Strattis, Tragedy, and Comedy

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Abstract

This study comprises a translation, textual commentary, and discussion of the fragments of the Old comic dramatist Strattis which engage with tragedy. It forms the centre of a wider examination of the art of paratragedy and tragic parody in Old Comedy because paratragedy represents the earliest reception of tragedy and one that is contemporary with the initial live performances of tragic plays. Ancient and modern scholarship alike has viewed Aristophanes as the dominant figure in the art of paratragedy and tragic parody. Strattis, a contemporary of Aristophanes, was active in the late fifth and early fourth centuries BC and the fragments of his comedies indicate a sustained and wide ranging interaction with contemporary tragedy which is rivalled only by Aristophanic comedy. This is particularly remarkable since the extant corpus of Strattis numbers less than ninety fragments.

This work explores the phenomenon of paratragedy beyond Aristophanic paratragedy and raises awareness of the importance of Strattis in this respect. It begins with a survey of paratragedy in other non-Aristophanic fragments of Old Comedy and it examines the various ways that comedy engages with tragedy, indicating the depth and breadth of paratragedy in comic fragments. This provides the foundations on which to examine the fragments of Strattis through a text, translation and commentary on those fragments that engage with tragedy. It leads to a discussion of the works of Strattis overall for their use of tragedy and myth, which allows us to note characteristics of Strattis' work. This enables a comparison of the paratragedy in the comedies of Strattis and Aristophanes which allows us to reassess the uniqueness of Aristophanic paratragedy and to consider reasons for the popularity of paratragedy in the late fifth century BC.

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Abbreviations

CGFP   Austin, C. *Comicorum Graecorum Fragmenta in Papyris Reperta* (Berlin, 1973).

FGrH   Jacoby, F. *Fragmente der griechischen Historiker* (Berlin, 1923-).

IG II²   Kirchner, J. *Inscriptiones Graecae. Voluminis II et III editio minor. Inscriptiones Atticae Euclidis anno posteriores* (Berlin, 1913-40).

LIMC   J. Boardman et al. *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae* (Zürich, 1981-1999).

LGPN   Fraser, P.M. & Matthews, E. *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names* vol. 1-5 (Oxford, 1987-2005).

PCG   Kassel, R. & Austin, C. *Poetae Comici Graeci* (Berlin, 1983-).

PMG   Page, D.L. *Poetae Melici Graeci* (Oxford, 1962).

TrGF   Snell, B., Radt, S.L., Kannicht, R., *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta* vol. 1-5 (Göttingen, 1971-2004).

Comic fragments follow the numbering in *PCG* and tragic fragments follow that in *TrGF*. The modern editions for secondary sources of the comic fragments are those listed in *PCG* but with the following additions:

Athenaeus. The Learned Banqueters vol. I-III. Olson, S.D. (London & Cambridge, MA, 2006-2008).

Etymologicum magnum genuinum. Symeonis etymologicum una cum magna grammatica. Etymologicum magnum auctum vol. 2. Lasserre, F. & Livadaras, N. (Athens, 1992).

Harpocration. Lexeis of the Ten Orators. Keaney, J.J. (Amsterdam, 1991).

Hesychii Alexandrini lexicon, vol. 3 (Π-Σ). Hansen, P.A. (Berlin & New York, 2005).

Scholia in Aristophanem. Pars 2, Scholia in Vespas, Pacem, Aves et Lysistratam. Koster, W.J.W., Holwerda, D., Hangard, J. (Groningen, 1978-1996).

Scholia in Aristophanem. Pars 3, Scholia in Thesmophoriazusas, Ranas, Ecclesiazusas et Plutum. Chantry, M. & Regtuit, R.F. (Groningen, 1994-2007).

1   Introduction

There is a unique bond that exists among the playwrights of Old Comedy, the tragedy of that period, and the audience of Attic drama because both audience and comic poet are receivers of tragedy and reactors to it. The tragedy used by Old comic poets was live action, raw, error-strewn, and the same as that which the audience of Old Comedy could see. Year upon year at the City Dionysia and other festivals (the Lenaia and *deme* festivals) tragedy was performed alongside comic plays. Old Comedy is an unparalleled source of evidence that provides a contemporary reaction to tragedy during the time of its performances and comic poets present this reaction to tragedy before the audience of these same tragedies. In terms of the immediate reception of tragedy by comic authors, there is no equivalent extant source. Aristophanes is the main exponent of this interaction, termed paratragedy, in part because he is the only poet of Old Comedy for whom complete plays survive. Unfortunately the very fact that the medium of comedy, which is by nature both so fluid and ambiguous, transmits this almost instantaneous response to tragedy results in its frequent dismissal as a source of any real worth. Yet it is based on the above formulation of the relationship between tragic stage, comic poet and the audiences of Attic drama that the work of this thesis arises which is centred around the little-known comic poet, Strattis.

This thesis aims to elucidate the role, recurrence, and popularity of tragedy in the work of one poet, Strattis, believing him to be a highly important figure in the development of paratragedy. This is both based on our knowledge of Aristophanes' use of tragedy and with the awareness that both poets were contemporaries, producing plays in the late fifth and early fourth century BC. This work is concerned with the comic poets' exploitation of tragedy and it explores the

popularity of this in the case of Strattis in particular. Through examining the relationship of Old Comedy and tragedy it is possible to gain a reading of the works of Strattis that reveals something of the nature of his own close and frequent interaction with tragedy. In order to interpret Strattis' interest in tragedy we need to gain what insights we can into the poetry of Strattis that is extant which interacts with the tragic arts. From this perspective we can see how integral the creative arts, and especially tragedy, are to Strattis' work. Then we can place the evidence from the comic fragments of Strattis in the context of our wider knowledge of Aristophanes and his interaction with tragedy.

Aristophanes is renowned in both ancient and modern authors alike for his love of tragedy. His contemporary, Kratinos (fr. 342), spoke of εὐριπιδαριστοφανίζειν "to euripid-aristophanise" referring to a perceived link between the tragic poet Euripides and Aristophanes, in the early years of the latter's career. The scholia on Aristophanes' eleven extant plays and other later sources, through to those of our own era also recognise Aristophanes' reliance on, and love of, tragedy, particularly Euripidean.[1] Critics such as Murray in 1933 can say of Aristophanes: "He loved all poetry; he loved perverting it and laughing at it".[2] Meanwhile Wycherley more specifically considers that "Lines of Euripides were obviously running through his [Aristophanes'] head continually. He was simply steeped in Euripides",[3] whereas Nietzsche saw the relationship as destructive in its aims, as did Cartledge and Bowie much later.[4] The fact that Rau could devote an entire work to

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[1] E.g. Schol. Ar. *Akh*. 398a-c: σκώπτει πάλιν τὸν Εὐριπίδην...; schol. Ar. *Akh*. 401: διαβάλλει τὸν Εὐριπίδην...; schol. Ar. *Pe*. 147b, 148: κωμῳδεῖ δὲ τὸν Εὐριπίδην ὡς χωλοποιόν.

[2] Murray 1933: 106.

[3] Wycherley 1946: 99.

[4] Nietzsche, *The Birth of Tragedy* 17: "Aristophanes' sure instinct certainly grasped things correctly when he expressed the same hatred of Socrates himself, the tragedy of Euripides, and the music of the new exponents of the dithyramb, for he scented the characteristics of a degenerate culture in all three phenomena" (translation from Geuss & Speirs 1999: 83). Cartledge 1990: 20 portrays Aristophanes as concerned that Euripides "was too comic"; Bowie 1993: 224 discusses *Thesmophoriazousai*: "The play begins as an ostensible defence of Euripides' plays about women, but ends as a massive critique".

cataloguing and analysing the use of tragedy in Aristophanic comedy is itself indicative of Aristophanes' deep involvement with tragedy. It is not surprising that Silk in 1993 says "Aristophanes' interest in tragedy is special".[5] More recently in 2006 a whole book, *Komoidotragoidia,* has appeared dealing with the relationship between comedy and tragedy, to which Aristophanes' plays are naturally central, while Platter's 2007 re-examination of Aristophanic Comedy and Bakhtin focuses on Aristophanes' inter-genre games. Aristophanes is indeed an innovative dramatist. His use of tragedy is but one example of this and his preference for Euripidean drama has always been recognised.

The Old comic dramatist under consideration here, however, Strattis, has had no such favourable write-up in the ancient or modern world. In the ancient world he is ignored; Hellenistic and later scholarship was devoted to Aristophanes, Kratinos, and Eupolis alone and of the other poets mentioned in the works of their rivals there is not a single reference to Strattis (the same is also true for Platon, whose work is better preserved than that of Strattis). Similarly, later ancient authors rarely mention his work and do not discuss it in detail, aside from quoting a few lines from his plays for their own ends. Aristotle (*de sensu* 5, 443b 30) is the earliest author to show awareness of Strattis when he notes that Strattis (fr. 47) mocks Euripides. This lone instance offers a single point of perception for Strattis from the ancient world. In the modern, Strattis is an author used mainly for references in footnotes often on points of linguistic detail. Yet as will be argued here, Strattis shares Aristophanes' affection and talent for incorporating tragedy into his comedies. Strattis, like Aristophanes, provides us with an instantaneous response to fifth-century tragedy while Sophokles and Euripides were still alive and composing. Both comic poets also continue producing comedies that are reliant on Attic tragedy after the deaths of both Euripides and Sophokles. It is within this context that

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[5]   Silk 1993: 477.

this work approaches the fragments of Strattis.

Strattis is a comic poet of the late fifth and early fourth centuries BC. His extant work comprises ninety fragments in *PCG* and nineteen play titles. Of these ninety fragments, seventy-two are at least one line in length but none is more than eight lines long. His is a poorly preserved corpus. Strattis is also a contemporary of Aristophanes, whose interest in tragedy is well-documented, but Strattis too is worthy of serious consideration on this point and to date little attention has been paid to his work as whole. This thesis wishes to end this neglect of Strattis and in so doing, focus on the importance of his work for studies of paratragedy in Old Comedy. Therefore, the overarching aim of this thesis is to explore the use of tragedy as it appears in the works of Strattis, a poet of Old Comedy. This allows us to examine the role of tragedy in Old Comedy beyond Aristophanes.

The amount of scholarship, both ancient and modern, on Aristophanes and his relationship to tragedy leaves the case heavily weighted in favour of the "praegrandis senex"[6] being described as the master of paratragedy. This thesis focuses on the fragments of Strattis primarily, and other comic fragments where relevant, so as to provide a more cohesive picture of how Old Comedy as a whole interacted with the tragic plays around it.

Strattis' relationship to tragedy is a rare case of an individual's reaction to tragedy during the time of actual performances and premières of tragedy in the fifth and early fourth centuries BC. Strattis' and Aristophanes' response to tragedy, albeit tied up in their aims and creativity as comic poets, is a response to a real, live performance of tragedy, not to a text. The response

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[6]   Aristophanes, as described at Persius *Sat*. 1.124.

of comic poets to tragedy comes not purely from reading a tragic play but rather from watching it, hearing it and experiencing it and the atmosphere that it created amidst its audience. This work will try to take account of these factors in reading the relationship of tragedy to comedy.

