic multiplicity to the tragedian, who wrote both tragedies and "comical" satyr plays. The vague and open-ended final scene of the *Symposium*, therefore, reveals not only the complex theory of genre that Plato explores throughout the dialogue, but it also reveals a more developed theory of dramatic categorization at the City Dionysia. Plato distinguishes satyr drama from tragedy and comedy and shows that it can be categorized as neither "tragic" nor "comic." He represents the resulting dramatic triad with the only three characters still awake at the conclusion of the work: Agathon (tragedy), Aristophanes (comedy) and Socrates (satyr play).

If we continue to read the dialogue allegorically, with Socrates representing satyrs and the *Symposium* representing satyr drama, we see that Plato constructs satyric drama largely as a romantic genre. Mark Griffith has argued convincingly that classical satyr play was a type of romantic, "middlebrow" drama that combined the spirit of Eros and Dionysus in a way that differentiated it from comedy and tragedy.[17] The *Symposium* supports this theory. Not only does Plato establish the dialogue as a "satyr play," but he also constructs it as an exploration of romantic themes, with all the participants taking turns talking about Love. Similarly, Socrates is depicted as both a satyric and "Erotic" figure.[18] Alcibiades extols Socrates' satyr-like qualities in his long, central speech, and Diotima draws a number of parallels between Socrates and the god Eros. Each is "shoeless and hardy and poor and homely, but infinitely resourceful in his pursuit of beauty and wisdom…double natured, neither god nor man."[19] These qualities, which are applied to Eros and equally describe Socrates, are also applicable to satyrs: they have a similar dual nature and a similar shoeless-ness and homeliness; they are between mortal and immortal, simultaneously baser than man but close to the divine, and they constantly seek erotic pleasure.[20]

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[17] Also consider the Greek proverb, "There is no Aphrodite without Dionysus" (Leutsch and Schneidewin 1839–51, v. II, 320–21,), and the Pronomos Vase, which similarly ties together satyrs, the married couple Dionysus and Ariadne, and an Erotic, male winged-figure. Cf. Griffith (2010).

[18] The fifteenth-century reviver of Neoplatonism, Marsilio Ficino, notes Socrates' similarities to Eros (*Commentarium in Convivium Platonis de amore*, Oratio 7.2): dum Plato ipsum fingit amorem, Socratis omnem pingit effigiem ac numinis illius figuram ex Socratis persona describit quasi verus amor ac Socrates similimi sint atque ideo ille pre ceteris verus sit legitimusque amator. "When Plato shapes love, he paints him as an entire imitation of Socrates and describes the form of this deity from the character of Socrates, as if true love and Socrates are very similar and he (Socrates) is the true and real lover above others."

[19] Bacon (1959, 424). Cf. *Symposium* 203c5–d1. Sider (1980, 48) remarks that "Socrates becomes a different kind of intermediary, an erotic figure who binds together the dramatic realm of Dionysus." This description also applies to satyrs and satyr play.

[20] Cf. Usher (2002, 219) and Scholtz (2007, 111–44).

Plato weaves complex interconnections between Socrates, Eros, and satyrs, each of whom is represented as high and low, but none of whom is precisely "comic" or "tragic." These connections relate on the larger scale to the literary sphere, where the *Symposium* and classical satyr drama are similarly romantic and generically ambiguous (i.e., high and low), but are neither comedy nor tragedy.

By connecting satyr drama to romance in this way, Plato demonstrates the genre's independent, yet mixed nature, but he creates particularly strong connections to comedy. Satyr drama's relationship to tragedy is obvious on the formal level, since it is written by tragedians and uses similar myths and meters. But satyr drama's connections to comedy are, in many ways, also obvious, except when obscured by overreliance on a binary approach to genre. Plato ensures a non-binary reading throughout the *Symposium* by repeatedly connecting the satyric philosopher to laughter and comedy. Socrates is depicted over and over in contexts that are described with language of laughter. Not only does he make Aristodemus feel "ridiculous" for showing up alone at Agathon's banquet (γελοῖον, 174e2), but he later realizes that he himself is ludicrous (καταγέλαστος, 198c6); he is laughed at by Diotima (γελάσασα, 202b10) and questions whether Alcibiades is about to make fun of him (ἐπὶ τὰ γελοιότερα, 214e2); he laughs at Alcibiades' attempts to seduce him (ἐγέλασε, 219c4) and his own words seem laughable to the uninitiated (γελοῖοι, 221e2; καταγελάσειεν, 222a1); and, most important, after Alcibiades finishes the "satyric and silenic drama" about Socrates, the group breaks out in laughter (γέλωτα, 222c1), which presumably indicates the appropriate or at least common response to satyr play.

Conceptually, Socrates, satyrs, satyr drama, and comedy are all connected through laughter, and Plato further ensures this connection when Alcibiades first enters the symposium. In his surprise to see Socrates at the party, Alcibiades blurts out a question:

τί αὖ ἐνταῦθα κατεκλίνης, καὶ οὐ παρὰ Ἀριστοφάνει
οὐδὲ εἴ τις ἄλλος γελοῖος ἔστι τε καὶ βούλεται

<div align="right">Plato, Symposium 213c2–4</div>

Why are you sitting here and not beside Aristophanes
or someone else who is both laughable and wishes to be laughable?

Although Alcibiades wants to sit next to Socrates later in the dialogue, his comments here seem out of place. Why would he ask this particular question upon first seeing the philosopher? His remarks, I would argue, relate to Socrates' satyr-like qualities: the satyric philosopher belongs next to the comic poet Aristophanes, just as satyrs belong next to comic figures, and satyr drama belongs next to comedy. All involved are related because they are similarly laughable (γελοῖον), and they should all be viewed and interpreted side by side, outside the confines of a theoretical binary.

Aristotle

Like Socrates in Plato's *Republic*, Aristotle presents a dyadic approach to drama, saying conspicuously little about satyr play in his *Poetics*, despite its high-profile position at the City Dionysia. He claims that comedy is mimesis of the "shameful" (1449a33, αἰσχροῦ) and employs "base" characters (1448a2, φαύλους), while tragedy is mimesis of the "elevated" (1449b24, σπουδαίας) and employs "serious" characters (1448a2, σπουδαίους). This juxtaposition can also be observed in Aristotle's description of the audience response to these performances, since tragedy results in pity and fear (ἐλέου καὶ φόβου, 1449b27) and a sense of awe (θαυμαστόν, 1460a12), while comedy results in something laughable (γελοῖον, 1449a33–35). According to the *Poetics*, this juxtaposition of high and low/tragic and comic has its source in the inherent nature of poets themselves:[21]

> διεσπάσθη δὲ κατὰ τὰ οἰκεῖα ἤθη ἡ ποίησις·
> οἱ μὲν γὰρ σεμνότεροι τὰς καλὰς ἐμιμοῦντο πράξεις καὶ
> τὰς τῶν τοιούτων, οἱ δὲ εὐτελέστεροι τὰς τῶν φαύλων
>
> <div align="right">Aristotle, Poetics, 1448b23–26</div>

[After it developed out of improvisation,] poetry branched into two, according to its creators' characters: the more serious produced mimesis of noble actions and the actions of noble people, while the more vulgar depicted the actions of the base.

<div align="right">Trans. Halliwell, in Halliwell et al. 1995</div>

Aristotle suggests that when poetry initially developed, there were only two types of poet, the more serious (σεμνότεροι) and the more vulgar (εὐτελέστεροι), each of whom composed poetry that correlated to his personal character. The Dionysiac festival in Athens was, for Aristotle, a perfect representation of this dyad: a noble poet depicted noble actions in the noble genre of tragedy, and a less noble poet depicted less noble actions in the less noble genre of comedy.[22]

Despite Aristotle's explicit assertion of a binary poetic theory, his oblique reference to satyric play contradicts the idea that a poet's character must match his poetry:

> ἐκ μικρῶν μύθων καὶ λέξεως γελοίας διὰ τὸ ἐκ
> σατυρικοῦ μεταβαλεῖν ὀψὲ ἀπεσεμνύνθη.
>
> <div align="right">Aristotle, Poetics 1449a18–20</div>

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[21] Cf. Lucas (1968), Halliwell (1986, 158–62, 266–76), and Farrell (2003).

[22] Cicero similarly opposes tragedy and comedy in his *De optimo genere oratione* (1.6): Et in tragoedia comicum vitiosum est et in comoedia turpe tragicum, "a comic element in tragedy is a wicked thing, and a tragic element in comedy is ugly."

> After a period of slight plots and laughable speech, owing to development from a satyric ethos, it was at a late stage that tragedy acquired dignity.
>
> Trans. Halliwell, in Halliwell et al. 1995

Aristotle neglects satyr drama almost completely in the *Poetics*,[23] but within this discussion of tragedy's origins, he claims that tragedy developed out of something "satyric."[24] His use of the adjective *satyrikon*, rather than the traditional terminology for a satyr play (σάτυροι or σατυρικὸν δρᾶμα), may indicate that he is drawing a distinction between official satyr drama and something "satyr-drama like" or a "satyric ethos,"[25] but it still offers valuable information for understanding classical satyr play. Even if Aristotle is referring to a less structured, pre- or proto-dramatic performance that did not necessarily contain a chorus of satyrs, the descriptor *satyrikon* must be equally applicable to contemporary satyr drama in order to have any meaning. Aristotle's description of tragedy's satyric origins, therefore, reveals his impressions of satyr play, providing an even earlier account of the genre than Demetrius': it employs slight plots (μικροὶ μῦθοι) and laughable diction (λέξις γελοία). But there is a marked inconsistency between this passage and his comments on the character of poets and their poetry, despite the textual proximity. How could a noble poet whose "very nature" compelled him to write serious and noble tragedies present laughable satyric productions? Are we supposed to imagine that satyric performance (whether satyr "drama" or not) depicted noble actions of noble people without the humorous actions of the base? Or that it resulted in awe, fear, or pity, but not laughter? Aristotle's comments cannot be resolved with any reasonable definition of the satyric. If the adjective describes something that included satyrs, these performances would naturally depict half-horse, half-man creatures who use humorous language and perform base actions. But even if τὸ σατυρικόν indicates a satyr-less "satyric ethos," these performances would, by Aristotle's own definition, also include laughable diction (λέξις γελοία). Since the laughable (γελοῖον) falls within the scope of comedy, the satyric performance contradicts Aristotle's binary model of poetic categorization and can be construed as "comedic:" it was a humorous production presented by serious, tragic poets.

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[23] For more on Aristotle and satyr drama, see Else (1939), Cozzoli (2003, 268–69) and Griffith (2008).

[24] On this passage and the origins of drama, see, for example, Webster in Pickard-Cambridge (1962, 96–97), Lord (1974), Herington (1985), Patzer (1962, 44–88), Nagy (1990, 385–88), Leonhardt (1991), and Seaford (2007, 379), who states that "any serious account…must start from what Aristotle reports in his *Poetics* about the genesis of drama." For arguments against the value of this passage, see Pickard-Cambridge (1927, 128), Friedrich (1983), Scullion (2002, 102–10), and Rozik (2002; 2003).

[25] Seaford (1984, 10–12; 2007, 381).

The connections between comedy and satyr drama can also be noted in the *Nicomachean Ethics*, where comedy is described in language very similar to that used of the satyric performance in the *Poetics*:

ἴδοι δ' ἄν τις καὶ ἐκ τῶν κωμῳδιῶν τῶν παλαιῶν καὶ τῶν καινῶν·
τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἦν γελοῖον ἡ αἰσχρολογία, τοῖς δὲ μᾶλλον ἡ ὑπόνοια·
διαφέρει δ' οὐ μικρὸν ταῦτα πρὸς εὐσχημοσύνην.

<div align="right">Aristotle, Nicomachean Ethics 1128a22</div>

One may see the difference [in modes of humor] by comparing old and new (or recent) comedy; for the authors of the former, obscenity (αἰσχρολογία) was amusing, for those of the latter, innuendo (ὑπόνοια) is more so, and these differ in no small degree in respect to propriety.

Although Aristotle's main concern in this passage is to juxtapose the impropriety of older comedy with the relative decency of contemporary comic performances ("Middle Comedy," if we use modern chronological labels),[26] he implicitly makes stylistic connections between satyr drama and comedy. By noting that satyric play employs "humorous speech" (λέξις γελοία, *Poetics* 1449a18) and that Middle Comedy employs "humorous innuendo" (ὑπόνοια γελοία), Aristotle uses nearly synonymous descriptions of their diction, highlighting the genres' similar modes of humor.[27]

Aristotle never explicitly acknowledges or defines satyr play, but mentions it only indirectly within his larger discussion of tragedy. We may suspect that he avoids discussion of satyr drama outright because it does not correspond well with his dyadic conception of poets and poetry.[28] His assertion that tragedy developed out of "something satyric" provides a clever teleological resolution to what he likely saw as a problematic question: how could a tragedian compose humorous satyr plays if his nature was serious and his poetry supposedly corresponded to his nature?[29] By linking the two genres historically, Aristotle bypasses any discussion or analysis of satyric play and folds satyr drama's humorous elements into a tragic categorization, thereby justifying the genre's composition by tragedians and maintaining his dyadic approach to genre. However, the connections between satyr drama and comedy emerge in the *Poetics*, despite his nearly complete silence on the genre. Aristotle undermines his construction of a "naturally" serious tragedian by mentioning the

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[26] For more on the periodization of "Old," "Middle," and "New" Comedy, see p. 106–108. On Aristotle and comedy, see Halliwell (1998, 266–76) and Janko (2002).

[27] For a more detailed discussion of this passage and satyr drama's "slight plots" and "laughable diction," see chapter 5.

[28] Halliwell (1987, 84) similarly notes that Aristotle elides tragedy's lyric origins in order to prioritize the "superior importance" of Homeric epic in the genre's development; the overall account of tragedy in the *Poetics*, Halliwell claims, shows "how negligible Ar[istotle] must have regarded such early material to be for the true nature of the genre."

[29] Depew (2007) and Seaford (2007) believe that Aristotle's theory of the satyric origins of tragedy works against his comic-tragic binary and, thus, is less likely to have been invented.

laughable language of the satyric ethos, and in the *Nicomachean Ethics*, he links satyric performance with Middle Comedy through similar descriptions of their humorous diction.

Like Demetrius in *De Elocutione*, Aristotle and Plato have little to say about satyr drama, but also like Demetrius, they—in the end—represent satyric performance as a complex, independent generic mode with a considerable relationship to comedy. Satyr plays were written by tragedians, judged with the tragic trilogy, and used tragic actors and choreuts, but they were a mixture of the high and low/tragic and comic. The low and laughable characteristics connected the genre to comedy and proved that a tragedian could capably write a comedic play, even if that play was not formally categorized as comedy. Plato's and Aristotle's brief comments on the genre reveal complex comic-satyric associations even before the Hellenistic period, when satyr drama was still part of the tragic competition. As we will see in the following chapters, this comic-satyric relationship began prior to the classical age, outside Athens, and continued to develop throughout the Greco-Roman world up to the Common Era.

While I believe that it does work against the binary, the way in which Aristotle minimally addresses satyr drama suggests to me that he was side-stepping satyr play's generic complexity and that the satyric origins of tragedy are *more* likely to have been invented.

CHAPTER 2 | Early *Kômos* Songs: Satyric, Pre-Comic, and Dithyrambic Performance

IN THE PREVIOUS CHAPTER, we saw Plato explore (among other things) the unique, mixed nature of satyr drama, representing it as a third theatrical genre with certain connections to comedy. These connections are most vivid within the *Symposium* when the drunken komast (212c7) Alcibiades crashes Agathon's victory celebration and delivers his "satyr and silenic drama," a *kômos*-performance starring the satyric figure Socrates that results in the laughter of the other symposiasts (222c1). While Plato does not connect satyr drama, comedy, and *kômos* outright, the associations he touches upon in the *Symposium* are explored more explicitly elsewhere during the classical period, both on the stage and in the visual realm.[1] In this chapter, we will see, however, that these associations grew out of a much earlier relationship, prior even to comedy and satyr drama's official introduction at the City Dionysia. In Attica, the Isthmus, and the Argolid, satyric and pre-comic performances overlapped as they developed out of and alongside dithyrambic *kômos*-song, and all three forms became progressively more differentiated as they were established at the Athenian City Dionysia. In the second half of the chapter, I will turn to Pratinas' famous hyporcheme, a choral lyric that exhibits some of the humor and generic fluidity of pre-comic, satyric performance around the end of the sixth century. Performing early in the organization of the City Dionysia, Pratinas' chorus of satyrs employs elements associated with comedy, satyr drama, and dithyramb, but they also distinguish their performance from the new theatrical dithyramb, thereby differentiating *khoros* from *kômos*.

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[1] See chapter 4, in particular.

Origins

The origins of ancient comedy and satyr drama are lost, but their approximate starting dates at the Athenian City Dionysia are fairly secure. The Suda (chi 318; K-A, Chionides T1) asserts that Chionides was the first competitor in Old Comedy and that he staged a production in 486. This date corresponds to the information presented on the Athenian victory lists (*IG* II² 2325), which helps to establish firmly the first official comic competition at the City Dionysia to March of that year. Satyr drama's start date in Athens is less secure, since no early literary evidence can be dated with certainty and no inscriptional records preserve this information,[2] but the proliferation of Athenian satyr vases around the end of the sixth century suggests that the genre began shortly before 500.[3] The earliest depiction of a performer wearing a satyric costume similar to the "standard," classical-age satyr costume (see figs. 0.1, 0.2, and 0.3) comes from fragments of an amphora by the Eucharides Painter, around 490–470 (fig. 2.1). A number of earlier vases have also been persuasively linked with satyr play.[4] The oldest example is an Attic red-figure volute crater from the end of the sixth century, which represents satyrs crouching and crawling in an effort to steal Heracles' weapons while the hero sleeps (fig. 2.2).[5] Although there is no indication of masks or costume shorts, an aulos player stands to the far left, removed from the action of the scene in a way that seems to mark it as performance rather than mere mythological narrative.

Prior to the official introduction of Athenian satyr drama and comedy, there were satyric and "pre-comic" performances from which these genres developed.[6] Satyr play was likely influenced by a range of sources (perhaps even

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[2] During the fifth century, satyr drama was considered part of the tragic production and not listed separately on records of victors at the City Dionysia.

[3] On the estimated date of the first satyr plays, see Buschor (1943, 83–89), Brommer (1937, 23), Simon (1982, 123), KPS (1999, 51–52), and Hedreen (2007, 155–56).

[4] Because of the variation in styles of representation, it is difficult to know which vases depict the actual performance of men dressed as satyrs and which represent "real" satyrs in mythological settings, especially because artists sometimes blended mask and costume elements into the performer's body (cf. the sole masked satyr on the Pronomos Vase, fig. 0.1). For different perspectives on these challenges, see Green (2007, 101 and 104–5) and Csapo (2010, 5). Brommer (1937), Buschor (1943), and Simon (1982) have attributed any satyr outside of a Dionysiac context to a satyric performance, and Steinhart (2004, 101–27) has established a more refined set of criteria for identifying performances, which he bases on formal Bildbrüche ("breaks in visual logic"). Lissarrague (1990, 228–36) has offered a useful critique of this type of methodology, but I find his and Csapo's analysis (2010, 5) too limiting: "The usual indices of dramatic performance…would not suffice to prove any specific connection with satyr play as opposed to mythic and cultic forms of satyr performance." Cf. Carpenter (1997, 27–28). Hedreen (1992, esp. 125–78, and 2007) offers the most balanced analysis of satyric performance on vases, viewing aulos-players, choral groupings, and hints of mask and costume as useful markers of performance.

[5] See the thorough discussion of archaeological evidence in KPS (41–73).

[6] I use the term "pre-comic" specifically to refer to humorous modes of performance before 486 that influenced the development of Athenian Old Comedy.

FIGURE 2.1 Attic red-figure amphora fragment, *ca.* 490–470, Eucharides Painter. The J. Paul Getty Museum, Villa Collection, Malibu, California. 86. AE.190.6. Terracotta.

FIGURE 2.2 Satyrs robbing the sleeping Heracles, Attic red-figure volute krater, *ca.* 510. Padula, Museo Archaeologico Provinciale della Lucania Occidentale.

some that did not include satyrs), but the genre can be linked to its prehistory most clearly through the satyrs themselves. For example, we can reasonably connect satyr drama to archaic satyric processions like that found on an Attic skyphos from the end of the sixth century (fig. 2.3) or an Athenian cup from around 550 (fig. 2.9b). Although the depiction of a satyr riding on a wheeled ship cart or on a phallus pole is unlike any known classical satyr play, it would be hard to imagine that these types of Athenian performative rituals did not

FIGURE 2.3   Dionysus and satyr in a wheeled ship cart, Attic black-figure skyphos, *ca.* 530–500, Theseus Painter. Athens National Archaeological Museum Acr 1281a. © Hellenic Ministry of Education and Religious Affairs, Culture and Sports.

influence the first poets of satyr drama. Athenian comedy, on the other hand, with its various choruses and distinct formal elements, can be persuasively linked to a wide range of humorous, pre-comic performances: phallic songs, padded Corinthian dancers, the Sicilian comedy of Epicharmus, dithyramb, Susarion, the iambus, and choral "riders."[7]

Satyric performance also influenced the development of Old Comedy, but scholars rarely mention it in their analysis of the genre's origins. Rusten (2006, 55) includes satyrs in his diagram of " 'Official' Comedy and its precursors," but he labels them with a question mark and avoids detailed discussion.[8] Herter (1947) also suggests historical connections between comedy and satyr drama, proposing that both genres grew out of the same Dionysiac phallic songs (*ta phallika*). But Rusten and Herter's theories are not mutually exclusive, and they both appear to be correct: because satyr drama was instituted first at the City Dionysia, it influenced the development of comedy, but satyr drama also

[7] As Rusten notes in his survey of comedy's precursors (2006, 54–55) "it is inherently improbable that a genre so rebellious and so diverse as comedy should have a single inventor or an orderly pattern of growth."

[8] In the introduction to *The Birth of Comedy*, Rusten (2011, 8) removes satyrs from his chart, but in his narrative calls satyr play a "clearer influence on early comedy."

developed out of and alongside some of the same pre-comic precursors as Old Comedy. Both genres were no doubt influenced by a range of earlier modes of performance, but they reveal particular connections through their mutual relationship to earlier humorous, dithyrambic *kômos*-song.

Dithyramb, Kômôidia, and Satyrs

During the classical period, dithyramb was one of the most important forms of performance at the yearly Athenian City Dionysia, with each of the ten Attic tribes contributing a chorus of fifty men and fifty boys to participate in a massive spectacle.[9] But the early history of the dithyramb is uncertain. According to the Suda, Arion of Methymna (fl. 625–585 in Corinth) was the inventor of the genre, but he seems to have received this reputation not because he was the actual founder of dithyramb, but because he played a major role in its development.[10] Archilochus of Paros provides the earliest evidence for dithyramb (*ca.* 640):

> ὡς Διωνύσου ἄνακτος καλὸν ἐξάρξαι μέλος
> οἶδα διθύραμβον οἴνῳ συγκεραυνωθεὶς φρένας.

<div align="right">Archilochus, fr. 120 West</div>

> I know how to lead the beautiful song of Lord Dionysus,
> the dithyramb, when my mind is thunderstruck with wine.

Although this fragment lacks context, it offers a sense of what early dithyramb may have been like. With its Dionysiac character (μέλος Διωνύσου ἄνακτος is in apposition to διθύραμβον) and its reference to leading a group (ἐξάρξαι), the fragment characterizes dithyramb broadly as a choral, most likely processional, song and dance in honor of Dionysus. But its allusion to drunkenness also suggests the possibility for humorous dithyrambic poetry, since it is hard to imagine that being "thunderstruck with wine" would be a fitting mental state for leading a solemn dithyramb.

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[9] On dithyramb, see Froning (1971), Pickard-Cambridge (1962), Zimmermann (1992), Ieranò (1997), Pritchard (2004), and many useful studies in Kowalzig and Wilson (2013).

[10] For ancient testimony on the dithyramb, see Ieranò (1997). Herodotus (1.23) seems to suggest that Arion shifted dithyramb from its older improvised roots to a more literary form, calling him "the first man we know of to make, name, and produce dithyramb" (διθύραμβον πρῶτον ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν ποιήσαντά τε καὶ ὀνομάσαντα καὶ διδάξαντα). Proclus cites a comment by Aristotle (*ap.* Phot. *Bibl.* 320a 30-3 = Arist. fr. 677 Rose³) which notes that Arion was the first to introduce circular choruses (πρῶτος τὸν κύκλιον ἤγαγε χορόν), an important development that allowed dithyramb's transition from procession to stationary theatrical performance (where limited orchestra space would force it to be circular). For a summary of the long-standing confusion between dithyramb and circle-choruses, see Miller & Csapo (2007, 8). For a compelling discussion of the various "circle" elements surrounding Arion and dithyramb, see Csapo (2003).

The third-century Mnesiepes inscription supports this interpretation, connecting Archilochus with a humorously obscene, Dionysiac, choral poem that is likely a dithyramb.[11] Although the stone is broken and offers only fragments, column three of the inscription mentions Archilochus improvising ([αὐτο]σχεδιασ[) and leading (διδάξαντα) a chorus; and the poem itself (fr. 251 West) names Dionysus in the first line and possibly refers to him again in line five as "The Screwer." There also appear to be allusions to the breasts of a young woman ("unripe grapes," v. 3) and the female sexual organs ("sweet figs," v. 4).[12] Taken together, fragment 120 and the Mnesiepes inscription point to some of the qualities of seventh-century Dionysiac dithyramb.[13] Although it developed into a serious, literary genre by the fifth century, archaic dithyramb appears to have been (or included) drunken, sexually obscene, improvised, processional song and dance.[14]

The characteristic elements found in Archilochus' early dithyramb establish the genre as *kômos*-song, ritual drunken procession, and the Athenian *Fasti* suggests that the term *kômos* may even have served as an official designation for dithyramb during the early phases of the City Dionysia.[15] First inscribed around 346, the *Fasti* is a fragmentary inscription identifying victors at the Greater Dionysiac festival back to just before 500 (*IG* II² 2318).[16] Each year's entry includes the archon, the victorious tribe and *choregos* in boy's dithyramb, the victorious tribe and *choregos* in men's dithyramb, the victorious *didaskalos* and *choregos* in comedy, and the victorious *didaskalos* and *choregos* in tragedy. Above the first four columns of the *Fasti*, however, is a heading in a larger script:]ΤΟΝ ΚΩΜΟΙ ΗΣΑΝ Τ[ΩΙ ΔΙΟΝΥΣ]ΩΙ ΤΡΑΓΩΙΔΟΙ Δ[..., which can be translated "...FIR]ST THERE WERE KOMOI T[O DIONYS]US, TRAGIC D[...]." As Steinhart and others have noted, these unnamed *kômoi* were likely dithyrambic performances, especially when considered alongside the Law of

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[11] Privitera (1988, 123–25). *SEG* 15.517. Testimonium 3 in Gerber (1999). See especially col. 3, 12–55. Cf. Hedreen (2007).

[12] Cf. West (1974, 25), Lehnus (1980), and Luppe (1993).

[13] Cf. Bartol (1992, 67–69).

[14] Nagy (2007, 123): "Dithyramb shows a continuum rather than a break between low art and high art, between grotesquerie and gracefulness, between wantonness and stateliness." Cf. Steinhart (2007). The Parian Marble's (264) assertion that Susarion is the inventor of Athenian comedy connects dithyramb and comedy in an interesting way. Rusten (2006, 54): "It is not, however, a problem that a name perhaps suggesting comic dithyramb is called the inventor of comedy; it is much easier to imagine that a popular and versatile genre of performance in the sixth century, the dithyramb, had its occasionally comic perversion than that full-fledged Old Comedy existed seventy years too soon." As Aristotle notes in his discussion of how men are portrayed in poetry (*Poetics* 1448a16), Timotheus' dithyrambic *Cyclops* depicts the characters better than men actually are, and Philoxenus' dithyrambic *Cyclops* treats them as worse.

[15] Cf. Leonhardt (1991) and Steinhart (2007, 212).

[16] See Pickard-Cambridge (1968, 101–7), *CAD* (40–41). Connor (1990) has argued that the City Dionysia was founded during this period rather than the 530s, which is supplied by the Parian Marble. Cf. Anderson (2003, 178–84).

Euegorus (*ap.* Demosthenes, *Meid.* 10), which similarly links the *kômos* and the dithyramb:[17]

> Εὐήγορος εἶπεν· ὅταν ἡ πομπὴ ᾖ τῷ Διονύσῳ ἐν Πειραιεῖ καὶ οἱ κωμῳδοὶ καὶ οἱ τραγῳδοί, καὶ <ἡ> ἐπὶ Ληναίῳ πομπὴ καὶ οἱ τραγῳδοὶ καὶ οἱ κωμῳδοί, καὶ τοῖς ἐν ἄστει Διονυσίοις ἡ πομπὴ καὶ οἱ παῖδες καὶ ὁ κῶμος καὶ οἱ κωμῳδοὶ καὶ οἱ τραγῳδοί ... μὴ ἐξεῖναι μήτε ἐνεχυράσαι μήτε λαμβάνειν ἕτερον ἑτέρου
>
> <div align="right">Demosthenes, Meid. 10</div>

> Euegorus proposed: whenever there is the procession for Dionysus in Piraeus, as well as comedies and tragedies, and whenever there is the procession at the Lenaea, as well as tragedies and comedies, and whenever there is the procession at the City Dionysia and the boys' <dithyramb> and the *kômos* and comedies and tragedies ... let it not be allowed to seize goods for debt or to take someone else's property.

The order of performances listed in this law corresponds to the order of performances at the City Dionysia found on the *Fasti* (the procession, the boy's chorus, men's dithyramb, comedy, and tragedy), but there is no explicit mention of the dithyramb in this document. Instead, Euegorus appears to use the term *kômos* as a synonym for the men's dithyramb.[18] Although this designation probably grew out of its earliest stages as Dionysiac processional revelry (like that alluded to by Archilochus), the term persisted into the sixth century when dithyramb was instituted at the City Dionysia, and it even seems to have been common enough that Euegorus could use it as a synonym in his proposed fourth-century law.

As *kômos*-song, dithyramb has a clear linguistic relationship to comedy, since the official term *kômôidia* is etymologically made up of the words κῶμος (revelry, merry-making) and ῳδή / ἀοιδή (song).[19] This linguistic relationship presupposes larger historical connections: dithyramb presumably served as an influential precursor to comedy, and comedy presumably received its name from its associations with dithyrambic *kômos*-song.[20] Historical and material evidence confirm this relationship, but evidence also shows that dithyramb was an influential precursor to satyr play and that satyric and pre-comic performance overlapped as dithyrambic *kômos*-song. These connections can best be visualized as a Venn diagram:

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[17] Steinhart (2007, 212). Cf. Ghiron-Bistagne (1976, 226–27); *CAD* (41).

[18] The alternative option, which seems unlikely, would be that "The Men" is lost from the text and that *kômos* refers to another type of performance. See Sourvinou-Inwood (2003, 69–81).

[19] Cf. Aristotle *Poetics* 1448a37.

[20] Leonhardt (1991) proposes a rereading of *Poetics* 1449a9–15 that suggests that Aristotle's language connects comedy with dithyramb and tragedy with phallic song. While his readings seem too extreme, he raises some useful points about the relationship between dithyramb and comedy (as well as of phallic songs and tragedy).
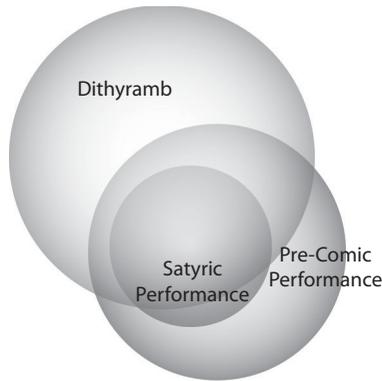
During the sixth century, much dithyramb was humorous, pre-comic *kômos*-song, and much pre-comic performance was dithyramb, while a small portion of dithyramb and pre-comic performance was satyric. However, probably all satyric performance was pre-comic (at least it seems that satyrs were used almost exclusively in less serious performances), and most, if not all, satyric performance was dithyramb.

Extensive evidence demonstrates the historical connections between dithyrambic, pre-comic, and satyric performance in archaic Greece. For example, a large class of seventh- and sixth-century vases, primarily from Corinth and Attica, depict *kômos*-dancers who can be linked to all three modes of performance. Typically, the komasts wear costumes padded with an oversized belly and buttocks, in some instances with an attached phallus, and are often depicted drinking and dancing obscenely, frequently in a procession.[21] The drunkenness and obscenity are reminiscent of Archilochus' dithyramb above, and the connection is strengthened by two vases on which komasts are labeled with the name Komios ("Revelrous one"), which evokes dithyramb's alternate title, *kômos* (Cf. figs. 2.4: ϘΟΜΙΟΣ. The artist uses the early Greek koppa, ϙ, rather than a kappa, and the iota looks somewhat like a sigma).[22] Geographically, the origination of the majority of these *kômos* vases is significant as well, since Corinth was famously the location where Arion is said to have founded the genre.

The costumes depicted on these vases also reveal a number of similarities to the costumes of Athenian comic actors from the fifth and fourth centuries, but critics of this connection cite two issues: first, unlike Athenian comic actors, padded dancers are only rarely mega-phallic; second, these komasts begin to fade out around a hundred years before comedy's official start at the City Dionysia. Although there is not a direct link between the komasts and Athenian comedy, it does not rule out a connection. In fact, the gap appears to

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[21] On the costume and obscenity of komasts, see Csapo and Miller (2007, 14–16).

[22] Steinhart (2007, 212). For more on padded komasts as performers of dithyramb, see Zimmermann (1992) and Steinhart (2004, 57–64).

FIGURE 2.4   Corinthian black-figure skyphos (Side B), *ca.* 585–570, Painter from Samos. Paris, Louvre Inv. No. CA3004. Photo: Hervé Lewandowski. © RMN-Grand Palais / Art Resource, NY.

have been mediated by the satyrs.[23] Komasts and satyrs are both companions of Dionysus who love wine, dance, song, obscenity, and sexual activities, and it is probably not a coincidence that Arion introduced satyrs to speaking roles in the same place where these komasts were, apparently, performing his dithyrambs.[24] Satyric and komastic figures even overlap in form and context. For example, on a Corinthian alabastron, a padded dancer wears a horsetail like that of a satyr (fig. 2.5), and the earliest artists to put komasts and satyrs into a mythological setting on vases start at the same time and use the same story, the Return of Hephaestus. This myth was a favorite of archaic Greek artists, who typically depict Dionysus with his processional *kômos* of satyrs and a drunken Hephaestus as they return to Mt. Olympus (e.g., the famous François Vase, fig. 2.6).[25] However, an early sixth-century Corinthian aphoriskos represents

[23] Green (2007, 99) convincingly suggests that the activities of the padded dancers are taken over by the satyrs, but he notes that they "may have taken only part of the padded dancers' territory."

[24] The Suda (alpha, 3886) says that Arion was the first to make satyrs recite verse.

[25] The vase depicts Dionysus (labeled on the left) leading the mule that carries Hephaestus (also labeled) and the *kômos* of satyrs (labeled "Silenoi"). On the Return of Hephaestus and Dionysiac processional ritual, see Hedreen (2004). Cf. Lissarrague (1990a, 40–42). For the importance

FIGURE 2.5   Corinthian-style Boeotian black-figure alabastron, *ca*. 575–550. Göttingen, Archäologisches Institut der Universität HU 533g.
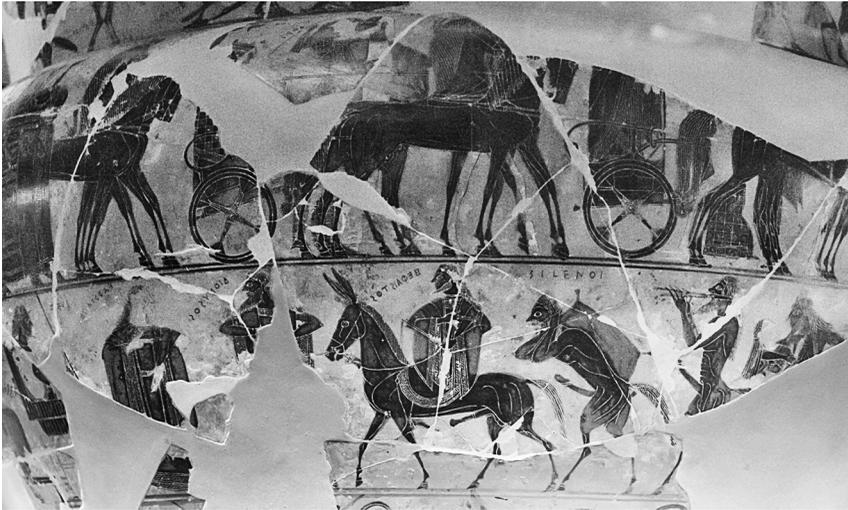
FIGURE 2.6   Hephaestus on a mule followed by a silen or satyr carrying a wineskin. Detail from the François Vase, Attic black-figure volute krater, *ca*. 570. Florence, Museo archeologico nazionale di Firenze. Photo Credit : Egisto Sani.

komasts in the same role as satyrs in the procession, and like satyrs (and fifth-century Athenian comic actors, for that matter), they are mega-phallic (fig. 2.7a–c).

Padded komast dancers also overlap chronologically, geographically, and contextually with satyrs, appearing together on the same sixth-century

FIGURE 2.7a–c   Middle Corinthian aphoriskos, *ca*. 595–570. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 664. © Hellenic Ministry of Education and Religious Affairs, Culture and Sports.

Corinthian, Laconian, Boeotian, Thasian, and Attic materials.[26] For example, a series of Laconian and Attic vases associate komasts with the story of the capture of Silenus, including one in which a komast takes on the role of the satyr,[27] and in a fascinating Attic representation of the Return of Hephaestus on a black figure dinos, satyrs and komasts appear side by side in the same Dionysiac procession (fig. 2.8). They also appear together in the same performative contexts, as on the Athenian cup mentioned above (figs. 2.9a and 2.9b). On one side, there is an image of six men carrying an oversized satyr riding a phallus pole in procession, and on the opposite side, there is a similar image of six men carrying a phallus pole in procession, but instead of a satyr, an oversized padded komast rides the phallus. The way in which these images mirror each other is remarkable, creating obvious parallels between the satyr and the komast in Athenian Dionysiac performative procession of the mid-sixth century.

The various connections between komasts and satyrs seem to have ultimately resulted in the demise of the padded dancer. The earliest depiction of satyrs began around 580, and although they shared space with padded

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of satyrs in the depictions of Hephaestus' return, see Hedreen (1992, 13–30; 2004). Chapter 3 offers the full backstory of the myth, p. 70.

[26] For a Corinthian example, see Amyx (1988, 620–21); Boeotian, Kilinski (1990, 46); Thasian, Coulié (2000, 107).

[27] Cf. Faustoferri (1986, 121), Pipili (1987, 39), and Green (1995a, 22).

FIGURE 2.8   Top: Centauromachia, *kômos* scene, return of Hephaestus, banquet scene, Achilles and Troilus. Black-figure Corinthian dinos, mid-6th century, Louvre Painter. Paris, Louvre Inv. 876. Photo: Hervé. Lewandowski. © RMN-Grand Palais / Art Resource, NY.

FIGURE 2.9a   Oversized komast riding phallus pole (Side A), Attic black-figure lip-cup, unattributed. Florence Soprintendenza alle Antichità 3897.

FIGURE 2.9b   Oversized satyr riding phallus pole (Side B), Attic black-figure lip-cup, unattributed. Florence, Soprintendenza alle Antichità 3897.

komasts for a short while, they became very popular on Greek vases by 560, just as images of padded dancers began to decline. Satyrs took over the primary role of komast, while also becoming more closely associated with Dionysus in mythological and performative contexts.[28] Not only are they represented in depictions of the Return of Hephaestus, but they are also depicted in what appear to be representations of actual Dionysiac processions. Despite the progressive shift away from portraying padded dancers of the Corinthian style to portraying satyrs, the content and context of these vases overlap in significant ways, suggesting that dithyrambic *kômos*-song included satyric and "pre-comic" performance.

   The less differentiated origins of comedy and satyr drama can also be noted on certain late-archaic vases, which represent choruses of men performing as or riding on a wide range of animals, including dolphins, horses, ostriches, bulls, and birds.[29] These vases are suggestive of Old Comedy in their use of animal choruses, but they predate official comedy by a few decades. Csapo and Rusten have convincingly argued that these rider choruses represent dithyrambic performance.[30] As Pindar remarks in his second dithyramb (fr. 70b,

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[28] On the similar function of satyrs and komasts, see Carpenter (2007, 43), Green (2007, 104–5), and Isler-Kerényi (2007, 91). It is not, though, as Greifenhagen (1929, 65–6) argues, that satyrs are mere mythological representations of the real-world komastic performers.

[29] For a survey, see Green (1985) and Rothwell (2007, 36–80).

[30] Csapo (2003, 86–90) and Rusten (2006, 52). Cf. Brommer (1942), Bielefeld (1946–47), and Lonsdale (1993, 98).

22–23), Dionysus "is thrilled by choruses of dancing beasts," a connection to animals that is made even more compelling by the myth of Arion, who was just as famous in antiquity for his fantastic rescue by a dolphin as he was for inventing dithyramb.[31] According to legend, after winning a musical competition in Sicily, Arion boarded a ship back to Greece from southern Italy, but the crew learned of his winnings and plotted to kill him along the way. They gave Arion the choice either to commit suicide or jump overboard and risk dying at sea, but first they allowed him to put on his ornate musician's costume and sing one last song on his kithara. When he finished, he leapt off the ship and was carried to the Peloponnese on the back of a dolphin who had approached the boat to listen to his music. Csapo (2003) has made persuasive connections between Arion's myth and the circular dithyramb. Although dithyramb was initially processional, Arion came to Corinth and introduced a circular dance within the procession. Like dolphins (animals traditionally associated with Dionysus[32]), who swim in a straight line but occasionally stop and leap in circles, the performers of the dithyramb walked in a straight procession, but would occasionally stop and dance in a circular fashion. This seems to correspond to a number of vases from the late sixth and early fifth centuries with choral dolphin riders, such as an Athenian psykter by Oltos (*ca.* 510), which shows dolphin riders singing in unison the words "*epi delphinos*" in what is almost certainly a dithyrambic performance.[33]

Although these vases depicting rider-choruses suggest that such "animalistic" dithyramb was an important precursor to Old Comedy, an Attic black-figure amphora from around 540, known as the Berlin Knights, connects choral dithyramb of animal riders with satyrs and pre-comic performance (figs. 2.10a and 2.10b).[34] The obverse of the vase represents an aulos player in formal dress leading a chorus of three men wearing helmets who are riding three men dressed as horses. Although the scene is presumably dithyrambic, its ridiculous costume and action also qualify it as "pre-comic" *kômos* song. The horse figures wear tails and horse masks which rest on top of their heads so the choreuts' faces are still visible. They hunch over, and smaller young

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[31] Cf. Bowra (1970), Schamp (1976), and Kowalzig (2013).