On this point of using tragedy in comedies, Strattis is the most interesting among the poets of Old Comedy preserved in fragments because in his plays the connection with tragedy is frequent and pronounced. The veracity of this statement will be tested in Chapter 2 through an overview of all the fragments of the comic poets that engage with tragedy and then in the more detailed commentary on some of the fragments of Strattis in Chapter 3.

Tragedy acts as a guiding line for reaching a new interpretation of the fragments of Strattis' work. It allows us to see the poet's work as the unity of one author who subsumes tragic lines, plot and characters into his comedies. This form of using tragedy is rivalled only by Aristophanes. As Strattis' career is contemporary with, but also slightly later than, Aristophanes' this allows an extra analytical lens through which to study the relationship of tragedy and comedy.

This work presents an interpretation of the fragments of Strattis' plays by providing ideas of the content of the plays, their borrowings from Aristophanes, their own innovations and their heavy reliance on tragedy, particularly Euripidean. Once this has been laid out, we can then consider possible implications of Strattis' deep involvement with tragedy which was the poet's own conscious choice. In wishing to contextualise paratragedy and comedy's reaction to tragedy within our knowledge of Old Comedy, this work aims to move away from an

interpretative model which is Aristophanes-centred. We also need to realise how far transitions and developments in comedy relied on Euripides' work and how his work and dramatic methods were adopted by comic poets not only for parody but for much subtler usages in terms of shaping an entertaining plot, be it with greater emphasis on the tragic or comic tone.

Scholarship

Strattis is an author all too frequently relegated to academic footnotes. He has been the subject of little independent study in the history of classical scholarship, which will be discussed shortly. Since this thesis wishes to promote the fragments of the comedies of Strattis as playing an important role in the history of Old Comedy's relationship with tragedy, the question has to be asked: why is Strattis overlooked? Of course he has not been entirely forgotten but as noted earlier the lack of ancient interest in Strattis coupled with the highly fragmented remnants of his plays make interrogation of his work a daunting and frustrating task. Indeed, it is only in the last two decades, with the publication of *PCG*, that interest in any Old Comedy aside from that of Aristophanes has produced a high number of publications that interpret the fragments; notably Heath's article "Aristophanes and his rivals" (*G&R* 37, 1990), Dobrov's *Beyond Aristophanes: Transition and Diversity in Greek Comedy* (1995) and Harvey and Wilkins' *The Rivals of Aristophanes: Studies in Athenian Old Comedy* (2000).[7] Heath and Dobrov make no mention of Strattis while *Rivals* touches on Strattis' work briefly, as we shall see below. Olson's *Broken Laughter: Select Fragments of Old Comedy* (2007), the most recent product of this trend, tackles a variety of fragments and comic authors but his section "Reception of other poetry" contains only acknowledgement of Strattis' *Phoinissai* as

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[7]   Hereafter referred to as *Rivals.*

"probably a parody of Euripides' tragedy" and it does not consider the rest of Strattis' work.[8]

In addition, there are now a few academic works dedicated to individual comic poets, most notably Belardinelli et al. in *Tessere*; Storey, Torello, and Telò on Eupolis; and Bakola on Kratinos.[9] These are very recent works but they only cover poets with the best preserved corpora. The fragments for Strattis are neither as numerous nor as lengthy. Therefore, it is not surprising to find modern discussions of Strattis' work limited to generalisations which require further attention be paid to the actual fragments of Strattis. The point is demonstrable by a survey of recent scholarship on Strattis.

Before 2000 little notice is taken of Strattis as an individual poet and most citations of his work provide corroborating evidence for scholars in other fields,[10] sometimes on linguistic oddities.[11] Strattis is of course included in collections of comic fragments but there is little of use in Edmonds' 1957 presentation of comic fragments after Meineke, Bergk, and Kock,[12] which has now been comfortably superseded by *PCG*. Prior to the publication of volume VII of this work, which contained Strattis, Ropero Gutiérrez in 1985 had devoted a book to an edition of the fragments of Strattis in *Estratis: fragmentos* with translation and commentary. It is also the only published book dedicated solely to Strattis but it contains many errors and omissions. It was not well received, as Arnott's review makes clear: "Unfortunately its editress has proved unequal to what was admittedly a difficult task"[13] and the less critical

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[8] Olson 2007: 178. Olson does include Strattis' *Phoinissai* fr. 48 under the section "Aspects of Daily Life" but his focus is on the children's game involved in the fragment rather than on the parody of Euripides' *Phoinissai* (see commentary on *Phoinissai* fr. 48 in Chapter 3, p. 191 below).

[9] Belardinelli et al. 1998 includes commentary on Ameipsias, Kallias, and Metagenes; Storey 2003; Torello 2005 (doctoral thesis); Telò's 2007 Eupolis' *Demes* numbering some six hundred pages; Bakola 2009, forthcoming (*Cratinus and the Art of Comedy*).

[10] E.g. Tuplin 1996: 146 on Strattis' *Zopyros perikaiomenos*; McClure 2003 uses Strattis as a source, especially for Lagiska, as a way of looking at Athenaios' representation of *hetairai.*

[11] Dover 1987: Ch. 25 on Strattis *Phoinissai* fr. 49 and Boiotian dialect; Taplin 1993: 79 mentions Strattis once in a footnote on the early appearance of the verb παρατραγῳδῆσαι in Strattis *Phoinissai* fr. 50.

[12] Edmonds 1957: 812-37.

[13] Arnott 1988: 141.

review of Adrados.[14] Indeed after consultation of Ropero Gutiérrez's work, it is evident that *PCG* provides a more reliable and critical source for the fragments of Strattis. Lastly, it is worth mentioning two doctoral theses on the fragments of Strattis; the first by Meriani (1990-91) *Strattide. Testimonianze e frammenti* at the University of Pisa, a copy of which I have been unable to obtain, and secondly another doctoral thesis by Leonardo Fiorentini on Strattis, which is currently under construction at the University of Ferrara.

Strattis is mentioned in works that provide overviews of the development of comedy but these are only fleeting references. Strattis receives brief mention in Norwood's 1931 *Greek Comedy* as a "weak but pleasing poet" whose "repute was not high", presumably based on the low level of survival of Strattis' work.[15] Nesselrath's work on Middle Comedy in 1990 acknowledges Strattis on only one page, which notes the large number of titles of Strattis' plays which have a potential link with myth. He does not bring up tragedy here, and only considers hesitantly that between five and nine titles are of interest: " Ἀνθρωπορέστης (?), Ἀταλάντη (?), Λημνομέδα (?), Μήδεια, Μυρμιδόνες (?), Τρωΐλος, Φιλοκτήτης, Φοίνισσαι, Χρύσιππος".[16] Rosen, perhaps based on this, calls Strattis "a poet of Middle Comedy" without further explanation.[17] Storey and Allan provide the most recent summary of Strattis' career, albeit in a single paragraph.[18]

As these examples indicate, there has been little attempt made to interpret Strattis' work and its importance to the art of comic play composition. However, flashes of interest in Strattis' connection with tragedy pervade scholarship, albeit indirectly, in the work of Brozek,

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[14] Adrados 1988: 127.
[15] Norwood 1931: 32-3.
[16] Nesselrath 1990: 203.
[17] Rosen 1999: 148.
[18] Storey & Allan 2005: 208.

Geissler, Hunter, and Cannatá.[19] More recently, from 2000 onward, there have been some attempts to engage with Strattis' work but only on a generalised level. In a footnote reference, Silk labels Strattis as one who practises tragic burlesque, "who shows none of A's interest in tragedy and the tragic *per se*"[20] and again in another publication in 2000: "So far as one can judge from the meagre evidence, however, what Strattis cultivated was not plays dealing with tragedy, but burlesque of tragic-mythic subjects, as indicated by titles like *Medeia, Myrmidones, Troilos, Philoktetes, Phoinissai*".[21] Silk is at pains to separate Strattis' interaction with tragedy from that of Aristophanes. As these are footnote references it is neither fair nor possible to critique these remarks too much, except to say that by a thorough examination of Strattis' fragments as undertaken in this thesis, it is harder to see how such a division between Strattis and Aristophanes can be justified any more. Yet Silk is not alone in making this division, as seen from the bibliographic appendix in *Rivals* which describes Strattis' plays in the following brief manner: "many titles suggest tragic parody (blended with mythological burlesque)".[22]

Two other contributors to *Rivals*, Braund and (Angus) Bowie comment on Strattis and tragedy. Braund's article is devoted to Strattis' *Kallippides* which leads him to remark on Strattis' "interest in writing comedy on subjects drawn from the world of tragedy" but he mentions only Strattis' *Medeia*, *Philoktetes*, and *Phoinissai* in passing.[23] In contrast, Bowie provides the most complete overview of Strattis' work, albeit in two paragraphs, noting the

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[19] Brozek 1939: 12 observes that some of Strattis' play titles are also tragic, he mentions Strattis' *Kinesias* and Strattis' mockery of Hegelokhos; Geissler 1969: 58-9 notes the correlation between tragic parody and tragic titles in Strattis' work; Hunter 1981: 21-3 and Cannatá 1998: 198, n. 12 both acknowledge in passing that Strattis engages with tragedy significantly.

[20] Silk 2000a: 50.

[21] Silk 2000b: 312.

[22] Harvey & Wilkins 2000: 523 (the appendix is written jointly by K. Dover, W.G. Arnott, N.J. Lowe, and D. Harvey).

[23] Braund 2000: 152. See also the commentary on Strattis' *Kallippides* in Chapter 3, p. 145 below.

variety of tragic myths used by Strattis.[24]

Lowe, in the same work, notes the range of tragedy that Strattis, among others, interacted with and talks of "a bloom of paratragedy"[25] but Lowe's aim is to trace the path of tragic myth on the comic stage so that Strattis receives little discussion in his own right, except for an interesting comment (yet again via a footnote) that Strattis is "the paratragedist *par excellence*". Lowe explains that this is because in his comic *Myrmidones*, Strattis alone parodied the Trojan myth found in the *Iliad* and the comedy probably relates to Aiskhylos' own tragic *Myrmidones*.[26] These asides are in need of greater analysis and study; it is a mighty claim that Lowe makes of Strattis. Revermann continues along Lowe's line of thinking and discusses Strattis briefly as an example of a "paramythical comedy" writer (a term he prefers to the usual "mythological burlesque") and yet, as with Nesselrath and Silk before him, he gives incomplete lists of the relevant plays of Strattis.[27] The development of his ideas on Strattis is summed up later with an observant, albeit incomplete, suggestion about comedians and paratragedy: "Perhaps Aristophanes was trend-setting because of his penchant for paratragic episodes and/or an early and long obsession with Euripides (shared by Strattis?)".[28] This casual remark hints at a curiosity about Strattis' work and its relevance to ideas of paratragedy and is itself an indication that an attempt at clarifying this relationship and at interpreting the works of Strattis is long overdue.

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[24] Bowie 2000: 323-4.
[25] Lowe 2000: 268.
[26] Lowe 2000: 269.
[27] Revermann 2006: 101 lists only *Medeia, Philoktetes, Phoinissai, Troilos,* and later *Lemnomeda* without mention of *Anthroporestes, Khrysippos, Atalantos, Iphigeron, Myrmidones.*
[28] Revermann 2006: 102.

Methods and problems

The case is now clearly made that it is both worthwhile and timely to take a detailed look at the fragments of Strattis and that by examining his use of tragedy we can gain some interesting results from a poet whose corpus is so small and the length of individual fragments so short. Yet there are a number of problems that present themselves to such a work, most of which are insoluble and must be worked with rather than removed.

With fragments there is always the need to work with the material we have, with an awareness of the large amount of text lost, but with the knowledge that any amount of hypothetical and conjectural thinking cannot conjure up that lost text. Ours is forever a modern reworking of an ancient text. This is not to dismiss the use of supposition but rather to make it clear that its role is limited, yet vital, to any attempt to interpret fragmentary texts.

There are roughly 15,000 lines of Aristophanic text from his eleven extant comedies (though note the lack of text for choruses in his later plays), which gives an average length of 1390 lines per play. By comparison, the entirety of our knowledge of Strattis' nineteen plays does not come to one hundred whole lines; not even a tenth of the length of one Aristophanic play. This graphic example is not intended to undermine the work of this thesis but rather to put it in perspective and to make clear the bias that is innate in any work on Old Comedy. The greatest part of our knowledge about Old comic plays comes from Aristophanes' work. Therefore, Aristophanes' work wields an interpretative power over all other readings of the comic fragments. As long as we realise that the works of Aristophanes cannot help but overshadow that of Strattis and the other playwrights of Old Comedy then we are in a position

to adopt Aristophanic comedy into the work on Strattis and any interpretations of his plays. After all, without the Aristophanic corpus, the interest in Strattis' use of tragedy would not perhaps have arisen in scholarship. The complexities of these problems are explored where relevant in Chapter 2 and with the comparison of Aristophanes and Strattis in Chapter 5.

There is also the importance of the relative contexts for survival of Aristophanes' plays and Strattis' fragments. The fragments of Strattis are handed down to us solely via secondary sources, each writing with their own aims in mind, be it etymological (as is frequent in Athenaios), or as a comparative instance (e.g. in the scholia on dramatic and other works, or papyrus commentaries) where Strattis' work is cited so that it provides a comparison to, or example of, the point made by this secondary source. This has two main implications; firstly that our knowledge of Strattis is dependent on the whims of these secondary sources, and secondly that we therefore lack a definitive edition of Strattis' plays. There is no evidence of a singular collection of his work together in one form made in the ancient world. Therefore, each fragment has its own literary and textual tradition. The variety of sources can help with the formation of a text for Strattis, but at the same time the number of the sources automatically increases the opportunity for errors in relaying the various fragments of Strattis. This is a problem faced by anyone working with fragments and is not specific to Strattis. These are all notable differences from the textual transmission of Aristophanes' plays. The saying, *absence of evidence is not evidence of absence* hangs over all of his work but is of little positive help, so small is the surviving amount of Strattis' plays.

The main argument of this work is that the level of Strattis' use of tragedy in the extant fragments reflects a trend in his overall work that we have now lost. This claim can neither be

wholly refuted nor proven, but hopefully through the work below, the evidence and analysis presented will make this concept more acceptable and worthy of note for scholars working on the relations between tragedy and comedy. The survival of these fragments presents a recurring pattern of interest to anyone looking at the links forged between Old Comedy and its dramatic counterpart, tragedy.

Chapter summary

The process of exploring Strattis' relationship with tragedy involves contextualisation of the phenomena of paratragedy (Chapter 2), presentation and analysis of Strattis' own work (Chapter 3-4), and then placing this in relation to our knowledge of Aristophanic paratragedy (Chapter 5). These issues are explored in the following chapters:

Chapter 2 will provide a frame of reference within which to place the works of Strattis and their interaction with tragedy. It will consist of an overview of other fifth- and fifth to fourth-century BC comic poets whose work interacts with tragedy on any level and so the chapter traces the history of this relationship. Aristophanes will not be included in this study because of the risk that he poses of overshadowing any work in the area of paratragedy, so extensive is his own interest with tragedy. An analysis of Aristophanes and Strattis together will be delayed until Chapter 5, once the groundwork for analysing Strattis is complete, which occurs in Chapters 3 and 4.

Chapter 3 presents a text, translation and commentary of Strattis' plays that involve an interaction with myth and a connection with tragedy. As this thesis uses Strattis primarily for his evidence of paratragic activity, plays which do not benefit this end have been excluded but

they will be called upon where necessary. All the fragments of the following plays are included in Chapter 3: *Anthroporestes, Atalantos, Iphigeron, Kallippides, Lemnomeda, Medeia, Myrmidones, Troilos, Philoktetes, Phoinissai,* and *Khrysippos*.

Once the importance of Strattis is established, there arises the question of why paratragedy develops into this more sophisticated form in the late fifth and early fourth centuries BC as seen in the plays of Aristophanes and Strattis. Chapters 4 and 5 will address this issue through summary and analysis of the fragments of Strattis, and by comparing his work with that of his contemporaries and Aristophanes.

Chapter 4 allows an in-depth discussion of Strattis' work and the theme of paratragedy that runs through it. Through summarising, grouping and discussing the examples of this we can for the first time consider the works of Strattis as a unity and as the representation of the creative output of a single comic poet.

Chapter 5 involves an analysis of our newly acquired knowledge of Strattis' comedies alongside the comedies of Aristophanes. Discussion will centre on the use of paratragic features and episodes in each poet's work. The estimated dating of Strattis' career makes him both a contemporary of Aristophanes and a composer who was still active after Aristophanes' career. The chapter contains discussion of Aristophanes' use of paratragedy in light of our investigations into Strattis. The aim is to provide a performance-focused reading of paratragedy in comic drama. Following some concluding remarks, Appendix 1 deals with the difficult question of dating Strattis' career and Appendix 2 contains images of *P. Oxy*. 2742 which is the source of both Strattis *Atalantos* fr. 4 and *Phoinissai* fr. 46.

2   An Overview of the Development of Paratragedy in Non-Aristophanic Comedy

In the case of the best preserved poet, Aristophanes, the theme of tragedy is a vital and frequently occurring one in his comic plays. To briefly summarise, Aristophanes uses the tragic arts to provide material for his comedies, and this often takes the form of literary parody and lampooning of tragedians and their techniques. A natural question that arises from these facts is how common was tragedy in the other poets of Old Comedy? Was Aristophanes' relationship with tragedy as unique as 20th c. scholarship has viewed it or is this a misconception due to the majority of Old comic plays being lost or else surviving in partial and (in the case of papyri) tattered fragments?

As Chapters 3-5 will indicate, Strattis' use of tragedy is extremely prominent to the extent that it enables a reading of the fragments of his plays that survive. Therefore, in order to justify the work of this thesis and its emphasis on the work of one fragmentary poet, Strattis, it is necessary to take into account the work of his contemporaries and predecessors. This chapter presents the data in the form of an overview of each poet's career, placing each poet in chronological order (where this is possible). The relevant fragments of each poet are presented with a text and translation and some explanatory comment. This section is followed by an overall analysis of the data gained from these various poets (p. 100 below).

The primary objective of this chapter is to provide a frame of reference within which to place the works of Strattis and their interaction with tragedy. Before moving to the fragments of Strattis himself it is important to broach the following questions: what was the history of

interaction of comedy with tragedy prior to his own career and what was the contemporary scene like? This is indeed a vital task; it helps both to elucidate aspects of this poorly preserved poet and to do so through examining the history of Old Comedy's relationship with tragedy. Therefore, this chapter will also be useful for placing Aristophanes' plays in the history of paratragedy.

Aristophanes is not included in this survey partly because Aristophanes would overshadow an account of the fragments and their use of tragedy. This would be true even if we were to only examine the fragments of Aristophanes' work (which currently number just under one thousand) since his interaction with tragedy is so extensive. In addition there is already Rau's seminal work on Aristophanic paratragedy, particularly the indices, which list incidences of Aristophanic paratragedy. Lastly, in this work the main analysis of Aristophanes and paratragedy occurs in Chapter 5 in comparison with our observations of Strattis' work. The present chapter wishes to focus on the less well known examples of paratragedy and the wider context for both Aristophanes' and Strattis' use of tragedy.

The above outline of the task in hand reveals several problems inherent in this exercise which cannot necessarily be overcome but should be recognised. Aside from the better preserved works of Kratinos, Eupolis, Pherekrates, and Platon, not one of the roughly forty remaining poets has more than one hundred lines of their whole corpus extant. Not one of the poets, including the better preserved, provides us with the text of a whole scene, as is frequently the case with the fragments of Menander. The hypothesis for Kratinos' *Dionysalexandros* (discussed later, p. 27) at least provides a rough overview of the comic play, but it is the only non-Aristophanic hypothesis to survive. The few Old comic fragments that are over one

hundred lines long are from the best preserved papyri and none of these contain a long, continuous text either across or down the page. Therefore, the surviving evidence will not be a fair representation of the actual ancient comic scene with regard to its use of tragedy. There is very little to be done with this fact but its interpretative effects are so great that it must be noted and remembered throughout the course of this chapter.

How is tragedy used in comedy?

By surveying the comic fragments for their use of tragedy we will discover the range of ways in which the comic poets exhibit aspects of tragedy in their comedies. These can be split into two broad groups. One half involves the mention of the actors, other performers, playwrights, organisers of tragedy, alongside a recognition of the audience's reaction, as well as comic engagement with the actual performance of tragic plays, its foibles and errors particularly in the use of the *mēkhanē* and its impact on the audience or Athenians in general. These aspects of tragedy are all outside the fictional events of the play and involve the technicalities of live performance, relevant to the contemporary and actual audience of the fifth- to fourth-century BC performances of comic and tragic plays. On the other hand there is mockery of the *contents* of the play; its characters, the style and artistic integrity of the poet, the over-use of alliteration, misquotation of tragic lines in comic contexts, the adoption of tragic scenes or schemata to underpin comic action. These examples are concerned with the fiction of tragedy and are of course the elements of tragedy that recur in late fourth- and early third-century BC Menandrian comedy since these do not rely on an audience seeing the tragic plays for the first time or perhaps even at all.

This chapter lists everything from the barest acknowledgement by a comic dramatist that tragedy exists all the way through to evidence of extended parody and/or adoption of tragic elements into a given comedy for any discernible use. There are many fragments which potentially relate to tragedy in some form, but the link is so dependent on the questionable interpretation of the fragment that these will not be included in this survey.

The ability for comic poets to mock the satyr dramas of tragedians as well as their tragedies is worthy of consideration when trying to understand the workings of tragic parody and paratragedy. Recent attempts by Bakola to read *Dionysalexandros* as a satyr drama have met with opposition from scholars, with Dobrov speaking of a firewall between satyr drama and comedy which separates the two as an extreme response to Bakola.[29] However, Storey's examination of satyrs in comedy concludes that "satyrs do and did belong in comedy".[30] Certainly in this survey the only evidence of comedy engaging with satyr drama comes from the presence of satyr choruses in comedy or where a comedy and satyr play share the same name.[31] This tells against Dobrov's idea of a firewall; if Euripides produces four plays a year, why would a comedian looking for material stop at three? Satyr plays are a product of those same authors who can be maligned for their tragedies and both tragedies and satyr plays use as their subject myths that are already well known to their audiences. They are as much a part of Athenian culture as tragedies and therefore a potential target for Old Comedy.