[32] For example, consider Dionysus' famous metamorphosis of Tyrrhenian sailors into dolphins (Apollod. 3.5.3; *Hom. Hymn.* 4.44; Ov. *Met.* 3.582).

[33] According to Herodotus (*Hist.* 1.23.5), there was even a statue of Arion on a dolphin at Taenarum which was inscribed "*epi delphinos*," the same phrase spoken by the chorus on the Oltos psykter. It is also significant that Arion's father is named "Kukleos" (Circler) and, as noted above, that Proclus quotes Aristotle saying that (*ap.* Phot. *Bibl.* 320a 30-3 = Arist. fr. 677 Rose³) Arion "first introduced the circular chorus." Cf. Greifenhagen (1965) and Ieranò (1992).

[34] There is also an interesting later (fourth-century) connection between Dionysiac dithyramb, satyrs, and animals on the famous monument in honor of the choregos Lysicrates' dithyrambic victory. The monument's circular frieze depicts satyrs in the myth of Dionysus and the Tyrrhenian pirates when the god metamorphoses the kidnappers into dolphins. For centuries, scholars have believed that this frieze depicts the subject matter of the winning dithyramb, thereby linking Dionysiac dithyramb with satyrs and dolphins. Cf. Wilson (2000, 219–26).

FIGURE 2.10a   Aulos player with actors dressed as horses and riders, Attic black-figure amphora, *ca.* 540, Berlin Painter. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen Inv. F 1697. Photo: Karin März. Art Resource, NY.
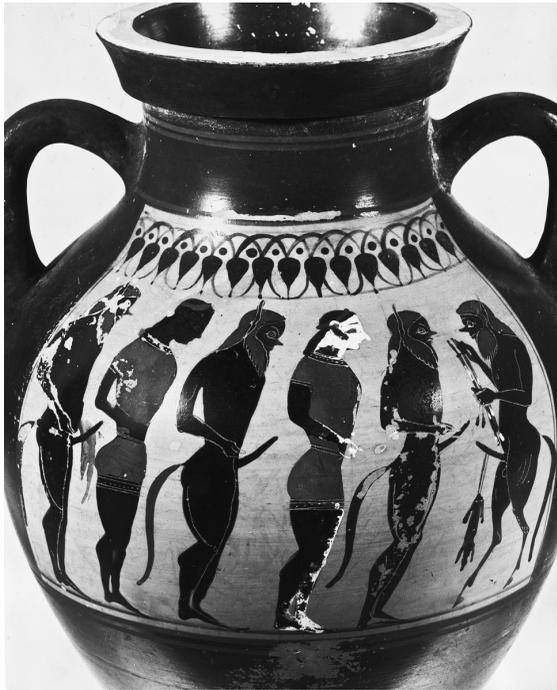
FIGURE 2.10b   Silen and satyr/nymph chorus, Attic black-figure amphora, *ca.* 540, Berlin Painter. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen Inv. F 1697. Photo: Karin März. Art Resource, NY.

men ride on their backs/shoulders, holding on to the horse's mane with one hand while raising the other in the air. These riders wear helmets with bizarre crests: ears that look like they belong to a donkey, a crescent shape that resembles horns, and a circle with a cross in it. On the reverse of this vase, a satyr is represented as an aulos player, standing before a group of satyrs and nymphs lined up in choral formation. There is no evidence of costume, and the satyric aulos player has horse hooves, but the arrangement of its choral figures and aulos player is suggestive of performance (even if it is a mythical representation of performance), and it clearly mirrors the chorus of Knights on the other side. Vases of this period often depict scenes on opposite sides that complement each other,[35] and Hedreen (2007, 163) perceives such a close relationship between the obverse and reverse that he says, "One might go so far as to say that the decoration of the vase suggests that the ideal model or prototype of the dithyrambic or comic choros of knights and horses is a mythical choros of silens and nymphs." If this interpretation is correct, the composition of this vase suggestively links dithyrambic, pre-comic, and satyric performance well before the official introduction of comedy and satyr drama in Athens.

In the account of drama's development found in the *Poetics*, Aristotle draws similar historical connections between satyric, comic/pre-comic, and dithyrambic performance. Although he states that tragedy developed out of dithyramb (*Poetics* 1449a10–11) and comedy out of phallic songs (1449a12–14), he complicates his model by also saying that tragedy developed out of something satyric (ἐκ σατυρικοῦ).[36] As Seaford has shown, the adjective "satyric" does not mean "satyr drama," but indicates the "slight plots and laughable diction" (μικρῶν μύθων καὶ λέξεως γελοίας) found in earlier dithyrambs, which were both satyr-drama-like and could be "sung by (among others) satyrs."[37] However, the phallic nature of satyrs also links them to "ta phallika," the mode of performance from which Aristotle claims comedy developed.[38] We have, then, a complex formula where satyric performance is connected to tragedy because both were dithyrambic, but it is also connected to comedy because both are phallic songs. Nagy offers a useful summary of Aristotle's complicated history of the genres (2007, 123):

> Aristotle is positing here an early phase of drama where proto-tragedy and proto-comedy are already differentiated, but these prototypes are seen as forms that

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[35] Steiner (1993) presents a useful analysis of the "meaning" of repetition on obverse and reverse of archaic vases.

[36] Lavecchia (2000, 64–65 and 273–74) makes the persuasive suggestion that Pindar's dithyramb about Orion (only fragments of which are extant) incorporated both a history of the genre and satyrs. The third-century CE Papyrus Berol. 9571v refers to the Orion story in Pindar's dithyramb right before noting that tragedy originated in dithyramb, most likely *via* satyr play. Pindar's dithyramb may have been mentioned to support Aristotle's theory. Cf. Del Corno (1974, 107–9).

[37] Seaford (1994, 268).

[38] In a discussion of Archilochus' seventh-century dithyramb, Csapo and Miller (2007, 11) remark: "At this point in history, it would appear, the dithyramb was also not very far from phallic song."

have not yet reached the ultimate forms of tragedy and comedy, because tragedy has not yet been differentiated from dithyramb, whereas the satyr drama has not yet been differentiated from comedy. By implication, there is a still earlier phase where tragedy/dithyramb are not yet differentiated from satyr drama/comedy.

Aristotle suggests that all four theatrical genres of the classical age were progressively differentiated, the two serious forms from dithyramb, the two humorous forms from phallic songs,[39] but the way in which he connects dithyramb to satyric performance, while also connecting pre-comic phallic song to satyric performance demonstrates that, for Aristotle, dithyrambic, satyric, and pre-comic performance overlapped at some point in the history of the theater.

Pratinas

The most famous name in early satyr drama was Pratinas of Phlius, but details about his life and career are uncertain. According to the hypothesis of Aeschylus' *Seven against Thebes*, Pratinas' son Aristias came in second place at the City Dionysia with his father's satyric *Palaestae* during the seventy-eighth Olympiad. This notice provides a *terminus* for the end of the dramatist's career at 467.[40] No information remains about the start of his career, but the Suda asserts that he was competing in Athens by about 499:

Πρατίνας, Πυρρωνίδου ἢ Ἐγκωμίου, Φλιάσιος, ποιητὴς τραγῳδίας· ἀντηγωνίζετο δὲ Αἰσχύλῳ τε καὶ Χοιρίλῳ ἐπὶ τῆς ο’ Ὀλυμπιάδος (499/96), καὶ πρῶτος ἔγραψε Σατύρους. ἐπιδεικνυμένου δὲ τούτου συνέβη τὰ ἴκρια, ἐφ’ ὧν ἑστήκεσαν οἱ θεαταί, πεσεῖν, καὶ ἐκ τούτου θέατρον ᾠκοδομήθη Ἀθηναίοις. καὶ δράματα μὲν ἐπεδείξατο ν’ (50), ὧν σατυρικὰ λβ’ (32)· ἐνίκησε δὲ ἅπαξ.

<div align="right">Pratinas, <i>TrGF</i> T1</div>

Pratinas, the son of either Pyrronides or Encomius, from Phlius was a tragic poet. He competed against Aeschylus and Choerilus in the seventieth Olympiad (499/96) and was the first to write satyr plays. When he was presenting his plays, the planks on which the spectators stood fell down, and

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[39] Cf. Depew (2007, 131).
[40] DID C 4 (P. Oxy. 2256) offers the same information in the list of winners from 467, though it implies that all the plays, not just the satyr play, were by Pratinas (*TrGF* T2):

…ἐπὶ ἄρχοντ(ος) Θεαγ]ενί δου Ὀλ[υ]μπιάδος [οἥ ἔτει] α[´ ἐνίκα Αἰσχύλ]ος Λαΐῳ, Οἰδ[ί]ποδι, Ἑπτὰ ἐπὶ Θήβαις, Σφιγγὶ σατυ(ρικῇ).] δεύτερος Ἀριστίας ταῖς τοῦ πα[τρὸς Πρατίνο]υ τραγῳδ[ί]αις. τρί[τ]ος [Πο]λυ[φράσμων] Λυκουργε[ίᾳ] τ[ετρ]αλογίαι.

…when Theagenides was archon, in the first year of the seventy-eighth Olympiad (467), Aeschylus won with *Laius, Oedipus, Seven Against Thebes*, and the satyric *Sphinx*. Second was Aristias with his father Pratinas' tragedies. Third was Polyphrasmon with the Lycurgeia tetralogy.

on account of this a theater was constructed by the Athenians. He staged fifty plays, thirty-two of which were satyric. He won once.

Although the details about Pratinas' life provided by the Suda are impossible to verify, the date 499 corresponds to the comment found in the hypothesis, and the anecdote about the bleachers collapsing in the agora (as fanciful as it may be) also indicates an early date for his productions in Athens, since it precedes the construction of the theater. The remains of satyr vases also put the first satyr plays around this period, perhaps lending weight to the statement that Pratinas was the first to write satyr plays (that is, in Athens and in contrast to other types of satyric performance).

Whether or not Pratinas was actually the first author of satyr plays, he was obviously thought of as a satyr dramatist first and a tragedian second.[41] Pseudo-Acro, a late antique commentator, refers to him in a discussion of Horace's *Ars Poetica* as the first producer of satyr plays in Athens (primus Athenis . . . satyricam fabulam induxit, *TrGF* T11),[42] and Dioscorides, in two of his Hellenistic epigrams, deems Pratinas the champion of satyr drama and the benchmark for the genre's style.[43] Pausanias (*TrGF* T7) similarly indicates Pratinas' fame as an author of the satyr play, noting an ancient monument in his native town of Phlius (a Doric city in the Argolid about twenty kilometers southwest of Corinth) that read: "Here too is the monument of Aristias, son of Pratinas. Aristias and his father Pratinas wrote the best satyr plays except those by Aeschylus." Additionally, the Suda states that thirty-two of his fifty dramatic productions were satyric, an impossibly high ratio of satyr plays to tragedies given the typical fifth-century festival format (three tragedies to one satyr play). This discrepancy could point to a fundamental error in the Suda's source, but the sizable imbalance more likely points to its accuracy. It would be very difficult for any ancient critic who knew the general make-up of the fifth-century City Dionysia to come to these numbers accidentally. Pratinas may have been competing when the festival was less strictly organized and

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[41] It is interesting that Tzetzes *ad Lyc.* (*TrGF* T. 8, Scheer vol. II, p. 3.4–11) lists an array of tragic and comic poets, but concludes with the name of a single satyric poet: Pratinas. Lloyd-Jones (1990, 228) points out that labeling Pratinas as the founder of the genre may be "nothing more than an instance of the common tendency for the earliest author known to have been eminent in any genre to be credited with its invention."

[42] Actually, the codices state that "Cratinas" (i.e., "Cratinus"), not Pratinas, "introduced the satyric story" (satyrica dramata, in quibus salva maiestate gravitatis iocos inserebant secundum *Cratinae* institutionem; is enim primus Athenis, dum Dionysia essent, satyricam fabulam induxit). Casaubon (correctly, no doubt) modifies the text from *Cratinae* to *Pratinae*, since the poet of Old Comedy could in no way have been the founder of the satyric genre.

[43] *AP* 7.37 and 7.707. For a fuller discussion of Dioscorides' epigrams, see Chapter 6, p. 139–40. On scholarly interest in Pratinas during the Hellenistic period, see Nicolucci (2003) and Fantuzzi (2007).

the number of tragedies and satyr plays could vary depending on the poet's whim.[44]

A few titles of Pratinas' plays remain (e.g., *Dymaenae* or *Caryatids, Perseus, Tantalus, Satyr Wrestlers*), and a few short quotes are cited by later scholars, but the longest and most famous extant fragment (*TrGF* 3) suggests that Pratinas was composing during the early development of the City Dionysia. It exhibits satyric, dithyrambic, and pre-comic characteristics and coincided with the transition of dithyrambic *kômos*-song from procession to the theater. We will see, in fact, that Pratinas actively differentiates his humorous satyr drama from dithyrambic *kômos*-song, employing tropes typically associated with Old Comedy to criticize contemporary trends in music and dancing at the theater of Dionysus.

In the introduction to Pratinas' fragment, Athenaeus says that the poet was angry that aulos players and dancers were taking over the theatrical space in the theater of Dionysus: "Pipe-players did not play music to accompany the choruses, as was traditional, but the choruses instead sang to accompany the pipes."[45] Pratinas expresses his anger at this musical trend by relating an onstage skirmish in which a chorus insults and assaults its aulos player for usurping the lead role in their Dionysiac song:

> τίς ὁ θόρυβος ὅδε; τί τάδε τὰ χορεύματα;
>   τίς ὕβρις ἔμολεν ἐπὶ Διονυσιάδα πο-
>   λυπάταγα θυμέλαν;
> ἐμὸς ἐμὸς ὁ Βρόμιος,
>   ἐμὲ δεῖ κελαδεῖν, ἐμὲ δεῖ παταγεῖν
>   ἀν' ὄρεα σύμενον μετὰ Ναϊάδων
> οἷά τε κύκνον ἄγοντα
>   ποικιλόπτερον μέλος.
> τὰν ἀοιδὰν κατέστασε Πιε-
>   ρὶς βασίλειαν. ὁ δ' αὐλὸς
> ὕστερον χορευέτω·   5
> καὶ γάρ ἐσθ' ὑπηρέτας.
> κώμῳ μόνον θυραμάχοις τε
> πυγμαχίαισι νέων θέλοι παροίνων
> ἔμμεναι στρατηλάτας.
> παῖε τὸν φρυνεοῦ   10
> ποικίλου πνοὰν ἔχοντα·
> φλέγε τὸν ὀλεσιαλοκάλαμον
> λαλοβαρύοπα <πα>ραμελορυθμοβάταν
> †θυπα τρυπάνῳ δέμας πεπλασμένον.

ἢν ἰδού· ἄδε σοι δεξιᾶς καὶ ποδὸς διαρριφά·   15
Θρίαμβοδιθύραμβε, κισσοχαῖτ᾽ ἄναξ,
<ἄκου᾽> ἄκουε τὰν ἐμὰν Δώριον χορείαν.

<div align="right">Pratinas, <i>TrGF</i> 3</div>

What is this noise? What are these dances?
What is this outrage at the tumultuous
altar of Dionysus?
Bromius is mine, mine.
> It is for me to sing loudly; it is for me to make noise,
> dancing along the mountains with the Naiads,
just like a swan leading
its dappled-wing melody.
The Pierian Muse has determined the queenly
song: let the pipe
dance the second part.
For it is the servant.
It can only lead the revel
and the brawls of drunk young
men fighting in doorways.
Strike the one who has
the voice of a spotted toad.
Burn the spit-wasting reed,
that babbling, off-beat, out of tune
tool shaped by a drill.
Look at me, flinging my hands and feet.
Thriambodithyrambus, ivy-crowned lord,
listen, listen to my Dorian dance.

Since Joseph Becker's early twentieth-century dissertation, *De Pratina*, scholars have almost universally agreed that the singers of this fragment were a band of satyrs.[46] The chorus' exclamation that they dance before the altar of Dionysus (Διονυσιάδα … θυμέλαν) and associate with Naiads (μετὰ Ναϊάδων) suggests an obvious link to the satyric *thiasos*,[47] and the chorus' flailing dance described at verse fifteen (ἄδε σοι δεξιᾶς καὶ ποδὸς διαρριφά) is a fitting description of the satyrs' traditional *sikinnis*.[48]

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[46] Becker (1912, 29).

[47] Greek mythology maintains that Dionysus, as a young divinity, traveled into the mountains of India to teach viticulture and establish temples for himself. As the god traveled through the bucolic settings of the east, he encountered satyrs and maenads, whom he initiated into his *thiasos*, and together the group conquered cities and killed protestors (cf. Nonnus, *Dionysiaca*, 14.106ff.).

[48] Festa (1918, esp. 51–70), in his thorough study of the satyric dance, observes that the satyrs move in a semi-circular motion, alternately hoisting their right leg and arm and then their left leg and arm. Also see the Pronomos vase (fig. 0.1), which depicts one eager choreut already

Despite the fragment's satyric chorus and its attribution to Pratinas (whose reputation as satyr dramatist eclipsed even his reputation as tragedian), some scholars doubt that it comes from a satyr play. The problem stems largely from Athenaeus' introduction (Athen. *Deipn.* xiv.617b), which dubs the passage an ὑπόρχημα, a vague and ambiguous term that appears to have had different meanings in different regions and times.[49] Dale (1969, esp. 38–40) and Cippola (2003, 65) assert that Athenaeus would not have used the term unless he meant to categorize the passage within the specific class of poetry known as "hypo-rchemes," but it is unclear what this type of performance would have entailed.[50] Plato lists it among dithyrambs, encomia, epic, and iambi in his *Ion* (534c), which suggests that it may have been a distinct mode of performance, but Lucian (*De Saltibus* 16.6) and Plutarch (*Quaestiones Conviviales* IX, 152) speak of it more broadly as a song and dance performed at the same time, a definition that could be applied to most, if not all, Greek choral poetry from the late sixth and early fifth centuries (including dramatic or dithyrambic performances).[51]

I would argue that this passage likely comes from a satyr play, but Athenaeus (or the source he was copying from) used the term ὑπόρχημα because its general meaning covered a wide range of designations. The original source was probably lost over the seven centuries between Pratinas and Athenaeus, and the ambiguous "hyporcheme" corresponded to the ambiguous nature of the passage, which contains satyric, comic, and dithyrambic elements.[52] For

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wearing his mask and taking on the character and dance of the satyr. With his right foot on the ground and his right hand on his hip, he puts his left arm straight out beside him and lifts and bends his left leg. The depiction leaves little doubt that the masked satyr is dancing the *sikinnis*, and it appears that the chorus in Pratinas' fragment is singing of the very same dance. For further discussion of the satyric dance, see Roos (1951, 216–18), KPS (1999, 21–23), and Seidensticker (2010).

[49] On the hyporcheme and the difficulty defining it, see Mathiesen (1999, 88–94).

[50] Deubner (1919, 397 = 1982, 286), Koller (1954, 173), and Seaford (1977–78, 87) doubt that it is a formal genre.

[51] Scholiasts commonly use it in this general sense to label a lyric passage from a dramatic production. For instances in which "hyporcheme" refers to tragedy, see Garrod (1920, 133–4), and for instances in which it refers to satyr drama, see Pohlenz (1927, 492). Cf. Harvey (1955, 157–75). D'Alessio (2007) argues that the hyporcheme is dramatic. Wilamowitz (1910, 77) expresses the imprecision of the term, describing it as "ein schlechter Name" because "denn Tanzlieder sind sie ja alle."

[52] As Athenaeus (14.630c) makes clear, there were a number of pre-dramatic, satyric performances, all of which were related by their use of a satyr chorus: "All satyric poetry in ancient times was made up of choruses, as tragedy even was at that time; on account of this, they had no actors" (συνέστηκεν δὲ καὶ σατυρικὴ πᾶσα ποίησις τὸ παλαιὸν ἐκ χορῶν, ὡς καὶ ἡ τότε τραγῳδία· διόπερ οὐδὲ ὑποκριτὰς εἶχον). Cf. Seaford (1977, 86): "Pratinas' song stands at the transition from satyric choral performance to satyric drama." Schmid/Stählin (1929, v.1 pt. 2, p. 180) provides a number of elements that he associates with Old Comedy: "die zahllosen Auflösungen, die erregte Diktion, die Aufforderung zum Prügeln und Brennen, die mimische Lebendigkeit, die von starker gestikulation unterstützt worden sein muss, die monströsen Wortzusammensetzungen." Napolitano (2000), Wilamowitz (1913, 133–34), and Pickard-Cambridge (1962, 20) assert that Pratinas' fragment is a late sixth-century dithyramb.

example, the chorus of satyrs uses language suggestive of Dionysiac devotionary hymn, mentioning the altar of Dionysus, calling the god by his poetic name Βρόμιος in verse four, and invoking him in verse sixteen with two (or three) different cultic titles: Thriambos, Dithyrambos (or Thriambodithyrambos), and Ivy-crowned Lord. This string of epithets is suggestive of dithyramb (especially the name Διθύραμβε), as are the compound words offered in verses twelve and thirteen,[53] but similar epithets for Dionysus can be found in Euripides' *Cyclops* (e.g., φιλοκισσοφόρον Βρόμιον, v. 620), and similar compounds show up in Old Comedy as parodies of dithyrambic style.[54] The same is true of Pratinas' obscene language, which is appropriate to dithyramb, comedy, and satyr drama. For example, the satyrs make a humorous sexual allusion when they refer to the musical instrument in verse fourteen as δέμας. "Body" or "flesh" is hardly a fitting description for an aulos, unless it serves as a reference to the aulos-shaped costume phallus. Garrod (1920, 135) calls δέμας a "word of the Old Comedy," and Plato Comicus (K-A 189, 10) uses it in his *Phaon*, when noting
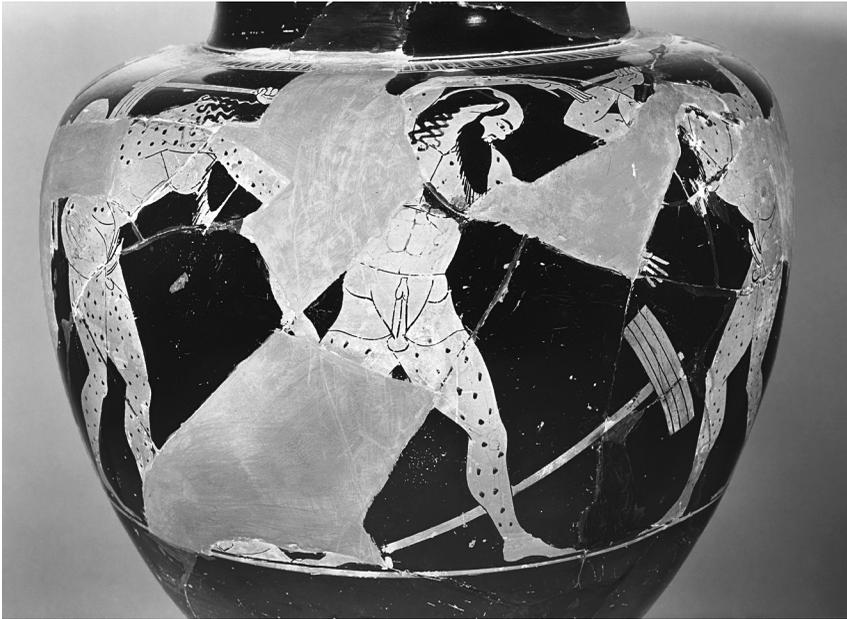
FIGURE 2.11 Satyr choreut, red-figure stamnos, *ca.* 500/490, Eucharides Painter. Paris, Louvre Inv. CP10754. Photo: Les Freres Chuzeville. © RMN-Grand Palais / Art Resource, NY.

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[53] Although it is difficult to know when dithyrambic poets developed an affinity for compound forms, they can be found as early as Pindar. Cf. Seaford (1977–78, 91–92). For more on the debate, see Hamilton (1990, 214–15), van der Weiden (1991, 13–14), and Voelke (2001, 119).

[54] See, for example, Aristophanes' *Clouds* 332–38, *Peace* 828–37, *Birds* 1372–409. On Cratinus' use of dithyramb, see Bakola (2010, 44–49).

FIGURE 2.12   Satyr chorus dancing before an aulete, Attic red-figure kalpis, 480–460,
Leningrad Painter. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts. Francis Bartlett Donation of 1900, 03.788.

the aphrodisiac qualities of bulbs ("This will straighten up a man's flesh.").[55]
However, as we have seen in the remains of Archilochus' dithyrambic poetry
and the vases depicting komastic dancers, sexual allusion and the phallus were
also an important part of (some) dithyramb.

This phallic imagery is also connected to satyrs and satyr drama. Although
the stage costume of later fifth century drama seems to have employed a rel-
atively smaller phallus, the stage costumes depicted on earlier vases suggest
that the phallus may have been larger at the time of Pratinas, which would
have invited even more humorous innuendo and gestures.[56] In fact, archaic
visual evidence in general suggests that the phallus was the satyr's defining
characteristic during this period, and it is commonly the main focal point
on satyr vases. The confluence of phallic wordplay and physical jesting must
have been relatively common in satyric performance, as can be seen on a

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[55] Cf. Henderson (1991, 115).
[56] Earlier vases clearly depict larger phalloi on satyrs, even in performative contexts. See figs.
2.11 and 2.12.

FIGURE 2.13 Attic black-figure terracotta aryballos (oil flask), signed by Nearchus, *ca.* 570. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, The Cesnola Collection, by exchange, 1926 (26.49). © The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Image source: Art Resource, NY.

mid-sixth-century black-figure aryballos signed by Nearchus (fig. 2.13).[57] Three satyrs crouch together masturbating ecstatically, each clutching his oversized phallus with two hands, and all three are labeled with names that reflect masturbatory wordplay: the satyr on the left is named Dophios (Kneader); the middle satyr is named Terpekelos (Shaft-Pleasure); and the satyr on the right is named Psolas (Hard-on). Hedreen (2007, 158) has compellingly argued that the satyrs on this vase are wearing costumes, since there appear to be lines suggestive of furry body suits, but whether or not the aryballos represents early satyric performance, it exemplifies the humorous, phallic wordplay associated

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57 See Isler-Kerényi (2001, 193f.) and Hedreen (2007, 158).

with the sexual acts of satyrs. As Lissarrague (1991, 59) notes, "Vase painting explores all the potential of the phallos," but we see here that satyric performance equally explored the potential of the phallus. In fact, Euripides employs the same double entendre as Pratinas in the opening lines of the *Cyclops*, when Silenus says χὥτ ἐν ἥβῃ τοὐμὸν ηὐσθένει δέμας ("When in my youth my flesh was full of vigor," v. 2).[58]

One of the most elusive features of Pratinas' fragment has been its abusive and explicit discussion of contemporary musical trends, qualities traditionally associated with Old Comedy and dithyramb, but not with satyr drama.[59] The chorus of satyrs bursts onto the scene demanding that the aulos player be physically attacked (παῖε) in what appears to be a comment on contemporary aulos-playing. Although the satyrs leap on stage in the parodos of Euripides' *Cyclops*, nothing similar to this type of aggression is found in classical satyr plays, where chorus and characters appear to have never explicitly acknowledged their status as theatrical performance, or broken dramatic illusion by attacking their aulos player and making disparaging allusions to contemporary musical trends.[60] Because these qualities do not appear in satyr drama and are more characteristic of late fifth-century comedy and dithyramb, some scholars have down-dated the fragment to the later fifth century. Lloyd-Jones (1990) posits that there was a second Pratinas who was a lyric poet but never wrote any dramatic poetry, and Zimmermann (1986, 145–54) adds to this theory by speculating that this second Pratinas was a mid-fifth-century dithyrambographer.[61] Wolkow (2005), on the other hand, thinks the name Pratinas here may be a corruption of Cratinas and links the passage to Old Comedy.

There is no reason to doubt that poets of the late sixth and early fifth centuries had an intellectual conception of poetics or that satyr drama was an inappropriate place to have such debates.[62] Mark Griffith has recently shown that satyr play and dithyramb of the classical period were genres traditionally associated with poetic discourse on account of their "distinctively Dionysian chorality," amassing a number of quotes from satyr drama to support his point.[63]

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[58] Seaford (1977, 84).

[59] On the poetics of Old Comedy, see most recently Wright (2012) and Biles (2011). On dithyramb's poetic discourse, see Griffith (2013), and for ancient testimonia, Ieranò test. 65–83.

[60] These metapoetics are more characteristic of the choruses of Old Comedy, which liberally broke the fourth wall, employed physical aggression, and frequently mocked contemporary arts and artists. Garrod (1920, 134) says that the fragment "is nearer to Aristophanes than to the *Cyclops*." On "Metatheatricality in the Greek Satyr Play," see Kaimio (2001, 35–78), which finds no similarly explicit references to performative elements in classical satyr plays, but does find the type of metadrama that Dobrov (2001) terms "*mise en abyme*." In his *Figures of Play* (2001, 15), Dobrov defines this term as "a metarepresentational strategy whereby a miniature theatrical situation is embedded within a larger, similarly structured dramatic framework."

[61] Zimmermann (1986; 1992, 124–25), Wallace (2003, 84–86), and Csapo (2004, 213–14) attribute the fragment to a late fifth-century non-dramatic dithyramb. D'Alessio (2007), Hedreen (2007), and Griffith (2013) accept the original attribution to a satyr play by Pratinas.

[62] Cf. Barker (1984), West (1992), Griffith (2013).

[63] Griffith (2013).

Discussions of performance may have been even more prominent in the late sixth- and early fifth-century satyr drama, before poets of Old Comedy made it a popular element of their plays.[64] In fact, the only other significant fragment transmitted under Pratinas' name (*TrGF* 6) reveals a notable interest in poetry. In book fourteen of Athenaeus' *Deipnosophistae*, the diners begin to talk about music with a particular excursus on the musical modes and the regions from which they receive their names. As Masurius delves into the Aeolic character of music, he cites a passage from "somewhere" (που) in Pratinas' corpus (*Deipn.* 14.624f):[65]

> μήτε σύντονον δίωκε
> μήτε τὰν ἀνειμέναν {Ἰαστὶ}
> μοῦσαν, ἀλλὰ τὰν μέσαν
> νεῶν ἄρουραν αἰόλιζε τῷ μέλει
> …
>   πρέπει τοι
> πᾶσιν ἀοιδολαβράκταις
> Αἰολὶς ἁρμονία

<div align="right">Pratinas, TrGF 6</div>

>   Do not pursue a Muse
> strained tight, nor one
> carefree, but Aeolize your song,
> plowing the middle ground,
>
>   …
>
>   The Aeolic mode
> is fitting for everyone who is
> ravenous for song

Pratinas explicitly discusses poetic performance, juxtaposing two extreme styles of poetry and mentioning outright the Aeolic style. These topics would be at home in dithyramb or Old Comedy, but these verses, since they were written by Pratinas, presumably were excerpted from a tragedy or satyr play. Athenaeus does not identify the source of the passage, but satyr drama seems more likely given satyrs' connections to poetics.

Fragment three also addresses a significant poetic dialogue that was prominent at the end of the sixth century. According to the Suda, Lasus of Hermione was born during the fifty-eighth Olympiad (548–545), worked at the court of the tyrant Hipparchus in Athens (between 528 and 514), and introduced

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[64] Green (1994, 47–48) provocatively suggests that "newer playwrights of Comedy included areas previously covered by satyr-play."

[65] It is worth noting that Athenaeus also quotes Pratinas' contemporary poet Lasus directly before this passage, confirming the possibility of poetic discourse at this early date.

dithyramb into the Attic festival, probably around the time of rise of the democracy.[66] As a dithyrambographer, he was famous for innovations, such as changing rhythms and adding notes to the pipe:[67]

Λᾶσος δ' ὁ Ἑρμιονεὺς εἰς τὴν διθυραμβικὴν ἀγωγὴν μεταστήσας τοὺς ῥυθμούς, καὶ τῇ τῶν αὐλῶν πολυφωνίᾳ κατακολουθήσας, πλείοσί τε φθόγγοις καὶ διερριμμένοις χρησάμενος, εἰς μετάθεσιν τὴν προϋπάρχουσαν ἤγαγε μουσικήν.

<div align="right">Ps.-Plutarch De Musica 1141c, Ieranò test. 66</div>

Lasus of Hermione, by changing the rhythms of the dithyrambic movement, and by following after the polyphony of the aulos, and by using more and disjointed notes, changed pre-existing music.

Although it is impossible to verify any direct connection between Lasus and Pratinas, it is tempting to link this biographical notice with Pratinas' fragmentary hyporcheme. Chronologically, Lasus and Pratinas appear to have been contemporaries in Athens near the end of the sixth century, and the satyr chorus does lament the excessive use of the aulos.[68] Seaford has suggested that Pratinas is criticizing and parodying dithyrambic elements that had been incorporated into satyr play, noting that even the meter of the first few verses, which are resolved to the point of appearing "designedly ridiculous," offer a mocking tone.[69] While I agree that Pratinas is parodying dithyramb, he is not merely mocking auletic innovation or the use of the dithyrambic style in satyr drama. This passage is a criticism of a much larger Lasian innovation: the incorporation of the dithyramb into the theater of Dionysus. Lasus was famous for dithyrambic originalities near the end of the sixth century, but he was most famous for "being first to bring dithyramb into competition" (πρῶτος δὲ οὗτος … διθύραμβον εἰς ἀγῶνα εἰσήγαγε). D'Angour (1997) has demonstrated that Lasus was responsible for the shift from processional dithyramb to orchestral dithyramb through a reconfiguration of the chorus. Arion may have introduced a circular element to the

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[66] On Lasus, see Privitera (1965), Zimmermann (1992, 39f.), and D'Angour (1997); on the innovative aspects of Lasus, see Ieranò (test. 571–66).

[67] On Lasus' innovative style, cf. Diogenes Laertius 1.1.14; Stobaeus *Anthologus* 3.29.70; Hesychius, "*lalismata.*"

[68] On the connections between Lasus and Pratinas, see Garrod (1920, 129f), Pickard-Cambridge (1962, 18–20), Seaford (1977, 83–84), Sutton (1980c, 10), Napolitano (2000, 132, 139–40), and Hedreen (2007, 184). Hedreen (2007, 164–69) shows that the confrontation between satyrs and the aulos-player found in Pratinas' fragment may represent a larger contemporary dialogue about the kithara and aulos. For other satyric fragments on the aulos, see Iophon *TrGF* 1 and Ion *TrGF* 1, as well as Cippola's (2003, 122–25) comment on the latter, which he relates to the kithara. Steinhart (2004) shows that satyrs in late sixth-century vases appeared in satirical scenes that are unlike classical satyr play. Cf. Shapiro (2004), who specifically connects the mockery of a contemporary figure, Leagrus, as a satyr on archaic vases with Old Comedy. Pratinas' hyporcheme shows that satyrs were similarly satirical onstage during this period.

[69] Seaford (1977, 93).

procession so that performers could stop along the way and perform mimetic dances to the aulos, but Lasus made dithyramb into a "circular chorus" (*kuklios khoros*) for the City Dionysia, a shift that allowed fifty men to perform together in the relatively small orchestra space.[70]

Pratinas' passage alludes to this innovation in the first few lines of the fragment when the satyrs ask why there is such noise and dance at the altar of Dionysus. Although the majority of the passage complains about the aulos, the first three verses suggest a broader objection to the theatrical dithyramb (in opposition to the processional dithyramb). The chorus begins their tirade with a mention of θόρυβος and χορεύματα in the first line. The term *choreumata* indicates "dances," a complaint that would be strange if the satyrs were merely troubled by the aulos. In fact, it would be strange for the satyrs to complain about dance at all, since they themselves are taking part in Dionysiac dancing in the same space (v. 15 and 17). The satyrs are also upset about the "θόρυβος," which denotes "noise, especially the confused noise of a crowded assembly."[71] These noisy, confused dances likely refer to the dithyrambic *kômos* at the theater, an interpretation supported by the satyrs' indignation that this *hubris* is taking place at the altar of Dionysus (ἐπὶ Διονυσιάδα πολυπάταγα θυμέλαν). According to the LSJ, the θυμέλη (Doric, θυμέλα) particularly indicates "the *altar* of Dionysus which stood in the orchestra of the theater," suggesting that the setting of both the satyric performance and the performance being criticized was the orchestra at the theater of Dionysus. And the adjective with which the satyrs describe the altar, πολυπάταγα (much struck), points to the inherent difficulties associated with bringing dozens of dancers (who typically march in a procession) into a confined theatrical space. Performing the *kômos*-song in the orchestra resulted in a noisy commotion and a good deal of bumping into the sacred altar of Dionysus which sat in the center of the dance area.

Pratinas differentiates processional performance (*kômos*) from theatrical performance (*khoros*) through the satyrs' complaint about the aulos having a leading role. In the procession, the aulos player had the most important part, leading the dancers and singers through the city, but in the confined space of the orchestra, the chorus had the leading role with its singing and mimetic dancing, so the aulos should be second (ὕστερον, v.5). However, when the dithyramb was incorporated into the theater by Lasus, the processional role of the aulos and the small performance space came into conflict, creating a raucous, confusing mass of fifty men being led by an aulos player. The satyrs object to these changes, protesting that the altar of Dionysus is the place for a *khoros*, not a *kômos*. In fact, the chorus explicitly states that the aulos is only good for two things: leading the "brawls of drunk young men fighting in doorways," and

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[70] I use the term "orchestra" to refer to the dancing space in the theater. On the shape of the space during this period, see Bosher (2011).
[71] *LSJ, ad loc.*

leading the *kômos* (v. 7). Since dithyramb was initially referred to as the *kômos*, Pratinas' satyrs are objecting to dithyramb within the theater of Dionysus.

Even though satyrs were part of the *kômos*-culture and could perform *kômoi*, and even though satyr play itself likely grew out of the processional dithyrambic *kômos*, Pratinas draws a distinction between theatrical performance and processional performance. The satyr chorus actively attempts to differentiate the *kômos* from the *khoros*, or the dithyramb from drama,[72] and the Suda reports a genealogy for Pratinas that similarly establishes him as the differentiator of satyr play. The Byzantine encyclopedia (or more likely its source) offers two possible names for Pratinas' father, Πυρρωνίδης and Ἐγκωμίος. Like the names of Arion's father (Kuklios) and Epicharmus' father (Tityrus), the names attributed to Pratinas' father are no doubt invented; and like Kuklios and Tityrus, they offer some meaningful insight on the poet.[73] Pyrrhonides can be translated as Redhead, and refers to the red hair and beard frequently associated with satyrs,[74] a fitting name for the parent of the founder of satyr drama. The name Encomius has an even greater significance for our discussion, literally meaning "someone who is the sort to be in a *kômos*." This name is, of course, suggestive of a satyr, but it could refer to any komast, whether satyric, dithyrambic, or (pre-)comic. This likely reflects Pratinas' supposed role as founder of satyr drama (i.e., "differentiator" of satyr play from *kômos*-song): just as Pratinas was the specific offspring of some general komast, so satyr drama was the specific offspring of the general *kômos*-performance. *Kômôidia* (as specific *kômos*-song) was the offspring of the general *kômos*-song as well. Thus, the Suda constructs a lineage for Pratinas that reflects the intimate relationship between and the progressive differentiation of Athenian drama: dithyrambic *kômos*-song gave birth to comedy and satyr play.

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[72] We will see in chapter 4 that this differentiation did not last, and that Euripides re-establishes the connection between satyr drama and *kômos*-song.

[73] On Epicharmus' parentage, see chapter 3.

[74] Cf. Sophocles, *Ichneutae* 358 and Dioscorides, *AP* 7.707. 3.

CHAPTER 3 | Sicilian Comedy and the Attic Satyr Play

THE PRECEDING CHAPTER EXAMINED the historical connections that Athenian comedy and satyr drama shared with earlier Attic and Doric *kômos*-song. Arion of Methymna organized the dithyrambic *kômos* in Corinth and was the first to give satyrs a speaking role, Lasus of Hermione re-organized the dithyramb for the Athenian theater, and Pratinas of Phlius imported satyr play to Athens, performing his celebrated "hyporcheme" in the Doric dialect with a Doric dance (Δώριον χορείαν, v. 17). These poets from the Isthmus and Argolid, along with the mass of Corinthian komast vases, demonstrate the region's importance in the development of early humorous performance in Athens. But early Athenian drama was also influenced by the Doric-speaking region of Sicily, where comic poets such as Aristoxenus, Phormis (or Phormus), Dinolochus, and above all Epicharmus thrived in the early fifth and, probably, late sixth centuries.[1] As poets of comic productions working in one of the most powerful metropolitan areas in the Mediterranean, they were poised to influence the early period of Athenian comedy, which was officially established in 486. But as we will see in this chapter, these authors and their works appear to have had their greatest generic relationship with Attic satyr play.

Little is known about the first Sicilian comic poets aside from some questionable biographical references, a handful of titles of their works, and a few very short fragments, except in the case of Epicharmus, who attained a legendary status in antiquity, even being referred to as the "topmost" (ἄκρος) Greek comic poet by Plato.[2] Some of his fame may be tied to his connections and pseudo-connections to philosophy, but Epicharmus' main contributions to the history of Greek literature were his comic productions.[3] None of his plays has made it to us in complete

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[1] Aristotle explicitly attributes the invention of comic plots to Sicily ("the making of plots first came from Sicily," 1449b5–7).

[2] Plato *Theaetetus* (152e). Cf. Theocritus (*AP* 9.600, K-A T18), Diogenes Laertius (VIII.87, K-A 9), Horace *Epistles* II 1, 55–59 (K-A 21), Columella (I 1.7, K-A 22), and Statius (V. 3.148–51).

[3] Kerkhof (2001, 59–115) provides a lengthy study of the Pseudo-Epicharmea. For more on Epicharmus, see Cantarella (1962, 259–66), Rodríguez-Noriega Guillén (1996), Bosher (2006;

form, but forty-eight titles and 239 extant fragments appear to be authentically attributed to him. References within his poetry to Anaxilas of Rhegium (K-A 96) and Aeschylus (K-A 221) indicate that he was active during the first quarter of the fifth century, and a range of ancient sources note that he was working in Sicily in the 480s and 470s, during the reign of Gelo and Hiero.[4] Aristotle, however, states that Epicharmus, as the pioneer of comic plots, was "much earlier than Chionides and Magnes," which would place him in the Sicilian theater before the end of the sixth century.[5]

Whatever Epicharmus' precise dates, he was early enough to help shape the initial stages of Athenian comedy, but his fragments paradoxically bear a greater resemblance to fourth-century Middle Comedy than to Aristophanes and Old Comedy.[6] Pickard-Cambridge (1962, 287) observes "parallelism of subjects between Epicharmus and the Middle Comedy," and Lorenz (1864, 19) notes Epicharmus' and Middle Comedy's shared interest in *Charakterkomödie*. Kerkhof (2001, 156) additionally connects their use of *Mythentravestie*, and Henderson (1991, 29) links their similar styles of obscene language.[7] As Wilkins (2001, 330) points out, though, the apparent connection between early fifth-century Sicilian comedy and fourth-century Attic comedy is unlikely to have been direct, and scholars have tended to dismiss these generic similarities as a coincidence based on "a common mythology and a similar social life."[8] I will argue, however, that Athenian satyr drama is an important missing link between Epicharmus and Middle Comedy.[9] Epicharmus' comic performances had a significant relationship with Athenian satyr drama of the fifth century, employing many of the same mythological plots, themes, and characters, as well as a similar humorous style.