An important difference lies in the fact that satyr dramas are already comical (in a non-technical sense) since they provide burlesques of myths known to the audience from other

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[29] Bakola 2005: 46-58; Dobrov 2007: 251-66.
[30] Storey 2005: 201.
[31] Kratinos' *Dionysalexandros*; Phrynikhos' *Satyroi*, Kallias' *Satyroi*, Ekphantides' *Satyroi*; *Bousiris* is the title of a comedy by Kratinos and a satyr play by Euripides but there is no evidence of a link between the plays.

sources, including tragedy. Therefore, a comic play which engages with satyr drama does not have the same potential for jokes at the expense of high-style language and tone as can be found with paratragedy; the satyr drama is already that step closer to the comic play. Yet as comedy can be situated in the actual Athenian world, of which tragedy and satyr dramas are a part, both of these dramatic forms are open targets for comedy. Indeed comedy can frequently refer to current affairs openly in a way that tragedy and satyr plays rarely do (Phrynikhos' *Sack of Miletos* and *Phoinissai* and Aiskhylos' *Persai* are notable exceptions).

Finally it must be made clear that tragedy does not have any one function in the works of a comic poet. It is, in fact, the way that individual poets choose to interact with tragedy that is most interesting. Tragedy is a most malleable form when in the hands of comic artists. Therefore, the uses to which comic poets put tragedy is of great help for understanding the nature of an individual comic poet, not so much in their personal attitude toward tragedy and its function in society but rather in how they shaped the material of tragedy to their own creative ends. For example, Aristophanes and Eupolis can quote tragic lines as part of a political discourse within their comedies (e.g. in Aristophanes' *Akharnians* and Eupolis' *Demes*, discussed below, p. 68); it adds weight to their words but also comically differentiates itself from the surrounding comic tone set by other characters. Equally Strattis and Aristophanes can manipulate this difference in tone to mock the contents of a tragedy (e.g. in Aristophanes' and Strattis' *Phoinissai*, discussed in Chapter 5, p. 277). This contrast simplifies the subtler functions of tragedy in comedy but it is important for recognising the multifarious nature of the relationship between the two art-forms. After all, the comic poets were crowd-pleasers (as material in the *parabasis*, if nowhere else in their plays makes clear) and as such they catered for an audience of diverse tastes who would not all have enjoyed the work of

particular poets but the audience was unavoidably aware of tragedy and most probably had been part of an audience for a tragedy.

The survey

Twenty-five poets are included in this study. To put this in perspective we can note the following:

- The number of fifth- and fifth-fourth century BC poets listed in *PCG* is sixty-one.
- The number of these poets, once those with only a name or play-title extant are discounted, is roughly forty-eight.
- The most notable figures absent from the survey are: Magnes (eight titles and eight fragments), Ameipsias (seven titles and thirty-nine fragments), and Kephisodoros (four titles and fourteen fragments) since the fragments contained no relevant material that indicated any clear interaction with tragedy.

In the survey, the number of fragments allotted to each comic poet is based on the fragments recorded in *PCG* but this does not include their category of "Dubia" or doubtful fragments. This number is given under the author's name, alongside the number of comic titles recorded for that poet.

The poets are placed in a rough chronological order, using the earliest known date for any play, based on the victory-lists where possible and giving the relevant source for the dating information. This is with the hope of creating the most consistent chronology for the poets of Old Comedy at the price of some accuracy and it is based on the assumption that any

chronology for a range of poets as poorly preserved as these cannot be accurate in detail, only on a more generalised level.

Textual criticism is noted where it is relevant to interpreting the use of tragedy in the comic fragment, but fuller notes are provided in *PCG*. Translation of any fragment is difficult because it does not always make sense in itself as its very nature makes clear; a fragment is at its base a piece of text with incomplete meaning due to its removal from its original context within a comic play. In reading a translation of fragments, it is important to keep in mind that the lines preserved are often broken off in mid-discourse, or may offer the response to a question or comment that has not survived. Therefore, reading the translation itself may provide a misleading view of the fragments and so explanatory notes are included with each comic fragment to help provide what context there is to aid interpretation of the lines.

Categories

Three main classes emerge from the survey for categorising comedy's interaction with tragedy:

1). The mention of actors, tragedians or others involved in tragic performance, or even a tragedy itself. The mockery of these individuals indicates public awareness of these figures who are connected to tragedy, even if the joke is not always related to their role within a tragedy.

2). A comic play's content involves direct or generalised parody of tragic characters, tragic characterisation, tragic diction, tragic lines, tragic performance.

3). A more developed form of number two with extended scenes and set pieces that are reliant on a tragic model, sometimes using a tragic title and tragic characters in a comedy.

Khionides

(3 titles and 8 fragments) Earliest known production: 487/6 BC (Suda χ 318)

The data for Khionides' career and plays is not only very slim, it is also very late (aside from Aristotle's brief mention of Khionides at Arist. *Poet*. 3.1448a 33). According to the Suda (χ 318), Khionides produced plays eight years before the Persian wars. Notable in connection with this is the title *Persai* or *Assyrioi* for which there are no fragments. Yet given the early dating of Khionides' career it is possible to posit a link to Aiskhylos' own *Persai* (472 BC). The title *Persai* notably recurs in later comedies,[32] but most relevant here is the *Persai* of Epikharmos (a Sicilian comic poet active at the same time as Khionides) since Epikharmos shows engagement with Aiskhylos in Epikharmos fr. 221 (unknown play) which indicates that Epikharmos mocked Aiskhylos for his use of the verb τιμαλφούμενον (schol. (M) Aiskh. *Eum*. 626). This presents an example of comedy's early engagement with Aiskhylean drama.[33]

Athenaios is the earliest author to offer fragments of Khionides' work and he is the only source for *Ptokhoi*, of which fr. 4 is discussed below. Athenaios merely states that *Ptokhoi* is attributed to Khionides, rather than that he is the author,[34] and the mention of Kleomenes in *Ptokhoi* fr. 4 places the play too late for Khionides' career.[35] Therefore, discussion of *Ptokhoi* fr. 4 should be read with this in mind; there is no certainty about a date for the fragment, nor that it reflects the creative output of Khionides, one of the earliest known poets of Attic Old Comedy.

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[32] Pherekrates, Theopompos and Metagenes also wrote a comic *Persai*, while Anaxion of Mytilene wrote a satyr play called *Persai* of uncertain date.

[33] See schol. (VEΘ) Ar. *Fro*. 1028a (*TrGF*, vol. 3, test. 56a) for the claim that Aiskh. *Persai* was performed in Syracuse. For the evidence of Aiskhylos' stay in Sicily see *TrGF*, vol. 3, p. 61-2.

[34] Athen. *Deipn*. 14.638d and 4.137e contain the expression: ὁ δὲ τοὺς εἰς Χιονίδην ἀναφερομένους ποιήσας Πτωχούς… in description of *Ptokhoi*.

[35] Schol. Ar. *Cl*. 333a calls Kleomenes an associate of Kinesias and Philoxenos, and both were active in the last quarter of the fifth century BC.

***Ptokhoi* fr. 4:**

(Athen. *Deipn*. 14.638d-e)

> ταῦτ᾽ οὐ μὰ Δία Γνήσιππος οὐδ᾽ ὁ Κλεομένης
>
> ἐν ἐννέ᾽ ἂν χορδαῖς κατεγλυκάνατο

"No by Zeus, neither Gnesippos nor Kleomenes

have sweetened these things on their nine strings/chords"

The fragment contains criticism of the tragedian Gnesippos and of Kleomenes, whose association with the dithyrambic poets, Kinesias and Philoxenos may mean that he is the dithyrambic poet, Kleomenes of Rhegion.[36] Gnesippos' identity as a tragedian is doubted by some, most recently Davidson who focuses on Athenaios' description of Gnesippos as a *paigniagraphos* and links him to mime,[37] yet evidence to the contrary in Kratinos *Boukoloi* fr. 17 is strong (discussed below) and Hordern too has offered a comprehensive rebuttal.[38] For a very detailed discussion of Gnesippos' career and his possible musical innovations, see Cummings.[39] The speaker of *Ptokhoi* fr. 4 purports a certain dissatisfaction with the musical attempts of both individuals using their nine-stringed lyres, which is brought out metaphorically by οὐ μὰ Δία...κατεγλυκάνατο suggesting distaste on the part of the anonymous speaker. It is not clear what ταῦτ᾽ refers to, perhaps to the subject of the music which does not sit well with the music itself.

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[36] *PMG* 838.

[37] Davidson 2000: 41-64, especially p. 49 where Davidson admits that Gnesippos' identity as a tragic poet is still in question.

[38] Hordern 2003: 608-13 argues that the mimetic connection to *paignia* is not made until the second century (p. 609) but he does see Gnesippos as having lyric roots, possibly writing for symposia (p. 613).

[39] Cummings 2001: 38-53.

Kratinos

(29 titles and 504 fragments) Earliest known production: 450s BC (*PCG* vol. IV, p. 113, test. 2-6)

Kratinos mentions five tragic poets in a variety of plays: Gnesippos and Sophokles compared in *Boukoloi,* Gnesippos again in *Malthakoi* and *Horai,* Akestor in *Kleoboulinai,* Euripides and Philokles in unidentified plays, while *Horai* also contains reference to tragic performance and costume. Additionally Kratinos' engagement with tragedy emerges as one of the most complex among the fragments as displayed in *Drapetides* and *Seriphioi* where tragic themes and characters are absorbed into the comic action; *Drapetides* makes use of the theme of supplicants as found in tragedy while *Seriphioi* uses mythical characters, who appear separately in tragedy, alongside talk of tragic costume and chorus. This adoption of myth is common to Kratinos, and it is most clearly observable in his *Dionysalexandros*, a re-working of the contest of the three goddesses, in which the role of Paris is filled by Dionysos and satyrs appear on-stage, surely evoking satyr-drama in some form. There is no direct connection to tragedy in this play, but we do know that Sophokles composed a satyr-drama called *Krisis*, which involved Paris and the three goddesses.[40]

***Boukoloi* fr. 17:**

(Athen. Deipn. 14.638f)

> ὃς οὐκ ἔδωκ' αἰτοῦντι Σοφοκλέει χορόν,
>
> τῶι Κλεομάχου δ' ὃν οὐκ ἂν ἠξίουν ἐγὼ
>
> ἐμοὶ διδάσκειν οὐδ' ἂν εἰς Ἀδώνια

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[40] Krumeich et al. 1999: 356-62; see *TrGF,* vol. 4, p. 324-5.