With ample interaction between Sicily and the mainland during the fifth century, Athenian dramatists certainly had knowledge of Epicharmus.[10]

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forthcoming-a), and Willi (2008). On theater in Magna Graecia and Sicily more generally, see Gigante (1966), Todisco (2002), Kowalzig (2008), and Bosher (2012b; forthcoming-b and -c).

[4] E.g., K-A T.1, 4, 6, and 7.

[5] Aristotle, *Poetics* 1448a. Aristotle's remarks are supported by Diogenes Laertius' account (K-A T9) that Epicharmus lived to the age of ninety and Lucian's comment (K-A T9) that he lived to ninety-seven. For an attempt to date Epicharmus to the sixth century based on Pythagorean connections, see Pickard-Cambridge (1962, 232–35). Polacco and Anti (1981, 155–9) provide a corresponding late sixth-century date for the first large-scale theater in Syracuse.

[6] *Contra*, Willi (2008, chs. 5 and 6), who suggests that Epicharmus' language and style are similar to Aristophanes in its representation of the local dialect.

[7] Cf. Rusten (2011, 59), who notes that, despite Epicharmus' early date, the preserved fragments "look more like Middle Comedy."

[8] Pickard-Cambridge (1962, 287).

[9] We will see in chapter 5 that many comic poets of the early fourth century looked back to the previous century's satyr plays, making Middle Comedy a more satyric genre and creating an indirect, but linear, relationship to Sicilian comedy. In a footnote within his discussion of romantic drama, Griffith (2008, 74n47) makes a comment that connects Epicharmus, satyr play, and Middle Comedy (though not linearly), noting that satyr drama's thematic elements "also seem to have been present in the Sicilian comedies of Epicharmus."

[10] On the "Hinweise auf eine Bekanntschaft Epicharms im Athen des 5. Jh.," see Kerkhof (2001, 133–44). Csapo (2010, 39–40) has recently questioned the usefulness of regionalizing drama

Kerkhof (2001, 133–77) dedicates a sizable section of his study on Doric farce to the examination of *Epicharm und Attische Komödie*, but his conclusions reveal little evidence of any direct Epicharmean influence in Old Comedy. The completely fragmentary state of early Greek comic drama makes it impossible to rule out such an influence, but there seem to be few compelling connections.[11] The scholiast on Aristophanes' *Peace* argues for an intertext between verses 185–87 and Epicharmus' *Sciron*:

(A.) τίς ἐστι μάτηρ; (Φο.) Σακίς. (A.) ἀλλά τίς πατήρ;
(Φο.) Σακίς. (A.) τίς ἀδελφεὸς δέ; (Φο.) Σακίς. (A.) – ⏑ –

<div align="right">Epicharmus, K-A 123</div>

(A)   Who is your mother? (Pho.) Sakis. (A) But who is your father?
(Pho.) Sakis. (A) And who is your brother? (Pho.) Sakis.

ΕΡ. τί σοι ποτ' ἔστ' ὄνομ'; οὐκ ἐρεῖς;
ΤΡ.   Μιαρώτατος.
ΕΡ. ποδαπὸς τὸ γένος δ' εἶ; φράζε μοι.
ΤΡ.   Μιαρώτατος.
ΕΡ. πατὴρ δέ σοι τίς ἐστιν;
ΤΡ.   ἐμοί; Μιαρώτατος.

<div align="right">Aristophanes, *Peace* 185–87</div>

HERMES: Have you got a name? Well, speak up!
TRYGAEUS: Arch Scum.
HERMES: What's your race of origin? Tell me.
TRYGAEUS: Arch Scum.
HERMES: Who's your father?
TRYGAEUS: Mine? Arch Scum.

<div align="right">Trans. Henderson 1998b</div>

There is certainly a similar joke in both dialogues, and if the scholiast is right, there may even be a verbal echo between the passages. In Epicharmus' fragment, the second speaker always responds with the name "Sakis," which the scholiast defines as "Maidservant;"[12] and in Aristophanes' *Peace*, Trygaeus always responds with the name "Arch Scum." Both characters repeat humorous names when asked about themselves and their families, but most scholars

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altogether, suggesting that works of particular locations, such as Sicily and Athens, may not have seemed as foreign as we sometimes imagine.

[11] In scholarship on this issue, there are two extremes, represented by Theodore Zielinski (1885, esp. 243), who denies any knowledge of Epicharmus by Attic comic poets, and von Salis (1905, esp. 36), who overstates Epicharmus' influence on Attic comedy, but most fall in the middle.

[12] The *LSJ* does not gloss this term, but the name is aurally similar to the Suda's report (K-A T1) that Epicharmus' mother was named Σηκίς, (codd. Σικίς), which in the Doric dialect would be Σακίς. For more on the Suda's entry and the names of Epicharmus' parents, see below, p. 76.

consider the connection between the passages somewhat labored.[13] Despite a few other similar examples of potential verbal intertexts, many of Epicharmus' supposed contributions to Athenian comedy are either not found in Old Comedy or, when they are, are not actually found in Epicharmus' fragments.

The most significant sign of a relationship between Epicharmus and the poets of Old Comedy appears to be in their mutual interest in mythological characters and plots, but even here they do not seem to be substantially connected until the second half of the century.[14] The earliest years of Athenian comedy are extremely shadowy, and drawing conclusions from later extant comic remains may not provide the clearest picture of Epicharmus' relationship to Athens, but the very few fragments from the 480s to the 450s indicate that there was little in the way of mythological plots in Athens. Aristotle (*Poetics* 1449b5–9) suggests that "of the Athenians Crates (*fl.* 440s and 430s) was the first to abandon the iambic form and to write general (καθόλου) plots and stories." The scant remains of comedy from its official start date through the 450s do not suggest any overt political qualities,[15] but if Aristotle is correct, even early figures such as Chionides and Magnes may have had more stake in abuse than in mythological narratives. Most titles from this early period (e.g., Chionides' *Beggars, Persians*, and *Assyrians*, or Magnes' *Gall-flies, Grass-Cutters, Lyre Players, Lydians, Frogs*, and *Birds*[16]) signal an interest in "types" more than myth, whereas at least twenty-four of Epicharmus' known titles seem to take mythological subject matter.[17]

Statistics on myth in later Old Comedy indicate a growing interest in mythological plots, but still a fairly low percentage of known titles: eight or nine of Aristophanes' forty-three plays, one of Eupolis' sixteen, and eight or ten of Cratinus' twenty-eight.[18] Cratinus has the highest percentage of mythological plays, as well as the greatest thematic overlap with Epicharmus. Both poets

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[13] See Kerkhof (2001, 144–45), Cassio (1985, 42), and Pickard-Cambridge (1962, 268). For the opposite view, see von Salis (1905, 36).

[14] Cassio (1985, 42) suggests that "one of the reasons why it is so difficult for us to gauge the debt of Attic comedy to Epicharmus is probably the absence of an instance of mythological burlesque among the extant comedies of Aristophanes."

[15] Cf. Rusten (2006, 58).

[16] Chionides' *Heroes* and Magnes' *Dionysoi* clearly indicate some interest in myth, but as we will see in the following section, even mythological themes seem to have been used in not "traditionally" mythological ways. For a fuller treatment, also see chapter 4.

[17] On *Mythentravestie* in Epicharmus, see Kerkhof (2001, 116–29) and Casolari (2003, esp. 47–61). There may also have been mythological plots in plays without a mythological title, as the presence of Zeus in *Logos and Logina* (K-A 76) suggests. It is possible that Athenian comedy was similar to Epicharmus' non-mythological plays, since both forms seem to have employed character "types." This would mean that there was greater fluidity between early Athenian comedy, satyr drama, and Epicharmus' plays more generally. But because we have so little evidence from comedy of this period, and because comedy seems to have evolved so quickly, the Sicilian evidence does not appear to have as significant a relationship with early comic productions at the City Dionysia.

[18] Nesselrath (1990, 204). On the potentially misleading results of reconstructing plots from extant titles, see Csapo (1993, 355).

composed productions entitled *Busiris* and *Dionysoi*, and Cratinus treats the same episode of *Odyssey* 9 in his *Odysseis* that Epicharmus presented in his *Cyclops*. Nevertheless, Cratinus and many other poets of Old Comedy seem to have had a distinct approach to myth. Chapter 4 will examine this issue in greater detail, but it is worth noting here that fifth-century Athenian comic poets tended to distort mythological stories in certain ways, even when plays were "complete" mythological burlesques.[19] Characters may remain in their mythological context, but more often they were thrown into strange, new situations or could even satirically represent contemporary figures.[20]

By contrast, Epicharmus' Sicilian plays—like Athenian Middle Comedy and satyr drama—appear to have used mythological travesty to a greater extent and in a different manner than Old Comedy. Although Epicharmus' fragmentary remains make it difficult to draw any definite conclusions, he seems to have avoided the bizarre distortions of myth and satirical elements typically found in Old Comedy. Rather than outlandish stories fused with primary obscenity and contemporary issues, Epicharmean comedy is dominated by mythological themes, subtle obscenity, and stock characters. These characteristics provide a link between Sicilian comedy and the satyric genre, and the remains themselves demonstrate a similar correspondence in characters, titles, and plots. Approximately one-third of the extant titles of Epicharmus' comedies also appear as titles of known satyr plays: *Amycus, Atalanta, Busiris, Cyclops, Dictyes, Dionysoi, Hephaestus, Heracles, Prometheus, Sciron, Sisyphus, Sphinx, Thearoi.* There are also a number of plays whose titles suggest plots fitting for satyr drama:[21] *Bacchae, Marriage of Hebe, Logos and Logina, Musae, Odysseus, Prometheus or Pyrrha, Sirens, Troes, Choreutae, Chiron.* Similarly, there is a substantial interest in plots involving Odysseus and Heracles. Of the approximately twenty-four recognized mythological plays, seven relate stories of Heracles (*Alcyoneus, Busiris, Dexamenus, Marriage of Hebe, Musae, Heracles and the Girdle,* and *Heracles with Pholus*) and six dramatize the exploits of Odysseus

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[19] Cratinus' *Odysseis* has often been noted as a conspicuous exception to the typical distortions of Old Comedy, but Platonius' remarks (Koster I.29–31) that the play is like Middle Comedy reflect its anomalous nature and indicate that it is likely the exception that proves the rule. On Platonius' comments, see Nesselrath (1990, 236–39), Perusino (1987, 81f.), and Bertan (1984, 171–78). Bakola (2010, 179–229), who provides a study of "Myth, Politics and Drama" in the comedy of Cratinus, shows that a number of the play's innovative qualities make it more appropriate to Old Comedy than is typically acknowledged.

[20] Although Bakola provides a more nuanced appreciation of Old Comedy's mythological parody, Federica Casolari (2003, 22) seems to be at least partially correct when she says, "Die Mythentravestie in der Alten Komödie zeigt sich meistens von politischen Absichten geprägt, die am sogenannten ὀνομαστὶ κωμῳδεῖν erkennbar sind."

[21] I expand here slightly on Griffith's list (2008, 74n47). Also consider the numerous mythological and satyric titles of the early Sicilian comedies by Phormus/Phormis (*Admetus, Alcinous, Alcyones, Atalanta, The Sack of Troy* or *The Horse, Cepheus* or *Cephalaea* or *Perseus*) and Dinolochus (*Althaea, Amazons, Circe* or *Odysseus, Leukarion, Medea, Meleagar, Oineus, Orestes, Telephus, Pholus*), who was supposedly the son or student of Epicharmus (Suda, K-A 1) or perhaps his opponent (Aelian *Nat. An.*, K-A 2).

(*Odysseus Automolos, Odysseus Nauagos, Sirens, Philoctetes, Cyclops*, and *Troes*). While these two characters were generally common in all periods of comic drama, their role in Epicharmus' comedy is particularly sizeable, just as it was in satyr play.

The fragmentary nature of each genre prevents a detailed comparison of many of these connections, but the extant remains do point to a notable generic interrelationship. Epicharmus' *Amycus*, for example, provides a precedent for Sophocles' play of the same name.[22] In the Doric version, Epicharmus treats the battle between Pollux and the giant Amycus, one of Poseidon's monstrous sons. When the Argonauts come ashore, the monster tries to keep them from getting provisions and even threatens them with death. To defend his comrades, Pollux fights Amycus and binds him to the rocks. The scholiast on Apollonius of Rhodes (2.98) states that Epicharmus' representation of the story revises the original myth, in which the giant was slain. Epicharmus most likely alters this detail of the story to make it more appropriate for the comic stage. If Amycus were actually killed, the fight scene would have to take place offstage and be reported by an observer, but since he was merely bound and beaten, the humorous brawl could take place onstage. Fragment six, in fact, indicates that the skirmish and subsequent bondage of Amycus were likely acted out before the audience:

> Ἄμυκε, μὴ κύδαζέ μοι
> τὸν πρεσβύτερον ἀδελφεόν
>
> Epicharmus, K-A 6

Amycus, do not injure my older brother!

This passage, which must have been spoken by Castor about Pollux, does not unquestionably rule out an offstage *agon*, but the direct address at least hints at a shift in the dramatic action. This is the point at which the twins would have taken on the giant, defeated him, and tied him to the rocks.

The marginal, rustic setting of Epicharmus' play, which was situated in the far-off region of the Bebrykes, would have been the perfect backdrop for Sophocles' satyr play,[23] and the mythological characters, particularly the ogreish

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[22] Cf. García Romero (2005, 103–13).

[23] Although plots and characters differ from play to play, nearly all mythological, artistic, and dramatic representations of satyrs take place in such rustic settings (for exceptions in the later satyric traditions, see chapter 6). On the indelible link between bucolic landscapes and satyr drama, cf. Vitruvius, *De Architectura* 5.6.9, who distinguishes satyr drama's scenery from that of both comedy and tragedy since it is adorned with "trees, caves, mountains, and the rest of those rustic items that give the look of a decorated landscape" (arboribus, speluncis, montibus reliquisque agrestibus rebus in topiarii speciem deformati). The pastoral elements of Epicharmus' comedies and Athenian satyr drama may have influenced later Doric poets such as Philoxenus of Cythera and Theocritus (both of whom wrote on romantic themes related to Polyphemus and Galatea), as well as more broadly authors of the Greek novel. Cf. Kostopoulou (2007) and Griffith (2008, 79–83).

Amycus, correspond well with typical themes of classical satyr drama.[24] Again it is impossible to provide any definite assessment of intertexts, but there are significant points of contact between the productions. Both plays, for example, concentrate on the scuffle between Amycus and Pollux. Athenaeus preserves a fragment (*TrGF* 112) from Sophocles' *Amycus* in which one speaker relates how the hero "made [Amycus'] jaws soft," (σιαγόνας τε δὴ μαλθακὰς τίθησι). Pearson (1917, 71) proposed that Sophocles adopted Epicharmus' innovative version of the myth, where Amycus is bound rather than killed, and Del Corno (1971, 212) points to a late fifth-century hydria (Paris Bibl. Nat. 442) that supports this conclusion. The vase depicts Amycus tied up on the rocks with some of the Argonauts and a satyr nearby. Although it cannot definitely be considered a representation of Sophocles' production, the confluence of satyrs, Castor, Pollux, the rustic backdrop, and a rock-bound Amycus suggests a Sophoclean source/influence, and if the vase was inspired by Sophocles, the Attic playwright may have appropriated this unique dramatization of the Amycus myth from Epicharmus' earlier Sicilian version.[25]

The battle with Amycus is just one example of a theme frequently employed by Sicilian comedy and Athenian satyr play: the violence of monsters and ogres.[26] Both Epicharmus and Euripides also treat the myth of Sciron, a giant Megarian (or Corinthian) thief who guarded a stretch of road on the isthmus.[27] When unfortunate travelers would happen upon his stronghold, he forced them to wash his feet and then, while they were doing so, kicked them off the cliff to an enormous turtle that devoured them. Both of these plays would have likely staged Sciron's final battle scene, in which Theseus fought and defeated the monster. Similarly, Epicharmus and Aeschylus each composed non-tragic versions of the *Sphinx*, which dramatized the story of Oedipus' defeat of the hybrid menace of Thebes. Part lioness, part woman, the sphinx positioned herself on the roadside just outside of town and asked every passerby to solve the same riddle: "What walks on four legs in the morning, two during the day, and three at night?" She devoured anyone on the spot who did not correctly answer "Man." The plays are too fragmentary to know exactly how the poets handled this plot, but conventions suggest that Oedipus would have solved the riddle, defeated the beast, and been crowned king of Thebes in both versions.

There are a number of similar links between monstrous themes in Sicilian comedy and Attic satyr drama, but any discussion of this particular generic relationship must, of course, give precedence to Epicharmus' and Euripides' versions of the *Cyclops*. As the only complete, extant satyr play, Euripides'

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[24] On the typical themes of satyr drama, see Guggisberg (1947, 60–74), Sutton (1980, 145–59), Seaford (1984, 33–44), KPS (28–32), and Voelke (2001, 377–81).

[25] Cf. Beckel (1981, 741).

[26] Sutton claims (1980c, 137) that monstrous themes are so prominent because "a common means of introducing satyrs was to make them slaves" of such ogres or monsters.

[27] The myth of Sciron is preserved in Plutarch's *Life of Theseus* 10 and Apollodorus' *epitoma vaticana* 1.2.

dramatization of *Odyssey* 9 is invaluable evidence of fifth-century satyr drama. Unfortunately, as with most titles that coincide with Doric comedy, there is not enough of Epicharmus' version to provide much meaningful comparison. Only three verses remain, all of which were spoken by the monopthalmus Polyphemus. The fragments suggest that the play featured a symposiastic scene, but one fragment in particular may indicate a point of contact with Euripides' *Cyclops*:

φέρ' ἐγχέας εἰς τὸ σκύφος.

Epicharmus, K-A 72

Come on, pour [some wine] into my cup!

In the story of Odysseus' arrival to the island of the Cyclopes, Homer mentions that Odysseus brought wine to offer to Polyphemus as a host-gift (*Od.* 9.347–63). The Cyclops "was extremely pleased as he drank the sweet drink" (9.353–54), and he repeatedly asked for more until "the wine had gotten around his mind," (9.362). Overall, Homer's account of Polyphemus and the wine is quite short, lacking much of the detail found in Euripides' *Cyclops*.

In the satyric version, Polyphemus' drunkenness turns into an extended symposiastic scene. Euripides stages a humorous contest between Polyphemus and Silenus, both of whom vie for Odysseus' supply of wine. Although Odysseus is attempting to get the Cyclops drunk so he can singe out his eye, Silenus cannot stop himself from stealing the wine and spoiling the plan. When Polyphemus realizes that the elderly satyr is a "crooked wine-pourer" (οἰνοχόος ἄδικος, 560), he puts Odysseus in charge of dispensing the drink:

Κυ. λάβ', ὦ ξέν', αὐτὸς οἰνοχόος τέ μοι γενοῦ.
Οδ. γιγνώσκεται γοῦν ἄμπελος τῇμῇ χερί.
Κυ. φέρ' ἔγχεόν νυν. Οδ. ἐγχέω, σίγα μόνον.

Euripides, *Cyclops* 566–68

CYCLOPS: Foreigner, you take the vessel and be my wine-pourer.
ODYSSEUS: The grape-vine is at least familiar to my hand.
(CY.):   Come on, pour now. (Od.): I'm pouring, just be quiet.

In this passage, when Euripides' Cyclops says φέρ' ἔγχεόν, it is reminiscent of fragment K-A 72 from Epicharmus' *Cyclops*, φέρ' ἐγχέας. Polyphemus is ordering Odysseus to "Come on and pour." Since both plays dramatize the same episode of the *Odyssey*, the verbal echo found in Euripides' production may be coincidence, but it is suggestive that both poets use the imperative φέρε and a form of ἐγχέω even though neither verb appears in the Homeric version. More importantly, this entire scene and the characterization of Polyphemus, in particular, differ quite drastically from book 9 of the *Odyssey*. Both Euripides and Epicharmus rewrite Polyphemus so that he is wine-obsessed, if not "a glutton and gourmet."[28]

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[28] Seaford (1984, 52).

In the *Odyssey*, Polyphemus smashes the heads of Odysseus' crew and devours the men raw, but in Epicharmus' fragments, he talks about his mortar (ὅλμος) and reflects upon the sweetness of his food (K-A 70 and 71). Similarly, in Euripides' version, Polyphemus orders that the flesh be prepared very carefully:

Ku: οὔκουν κοπίδας ὡς τάχιστ᾽ ἰὼν
           θήξεις μαχαίρας καὶ μέγαν φάκελον ξύλων
           ἐπιθεὶς ἀνάψεις; ὡς σφαγέντες αὐτίκα
           πλήσουσι νηδὺν τὴν ἐμὴν ἀπ᾽ ἄνθρακος
           θερμὴν διδόντες δαῖτα τῷ κρεανόμῳ
           τὰ δ᾽ ἐκ λέβητος ἑφθὰ καὶ τετηκότα.

Euripides, *Cyclops* 241–46

Cyc: Go, quick as you can! Won't you sharpen my chopping cleaver and set a big bunch of wood on fire? The slain men will immediately fill my belly, providing a nice hot meal straight from the coal to the butcher, and the leftovers will be boiled and softened by the cauldron.

This portrayal of a more refined and sophisticated Cyclops is an important shift from Homer's account,[29] but alone it does not guarantee a relationship between Epicharmus and Euripides. In fact, this characterization of Polyphemus is also evident in Cratinus' comic dramatization of the myth, which may have been performed at some point between the Sicilian and satyric productions.[30] However, as Bakola (2010, 234–46) has recently shown, Cratinus' version (despite being a mythological comedy) was traditionally "Old Comic" in its style, transporting the characters between worlds via stage boat and shipwreck. Even if Cratinus' *Odysseis* influenced Euripides' production, it does not rule out Epicharmus' influence on satyr play. In fact, Aristias from the Doric town of Phlius offers a similar representation of Polyphemus in his satyr play, which appears to be the earliest known depiction of the Cyclops in Athens.[31] When the Cyclops says to Odysseus (*TrGF* 4), ἀπώλεσας τὸν οἶνον ἐπιχέας ὕδωρ, "You ruined the wine by pouring in water," he focuses again on the experience of drinking wine, much like Epicharmus' comedy and Euripides' satyric production.

It would be interesting to know where Aristias and Cratinus' versions of the play were set, because the location of the action is another potential link between Epicharmus and Euripides. In the satyric *Cyclops*, Odysseus and his crew are

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[29] Hamilton (1979). Marshall (2005, 111), arguing against any direct influence of sophism in the play, points out that "Euripides' Cyclops may be more sophisticated than Homer's, but he only becomes sophistic when he is in his cups, in the staged pseudo-symposium." Cf. Worman (2008, 121–52).

[30] Cratinus' play is dated to the 430s; see K-A, 4.192. Seaford (1982, 161–72) argues that the most likely date for Euripides' *Cyclops* is 408.

[31] Aristias won his first Athenian dramatic victory in 467 and was the son of Pratinas, the "founder" of satyr play

shipwrecked on Sicily,[32] rather than on the unidentified island in Homer's version of the myth. Epicharmus tended to incorporate Sicily and Sicilian features into many of his plays, situating a number of mythological stories on his island.[33] This does not rule out the possibility that Cratinus or Aristias were mediating figures in Euripides' adaptation of the myth, but even if Cratinus' comic *Odysseis* did take place in Sicily, it is still striking that Euripides treated the same subject matter as Epicharmus and situated it in the Syracusan poet's homeland.

Euripides composed at least two other satyr plays with the same titles as Epicharmus' Sicilian comedies (*Busiris* and *Sciron*), but Epicharmus seems to have had his greatest literary relationship with Aeschylus. One of the most enduring and interesting legends surrounding Epicharmus is his association with Athens' most famous early dramatist. Although a good deal of untenable information surrounds Aeschylus' connections to Sicily and Epicharmus,[34] there is little doubt that the two poets had a literary relationship, and they may even have been personally familiar with each other through their connections to Syracuse.[35] According to the Suda (*TrGF* T2), Aeschylus made his first trip to Sicily early in his career, having been exiled after the ἰκρία ("wooden planks") collapsed during his performance. The humorous nature of this anecdote casts doubt on its authenticity, but at least fourteen ancient testimonia place Aeschylus in Sicily during the last third of his life. Eratosthenes (*TrGF* T56a; cf. T1.68–69), for example, notes that the poet was invited to Syracuse by the ruler Hiero (tyrant from 478–466) to perform his *Persae*, and Aeschylus' *vita* (T1.33–34) mentions that he produced his *Aetnae* upon Hiero's founding (κτίζοντος) of the city Aetna.[36] The timing of Aeschylus' visits to Syracuse

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[32] At Euripides' *Cyclops* 18–22, Silenus says that an east wind cast him and his sons on the shore near the "Aetnean crag" (Ἀιτναίαν πέτραν).

[33] For example, K-A 11 (*Harpagae*) and K-A 65 (*Heracles and the Girdle*) refer to Sicily and Aetna respectively. Also, consider *Odysseus Nauagos* and *Alcyoneus*, both of which mentioned Diomus, the Sicilian shepherd who was thought to have invented pastoral poetry (cf. Athenaeus 14.619a, b).

[34] Csapo (2010, 40), however, has recently observed that, despite improbable details in some of the references, "If the many sources that report Aeschylus' sojourns and emigration to Sicily were fabrications (and there is no good reason to believe that they are), they are evidently fabrications with which Sicily was complicit."

[35] For a detailed study of the ancient sources on Aeschylus' connection to Sicily, see Herington (1967). Cf. Cataudella (1963), Griffith (1978), Bremer (1991, 39–41), Marconi (2005), Taplin (2006), Wilson (2007b), and Bosher (2012a).

[36] Our knowledge of the *Aetnae* is limited to a single four-line fragment preserved by Macrobius, *Saturn.* 5. 19. 17 (*TrGF* 6). This play was obviously staged sometime after the colony was founded in the mid-470s. Most scholars have dated it to the end of the decade, since this coincides with Pindar's first *Pythian*, which also commemorates the founding of Aetna. It is attractive to date both performances to the same year, perhaps as part of an extensive celebration held by Hiero in honor of his colonization of the city. For reasons of economy, scholars have often suggested that this date may also correspond to Aeschylus' production of his *Persae* in Sicily. Cf. Herington (1967, 76), Fränkel (1954, 48), and Wilamowitz (1913, 242). Csapo (2010, 197n29) suggests, however, that "There is no reason to think Hieron mounted an *ad hoc* festival to celebrate his foundation of Aetna; it is far more likely that Aeschylus performed at a regular festival in Syracuse."

overlap with Epicharmus' dates in Sicily, and although this coincidence of dates does not guarantee a personal relationship, Hiero's sponsorship of a literary circle during this period suggests that they would have probably known each other.

On the literary level, it is clear that Epicharmus was familiar with Aeschylus' work.[37] The scholiast on Aeschylus' *Eumenides* (626, *TrGF* T115) mentions that Epicharmus mocked the tragedian for his overuse of and over-fondness for forms of the uncommon verb τιμαλφεῖν (to honor).[38] More broadly, there is an overlap in the extant play titles: *Atalantae, Bacchae, Philoctetes, Theoroi* (Epicharmus' version employs the Doric form, *Thearoi*), *Persae, Prometheus, Diktyes* (Aeschylus' version is *Diktyulkoi*), and *Sphinx*. Some of the plays' names and themes are unique enough to these authors to suggest a parasitic literary relationship: Aeschylus would stage his plays (whether tragic or satyric), and Epicharmus would shortly after compose his productions as parody. Although the intersection of titles does not necessarily indicate that the Aeschylean versions were staged in Sicily, ancient evidence does confirm that the *Persians* was performed on the island. The historical subject matter of Aeschylus' tragedy makes the connection to Epicharmus even stronger, since the probability of unintentionally duplicating historical titles seems rather low. Only five words remain from Epicharmus' *Persae* (K-A 110–11), but the connection to Aeschylus remains persuasive. After Aeschylus staged his play in Athens, he was invited by Hiero to stage it in Sicily, and Epicharmus presumably composed his comic play shortly after, as a parodic or paratragic response to Aeschylus' performance.

Another set of plays that has captured the attention of scholars is Aeschylus' satyric *Prometheus* and Epicharmus' comic *Prometheus or Pyrrha*.[39] Although there was no dearth of literature on Prometheus' exploits in the early fifth century (unlike the theme of *Persae*), the Prometheus plays of Epicharmus and Aeschylus seem to share some unique aspects. Kerkhof, following Webster in his revision of Pickard-Cambridge (1962, 266–68), argues that Epicharmus imitated Aeschylus' distinctive representation of Prometheus as not only a thief of fire, but also the inventor of the arts and a general bearer of civilization for humanity. According to the evidence presented by both Murray (1940, 19–21)

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[37] For more on Aeschylus' relationship with Epicharmus, see Willi (2008, 166–67).

[38] K-A 221. Schol. ad Aesch. *Eum.* 626: τιμαλφούμενον· συνεχὲς τὸ ὄνομα παρ' Αἰσχύλῳ, διὸ σκώπει αὐτὸν Ἐπίχαρμος.

[39] According to the ancient *argumentum* to the *Persae* (*TrGF* T. 55a), Aeschylus won the tragic competition in 472 with *Phineus, Persians, Glaucus of Potnia,* and the satyric *Prometheus*. Scholars have long presumed the fourth play in the tetralogy to be a shortened designation of *Prometheus Pyrkaeus* (*TrGF* 204a–207). On the relationship between Aeschylus' and Epicharmus' Prometheus plays, see Kerkhof (2001, 136–41), Flintoff (1986, 82–91), and Pickard-Cambridge (1962, 266–67). These scholars, however, tend to concentrate on the *Prometheus Bound,* which is dubiously attributed to Aeschylus. West (1990, 51–72) and Griffith (1977, 8–13) both maintain that the play was not only *not* composed by Aeschylus but that it was actually written well after his death. Flintoff (1986, 82–91) uses Epicharmus to argue (somewhat inadequately) that the play was an early Aeschylean production.

and Wilamowitz (1922, 142), there is good reason to believe that Aeschylus was the first poet to revise the Hesiodic version of the myth and incorporate these more generative attributes into Prometheus' traditional characterization. This depiction is clearly evident in the *Prometheus Bound,* but can even be noted in the very fragmentary satyr play, where extant remains (*TrGF* 204b and 205) describe Prometheus creating bandages and boiling water.

This reading is particularly significant because the *Prometheus*-play was performed at the same tragic competition as the *Persae* (*TrGF*55a). Although Eratosthenes merely asserts that Aeschylus was invited by Hiero to stage the *Persae*, this invitation does not exclude the possibility of a performance of other plays, particularly ones from the same tetralogy. Scholars have been eager to link the *Aetnae* to this same visit, and if multiple tragedies were performed, then it would be customary (at least Athenian custom) to stage a final satyric drama. If this was the case, Epicharmus' presentation of the *Prometheus*, particularly his playful send-up of the Titan's modern characteristics, may have directly replied to Aeschylus' innovative representation of Prometheus in his satyr play.

Another interesting thematic correspondence is found between Epicharmus' *Diktyes* (Net-Fisherman) and Aeschylus' satyric *Diktyulkoi* (Net-Draggers). Despite the fact that no fragments of Epicharmus' play remain, the coincidence of the otherwise exceptional titles hints at some sort of literary relationship between the plays. Radt (*TrGF* 3, 161–62) makes the argument for a literary connection based on the suspiciously high proportion of Doricisms within the extant verses of Aeschylus' play, which he attributes to an imitation of Epicharmus.[40] Scholars have long pointed to Sicilianisms (or more broadly Doricisms) in Aeschylus' plays, and the scholiast on Aristophanes' *Peace* (*TrGF* T90) observes that Aeschylus was "in a way a native" of Aetna. Athenaeus (9.402c, *TrGF* T92a), who had an ample supply of commentaries and lexicographical compendia at his fingertips, also says "It comes as no surprise that Aeschylus uses a considerable amount of Sicilian vocabulary, given that he spent time on the island."[41] Regardless of the precise impact that Epicharmus and Sicily had on Aeschylus, the poets clearly had some sort of relationship, even if it was unidirectional.

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[40] Lobel (*P. Oxy.* xviii, 1941) first observed these Doricisms in fragment 47a of the *Diktyulkoi* when he published it, but Griffith (1978)—although he does not deny that Aeschylus and Epicharmus knew each other's works—disputes the Sicilian connection in Aeschylus' plays, stating that Lobel's suggestion (128n28) "has nothing to support it beyond our biographical knowledge of Aesch. himself."

[41] Trans. Olson (2008). Griffith (1978, 108) notes judiciously that "It may be that Athenaeus (or his source) was correct to pick out Aeschylus' distinctive Sicilianisms—but it is equally possible that he merely combined his knowledge of Aeschylus' biography with one or two isolated occurrences of Sicilian dialect words which he had met in his scholarly browsing." For a detailed analysis of Sicilian vocabulary in Aeschylus, as well as a lengthy list of previous supporters of the Sicilian connection, see Griffith (1978, 106–8).

In addition to these connections between Epicharmus and specific satyr plays, there is also a broader connection rooted in Epicharmus' likely use of a satyr chorus. Although a number of scholars have argued that Sicilian comedy did not employ a chorus at all,[42] this position is more or less based on the deficiency of Epicharmean choral meters.[43] Out of hundreds of verses (many of which are incomplete), only one fragment remains that a chorus would likely speak, the anapestic dimeter verses from *Odysseus Automolos*:

> ἁ δ᾽ Ἡσυχία χαρίεσσα γυνά,
> καὶ Σωφροσύνας πλατίον οἰκεῖ.

<div align="right">Epicharmus, K-A 100</div>

> And charming lady Peacefulness
> also dwells near Moderation.

<div align="right">Trans. Rusten in Rusten 2011</div>

Although these verses offer the only extant example of a meter appropriate to a chorus, this may merely be a result of poor transmission, or it may be that a chorus was not always present in Epicharmus' comedies.[44] Some of his productions may have been mimes while others could have been more fully developed drama, but the numerous plays with plural titles suggest a choral component for some performances. It is difficult to imagine who the *Sirens, Bacchae*, and *Dionysoi* were, if not the chorus. There is even a play entitled *Choreuontes*, which naturally suggests a chorus of dancers. If Attic comedy can provide us with an analogue, these plural titles (including those with plural proper names) refer to the chorus itself.

Wilson (2007) has conducted a useful diachronic study of Sicilian evidence, making a number of observations that suggest the existence of a chorus in Sicily. As he points out (2007, 361–62), it seems unlikely that western Greece was "dependent on infrequent visits of luminaries like Aiskhylos," for dramatic, choral performances. Even more suggestive is the Doric tendency to use choral words for their productions:

> ἐκάλουν δὲ τὸ διδασκαλεῖον καὶ χορόν (χορηγεῖον Kaibel), ὁπότε καὶ τὸν διδάσκαλον χορηγὸν καὶ τὸ διδάσκειν χορηγεῖν, καὶ μάλιστα οἱ Δωριεῖς, ὡς Ἐπίχαρμος ἐν Ὀδυσσεῖ αὐτομόλῳ.

<div align="right">Pollux IX 41, K-A 103</div>

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[42] Welcker (1844, 313) in his notes on Epicharmus is followed by a number of scholars, including Kaibel (1907, 36), Pickard-Cambridge (1927, 405), Wilamowitz (1927, 16) and more recently Cantarella (1962, 261), Sandbach (1977, 51), and Rusten (2011, 58), who notes the "apparent lack of a chorus."

[43] Pickard-Cambridge (1962, 279–81), Kerkhof (2001, 151–55), Todisco (2003), and Wilson (2007) support the presence of a chorus.

[44] Consider, for example, the popularity of Sophron's mimes in Sicily in the same or following generation. On the life and dating of Sophron, see Hordern (2004, 2–4).

FIGURE 3.1 Dionysus, Hephaestus, and costumed satyr, Attic red-figure calyx krater, 470/60, Altamura Painter. Wien, Kunsthistorisches Museum, ANSA IV 985.

> They used to call the "rehearsal space" a "choral space," since they called the "*didaskolos*" a "*choregos*" and "training" "leading a chorus;" in particular the Dorians did this, as Epicharmus in his *Odysseus Automolos.*

Pollux points to the Sicilian habit of using "choral" terminology instead of the Athenian use of "teaching/producing" words. He draws particular attention to Epicharmus, leaving no question about the time period he discusses, and he even mentions the one play that we know used a choral meter.

Despite the lack of extant choral passages, then, a chorus does seem to have played a role in at least some of Epicharmus' plays. The case can even be made that Epicharmus used a chorus of satyrs in some of his productions. Photius notes that Epicharmus staged one of Greece's most popular early

Greek myths in his *Komasts* or *Hephaestus*.[45] In the story, Hera was annoyed that her son, Hephaestus, was born lame with a clubfoot, and so threw him off Mount Olympus down to earth. As revenge for this act, the god of the forge fashioned a golden chair for his mother and sent it to her as a gift, but when she sat in it, the chair trapped her. None of the gods on Olympus was able to release Hera from the chair, and they knew Hephaestus was the only one who could undo the curse. Despite the gods' pleas, Hephaestus stubbornly refused to come back to heaven and free his mother, so Dionysus came to earth, got the god drunk, and carried him back to Olympus on a donkey. As we saw in the previous chapter, this was a favorite theme of early vase painters, and in the numerous extant examples, Dionysus is almost always accompanied by a *thiasos* of satyrs. The *kômos* of satyrs (labeled "Silenoi" on the François Vase, fig. 2.6) would account for the alternate title of Epicharmus' production about Hephaestus. In fact, an Attic red-figure vase from 470/460 depicts the return of Hephaestus in a performative context (i.e., with a satyr clearly wearing costume shorts, fig. 3.1), and Achaeus of Eretria composed a satyr play on this very subject. Only one significant fragment remains from Achaeus' *Hephaestus*, but it is clear that the play focused to a certain extent on the feast that Dionysus prepared for his fellow Olympian:

> <ΔΙ> θοίνη σε πρῶτον τέρψομεν· πάρεστι δέ.
> <ΗΦ> τὸ δεύτερον ⟨δὲ⟩ τῷ με κλήσεις τρόπῳ;
> <ΔΙ> μύρῳ σε χρίσω πάμπαν εὐόσμῳ δέμας.
> <ΗΦ> ὕδωρ δὲ νίψαι χεῖρας οὐ πρόσθεν δίδως;
> <ΔΙ> ἡνίκα τράπεζά γ᾽ ἐκποδὼν ἀπαίρεται.

<div align="right">Achaeus TrGF 17</div>

> (DIONYSUS): First we'll treat you to a meal; here it is!
> (HEPHAESTUS): What's the second way you'll charm me?
> (DIONYSUS): I'll smear sweet-smelling perfume all over your body.
> (HEPHAESTUS): You're not offering me water to wash my hands first?
> (DIONYSUS): When the table's taken away!

<div align="right">Trans. Olson 2011</div>

This passage suggests a humorous, perhaps homoerotic, interchange between Dionysus and Hephaestus, but it also suggests that the banquet, at which Hephaestus was duped into getting drunk and returning to Olympus, occurred during the play. In a fragment that remains from Epicharmus' version of the myth, we find a similar attention to the feast:

> σηπίας τ᾽ ἆγον νεούσας πέρδικάς τε πετομένους

<div align="right">Epicharmus K-A 73</div>

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[45] The confusion of titles is exhibited by Photius and Apollonius Dyscolus (K-A 74), who preserve the dual designations; Athenaeus (K-A 73) and Hesychius (K-A 75), however, refer to it only as *Komasts*.

FIGURE 3.2 Silenus, antefix, terracotta, 5ᵗʰ-century. Gela, Archaeological Museum of Gela, Sicily. Photo Credit : Gianni Dagli Orti/The Art Archive at Art Resource, NY.

They brought swimming cuttle-fish and flying partridges.

Our knowledge of these passages can only be attributed to Athenaeus' obsession with food in his *Deipnosophistae* (and is, therefore, tinged by the source), but the literary and material remains suggest a link between themes in Epicharmus and Achaeus, and the connection is even more striking if Epicharmus employed a chorus of satyrs in his comic *Komasts* or *Hephaestus*.[46]

Satyrs were, in fact, quite popular in Sicilian art shortly after the turn of the century. There are early fifth-century antefixes of satyrs in Gela (e.g., fig. 3.2), an architectural item that was also featured in Aeschylus' satyric *Theoroi* or *Isthmiastai*.[47] Satyrs were also used in Sicilian coinage during this period. A tetradrachm coin from Aetna (figs. 3.3a and 3.3b), which appears to have been minted within a few years of the founding of the city,[48] depicts the head

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[46] T. B. L. Webster, in his revision of Pickard-Cambridge's *Dithyramb, Tragedy and Comedy* (1962, 280), also proposes a *kômos* of satyrs or fat men as the "easiest explanation" for the title of another of Epicharmus' plays, the *Dionysoi*.

[47] The satyrs speak of the εἴδωλον (*TrGF* 78a 6–20): "Look and see whether [you] th[ink at [all] that Daedalus' models are a closer image of my form than this is. All it needs is a voice…It would cause my mother some problems! If she saw it, I'm quite sure she'd turn about and cry out in horror, because she'd think it was me, the child that she brought up! That's how like me it is! Ho there! Set your eyes on the house of the Sea-god, the Earth-shaker, and each of you nail up there an [image] of your fair form as a messenger, a voiceless herald." Cf. Krumeich (2000), O'Sullivan (2000), and Marconi (2005). On silenic antefixes, see Orlandini (1954, 251–66), Holloway (1991, 79–80), and Bennet & Paul (2002, 263).

[48] Holloway (1991, 129).
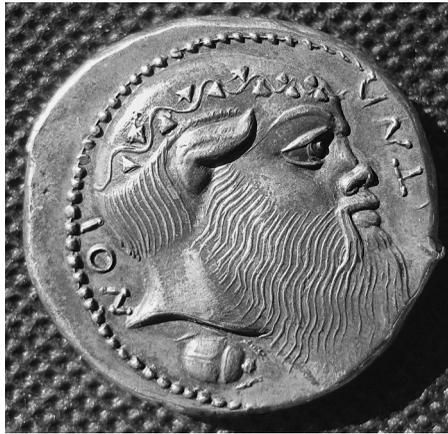
FIGURE 3.3A   Head of satyr, silver tetradrachm of Aetna, 475–447. 17.23 gr, 26mm. Brussels, Bibliothèque royale. Photograph courtesy of collection of Bibliothèque royale.