"The man who didn't grant a chorus to Sophokles when

he requested it but instead gave one to Kleomakhos' son,

I wouldn't think him worthy to produce (a play) for me,

not even at the Adonia"

These lines simultaneously praise Sophokles and criticise Gnesippos, son of Kleomakhos (on whom see Khionides *Ptokhoi* fr. 4 above). The Adonia was a festival where women remembered Aphrodite's lover, Adonis and it was not open to men which would make it a poor place to present tragedy in the eyes of citizens and this explains the critical tone of "οὐδ' ἂν εἰς ᾿Αδώνια" (cf. Gnesippos' identity with erotic music in Kratinos *Horai* fr. 276 and Eupolis *Heilotes* fr. 148 and with adultery in Telekleides *Sterroi* fr. 36). The "man who didn't grant a chorus" in *Boukoloi* fr. 17 is the eponymous *arkhōn*, who was responsible for assigning a chorus to each tragedian. The fragment therefore touches on the issues of putting on a tragedy and the internal politics behind such choices, a theme that recurs much later in Strattis *Anthroporestes* fr. 1 over the performance of Euripides' *Orestes* (see p. 120 below). For Old Comedy, the affairs surrounding the performance of a tragedy are as worthy of note as the fictional content of the play.

Malthakoi **fr. 104:**

(Athen. *Deipn.* 14.638e)

τίς ἄρ' ἔρωτα † μοιδεν ὦ Γνήσιππε ἐγω πολλῆ χολη;

οἴομαι <◡> μηδὲν οὕτως μωρὸν εἶναι καὶ κενόν

"what great anger do I have... love †..., o Gnesippos?

I think there is nothing so foolish and empty"

The corruption of the lines makes their interpretation elusive but clearly an unidentified speaker addresses Gnesippos directly. It is unclear to what the πολλῆ χολή refers but the mention of ἔρωτα recalls other comic references to Gnesippos as a poet of erotic poetry (see Khionides *Ptokhoi* fr. 4 above for more on Gnesippos).

Kleoboulinai **fr. 92:**

(Schol. (VEΓ²) Ar. *Bir*. 31a.β)

Ἀκέστορα γὰρ ὅμως εἰκὸς λαβεῖν

πληγάς, ἐὰν μὴ συστρέφῃ τὰ πράγματα

2 συστρέφῃ Bentley | συστρέψῃ **EΓ²** | σὺ στρέψῃ **V** |

"for equally it is reasonable to beat Akestor,

unless he condenses his work"

The unknown speaker here attacks the tragedian Akestor for the style of his compositions, τὰ πράγματα. Akestor was frequently lambasted for being foreign and in other fragments discussed below he is referred to as Sakas.[41] The speaker's comment implies that Akestor's style is not concise enough and on the comic stage this is worthy of a physical beating. It certainly indicates the speaker's own view on composition. The verb συστρέφω means "I roll together" but it is applied metaphorically to spoken and literary work, e.g. at Arist. *Rhet.* 1419a (= 3.18.4) Aristotle calls for the need for concise arguments: τὰ ἐνθυμήματα…συστρέφειν δεῖ. The source of *Kleoboulinai* fr. 92 is the same as that for Kallias' *Pedetai* fr. 17 which also mocks Akestor.

Fr. 323 (unknown play):

(Schol. Soph. *Ant*. 404)

ὅνπερ Φιλοκλέης τὸν λόγον διέφθορεν

"The story/speech/plot which Philokles ruined"

Philokles was a tragedian and nephew of Aiskhylos. The unknown speaker voices criticism of Philokles' lack of skill in tragic composition and the use of ὅνπερ indicates that the speaker has a specific word, speech, or plot in mind in connection with Philokles. The context does not allow us to be certain which translation of λόγος would best suit this fragment.

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[41]   Kallias *Pedetai* fr. 17; Eupolis *Kolakes* fr. 172; Theopompos *Teisamenos* fr. 61; Metagenes *Philothutes* fr. 14.

Fr. 342 (unknown play):

(Schol. Areth. (B) Pl. *Apol.* 19c)

τίς δὲ σύ; κομψός τις ἔροιτο θεατής

ὑπολεπτολόγος, γνωμιδιώκτης, εὐριπιδαριστοφανίζων

2 γνωμιδιώκτης cod. Vratisl. ap. Seidler De. Ar. fr. p. 23 | γνωμιδιώτης **B** |

γνωμοδιώκτης J.G. Schneider Gr.-dt. Woerterb., Suppl. (1821).

" 'Who are you?' Some boastful audience-member would say,

a subtle talker, a pursuer of ideas, a Euripidesaristophaniser"

This is one of the best known fragments positing a connection between Aristophanes and Euripides, although without a context it is dangerous and difficult to try to unpack the meaning of these rich lines, a matter which is greatly contested.[42] The lines are in anapaestic tetrameters which combined with the subject-matter means that it is reasonable to assume that they are from a *parabasis* or *agōn*; either Kratinos' own views on his competitor, Aristophanes are being offered to the audience or a character uses the neologism "euripidaristophaniser" as a form of attack in a debate. The high level of tragic interaction that modern scholars find in Aristophanes' work was also clearly visible to Aristophanes' contemporary Kratinos. This last point stands even if the interpretation of fr. 342 offered by its translation above is rejected.

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[42] Compare the following translation: " 'Who are you?' Some boastful audience-member would say, 'a subtle talker, a pursuer of ideas, a Euripidesaristophaniser?' ", which is also plausible due to the lack of wider context for fr. 342. Storey & Allan 2005: 141 also offer both translations. Olson 2007: 110-1 summarises the various possible translations of fr. 342.

The scholion quoting the lines of fr. 342 notes that Aristophanes is here ridiculed for mocking and mimicking Euripides. Luppe rightfully expresses caution in following this interpretation of the fragment[43] and yet the text of fr. 342 does involve the judgement of one comic poet (Kratinos) upon another (Aristophanes) for the latter's use of Euripidean tragedy, which is clearly displayed early in Aristophanes' career in his *Akharnians* of 425 BC (discussed in Chapter 5, p. 268). Kratinos elsewhere criticises Aristophanes (*Putine* fr. 213) and would no doubt enjoy making a comic caricature of his rival although Kratinos' criticisms of Aristophanes need not be fair and entirely accurate as long as they entertain. Kratinos' criticism of Aristophanes functions by using Euripides and his sophistry against Aristophanes. Although the scholion lays emphasis on fr. 342 as a joke against Aristophanes, it is equally true that Euripides' integrity as a tragic poet is not enhanced by his connection with the Old comic poet.

In fr. 342, the adjectives are compacted together but express a variety of ideas, recalling vocabulary used by Aristophanes about sophists, e.g. in Ar. *Clouds*, especially lines 319-21: where Strepsiades admires the rhetorical skills of the Clouds and describes its effect on himself: ἡ ψυχή μου πεπότηται / καὶ λεπτολογεῖν ἤδη ζητεῖ...καὶ γνωμιδίῳ γνώμην νύξασ᾽ "My soul is a-flutter and it already seeks to talk subtly...and to pierce a concept with a little idea". The vocabulary is comparable with the use of ὑπολεπτολόγος and γνωμιδιώκτης in fr. 342. Cf. Ar. *Cl.* 359 addressed to Sokrates: σύ τε λεπτοτάτων λήρων ἱερεῦ "you, o priest of the subtlest nonsense" and Ar. *Cl.* 1404 where Pheidippides, now a fresh graduate from the *phrontisterion* again uses similar language γνώμαις δὲ λεπταῖς καὶ λόγοις ξύνειμι καὶ μερίμναις. "I am acquainted with subtle ideas and arguments and

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[43] Luppe 2000: 19.

suppositions".[44]

The parallels of the language between fr. 342 and *Clouds* are remarkable, but it is not clear that Kratinos produced a play after *Putine* in 423 BC in which he could respond to *Clouds* even assuming that the above text was in the first *Clouds* of 423 BC. This is unless Kratinos knew about the contents of *Clouds* from the *proagōn* which prompted him to add the lines of fr. 342 to his *Putine*. Furthermore Ar. *Clouds* I of 423 BC (fr. 392) mocks Euripides, in a manner parallel to that of fr. 342, by repeating the comic claim that Sokrates aided Euripides in composing tragedies. This link between Sokrates and Euripides is elsewhere made by other poets of Old Comedy (see Kallias *Pedetai* fr. 15 and Telekleides fr. 41, 42) while Aristophanes' own interest in sophistry extends back to his first play *Daitales* (see Ar. *Daitales* fr. 206, 227 and schol. Ar. *Cl.* (RVEMANp) 529a which notes this interest). Kratinos in fr. 342, clearly wants the audience to recall Aristophanes' dramatic indulgences in extensive amounts of sophistic vocabulary, such as the Aristophanic Sokrates employs in *Clouds* and with which Euripides was associated.

***Horai* fr. 270:**

(Lex. Mess. fol. 280ᵛ9)

βούλει μονῳδήσωμεν αὐτοῖς ἕν γε τι;

"You want us to sing at least one monody for/with them?"

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[44] O'Sullivan 2006: 165-8, in his recent analysis of fr. 342, notes the use of γνωμ- compounds in Ar. *Knights*, *Thesm.* and *Frogs* but this usage is not as sustained as in Ar. *Clouds*.

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οὐκ ἂν μονῳδήσειεν ἐκπεπληγμένος

"he wouldn't sing a monody as he was struck dumb"

These two separate lines are from the same play. The verb μονῳδεῖν directly links to the performance of tragedy and the Lex. Mess. comments that it is the song performed from the *skēnē* by the actors. This fragment is the earliest comic usage of μονῳδεῖν and elsewhere in comedy it refers to tragic performances e.g. Ar. *Thesm*. 1077 ἔασόν με μονῳδῆσαι (the exasperated relative of Euripides attempts to perform a monody from Eur. *Andromeda* while Euripides plays the part of Ekho); at Ar. *Pe*. 1009-14 Trygaios uses the verb when parodying a line of a monody from Melanthios' *Medeia*; at Ar. *Fro*. 849 and 1330 Aiskhylos critiques Euripidean monodies, while at Ar. *Fro*. 944 Euripides explains how his tragedy differed from those of Aiskhylos: ἀνέτρεφον μονῳδίαις "I nourished it on monodies" and a similar sentiment appears in Ar. *Gerytades* fr. 162 θεράπευε καὶ χόρταζε τῶν μονῳδιῶν "tend to [x] and fatten up on monodies!" although there is no consensus as to which poet it refers to. Similarly it is not clear which, if any, particular actor and tragedy Kratinos refers to in fr. 270. All three tragedians had their actors sing monodies, but Euripides' later plays contain a higher number.[45] The use of the first person plural to refer to a single person is tragic idiom but it is a comical idea to talk of "we sing a monody", i.e. a solo.

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[45] See Csapo 1999-2000: 410-14 which surveys the increase in monody in later Euripidean tragedies.

***Horai* fr. 276:**

(Athen. *Deipn.* 14.638f)

> ἴτω δὲ καὶ τραγῳδίας
>
> ὁ Κλεομάχου διδάσκαλος
>
> † μετὰ τῶν † παρατιλτριῶν
>
> ἔχων χορὸν Λυδιστὶ τιλ-
>
> λουσῶν μέλη πονηρά

“Come now son of Kleomakhos, producer of tragedy,

who has a chorus of women plucking

shameful songs/limbs in Lydian (mode)”

The speaker of the fragment calls upon Gnesippos the tragedian to arrange a performance of a female chorus using the Lydian mode. In this passage he is τραγῳδίας διδάσκαλος indicating his overall responsibility for a tragedy, yet the comic criticism is mainly aimed at his use of music. Notably the comic description of a tragedian here involves high-style language, seen in the use of ἴτω, an exclamation common in epic, lyric and tragic poetry and fr. 276 is in iambic dimeters and so in a lyric metre. The high-style and low content work to make a mockery of Gnesippos. The comic sense of the lines shines through in a pun on the meaning of μέλη which simultaneously refers to plucking strings in the Lydian mode and plucking a Lydian's limbs. The added criticism of Gnesippos' style is clear if we compare Pl. *Rep.* 3.398e which criticises the Lydian mode as indulgent and loose: τίνες οὖν μαλακαί τε καὶ συμποτικαὶ τῶν ἁρμονιῶν; ἰαστί, ἦ δ' ὅς, καὶ λυδιστὶ αὖ τινες χαλαραὶ

καλοῦνται. "Which of the modes are soft/luxuriant? -The Ionian and the Lydian are called slack, loose".

Horai **fr. 294:**

(Harp. p. 216, line 9 Dind.)

> ξυστίς ἔστι μὲν καὶ τραγικόν τι ἔνδυμα οὕτω καλούμενον, ὡς Κρατῖνος
> ἐν Ὥραις

"*xustis* is also a tragic robe so called, as in Kratinos' *Horai*"

Harpokration notes the use of the word ξυστίς for a woman's robe but then contrasts this with the use of the word in Kratinos' *Horai* to mean a "tragic robe"; a soft and luxuriant garment, reaching to the feet. In other contexts ξυστίς is the garb of chariot-race winners (Ar. *Cl.* 70) and it is always an expensive robe (Ar. *Lys.* 1190). The reason for its mention in Kratinos' *Horai* is unclear.

Drapetides **fr. 60:**

(Sud. α 1499)

ποδαπὰς ὑμᾶς εἶναι φάσκων, ὦ μείρακες, οὐκ ἂν ἁμάρτοιν;

"what country would I be right in saying you come from, young ladies?"

This fragment sees the questioning of μείρακες, probably the runaways named in the title *Drapetides*. [Hdn.] Philet. 107 notes that in comedy the word μείρακες can imply effeminacy and is used to mock homosexual boys. Therefore, the use of the word here may have this comic connotation.

Bakola sees *Drapetides* as a parody of tragedies with a suppliant plot but tries to draw a specific comparison with Aiskh. *Suppliants*,[46] arguing that *Drapetides* fr. 60 recalls scenes in Aiskh. *Suppliants* where the suppliants are quizzed as to their origins (Aiskh. *Suppl.* 234 has ποδαπὸν). However, the language is common in other tragic discourse: Ar. *Bir.* 108 has the tragic Tereus ask ποδαπώ, as does Aiskh. *Edonians* fr. 61 ποδαπὸς ὁ γύννις; τίς πάτρα; τίς ἡ στολή; which is cited at Ar. *Thesm.* 136. These indicate that ποδαπός is the word used when addressing someone from abroad in an effort to discover their identity and origins. The tragic diction of the fragment is clear but these comic lines are in anapaestic tetrameters making their comic setting unquestionable. Similarly *Drapetides* fr. 61, discussed below, very probably forms part of the chorus' response to fr. 60 and is in anapaestic dimeters.[47]

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[46] Discussed in a conference paper at AMGRT ("Ancient and Modern Responses to Greek Tragedy", Durham, 16th-17th December 2005), entitled "Deconstructing Athenian Ideology: Cratinus and the Suppliant Tragedy" and presumably discussed in her forthcoming book on Kratinos: *Cratinus and the Art of Comedy*, 2009.

[47] Leo 1873: 410 also thinks the two fragments form part of the same scene.

Drapetides **fr. 61:**

(Poll. 9.98.99)

Πανδιονίδα πόλεως βασιλεῦ

τῆς ἐριβώλακος, οἶσθ' ἢν λέγομεν,

καὶ κύνα καὶ πόλιν ἢν παίζουσιν

"O king of this rich city, son of Pandion,

you know of what we speak,

and the dog and city which they mock/play with"

The chorus here address a son of Pandion and this is most probably Aigeus, who was a son of Pandion, an early mythical king of Athens. Therefore, the "rich city" must refer to Athens which suggests a setting in Attica for the play. Cf. Euripides' *Suppliants* which was set at Eleusis and starred Theseus as the king of Athens; Euripides' *Herakleidai* took place at Marathon, starring Demophon, a son of Theseus; and Sophokles' *O.C.* was set at Kolonos, although this play is too late (401 BC) to directly influence Kratinos and there is no female chorus. The high-style of the passage is clear and the word ἐριβώλακος is otherwise exclusively Homeric.

Since tragic suppliant plays appear to form the basis of *Drapetides* it is worth also mentioning *Drapetides* fr. 62 which contains a high style attack on Lampon the seer in Aeolics (lines 1 and 3 are telesilleans; lines 2 and 4 are a comic dicolon [xDx ithy] based on Arkhilokhos' epodic strophes). The high-style of these lines is brought out in the use of τὸν as the relative

pronoun (cf. its use in Aiskh. *Suppl*. 305; Soph. *O.C.* 747; Eur. *Bakkh*. 712) although the fragment is not necessarily tragic. The contrasting low style emerges in the use of the word: ἐρυγγάνει "burps". This again indicates Kratinos' technique of mixing poetry of high-style and form with low content, as seen above in Kratinos' use of tragedy in *Horai* fr. 276.

Seriphioi

The infant Perseus and his mother, Danaë were washed up on the island of Seriphos where the fisherman Diktys rescued them. It was from Seriphos that Polydektes sent Perseus to fetch the Gorgon's head. When Perseus returned and found that Polydektes had tried to marry his mother, he turned the Gorgon's head on Polydektes. This myth is recurrent in fifth-century tragedy, particularly the parts set on Seriphos. Aiskhylos composed *Polydektes* (but only the title is extant), a satyr-play *Diktyoulkoi* (about Danaë and Perseus arriving on Seriphos), and *Phorkides* (fr. 262 indicates Perseus questing for the Gorgon); Sophokles composed *Akrisios* and *Danaë* (possibly the same play), *Larisaioi* (Perseus kills Akrisios at Larissa) and *Andromeda*; Euripides a *Diktys* (431 BC) and *Danaë* and *Andromeda* (412 BC). Kratinos' *Seriphioi* dates to the 420s BC[48] and so forms part of this dramatic focus on the myth.

The comedy is certainly involved with the myth connected to its title, as a mention of Andromeda in the play makes clear (cf. Sannyrion's comic *Danaë*). In Kratinos *Seriphioi* fr. 231 she is called δελεάστραν "bait" (Poll. 10.156) which suits her role both as bait for the monster and for Perseus who falls for her on sight. Cf. Phrynikhos fr. 77 (unknown play) where Phrynikhos brings on-stage an old woman who is eaten by a monster, in imitation of Andromeda, according to Ar. *Cl*. 555 (see p. 63 below). The burlesque character of the overall

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[48] This dating is based on mention of Kleon in *Seriphioi* fr. 228 and Amynias in *Seriphioi* fr. 227.

play is brought out both in *Seriphioi* fr. 222-3 which are in hexameters (and therefore possibly part of an oracle) and in a metatheatrical reference in *Seriphioi* fr. 218:

Seriphioi **fr. 218:**

(Et. gen. AB)

> αἶρε δεῦρο τοὺς βρικέλους

"here, take the tragic masks"

Kock thinks this is a reference to the Gorgon's head,[49] but the plural βρικέλους tells against this. Kassel and Austin in *PCG* suggest that it refers to Perseus' costume and, however it is viewed, the fragment breaks with the illusion created by the myth with a theatrical reference as does *Seriphioi* fr. 229: ἀριστεροστάτης "the one standing on the left in a tragic chorus" (from Phot. (Sᶻ) α 2810) although as the fragment is only one word, bereft of comic context, there is little more to add. Overall this fragmentary data indicates Kratinos again engaging with myth and mythical characters to shape his comedy and additionally interweaving metatheatrical jokes which may well be a poke at contemporary tragic adaptations of the myth.

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[49]   Kock 1880: I.76.

Fr. 316 (unknown play):

(Zonar. p. 804)

ἄκουε νῦν καὶ τήνδε τὴν ἐπιστολήν

"So now listen to this instruction"

A very similar phrase is found in Aiskh. fr. 293 (unknown play): x _ ἄκουε τὰς ἐμὰς ἐπιστολάς although its context is unknown for both the comedy and tragedy.

Ekphantides

(2 titles and 6 fragments) A contemporary of Kratinos.

There are no direct links to the work of tragedians in this small sample of Ekphantides' work but his *Satyroi* presents potential links with satyr plays. Cf. Ekphantides fr. 4 (unknown play) which offers an address to Dionysos that would fit *Satyroi*: εὔιε κισσοχαῖτ᾽ ἄναξ, χαῖρε "Hooray, ivy-haired lord, greetings". Comedies called *Satyroi* and those involving satyrs are common in Old Comedy[50] and this provides the clearest link to the satyr plays of tragedians. Despite not knowing the form of association between comedies and tragic satyr plays, it would be apparent for an audience who attended both the tragic and comic performances (discussed p. 20 above).

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[50] Composed by Kallias, Kratinos, and Phrynikhos; cf. Kratinos' *Dionysalexandros* which contained satyrs.

Krates

(10 titles and 56 fragments) Earliest known production: c. 450 BC (*PCG* vol. IV, p. 84, test. 7)

A wide variety of metres is found in the fragments of Krates[51] compared to other fragmentary poets. The fragments suggest poetic parody rather than tragic parody, except for *Paidiai* fr. 28.

Paidiai **fr. 28:**

(Suda α 1317)

τοῖς δὲ τραγῳδοῖς ἕτερος σεμνὸς πᾶσιν λόγος ἄλλος ὅδ᾽ ἔστιν

"the tragedians all have this other solemn word/speech"

This is a generalised comment on the work of tragedians who are characterised by their use of serious tone, σεμνὸς λόγος. The ὅδ᾽ of the fragment implies that what came in the surrounding context of this line was probably an actual parody of tragic speech, but this has not survived. This would make the fragment the earliest known occurrence of comedy parodying specific tragic discourse.

The word σεμνός is frequently used in tragedy to describe gods, humans and objects, and therefore this partly explains its use here in reference to tragedians. However, it is the recurrence of the specific phrase σεμνὸς λόγος that is particularly interesting in relation to fr. 28. It appears in a number of contexts where a speaker is making a charged or sarcastic

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[51] Iambo-trochaic in *Heroes* fr. 13, *Theria* fr. 19, *Paidiai* fr. 27; trochaic-paeonic in *Samioi* fr. 32; Aeolic in *Tolmai* fr. 37.

comment and the words σεμνὸς λόγος are themselves tinged with this mock-serious and disparaging tone: e.g. Dem. *False Embassy* 19.142 καὶ σεμνὸν εἰς ἀρετῆς λόγον καὶ δόξης in one of many attacks on the ambassadors; Pl. *Theait.* 203e σκεπτέον καὶ οὐ προδοτέον οὕτως ἀνάνδρως μέγαν τε καὶ σεμνὸν λόγον as Sokrates encourages their investigation into syllables; and notably once in tragedy Eur. *Hipp.* 957: θηρεύσι γὰρ / σεμνοῖς λόγοισιν, αἰσχρὰ μηχανώμενοι in Theseus' verbal attack on Hippolytos. An extension of this usage occurs e.g. at Eur. *Hipp.* 93, where σεμνός means "haughty" or "arrogant", with clearly negative connotations.