FIGURE 3.3B   Zeus Aetnaeus, silver tetradrachm of Aetna, 475–447. 17.23 gr, 26mm. Brussels, Bibliothèque royale. Photograph courtesy of collection of Bibliothèque royale.

of a satyr/silen on the obverse. On the reverse is a detailed picture of Aetnean Zeus sitting on a backless throne with a lightning bolt in his left hand, a staff in his right, and his eagle in front of him perched in a tree. The fact that the coin was minted so close to the city's foundation date and that it depicts the city's patron deity suggests that the iconography is particularly patriotic. The imagery was no doubt approved by the same tyrant who invited Aeschylus to perform his *Aetnae*, which suggests a real importance for the satyr in Aetnean

politics in the 470s. The popularity of these satyrs in Sicily does not guarantee that they were the companions of Dionysus in Epicharmus' *Komasts*, but it does at least demonstrate their prominence in Sicily around the time of Epicharmus' production.[49]

In addition to the correlations between Epicharmus' comedies and Attic satyr drama, both modes of performance also relate in their modes of obscenity. In the introduction to *The Maculate Muse*, Jeffrey Henderson contrasts the obscene vocabulary of Old Comedy with other periods and types of obscenity, making a particularly interesting connection between Doric comedy and Attic satyr play (1991, 26):

> The muted . . . tone of the obscenities in Sicilian comedy has an Attic analogue in the satyr drama, which derives, like Old Comedy, from the Dionysus cult and its κῶμοι of Silenus, satyrs, and other rustic creatures. The very infrequent obscenities that we find in the fragments of satyr drama are, like those of Epicharmus and Sophron . . . casual nonabusive double entendres, sly references or colorful slang intended to elicit a smile.

Henderson cites satyr play and Sicilian comedy only to juxtapose their less explicit sexual and scatological references to the more unrestrained obscene language found in Old Comedy.[50] The similar modes of obscenity between western comedy and Attic satyr play cannot alone indicate a generic interrelationship, but the numerous other historical and thematic connections suggest that the styles of obscenity may have been more than mere "analogues."

Many myths, both in literary and visual representation, become sexualized when satyrs are introduced. References to sex of all sorts are quite common in the remains of satyr drama,[51] but not surprisingly, given the satyrs' physical nature, phallic allusions are the most frequently used innuendo. Richard Seaford (1987, 142–43) has shown that among the numerous references to the satyrs' phalloi, probably the most common is the repeated description of the satyrs' "bald heads."[52] In a fragment of Sophocles' *Dionysiskos*, for example, Silenus describes his interactions with the newborn Dionysus in punning sexual language:

ὅταν γὰρ αὐτῷ προσφέρω βρῶσιν διδούς,
τὴν ῥῖνά μ' εὐθὺς ψηλαφᾷ κἄνω φέρει
τὴν χεῖρα πρὸς <τὸ> φαλακρὸν ἡδὺ διαγελῶν

Sophocles, *Dionysiskos, TrGF* 171

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[49] Dinolochus' lost *Pholus*, which was about the Peloponnesian centaur who was the child of the satyr Silenus and the nymph Melia, offers another example where a satyr or satyrs would be appropriate to the plot.

[50] For more on Epicharmean "*Vulgarismen un Obszönitäten*," see Willi (2008, 150).

[51] Seaford's commentary on the *Cyclops* (1984) was the major breakthrough for studies of obscenity in satyr drama; it inspired Henderson (1991, 244) in his *Addenda, Corrigenda, Retractanda* to add a number of examples, as well as to adjust slightly his position on satyr play: "the language of satyr-drama, though never obscene, is less chaste than was here characterized and deserves a study of its own."

[52] See also Voelke (2000).

Whenever I bring him food and give it to him, he immediately feels my nose and brings his hands up to my bald head, laughing sweetly.

A close reading of this fragment demonstrates that Silenus' speech contains sexual double entendres. The term φαλακρόν, Seaford observes, has aural similarities to φαλλὸν, and may even be a "pun, brought out by intonation, on φαλλὸν ἄκρον," signifying an erect penis. Given Silenus' costume phallus,[53] his sexual character, and the linguistic similarities between φαλλὸν and φαλακρόν, a reference to Silenus' "bald head" represents a clever pun. Henderson (1991, 245) pushes Seaford's analysis even further, suggesting that the image of the baby stroking the satyr's nose (τὴν ῥῖνά μ' εὐθὺς ψηλαφᾷ) is also sexual innuendo. The exaggerated nose on the satyrs' comic masks was certainly phallic and would invite such humorous comparisons. Even the "meat" that Silenus brings to the god is suspiciously sexual given the context. Henderson notes no obscene use of βρῶσις in Greek Old Comedy, but he does observe (1991, 129) that the synonymous term κρέας appears as a euphemism for the phallus in particularly "homosexual contexts." Although the primary reading of these verses is humorous without any sexual interpretation, and although the fragmentary state of the *Dionysiskos* makes it impossible to verify these double entendres, the nature of satyrs and satyr drama would obviously invite instances of such innuendo.

In fact, in a fragment from the *Diktyulkoi*, Aeschylus exploits the same playful use of φαλακρόν, when Silenus assumes the role of nurse for the newborn Perseus:

⟨ΣΙ.⟩]. γελᾷ μου προσορῶν
      ]. . ὁ μικκὸς λιπαρὸν
      μ]ιλτ[ο]πρεπτον φαλακρὸν

<div align="right">Aeschylus, Diktyulkoi, TrGF 47a 786–88</div>

(Si.) The little one laughs when he looks at my oiled-up, bright red "bald head."

Despite the fragmentary state of these verses, the context is clearly very similar to Sophocles' play: a baby (here Perseus) laughs at the satyr's "bald head." Aeschylus' delayed use of the direct object adds to the humor of the passage. The audience would hear the adjectives "bright-red" and "oiled up" before knowing what noun they were describing. Given the sexual quality of these terms and the speaker, the spectators would naturally anticipate some reference to the satyr's phallus, but Silenus plays with their expectations by using φαλακρόν instead of φαλλόν.[54] Just seven lines later (795) in the same shredded

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[53] On the costume of Silenus and the satyrs, see Krumeich (1999, 53–55), and Jouan (1991, 25–37).
[54] Perhaps Silenus would have made this pun clear during the performance with a motion to his phallus. By reaching toward his phallus as he speaks the verse but then suddenly grabbing his forehead, Silenus could reinforce the word-play.

papyrus fragment, Aeschylus ensures this interpretation of φαλακρόν when Silenus refers to Perseus as ποσθοφιλὴς ὁ νεοσσὸς ("the penis-loving child").[55]

In the remains of Sicilian comedy, a similar type of sexual innuendo is preserved, with puns and double entendres referring to sexual organs. For example, the Suda cites a phrase from Epicharmus (K-A 226) within a discussion of the term γέρρα, which refers to a stake or a flap, but can also denote the female and male genitalia among Sicilians (παρὰ Σικελοῖς γυναικεῖα καὶ ἀνδρεῖα αἰδοῖα).[56] Epicharmus also made a number of allusions to male and female genitalia through his use of sexualized sea foods in the *Marriage of Hebe*. For example, he mentions the unknown crustacean *colybdaena*, which Nicander observes meant "sea phallus" (τὸ θαλάσσιον αἰδοῖον) in Epicharmus' play.[57] Henderson (1991, 25) also notes a sexual allusion in Epicharmus' fellow Sicilan poet, Sophron.[58] The text (K-A 38) ἅ δ' ἀμφ' ἄλητα κυπτάζει can, with a slight switch in inflection, be read and heard as ἅ δ' ἄμ' φάλητα κυπτάζει. This minor shift in placement of the phi-sound changes the meaning from "she bends over to work at her meal" to "she bends over to work at the phallus." It, like Epicharmus' sexual jokes using γέρρα and certain sea creatures, accords well with the sexual puns seen in the fragments of satyr play.

The playfulness of Doric comedy and Attic satyr drama's humorous styles stands as just one of the many features that link the genres, but some of the most suggestive support for Epicharmus' relationship to satyr play comes from later connections. For example, an epigram composed (theoretically) for Epicharmus' tomb states:

> Δωρίδος ἐκ Μούσης κεκορυθμένον ἀνέρα Βάκχῳ
> καὶ Σατύροις Σικελὸν τῇδ' Ἐπίχαρμον ἔχω.
>
> *Palatine Anthology* 7.82

> I hold the Sicilian Epicharmus, a man girded by the Doric
> Muse to serve Bacchus and the Satyrs.

Here, the Doric Muse arms Epicharmus for his poetic battle in the service of Dionysus and the satyrs. The connection to Dionysus may have been an over-generalization based on the god's importance to drama in Athens (Dionysus' role in Sicilian theater is a matter of debate[59]), but Epicharmus did stage a *Dionysoi* and the epigrammatist may have known of particular Dionysian connections. The link to satyrs is less likely to be an overgeneralization. If

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[55] Henderson (1991, 109) notes that the term πόσθη "is a small member or a young boy's member, and seems to have had an affectionate and somewhat respectable tone." Presumably, then, Perseus must have shifted his interest from Silenus' penis to his own.

[56] See Head-word Γέρρα.

[57] Fr. 139 Schneider, ap. Athen. *Deipn*. 3.105c. Cf. Shaw (2013).

[58] Sophron either lived contemporaneously with or shortly after Epicharmus. On the life and dating of Sophron, see Hordern (2004, 2–4).

[59] Cf. Kowalzig (2008).

Epicharmus had not written plays on satyrs or with satyrs, this comment would have made little sense.

The Suda's rather fanciful entry on Epicharmus similarly connects the Sicilian comic poet with satyrs. Among a number of extraordinary remarks on Epicharmus' life, there is the claim (K-A T1) that Epicharmus' father was named Tityrus or Chimarus and that his mother was Sikis.[60] Pickard-Cambridge (1962, 237) uses this passage as evidence for "the futility of some of the Suda's sources," and Kassel-Austin label these names "parentes ficti." Epicharmus' obviously fabricated parentage in the Suda is of little historical value, but it does provide some important insight on Epicharmus and his dramatic productions. The name Tityrus (Τίτυρος) is actually Doric for Σάτυρος (satyr), and the alternate name given for Epicharmus' father, Chimarus (Χίμαρος), is a Greek term for a he-goat. Whatever the source for the Suda's biography of Epicharmus, it clearly associated the Sicilian poet with satyrs and satyr-like figures. Even his mother's name, Sikis, is remarkably similar to the name of the satyrs' lewd and lively dance, the sikinnis. Neither the source nor the date of this legend survives, but for Epicharmus to have been considered the offspring of Tityrus and Sikis, there must have been something satyric in his comedies. While the Suda's statement is little more than an interesting anecdote, it is an anecdote with considerable implications.[61] We have seen a significant overlap between Epicharmus' Doric comedies and Attic satyr plays in their titles, plots, and characters, as well as in their style of humor. Apparently at some point before the Byzantine lexicographers recorded their notes on Epicharmus' life, some other scholar or scholars too had observed a relationship between the Sicilian comic poet and satyr play. By imagining Epicharmus as the son of a satyr and the satyric dance, they point to the inherent connection between the poet's plays and satyric drama.

It is impossible to know exactly how the flow of influences worked between Sicily and Athens during the late sixth and early fifth centuries. Epicharmus' comedies and Athenian satyr plays may have been parallel manifestations of a common Dorian legacy/borrowing, or it may be that one location played a larger role in the earliest phases of the development of the theater. Either way, there was a good deal of cross-fertilization in both directions very early on, which gives the impression that there was significantly more regional exchange of the dramatic arts than is typically thought for this period.[62] The remains of Sicilian comedy and Athenian satyr drama reveal many of the same

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[60] Scholars have emended the coddices to Σηκίς (based on Epicharmus' fragment K-A 123), but I prefer to accept the text as it is.

[61] Consider the similarly unreliable, but equally insightful names attributed to Pratinas' father and Arion's father discussed in chapter 2.

[62] Csapo (2010, 38) notes that "Drama became the primary vehicle of cultural Hellenization." Although he is specifically alluding to the later fifth century, his comments may be applicable to the early fifth century and the late sixth century as well.

mythological titles, plots, and themes; and they exhibit a similar mode of humor. The relationship was so close that in the imagination of later biographers, Epicharmus was related to satyrs, and his comedies were related to satyr plays, a connection that (we will see in chapter five) ultimately influenced Athenian Middle Comedy.

| Old Comedy, Classical Satyr Drama, and Euripides' *Alcestis*

AS WE HAVE SEEN, during the sixth century, a range of less differentiated humorous *kômos*-songs were presented in various areas of Greece, but around the end of the century in Athens, one of them, satyric play, was formalized as an official form of drama. Its function was purportedly to re-introduce a religious, Dionysian element to the festival, but since comedy *qua* comedy was not yet officially staged, it also was the primary form of humorous drama. As Pratinas' hyporcheme illustrates, satyr drama during this period employed a range of styles, including some qualities more typically associated with Old Comedy: sexual jokes, the breaking of dramatic illusion, spirited dancing and singing, and allusions to contemporary poetic trends. After decades of satyric performance, however, the genre's limitations as humorous theater likely became apparent. Satyr play always employed the same chorus of satyrs (can we imagine the limited range of tragedy if every performance had the same chorus of Theban elders, Bacchic revelers, or divine Furies?), while the various pre-comic performances at the festival employed a vast array of chorus types, including men walking on stilts, dressed as horses, or riding ostriches. Although it is impossible to confirm, comedy may have been introduced at the official level because it allowed a greater diversity of choruses and subject matter for humorous drama. Satyr play was laughable *kômos*-song, but comedy was laughable *kômos*-song with a much broader range of possibilities.

In this chapter, we will consider how comedy and satyr drama evolved together on the Athenian stage after comedy's official introduction to the City Dionysia in 486. Although both genres likely had similar humorous styles in their early phases,[1] they became progressively more and more differentiated. Comedy evolved quickly, incorporating a wide-range of pre-comic modes and using a sizable variety of choruses, while satyr drama evolved to be more

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[1] Poets and audiences were just starting to establish generic expectations at this time. Consider the historical subject of Aeschylus' *Persae*, which indicates that tragedy had not yet settled on a mythological plot schema.

"tragic." Despite this differentiation, certain historical connections remained, such as the continued use of non-human choruses, happy endings, and sexual obscenity; and poets also made direct intertextual references between the genres. This generic relationship came particularly into focus after 440 and the Decree of Morychides. Euripides' satyr-less satyr play, *Alcestis*, responded to the law and reinterpreted the verb *kômôidein*, inspiring a much larger dialogue on the comic-satyric relationship in Athens. Comic poets began to use satyr choruses in their comedies, and visual artists began to associate satyrs, *kômos*-song, and *kômôidia* on their vases.

Official Satyr Drama and Comedy

The first Athenian comic dramatists of the fifth century adopted elements from a number of preceding humorous modes of performance, such as padded komast dancers, rider choruses, and phallic songs, but within less than a decade of comedy's official introduction, most of its precursors in Athens began to fade away. Jeffrey Rusten has suggested a causal connection between these two events, noting that "one sure result of 'official' comedy was to drive out of existence the different forms of Athenian humorous performance attested in the preceding century."[2] The growing importance of the City Dionysia, and comedy's formal introduction to it, likely made many of the pre-comic modes seem obsolete: *kômôidia* could "do" anything these earlier performances did. One major exception to comedy's general expulsion of its predecessors is satyr drama, which was instituted at the City Dionysia around two decades before comedy and served as an influential precursor to comic poets, but continued to be performed alongside comedy for centuries.

There are probably two main reasons for the persistence of satyr drama in Athens. First, as an official institution at the Dionysiac festival before comedy's introduction, satyr drama may have been grandfathered into the program. Second, satyr drama appears to have been established to serve a particular religious function that was not fulfilled by comedy: to reintroduce a Dionysian element as the theater began to have "Nothing to do with Dionysus" (οὐδέν πρὸς τὸν Διόνυσον). The legend surrounding this famous phrase suggests that performances during the earliest period of the festival honored the patron deity by performing dramatic stories directly connected to his mythology.[3] But as tragedy grew in prominence and its themes expanded beyond the Dionysiac,

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[2] Rusten (2006, 55; 2011, 19–20). On the persistence of the phallic procession, see Csapo (2014).

[3] Dionysus himself, however, was not a particularly common character in satyr play. Cf. Lämmle (2007, esp. 375), who argues that satyr drama serves as the humorous Dionysiac memory of tragedy.

some members of the audience complained that it no longer served its purpose.[4] The Suda explains the proverb:

τὸ πρόσθεν εἰς τὸν Διόνυσον γράφοντες τούτοις ἠγωνίζοντο, ἅπερ καὶ σατυρικὰ ἐλέγετο· ὕστερον δὲ μεταβάντες εἰς τὸ τραγῳδίας γράφειν κατὰ μικρὸν εἰς μύθους καὶ ἱστορίας ἐτράπησαν, μηκέτι τοῦ Διονύσου μνημονεύοντες· ὅθεν τοῦτο καὶ ἐπεφώνησαν. καὶ Χαμαιλέων ἐν τῷ Περὶ Θέσπιδος τὰ παραπλήσια ἱστορεῖ.

<div align="right">Suda, O 806</div>

Previously, when writing for Dionysus, they competed with these works, which were called "satyric." But later, having switched to the writing of tragedies, they turned little by little to myths and historical subjects, no longer being mindful of Dionysus. Because of this, they shouted this phrase. And Chamaeleon observes nearly the same thing in his "On Thespis."

The Suda does not name a source for this anecdote, but the history of drama offered here matches Aristotle's theories on the development of tragedy (*Poetics* 1449a). According to this Peripatetic model (note Chamaeleon, Aristotle's student, is used to confirm the story), tragedy evolved from humble, "satyric" beginnings into a more mature form that included greater diversity of plots and characters. Formal satyr play was introduced (or reintroduced, depending on the meaning of the adjective "satyric"[5]) at some point to compensate for tragedy's lost connection to Dionysus. Since satyrs are part of the god's *thiasos*, the inclusion of satyr drama would theoretically re-inject a Dionysiac element to the celebration.

In the second century CE, Zenobius offers a similar version of the "Nothing to do with Dionysus" anecdote. Although he too remarks that satyr drama was introduced to the festival to recover earlier Dionysiac content, Zenobius does not employ the same schema offered by the Suda. He suggests instead that Dionysiac dithyramb preceded tragedy and that satyr drama only came later:

Επειδὴ τῶν χορῶν ἐξ ἀρχῆς εἰθισμένων διθύραμβον ᾄδειν εἰς τὸν Διόνυσον, οἱ ποιηταὶ ὕστερον ἐκβάντες τὴν συνήθειαν ταύτην, Αἴαντας καὶ Κενταύρους γράφειν ἐπεχείρουν. Ὅθεν οἱ θεώμενοι σκώπτοντες ἔλεγον, Οὐδὲν πρὸς τὸν

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[4] There is a massive bibliography on Dionysus' role in the drama performed at his festival. On the connections between Dionysiac ritual and drama, see especially Pickard-Cambridge (1927; 1962), Burkert (1966), Lesky (1983), Winkler & Zeitlin (1992), Seaford (1994), Easterling (1997b), Sourvinou-Inwood (2003), and the useful overview offered in the introduction to Csapo and Miller (2007, 1–32). For doubts about these connections, see Else (1965), Herington (1985), and Scullion (2002).

[5] As in Aristotle's formulation, the adjective "satyric" is used, but again, as in Aristotle's formulation, it probably refers to "satyric" performance that predates "true" satyr play. For a useful summary of the possible interpretations of this adjective, see Seaford (2007, 381).

Διόνυσον. Διὰ γοῦν τοῦτο τοὺς Σατύρους ὕστερον ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς προεισάγειν, ἵνα μὴ δοκῶσιν ἐπιλανθάνεσθαι τοῦ θεοῦ.

<div align="right">Zenobius, 5.40 = Ieranò 1997, no. 65</div>

After that time, when, from the beginning, choruses were accustomed to sing the dithyramb to Dionysus, poets later departed from this habit, and put their hand to writing "Ajaxes" and "Centaurs." Because of this, the spectators joking around said, "Nothing to do with Dionysus." For this reason it seemed good to them later to introduce satyr plays as a prelude, so that they might not seem to be forgetful of the god.

There are historical inaccuracies in this quote (poets did not cease to perform dithyramb during the classical period, and satyr plays were not a "prelude" to tragedy—not during the fifth century at least), but nevertheless Zenobius offers a theory similar to that of the Suda.[6] Seaford (1976, 209–21) has made a convincing case for the accuracy of the "Nothing to do with Dionysus" anecdote, and if we accept that Pratinas *TrGF* 3 comes from an early Athenian satyr play, we get a sense of these re-established Dionysiac themes:[7] the satyrs proclaim that Bromius (Dionysus) is theirs, they sing about "dancing along the mountains with the Naiads," and they implore the god while dancing at his altar, "Look at me, flinging my hands and feet. Thriambodithyrambus, ivy-crowned lord, listen, listen to my Dorian dance."

Satyr drama's introduction to the City Dionysia may also have prompted the official founding of comedy. Within a few decades of satyr drama's debut, the Athenians likely saw the genre as more than just "something to do with Dionysus." It also functioned, on a basic aesthetic level, as humorous drama. But as humorous drama, it may not have been entirely fulfilling. Compared to the range of choruses found in contemporaneous pre-comic performances, satyr play would have seemed boring and repetitive with its required chorus of satyrs year after year. Therefore, the Athenians instituted comedy, which resulted in a greater range of plots. But even after comedy's official introduction, the genres probably overlapped a good deal, even if those early comedies did not handle mythological plots commonly found in satyr play. Many of the known titles of Chionides (fl. 480s) and Magnes (fl. 470s) use choruses that are similar to satyrs in their animalistic nature (e.g., *Birds, Frogs, and Fruit Flies*) or similar to satyrs in their foreignness/"otherness" (e.g., *Beggars, Persians,*

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[6] In fact, they may be working from the same Peripatetic theories of dramatic development. Instead of "something satyric," Zenobius concentrates on dithyramb, which Aristotle equates with the "satyric ethos." See also chapter 2, where I show that dithyramb itself appears to have been on occasion "something satyr-drama like," *saturikon*.

[7] Although I believe that satyr drama was instituted at the festival for its Dionysiac qualities and likely persisted for the same reason, I doubt that this religious function was at the fore of most poets' minds much beyond its first few years. The poet's priority, despite the religious context, was more likely to offer a performance that would entertain the audience and help him win the competition.

Assyrians, Lydians). The genres were clearly differentiated by their choruses and their plots, but probably less in their style and humorous mode.

As the fifth-century continued, the genres became even more differentiated. Satyr drama and comedy both remained humorous modes of performance, sharing an aesthetic function that ensured a continued generic relationship, but comedy's range of choruses led to new innovations and increased popularity, while satyr drama's limited chorus led to less innovation and, probably, decreased popularity. Because of the festival format, where there were no satyric poets (only tragedians who completed their trilogy of tragedies with a satyr play), the genre's primary development was toward tragedy. Both genres were cut from the same mythological fabric at an early point in their development, and some tragedians even used the same myth throughout the entire tetralogy.[8] This generic assimilation can also be noted in the fact that classical satyr drama does not break dramatic illusion (unlike Pratinas' early satyr play), and that it employs similar diction, structure, and meter to tragedy.[9] Euripides' *Cyclops*, for example, breaks few metrical rules and has few resolutions, and it is organized with prologue, parodos, *agon,* episodes succeeded by choral songs, and an exodos. Without any other complete plays, it is difficult to trace the trajectory of these formal elements precisely, but I think Seaford (1976, 212) is correct when he concludes that the *Cyclops* is a "degeneration" toward the tragic.

The formal similarities between tragedy and satyr drama in most of the classical period are so substantial that it is often impossible to distinguish tragic titles and fragments from satyric ones.[10] However, satyr drama would never be mistaken for tragedy in its original performance, since it had a chorus of playful, ithyphallic satyrs. There were other unique characteristics that distinguished satyr drama from tragedy as well. For example, it was almost always situated in the satyrs' rustic, primordial, mythological world, and it explored prominent romantic themes and motifs that were largely avoided in tragedy, such as "pastoral settings, ogres, adventures and miraculous escapes, necromancy and resurrections from the dead, dinners, symposia, musical and athletic competitions, and successful erotic encounters (meetings, falling in

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[8] As Aeschylus' *Persians* (474) and Phrynichus's *Capture of Miletus* (*ca.* 494) make clear, tragedy was not always mythological in its earliest phases, and the same may be true with satyr drama. The tetralogies did become more related over time, but this trend fell apart relatively early as trilogies even became unrelated in their plots. Tetralogies with thematic connections throughout are only known from Aeschylus in the first half of the century: *Laius, Oedipus, Seven against Thebes, Sphinx* (467); *Suppliants, Aegyptioi, Danaids, Amymone* (between 465 and 459); *Agamemnon, Choephoroi, Eumenides, Proteus* (458); *Edonians, Bassarids, Neaniskoi, Lycurgus.*

[9] On the speech and meter of satyr drama, see KPS (1999, 15–17). On the *Cyclops* in particular, see Seaford (1984, 44–48).

[10] Consider, for example, the controversy surrounding Sophocles' *Poimenes*. Cf. Rosen (2003) and the entire section of essays in which it is published (Sommerstein, 2003): "Satyr Drama or Tragedy?"

love, courtship) often ending in matrimony."[11] As Mark Griffith (2005; 2008; 2010) has demonstrated, classical satyr drama was a distinctly romantic, "middlebrow" performance.

Comedy, on the other hand, evolved in a different direction or, it seems, in two different directions. In the 440s, Crates apparently became interested in invective-free, fully invented stories, while Cratinus shifted toward a more politically charged mode of performance.[12] Neither of these developments in comedy resembles satyr drama (or Epicharmus or much Middle Comedy, for that matter), and the "golden age" of Old Comedy is particularly associated with fantastic plots, extreme sexual and scatological license, the modern polis, and the naming/mocking of contemporary figures (ὀνομαστὶ κωμῳδεῖν). It is difficult to know exactly how or why these features became the hallmark of Old Comedy, but they may be related to the parabasis, an important feature in which the chorus addressed the audience using distinct metrical structures (cf. Pratinas, *TrGF* 3, which may be addressing the audience, "What is this commotion? What are these dances?"). One could imagine how the combination of a radical democracy, a humorous genre with no limitations on chorus type, and a venue for speaking directly to thousands of citizens could influence the genre's evolution toward a more political, aischrological, urban performance, with contemporary references and ample breaking of dramatic allusion.[13]

Despite the different directions in which dramatists took comedy and satyr drama, vestiges of the genres' related origins can be seen in their continued use of happy endings, their frequent use of non-human choruses (sometimes even a satyr chorus), a deeper engagement with poetic discourse than is found in tragedy, and a persistent use of the phallus and obscenity.[14] And although the only instance in which satyr drama is mentioned outright in extant Greek comedy is Aristophanes' *Thesmophoriazusae* (157–8), it is not true that "Comedy appears, as a rule, to ignore the very existence of satyrs and satyr-play!"[15] Scholars from antiquity indicate that Aristophanes quoted satyr plays on at least three occasions. For example, the scholiast on the *Frogs* notes that the triple greeting of Charon in verse 184 (χαῖρ' ὦ Χάρων, χαῖρ' ὦ Χάρων, χαῖρ' ὦ Χάρων) is taken directly out of Achaeus of Eretria's *Aethon*. As Dionysus and

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[11] Griffith (2008, 73–74). Mark Griffith has conducted valuable research on these romantic components found in satyr drama but largely avoided by tragedians in their tragedies. On the rustic elements, see Vitruvius, *De Architectura* 5.6.9.

[12] Russo (1994, 4 and 19) suggests that the political elements were particularly influenced by the introduction of the Lenaean festival, which drew fewer audience members from outside Attica and, therefore, encouraged a more open forum for debate. Cf. Rusten (2006).

[13] Cf. Platonius *On the Differences of Comedies*.

[14] As Taplin (1986, 170–71) points out, satyr drama and comedy also probably both employed paratragedy, though it would be less pronounced and less prominent in satyr play than in comedy. Arnott (1972) makes as good a case that can be made for parody of tragedy in Euripides' *Cyclops*. Although the author does toy with tragic conventions, one is not left with the sense that "Euripides elegantly parodies a series of tragic motifs and mechanisms with Aristophanic delicacy."

[15] Dobrov (2007, 253).

Xanthias approach the ferryman to the underworld, they shout to him three times in unison, quoting a satyr play that dramatized the myth of Erysichthon and Demeter.[16] In the story, the goddess attempted to starve the mortal to death for destroying her sacred grove. No matter how much Erysichthon ate, he still wasted away, and when he ran out of money to purchase food, he sold his daughter as a last resort. Poseidon granted her the ability to change shape and gender so that she could escape and return home each time she was sold, and the fragments indicate that a significant portion of the play was dedicated to her story. There appears, though, to have been an underworld scene:

> χαῖρ' ὦ Χάρων, χαῖρ' ὦ Χάρων, χαῖρ' ὦ Χάρων,
> ἦ που σφόδρα θυμοῖ;

<div align="right">Achaeus, Aethon, TrGF 11</div>

> Greetings Charon, Greetings Charon, Greetings Charon—
> Well, you're really angry, aren't you?

The limited context of Achaeus' play makes it difficult to calculate how this "para-satyric" quote functioned in the *Frogs*, but the reference demonstrates a definite intertext between comedy and satyr play.

Aristophanes also quotes a verse from Aeschylus' satyric *Sphinx* in his *Frogs*. In the last third of the play, Euripides and Aeschylus compete in an agonistic scene, in which they repeatedly parody each other's poetry. After Aeschylus wraps up his mockery of Euripidean verse (1205–41), Euripides takes his turn deriding Aeschylus' dramatic style (1249–95), but he does not limit his ridicule to tragic productions:

> Σφίγγα, δυσαμεριᾶν πρύτανιν κύνα, πέμπει.

<div align="right">Aristophanes, Frogs, 1287</div>

> sends the Sphinx, Head Bitch of Bad Days.

<div align="right">Trans. Henderson 2002</div>

In general, Euripides insults Aeschylus' diction, overly repetitive rhythm, and outmoded style, but in the section from which this verse comes, he particularly complains about Aeschylus' use of the lyre (κιθαρῳδικῶν νόμων), which was considered unfashionable and archaic by the late fifth century. Among the numerous verses mockingly quoted, Euripides cites a line from Aeschylus' *Sphinx*, a satyr play that was performed at the end of the Oedipus trilogy in 467.[17]

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[16] According to Athenaeus (10.416B), Erysichthon was also called Aethon, a name that refers to the "burning" of his hunger pains. For more on this myth, see Callimachus *Hymn* 6 and Ovid *Metamorphoses* 8.738–884.

[17] See *TrGF* Testimonium 58, which indicates that Aeschylus won first prize in this year with his production of *Laius, Oedipus, Seven against Thebes,* and *Sphinx.*

Without the scholiast's assistance, it would be difficult to confirm that these verses were quoted from satyr drama. In the case of Aristophanes' reference to the *Aethon*, it would be impossible to know that this was a quote at all. Satyr drama's mixture of humorous and serious elements makes it challenging to recognize satyric intertexts in comedy: the formal similarities between tragedy and satyr drama make serious satyric quotes look like para-tragedy,[18] while amusing satyric quotes look like the invention of the comic poet. Pollux mentions a humorous intertext of this sort found in a fragment of Aristophanes (K-A 623):

εἴποις δ' ἂν καὶ κοκκίσαι ῥόαν κατ' Ἀριστοφάνην·
          ὀξυγλύκειάν τἆρα κοκκιεῖς ῥόαν.
τουτὶ δὲ τὸ ἰαμβεῖον Ἀριστοφάνης οὐκ ἴδιον ὂν εἴρηκεν, ἀλλ' ὡς
Αἰσχύλου.

<div align="right">*TrGF fab. inc.* 363</div>

You could say even to pluck the pomegranate as Aristophanes:
"You pluck the sour-sweet pomegranate seed,"
Aristophanes said this iambic line not as his own, but as Aeschylus'.

Aristophanes quotes an unknown play by Aeschylus, apparently adopting a sexual joke that comes from a satyr play.[19] The verb κοκκίζω literally means to "pick the kernel out of the fruit," but this verse likely alludes to deflowering a virgin, since the pomegranate seed had particular sexual connotations in antiquity.[20] The sexual imagery corresponds to satyr drama's general predilection for double entendres, but if Pollux had not noted Aristophanes' appropriation of Aeschylus' satyric joke, we would never have recognized this as an intertextual reference and would have assumed that Aristophanes was the originator of the innuendo.

Obscenity and sexual humor of this sort would be a particularly productive area for poets of comedy and satyr drama to interact, since both types of production employ phallic costumes and related sexual jokes. Old Comedy's costume (for male characters) seems to have almost invariably included an oversized flaccid phallus, and the chorus' costume in satyr drama sported a constantly erect, though smaller, member.[21] The difference in costume phalloi seems to reflect the manner in which the poets explored sexual humor in

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[18] Just as satyr drama would not be particularly distinct from tragedy without the inclusion of a chorus of satyrs, comedy's parody of satyr play would not be particularly distinct from parody of tragedy without the inclusion of a chorus of satyrs.

[19] See Sommerstein (2008, 317).

[20] According to Hesychius, the pomegranate seed (κόκκος) meant vagina. Cf. Henderson (1990, 134; 166–67).

[21] On the costume phallus of Old Comedy, see Stone (1981, 72–126), Foley (2000), and for a collection of primary sources, Rusten (2011, 423–33). For the satyr's costume phallus, see figs. 0.1, 0.2, 0.3, 2.11, 2.12. and 3.1.

general: comic actors wore a larger phallus and used more explicit obscenity, while the chorus of satyrs wore a smaller phallus and used more implicit obscenity. In the remains of Old Comedy, poets make frequent use of terms that are not found in satyr play, such as πέος (cock), κύσθος (cunt), and βινεῖν (fuck). However, "the ethos of Attic Comedy…included obscenity in all its forms as an indispensable element,"[22] including proper terms like φαλλός (and wordplay based on such terms: e.g., τρικέφαλος and κεκρύφαλον), and metaphorical expressions, such as δόρυ (spear/penis), λόχμη (thicket/vagina), and κρούειν (bang/have intercourse), types of obscenity that were also an "indispensable element" of satyr drama.[23]

Euripides' *Cyclops* offers a number of illustrative examples. At the start of the play, Silenus laments the labors he is enduring as the servant of Polyphemus, complaining that they are even worse than the labors he suffered in his youth, when his flesh was strong (ἐν ἥβῃ τοὐμὸν εὐσθένει δέμας). Seaford has persuasively suggested that δέμας (v.2) is a sexual reference to Silenus' flaccid costume phallus, and the repeated use of δόρυ in the rest of Silenus' monologue offers the same sort of figurative phallic reference.[24] First, he recounts fighting in the gigantomachy with Dionysus:

> ἔπειθ ὅτ' ἀμφὶ γηγενῆ μάχην δορὸς
> ἐνδέξιος σῷ ποδὶ παρασπιστὴς βεβὼς
> Ἐγκέλαδον ἰτέαν ἐς μέσην θενὼν δορὶ
> ἔκτεινα

<div align="right">Euripides, Cyclops, 5–8</div>

There was that time when I stood right beside you with my spear during the battle with the Earthborn Giants, and striking Enceladus right in the middle of his shield with my spear, I killed him.

Silenus again uses δόρυ just a few lines later, this time to refer to his trip to find Dionysus after being kidnapped by pirates:

> ἐν πρύμνῃ δ' ἄκρᾳ
> αὐτὸς βεβὼς ηὔθυνον ἀμφῆρες δόρυ

<div align="right">Euripides, Cyclops, 14–15</div>

I myself, mounting the rear of the stern, straightened the double-oared ship with the rudder.

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[22] Henderson (1991, xv). On Old Comedy's "Varieties of Obscene Expression," see Henderson (1991, 30–55).

[23] For discussions of humorous satyric diction (esp. colloquialisms, *hapax legomena*, and "vulgarisms"), see Redondo (2003, 413–31), López Eire (2003, 387–412), and Slenders (2005) who attempt to identify linguistic criteria that can help distinguish tragic fragments from satyric fragments. Cf. Voelke (2000).

[24] See Seaford (1977, 84; 1984, 92) and Harrison (2005, 237–38).

The sexual nature of the satyrs and Silenus' repeated use of humorous, phallic vocabulary (δέμας, δορὸς, δορὶ, δόρυ) suggest that this whole scene was imbued with sexual humor, and although it is problematic to recreate the stage directions of the *Cyclops*, these jokes were probably reinforced by Silenus' actions onstage, which would include grabbing his costume phallus at the mention of δέμας in verse two, making a stabbing motion with it in verses five and seven, and then moving it back and forth like a ship's rudder in verse fifteen.[25]

The chorus of satyrs also speak of their phallus as a "siphon" in a slightly corrupt passage later in the play:

ὡς διὰ μακροῦ γε †τὸν σίφωνα τὸν φίλον
χηρεύομεν τόνδ' οὐκ ἔχομεν καταφαγεῖν.†[26]

<div align="right">

Euripides, *Cyclops*, 439–40

</div>

For a long time, my dear siphon has been widowed and doesn't have anywhere to lay its head.

Although σίφων traditionally denotes a tool used to draw wine out of a cask or jar, the satyrs use it to refer to their sexual organs, a joke that is visualized on a sherd from a fifth-century vase (fig. 4.1):[27]

Here, the satyr has sex with a wine container and his penis, in a sense, becomes a siphon, visually representing the same double-entendre as the satyrs' wordplay in the *Cyclops*.[28] Elsewhere, Silenus refers to his phallus more explicitly, when he takes his first sip of wine and points to his flaccid member, saying that the drink makes him erect (ὀρθός), gives him the urge to "grab a breast" (μαστός, 170), and makes him want to run his hand through someone's "grassy meadow" (λειμών, 171).[29] While μαστός is a direct, proper reference to the breast, λειμών is a metaphorical reference like λόχμη (thicket) or πεδίον (plain) in comedy. The satyrs also use a metaphorical term for sexual intercourse, when they ask Odysseus if after catching Helen in Troy they all took

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[25] There may be similar sexual overtones implicit in the words βεβὼς ("mount," vv. 6 & 15) and ηὔθυνον ("to make straight," v. 15).

[26] τὸν φίλον χηρεύεμεν/σίφωνα τόνδε and χηρεύμεν/σίφωνα τῷδε ἔχομεν οὐχι καταφυγήν (Diggle). For a complete treatment of the corruption and the suggested textual restorations, see Seaford (1984, 187). I use Kovacs' (2001, 107) translation, which provides what "many think is the approximate sense."

[27] A similar scene is found on a red-figure amphora, *ca.* 520 (Paris, Louvre CP 11072; Beazley, ARV 27/7). These images are wonderful representations of the aural similarity between πίνειν and βινεῖν, which is used in Aristophanes' *Frogs*. Lissarrague (1990a, 61) connects the satyrs' desire for sex and wine, noting that the use of the wine amphora "is not a matter of chance;" for the satyrs typically "confuse the neighboring but separate domains of eros and drink."

[28] Cf. Sophron fr. 25, where the female genitalia are "widowed" and, similarly, Aristophanes *Lysistrata* 956, where the penis is "orphaned."

[29] Richard Seaford, in his commentary on the *Cyclops,* notes a number of similar sexual allusions. Although some scholars have accused Seaford of projecting too much sexual imagery into the *Cyclops*, much of this criticism was based on a conservative view of the tragedians. Cf. Seaford (1987, 142–43).
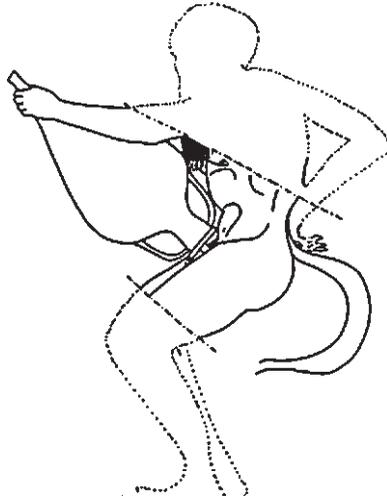
FIGURE 4.1   Satyr having sex with large amphora, Attic red-figure kylix. Palermo V 651. Drawing courtesy of François Lissarrague, published in Lissarrague (1990b, 75, 2.18).

turns "banging her" (177–81). This figurative reference to sex (διαδροτεῖν) is much like Old Comedy's use of κρούειν cited above.

Henderson (1991, 26) views the *Cyclops*' obscenity as a particularly Euripidean innovation, concluding that it "may indicate an idiosyncratic loosening of standards of diction and propriety by that iconoclastic writer." But the remains of satyr play indicate the opposite. Euripides seems to offer a less clear and less prominent use of sexual allusion. A number of earlier plays reveal much more vivid sexual humor than the *Cyclops*, referring overtly to the satyrs' sexual organs. For example, in the scraps of papyrus from Sophocles' *Ichneutae* (*The Trackers*), which relates the myth of Hermes' infancy in the care of the nymph Cyllene, there is an explicit mention of the satyrs' phalloi. Near the start of the play, after Hermes has killed a tortoise and invented the lyre, he plucks the string for the first time and startles the satyrs, prompting Silenus to upbraid his children:

> <ΣΙ.> τί μοι ψ[ό]φον; φοβ[…]. κα[.] δειμαίνετε
> μάλθης ἄναγνα σώ[μα]τ' ἐκμεμαγμένα
> κάκιστα θηρῶν ὀνθ[..]ν [π]άσῃ σκιᾷ
> φόβον βλέποντες, πάν[τα] δειματούμενοι,
> ἄνευρα κἀκόμιστα κἀνε[λε]ύθερα
> διακονοῦντες σώματ' εἰ[σ]ιδ[ε]ῖν μόνον
> κα[ὶ γ]λῶσσα κα[ὶ] φάλητες.

<div align="right">

Sophocles, *Ichneutae, TrGF* 314, 145–51

</div>

Why are you afraid and frightened at a noise?
You're unholy bodies formed out of wax,

the vilest of the beasts, spying something scary
in every shadow and frightened by every little thing!
Look, you just serve your nerve-less,
disheveled, slavish bodies,
along with your tongues and your penises.