There are a few instances where the phrase σεμνὸς λογός is less aggressive in tone but it still refers to elevated and high-style speech with a mock-serious tone. E.g. at Herod. 7.6.1 the Peisistratids, aiming to impress Xerxes, describe the oracle monger Onomakritos περὶ αὐτοῦ σεμνοὺς λόγους and yet the Peisistratids know that Onomakritos is a forger of oracles. Similarly Bdelykleon at Ar. *Wa.* 1174 encourages the newly-educated Philokleon ἄγε νυν, ἐπιστήσει λόγους σεμνοὺς λέγειν / ἀνδρῶν παρόντων πολυμαθῶν καὶ δεξιῶν; and his words are not to be taken at face value in the comic context.

These examples indicate that the tone of *Paidiai* fr. 28 is cynical in its view of the σεμνὸς λογός of tragedy. With this in mind we can compare two other such examples of the use of σεμνὸς to describe tragedy. Firstly at Ar. *Fro*. 1496-7 the chorus describe Euripidean tragedy: τὸ δ᾽ ἐπὶ σεμνοῖσιν λόγοισί καὶ σκαριγησμοῖσι λήρων and secondly in Pl. *Gorg.* 502b which, like *Paidiai* fr. 28, describes tragedy itself as σεμνή, at a point where Sokrates asks, tongue-in-cheek, about the worth of tragedy: τί δὲ δὴ ἡ σεμνὴ αὕτη καὶ θαυμαστή, ἡ τῆς τραγωδίας ποίησις, ἐφ᾽ ᾧ ἐσπούδακεν; His praise is notably and purposefully excessive.

Paidiai fr. 28 draws attention to the elevated style of tragic discourse, but the tone of the speaker is not one of praise for tragedy, as the examples above make clear. Cf. Kallias *Pedetai* fr. 15 below for a possible on-stage Euripides describing his own behaviour as σεμνή.

Kallias

(9 titles and 40 fragments) Earliest known production: 446 BC (*PCG* vol. IV, p. 38, test. 3)

Kallias' *Pedetai*[52] contains ten fragments and three of these mention tragedians: Melanthios (fr. 14), Euripides (fr. 15), and Akestor (fr. 17). All three fragments are personal attacks on the individuals concerned and fr. 15 contains Euripides as a speaking character.

Pedetai fr. 14:

(Schol. (VEΓ²) Ar. *Bir.* 151a)

> (A.) τί δ᾽ ἆρα; τοὺς Μελανθίου τῶι γνώσομαι;
>
> (B.) οὓς ἂν μάλιστα λευκοπρώκτους εἰσίδῃς

1 τί δ᾽ ἆρα; τοὺς Nauck Phil. 6 (1851) 415 | τίς ἆρα τοὺς **VE** | τίς ἔτους **Γ²** | Μελανθίου Dindorf | Μελανθίους **EΓ²** | μελανθους **V**.

> "(A.) What? How will I recognise Melanthios' sons?
>
> (B.) They'll be the ones you see with exceedingly white arses"

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[52] Storey 1988: 379-83 argues for dating *Pedetai* to the period 420-415 BC; Imperio 1998: 218-40, in her commentary on the fragments of *Pedetai,* favours a date of around 414 BC. This is based on the play's references to Sokrates, Lampon, Melanthios, and Akestor who all receive mention in Ar. *Birds* of 414 BC.

In branding the associates of the tragedian Melanthios as "white-arsed" Kallias uses a *hapax legomenon*. As a comparison, εὐρύπρωκτος means "passive homosexual", but the λευκο-emphasises Melanthios' white skin, and so his effeminacy, (cf. the description of Agathon at Ar. *Thesm*. 191) which is in comic contrast to the etymology of his name μελᾶς meaning "black". Therefore, Kallias has invented the word especially for Melanthios as a way of mocking him for his perceived faults. A similar use of white for weakness occurs at Ar. *Lys*. 802-3 with the word μελαμπύγος where the scholion notes that λευκόπυγος refers to womanish behaviour (i.e. weak). Cf. Alexis fr. 322 recorded by Eustathios who notes: καὶ Ἄλεξις ὁ κωμικὸς λευκόπυγον ἔφη τὸν ἄνανδρον, οὗ ἔμπαλιν μελαμπύγους τοὺς ἀνδρείους ἔλεγον. Cf. Aiskh. *Ag*. 115-123 where Kalkhas interprets two birds of omen, one black, one with a white behind, ἐξόπιν ἀργᾶς, as representing Agamemnon and Menelaos respectively. This latter bird recalls fr. 14 λευκοπρώκτους and Menelaos is always represented as the weaker brother (e.g. Hom. *Il*. 6.55 Agamemnon soundly condemns Menelaos' concern for his enemy). The scholion which quotes Kallias *Pedetai* fr. 14 indicates that Melanthios was mocked for his softness and greed μαλακίαν καὶ ὀψογαγίαν, and indeed he is repeatedly mocked by the comic poets for having these characteristics rather than for the quality of his tragedies.[53]

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[53] See below on Leukon *Phrateres* fr. 3; Eupolis *Astrateutoi* or *Androgunai* fr. 43, *Kolakes* fr. 178; Pherekrates *Petale* fr. 148; Arkhippos *Ikhthues* fr. 28; Platon *Skeuai* fr. 140.

***Pedetai* fr. 15:**

(Diog. Laert. 2.18)

> (A.) τί δὴ σὺ σεμνὴ καὶ φρονεῖς οὕτω μέγα;
>
> (B.) ἔξεστι γάρ μοι· Σωκράτης γὰρ αἴτιος

> "(A.) Why are you so solemn and proud?
>
> (B.) Because I can be; Sokrates is the reason"

Diogenes cites these lines as evidence that Euripides and Sokrates collaborated in the composition of tragedies. Therefore, it appears that the second speaker must be Euripides although the first one addresses the second as σεμνή so that either the text is corrupt or the second speaker is a female representative of Euripides, e.g. his Muse. Dindorf indeed suggests replacing σεμνή with σεμνοῖ but the verb σεμνόω only occurs in Herodotos in the fifth century (Herod. 1.95.4 and 3.16.31). Therefore, the identity of both speakers remains unclear. However, female personifications are recurrent in Old Comedy, e.g. Comedy in Kratinos' *Putine,* Poetry in Aristophanes' *Poetry*, Poetry and Justice in Pherekrates' *Kheiron*, and Peace in Aristophanes' *Peace*. This makes the use of another such character plausible for *Pedetai* fr. 15. Imperio and Olson present commentary on the fragment and Imperio discusses the suggestions of earlier scholars as to the identity of the second speaker, none of which are certain: a Euripides dressed as a woman or the muse of Euripides (mentioned at Ar. *Fro.* 1305-8), or Tragedy herself, or a specific feminine-titled tragedy. Imperio suggests the dialogue involves Aspasia, mentioned in Kallias *Pedetai* fr. 21.[54]

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[54] Olson 2007: 227, 235-6, 445; Imperio 1998: 222-8.

For discussion of the use of the word σεμνή and its connection with tragedy see Krates *Paidiai* fr. 28 above. Diogenes provides other evidence for the comic accusation of collaboration between Sokrates and Euripides in Telekleides fr. 41 and 42 (unknown play), and Ar. *Clouds* I fr. 392. Cf. Ar. fr. 596 (unknown play) which claims that Kephisophon was the collaborator. The link between Euripides and Sokrates is also made more subtly in *Frogs* 1491-9 and *Clouds* 1364-76 and was clearly a comic topos throughout both men's lives.

***Pedetai* fr. 17:**

(Schol. (VEΓ²) Ar. *Bir*. 31a.β)

<div align="center">

καὶ Σάκαν

οἱ χοροὶ μισοῦσι

</div>

<div align="center">

"and the choruses hate Sakas"

</div>

The tragedian Akestor is here referred to by the more foreign-sounding name Sakas (on the Persian origins of Sakas, see p. 104 below). However, here Akestor is mocked in connection with his choruses. Of the many reasons a chorus could have for disliking their poet, perhaps it is a reference to his style of music and choreography which they hate. We can compare Strattis *Kinesias* fr. 16 which sees Kinesias, the dithyrambic poet, described as χοροκτόνος Κινησίας "chorus-killer Kinesias". Both of these fragments hint at the sometimes fractious relationship between a poet and his chorus. The source for *Pedetai* fr. 17 provides another joke about Akestor from Kratinos *Kleoboulinai* fr. 92 which was discussed earlier.

The Grammar Tragedy. Athenaios alone records the play (Athen. *Deipn*. 7.276a, 10.453c-454a, 10.448b), and ascribes it to Kallias the comic poet. Athenaios' source, Klearkhos (a fourth-century BC philosopher), makes the unbelievable claim that it was the basis for the plot and chorus of Sophokles' *Oidipous* and Euripides' *Medeia*, together with the vague statement that Kallias' career was a little before that of Strattis (Athen. *Deipn*. 10.453c). For the most recent attempt at understanding these sources, see Smith, who accepts that Kallias is a contemporary of Strattis and therefore not the fifth-century comic poet.[55] Athenaios always mentions *The Grammar Tragedy* in association with αἰνίγματα (riddles) and this provides the most plausible explanation for Athenaios' comments about the play, i.e. his comments too are seen as riddles, defying comprehension. This confusion over Athenaios' remarks, and Kallias' play as a whole, led Rosen to argue convincingly that *The Grammar Tragedy* reflects the boasts of a comic poet, (cf. Aristophanes' self-praise in his *parabases*), which were wrongly interpreted by Athenaios and his source as factual.[56] However, Rosen maintains that the poet in question is Kallias and this sits uneasily with mention of jokes in extracts from *The Grammar Tragedy*, which concern the use of the Ionic alphabet specifically, as Wilamowitz notes.[57] Athens officially adopted the Ionic in place of the Attic alphabet in 403/2 BC although it is found in some earlier inscriptions and Eur. *Theseus* fr. 342 mentions the letter *eta* by name, a play dating to the 420s BC.[58] Nonetheless the time surrounding the official inauguration of Ionic in 403/2 BC would be an appropriate time for a comedy on the subject of the alphabet*,* a time in which Strattis was certainly active.[59]

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[55] Smith 2003: 327. Smith also offers an ingenious explanation for the working of the riddles in this comedy which revolve around *stoicheia*, the letter names, which can explain the parody of lines from Sophokles' *O.T.*

[56] Rosen 1999: 153-5.

[57] Wilamowitz-Moellendorff 1906 (= Wilamowitz-Moellendorff 1971: 398-9).

[58] The Aristophanic scholia on *Wasps* note that Eur. *Theseus* is parodied at Ar. *Wa.* 312 and 314 (422 BC).