Silenus' use of φάλητες (= φαλοί) is an unambiguous, semi-technical sexual reference, like Aristophanes' use of φαλήτων at *Lysistrata* 771, which is used in a "bawdy parody of a serious oracle."[30]

The other two explicit references to the phallus come from Aeschylus' satyr plays, earlier in the fifth-century. The first example is found in Aeschylus' *Isthmiastae* or *Theoroi* (fr. 78.29–31):

ὁρῶν μύουρα καὶ βραχέα τὰ [φαλλί]α
ὡς ἐξέτριβες Ἰσθμιαστικὴν [πάλη]ν,
κοὐκ ἠμέλησας, ἀλλ᾽ ἐγυμνάζ[ου κα]λῶς.

<div align="right">Aeschylus, Isthmiastae or Theoroi, TrGF 78a, 29–31</div>

...when I see your penises all mouse-tailed and short, how you spent the Isthmian wrestling match,[31] and you were not careless, but you trained well.

The papyrus reveals only fragmentary verses in this passage, but the context is secure: the satyrs are prepared for the athletic contests at the Isthmian games and Dionysus approaches them to note their unusually small penises.[32] He labels them both "mouse-tailed" and "short," implying that the satyr's phallus is typically much larger. But the term μύουρα suggests that the satyrs, as contestants in the games, infibulated their penises, just like competitors in the real athletic competitions.[33] A second example of this overtly sexual diction is found in Aeschylus' *Diktyulkoi*. After the satyrs pull Danae and her son Perseus out of the ocean, the baby looks at Silenus' "oiled-up, bright red 'bald head'" (λιπαρὸν /τὸ μι]λτ[ό]πρε[π]τ[ο]ν φαλακρόν, *TrGF* 47a, 788–89) and laughs. The phallic wordplay implied by φαλακρόν functioned as a sort of running gag in satyr drama,[34] and when Perseus laughs, Silenus calls the baby (*TrGF* 47a, 795) a ποσθοσφιλὴς ὁ νεοσσός (a young penis-/foreskin-lover). The term πόσθη "seems to have had an affectionate and somewhat respectable tone" and can be used as a medical term for foreskin.[35] With the suffix φιλὴς, Silenus is unambiguously commenting on Perseus' interest in the phallus.

Although Aeschylus' use of ποσθοσφιλὴς and φαλλίον, and Sophocles' use of φάλητες, do not measure up, quantitatively or qualitatively, to Old Comedy's

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[30] Henderson (1991, 112).
[31] I follow Tovar's suggestion for the lacuna ([πάλη]ν), *TrGF* 78a 30, *ad loc.*
[32] For a more detailed interpretation of this play's fragments, see KPS (131–48).
[33] On infibulation in athletics, see Sansone (1988, 120).
[34] Chapter 3, p. XXX.
[35] Henderson (1991, 109). Cf. e.g., Hippocrates, *On Ulcers* 12.

use of obscenities like πέος, they show the importance of phallic humor during the performance.[36] It is difficult to know how much of this connection was based in their shared history and how much is related to overt intertextual borrowing, but as Aristophanes' quote of Aeschylus' pomegranate joke suggests, poets of comedy and satyr drama probably drew from each others' productions when looking to make a humorous sexual allusion.

The most substantial link between comedy and satyr drama is comedy's occasional use of a satyr chorus. Cratinus, Ecphantides, Callias, Phrynichus, (perhaps) Ophelion, and another unknown author all composed comedies that were titled *Satyroi*, and Timocles wrote a *Demosatyroi* and an *Icarioi Satyroi*. Eupolis may also have used satyrs in at least one of his comedies, if we can trust a notice that says "in Eupolis silenoi are satyrs,"[37] and there were dramatizations whose titles do not reflect their use of satyr choruses, such as Cratinus' *Dionysalexandros*, the only fifth-century comedy with a chorus of satyrs for which we have any significant knowledge.

In 1904 a large portion of the *Dionysalexandros'* hypothesis (P.Oxy. 663) was found in the trash heap in Oxyrhyncus.[38] The papyrus fragment revealed that Cratinus' play, about which very little was known, parodied the judgment of Paris (i.e., Alexander), a myth in which the Trojan prince is forced to select the most beautiful Olympian goddess. The damaged hypothesis appears to pick up shortly after the start of the play, at which point the chorus addresses the spectators.[39] Then the god Dionysus enters in the costume of Alexander and is made fun of (χλευάζου(σιν), l. 12) by the chorus, apparently a group of satyrs.[40] Hermes

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[36] In addition to these references to the satyrs' phalloi, authors of satyr plays frequently allude to intercourse as well. Rather than the verb βινέω, however, which is the graphic obscenity commonly found in Old Comedy meaning "to fuck," satyr dramatists tended to employ verbs that were traditionally associated with sex among animals. For example, in Achaeus' *Moirae* (*TrGF* 28), the satyrs exclaim, βαβαὶ βαβαὶ, βήσομαι γυναῖκας, "Hey, Hey! I'm going to mount some women." The equine nature of the satyrs obviously lends itself to this type of animalistic reference to sex, and it is found, along with related/synonymous terms, repeatedly in satyr plays. Achaeus (*TrGF* 52), for example, creates a nominal form of the verb when he refers to Silenus as νυμφόβας ("nymph-mounter"), and although not even one complete, uncorrupt verse remains from Sophocles' *Epi Tainaroi*, there appears to be a playful reference to sex. Photius (359.25) notes that Sophocles employs in his production the phrase οὐ κωφεῖ, (*TrGF* 198e) which means "he doesn't maim," but when spoken, it would have been nearly indistinguishable from οὐκ οἰφεῖ, which has the obscene meaning "he doesn't fuck."

[37] K-A 479. On silens and satyrs being the same creatures and on their name being used interchangeably, see Brommer (1941, 222–28) and most notably Hedreen (1992, 9).

[38] Originally published by Grenfell and Hunt (1904), the passage is most recently edited by Bakola (2010, 322–23).

[39] There is a significant controversy surrounding these lines because the text as it is transmitted (πυωνποι⁾ⁿ) may be corrupt and can be reconstructed in various ways. Cf. Körte (1904, 490), Austin (1973), K-A IV (1983, 140–41), Luppe (1988), and Bakola (2010, 297–304). Regardless of the topic of this speech, however, it is clear that the chorus addressed the audience: ll. 6–9: οὗτοι/μ(ὲν) πρ(ὸς) τοὺς θεατάς/τινα πυωνποι⁾ⁿ/διαλέγονται.

[40] The composition of the chorus as a group of satyrs is fairly certain based on the leading role of Dionysus and ll. 42–43: συνακολουθ(οῦσι) δ' οἱ σάτυ(ροι) παρακαλοῦντες τε κ(αὶ) οὐκ ἂν προδώσειν αὐτὸν φάσκοντες. Cf. Grenfell-Hunt (1904, 69), Körte (1904, 483), Norwood (1931, 118), Méautis (1934, 464), and Schwarze (1971, 21). Schmid (1946, 77n8) argues that the satyrs were a

arrives with the goddesses, each of whom offers Dionysus/Alexander a gift in exchange for his vote: Hera promises tyrannical rule, Athena guarantees good fortune in battle, and Aphrodite offers to make him sexually desirable.[41] After Dionysalexandros judges Aphrodite the most beautiful, he sails off to Sparta to take Helen, and returns with her to Mt. Ida. But when he hears that the Greeks are looking for Alexander and destroying the countryside, the god hides Helen in a basket and disguises himself as a ram, at which point the real Alexander finds them and plans to turn them over to the Greeks. However, Helen resists and the Trojan prince takes pity on her, turning Dionysus over to the Greeks and keeping Menelaus' wife for himself. At the end of the play, the band of satyrs accompanies the god offstage, offering their support and asserting their loyalty to him.

This production is remarkable for its complex generic interplay. Cratinus appropriates a number of characteristics traditionally associated with satyr drama, from the chorus of satyrs to the location of the story in a mythological, rural environment.[42] There are also certain themes and motifs found in the play that distinguish it as "satyric:" its exploration of romance, hospitality, disguise, trickery, and the separation of the satyrs from Dionysus at the beginning and their re-unification at the end.[43] Cratinus' version, however, is not a mythological burlesque in the same spirit as satyr drama.[44] Instead, the *Dionysalexandros* distorts the original story in various ways, from Dionysus' bizarre metamorphosis into a ram to the vast shifts in space and time, when he travels from Mt. Ida to Sparta and back again. There is also a parabasis (or parabasis-like parodos[45]), in which the chorus breaks the dramatic illusion and addresses the audience directly. Cratinus revises the myth into an over-the-top farce with a number of outlandish elements that would not be appropriate to classical satyr drama, but the characteristic most unlike satyr play (and most like Old Comedy) is the element of satire. As the final comment in the hypothesis notes, Pericles was mocked in the play for bringing war on the Athenians:

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secondary chorus and that the main chorus was made up of shepherds, a theory that is further developed by Luppe (1966, 184–92) and Rosen (1988, 54–55, n59 and 2003, 384). This second chorus seems an unwarranted complication of the hypothesis. For a full discussion of the issue and a convincing argument for a single chorus of satyrs, see Bakola (2010, 82–88).

[41] This is a variation on the typical myth in which Aphrodite offers Alexander the most beautiful woman in the world, but as the remainder of the plot makes clear, Helen was also part of the offer.

[42] Robert (1914, 37), Sutton (1984, 123), Hall (2006, 340–41 and 351–52) and Dobrov (2007, 261–65) see a similar appropriation of satyric elements in a passage from Aristophanes' *Peace* (426–526) and Sophocles' *Pandora* or *Sphyrokopoi* (fr. 482–86). While the connections between Aristophanes' chorus and a group of satyrs are intriguing, I find them slightly too conjectural to discuss here. Cf. Bakola (2010, 109–10)

[43] On the typical themes of classical satyr drama, see Guggisberg (1947, 60–74), Sutton (1980c, 145–59), Seaford (1984, 33–44), and KPS (28–32).

[44] On Old Comedy's unique character of mythological parody, see Nesselrath (1990 esp. 237–41) and Casolari (2003, 61–125). *Contra*, Guidorizzi (2007).

[45] Cf. Storey (2005, 21–23).

κωμωι-
δεῖται δ’ ἐν τῶι δράματι Πε-
ρικλῆς μάλα πιθανῶς δι’
ἐμφάσεως ὡς ἐπαγηοχὼς
τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις τὸν πόλεμον.

<div align="right">P. Oxy. 663, 44–48</div>

Pericles is made fun of very persuasively in the play through *emphasis* for having caused the war for the Athenians.

Unlike many fifth-century comedies in which authors explicitly mocked famous Greek figures from contemporary Athens, the *Dionysalexandros* mocks Pericles within a mythological plot δι’ ἐμφάσεως. This term, *emphasis*, comes from the verb ἐμφαίνομαι, which means "to appear in" and refers primarily to someone or something appearing in a reflection. Although scholars have rendered the noun with a range of definitions (innuendo, impression, moral, setting forth, exposition, narration, and figuration),[46] "indirect expression" and "metaphor" best capture the obliqueness implicit in the term.[47] Bakola (2010, 183–92) has shown that the metaphorical elements of the play may have been secondary to the mythological burlesque, but the satirical representation of Pericles was obvious enough to be recognized for centuries after Cratinus’ original production.

The play may have satirized Pericles for a number of qualities, but the hypothesis makes clear that the most significant satirical attack was for his role in bringing war upon the Athenians. In particular, the implication that Pericles started the Peloponnesian War (or the Samian War, depending on the play’s exact performance date[48]) on account of his Milesian lover Aspasia clearly parallels Alexander’s role in causing war for the Trojans over his lover Helen.[49] As Revermann puts it, the main character of the play is not Dionysus-Alexander, but "Διονυσοπερικλεαλέξανδρος."[50] Although the play’s primary story, the Judgment of Paris, would be appropriate for satyr drama, Cratinus’ play reflects the trends of Old Comedy rather than classical satyr drama. He does not merely "take one myth, add satyrs, observe result," as François Lissarrague’s recipe for a satyr play instructs.[51] Instead, he adds satyrs, dresses Dionysus in Paris’ clothing, and mocks Pericles in this Dionysus-Paris figure, using

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[46] On the term *emphasis*, see most recently Nünlist (2009), Dobrov (2010b), and Bakola (2010, 198–203).
[47] Consider the meaning of the phrase κατ’ ἔμφασιν, "obliquely." Aristotle, *Mu*.395a29.
[48] Cf. Mattingly (1977), Storey (2006), and Dobrov (2010).
[49] On comedy and the Trojan War, see Wright (2007); for more on Pericles in comedy, see Plutarch’s *Life of Pericles*, Schwarze (1971), and Vickers (1997).
[50] Revermann (1997, 199). Cratinus’ *Nemesis* similarly stages a mythological representation of Pericles as Zeus through *emphasis*. Cf. K-A 118 and Henderson (2012), who suggests that this play too may have had a chorus of satyrs.
[51] Lissarrague (1990c, 236).

multidimensional humor that is at the same time mythological burlesque and satirical, personal abuse of a contemporary politician.

Cratinus' *Dionysalexandros* helps paint a picture of how satyrs may have been used when they were appropriated by poets of Old Comedy. Even though they remain in their mythological realm in Cratinus' play, the satyrs are implicated in the abusive comic trends of the period. A famous fragment from Hermippus' *Moirae* similarly employs satyrs to mock Pericles:

> βασιλεῦ σατύρων, τί ποτ' οὐκ ἐθέλεις
> δόρυ βαστάζειν, ἀλλὰ λόγους μὲν
> περὶ τοῦ πολέμου δεινοὺς παρέχηι,
> ψυχὴ δὲ Τέλητος ὕπεστιν;
> κἀγχειριδίου δ' ἀκόνηι σκληρᾶι
> παραθηγομένης βρύχεις κοπίδος,
> δηχθεὶς αἴθωνι Κλέωνι.

<div align="right">Hermippus, K-A 47</div>

> King of the Satyrs, why are you unwilling to lift a spear, but instead you offer clever arguments about the war, which really mask a cowardice worthy of Teles? And meanwhile, when even a small knife is sharpened on the hard whetstone, you gnash your teeth, bitten by the fiery Cleon.

<div align="right">Trans. Rusten in Rusten 2011</div>

Much like Cratinus in the *Dionysalexandros*, Hermippus connects the famous Athenian general with satyrs and the war, but here Pericles is named the "king of the satyrs" (presumably referring to Silenus rather than Dionysus). Hermippus draws parallels between Pericles and Silenus' cowardly bravado, constructing him as a blowhard who refuses to actually fight. Just as Silenus in Sophocles' *Ichneutae* reproaches his children for being afraid of a noise, but is himself the first to run away, Pericles is charged with supporting the war with impassioned speech but is too afraid to pick up a sword himself. Hermippus adds a second layer to the joke by relating Pericles' role in the war to Papa-Silenus' sexual activities. Although Silenus was once an ithyphallic young man, he is typically depicted as past his prime, a flaccid old pathic,[52] and in this fragment Hermippus applies these characteristics to Pericles, using martial imagery to represent the general as the victim of Cleon's political and sexual assaults.[53] The humorous innuendo begins in the second verse with the use of δόρυ, which we have seen frequently functions as a reference to the phallus.[54] In this instance, however, Pericles refuses to lift his spear, suggesting

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[52] On the flaccid nature of Silenus' penis, see Seaford (1987, 142–43). On Silenus as pathic (or at least as *cinaedus*), see Euripides' *Cyclops* (576–89), which depicts Polyphemus getting the satyr drunk and lustfully taking him into the cave.

[53] Jones (2011).

[54] Cf. Henderson (1991, 120).

sexual impotence, and Hermippus adds to the sexual imagery by implying at the end of the fragment that Cleon is sexually assaulting the Athenian general. Pericles grits his teeth with the pain of being stabbed by Cleon's political and sexual aggression.

Cratinus and Hermippus employ the satyrs of satyr drama, but they maintain the spirit of Old Comedy. They cross genres, but their appropriation of the satyrs does not include the appropriation of the genre's distinctly playful nature,[55] which raises the question, why did these poets appropriate the satyrs? Bakola (2010, 117) suggests that Cratinus' engagement with satyr play is an unparalleled example of generic experimentation deriving from a sustained interest in Dionysiac poetics, but the substantial number of satyr comedies by other comic poets suggests otherwise. Perhaps comic poets were establishing an adversarial relationship with satyr play, much like the relationship created with tragedy and other genres,[56] or maybe comedy's use of satyrs reflects the increased tendency for Athenian dramatists to cross generic bounds during the last quarter of the fifth century,[57] but I would argue that there is more going on here. These satyr comedies represent a sustained discussion on the overlapping nature of comedy and satyr drama as *kômos*-song, an issue that can be linked directly to Euripides' *Alcestis* and the Decree of Morychides.

Euripides' Alcestis

At the City Dionysia of 438,[58] Euripides staged three tragedies—*Cretan Women, Alcmaeon in Psophis,* and *Telephus*—but instead of completing the tetralogy with a traditional satyr play, he presented his satyr-less *Alcestis*. At the start of the play, Apollo provides a prologue detailing the background to the myth. Alcestis has agreed to die in place of her husband, Admetus, but Apollo has come to dissuade Death from taking her (or anyone else) to the underworld. Unsuccessful, the god exits, and Alcestis is brought on stage to describe to her husband and children the vivid and agonizing details of her death. Next, the chorus of old Pheraean men enter and sing a funeral dirge in honor of Alcestis, but the "tragic" tone of the first half shifts with the entrance of Heracles, who

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[55] In satyr drama, terms for playfulness (παιδία, παίζειν) and its cognate "child" (παῖς, παιδός) are repeatedly used, demonstrating the humorous, inconsequential tone of these performances. Cyllene in Sophocles' *Ichneutae* offers a succinct representation of the satyrs, noting that they act like a child (παῖς, v. 366) even though they are full-grown men and that everything they do is "for the sake of playfulness" (παιδιᾶς χάριν, v. 354). On the child-like and slave-like qualities of the satyrs, see Griffith (2002, quote on 216–17), who notes that they "live in a state of permanent excitement and playful anticipation—like children or the less sophisticated members of a drunken *kômos*."

[56] For a useful collection of essays on "Greek Comedy and the Discourse of Genres," see Bakola et al. (2013).

[57] Csapo (2004).

[58] The date is provided by the ancient hypothesis (b) to the *Alcestis* (lines 16–18), which states that it was staged during "the archonship of Glaucinus."

hopes to stay as a guest in the house. Admetus, although he has just promised his dying wife that he will banish all celebration from their home forever, invites the hero to stay with him and throws a banquet in his honor. When Heracles finally, drunkenly, realizes that the house is in a state of mourning, he hunts down Death and returns Alcestis to her husband in a strange final scene, where she is disguised as a new bride before being revealed to Admetus as his wife.

Scholars since antiquity have struggled to categorize this play generically, sometimes dubbing it "tragic" and other times "pro-satyric."[59] The anonymous second hypothesis provides the earliest extant discussion of the play's categorization:

> τὸ δὲ δρᾶμά ἐστι σατυρικώτερον, ὅτι εἰς χαρὰν καὶ ἡδονὴν καταστρέφει παρὰ τὸ τραγικόν. ἐκβάλλεται ὡς ἀνοίκεια τῆς τραγικῆς ποιήσεως ὅ τε Ὀρέστης καὶ ἡ Ἄλκηστις, ὡς ἐκ συμφορᾶς μὲν ἀρχόμενα, εἰς εὐδαιμονίαν δὲ καὶ χαρὰν λήξαντα, ἅ ἐστι μᾶλλον κωμῳδίας ἐχόμενα.

> The play is rather satyric, since it moves toward joy and pleasure in its outcome, as opposed to the tragic mode. Both the *Orestes* and the *Alcestis* are removed from the category of tragic poetry, since they start with disaster and end in happiness and joy, which is more characteristic of comedy.
>
> Trans. Luschnig and Roisman 2003, 7

The hypothesis creates an interesting connection between the *Alcestis* and all three dramatic genres.[60] In addition to comedy, the author also seems to link the text with tragedy, but ultimately decides that Euripides' play is "rather satyric" because the action proceeds toward joy instead of pain. While this is a reasonable conclusion to draw, especially since the *Alcestis* was performed in place of a satyr play (and satyr plays have happy endings), the use of the limiting comparative (σατυρικώτερον) indicates that the play cannot be dubbed actual satyr drama because there is no chorus of satyrs.

Modern scholars have been similarly interested in the generic category of the *Alcestis*, noting in particular its diptych structure (with its "tragic" first half and "comic" or "satyric" second half),[61] but too little attention has been paid to the fact that it was performed without a satyr chorus. This is particularly problematic when we consider Griffith's observation (2002, 197) that "playing satyrs" was "not merely a deeply traditional Dionysiac ritual, but also generally accepted as the most appropriate and satisfying conclusion to the city's most

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[59] On the genre of the Alcestis, see Dale (1954, xvii-xxii), Gregory (1979), Seidensticker (1982, 129–52), Riemer (1989, 1–6), Segal (1993, 37–50), Parker (2007), and Mastronarde (2010, 55–57).
[60] Although the handwriting of this portion of the hypothesis suggests that it was added by a later scholar, the sentiment is similar to the older section, which notes that the play has a rather comedic conclusion (κωμικωτέραν καταστροφήν). Dale (1954, xl) calls the newer paragraph "a redundant addition from another source."
[61] Cf. Castellani (1979), Riemer (1989), Segal (1992), and Roisman (2005).

complex and prestigious cultural event of the year." Even if the *Alcestis* exhibits certain traditional satyric elements (e.g., a "romantic" theme and happy ending), without a chorus of satyrs, it simply is not satyr drama and would not have fulfilled the audience's expectations for the genre in this particular performance slot.[62] In fact, despite these satyric elements, a tragic designation seems more appropriate for the play,[63] and if it had been transmitted to us as a tragedy rather than as a satyr play, I suspect that there would be little question about its categorization. The shifting tone, romantic theme, and diptych structure of the *Alcestis* would register as something unusual and interesting, but not outside the purview of tragedy as we understand it. We probably do not have a sense of the full range of dramatic styles from Athens (or outside Athens, for that matter), and there is considerable overlap between tragedy and satyr play, but "the one major difference" between these genres is no small matter.[64] While the tragic chorus was always open to change, the chorus in satyr drama was always the same and, thus, the *Alcestis* does not merely push generic bounds stylistically or thematically—it is the most serious inversion of genre known from ancient Greek drama. What makes the *Alcestis* unique is not its content but, rather, what it does not contain: a chorus of satyrs.

The lack of satyrs makes the *Alcestis* stand out as satyr drama's inverse, as "un-satyr" drama, and it would have frustrated the audience's expectations. Slater (2005) addresses these issues effectively, noting that the initial prologue and the subsequent dialogue between Apollo and Death do not necessarily hint to the audience that the play is not satyric, but when the chorus of old Pheraean men entered, the audience must have been perplexed. The choral *parodos* from Euripides' *Cyclops* demonstrates the typical boisterous and raucous actions of dramatic satyrs:[65]

SILENUS: τί ταῦτα; μῶν κρότος σικινίδων
ὁμοῖος ὑμῖν νῦν τε χὤτε Βακχίῳ
κῶμος συνασπίζοντες Ἀλθαίας δόμους
προσῆτ᾽ ἀοιδαῖς βαρβίτων σαυλούμενοι;

Euripides, *Cyclops* 37–40

Silenus: What is this, lads? Can it be that you have the same rhythm to your lively dance as when you went revelling at Bacchus' side to the house of Althaea, swaggering in to the music of the lyre?

Trans. Kovacs 2001

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[62] Konstan (1990, 207): "A role for the satyrs, half-goat, half-man, was required by the genre of the satyr-play."

[63] Parker (2007, xxi) argues that "For Euripides' audience the play was…a tragedy."

[64] Griffith (2005, 163). On the capaciousness of dramatic genres, see Griffith (2008).

[65] Cf. Lissarrague (1993, 212), "satyrs are represented in perpetual movement, as though they were incapable of controlling their bodies."

Just a few lines later, Silenus has to quell the noise and commotion of the *kômos* by ordering his children to be quiet (σιγήσατε, 82). The chorus in *Alcestis*, however, differs considerably. Rather than a young, rowdy, animalistic, dancing troupe, an elderly, powerless chorus enters, silent and motionless:

> τί ποθ᾽ ἡσυχία πρόσθεν μελάθρων;
> τί σεσίγηται δόμος᾽ Ἀδμήτου;

<div align="right">Euripides, Alcestis 77–8</div>

> What means this stillness before the palace?
> Why is the house of Admetus wrapped in silence?

<div align="right">Trans. Kovacs 2001</div>

The quiet in the *Alcestis* contrasts with typical satyric noise and revelry, pointedly indicating to the audience that this is not a satyr play.

Sutton maintains that Euripides staged this satyr-less play in the fourth position of his tetralogy because "Sooner or later, perhaps, some dramatist was bound to become dissatisfied with the restrictions imposed by the satyr play: the bufoonery and obligatory lowbrow humor, and the rather routine humor involving Silenus and the satyrs."[66] While it is true that satyr drama became detached from the tragic performance, this did not happen until nearly a century after Euripides staged the *Alcestis*.[67] Some have posited that pro-satyric plays were not uncommon in a fifth-century tetralogy, or that satyr plays were merely an optional element of the four-play structure.[68] Others attribute the *Alcestis'* unique status to the iconoclastic, experimental style of Euripidean drama in general. These elements may have played a role in the production of the *Alcestis*, but Marshall (2000) has provided the most convincing explanation, arguing that the satyr-less play was a reaction to the recent enactment of the Athenian law known as the "Decree of Morychides."

The scholiast to *Acharnians* 67 indicates that legislation was passed to limit comedy during the archonship of Morychides (440/439), and it lasted until Euthymenes was archon (437/436):

> ἐπ᾽ Εὐθυμένους ἄρχοντος—οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ ἄρχων, ἐφ᾽ οὗ κατελύθη τὸ ψήφισμα τὸ περὶ τοῦ μὴ κωμῳδεῖν γραφὲν ἐπὶ Μορυχίδου [440/39]. ἴσχυσε δὲ ἐκεῖνόν τε τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν καὶ τοὺς δύο ἑξῆς ἐπὶ Γλαυκίνου [439/8] τε καὶ Θεοδώρου [438/7], μεθ᾽ οὓς Εὐθυμένου [437/6] κατελύθη.

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[66] Sutton (1980c, 180). This sentiment and, in fact, the entire chapter (180–90) build on Sutton's previous articles on "prosatyric" drama (1972 and 1973b). Seaford (1984, 24) similarly posits that by 438 satyr drama had become "dispensible."

[67] *IG* II² 2320. See chapter 6 for more on the separation of satyr play from the tetralogy.

[68] Sutton (1980c, 180–90) makes the case for other satyr-less tetralogies, although there is no substantial evidence for any other "pro-satyric" productions. Parker (2007, xx) wonders exactly how standard the practice was to produce a satyr play at the end of every tetralogy. Steffen (1971, 215) thinks that Euripides' *Busiris* may not have had a satyr chorus. Cf. Pechstein (1998, 19–29).

In the archonship of Euthymenes: this is the archon in whose term was dissolved the law against ridiculing, which was passed in the archonship of Morychides (440/39). It was in force during that year and the two years following in the archonships of Glaukinos (439/8) and Theodoros (438/7), after which it was dissolved in the archonship of Euthymenes.

<div align="right">Trans. CAD p. 176</div>

Although a number of dubious decrees against Athenian free speech have been handed down from antiquity, the Decree of Morychides has withstood scholarly scrutiny and is generally believed to be authentic.[69] In most notices of these laws, scholiasts seem to have speculated that certain decrees were in place based on their readings of particular plays, but a lack of details betrays their ignorance of any actual historical legal document.[70] In this comment, however, the scholiast records specific dates for the law based on specific archonships, showing that the notice is most likely trustworthy.

The main component of the decree is the prohibition of "making comedy," indicated by the phrase μὴ κωμῳδεῖν. However, a fragment of a Roman inscription (*IG Urb. Rom.* 216.4), which records the Athenian *didascaliae*, notes that Callias staged his comic play *Satyroi* in 437, showing that the decree did not actually ban the act of staging a comic play. Instead, the sense of κωμῳδεῖν is more along the lines of "ridiculing," which a term like ὀνομαστὶ implied. When scholiasts describe other laws against comedy, they typically include references to the scurrilous abuse of historical figures (i.e., making fun of people "by name"),[71] and although the scholiast leaves out the term ὀνομαστὶ, the Decree of Morychides was presumably geared toward preventing this mode of humor. The scholiast's failure to include the term, however, is probably due not to accident but, rather, to the fact that the decree itself failed to include it. The impetus of the law (to forbid personal abuse) would have been clear enough that ὀνομαστὶ was left out of the original, but without a specific reference, the imprecise language of the decree, "to not make comedy," could be construed rather broadly, even as outlawing satyr drama.

In addition to the numerous humorous elements in satyr play, there were historical connections between *kômos* song and satyrs, including the literal, linguistic connection, since the verb κωμῳδεῖν is made up of κῶμος (revelry, merry-making) and ᾠδή/ἀοιδή (song) or ἀείδειν (to sing).[72] Although the intent of the decree was to prevent personal abuse in the genre of *kômôidia*, the

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[69] The decree, which was enacted during politically turbulent Samian War, lasted until 437/6. On the decree and this type of legislation more generally, see Halliwell (1984b and 1991), Sommerstein (1986), Atkinson (1992), and Henderson (1998), all of whom support the authenticity of the Decree of Morychides.

[70] Consider, for example, discussions of such legislation that employ a form of the verb δοκεῖν, "it seems," (e.g. Σ *Aves* 1297 and Σ *Acharnians* 1150).

[71] E.g., Σ Aelius Aristeides 3.8, κωμῳδεῖν ὀνομαστὶ; Σ *Acharnians* 1150a, κωμῳδεῖν ὀνόματος; and Σ *Birds* 1297, κωμῳδεῖσθαι ὀνομαστὶ.

[72] See chapter 2 for a full discussion of the historical connections between satyr drama, comedy, and *kômos*-song.

wording could be interpreted as outlawing *kômos*-song altogether, a category into which satyr drama, with its chorus of Dionysian komastic satyrs, inherently fell.[73] Euripides presumably staged his satyr-less satyr play during this ban on κωμῳδεῖν not because he actually misinterpreted the law, but because he was making fun of the decree or providing some sort of commentary on it. He construes/constructs satyr drama as a "comedic" *kômos*-song, which, when outlawed, only leaves tragedy. By doing so, he undermines the law, showing that a literal interpretation would result in the elimination of satyr drama from the festival.

Euripides' repeated use of κῶμος and its related verbal forms throughout the play underscores the fact that the *Alcestis* is a direct response to the Decree of Morychides. In fact, the first mention of revelry in the play recalls the law, when Admetus himself forbids the *kômos* in his household: "I will put an end to revelries and groups of drinkers and garlands and music which once filled my home" (παύσω δὲ κώμους συμπότων θ' ὁμιλίας/στεφάνους τε μοῦσάν θ' ἣ κατεῖχ' ἐμοὺς δόμους, 343–4). Also, questions are raised about the propriety of Heracles' reveling by Admetus' servant (οὐ γάρ τι κωμάζοντ' ἂν ἠχθόμην σ' ὁρῶν, 815) and by Heracles himself (κᾆτα κωμάζω κάρα/στεφάνοις πυκασθείς, 831–2). Elsewhere, the servant seems to upbraid Heracles for komastic behavior and laughter: νῦν δὲ πράσσομεν/οὐχ οἷα κώμου καὶ γέλωτος ἄξια, 803–4, "We are not now doing things like revelry and laughter." Later, Admetus even reminisces about the "loud-sounding revel" (πολυάχητος κῶμος, 918), a phrase that would naturally describe the satyric group that was "outlawed" by the decree. Euripides (probably sarcastically) depicts the noisy throng as something from the past, juxtaposing it with the reality of the present situation. Just as revelry and laughter were replaced by wailing (γόος, 922) within the play, the revelry and laughter of satyr drama at the City Dionysia had been replaced by the tragic *Alcestis*.[74]

Euripides' play was apparently such an extraordinary experiment that the poet Callias engaged the tragedian in a dialogue with his comic *Satyroi* in 437.[75] By employing a satyr chorus in his comedy just one year after the *Alcestis* was performed,[76] Callias was almost certainly commenting on the satyr-less production. With no extant fragments, it is impossible to verify these connections, but there are numerous possibilities. Callias may have simply satirized Euripides' unorthodox play, or he may have been joining in a larger generic discourse, as if to say that satyr drama was not *kômôidia*. Or perhaps he appropriated satyr drama's playful chorus of satyrs to explore satire δι' ἐμφάσεως during the decree against "making comedy" (i.e., in a legally safe manner as Cratinus did in his *Dionysalexandros*). Storey (2005, 214–16) extends the argument even

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[73] See the introduction and chapter 2 for more on *kômos* in satyr play.

[74] It is also notable that in Euripides' 700-line satyric *Cyclops* (performance date unknown), the noun for revelry (κῶμος) appears eight times.

[75] Marshall (2000, 236).

[76] *IG Urb. Rom.* 216.4: ἐπὶ θεοδώρου [438/7] Σατύροις.

further by suggesting that Cratinus' *Dionysalexandros* could perhaps be dated to 437, and that the Old Comic poet Ecphantides may also have produced his satyric comedy, *Satyroi*, in the mid-430s. Regardless of the exact dates of these comedies, their relative closeness to each other and to the production date of the *Alcestis* indicates a flurry of interest in satyrs and, presumably, the generic definition of satyr play as *kômôidia*. Euripides inverted traditional generic expectations by producing a tragedy in place of a satyric drama, and comic poets played their own generic games by appropriating the satyrs for comedy.

The implications of this conclusion are significant for understanding fifth-century attitudes toward satyr drama. If Euripides did in fact choose to stage his non-satyric *Alcestis* because of a ban on comedy, then he must have associated satyr play with comedy. Satyric drama was an integral part of the tragic experience, but with its chorus of satyrs, it was also a *kômôs*-song, a *kômôidia*. So, when the Decree of Morychides insisted μὴ κωμῳδεῖν, Euripides responded by removing the satyrs from his satyr play and offered the *Alcestis* in its place. This brought to the foreground the interesting relationship comedy and satyr drama had to *kômos*-song, as well as the interesting relationship both genres had with each other. The subsequent poets of satyr comedy confirm this connection, employing satyrs in their plays and proving that both genres are in a sense *kômôidia*.

This dialogue about the relationship between satyrs, comedy, and *kômos*-song can also be noted in the visual record. Starting in the same period (430s) and lasting for just a few decades, Athenian artists produced a significant number of high-classical vases with satyrs named Komos.[77] For example, on a red-figure calyx krater attributed to the Dinos Painter from around 430/420 (fig. 4.2), Prometheus uses his *narthex* to provide the gift of fire to three satyrs who hold torches. The satyrs' names are written beside the figures: Komos, Sikinnis, and Simos. Simos (Snub-nose) was the most common name for satyrs on ancient vases,[78] but the name Sikinnis refers to the satyrs' dance and suggests that the artist may have been thinking about performance. The name Komos has a similarly performative ring to it, indicating that it may signify more than just the "revels" enjoyed by satyrs. Since any song sung by a satyr named Komos will inherently be a *kômos*-song, the artist may be exploring the connections between satyrs and *kômôidia*, just as Euripides and comic poets were exploring these associations on the stage. Another Athenian red-figure krater with a depiction of the satyr Komos assures us that the scene refers to performance, particularly that of the City Dionysia (fig. 4.3). Dionysus sits at the center of

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[77] The naming of satyrs Komos is an entirely Athenian phenomenon and it only occurs during these few decades. Fifteen examples are extant: *ARV²* 1031, no. 40; *ARV²* 1041, no. 1; *ARV²* 1055, no. 76, 1630; *ARV²* 1269, no. 3; *ARV²* 120, no. 17; *ARV²* 688; *ARV²* 1253, no. 57; *ARV²* 1247, no. 1; *ARV²* 1249, no. 12; *ARV²* 1188, no. 1; Tillyard 1923, p. 85, no. 141; *ARV²* 1153, no. 13; *ARV²* 1154, no. 29; *ARV²* 1155, no. 6; *ARV²* 1152, no. 8. Cf. Smith (2007). Also see Heydemann (1880), Fränkel (1912), Kossatz-Deissmann (1991, 94–98), and Minyard (1976).

[78] For a list of satyr names, see Kossatz-Deissman (1991).

FIGURE 4.2 Scenes from the life of Theseus (lower frieze of Side A), Attic red-figure calyx krater, *ca.* 425, attributed to the Dinos painter. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1937.983.

the painting, holding a thyrsus and a cup of wine, which Ariadne refills as he offers a drink to a baby satyr named Komos. Behind Dionysus, the maenad Tragoidia stands holding a thyrsus and a young hare in this, the earliest known personification of tragedy.[79] She appears to be preparing to offer the small rabbit to the satyr Komos, a gesture typically associated with erotic relationships.[80] Hall (2007, 229) notes that the vase "crystalizes, through the use of a conventional mythical framework, a set of symbiotic and interdependent relationships operating within the drama festivals," but she does not fully parse these relationships. The satyr no doubt signifies satyr play, which appears to be less consequential than the full-grown maenad Tragoidia (and the genre tragedy), but he takes little heed of this relationship. Instead, tragedy brings gifts

[79] On the development of personified concepts, see Shapiro (1993). For more on this vase, see Kossatz-Deissmann (1997, 48–50), Lissarrague (2003, 182–83), and Hall (2007, 225–29).
[80] Cf. Lear and Cantarella (2008).

to satyr play, as if she is in some way subservient to satyr drama. And the artist's choice to name the satyr Komos is significant, suggesting a similarly "interdependent relationship" between satyr drama and comedy. The satyr may be formally in the world of tragedy, but his nature, like his name, links him to the world of humorous *kômos*-song and comedy.

The connection between satyrs, *kômos*, and comedy is made even more explicit in the earliest representation of the personified figure Komoidia. On a red-figure bell krater (fig. 4.4), the maenad Comedy holds a wine cup in her left hand and a thyrsus in her right. She looks up at the sky as she marches with Dionysus and Hephaestus in a procession led by the satyr Marsyas, who plays the double-aulos (each figure's name is inscribed: ΗΦΑΙΣΤΟΣ; ΔΙΟΝΥΣΟΣ; [Κ]ΩΜΩΙΔΙΑ; ΜΑΡΣΥΑΣ).[81] The artist inserts Komoidia into the famous story of Hephaestus' return, a context that we have seen was indelibly linked with satyrs.[82] Komoidia's presence in this

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[81] As Natale notes (2008, 104–5), the vase has been a focus of studies on Hephaestus' return, but "stranamente, non ha suscitato un particolare interesse negli studiosi del teatro attico" (strangely, it has not attracted a particular interest in scholars of the Attic theater). Ghiron-Bastagne (1976, 234) sees the vase merely as fantasy.

[82] On satyrs/silens and the Return of Hephaestus, see Hedreen (1992, 13–30; 2004) and (2004, 40): "Most visual representations of the return of Hephaistos also devote considerably more space to the depiction of the wine-god's entourage of silens and nymphs than to the representation of the story's protagonists," and (41–42) "Representations of the journey of Hephaistos

FIGURE 4.4   The Return of Hephaestus, red-figure bell krater (Side A), attributed to the Hector Painter. Paris, Louvre G 421. Photo: Hervé Lewandowski. © RMN-Grand Palais/Art Resource, NY.

FIGURE 4.4A   The Return of Hephaestus, red-figure bell krater (Side A), attributed to the Hector Painter. Paris, Louvre G 421. Drawing by Kimberly Vorperian.

conventionally satyric myth captures the interrelationship between comedy and satyr play during this period. Komoidia ends up in the realm of the satyrs, in the satyric *kômos,* just as comedy ended up in the performance space of satyr drama by using a chorus of satyrs.[83]

The conflation of *kômos,* satyrs, and *kômôdia* on vases begins so suddenly and so coincidentally with the Decree of Morychides' banning of comedy, Euripides' satyr-less *Alcestis,* and comic poets' interest in satyrs, that it is difficult not to draw larger literary-historical connections. As was seen in the first half of this chapter, comedy's official introduction into the festival led to the decline of its precursors in Athens, with the exception of satyr drama, which had a distinct religious function. Over the next few decades, comedy and satyr play continued to employ similar happy endings, non-human choruses, and obscenity, but on the whole they became more differentiated as satyr drama was assimilated to tragedy. However, when the Decree of Morychides was enacted, Euripides staged a non-satyric performance in the fourth position of his tetralogy, showing that a ban on "making comedy" could also be interpreted as a ban on satyrs' *kômos*-song. Euripides uses a pre-canonical conception of the dramatic genres, in which tragedy, comedy, and satyr play are defined by their institutional context to create a radical innovation with significant implications. His play reevaluated the meaning of the verb *kômôidein* and brought the relationship between comedy and satyr drama into relief, prompting a much larger debate on the meaning of *kômôidia.* In addition to the vases just examined, Callias staged a satyr-comedy the following year, and other comic poets followed suit. Cratinas' *Dionysalexandros* and Hermippus' *Moirae* show that satyr-comedies of this period were distinct from contemporary satyr play (maintaining characteristics of Old Comedy, such as contemporary allusions, an abusive tone, and a parabasis), but they also show a marked interest in

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to Olympos almost invariably include one or more silens and/or nymphs making music on the aulos, kithara, cymbals or krotala." Cf. Kossatz-Deissmann (1991, 131–99, esp. 147 ff.).

[83] The famous vase formerly known as "The Getty Birds" has also been linked to satyr drama, but I do not consider it here because I find the connections too tenuous. Since the first images of the Attic red-figure calyx krater were published in 1985, the vase has fueled a good deal of discussion. The obverse side represents two performers masked and costumed as ithyphallic birds dancing on either side of an aulos-player, who wears traditional garb and plays the double-aulos. The context is clearly performative, and the outrageous animal costuming is suggestive of comic drama, but it is not—as was previously posited by Green (1985)—a scene from Aristophanes' *Birds,* since it has been convincingly dated much earlier, to around 440. The other interesting problem is the costume of the choreuts, who dress as birds and have beaked masks, but also wear shorts similar to those typically found on the choreuts of satyr play. Not only do the performers have erect phalloi, which was less common for comic choruses than for satyric choruses, but their shorts also portray an ornamental circle found elsewhere in depictions of satyr costume. However, the costume is, I think, too far removed from actual satyric costume, and a number of other performers on ancient vases also depict these circles (e.g., a female acrobat alongside a comic actor on a red-figure Paestan *kotyle* at the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford, 1945.43). Cf. Csapo (2010, 10–11). For more on the vase, see Taplin (1993, 101–4), Green (1985, 95–98; 1991), KPS (1999, 54), Revermann (2006a, 218–19), and Bakola (2010, 104–7).

comic-satyric interaction. In the next chapter, we will see that this interaction had important ramifications for satyr play. Comic poets' use of satyrs and, later, their use of a "satyric style" ultimately led to satyr drama's removal from the tragic competition. Just as comedy could offer anything that pre-comic modes of performance represented, it could also offer anything that satyr drama represented.

| Middle Comedy and
the "Satyric" Style

A PERENNIAL CONCERN FOR students of Greek comedy is the genre's evolution
"From Aristophanes to Menander."[1] The stylistic gulf between these two poets
has prompted significant debate and speculation about comedy's development
during the decades between Aristophanes' "Old Comedy" and Menander's
"New Comedy." Although "we must reckon with the possibility that the tripar-
tite division of comedy was a late Classical or Hellenistic invention," we should
not deny the possibility that scholars since the fourth century BCE have accu-
rately perceived Greek comedy's general development.[2] In fact, the remains of
Middle Comedy[3] reveal a number of *topoi* that—while found to some extent
throughout Greek comedy—are conspicuously clustered in this intermediate
period: mythological burlesque, domestic and erotic themes, a generally depo-
liticized humor, riddles, stock characters, and a playful humorous style. These
trends have encouraged numerous theories about the influences upon comic
poets of this time.[4] Yet scholars make almost no mention of fifth-century satyr
drama in their studies of Middle Comedy, even though satyr plays share many,
if not all, of these characteristics.

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[1] Both Arnott (1972) and Csapo (2000) use this phrase in the titles of their articles on Middle
Comedy, although they employ different approaches and arrive at different conclusions. Cf.
Arnott (2010). Much of this chapter was previously published in the *American Journal of
Philology*: Shaw (2010).

[2] Csapo (2000, 117). For a thorough treatment of the history of scholarship on the issue, see
Nesselrath (1990, 1–28, for modern scholarship, and 28–64, for ancient).

[3] I use this as a chronological rather than a generic term. In *Mittlere Komödie,* Nesselrath (1990,
333–38), argues that "true" Middle Comedy should be rather strictly limited from 380 to 350. He
asserts, however, that the twenty to thirty preceding years demonstrate a consistent reduction of
Old Comedy's characteristic features, while the twenty to thirty following years begin to solidify
the representative characteristics of New Comedy. Although many scholars link Middle Comedy
with the end of the Peloponnesian War and the events of 404 (e.g., Arnott 1972), there is no
"cataclysmic" change in comedy at this date (Sutton 1990; Csapo 2000).

[4] For example, consider Arnott (1972, 75–76), who notes the influence of Old Comedy, Euripidean
tragedy, philosophy, mime, and Sicilian comedy.

The main proponent of a generic connection between Middle Comedy and satyr drama is Heinz-Günther Nesselrath, who near the start of his article on "Myth, Parody, and Comic Plots," (1995, 2–3) makes a provocative, but insufficiently explored, statement regarding satyr drama's impact:

> In the area of theme and plot, post-Aristophanic comedy—which, however paradoxical this may sound, already began during Aristophanes' latter days—to a considerable extent imitated the satyr play without taking over the satyrs: that is, in casting about for new stories to dramatize, it often left the contemporary and political themes of Old Comedy behind and looked to various myths and their treatment in epic and tragedy.

Satyr drama did take its plots from the same mythological fabric as epic and tragedy, but Nesselrath conflates these three genres in a way that misses some of the unique qualities of satyr play that connect it to Middle Comedy. In fact, he does not mention satyr drama again, concentrating instead on archaic Greek sources for Middle Comedy. Fifth-century satyr drama, however, was a much more immediate source for fourth-century comic poets, since it is formally, temporally, contextually, and conceptually much closer to Middle Comedy; and as we have seen in the previous chapters, it also had a shared historical relationship to the *kômos*. In this chapter, I will argue that many of Middle Comedy's elements can also be found in fifth-century satyr drama, and that satyr plays functioned as a primary model for the comic dramatists of this period. Euripides' *Alcestis* highlighted the connections between comedy and satyr drama in 438, setting off a debate that influenced the subject matter of comic plays and satyr vases for the next few decades. Then, during the early fourth century, many poets of Middle Comedy shifted toward a more "satyric" style.

Throughout this study, we have continuously encountered the challenges of dealing with fragmented evidence, and fourth-century comedy is no exception. Out of the hundreds of comedies performed between 380 and 350, not a single complete example is extant. Furthermore, the term "Middle Comedy," and the tripartite division of comedy in general, oversimplify what was presumably a gradual and natural development in the genre. Greek Comedy did not suddenly transform into its "Middle" stage at Aristophanes' death or into its "New" stage with Menander's first production. Many of Old Comedy's principal features can still be found in fourth-century comic productions,[5] and many of Middle Comedy's foremost characteristics can be detected in the fifth century.[6] But despite the considerable overlap in styles, the label remains useful for describing the genre's broad trends during this period.

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[5] See, for example, Nesselrath (1997) or Hunter's edition of Eubulus' fragments (1983, 20–30), which address the continuation of Old Comedy's political satire in Middle Comedy.

[6] See, for example, Rosen's (1995, 119–37) study of Plato Comicus, whom I discuss in greater detail below.

Nesselrath (1990) provides a comprehensive examination of ancient fragments and testimonia from the period, showing in the first half of his book that the label "Mittlere Komödie" can most likely be traced back to the late third- or early second-century Alexandrian scholar Aristophanes of Byzantium.[7] In the second half of his book, he concentrates on the fragments themselves, arguing that the remains exhibit many common *Merkmale* (technical features) unique to this period. Although scholars universally admire Nesselrath's thoroughness and attention, his work has been subject to criticism.[8] Csapo (1993 and 2000) offers the most comprehensive and critical responses to Nesselrath's investigation, noting his "hazy tendency to hypostatize genre." Scholars in the past have talked about Middle Comedy as a *selbständige Gattung*; and while Nesselrath is not so imprudent as to draw generic boundaries between Old, Middle, and New Comedy, he does not sufficiently acknowledge the challenges and nuances of employing periodization. Csapo fills this void, remaining moderate in his assessment of Middle Comedy, but ultimately concluding: "The changes in comedy from the fifth to the fourth century are best understood, not as a succession of qualitatively distinct products, but as a shift in the dominance of one style over another."[9]

The chief "dominant style" found in Middle Comedy is the use of mythological plots and parodies.[10] Dramatic representations of myth can, of course, be traced throughout the various stages of Greek comedy, but the mythological burlesques in Middle Comedy seem to differ considerably from those in Old Comedy, both in number and manner.[11] While comic poets of the fifth century did regularly employ characters and plots from traditional myths, they seem to have been much less inclined to stage a *complete* comic travesty than did the poets of Middle Comedy or classical satyr drama.[12] Fewer than one-quarter of

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[7] As Arnott (1992, 60), states in his review of Nesselrath's book, "There is perhaps not enough evidence to link the term 'Middle Comedy' with Aristophanes of Byzantium rather than Callimachus or Eratosthenes or scholars working at Pergamum, although the assumption of a Hellenistic origin seems preferable to any other dating."

[8] See Csapo (1993), Arnott (1992), Gelzer (1991), Glei (1992), and Rusten (1992).

[9] Csapo (2000, 133). For a similar sentiment, see Dover (1968, 145–46) and Henderson (1995, 181).

[10] Since Meineke (1827, 3–4) and, in greater detail, Grauert (1828, 27–31), many scholars have noted the role that "Mythenparodie" plays in Middle Comedy. The most thorough recent work, however, has been conducted by Nesselrath (1990, 188–241), who titles an entire section of his book "*Die Mythenparodien der Mittleren Komödie — Dramen eigner Art?*"; Casolari (2003, esp. 127–67); and Bowie (2000). Csapo (1993, 356), notes correctly, however, that "myth parody is a well-attested lesser modality of Old Comedy." Cf. Henderson (2012).

[11] Prior to examining *Mythenparodie* in Middle Comedy, Nesselrath (1990, 189–204), considers the unique character of Old Comedy's mythological parody, which often tends to be absurdly altered or to function as contemporary satire. For a similar treatment, see Casolari (2003, 61–125).

[12] Csapo (2000, 118) calls Cratinus' mythological *Odysseis* "an embarrassment to the traditional concept of Old Comedy," but Platonius (late Hellenistic or later; 5.28–33), suggests that ὀνομαστὶ κωμῳδεῖν was either banned or punished by law at the time of Cratinus' performance, which would explain his choice for a mythological burlesque. Meineke proposes 439 for the play's performance because it accords well with the Decree of Morychides, which dictated μὴ κωμῳδεῖν from 439 to 436. However, even if Cratinus' *Odysseis* was performed at some other period and was not affected by legal or political pressures, Platonius' anecdote reflects the perception by later

Aristophanes', Cratinus', and Eupolis' remaining titles represent mythological stories,[13] but the poets of Middle Comedy appear to have been on the whole pre-occupied with *Mythenparodie*, particularly in the first half of the fourth century. While poets of Middle Comedy still occasionally staged plays in the vein of Old Comedy, the literary zeitgeist seems to have been taken more with mythological dramas, whether they depicted the pre-Olympian deities or the heroes of Homeric epic.

One of the most common mythological plots of Middle Comedy was the birth of a hero or god. For the span of about three or four decades, the production of these so-called θεῶν γοναί-dramas became markedly more prevalent, dramatizing the births of Aphrodite, Hermes, Dionysus, Pan, and Zeus, among other gods.[14] The Homeric Hymns are an obvious source for these plots in Middle Comedy. For example, Philiscus' play *The Birth of Hermes*[15] may very well have been influenced by the fourth Homeric Hymn, which itself offers significant humorous elements. It depicts the god Hermes in a less-than-flattering light, as when Apollo picks up his brother to confront him about the theft, and the baby "sends forth an omen, an audacious exertion of the belly, a reckless messenger" (οἰωνὸν προέηκεν... τλήμονα γαστρὸς ἔριθον ἀτάσθαλον ἀγγελιώτην, vv.295–96). Though Hermes' theft and flatulence would have offered potential fodder for Philiscus' comic play, I would suggest that satyr plays, being dramatic performances themselves, were a much more immediate and compelling source for the comic poet than were the Homeric Hymns.

In fact, the inclusion of satyrs in traditional myths makes nearly all fifth-century satyr plays mythological burlesques,[16] and many of these plays treat the birth of a hero or god.[17] In the papyrus fragments of Sophocles'

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scholars that the play was not representative of Greek comedy from this period. Furthermore, Bakola (2010) has shown that *Odysseis* actually reveals a number of tropes of Old Comedy, despite its "Middle Comic" style. It also worth keeping in mind Cratinus' *Dionysalexandros* and *Nemesis*, both of which adapted traditional mythological stories to current events in a satirical, "Old Comic" vein. For recent studies of Cratinus' *Odysseis*, see also Nesselrath (1990, 236–39), Perusino (1987, 81), Bertan (1984, 171–78), and Bakola (2010, 234–46).

[13] Nesselrath (1990, 204) shows that only eight or nine of Aristophanes' forty-three known titles represent a mythological story, while one of Eupolis' sixteen titles and eight or ten of Cratinus' twenty-eight do the same. As Eric Csapo (1993, 355) points out in his review of Nesselrath's book, however, basing statistics on titles and plot reconstructions is far from an exact science.

[14] Nesselrath (1990, 229–33) investigates these story-lines in significant detail, expanding on his previous discussion in *Die Attische Mittlere Komödie*.

[15] Philiscus' precise dates are unknown, but he seems to have been active primarily at the beginning of the fourth century. See Nesselrath (1990, 229n140).

[16] On the "Typische Stoffe und Motive" of satyr plays, see KPS (28–32). For further overview of satyr drama's mythological plots and themes, see Guggisberg (1947, 60–74), Sutton (1980c, 145–59), and Seaford (1984, 33–44). The term "burlesque" is not intended to suggest that satyr play was mere parody, but the inclusion of satyrs adds a humorous element to any myth. Consider Lissarrague's (1990c, 236), simple recipe for classical satyr play: "take one myth, add satyrs, observe result."

[17] For example, Aeschylus' *Diktyoulkoi* and *Dionysou Trophoi*; Sophocles' *Dionysiskos*, *Herakleiskos*, *Ichneutae*, and *Amphiaraus*. Cf. Seaford (1984, 128; see also 38).

satyric *Ichneutae*, Hermes' birth is dramatized in a humorous manner not long before Philiscus' production. Although much of the humor of the *Ichneutae* was supplied by the satyrs—who would not be part of Philiscus' version—Sophocles does dramatize details suitable for the fourth-century comic stage. For example, Cyllene, when describing the lyre that Hermes has just invented, offers a humorous riddle, stating that the divine baby has granted a new voice to a dead body. Then, rather than merely tell the satyrs that he used the body of a tortoise, she engages the chorus in an amusing stichomythic exchange:

(SATYR CHORUS) καὶ πῶς πίθωμαι τοῦ θανόντος φθέγμα τοιοῦτον βρέμειν;
(CYLLENE) πιθοῦ· θανὼν γὰρ ἔσχε φωνήν, ζῶν δ' ἄναυδος ἦν ὁ θήρ.
(S.C.) ποῖός τις ἦν εἶδος; προμήκης ἤ 'πίκυρτος ἤ βραχύς;
(CYL.) βραχύς, χυτρώδης, ποικίλη δορᾷ κατερρικνωμένος.
(S.C.) ὡς αἰέλουρος εἰκάσαι πέφυκεν ἤ τὼς πόρδαλις;
(CYLLENE) πλεῖστον μεταξύ· γογγύλον γάρ ἐστι καὶ βραχυσκελές.
(S.C.) οὐδ' ὡς ἰχνευτῇ προσφερὲς πέφυκεν οὐδ' ὡς καρκίνῳ;
(CYLLENE) οὐδ' αὖ τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν· ἀλλ' ἄλλον τιν' ἐξευροῦ τρόπον.
(S.C.) ἀλλ' ὡς κεράστης κάνθαρος δῆτ' ἐστὶν Αἰτναῖος φυήν;
(CYLLENE) νῦν ἐγγὺς ἔγνως ᾧ μάλιστα προσφερὲς τὸ κνώδαλον.
(S.C.) τ[ί δ' αὖ τὸ] φων[οῦ]ν ἐστιν αὐτοῦ, τοὐντὸς ἤ τοὔξω, φράσον.
(CYLLENE) φωνεῖ μὲν αἰό]λο[ν φ]ορίνη σύγγονος τῶν ὀστρέων.
(S.C.) ποῖον δὲ τοὔνομ' ἐν]νέ[πει]ς; πόρσυνον, εἴ τι πλέον ἔχεις;

<div align="right">Sophocles, Ichneutae, 299–310</div>

(Satyr Chorus) How am I supposed to believe that such a sound comes from a dead body?
(Cyllene) Believe it! For when it died, it got a voice; while it was alive, the creature was voiceless.
(S.C.) What shape was it? Oblong? Hump-backed? Short?
(Cyllene) Short, pot-shaped, shriveled with a spotted skin.
(S.C.) Was it like a cat or a panther?
(Cyllene) Somewhere in between. For it's round and short-legged.
(S.C.) Was it like a weasel or a crab?
(Cyllene) It's not like that either. Think of some other kind of animal.
(S.C.) How about the horned Aetnean beetle?
(Cyllene) Now you almost know what the creature most resembles.
(S.C.) What makes the sound, the inside or outside? Tell us!
(Cyllene) The sounds resound in the shell, which is like an oyster's.
(S.C.) What sort of name do you call it? Tell us, if you know any more.

This scene proceeds for several more lines, until Cyllene finally reveals that the animal is a tortoise. The use of riddles, which became a common trope

in Middle Comedy,[18] is here presented in an extended scene from Sophocles' fifth-century satyr play.[19] Without a single extant fragment of Philiscus' play, we cannot draw any definite correlation to the *Ichneutae*, but Sophocles' satyric production on the birth of Hermes would have likely shaped Philiscus' comic production on the same topic performed not long after. Given the immense popularity of fifth-century satyr dramatists such as Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, the mythological burlesque of classical satyr plays would naturally have served as an important model for the mythological burlesque of comedy a generation later.

Indeed, a close examination of plots and titles from Middle Comedy and satyr plays reveals a significant proportion of similarly themed productions. Of the approximately one hundred extant titles of satyr plays, well over one-third reappear in Middle Comedy that never appear in Old Comedy. This overlap in titles suggests Middle Comedy's shift toward plots more conventionally associated with satyr plays. Of course, linking the titles of classical satyr drama and Middle Comedy in this way does not guarantee a relationship, but despite our extremely fragmentary knowledge of the dramatic content, the 35- to 40-percent rate of coincidence between the titles of satyr drama and Middle Comedy is sizable enough to encourage a reconsideration of the generic relationship.

A more detailed look at the execution of these myths confirms a relationship between satyr drama and Middle Comedy. In the mythological burlesques of this period, the divine nature of the characters and plots was often humanized and eroticized for humorous effect.[20] While poets of Old Comedy tended to focus on the more ridiculous features of myths or to employ them as thinly veiled political satire,[21] poets of Middle Comedy assimilated aspects of Greek daily life into mythological stories, ultimately making them more "domesticized" and "romanticized." This technique, which can be seen as the first step toward New Comedy,[22] often integrated divine characters into everyday, semi-erotic situations. Like Middle Comedy's mythological plots in general, this technique finds an important precedent in the classical satyr play. Yet another play on the birth of a god, Antiphanes' *Birth of Aphrodite*, serves as a useful example.[23] In this sizable fragment, preserved in Athenaeus' *Deipnosophistae*,

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[18] On the γρῖφος, and the "riddling fad of sorts" in Middle Comedy, see Dobrov (2001, 176–82).

[19] Agathon's (probably) satyric *Telephus* (*TrGF* 4) also deals with the puzzle/riddle motif when a rustic figure describes in eight heavily resolved verses how to write the name "Theseus." Also consider Theodectes *TrGF* 6, which apparently imitates Agathon's description of writing Theseus' name. Athenaeus (10.454f) notes that Sophocles also used a similar technique in his satyric *Amphiaraus*, when a character "dances the letters," probably to an illiterate rustic. Cf. Cipolla (2003, 299–301, 311–12).

[20] This "domesticization" is part of Nesselrath's larger discussion of *Realien* in Middle Comedy (1990, 204–35).

[21] See chapter 4.

[22] For a useful summary of the ways in which Middle Comedy was a precursor of New Comedy, see Nesselrath (1990, 331–40).

[23] There is significant debate on the precise dates of Antiphanes, but he seems to have staged his plays approximately from 385 to at least 330. See K-A test. 2, which comes from the anonymous

one speaker instructs another on the details of the *kottabos*, a symposiastic game, in which competitors flick dregs of wine from their drinking cups at small disks balanced on a shaft:

τονδὶ λέγω, σὺ δ' οὐ συνιεῖς; κότταβος
τὸ λυχνεῖόν ἐστι. πρόσεχε τὸν νοῦν· ᾠὰ μὲν
< ˘ – ˘ – ˘ > πέντε νικητήριον.
(Β.) περὶ τοῦ; γελοῖον. κοτταβιεῖτε τίνα τρόπον;
(Α.) ἐγὼ διδάξω· καθ' ὅσον ἂν τὸν κότταβον   5
ἀφεὶς ἐπὶ τὴν πλάστιγγα ποιήσῃ πεσεῖν
(Β.) πλάστιγγα; ποίαν; (Α.) τοῦτο τοὐπικείμενον
ἄνω τὸ μικρόν (Β.) τὸ πινακίσκιον λέγεις;
(Α.) τοῦτ' ἔστι πλάστιγξ—οὗτος ὁ κρατῶν γίγνεται.
(Β.) πῶς δ' εἴσεταί τις τοῦτ'; (Α.) ἐὰν θίγῃ μόνον   10
αὐτῆς, ἐπὶ τὸν μάνην πεσεῖται καὶ ψόφος
ἔσται πάνυ πολύς. (Β.) πρὸς θεῶν, τῷ κοττάβῳ
πρόσεστι καὶ Μάνης τις ὥσπερ οἰκέτης; . . .
ᾧ δεῖ λαβὼν τὸ ποτήριον δεῖξον νόμῳ.
(Α.) αὐλητικῶς δεῖ καρκινοῦν τοὺς δακτύλους   15
οἶνόν τε μικρὸν ἐγχέαι καὶ μὴ πολύν·
ἔπειτ' ἀφήσεις. (Β.) τίνα τρόπον; (Α.) δεῦρο βλέπε·
τοιοῦτον.(Β.) ⟨ὦ⟩ Πόσειδον, ὡς ὑψοῦ σφόδρα.
(Α.) οὕτω ποιήσεις. (Β.) ἀλλ' ἐγὼ μὲν σφενδόνῃ
οὐκ ἂν ἐφικοίμην αὐτός'. (Α.) ἀλλὰ μάνθανε.   20

Antiphanes, *Birth of Aphrodite*, K-A 57

. . . I'm talking about this one, don't you get it? The lampstand is a *kottabos*. Now pay attention; I'll [set up] five eggs [and five apples] as the prize. (B) For what? That's funny. How do you play *kottabos*? (A) I'll teach you how to send off the *kottabos* and make it fall onto the disk (B) The disk? What's that? (A) That's this little thing that lies up there on top. (B) You mean the tiny tablet? (A) That's the disk—the person that hits it is the winner. (B) But how do you know who hits it? (A) If you touch it at all, it will fall onto the manes, and there will be a very loud clatter. (B) Wow, the *kottabos* has a *Manes*, too, as a servant? . . . Take the cup and show me how to do it. (A) You have to crook your finger crab-like, just like a flute-player does, pour in a little wine—not too much—and then send it off. (B) How? (A) Look, like this. (B) By Poseidon, how very high! (A) That's how you do it. (B) But I couldn't even throw it that high with a sling. (A) So, learn.

Trans. adapted from Nesselrath 1995, 20–21

This extended scene, which describes instructions for the *kottabos* game and the winner's prize, is a snapshot of an everyday Greek symposium. It comes, however, from a play based on the birth of the goddess Aphrodite,

and Speaker B is probably Aphrodite herself.[24] This pedagogical exchange abandons the excess that might be expected from the same scene in Old Comedy, and instead opts for a more precious, almost erotic portrayal: the teacher seems to relish educating the naive student. Such romantic undertones are indicative of Middle Comedy's shift toward erotic and domestic depictions of myth. That Antiphanes incorporates such a prolonged scene of everyday Greek life into a mythological drama on the birth of Aphrodite—even going so far as to perform the *kottabos* onstage—demonstrates Middle Comedy's tendency toward *Realien*.

Realien and romance were also a primary feature in the works of Plato Comicus. Plato's career began around 420 and continued at least until 391, which makes him chronologically a poet of Old Comedy, but many ancient and modern scholars have viewed him as an intermediary figure in comedy's evolution.[25] A fragment from *Zeus Afflicted* provides an illustrative example. Heracles and another character receive an extensive lesson on the art of the *kottabos* (a common *topos* in the rationalized myths of Middle Comedy[26]), and as a prize for the winner of the game, Heracles proposes kisses:

φέρε τὴν θυείαν, αἶρ' ὕδωρ, ποτήρια
παράθετε. παίζωμεν δὲ περὶ φιλημάτων

<div align="right">Plato Com., Zeus Afflicted, K-A 46, 4–5</div>

Bring the mortar, get some water, put out the wine cups! Let's play for kisses!

The subsequent *kottabos* game, which, as in Antiphanes' *Birth of Aphrodite*, was performed onstage, would have introduced "no doubt a rather trivial, whimsical scene that places the hero in a banal, domestic setting."[27] This semi-erotic scene of everyday life, which is more developed than would be expected in Old Comedy, heralds Middle Comedy's fondness for *Realien* and romance.

Fifth-century poets of satyr play similarly emphasize these romantic, every-day elements. The game of *kottabos*, in fact, seems to be at least as common in fifth-century satyr plays as in fourth-century Middle Comedies. Achaeus of Eretria, whose satyr plays are deemed second only to Aeschylus' by Diogenes Laertius (2.133), offers a *kottabos* scene in his *Linus*.[28] In one fragment from

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"Prolegomena on Comedy," and Nesselrath (1990, 193). On Antiphanes' *Mythentravestien*, see Mangidis (2003).

[24] Cf. Nesselrath (1995, 21–22).

[25] For example, Dionysius Thrax (cf. Koster XVIIIa), Cobet (1840), Norwood (1931), and Wilamowitz (1969). Cf. Rosen (1995, esp. 120–23).

[26] For example, Antiphanes (K-A 57), Eubulus (K-A 15), and Nicochares (K-A 13). See Nesselrath (1990, 234), for more on Middle Comedy's particular interest in the *kottabos*.

[27] Rosen (1995, 125).

[28] The precise date of the *Linus* is unknown, but Achaeus produced his first play between 447 and 444 and was (presumably, based on Aristophanes' *Frogs*) dead by 405. It is noteworthy that Alexis and Anaxandrides, two prominent poets of Middle Comedy, also performed plays with the same plot as Achaeus' play.

this play (*TrGF* 26), Heracles describes how the accident-prone satyrs tend to break things and even hit him when they toss their wine lees at the target. In a similarly domesticized scene from Aeschylus' *Ostologoi* (*Bone Collectors*),[29] the hero Odysseus recounts his days of playing *kottabos* with Eurymachus. Though the fragment is only five verses long, the break-off point indicates no immediate end to his description of the game. In the extant verses, Odysseus describes how Penelope's suitor "committed crimes" (ὕβριζ' ὑβρισμούς, *TrGF* 179.2) when repeatedly aiming at the hero's head during *kottabos*. These playful representations of Odysseus and Heracles were important predecessors to the *Realien* of Middle Comedy, where heroes and gods were portrayed in extended, quotidian scenes.

One of the most interesting pieces of evidence comes from Sophocles' *Salmoneus*, which precisely demonstrates satyr drama's ability to mingle myth with eroticized elements of everyday life in a manner very similar to Middle Comedy. Salmoneus, the son of Aeolus and the brother of Sisyphus, was the hubristic king of Elis who often drove around in a bronze chariot pretending to be the king of the gods. When Zeus discovered this sacrilege, he struck the king down with a thunderbolt and killed him for his crimes. A few tragic-sounding fragments have been preserved, featuring inevitable "thundering blasts" and "flashes of lightning" (*TrGF* 538), but Sophocles also includes a romantic *kottabos* scene within the otherwise disastrous story:

> τάδ' ἐστὶ κνισμὸς καὶ φιλημάτων ψόφος·
> τῷ καλλικοσσαβοῦντι νικητήρια
> τίθημι καὶ βαλόντι χάλκειον κάρα

<div align="right">Sophocles, Salmoneus, TrGF 537</div>

> here is a tickle and the sound of kisses;
> I am putting out a victory-prize for the one who plays
> the *kottabos* well and hits the brass head.

This fragment provides a glimpse at how Sophocles adapted the tragic story of Salmoneus into a playful satyr drama. Though we know painfully little about the play, Sophocles clearly breaks from the otherwise grand fiction of the myth, even situating part of the story in a symposiastic setting. Here, the speaker's proposition to set out the victory-prize for a game of *kottabos* indicates the symposiastic scene's prominence in the play, since it seems to have been performed onstage. The proximity of erotic language (tickling and kissing) further reinforces Sophocles' focus on both the domesticization and the romanticization of myth. Such erotic and symposiastic motifs are often associated with

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[29] Again, the date of this performance is unknown, but it has an obvious *terminus ante quem* of 456, Aeschylus' death.

Middle Comedy, but they also play a significant role in many if not most satyr plays.[30]

To appreciate more fully how satyr dramatists integrate these themes into conventional mythological stories, it is necessary to turn to the only complete, extant example of satyr drama, Euripides' *Cyclops*. The play depicts the famous scene from book 9 of Homer's *Odyssey*, in which Odysseus lands on the island of the Cyclopes and is trapped with his men inside Polyphemus' cave. Despite a more or less faithful adaptation of the Homeric model,[31] Euripides incorporates *Realien,* domestication, and eroticism into the play. There are examples of each of these features throughout the performance, but they also occur within a single scene, the humorous and lengthy pseudo-symposium that takes place right before the blinding of the Cyclops (519–89). Polyphemus, having just enjoyed a taste of wine, is not willing to share it with Silenus, who repeatedly attempts to steal the drink from his master. The symposium concludes with a raucous exchange between the two drunkards after the wine has made Polyphemus feel a bit lusty:

> (CYC.)   … Γανυμήδη τόνδ' ἔχων ἀναπαύσομαι
>   κάλλιον ἢ τὰς Χάριτας. ἥδομαι δέ πως
>   τοῖς παιδικοῖσι μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς θήλεσιν.
> (SIL.)   ἐγὼ γὰρ ὁ Διός εἰμι Γανυμήδης, Κύκλωψ;
> (CYC.)   ναὶ μὰ Δί', ὅν ἁρπάζω γ' ἐγὼ 'κ τῆς Δαρδάνου.
> (SIL.)   ἀπόλωλα, παῖδες· σχέτλια πείσομαι κακά.
> (CYC.)   μέμφῃ τὸν ἐραστὴν κἀντρυφᾷς πεπωκότι;
> (SIL.)   οἴμοι· πικρότατον οἶνον ὄψομαι τάχα.

Euripides, *Cyclops* 582–89

> (CYC.)   Grabbing this here Ganymede, I'm heading off to bed—he's better than the Graces! I enjoy boys more than women anyway.
> (SIL.)   Me? What? Cyclops! *I'm* Zeus' little Ganymede?
> (CYC.)   Yes, by Zeus, and I am carrying you off from the house of Dardanus.
> (SIL.)   I'm a dead man, kids! I'm going to suffer wretched, wicked things!
> (CYC.)   Are you complaining about your lover? Are you mocking me just because I'm drunk?
> (SIL.)   Woe is me! I will soon be looking at a *very* bitter wine!

In this scene, Euripides presents many of the generic qualities typically ascribed to Middle Comedy. Although Homer mentions Polyphemus' drunkenness

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[30] Consider, for example, the fragments from Aeschylus' *Amymone*, which mention marriage (*TrGF* 13) as well as unguents and myrrh (*TrGF* 14); or look at Sophocles' *Achilles Erastai, Helenes Gamos,* and *Pandora*, all of which base their plots on famous romantic myths. For further discussion of satyr drama as a "romantic" genre, see especially Griffith (2005b; 2008; 2010).

[31] Although Momigliano (1929, 156), says that Homer's material dies in Euripides' hands, Seaford (1984, 51–59) shows that "the major discrepancies can be assigned to the differences of (*a*) medium, (*b*) intellectual and social environment, and (*c*) genre." For a more detailed examination, cf. Wetzel (1965) and Katsouris (1997).

briefly in the *Odyssey*, Euripides extends the scene and significantly alters the character of the Cyclops. In fact, he dedicates 70 of the play's 700 lines to this symposiastic scene, investing a large part of the traditional myth with *Realien* and eroticism. Polyphemus takes the time to lie on the grass under a tree, enjoy his wine, and act quite amorously toward Silenus, characteristics that would not be expected in Homer's representation of the monster even if Silenus were there.[32]

As we have seen, many of the notable *topoi* typically associated with pre-Menandrian, fourth-century comedy were prefigured by satyr plays of the fifth century; but ancient literary critics also suggest a generic relationship between Middle Comedy and satyr drama. Euanthius, for example, in his fourth-century CE treatise *De Fabula*, concludes that the Athenian political climate of the late fifth century triggered a shift away from the obscenity and satire of Old Comedy. Turning to a discussion of Middle Comedy's style of humor, Euanthius identifies the period somewhat enigmatically as "*satyra*:"

> et hinc deinde aliud genus fabulae, id est **satyra**, sumpsit exordium, quae a satyris, quos iocosos semper et petulantes deos scimus esse, vocitata est.
>
> <div align="right">Euanthius, De Fabula in Koster, 1975, Pars I, Fasc. IA, p. 124.58f.</div>

> Then, [because of the political environment] another kind of drama, i.e. *satyra*, took its beginning. It takes its name from the satyrs, whom we know to be gods that always indulge in jokes and lascivious behavior.

Euanthius here supposes that the term "satyra" can function as a synonym for Middle Comedy,[33] and he even seems to assume a certain level of audience familiarity with this label. He goes on to explain that Middle Comedy is called *satyra* because it presented the same sorts of jokes and actions that were commonly associated with satyrs. Euanthius' credibility comes into question shortly after this passage, when he proclaims that the Roman satirist Lucilius was the first Latin author of *satyra*.[34] Apparently, he based his statements on an erroneous etymological history, in which the Greek word σάτυρος (meaning satyr) and the Latin *satura* (meaning satire) were thought to be related. The phonetic similarity proved too tempting a false etymology for many ancient scholars, and Euanthius was no exception.

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[32] Polyphemus was also depicted in other fifth-century plays as well, which makes it impossible to know who influenced whom.

[33] Although he does not explicitly use the phrase "Middle Comedy," the context assures this reading. In paragraphs 3 and 4, Euanthius deals explicitly with Old Comedy, then shifts to *"satyra,"* and ends with an account of New Comedy. Cf. van Rooy (1965, 188–90). Also, see Nesselrath (1990, 43; 1995, 2n6).

[34] See, for example, Hendrickson (1894, 15–17), who indignantly asks "with what propriety would the satyr-drama occupy any place in the history of comedy, and especially as here, intercalated between the old comedy and the new?"

The issue, which is too vast to discuss fully here, centers on the conflation of Roman satire and Greek satyr plays.[35] In searching for satire's origins, many scholars turned to Greek literature and found enough of a similarly humorous tone in satyr drama to link the two genres. Diomedes succinctly summarizes this problem in his discussion of Roman satire's possible geneses. For the first of his four possibilities, he states:

> Satura…dicta…a Satyris, quod similiter in hoc carmine ridiculae res pudendaeque dicuntur, velut quae a Satyris proferuntur et fiunt.
>
> <div align="right">Diomedes, Ars Grammatica III.30</div>

> Satire gets its name from the Satyrs, because in this poem (satire), ridiculous and shameful things are narrated, just like those things that the satyrs say and do.

This connection between the satyrs, satyr drama, and satire was one that lasted for well over a millennium, until even after Isaac Casaubon disproved it in an early seventeenth-century treatise.[36] While *satura* and σάτυρος ultimately have no linguistic correlation, Euanthius' confusion of these *faux amis* does not entirely devalue his statement. If Euanthius considered Middle Comedy to be like satire and satire to be like satyrs, Middle Comedy would presumably correlate to satyrs and satyr drama as well.

The complexity of this formula, combined with the lateness of the material, make Euanthius' *De Fabula* a problematic source for the relationship between comedy and satyr drama, but Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics* and *Poetics* provide a more reliable point of reference. In a lengthy discussion in his *Nicomachean Ethics*, Aristotle employs the phases of comedy as a way to differentiate appropriate and inappropriate styles of humor:

> ἴδοι δ' ἄν τις καὶ ἐκ τῶν κωμῳδιῶν τῶν παλαιῶν
> καὶ τῶν καινῶν· τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἦν γελοῖον ἡ αἰσχρολογία,
> τοῖς δὲ μᾶλλον ἡ ὑπόνοια· διαφέρει δ' οὐ μικρὸν ταῦτα
> πρὸς εὐσχημοσύνην.
>
> <div align="right">Aristotle, Nicomachean Ethics 4.6.1128a 22f.</div>

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[35] For the fullest treatment of etymological, theoretical and generic matters of *satura* and *satyroi*, see van Rooy (1965, 124–98).

[36] Casaubon (1605, 313), who provides a compelling side-by-side study of the two genres, presents a scathing criticism of scholars who would link the two genres: "Sine causa viri doctissimi…cum Satyrica Graecorum Romanam satiram, sola nominis affinitate inducti, comparaverunt…nemo enim trium Satiricorum Latinorum Satiras cum Euripidis Cyclope comparabit, quin absurditatem eius sententiae statim agnoscat." (Without reason, the most learned men—compelled only by the similarity of their names—have compared Roman satire with Greek satyr drama,…For, no one could compare the satires of the three Latin Satirists with Euripides' *Cyclops* without recognizing immediately the absurdity of this idea.). For further discussion of the connections between satyrs and satire, see chapter 6.

One may see the difference [in modes of humor] by comparing old and new (or recent) comedy; for the authors of the former, obscenity (αἰσχρολογία) was amusing, for those of the latter, innuendo (ὑπόνοια) is more so; and these differ in no small degree in respect to propriety.

Although Aristotle's remarks appear in the context of a larger discourse on decency and humor, his comments provide significant insight into comedy's development during the fourth century.[37] Scholars since Wilamowitz (1907, 134n21) have suggested that Aristotle here conceives of comedy in two phases, "Old" (παλαιῶν) and "New" (καινῶν), but Aristotle is actually distinguishing "old" and "*recent*" (*kainê*) comedy.[38] In other words, Aristotle was not thinking about "Old" (with a capital "O") and "New" (with a capital "N") Comedy, but he does draw an important distinction between the styles of past and present,[39] signifying some sort of periodization. In fact, Aristotle's "modern" comedy should be construed as our Middle Comedy.[40] That Aristotle regards the intermediate period of comedy's development as exchanging obscenity (αἰσχρολογία) for innuendo (ὑπόνοια) is crucial for understanding Middle Comedy's relationship to classical satyr drama: this more subdued, playful style of Middle Comedy was also the style of fifth-century satyr plays.

As we have seen in previous chapters, references to sex and the female sexual organs are not uncommon in satyr play, but phallic allusions are the most frequently used form of innuendo.[41] The importance of phallic innuendo to satyr drama is linked to the satyr's identity itself: the satyr is his phallus, and he tries to have sex with everyone and everything he can, from women and boys to goats and wine flasks.[42] Classical tragedians captured this aspect of the satyric nature

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[37] Halliwell (1998) deftly demonstrates the importance of viewing Aristotle's literary and ethical treatises together. Sidwell (2000, 251), states, "What [Aristotle] says in the *Nicomachean Ethics* is compatible with and illuminated by his discussion in *Poetics*." For more on the *Poetics*, see chapter 1.

[38] Cf. Csapo (2000, 271n2), who notes that "in theoretical discourse *kainê*, unlike *nea*, is relative … and not, to my knowledge, used in Greek of periodized literary or artistic styles."

[39] "Present" (i.e., contemporaneous) comedy is, however, in itself a contentious issue, since, as Halliwell (1998, 324), notes, "many of the treatises are likely to contain material dating from more than one period."

[40] Cf. *CAD* (172). Given Aristotle's dates, Middle Comedy was "new" comedy and New Comedy was just on the horizon. Sidwell (2000, 250) misses this point when he says that "not only does Aristotle not mention anywhere such a thing as 'Middle Comedy', but he specifically speaks of only *two* types, 'old' and 'new', when he distinguishes between sorts of comedy." Cf. Halliwell (1986, 273).

[41] On "humorous" diction in satyr drama, see Redondo (2003, 413–31), López Eire (2003, 387–412), and Slenders (2005, 39–52;). Pierre Voelke (2000, 95–108), like Seaford (1987, 142–43), provides a study of obscenity in satyr plays that concentrates on a frequently employed *phalakron* joke. Harrison (2005a) provides an excellent analysis of the *Cyclops*' theatricality, especially its playfully humorous gestures and speech.

[42] On "The Sexual Life of Satyrs," see Lissarrague (1990b).

with humorous innuendo, diction, and stage action, modes of humor which Aristotle attributes to Middle Comedy. Explicit obscenities are rare, if used at all, but sexual and scatological innuendo is prevalent in both satyr drama and Middle Comedy.[43]

Aristotle does not explicitly assert a connection between these genres, but he does seem to recognize this stylistic interrelationship on some level. As we saw in the first chapter, although Aristotle left no formal discussion of satyr play, he describes tragedy's origins in a manner that is very helpful for understanding the generic link between satyr drama and Middle Comedy:

> ἐκ μικρῶν μύθων καὶ λέξεως γελοίας διὰ τὸ ἐκ σατυρικοῦ
> μεταβαλεῖν ὀψὲ ἀπεσεμνύνθη.
>
> <div align="right">Aristotle, <i>Poetics</i> 1449a19f.</div>

> Having changed from slight plots and laughable diction, since it grew out of something satyr-drama-like, tragedy became serious at a late stage.

Here, Aristotle is groping for the origins of tragedy, but his choice of terms is significant, particularly his assertion that tragedy developed out of "something satyric" or "satyr-drama-like" (σατυρικοῦ).[44] Whether or not Aristotle's evaluation of early tragedy is correct, the description he offers inadvertently reveals his impressions of satyr drama. If Aristotle argues that tragedy was initially like satyr drama in its style, and that this period of tragedy presented "slight myths" and "laughable diction," it seems that Aristotle must also have conceived of satyr drama as presenting "slight myths" and "laughable diction."[45] An overview of satyr plays' plots, themes, and mode of humor, makes it difficult to disagree with this assessment of the satyric genre, but what is particularly notable in this passage is Aristotle's description of satyr drama as "λέξις γελοία." This conception of satyr play in the *Poetics* is more or less analogous to Aristotle's conception of Middle Comedy in the *Nicomachean Ethics* examined above.[46] The "humorous speech" that Aristotle associates with satyr drama and the "humorous innuendo" he associates with Middle Comedy both seem to hint at the same playful diction that is free from outright obscenity. To Aristotle, comedy was not a problematic genre so

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[43] Old Comedy did, of course, use innuendo, but its poets were also fond of graphic obscenities like πρωκτός and πέος, terms that are almost completely absent from the remains of both Middle Comedy and satyr drama. See Henderson (1991, *passim*, esp. 24–29).

[44] The historical accuracy of this statement has been much debated, but it does not impact the current argument. For support of Aristotle's theory, see Seaford (1976, 209–21); *contra*, see Krumeich (1999, 6–8).

[45] Cf. Demetrius' famous description of satyr drama as "tragedy at play." Many scholars have suggested a tragic influence on fourth-century comedy, but satyr drama was so close formally to tragedy and had humorous elements so similar to comedy, that it would more naturally influence comic playwrights.

[46] Halliwell (1998, 330) suggests that the *Poetics* may have been reworked by Aristotle, but that it was probably conceived of in his earlier theory.

long as it steered clear of the *iambikê idea*,[47] and although he uses the phrase λέξις γελοία to describe satyr drama and ὑπόνοια γελοία to describe Middle Comedy, he evidently connects the two genres by placing them under the same rubric of playful comedy.[48]

At the same period that Old Comedy had more or less shifted to Middle Comedy and comic poets were increasingly usurping traditional satyric elements for their plays, comedy and satyr drama also reached their most mixed representation in the visual arts, on an impressive Apulian bell-krater dubbed the "Cleveland Dionysus" (fig. 5.1).[49] In the center of the vase, filling up almost the entire vertical space is a bust of Dionysus, filleted, with an ornate himation draped over one shoulder and a staff sprouting a grapevine above his head. To the left of the god is a traditionally costumed comic slave standing on his tip-toes with a large, flaccid costume phallus hanging below his short tunic. His mask is bearded and balding and is wreathed with laurel, and he reaches up to pluck a cluster of grapes. To the right of Dionysus is a satyric figure, wreathed with ivy and holding a large skyphos. His horse tail, white furry body stocking, and dangling phallus establish him rather clearly as Papa-Silenus. But with his grotesqueness and exaggerated phallus, the scene evokes comedy rather than satyr play. The large head of Dionysus most likely indicates that the krater does not depict a specific comedy, but is rather a symbolic representation of the genre at the Dionysian festival. Revermann (2006, 153–54) sees it as a reference to the conceptual connection between comic and satyric performance, observing that "the vase, by juxtaposing the comic actor with Papposilenus, underline[s] the Dionysiac link of licence and abandon which connects comedy and satyr play." Revermann's analysis is helpful in thinking about the comic-satyric relationship as a whole, but I would argue that the "meaning" of the vase is tied more specifically to its production date. The Cleveland Dionysus may refer to the shared license of the genres, but it more particularly refers to the literary developments of comedy and satyr play within the first few decades of the fourth century. Comic poets adopted a number of characteristics from satyr plays in their comedies, and the genres became progressively more similar, making comedy a more "satyric" play. The Cleveland Dionysus portrays this transition in comedy's development by putting a comic Papa-Silenus on stage with a traditional comic slave in front of the god of the theater himself.

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[47] For Aristotle's views on comedy, cf. Halliwell (1998, 266–76), and Freudenberg (1993, 52–86, quote on 66), who says, "Although he never goes so far as to ban such performances, he seems to have harbored some prejudice against Old Comedy and the iambic idea, at least in its more violent manifestations, preferring the subtler humor of later comedy." For a "hypothetical reconstruction" of *Poetics II*, see Janko (1984, esp. 91–105).

[48] For more on "playful" (opposed to consequential) humor and laughter, see Halliwell (1991; 2008).

[49] On this vase, see Green (1995, 93–121), Revermann (2006, 103–4 and 153–54), Bakola (2010, 111–12), and Sells (2011, 35–36).

FIGURE 5.1 Apulian bell krater, *ca.* 390–380. Earthenware with slip decoration, height: 38 cm. The Cleveland Museum of Art, John L. Severance Fund 1989.73. © The Cleveland Museum of Art.

Scholars have posited a wide variety of factors that contributed to Attic comedy's development,[50] but whether it was a waning democracy, demographic shifts, economic issues, or drama's growing pan-Hellenism, Old Comedy's uniquely discursive plots, political satire, and blatant obscenity began to decrease. As fourth-century comic poets made these transitions, they likely drew inspiration from a range of precursors (Euripidean tragedy, contemporary philosophy, Old Comedy), but they also looked to fifth-century satyr drama for politically friendly, universally appreciated (i.e., mythological) plots that employed a more cosmopolitan style of humor.[51] Comic poets had used satyrs in their comedies for decades, and both genres were contextually very similar (actors, chorus, song, dance, dialogue, etc.), so the transition did not require much of a leap. In addition, during the Peloponnesian War, the Athenians apparently rescheduled the festival in a way that would have created even more opportunity for generic dialogue and imitation.[52] When comedy was changed from

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[50] For an excellent review of the many theories of comedy's transformation, as well as a nuanced interpretation of his own, see Csapo (2000, 121–34).

[51] Bowie (2000, 321) suggests that comedy's shift toward mythological plots brought the genre into the same pan-Hellenic domain that tragedy and satyr play occupied.

[52] The hypotheses to Aristophanes *Clouds, Peace*, and *Birds* (423–14) list results for only three competitors, rather than five, and *Peace* 785–89 suggests that comedy and tragedy were performed on the same day. This process would reduce the festival to four days from five, which would cut down on costs during the war and release fifty Athenian men for military service. For a thorough analysis of the issue, see Storey (2002).

five performances to three at the City Dionysia, it was staged directly after the tragic tetralogy, back-to-back with satyr play. Classical satyr plays were based in mythological plots, rationalization of myth, eroticism, and a more subdued style of humor derived from stock characters, stock situations, and humorous innuendo. And although Greek comedy evolved organically from the fifth to the fourth century, poets of this period seem to have consciously adopted a number of satyr drama's formal features, turning Middle Comedy into something "satyric," even if they did not always adopt the satyrs themselves.

| Post-Classical Satyr Play and
Old Comedy

MANY COMIC POETS OF the early fourth century shifted toward a more "satyric" style of comedy, incorporating the plots and character of fifth-century satyr drama into their productions, but shortly after comedy evolved into this more satyric mode, satyr drama underwent its own stylistic transformations. The extant remains, though extremely fragmentary, indicate that satyr dramatists of the late fourth and early third centuries subverted many earlier traditional satyric conventions, exchanging them for characteristics more typically associated with Old Comedy. They became more lax with metrical rules than fifth-century tragedians, incorporated paratragedy, transitioned to urban settings, included parabasis-like metatheatrics, and even adopted the most distinctive element of fifth-century comedy, the satirical abuse of contemporary Greek figures, ὀνομαστὶ κωμῳδεῖν. This chapter will examine these developments, suggesting that they were influenced by satyr drama's shifting performance context outside Athens, by the Hellenistic tendency toward generic mixing, and above all by comedy's own generic evolution. At the end of the chapter, we will see that satyr drama continued to be performed for centuries throughout much of the Greco-Roman world, often maintaining its particular connections to comedy and the *kômos*.

Python's Agen

In 1924, Guilelmus Süss noted a mixture of Attic Old Comedy and satyr drama in the fragments of Python of Catana's *Agen*,[1] a satyr play that was produced in

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[1] Süss (1924, 7). Cf. Süss (1939, 210–12), von Blumenthal (1939, 218), and Guggisberg (1947, 42–44) for a discussion of Old Comic-satyric "Stilmischung" in the *Agen*. Cf. Fantuzzi (1993, 31–35). While most scholars follow Süss in his assessment of the play as "Old Comic," Snell (1964, esp. 137) criticizes scholars who make this connection, attempting to demonstrate that the *Agen* is "effective, tasteful and cultured," in spite of the scholars who "sneer at the dramatic form as a mixture of satyr drama and Attic comedy."

the 320s and takes aim at Alexander the Great's rebellious satrap, Harpalus.[2] Although the production is extremely important for understanding the evolution of satyr drama, the play's historical background has garnered more attention than the play itself.[3] A longtime friend of Alexander, Harpalus was placed in charge of the central treasury in Babylon during his comrade's journey into Asia. As Alexander pushed farther east, Harpalus' loyalties faltered and his lifestyle grew more extravagant. Not only did he pilfer funds, but he spent hundreds of talents to honor his lover, the famous hetaera Pythionice. Upon her death, Harpalus even erected and dedicated a temple to her in the name of Aphrodite Pythionice. His greatest act of injustice occurred later, when he summoned from Athens another prostitute, Glycera, and forced the people of Babylon to worship her as their queen. While journeying back toward the west, Alexander learned of Harpalus' offenses and swiftly punished the satraps with whom he was involved, but Harpalus managed to escape with several thousand mercenaries and thousands of talents of gold. Having recently sent substantial donations of grain to combat the famine in Athens, he set off for mainland Greece in hopes of gaining political asylum.

Athenaeus preserves only eighteen lines of the *Agen*, but his comments, when considered alongside the contemporaneous "Letter of Theopompus,"[4] provide a reasonable reconstruction of the play's plot and the historical events surrounding it. At the start of the play, an attendant of Harpalus sets the scene in a conversation with another character, who has just returned to Babylon from Athens:

⟨A⟩ ἔστιν δ' ὅπου μὲν ὁ κάλαμος πέφυχ' ὅδε
†φέτωμ' ἄορνον, οὐξ ἀριστερᾶς δ' ὅδε
πόρνης ὁ κλεινὸς ναός, ὅν δὴ Παλλίδης
τεύξας κατέγνω διὰ τὸ πρᾶγμ' αὑτοῦ φυγήν.   4
ἐνταῦθα δὴ τῶν βαρβάρων τινὲς μάγοι
ὁρῶντες αὐτὸν παγκάκως διακείμενον
ἔπεισαν ὡς ἄξουσι τὴν ψυχὴν ἄνω
τὴν Πυθιονίκης …
                          … ἐκμαθεῖν δέ σου ποθῶ   8a
μακρὰν ἀποικῶν κεῖθεν, Ἀτθίδα χθόνα

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[2] Athenaeus provides seemingly inconsistent information about the production of the *Agen*, first stating that Python performed the play at a Dionysiac festival in Alexander's camp along the river Hydaspes (*ca.* 326), then claiming that it was performed after Harpalus fled from Babylon (*ca.* 324). Beloch (1925–27, IV, 2.434–36) demonstrates that these events need not be in disagreement, if the festival took place on the river Hydaspes in Media rather than in the famous Hydaspes in India. On the conflicting dates proposed for the play, see Süss (1939), Steffen (1958b/1973), Webster (1952, 19), Stoessl (1963, 613–15), Snell (1971, 99–118), Sutton (1980c, 77), Worthington (1986), and KPS (594). For a commentary on the fragment, see KPS (599–601) and Cipolla (2003, 333–62). Pretagostini (2003) offers an excellent recent overview of issues and scholarship on the play.
[3] See, in particular, Adams (1901), Badian (1961), Worthington (1986), and Cippola (2000).
[4] Athenaeus 13.586c and 13.595a.

τίνες τύχαι †καλοῦσιν ἢ πράττουσι τί.
‹Β› ὅτε μὲν ἔφασκον δοῦλον ἐκτῆσθαι βίον,
ἱκανὸν ἐδείπνουν· νῦν δὲ τὸν χέδροπα μόνον   12
καὶ τὸν μάραθον ἔσθουσι, πυροὺς δ’ οὐ μάλα.
‹Α› καὶ μὴν ἀκούω μυριάδας τὸν Ἅρπαλον
αὐτοῖσι τῶν Ἀγῆνος οὐκ ἐλάττονας
σίτου διαπέμψαι καὶ πολίτην γεγονέναι.   16
‹Β› Γλυκέρας ὁ σῖτος οὗτος ἦν, ἔσται δ’ ἴσως
αὐτοῖσιν ὀλέθρου κοὐχ ἑταίρας ἀρραβών

<div align="right">Python, Agen TrGF 1</div>

(A.)   Where this reed grows there’s a birdless [corrupt]. This structure
on the left, on the other hand, is the famous temple of the whore,
which Pallides built—and then condemned himself to exile for what
he’d done.
When some of the barbarian magi here saw the terrible state he was
in, they convinced him they could summon up the soul of Pythionice.[5]

(A.)   Since I’m living a long way from there, I’m eager to learn from you
what the situation †they call† Attica, and how they’re doing.

(B.)   When they claimed they’d been reduced to slavery, they had enough
for dinner. But now all they eat is beans and fennel, and no wheat
at all.

(A.)   Indeed, I hear that Harpalus sent them tens of thousands of measures
of grain—at least as much as Agen did—and became a citizen.

(B.)   This grain belonged to Glycera; maybe it’ll be earnest money for their
deaths, not the courtesan’s!

<div align="right">Trans. Olson 2011</div>

On one side of the stage, Harpalus, heartbroken over the death of the hetaera
Pythionice, languishes inside the temple he recently dedicated to her; on the
other side, a patch of reeds signals an entrance to the underworld. Harpalus’
attendant reports that a group of Persian *magoi*—almost certainly the chorus of
satyrs—has offered to summon Pythionice’s soul from the underworld for his
grief-stricken master. After a short break in the text, the second speaker, when
asked about affairs back in Athens, describes the substantial deposit of grain
Harpalus exchanged for yet another hetaera, Glycera, as well as for honorary
Athenian citizenship.

While some aspects of the *Agen* can be linked with established *topoi* of clas-
sical satyr drama, the play’s outrageous plot, contemporary setting, and satiri-
cal handling of Harpalus are characteristics more commonly associated with

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[5] Between these two fragments, Athenaeus has a short note on Harpalus’ name (Παλλίδην δ’
ἐνταῦθα ἐκάλεσε τὸν Ἅρπαλον. ἐν ‹δὲ› τοῖς ἑξῆς τῷ κυρίῳ καλέσας αὐτόν φησιν·). Although
Nauck prints the lines as if Athenaeus deletes nothing from this section (it would, in fact, make
a perfect trimeter), the context suggests that there is likely a small lacuna.

Old Comedy than with satyr play. Classical satyr drama was generally a romantic genre, set in far-off places with mythological characters in mythological times.[6] In Euripides' *Cyclops*, for example, Silenus and his band of half-man, half-horse satyrs are stranded in a remote region of Sicily, in the mythological age of heroes. And Polyphemus forces the captive satyrs to shepherd his flocks in a pastoral landscape far removed from the contemporary world. In Python's *Agen*, however, the poet offers a satirical treatment of contemporary historical figures living in the urban center of Babylon. This is distinct from the mode of humor found in fifth-century satyr play, where athletes and mythological heroes are occasionally mocked, but much more consistently, it is the satyrs who are the objects of ridicule.[7] Their cowardly and hedonistic characteristics make them the antithesis of a classic mythological hero, and they are often abused by more noble characters, but this treatment is unlike the ὀνομαστὶ κωμῳδεῖν found in Python's *Agen*. Just as poets of Old Comedy had ridiculed the famous Athenian general Pericles, Python targets the prominent political figure Harpalus, mocking him for abusing power, stealing money from the people, and cavorting with prostitutes.

The extant remains do not include some of the satirical elements that were addressed in the play, but the introductory fragment does offer a satirical pun based on the protagonist's name, much like the wordplay commonly found in Old Comedy. Whether creating fictitious names and patronymics or punning on actual contemporary figures' names, earlier comic authors were fond of this type of game. For example, Aristophanes, in his treatment of Lamachus, targets a historical figure who has a "speaking name," mocking him for the characteristics that the name linguistically implies.[8] The *machos* element of "Lamachos" invites Aristophanes' portrayal of the general as a war-monger. In the *Agen*, Python exploits the semantic similarities between pi and phi to create a mock-patronymic for Harpalus.[9] In what is likely the play's first mention of Alexander's treasurer, Python calls him Pallides.[10] Although Sutton (1980, 96) considers this a jibe at Harpalus' shady transactions with the Athenians, who were under the protection of *Pallas* Athena, this pun potentially operates on multiple levels. In addition to Harpalus being considered the "son of Pallas," a traitor to the Athenians, Python's name implies that he is also the

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[6] On classical satyr play as a romantic genre, see chapter 4.

[7] Voelke (2003, 336–46) provides an interesting discussion of mockery in classical satyr play, though his treatment of gods and philosophers is not entirely convincing. On the treatment of athletes in Euripides' *Autolycus*, see Pechstein (1998, 56–70).

[8] Cf. Ercolani (2002). For Aristophanes' "Comedy of Names" more generally, see Kanavou (2010).

[9] Cf. Rosen (1988, esp. 32–33), who demonstrates that Hipponax puns on Bupalus' name in the same manner, playing with the two elements: bou—("bull-like") and pallos (= phallos), essentially inferring the name "bull-dick."

[10] The fragment clearly comes from the beginning of the play, but the δὲ in the first line indicates that it was probably not the play's first line.

"son of P(h)allos,"[11] a man ruled by his sexual appetites. The patronymic is made even more poignant by Harpalus' own name, which offers the same potential for a penis joke: with the touch of aspiration, Harpalus Pallides becomes Harphallos Phallides, a succinct allusion to the character's famous sexual proclivities. To compound the abuse, Harpalus' name could equally be ridiculed for its similarity to the adjective ἁρπαλέος, which means "greedy" and "consuming," and aptly describes the famous embezzler.

In addition to connecting his satyr play to Old Comedy through the use of *onomasti kômôidein*, Python also composes his verses in the metrical style of Old Comedy. Meter can often be used as "an index of the guiding aesthetic,"[12] and throughout this fragment it is clear that Python is guided by Old Comedy. Classical satyr drama is metrically very similar to tragedy, only deviating from its strict iambic trimeter with an occasional violation of Porson's Law, or by sometimes permitting anapestic resolutions outside the first foot.[13] In the *Cyclops*, for example, resolutions are only slightly more common than in Euripides' tragedies,[14] but they are permissible in far more metrical *sedes*. While Euripides uses anapests outside the first foot very sparingly in the trimeters of his tragedies (and even there they are restricted to proper names), the *Cyclops* allows anapests in all feet but the sixth.[15] Similarly, tragedy does not break Porson's Law, but it is violated in five lines of the *Cyclops* (vv. 120, 210, 672, 681, 682), an average of once per 141 verses (0.7%). These statistics, which deviate only slightly from the tragic norm, demonstrate classical satyr drama's overall adherence to the metrical rules of tragedy but also indicate a willingness to permit minor metrical infractions. The *Agen*, however, repeatedly violates the rules governing tragic and satyric meter of the classical age. Eleven of the eighteen preserved lines contain resolutions, and, more significantly, there are six instances of resolution in the anceps and short beats (vv. 6, 8, 12, 14, and 17), as well as two instances of fifth-foot dactyls (vv. 2 and 5), something entirely unheard of in the remains of classical satyr drama. Additionally, Porson's Law is violated in verses 3, 16, and 18. Although very little of the *Agen* is preserved, these statistics strongly suggest that the play's iambic trimeter is much closer to the metrical patterns of Old Comedy (with its frequent resolutions and general disregard for Porson's Law) than to classical satyr drama.[16]

As Bruno Snell (1967, 103) notes in his survey of the structure of Python's *Agen*, these violations of meter should not be construed as mere artlessness.

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[11] Meineke (1867, 287 f.) was the first to suggest this joke on Harpalus' mock-patronymic, but he unnecessarily prefers to emend the manuscripts to Φαλλίδης; the pun is convincing based merely on the closeness of the aspirated and un-aspirated forms. Cf. Pretagostini (2003, 169).

[12] Sutton (1980c, 77).

[13] For a detailed treatment of the meter of classical satyr play, see Griffith (2005a, 167–69), KPS (16–17), and Seaford (1984, 45–46).

[14] Ceadel (1941, 70).

[15] For a detailed treatment of *Cyclops'* meter, see Ussher (1978, 208–12).

[16] On the differences between the meters of tragedy and comedy, see West (1982, 88).

Although his study has been criticized for its prescription to a "particular kind of *Geistgeschichte*,"[17] Snell astutely discusses the *Agen's* philological aspects. Of particular interest are two intertexts, the first of which is a paratragic reference to Sophocles' *Electra*. Python, in a fashion more akin to comedy than to satyr drama, parodies lines spoken by Orestes' tutor as the two re-enter his home town of Mycenae:

οὑξ ἀριστερᾶς δ' ὅδε/Ἥρας ὁ κλεινὸς ναός.

<div align="right">Sophocles, Electra 7–8</div>

Here, on the left, is the famous temple to Hera.

οὑξ ἀριστερᾶς δ' ὅδε/πόρνης ὁ κλεινὸς ναός

<div align="right">Python, Agen 2–3</div>

Here, on the left, is the famous temple to the whore.

With this reference to Sophocles, and in particular with the switch from Ἥρας to πόρνης, Python represents Old Comedy's characteristic interest in obscenity, as well as its preoccupation with parodying tragedy. Such paratragic quoting differs from anything found in extant classical satyr play.[18] Paratragedy was obviously available to fifth-century satyr dramatists, and it may have played a role in performance, but satyr drama's formal similarities to tragedy make it difficult to detect examples in the texts as we have them. Throughout Euripides' *Cyclops* and all other extant, fifth-century satyr fragments, there are no examples analogous to what is found in the *Agen*. Python parodies Sophocles in a consciously intertextual manner, offering the sort of paratragic quote for which Aristophanes is famous.[19]

Snell observes a second intertextual reference at the beginning of line 9 of the *Agen*, pointing out that the phrase μακρὰν ἀποικῶν is nearly an exact duplicate of Herodas' *Mimiamb* 1.13, μακρὴν ἀποικέω, and is even in the same metrical *sedes*.[20] Consigning this comment to a footnote, Snell misses the literary significance of such a reference. Herodas' imitation of the phrase implies a generic connection between the works. There are a number of thematic similarities between Herodas' and Python's poems. For example, Gyllis' long

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[17] See in particular Lloyd-Jones' review (1966, esp. 16–17), which rightfully criticizes Snell's reconstruction of the Harpalus affair.

[18] On parody, paratragedy, and satyr drama, see Kaimio (2001). Silk (1993, 479) draws a useful distinction between parody and paratragedy: "*Paratragedy* is the cover term for all of comedy's intertextual dependence on tragedy, some of which is parodic, but some is not…*parody* is any kind of distorting representation of an original."

[19] For detailed discussion of Aristophanes' paratragedy, see Rau (1967), Taplin (1986), and Silk (1993).

[20] Herodas seems to have been active around the middle of the third century. Cf. Hutchison (1988, 236–57) and Zanker (2009, 1–12).

departure in the mimiamb is paralleled by Speaker B's return from Athens. Also, just as Gyllis has come to encourage Metriche to cease waiting for the return of her lover,[21] Speaker B finds himself trying to convince Harpalus to do the same. As the mimiamb progresses, it becomes clear that Gyllis is a brothel-keeper, and in the last two lines of the poem (v. 89–90), she offers a brief prayer that her two courtesans "Myrtale and Sime remain young, so long as Gyllis still is breathing," (ἐμοὶ δὲ Μυρτάλη τε κ[αὶ] Σίμη/νέαι μένοιεν, ἔστ' ἂν ἐμπένη[ι] Γυλλίς.) In a similar way, the messenger in the *Agen*, who has just come from Athens, likely brought Glycera with him onstage as he entered the theatrical setting of Babylon. The corresponding themes of lost lovers and "deathless" courtesans in both works strengthen the argument that Herodas is alluding to Python's play.

These connections between the *Mimiambs* and *Agen* may provide valuable insight on the play's connection to the comic tradition. Although the *Mimiambs* differ generically from the *Agen*, their quasi-dramatic form and their variety of speaking parts make them quite similar to Python's "little satyr play" (σατυρικὸν δραμάτιον, Athen. 13.586d and 595e).[22] So, why, other than to exploit these technical similarities, does Herodas actively connect his work to Python's *Agen*? I would argue that it is their correspondence in humorous styles. In the eighth mimiamb (v. 76), Herodas makes a programmatic statement that links his poems with the vituperative iambs of Hipponax. By making this explicit connection to the invective poet, and by making an implicit connection to Python, Herodas links all three authors in the same tradition of personal, satirical abuse.[23]

Sutton (1980b, 80) considers the dramatization of the *Agen* and its shift toward more satirical humor to be politically motivated, saying "its purpose was more likely a serious vilification of Harpalus and propagandizing the army by broadcasting…allegations to the widest possible audience." Pretagostini (2003, 174) also suggests a historical reason for Python's abuse of Harpalus, arguing that, since Alexander the Great was a Dionysus-like figure, a play with Alexander as a character would be more suited to the Dionysiac genre of satyr play than to comedy. He goes on to propose that Python also staged Alexander as an Agen/Dionysus character out of compulsion (*scelta obligata*): "le finalità di quest' opera teatrale sono finalità chiaramente politiche." Although these political and historical elements may have played a role in Python's choice to emulate Old Comedy, they do not explain the elements of Old Comedy found in other post-classical satyr drama.

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[21] κο[ί]ην οὖν τάλαιν[α] σὺ ψυχήν/ἔχουσα θάλπεις τὸν δίφρον; (Herodas 1.36-7).

[22] On the performative aspects of Herodas' *Mimiamboi*, see Hunter 1993.

[23] For the connection between Old Comedy and iambography, see Rosen (1988). For a criticism of this connection, see Bowie (2002).

The stylistic shift found in Python's *Agen* is representative of a larger experimental trend found in satyr play from the later fourth and early third centuries. For example, Chaeremon's *Centaur* appears to have been an extraordinary and inventive polymetric satyr play. There are, however, a number of uncertainties surrounding this mid-fourth-century tragedian and his production.[24] First, the Suda (*TrGF* T1) erroneously labels Chaeremon as a comic poet, but this error appears to have arisen from a corruption in the text of Athenaeus and is cleared up by the remainder of the entry, which correctly lists Chaeremon's tragic and satyric plays. The second issue surrounding Chaeremon is the puzzling label, ἀναγνωστικός, which Aristotle ascribes to him at *Rhetoric* 1413b12. Many scholars have interpreted Aristotle's remarks to mean that Chaeremon's plays were not composed for dramatic performance,[25] but Crusius (1902) convincingly shows that the term ἀναγνωστική does not signify that the work was read. Rather, it implies that the work is especially suited for recitation and, therefore, is particularly exemplary of Aristotle's larger argument that tragedy maintains its effect even outside the performance context.[26]

The genre of Chaeremon's *Centaur* is also problematic. Aristotle (*Poetics*, 1447b21) refers to it as a μικτὴν ῥαψῳδίαν ἐξ ἁπάντων τῶν μέτρων (a mixed recitation of all meters). Although this designation is somewhat puzzling, Morelli (2003) argues that the style of the play, with its epic components (e.g., dactylic hexameter), led Aristotle to classify the *Centaur* as a "*rhapsôidia*" rather than as a drama. Athenaeus (13.608e) clarifies the issue, calling the *Centaur* a δρᾶμα πολύμετρον, and the Suda lists it among Chaeremon's other plays, which supports Crusius' interpretation of ἀναγνωστική as a type of drama, rather than as an alternative to drama. Neither Aristotle nor Athenaeus labels the precise dramatic form of the *Centaur*, but Aristotle's silence may actually support a satyric designation. As was seen in the first chapter, Aristotle for the most part avoided discussing satyr drama and seems to have elided any generic distinction between tragedy and satyr play. The title alone supports the *Centaur's* classification as satyric drama. Although there is no evidence of a satyr play with this title, it is hard to imagine a centaur being staged in a tragic production, and the significant number of comedies with this title has historically led scholars to link the play with satyr drama.[27] The two extant fragments provide

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[24] On Chaeremon's *Centaur*, see most recently, Morelli (2001). See also Collard (1970).

[25] Consider Pfeiffer's comment (1968, 29n1) that "the wrong interpretation is repeated everywhere."

[26] *Poetics* 1462a12–18.

[27] Cf. KPS 581: "Eine Tragödie Namens 'Kentauros' ist nicht bekannt, wohl aber zahlreiche Komödien…Es liegt daher nahe anzunehmen, daß Chairemon in seinem *Kentauros einen komischen Stoff verarbeitet hat.*" Cf. Collard (1970).

no definite answers, but there is a pastoral-romantic scene including "children of the meadow" (Athen. *Deipn.* 13.608e) which is appropriate to satyr play:[28]

ἔνθ' αἱ μὲν αὐτῶν εἰς ἀπείρονα στρατόν
ἀνθέων ἄλογχον ἐστράτευσαν, ἡδοναῖς
θηρώμεν(αι ×)οντα λειμώνων τέκνα

<div align="right">Chaeremon, TrGF 10</div>

There some of them attacked the boundless, unarmed army of flowers, joyfully hunting the blooming children of the meadows.[29]

Although there is no sign of metrical experimentation in these verses, the focus on maidens frolicking in the meadows would make for an amusing description by the sex-obsessed satyrs.[30] Also, the playful depiction of flowers as "children of the meadow" would suit the genre's interest in metaphorical, riddling language.

There is one further piece of evidence that can possibly shed light on Chaeremon's *Centaur*. On a papyrus fragment from an uncertain play,[31] Chaeremon presents his audience with a metrical rarity, dactylic hexameter within a dramatic performance:

Χρὴ τιμᾶν θ[˘ ˘ – . . .   2
Ἀρχὴ γὰρ θνητ[οῖς
Ἱμείρου πάση[ς
Ῥώμην τιμῶμεν μ[5
Ἦθος ἔχειν ὅσιον ζή[
Μὴ πᾶν κέρδος ὅρα [
.[..]γ[.].κιαν σαυτ[8
. . .[32]

<div align="right">Chaeremon, TrGF F14b</div>

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[28] On the bucolic elements of satyr play, see Griffith (2008).

[29] Trans. adapted from Olson 2011, based on Cobet's suggestion (see *TrGF* 10) that ⟨θάλλ⟩οντα fills the lacuna in the third line.

[30] Consider the sexual joke on λειμών at Euripides' *Cyclops* 171, where the "grassy meadow" refers to female pubic hair.

[31] The fragment is comprised of two columns from a gnomic anthology. The left column is the end of iambic trimeters, and the right is the start of Chaeremon's dactylic hexameters. The first line in the right column appears to be a heading: Χαιρήμων ἐγ[.

[32] Cf. *TrGF* F14b as reconstructed by M. L. West (1977, 37):

Χρὴ τιμᾶν θ[εὸν ἄνδρ' ἀγαθὸν σφετέρους τε γονῆας   2
Ἀρχὴ γὰρ θνητ[οῖσι θεὸς πέλει ἠδὲ τελευτή.
Ἱμείρου πάση[ς ἀρετῆς, σοφίας δὲ μάλιστα.
Ῥώμην τιμῶμεν μ[ετὰ σωφροσύνης προφέροντας.   5
Ἦθος ἔχειν ὅσιον ζή[τει
Μὴ πᾶν κέρδος ὅρα [(ἀλλὰ τὸ δίκαιον μόνον)

It is necessary to honor [
the beginning for mort[als
desire ever[y
we honor strength [
to have a holy character [
do not see every profit [

Else (1957, 56) has persuasively suggested that when Aristotle says Chaeremon used "all meters" in his *Centaur*, he does not mean that the play is literally a hodgepodge of every type of meter. Given the context of the comment, it is much more likely that Aristotle is referring to only three varieties of meter: dactylic hexameter, iambic trimeter, and trochaic tetrameter. Chaeremon's play must have consisted of a sizable number of dactylic verses (as well as iambics and trochaics), and the fact that we have here a group of dactylic lines by Chaeremon suggests that the fragment may be from his *Centaur*.[33] Another element that helps link the fragment to this play is its use of the first known acrostic in Western literature. Chaeremon begins each successive hexametric line with a letter of his name (either ΧΑΙΡΗΜ[ΩΝ] or ΧΑΙΡΗΜ[ΟΝΟΣ]). The experimental nature of the acrostic *sphragis* may be part of the play's larger experimental mode, which included the use of "all meters."

Clearly the *Centaur* (if it is, in fact, a satyr play) represents a highly experimental period in satyr drama's development, but it also reveals certain comic connections. For example, its freedom of meter is significant, especially its use of dactylic hexameter, which was uncommon in drama overall and typically used only by comic poets.[34] Another connection to comedy is the incorrect biographical note offered by the Suda. As mentioned above, Chaeremon was dubbed a comic poet, an error that appears to have been based on a confusion in the text of Athenaeus (13.562e). However, as Griffith (2008, 67n27) observes, "Several other 'tragedians' too are occasionally listed as comic poets," which prompts him to ask, "Maybe it was not always obvious what was a 'comedy' and what was not?" While this raises important points about the capaciousness of Greek dramatic genres, the evidence examined thus far suggests that we should reframe Griffith's question: maybe it was not always obvious what was a "comedy" and what was *satyr play*? Even if the miscategorization of Chaeremon as a comic poet

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It is necessary for a good man to honor god and his parents,
for god is the beginning and the end for mortals.
Desire every excellence and especially every wisdom.
We honor those bearing strength along with self-control.
Strive to have a holy character
Do not see every profit, but only every just thing.

[33] Turner (1955, 224) makes this connection, and Snell (1971, 166) places it under *incerta* although he finds it plausible. Cf. KPS (1990, 581–90).
[34] Cf. Plato's *Phaon* (K-A 189), where a character reads aloud from Philoxenus' hexametric cookbook.

was an error in transmission, such incorrect attestations do not seem to travel in the opposite direction. Comic poets are not labeled as tragedians, which suggests that comedies were not mistaken for the work of a tragedian, but a tragedian's work could be mistaken for comedy.[35] If this is the case, it would much more likely be his satyr plays than his tragedies that were dubbed comic.

The unusual nature of Chaeremon's production may stand out as unique even among Old Comedies, but other post-classical satyric performances fall more obviously in line with comedy of the fifth century, especially in their use of parabatic elements.[36] The parabasis, often considered "the most curious and formal feature of Old Comedy,"[37] was a break in both the plot and illusion of a play, where the chorus addressed the audience in the first-person voice of the poet. While this interruption in action was regularly used to abuse contemporaries or even the audience, it was also a place for the poet to address the judges and discuss poetic theory, elements that appear in the remains of two post-classical satyr plays.[38] In a remarkable fragment from the satyr play *Hermes*, Astydamas the Younger, one of the most prolific and successful tragedians of the fourth century,[39] alludes to his production's own "playness" and addresses the art of poetry in the style of a parabasis:

ἀλλ' ὥσπερ δείπνου γλαφυροῦ ποικίλην εὐωχίαν
τὸν ποιητὴν δεῖ παρέχειν τοῖς θεαταῖς τὸν σοφόν,
ἵν' ἀπίῃ τις τοῦτο φαγών καὶ πιών, ὅπερ λαβών
χαίρει <τις>, καὶ σκευασία μὴ μί' ᾖ τῆς μουσικῆς …

<div align="right">Astydamas, TrGF 4</div>

A clever poet should supply his audience with a rich feast that resembles an elegant dinner, so everyone eats and drinks whatever he likes before he leaves, and the entertainment doesn't consist of a single course.

<div align="right">Trans. Olson 2008</div>

This fragment provides a glimpse into the formal thematic similarities between fourth-century satyr drama and fifth-century comedy.[40] Although the

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[35] For example, Pratinas' son the tragedian Aristias was particularly famous for his satyr plays.

[36] Chaeremon's play is not alone in its strangeness among Hellenistic satyr plays. Remains of the anonymous *Atlas-Drama* (*TrGF* 655), which are widely accepted as satyric, relate the famous story of Heracles and Atlas, but the author completely eschews the letter sigma. Out of sixty verses, some of which are complete and others of which are lacunose, there is not a single instance of the letter. Cf. Turner (1976, 16), Conrad (1997, 213), and KPS (624–31).

[37] Storey in Meineck (2000, xxix).

[38] Griffith (2013) suggests convincingly that satyr drama was a genre of poetic awareness even during the classical period, but the following examples are much more overtly self-conscious. Cf. Kaimio et al. (2001).

[39] According to the victory lists at DID A 3a, 44 (*TrGF* T3), Astydamas' first was victory in 372.

[40] Kaimio (2001, 59n97), in her support for a satyric source, has commented that "it would be rather strange if the parabasis of comedy were imitated by an author of satyr-play in a period

speaker of Astydamas' passage does not use the typical parabatic first-person voice, his use of the term ποιητὴς results in a similar effect. The dining metaphor addresses the art of poetry in a way that naturally contrasts the poet's own skill with that of other dramatists, implying that Astydamas' play will better satisfy the audience's craving for a rich dramatic production. He even uses the poetically charged word *sophos,* which Aristophanes repeatedly cites in the *Frogs* as the primary criterion for judging between Aeschylus and Euripides.[41] Metrically, these lines are similar to Old Comedy as well. The Eupolidean meter used here (named after the Old Comic poet Eupolis) is also used in the first part of the parabasis in Aristophanes' *Clouds.*[42]

A parabatic analogue to Astydamas' passage can be found in a fragment from the late fifth-century comic poet Metagenes, who offers the exact same metaphor in his *Lover of Sacrifices:*[43]

> κατ' ἐπεισόδιον μεταβάλλω τὸν λόγον, ὡς ἂν
> καιναῖσι παροψίσι καὶ πολλαῖς εὐωχήσω τὸ θέατρον

<div align="right">Metagenes, K-A 15</div>

> In each episode I change the plot, so that
> I can feast the audience with many and novel side dishes.

<div align="right">Trans. Rusten in Rusten 2011</div>

While food metaphors may have been common enough in ancient poetic theory to rule out any direct intertext between these satyric and comic works,[44] the similarities remain striking: both poets draw attention to their play's fictionality through metatheatrical and metaphorical proclamations about delighting the audience. Although Metagenes' parabasis is spoken in the more traditional first person, and Astydamas' is not, the qualities of Old Comedy found in the satyric fragment are undeniable. They have such prominence, in fact, that Bain (1975, 24–25) has argued for an incorrect categorization by Athenaeus, claiming that Astydamas' passage actually comes from an Old Comedy: "The content and metre conspire to suggest nothing so much as a comic parabasis." Although Bain's assessment of the meter and style is correct, there is no good reason to doubt Athenaeus. The play is assigned with more detail and clarity than is often found in the *Deipnosophistae*, with Athenaeus (11.496e) explicitly addressing the name of the poet, his role as tragedian, and the genre of the play: Ἀστυδάμας ὁ τραγικὸς ἐν Ἡρακλεῖ σατυρικῷ.

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when parabasis was fallen out of favour in comedy itself." Satyr drama's use of metatheatrical content and parabatic style, however, corresponds perfectly with the general trend of the period.

[41] See, for example, v. 766, where the slave notes that the σοφώτερος poet holds a special seat in Hades.

[42] Wilamowitz' suggestion (1889, 24) that the Eupolidean meter here is related to the priapeum meter is interesting, since some ancient scholars also called it *satyricum*.

[43] On Metagenes, see Bellardinelli et al. (1998, 291–339).

[44] Cf. Philodemus, *On Poems* 3, fr. xi. 1–8, which compares poets to cooks.

Another fragment that has parabatic qualities and has been variously attributed to fifth-century comedy and post-classical satyr drama is *TrGF* 646a (*TrGF* V, pp. 1135–37): [45]

<div style="text-align:center">

ε]ἰς οἶδμ' ἀπολίσθο[ι

]τορ....ις

]νασε....ιαις

4   ] Σεμέλης [τέ]κ[ο]ς ὕμνον

].βλα[.].[..] θεὸς Ἀρκάς

] σκεπτομεν[....]

[20]   ].υλε....δης........].ει παρέδωκεν

8 ⏑⏑ – ⏑⏑ –   – ⏑] πεφευγὼς ἤθυρον ἐγ]ὼ νέος ἄντροις

⏑⏑ – ⏑⏑ –   ⏑⏑]ουργος ἁπλοῦς, πάς]ης κακίας ἀμίαντος

⏑⏑ – ⏑⏑ –   ⏑⏑–].οσισου καρπὸν μ]ὲν ἑλὼν τὸν ὄρειον

[24] ⏑⏑ – ⏑⏑ –   ⏑⏑]αι τὸ πάλαι θηρῶν] ἐφόδοις ἀκόμιστον

12 ⏑⏑ – ⏑⏑ –   ⏑⏑]παιδεύσας ὥριον ἥβ]ην ἐφύλαξα

⏑⏑ – ⏑⏑ – καρπὸ]ν ὀπώρας ἦρα βα]θείας ἐπὶ ληνοὺς

⏑⏑ – ⏑⏑ –   ⏑⏑]ν εἰς θνητοὺς ἀνέ]φηνα ποτὸν Διονύσου

[28] ⏑⏑ – ⏑⏑ –   –]σος ὁ μύστης οὔπο]τε λήγων ἐπὶ Βάκχωι

16 ⏑⏑ – ⏑⏑ –   – –]δε θεοῦ πρώτη] πλοκάμοις ἀνέδησεν

⏑⏑ – ⏑⏑ –   ⏑⏑]ων λήθη χάρισιν] κείναις ἀνέλαμψεν

⏑⏑ – ⏑⏑ –   ⏑⏑]αι θίασος· τοιάδε] κομπεῖν ἐδιδάχθην.

[32] ⏑⏑ – ⏑⏑ – ⏑⏑ – ⏑]. μέγας φησὶν] ἀοιδὸς Σαλαμῖνος

20 ⏑⏑ – ⏑⏑ –   ⏑⏑]ης ταμίας, νῦν δ' ε]ἰς ἀπάτας κεκύλισμαι

⏑⏑ – ⏑⏑   –]ας παῦρος ὑπουργῶν ταῖς ψευδομέ]να[ις']....[– –

⏑⏑ – ⏑⏑ –   –]αραπέμψει τὸν ἀ]π' ὀθνείας ἐπεγείρων

[36] ⏑⏑ – ⏑⏑ –   –]γνωτε, θεαί· τραγ]ικῶν ὁ παρὼν πόνος ὕμνων

24 ⏑⏑ – ⏑⏑ –   –].ος ὁρίζει μὴ τ]ὰ δικαίως καλὰ μόχθωι

⏑⏑ – ⏑⏑ –   –]φθέντα μόλις θ]ῆτε παρέργου τρίτα φόρτου

⏑⏑ – ⏑⏑ –   ⏑⏑ – ⏑⏑ –   –]αδεν ὀρθῆι Διόνυσος

⏑⏑ – ⏑⏑ –   ⏑⏑ – ⏑⏑ –   – ⏑ β]ραβεύσας γ' ἐν ἀγῶνι

</div>

…he slipped off into the surge…a hymn to (?) the son of Semele…the Arcadian god…observing…handed over…after getting away I played as a youth in caves…a simple… –worker untouched by any vice…picking the harvest on the mountain-side…so long untouched by the attacks of wild beasts…I educated and watched over the youthful prime <of Dionysus>…I lifted the fruit of harvest time into the deep vats…I displayed to mortals the drink of Dionysus…the initiate never ceasing on my Bacchic…and the first maenad of the god bound up <her locks> with bands of wool…forgetfulness gleamed forth in those delights…thiasos.

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[45] Battezzato (2006, 19–68) attempts to classify this fragment as Old Comedy, but as Sommerstein (2007) points out, he seems "to underrate considerably the difficulties this view faces." Cf. Bierl, (1990, 353–91), di Marco (2003, 41–74).

I was taught to boast of such things…says the great bard of Salamis…the steward, and now I am rolled into deceits…an insignificant person serving those women who lie…will wake and escort this one from a foreign land…show mercy [you know?], goddesses. This present labour of tragic songs…puts a limit on…do not…what is rightly attractive with toil…with difficulty winning the third prize of such trash…Dionysus with just (decision?)…having served as the judge in the contest.

<div align="right">Trans. Storey 2011</div>

In these verses (made up of two joined fragments of papyrus), Silenus recounts his Dionysiac activities as a youth, but as his speech proceeds, the satyr breaks dramatic illusion in a fashion more typical for characters of Old Comedy. He alludes to the present task of writing tragic songs (23) and to winning the prize at the competition (25). He also seems to make a metatheatrical reference to receiving stage directions when he uses the official language of the theater (διδάσκειν, 18). If so, the "boasting" (κομπεῖν) that he has been taught is probably similar to the fifth-century vaunts made regularly by Aristophanes in his parabases. Silenus also refers to Euripides in verse 19, when he mentions "the great singer of Salamis" (μέγας φησὶν ἀοιδός Σαλαμῖνος), and the verb φησὶν may indicate that Silenus is actually quoting the poet. Even the meter, which is anapestic tetrameter catalectic, is used in the parabases of Old Comedy. Despite the numerous features associated with fifth-century comedy, "the almost invariable presence of a dieresis after every *metron* of the tetrameters…is quite unlike anything in Old Comedy,"[46] which suggests that the fragment more likely comes from a Hellenistic production.

To understand fully the development of post-classical satyr drama and its use of "Old Comic" elements, we must return to the satirical style noted in the *Agen*. Following Python in his use of ὀνομαστὶ κωμῳδεῖν are two third-century Alexandrian playwrights, Lycophron of Chalcis and Sositheus of Alexandria Troas,[47] but within the remains of these two authors, we can see the rise and fall of satyr drama's abuse of historical figures. Lycophron targets the philosopher Menedemus for his cheapness in the extant fragments of his *Menedemus*.[48] As Diogenes Laertius (2.126–44) indicates, this philosopher and envoy to Ptolemy was frequently the target of contemporaries' abuse. Coming from a humble

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[46] Sommerstein (2007).

[47] Gerhard (1918, 256–73) suggests that mockery becomes the characteristic feature of Alexandrian satyr drama. Cf. Xanthakis-Karamanos (1997), Cippola (2003, 363), and Cozzoli (2003). Spanoudakis (2005) suggests that Alexander Aetolus, another member of the pleiad, may have written a satyr play, but it was not topical.

[48] Despite this acerbic humor, it seems that Lycophron and Menedemus were actually close friends and that the poet had even attended the philosopher's symposia. Diogenes informs us that the play was composed as a sort of encomium (ἐγκώμιον), presumably because of Menedemus' special interest in satyr drama (he is, according to Diogenes 2.133, the source for Aeschylus' reputation as the best satyr dramatist in ancient Greece). Although a good deal has been written on this issue (see Van Rooy, 1966, 127–34, for a useful overview), Lycophron and Menedemus' precise relationship has little bearing on the issue at hand. Cf. Xanthakis-Karamanos (1996; 1997).

background, he grew up learning his father's trade of carpentry, but at around age twenty, he met Stilpon, the head of the Megarian school, who inspired him to study philosophy. During the last decade of the fourth century, Menedemus founded his own philosophical school in Eretria, but with only a small following, he and the other eristics were regularly ridiculed. He was parodied in comedy for his pompousness, but he was most famous for his frugality, supposedly insisting that his guests dine before coming to his symposia and that they bring their own seat cushions.[49] In the following scene, Silenus ridicules the Eretrian philosopher's symposium for just this reason. Although he seems to praise Menedemus' meal in the first part of fragment two, asserting that he has not enjoyed such delicious food anywhere else in Greece, Athenaeus' comments (10.420b) indicate that Lycophron is sarcastically mocking (διασκώπτων) the banquet throughout the play. When the passage is examined in its entirety, Silenus' acerbity becomes clear:

(ΣΙΛΗΝΟΣ)
παῖδες κρατίστου πατρὸς ἐξωλέστατοι,
ἐγὼ μὲν ὑμῖν, ὡς ὁρᾶτε, στρηνιῶ·
δεῖπνον γὰρ οὔτ' ἐν Καρίᾳ, μὰ τοὺς θεούς,
οὔτ' ἐν Ῥόδῳ τοιοῦτον οὔτ' ἐν Λυδίᾳ
κατέχω δεδειπνηκώς· Ἄπολλον, ὡς καλόν
       ***[50]

       ἀλλὰ κυλίκιον
ὑδαρὲς ὁ παῖς περιῆγε τοῦ πεντωβόλου,
ἀτρέμα παρεξεστηκός· ὃ τ' ἀλιτήριος
καὶ δημόκοινος ἐπεχόρευε δαψιλής
θέρμος, πενήτων καὶ τρικλίνου συμπότης

<div align="right">Lycophron, TrGF 2</div>

(Silenus)
Vile children of a powerful father,
I'm running rough-shod over you, as you can see;
because, by the gods, I don't recall having eaten
a dinner like this in Caria, in Rhodes,
or Lydia. Apollo! How nice it was!
       ***

       But the slave brought
around a cup full of water and some five-obol wine
that had already gone a bit bad. And the criminal
and plentiful common lupine, which drinks
with poor men at their parties, came dancing in.

<div align="right">Trans. Olson 2008</div>

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[49] Athenaeus (10.419e–420a) and Diogenes (2.139–40).
[50] In between these two sets of verses, there is a gap of unknown size, which Athenaeus (*Deip.* 10.420b) fills in with the words καὶ προελθών.

Addressing the chorus of satyrs, Silenus abandons his seemingly positive review of the banquet in the second part of the fragment with his description of the cheap wine and the sodomite dancer. Still worse for party-goers is the philosophical and moralizing speech that Menedemus serves for dessert:

ὡς ἐκ βραχείας δαιτὸς ἡ βαιὰ κύλιξ
αὐτοῖς κυκλεῖται πρὸς μέτρον, τράγημα δέ
ὁ σωφρονιστὴς πᾶσιν ἐν μέσῳ λόγος

<div align="right">Lycophron, TrGF 3</div>

after a humble meal, the teeny kylix
was passed around by them in measured amounts, and the dessert
placed in the middle for everyone was a censuring speech.

In addition to satirizing Menedemus' well-known frugality, Lycophron also hints at the nature of the host's philosophy. Rather than the desserts that would normally be offered, Menedemus serves a moralizing speech to his guests. This satirical treatment of a famous living philosopher indicates a style more closely associated with Old Comedy than with satyr drama. These fragments even make the rustic papa Silenus into a sophisticated urbanite. Instead of the mythological time and space of classical satyr drama, this play takes place at a contemporary city home, and Silenus, as if a worldly traveler, compares his meal with those that he has eaten in Caria, Rhodes, and Lydia.

Like his contemporary Lycophron, Sositheus of Alexandria Troas (fl. 284–81) was a member of the pleiad under Ptolemy Philadelphus II and took as a target for his satyr play a contemporary philosopher:

οὓς ἡ Κλεάνθους μωρία βοηλατεῖ

<div align="right">Sositheus, TrGF 4</div>

they, whom Cleanthes' stupidity drives off like oxen

In this nameless play, which is referred to simply as the *Cleanthes-drama*, Sositheus reportedly attacks the stoic philosopher Cleanthes of Assus (*ca.* 331–231). As a student of Zeno and head of the Stoic school from 263 to 232, Cleanthes was a famous enough character to be a target for such abuse,[51] and although only a single line remains from the play, the style of humor used by Sositheus is clear. Subscribing to the comedy of ὀνομαστὶ κωμῳδεῖν, he mockingly blames Cleanthes' stupidity for driving students (presumably his own) away from the Stoic school. According to Diogenes Laertius (7.173), when the audience saw that Cleanthes, who was a spectator at the performance, did not get upset, they hissed Sositheus' play off stage.

Within a single century, satyr drama's style seems to shift back toward the more classical mode, away from the invective treatment of contemporaries, parabatic asides, and metrical freedom. This shift is even discernible within

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[51] Testimonia indicates that Cleanthes was also spoofed by the comic author, Baton (K-A T4).

the extant fragments of Sositheus alone. Despite the satirical tone of the *Cleanthes-drama*, Sositheus was actually much more famous for a different kind of satyr play. Dioscorides immortalizes him in an epigram found in the Garland of Meleager:

κἠγὼ Σωσιθέου κομέω νέκυν, ὅσσον ἐν ἄστει
    ἄλλος ἀπ’ αὐθαίμων ἡμετέρων Σοφοκλῆν,
Σκίρτος ὁ πυρρογένειος. ἐκισσοφόρησε γὰρ ὡνὴρ
    ἄξια Φλιασίων, ναὶ μὰ χορούς, Σατύρων·
κἠμὲ τὸν ἐν καινοῖς τεθραμμένον ἤθεσιν ἤδη   5
    ἤγαγεν εἰς μνήμην πατρίδ’ ἀναρχαΐσας·
καὶ πάλιν εἰσώρμησα τὸν ἄρσενα Δωρίδι Μούσῃ
    ῥυθμόν, πρός τ’ αὐδὴν ἑλκόμενος μεγάλην
†εὖαδέ μοι θύρσων τύπος αὖ χερὶ† καινοτομηθείς[52]
    τῇ φιλοκινδύνῳ φροντίδι Σωσιθέου.

<div align="right">

AP 7.707 (= GP 23)

</div>

And I, red-bearded Scirtus,[53] look after the body of Sositheus, just as one of my brothers in the city watches over Sophocles. For Sositheus was decorated—I swear by the choruses!—with ivy worthy of Pratinas’ Phliasian Satyrs. He led me back to the memory of my fatherland, returning to the olden days, when I had been nurtured by newfangled customs; and once again I forced the manly rhythm upon the Doric Muse, being drawn toward a mighty song. †The beat of the thyrsi in my hand pleased me again,† when I was fashioned anew by the adventurous mind of Sositheus.

In this epigram (or in the fiction of the epigram), a satyr sits on the tombstone of Sositheus, who, in his mind, has restored satyr drama to its original style. Though it is doubtful that the poem was actually intended for Sositheus’ grave, its praise for the satyr dramatist can likely be taken at face value. Dioscorides, who composed a number of epigrams on earlier poets, singles out Sositheus not only for his dramatic victories but also for rescuing satyr play from a recent phase of innovations (καινοῖς).

Fantuzzi (2007, 488–92) discusses the connections between this epigram and the preceding poem in the collection, in which a satyr sits at Sophocles’ grave:

Τύμβος ὅδ ’ἔστ’, ὤνθρωπε, Σοφοκλέος, ὃν παρὰ Μουσῶν
    ἱρὴν παρθεσίην ἱερὸς ὢν ἔλαχον·
ὅς με τὸν ἐκ Φλιοῦντος, ἔτι τρίβολον πατέοντα,
    πρίνινον ἐς χρύσεον σχῆμα μεθηρμόσατο
καὶ λεπτὴν ἐνέδυσεν ἁλουργίδα·

<div align="right">

AP 7.37 (= GP 22), 1–5

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[52] As Gow-Page observe, “The beginning of 9 seems hopeless.”
[53] Scirtus translates as “Leaper.”

This, sir, is the tomb of Sophocles, which I obtained as a sacred pledge, since I myself am sacred. He was the one who transformed me—the satyr from Phlius, sturdy and still treading on the threshing floor—toward a golden appearance, and he dressed me in refined purple clothing.

Although Fantuzzi correctly observes that Dioscorides is looking back at the history of satyr play, from Pratinas to Sophocles and finally to Sositheus, and inherently compares and contrasts these dramatists, the poet is not asking, "Whose is the truest glory?"[54] Dioscorides indicates that Sophocles may have made satyrs more elevated, but he does not imply that Sophocles is the culprit of the "new-fangled fashions," from which Sositheus rescues satyr play. It is more likely that these innovations are the experimental and Old Comic elements that we have noted throughout satyr drama's post-classical development.

In fact, the most sizable fragment of Sositheus' remains comes from a play entitled *Daphnis* or *Lityerses* and indicates on the whole a return to romantic, pastoral, and mythological themes. Sositheus intertwines the otherwise unrelated stories of Midas and Lityerses with that of Daphnis and Thaleia. Servius (Vergil *Buc.* 8. 68) informs us that, after pirates had kidnapped Thaleia (Pimplea in Latin), Daphnis went to rescue the nymph from King Midas' son, Lityerses, who had imprisoned her. This despot made a habit of challenging all visitors to a harvesting competition, at the end of which he would kill them by cutting off their heads with his harvesting sickle. In Sositheus' synthesis of the myths, Heracles, as deus ex machina, intervenes and rescues Daphnis, slaying Lityerses with the antagonist's own sickle and reuniting the young lover with his bride. Despite its fragmentary state, the *Lityerses* appears to exclude any reference to contemporary figures, and even more significantly, its general course of action and themes are much more akin to fifth-century satyr drama: there is captivity and enslavement (presumably of the satyrs as well as Thaleia), an ogre-ish antagonist, and a contest and subsequent rescue by the hero. Even metrically, the twenty-one extant verses convey an attempt to emulate classical satyr drama.[55] Without a single resolution, Sositheus returns to the metrical purity of fifth-century tragedy and satyr play,[56] and rather than being set in the city, as Python's *Agen* or Lycophron's *Menedemus*, the *Lityerses* also returns its dramatic setting to the bucolic world of the satyrs and to the mythological age of heroes.

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[54] Fantuzzi (2007, 491).

[55] Xanthakis-Karamanos (1994, 245) uses the fragment's metrical purity to suggest that the play is a tragedy, rather than a satyr drama, but I would argue that this regularity is in *contrast* to satyr drama's recent upset of metrical rules. Cf. Sens (2010, 298). Guggisberg (1947, 142–43), Seidensticker (1979, 230), Sutton (1980c, 86–87), KPS (605–13), Cipolla (2003, 404–6), and Cozzoli (2003, 283–84) agree that this fragment represents satyr play.

[56] Note the phrase in lines 7–8 of the epigram ἄρσενα ῥυθμόν.

Reasons for the Shift

The fragmentary state of satyr drama makes it difficult to know precisely why late fourth- and early third-century satyr dramatists became more experimental and adopted certain conventions from Old Comedy, but literary and historical evidence offer a few clues.[57] First, the late fourth century heralded the growing literary world of the Hellenistic age, and it may not be a coincidence that Python, Lycophron, and Sositheus are all playwrights on the periphery of the Greek world. The conventions and traditions of the Athenian dramatic festival likely had less impact on authors who were composing outside Athens and the City Dionysia. Second, this period also brought with it a growing interest in a new literary aesthetic.[58] When Hellenistic poets faced their formidable Greek literary heritage, they began to eschew the already classicized, "big" genres, focusing instead on shorter, well-polished poetry from more rustic/less-celebrated poets and genres (emulating, for example, Hesiod rather than Homer), and they became particularly fond of the "contamination" of poetic genres.[59] Satyr drama suited the literary trends of the time, since it was briefer and less renowned than tragedy, and had distinct bucolic elements. It also looked somewhat like a tragic/comic hybrid, which would naturally appeal to poets who were thinking about literary miscegenation.

Even more important for satyr drama's evolution than the dawning Hellenistic age is the reorganization of the Great Dionysiac festival. Throughout the fifth century and into the fourth, three tragic poets competed against each other at the City Dionysia, but at some point before 341, satyric play was dropped from the competition. According to didascalic inscription *IG* II² 2320, only one satyr play was staged at the opening of the program, instead of the three that were traditionally performed after each trilogy.[60] This shift in format at the City Dionysia had significant implications for the genre as a whole. Up until this point, satyr drama had been an important part of the tragic competition, but now it was entirely independent and was, in fact, not judged at all. Satyr dramatists (whether tragic poets, comic poets, or a separate class of playwrights altogether) were largely liberated from the expectations associated with the satyric tradition. Aside from the satyr chorus itself, only the memory

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[57] Cf. Xanthakis-Karamanos (1980). Martina (2003) collects a number of valuable essays on post-classical satyr plays. Some scholars have suggested that satyr drama during this period explicitly moved into the generic space of Old Comedy as comedy itself abandoned this particular comic style, slipping into Old Comedy's generic slot, as comedy evolved into its "New" form.
[58] See, for example, the useful overview by Hutchison (1988).
[59] Kroll (1924, 202–24) famously and influentially dubs the process "Kreuzung der Gattungen." There is a long history of scholarship on Hellenistic miscegenation. See especially Fantuzzi and Hunter (2004, 17–26). Depew and Obbink (2000) collect a number of useful essays which respond to Kroll's formulation.
[60] For discussion of didascaliae, see *CAD* (41–43) and for this inscription in particular, 228–29. Cf. Millis and Olson (2012, 61–69).

of a single yearly performance connected satyr play to its own literary history. Satyr plays were never publicly scrutinized side by side, which naturally led to a faster and more drastic generic development.[61]

Satyr drama's separation from the tragic competition may have prompted the genre's shift toward comedy, but it was likely comedy's own generic shift that led to the removal of satyr play. When comic poets began to move toward a more satyric style, the genres' similarities may have made satyr play appear somewhat redundant or, at the very least, stale.[62] For 150 years, tragedians had been performing the same mythological burlesques with the same chorus of satyrs, and although comedy was becoming more satyric, it maintained a much wider range of plots and characters than was ever available to satyr dramatists. Just as most pre-comic performances disappeared when comedy was introduced to the City Dionysia in 486,[63] satyr play began to wane when comedy became both more satyric and more popular. With five yearly performances at the City Dionysia, five more at the Lenaea, and still more at the Rural Dionysia, comedy was the dominant genre at fourth-century dramatic festivals. And comic poets proved that comedy could do anything satyr drama did; they could even include a chorus of satyrs.[64]

Even after satyr drama's dissolution from the tragic tetralogy, comic and satyric poets continued to interact. In fact, the comic poet Timocles may have had a very specific influence on satyr drama's shift toward satire. Active in Athens between the 340s and 317, Timocles was chronologically a poet of Middle Comedy and New Comedy,[65] but he was particularly famous for reviving the invective elements associated with fifth-century Old Comedy, especially ὀνομαστὶ κωμῳδεῖν.[66] Many of his fragments openly abuse contemporary figures, and he appears to have been a particularly loud critic of Demosthenes and other

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[61] Drastic changes were, of course, available to all ancient poets of drama, but the net effect of any exceedingly innovative play was likely less drastic when it was being compared both to its literary tradition *and* to plays of the same genre that were performed alongside it at the same festival in the same competition. Generic evolution, despite spikes of innovation, typically has a more coherent appearance over the broad course of development (see Introduction). Euripides' *Alcestis* of 438 is instructive: although it was a satyr-less satyr play, and certainly had a powerful impact on its initial audience (see Slater, 2005), it does not seem to have resulted in a flood of similar "pro-satyric" performances.

[62] Gallo (1991, 151–68) suggests that satyr drama of the fourth and third centuries was not in decline, but it seems more likely that satyr drama was reinvigorated after its separation from the tragic performance by generic experimentation.

[63] See chapter 2.

[64] Satyr play likely continued as an opening act in order to maintain the Dionysiac element at the Dionysiac festival. On the theory that satyr play was instituted because tragedy had "Nothing to do with Dionysus," (οὐδὲν πρὸς Διόνυσον), see chapter 4. There may also have been financial aspects to the removal of satyr play, since in 341 three tragedies were staged, but in 340 there were only two.

[65] On New Comedy, see Hunter (1985). On the challenges of periodizing comedy, see chapter 5.

[66] On Timocles, see Constantinides (1969) and Cipolla (2003). *IG* 2² 2325.158 indicates that he won first prize at the Lenaea sometime between 330 and 320.

orators who had received money from Harpalus.[67] He was also famous, however, for writing two comic plays with a chorus of satyrs, the *Demosatyroi* and *Icarioi Satyroi*. Could it be that satyr dramatists watched (or heard about) these abusive "satyr comedies" and decided to embrace Timocles' style? This seems very likely at least in the case of Python's *Agen*. Each of the five remaining fragments from Timocles' *Icarioi Satyroi* makes a reference to contemporary figures and events, which helps date the production to around 330–327, just a few years before Python's production.[68] And two of the five fragments (K-A 16 and 17) make satirical comments about Pythionice, the same prostitute referred to in verse eight of Python's satyr play. Although Python staged his satyric production on the periphery of the Greek world, he seems to have drawn inspiration from Timocles' Athenian satyr comedy. Timocles brought satyrs onstage and abused contemporary figures (including Pythionice), thereby associating satyric performance with Old Comedy. Within a few years, Python followed Timocles' example, similarly bringing satyrs onstage in his "little satyr play," and abusing contemporary figures (including Pythionice). The intersecting worlds of comedy and satyr drama overlapped to the point where they became stylistically more or less indistinct.

Later Greek and Roman Productions

After the experimental period of satyr drama in the fourth century, the genre faded in and out of popularity for the next few centuries. No literary evidence remains from the period when New Comedy reached its peak or when the Roman world began to encroach on the Greek world, but it appears that the genre may have reached its zenith in the third century when actors and acting became more culturally appreciated than poets and the act of composing drama.[69] A didascalic inscription found in the Athenian Agora (*TrGF* DID A 4a) datable to the archonship of Alcibiades (255/4) suggests that satyr drama became just as popular in Athens as comedy and tragedy:[70]

> [.....]ς τρί Πτωχ Φιλ
> [σατύροι]ς παλαιοῖς   12
> [......]ος ἐνίκ Ἑρμεῖ ['Αστυ(δάμαντος)?
> [.......] δεύ 'Ατλαν[τ—
> [..... τρί] Μαθητ[αῖς—

TrGF DID A 4a

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[67] E.g., Timocles K-A 4 and *Heroes* (K-A 12–14). Cf. Athenaeus *Deipn.* 6.223d.

[68] Cf. Wilamowitz (1889, 24), Webster (1952, 20), Constantinides (1969, 55).

[69] Cf. Xanthakis-Karamanos (1980, 11).

[70] Meritt (1938, 116–18). See also Pickard-Cambridge (1968, 123). It is uncertain for which festival this inscription records victories. Meritt argues for the Lenaea, based on the fact that there is no proof for old satyr plays at the Dionysia. But as Pickard-Cambridge (1968, 41n111) points out, there is no such proof for the Lenaea either. Cf. Summa (2003).

> In old satyr plays
> . .. won first place in Astydamus' *Hermes*
> …won second in *Atlas*[71]
> . .. won third in *Mathêtai*

Meritt first published this inscription in 1938, restoring line twelve with [σατύροι]ς. Not only does this conjecture fit the missing spaces exactly, but elsewhere in the inscription "old comedies" and "old tragedies" are mentioned, leaving no other likely option for the lacuna.[72] If correctly restored, this inscription indicates that three "old" satyr plays were restaged alongside three revived tragedies and three revived comedies at this year's celebration, and the actors of satyr play were judged and recorded for first, second, and third prizes, alongside the actors of tragedy and comedy. Satyr drama apparently played as important a role as the other two dramatic genres and was considered an entirely separate form of performance at this time.

In addition to restaged, "old" satyr plays, inscriptional evidence shows that new satyr plays were also composed for various festivals during the second and first centuries:[73]

- Victors at Teos in Ionia, second century BCE? (Stefanis 907 = *CAD* p. 47, 113A): "Actor of satyrs, Hermotimos, son of Archikleios, son of Diotimos, from Magnesia on the Meander"
- Victors at Teos in Ionia, second century BCE? (*CAD* p. 47, 113B): "<Prize> of satyrs: Anaxion, son of Thrasykleides, of Mytilene, with a drama, *Persians*"
- Victors in festival for Hera, Samos, second century BCE (*CAD* p. 202–3, 166): "The poets of the new satyrs: Archenomos, son of Hermias, of Rhodes"
- Victors at the Festival of the Muses, Thespiae in Boeotia, ca. 160 BCE (Stefanis 212 = *CAD* p. 192, 160; *SEG* 3.334; *TrGF* 1, p. 189–93): "Writer of satyr play (σατυρογράφος): L. Marios Antiochos of Corinth"[74]
- Victors in a festival honoring the goddess Rome, Magnesia on the Meander, second half of second century BCE (*CAD*, p. 200, 164; *SIG*³ 1079; *TrGF* 1, p. 134): "the following won the contest of the Romaia as poets of new dramas: . . . Of satyrs: Theodoros, son of Dionysios, with the drama *Thytes*"

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[71] Instead of Ἀτλαν[τι, Körte restore the line Ἀτλαν[τίδες, but it seems unlikely that the chorus of a revived satyr play would be made up of female characters rather than satyrs.

[72] Further, satyr play is the only known dramatic genre with a play named *Hermes*. The author of this particular "old" satyr play is conjectured to be Astydamas, based on the fact that he is the only author known to have composed a play by this name.

[73] The following list is extracted and excerpted from Stephanis and *CAD*. On satyr drama in ancient inscriptions, also see Ghiron-Bistagne (1991, 101–19).

[74] This figure is also listed as "Poet of new comedy: L. Marios Antiochos of Corinth . . . Actor of new tragedy: L. Marios Antiochos of Corinth."

- Delphic honorary decree, 105 BCE (*CAD* p. 249–52, 44; *SIG*3 711): "poets of satyrs" (five names)
- Participant at the Delphic Pythaides, second or first century BCE (Stefanis 394): "poet of satyrs: Ariston, son of Menelaos, of Athens"
- Participant at the Delphic Pythaides, second or first century BCE (Stefanis 677): "poet of satyrs: Diogenes, son of Diogenes, of Athens"
- Victors in a festival honoring the goddess Rome, Magnesia on the Meander, first half of first century BCE (*CAD* p. 200, 164; *SIG*3 1079): "the following won the contest of the Romaia as poets of new dramas: …Of satyrs: Polemon, son of Neon"
- Victors in a festival honoring the Charities in Orchomenus, first century BCE (Stefanis 153): "poet of satyrs: Aminias, son of Demokles, of Thebes"
- Victors in a festival honoring the Charities in Orchomenus, first century BCE (Stefanis 462): "poet of satyrs: Asklepiodoros, son of Pytheas, of Taras"
- Competition at the festival for the Egyptian god Sarapis, Tanagra in Boeotia, c. 85 BCE (*CAD* p. 193–96, 161; *SEG* 19.335): "poet of satyrs: Alexander, son of Glaukos, of Tanagra"
  …"to Alexander poet of satyrs a crown @ 3 gold 4 ½ obols; and to Athenion, son of Nikarchos, of Anthedon, second prize of 40 Attic <silver drachmas>"

These inscriptions demonstrate a continued interest in satyr play as a separate genre for centuries in areas as diverse as the Cycladic islands, the Greek mainland, and the eastern Aegean coast of Asia Minor. The inscription from Thespiae in Boeotia is especially interesting because the victor in satyr drama, L. Marius Antiochus, was also victorious with a New Comedy, suggesting a continued link between comedy and satyr play in the second century. And the fact that he has a distinctly Roman name raises the question of satyr drama's role in the Roman world, as do the inscriptions from Magnesia, which record satyr plays at a festival in honor of the goddess Rome.

Rome

Despite the lack of satyric literary remains from Rome, Wiseman (1988) catalogues many interesting examples of satyrs in Roman art and imagination, and suggests numerous possible themes for possible satyr plays. There are also a number of very clear references to satyric performances, all of which have connections to humorous abuse, farce, or comedy. Fabius Pictor, for example, in his description of the *ludi Romani*, notes that the *pompa* from the Capitol to the Circus Maximus included *satyristai*, choruses of satyrs dancing and making fun of people.[75] And Pomponius Porphyrio (early third c. CE) in his commentary on *Ars Poetica* 221 notes that Lucius Pomponius (fl. 89 BCE) wrote three satyr plays (*satyrica*): *Atalanta,*

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[75] Dionysius of Halicarnassus, 7.72.1–13 = Q. Fabius Pictor, *FRH*² 1 fr. 20.

Sisyphus, and *Ariadne*. Although Pomponius is best known for making the Atellan farce into a literary form, he is also linked with other humorous performances, the *praetexta, togata*, and satyr drama. In fact, in addition to the three satyr plays listed by Porphyrio, many of Pomponius' seventy extant titles would be suitable for satyric performance, and three in particular leave little doubt that they included satyrs: *Marsyas, Satura*, and the tantalizingly titled *Satyra* ("She-Satyr").[76] Cicero also alludes to the production of a satyr play in a letter from late August 54 to his brother Quintus, who was on the British front in Caesar's camp, (Ep. 20, II.16): ‘Συνδείπνους’ Σοφοκλέους, quamquam a te <f>actam fabellam video esse festive, nullo modo probavi (I don't at all approve of Sophocles' *Banqueters*, though I see you have made an amusing little play). Why Cicero does not approve of Quintus' satyr play is uncertain, but he may have been troubled by the intent of the reproduction. In Sophocles' play, Achilles is treated poorly, and Quintus may have been drawing parallels to Caesar in a manner that critiqued the general.[77] Despite the potential political implications, Cicero still admires the humorous elements, noting that it was produced *festive*. Athenaeus (*Deip.* 261c) records that Nicolaus of Damascus (*FGrH* 90 F 75) also linked the famous Roman general Sulla (138–79) with satyric performance in his *History*: "[he] loved to laugh and enjoyed mimes and comedians so much that he used to give them large tracts of public land. The satyric comedies Sulla wrote in his native language attest to the joy he took in matters of this sort."[78] Nicolaus notes that Sulla composed σατυρικαὶ κωμῳδίαι in his native language (most likely referring to the fact that satyr plays were more typically performed in Greek than in Latin), drawing particular attention to the integration of satyrs and comedy. The most famous Roman reference to satyr drama is found in Horace's *Ars Poetica*, where the poet digresses into a lengthy discussion of appropriate satyric style, noting that satyrs are "laughers/mockers" (*risores*) who tell jokes (*iocum*).[79]

Although these glimpses into satyr drama in Rome provide at least as many questions as answers, they show a sustained interest in the genre and a sustained comic-satyric connection into the Roman Republic. The latest reference to a satyric performance comes from well into the Roman Empire. It is found on a funerary epigram from the Turkish port city of Amastris on the Black Sea that was erected upon the death of Aemilianus in 155 CE:

ἔτος μὲν ἦν τριακοστὸν ἤδη μοι τόδε, | ἔθηκε δ' Αἰμιλιανὸν ὄνομά μοι πατήρ, | ὃν ἔθρεψε Γέμινος, εἷς ἀνὴρ τῶν εὐγενῶν· | παρ' ἐμπύροις δὲ κῶμον Εὐΐῳ θεῷ || τριετῆρι τελετὴν μυστικῶς ἀνήγαγον | καὶ γυμνασίων δὲ σεμνὸς ἐγενόμην,

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[76] Cf. Wiseman (1988, 3). Lucretius IV.1169 also uses *Satyra* as a "she-satyr" in the same verse that he mentions *Silena* ("She-Silen").

[77] Cf. Wiseman (1988, 10). Shackleton Bailey (2002, 141) proposes that the text should read *bono modo* rather than *nullo modo*.

[78] Trans. Olson (2008), but I alter his version, which says "satiric," because the adjective σατυρικαὶ must refer to satyrs unless this is an error in the text of Athenaeus.

[79] For more on Horace and satyr drama, see the Conclusion.

ἴδρις | πάλης, ἄκοντος, πανκρατίου, δίσκου, τρόχου, | ἄλματος, ἀπάντων
εὐρύθμων σφαιρισμάτων | ὧν εἰς ἕκαστον ἐπόνεσεν τροφεὺς ἐμός, ‖ σατύρῳ
τε ἐνείκων Κύζικον καὶ Πέργαμον | καὶ Κυζίκου μὲν αὐτὸς ἤνεγκα στέφος, |
τὸ Περγάμου δὲ μοῖρα ἀπήνεγκεν πικρὰ | καί μου τὸ σῶμα Δωρίας ἐπὶ χθονὸς
| ἐμάρανε δαίμων, ὀστᾶ δ' ἐν πάτρῃ λαβών ‖ τροφεὺς Γέμινος λάρνακα ἐς
λιθίνην θέτο | αἰωνίοις στεφάνοισιν ἐπικοσμούμενα. | εκς' πρὸ α΄ καλ(ανδῶν)
Σεπτεμβρίων, | Λώου ζι'. [80]

It was now my thirtieth year. My father named me Aemilianus. Geminos,
a man of the nobility, brought me up. In the presence of burning incense
(or: burnt offerings), I led the band of revelers (*kômos*) mystically in the
rite for the triennial god Euios (i.e., Dionysos). I was also revered in the
gymnasia and experienced in wrestling, javelin-throwing, kick-boxing (*pan-
kration*), discus-throwing, circular racing (or: using a hoop), jumping, and
all rhythmic ball playing, each of which my foster-father taught me. I won
with a satyr play (or: satyr dance) at Kyzikos and Pergamon. At Kyzikos
I myself won the crown, but at Pergamon cruel fate carried off the crown.
Misfortune withered my body on Dorian soil, but Geminos my foster-father,
carrying my bones to my homeland, placed them into a stone chest which
was adorned with eternal crowns. Year 225, 31 August, Loos 17

Trans. Harland in Ascough et al. 2012[81]

In this verse epigram commissioned by Geminus, the Roman-named
Aemilianus is praised for his athletic capabilities, but his most significant hon-
ors were leading the ritual *kômos* for Dionysus and twice winning "with a satyr"
(σατύρῳ). These satyr competitions at Cyzicus and Pergamum may or may
not denote satyr drama. Demetrius uses the same singular noun (σάτυρον)
to refer to satyr play at *De Elocutione* 169, but the genre was more typically
designated by the plural noun (σάτυροι) or the adjectival form plus the word
drama (σατυρικὸν δρᾶμα). Regardless of the precise reference, the inscription
clearly alludes to some sort of satyric play or dance, and Aemilianus' particular
connections to the *kômos* may indicate a continued religious role for satyrs
and satyric performance. Although the inscription does not say where he per-
formed the *kômos* or why he was granted this particular honor, it may have
been for his success in satyric performance, a fitting reward for victories as a
Dionysian satyric figure.

With Aemilianus' epigram, we return to our starting point and the religious
connections between satyrs, satyric play, and the *kômos*. Satyr drama had always
been a separate mode of performance, from its importation into Athens in the
sixth century through its lengthy stretch as the fourth play in the tragic te-
tralogy. However, when it was separated from tragedy around the middle of the
fourth century, satyr drama flourished, gaining in popularity and remaining

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[80] *SEG* 35 (1985), no. 1327.
[81] Cf. Marek (1993, 64n426).

detached from the tragic competition from that point on. Authors experimented with satyric performance and even shifted satyr play into the generic territory of Old Comedy, using parabasis-like elements, more diverse meters, and the satirical abuse known as ὀνομαστὶ κωμῳδεῖν. As the festivals evolved in different parts of the Greco-Roman world, satyr play was staged alongside and on equal status with tragedy and comedy well into the Common Era.

| Conclusion

SATYR DRAMA IN ANCIENT Greece had a complex relationship with tragedy and comedy, sharing formal associations with the former and conceptual connections with the latter. The complexities of this relationship are captured on a red-figure volute crater from around 430 (fig. 7.1). Two satyrs, both named Simos (Snub-nosed), run toward two Maenads, named *Kômôidia* and *Tragôidia*. Tragedy holds a thyrsus in her hand and looks back at the satyr as he just barely touches her himation, and Comedy runs forward, similarly looking back but just outside the satyr's reach. The satyrs flank the maenads and dash toward them, giving the appearance that *Kômôidia* and *Tragôidia* are about to crash unknowingly into each other. But the repeated name Simos indicates that both satyrs are the same figure, and that the artist has combined into one frame two separate scenes, each of which depicts virtually the same event. The vase provides an allegorical depiction of the theater, with all three dramatic genres personified as symbolic mythological characters dwelling in the world of Dionysian imagery. Simos is only one satyr, but he chases both Tragedy and Comedy at the same time, just as satyr drama is only one genre, but is linked with both tragedy and comedy at the same time.

Satyr plays ran the spectrum of styles, with some poets of satyr drama preferring to "chase" tragedy, while others pursued comedy.[1] The same was also true of ancient representations of satyr play by artists and literary critics. Aristotle, for example, only mentioned the genre indirectly, stressing its historical connections with tragedy to match his binary theory of poets and poetry. Demetrius similarly appears to prioritize the genre's tragic associations, describing the genre as "playful tragedy" (τραγῳδίαν παίζουσαν).[2] Even during the Roman Republic and Empire, well after satyr drama's dissolution from the tragic competition and its close relationship to satirical comedy, a Flavian-era artist represented a theatrical troupe preparing for a satyr play in a

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[1] On the substantial range of possibilities, see the differences between Euripides' *Cyclops* and Python's *Agen* discussed in chapter 6.

[2] As we saw in chapter 1, however, the context from which this phrase is taken actually connects satyr drama more closely to comedy than to tragedy.

FIGURE 7.1 Attic volute krater with stand (detail), *ca.* 430, attributed to the Leucippid Painter. New York, Fletcher Fund, 1924 (24.97.25a, b). © The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Image source: Art Resource, NY.

decidedly tragic context (fig. 7.2). At the House of the Tragic Poet in Pompeii, a mosaic depicts a chorus leader sitting on the left, wearing a style of himation typically found on fourth-century statues of Attic dramatists, and in the rear-center a figure standing between two columns reads from a text. The aulos player, who wears a mask and elaborate dress, stands just left of center, while on the right, an assistant helps an actor get into the shaggy white costume of Silenus, and two choreuts already wearing their furry shorts stand to the far left, engaged with the poet. A tragic mask sits on the table, and a box on the floor contains another tragic mask as well as a mask of Silenus. These tragic touches suggest that the artist was looking back from imperial Rome and constructing satyr drama in its classical Athenian form, as a Greek theatrical genre linked closely with tragedy.[3]

Horace also looks back to satyr drama's classical mode in his *Ars Poetica* (220–50), offering the fullest extant treatment of satyr drama from the ancient world.

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[3] Beazley (1955, 14) suggests that it is a reproduction of a fourth-century Greek painting. See Hall (2006, 40).

FIGURE 7.2 Choreographer and actors, mosaic from the House of the Tragic Poet in Pompeii, 1ˢᵗ century CE. Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale. Photo Credit: Vanni / Art Resource, NY.

Carmine qui tragico uilem certauit ob hircum, 220
mox etiam agrestis Satyros nudauit et asper
incolumi grauitate iocum temptauit eo quod
inlecebris erat et grata nouitate morandus
spectator functusque sacris et potus et exlex.
Verum ita risores, ita commendare dicacis 225
conueniet Satyros, ita uertere seria ludo,
ne quicumque deus, quicumque adhibebitur heros,
regali conspectus in auro nuper et ostro,
migret in obscuras humili sermone tabernas,
aut, dum uitat humum, nubes et inania captet. 230
Effutire leuis indigna tragoedia uersus,
ut festis matrona moueri iussa diebus,
intererit Satyris paulum pudibunda proteruis.
Non ego inornata et dominantia nomina solum

uerbaque, Pisones, Satyrorum scriptor amabo, 235
nec sic enitar tragico diferre colori
ut nihil intersit Dauusne loquatur et audax
Pythias, emuncto lucrata Simone talentum,
an custos famulusque dei Silenus alumni.

<div align="right">Horace, Ars Poetica 220–39</div>

The poet who contended in tragic song for the sake of an insignificant goat soon also stripped wild satyrs of their clothes, and in a rough manner, with his dignity unharmed, attempted jokes because it was only by enticements and pleasing novelty that the spectator, having performed the sacred rites and having become drunk and reckless, was going to remain in the audience. But it is appropriate to render the satyrs agreeable in their laughter and mockery and to exchange the serious for the playful so that no god, no hero is brought on who, having just been seen in regal gold and purple, then moves into the humble hovel of low-class diction; or, while avoiding the lowly earth, reaches for empty clouds. Tragedy, indignant at spouting frivolous verses, like the matron who is asked to dance on a holiday, appears with some shame, among the impudent Satyrs. I would not, O Pisos, as a writer of satyric drama, be fond only of unadorned and commonly used nouns and verbs; nor shall I strive so much to differ from the tone of tragedy that it makes no difference if Davus is speaking with the audacious Pythias who, having swindled Simo, now has gained for herself a talent's worth of silver, or the speaker is Silenus, guardian and servant of the divine fosterchild (Dionysus).

<div align="right">Trans. adapted from Hardison and Golden 1995</div>

After a brief history of the genre, Horace constructs satyr play as a theatrical genre that is separate from and between both tragedy and comedy (*de medio*, 243),[4] but he takes particular pains to separate satyr drama from comedy despite its jokes (*iocum*, 222), its playfulness (*ludo*, 226), and its laughable (*risores*) and sarcastic (*dicacis*) satyrs. He observes that the first tragedians to produce satyr drama maintained their dignity (222), and that the heroes and gods maintained their nobility (228), without using language found in taverns (229). He then moves to present-day Rome, noting that he, as an author of satyr plays, would not be overly fond of base language (234–35) or speech typically used by comic characters (237–38) because, in his opinion, the rustic satyrs (siluis deducti…fauni, 244) should not rattle off dirty and shameless jokes (ne…inmunda crepent ignominiosaque dicta, 247).

Implicit in Horace's advice is the recognition that some poets of satyr play had gotten carried away by the humorous elements of satyr drama. Over the

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[4] As Brink puts it in his commentary on the passage, "The layout and style of the section are entirely governed by the Horatian idea of Satyric drama as a middle form between tragedy and comedy." Cf. Griffith (2008, 75–76) and Plotnick (1979, 335), who also suggest that Horace saw satyr drama as a "middle" genre.

previous 500 years, dramatists had often pushed the genre too far into comedy's territory,[5] leading Horace now to stress the importance of keeping satyr drama distinct from comedy. This warning sounds very similar to Mark Griffith's (2010, 50) lament that "modern productions, reconstructions, and discussions tend often to overdo the ithyphallism and comic elements [of satyr drama]." Horace's and Griffith's critiques are appropriate for certain periods and certain productions of satyr play, but they do not change the reality of the genre's evolution and its relationship to comedy. During the archaic period before comedy and satyr drama were officially introduced at the Athenian City Dionysia, they interacted as less-differentiated, humorous *kômos* performances in various areas of Greece, and just before the start of the fifth century, satyr drama was formalized as an official mode of drama. Although its function was to reintroduce a religious, Dionysian element to the festival, it also served as humorous theater, employing a wide range of "comic" styles. During the next century, poets of satyr play interacted with Epicharmean comedy, and Epicharmus also found inspiration in satyric play, but within a few decades, the repeated use of a satyr chorus probably motivated the formal institution of comic drama, which allowed for a much wider range of humorous choruses. The introduction of comedy brought about the decline of most of its various precursors, but not the decline of satyr play, which (in theory, if not in practice) maintained its religious function at the festival. Both genres continued to interact as they became progressively more differentiated during the fifth century, until the period of the Decree of Morychides, when Euripides' *Alcestis*, as well as a range of comic poets and vase painters, drew attention back to the historical and linguistic relationship between satyrs, satyr play, *kômos*, and *kômôidia*.

After this dialogue developed in Athens, the genres became less differentiated, especially as comic poets of the fourth century appropriated numerous characteristic elements of fifth-century satyr plays. Comedy brought about the decline of satyr drama, just as it had with its pre-comic forerunners. Satyr play was reduced to an opening act, but with so little tying the genre to its own literary tradition (only the single performance from a year earlier), poets of satyr drama experimented with the form and content of their plays, even adopting the increasingly less popular features of Old Comedy, such as looser meters, parabases, paratragedy, and the abuse of contemporary figures. Over the next few centuries, while New Comedy reigned in Greece and Rome, satyric performance held on in various forms ("new," "old," processional, and even as "satyr comedies"), nearly always preserving a connection to comic performance and sometimes even to the religious *kômos*. Unlike tragedy and satyr drama, which always had the chorus of satyrs as a distinct generic divider, comedy and satyr drama "ran into each other, precisely like colours,"[6] and they evolved together for over half a millennium in an interconnected game of comic and satyric play.

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[5] It would be impossible to push satyr drama too far into tragedy's territory, so long as the "laughable" and "insolent" satyrs were present.

[6] Home, Lord Kames (1762, v.3, 219)

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