[59] Threatte 1980: 26-8 discusses the adoption of the Ionic alphabet, noting that public documents dating prior to 403/2 BC in Ionic dialect were concerned solely with foreign affairs. The one exception (I^2 25, 424/3 BC) sees the script change abruptly from Attic to Ionic and has not been sufficiently explained.

Indeed Welcker supposes that Athenaios mentions Strattis here because it was, in fact, Strattis who presented Kallias on-stage mocking tragedy. Welcker's very suggestion reflects an important acknowledgement that Strattis did interact with tragedy at many levels, as Brozek and Rosen also note, yet this is not enough to confirm *The Grammar Tragedy* as one of Strattis' works.[60] The suggestion is nonetheless appealing, and more so once we have explored the fragments of Strattis in Chapter 3. Aside from questions of authorship, *The Grammar Tragedy* is clearly the kind of comedy with which Strattis can be plausibly associated, because its title and known contents suggest an extended parody of tragedy, and this type of comedy is observable in the works of Strattis (especially his *Phoinissai* and *Medeia*).

Telekleides

(9 titles and 73 fragments) Earliest known production: c. 445 BC, the date of his first Dionysia victory (*IG* II² 2325, 54)

Telekleides names a number of tragedians (Philokles, Aiskhylos, Gnesippos, Euripides) and this awareness of tragedy is notable in a comic author for whom there are relatively few fragments.

***Hesiodoi* fr. 15:**

(Schol.(R) *Thesm*. 168a)

> ἀλλ᾽ ἡ τάλαινα Φιλοκλέα † βδελλ……οθεν οὖν· †
>
> εἰ δ᾽ ἐστὶν Αἰσχύλου φρόνημ᾽ ἔχων

---

[60] Welcker 1832: 152; Brozek 1939: 12 also considers Strattis to be a possible source for Athenaios' discussion of *The Grammar Tragedy* here; Rosen 1999: 148; Wilamowitz-Moellendorff 1880 (Wilamowitz-Moellendorff 1971: 22-3) also argues briefly that *The Grammar Tragedy* is more suited to Strattis than to Kallias and he bases this argument on Strattis' *Medeia.*

> "The poor wretch (fem.)...Philokles †..... †
>
> if he has the mind of Aiskhylos"

Hesiodoi fr. 15 appears to compare Aiskhylos and Philokles although part of the line is corrupt which makes the terms of the comparison unclear. Philokles was not only a tragedian but also the nephew of Aiskhylos and this point no doubt had some relevancy in the fragment. Another example of comparing greater and lesser tragedians occur in Kratinos *Boukoloi* fr. 17 which contrasts Sophokles with Gnesippos. The literary theme of the play *Hesiodoi* is encapsulated in its title but the level of involvement of tragic poets is not clear from the fragments.[61]

Hesiodoi fr. 17:

(Athen. *Deipn*. 8.344d)

> ὅτι δὲ οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ ποιητὴς σαφῶς παρίστησι Τηλεκλείδης ἐν Ἡσιόδοις

> "that this is the poet is clearly presented by Telekleides in his *Hesiodoi*"

The poet referred to here is a tragedian called Nothippos. Athenaios had just remarked that a Nothippos is mocked in Hermippos *Moirai* fr. 46 for his greedy appetite (discussed below, p. 58) and Athenaios here identifies this Nothippos as the poet mentioned by Telekleides. The phrase σαφῶς παρίστησι indicates that Telekleides' reference to Nothippos was explicit and direct but the manner of his presentation is not certain.

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[61]   Cf. Kratinos' *Arkhilokhoi* and *Odysses* for similar titles.

Sterroi **fr. 36:**

(Athen. *Deipn.* 14.639a)

Τηλεκλείδης δὲ ἐν τοῖς Στερροῖς καὶ περὶ μοιχείας ἀναστρέφεσθαί φησιν αὐτόν.

"Telekleides in his *Sterroi* also says that he (Gnesippos) was involved in acts of adultery"

For discussion about the tragedian Gnesippos, see Khionides *Ptokhoi* fr. 4 above (p. 26).

Fr. 37 (unknown play):

(Phryn. ecl. 353)

τίς ἥδε κραυγὴ καὶ δόμων περίστασις;

"But what is this shouting and mob surrounding the house?"

The use of δόμων and its appearance without an article indicate that this could be a paratragic line. The word δόμων occurs habitually in epic, lyric and tragic poetry, but not in Old Comedy except in particular circumstances of parody; e.g. Ar. *Akh*. 456 and 460 where it describes Euripides' house and then in Dikaiopolis' parabatic speech (line 543) that frequently engages with Euripides' *Telephos* and uses high-style language throughout. In *Clouds* it occurs in choral lyrics (line 303) and in Strepsiades' high-style speeches, the first of which quotes from tragedy (line 1161). It appears in *Frogs* at 1273-4 when Euripides quotes Aiskhylos, at line 1360 when Aiskhylos performs a Euripidean pastiche, and at Ar. *Ekkl*. 11 in

Praxagora's opening speech which has tragic colouring. Additionally events of disturbance around a house are very frequent in Attic drama, e.g. Eur. *I.T.* 1307; Ar. *Akh.* 1072; Sophokles fr. 815 (unknown play) ἄκουε, σίγα· τίς ποτ᾽ ἐν δόμοις βοή;) and this factor in combination with the high-style δόμων makes it probable that Telekleides fr. 37 is specifically paratragic.

Fr. 41 (unknown play):

(*Vit. Eur.* 2)

> Μνησίλοχός ἐστ᾽ ἐκεῖνος <ὃς> φρύγει τι δρᾶμα καινὸν
> Εὐριπίδῃ, καὶ Σωκράτης τὰ φρύγαν᾽ ὑποτίθησιν

> "Mnesilokhos is the man who cooks up a new drama
> for Euripides, and Sokrates supplies the firewood"

The fragment links Euripides and Sokrates. It suggests that Euripides had help with the composition of his plays and more importantly that Sokrates had a side-role, but a fundamentally important one; after all, food needs firewood to be cooked. Mnesilokhos is the name of Euripides' father-in-law and of the tragedian's son (Suda ε 3695). The latter was also an actor (*Vit. Eur.* 8) and could plausibly be the Mnesilokhos of fr. 41 since he was in the same business as his father and was therefore a sitting target for comedians. The scholia on *Thesmophoriazousai* identify Euripides' *kedestes* as Mnesilokhos but this name does not appear in the actual play-text. Cf. also references to younger relatives of tragedians (Philokles, Aiskhylos' nephew in Telekleides *Hesiodoi* fr. 15 and Iophon, Sophokles' son in *Frogs* 78-9).

Fr. 42 (unknown play):

(Diog. Laert 2.18)

<center>Εὐριπίδης Σωκρατογόμφους</center>

Εὐριπίδης **P**, fin. per compend. **B² F** | Εὐριπίδας Cobet | Εὐριπίδας <τοὺς> Σωκ. Kaibel | -γόμφος Casaub. | <γνώμας> εὐριπιδοσωκρατογόμφους Fritzsche Ind. Lect. Rost. 1852 p. 6 | εὐριπιδοσωκρατοκόμπους Nauck Eur. trag. I³ 1870 p. xiv[15]

<center>"Euripides...Sokrates-nail-bound"</center>

The relationship between philosopher and tragedian is again described, as in Telekleides fr. 41, and here Sokrates is still comically represented as an integral part of Euripides and his work; Sokrates is the glue that holds together Euripides and perhaps his plays, although the compound adjective is in the accusative plural with no indication of what it describes. The many conjectures of the fragment indicate attempts to make more sense of it but without more text there is little to be made of these. The fragment could equally describe some other aspect of Euripides' tragedies as being Sokrates-riveted, perhaps his use of words, λόγους, which would agree with Σωκρατογόμφους.

The word γόμφος refers to a bolt or bond, particularly nails used in shipbuilding (e.g. Hom. *Od.* 5.248, Hes. *Works* 431, Aiskh. *Pers.* 72) but also metaphorically as in Aiskh. *Suppl.* 945 where Pelasgos uses the word to indicate to the Egyptian herald that his people have resolved not to hand over the women to him; the resolve is glued or riveted in place. We can compare

Ar. *Thesm*. 52-3 where Agathon's slave describes the compositional methods of his master, using imagery of various crafts including ship-building: δρυόχους τιθέναι δράματος ἀρχάς. / κάμπτει δὲ νέας ἀψῖδας νεῶν. The use of this imagery in both these lines and fr. 42 lays emphasis on the technical proficiency required of tragedians. Neither fr. 41 or fr. 42 need imply that Sokrates had a direct hand in composing Euripides' tragedies, yet Telekleides, Kallias, and Aristophanes (see Kallias *Pedetai* fr. 15 above) clearly repeat the idea that Sokrates was having a direct influence on Euripidean tragedy in some form.

Pherekrates

(19 titles and 282 fragments) Earliest known production: 440s BC (*IG* II^2 2325, 56)

Pherekrates engages with tragedy in a number of ways, using high-style and tragic diction for his own comic effects. Most notably his *Persai* fr. 141 contains parody of Soph. *El*. 86, while *Krapataloi* fr. 100 has Aiskhylos speak on-stage about his poetry. There is less indication of interaction with mythology than in Kratinos although Pherekrates' *Myrmekanthropoi* is a mythological play in which Deukalion and Pyrrha are characters.

Agrioi **(420 BC, Lenaia) fr. 15:**

(Schol. VΓ Ar. *Wa*. 1509c)

> εἰς μικρὸν τὸν Ξενοκλέα· καὶ τὸ φαλάγγιον μικρὸν καὶ συνεστραμμένον. δῆλον δὲ ἐκ τῶν Φερεκράτους Ἀγρίων·
> καὶ Καρκίνος μέν τις ἦν ὁ Θορίκιος. ἦσαν δὲ αὐτῷ τρεῖς τινες μικροὶ κομῆται τότε καὶ νῦν εἰσιν μικροὶ καὶ κομῆται. φίλορχοι τοτε παῖδες ἦσαν ὄντες νῦν

φιλορχικώτεροι. (Β.) μὰ τὸν Δία οὐ τρεῖς τε ἐκεῖνοί εἰσιν οἱ τέσσαρες

3 ὁ Θωρυκίου υἱος **VΓ** | ὁ Θορίκιος Kaibel | **4** καὶ νῦν...τοτε om. **Γ** | 4-5 φίλαρχοι et φιλαρχικώτεροι **VΓ** | φίλορχοι et φιλορχικώτεροι coni. Meineke

"on the smallness of Xenokles, he was both a little spider and hunched up. This is clear from Pherekrates' *Agrioi*:

'And Karkinos was from Thorikos. He once had three long-haired little'uns and now they are little'uns and long-haired. They were once children in love with dancing and now they are even more in love with dancing.

(B.) No by Zeus, there aren't three sons but four' "

The Aristophanic scholion which provides *Agrioi* fr. 15 discusses the tragedian Karkinos and his four sons, noting that three were dancers and the other, Xenokles, was a tragedian. The humour centres around Xenokles' insignificant size which means that he goes unnoticed by the first speaker. Both the form and metre of the comic lines are disputed with Meineke putting the lines into trochaic tetrameters and Kaibel choosing iambic trimeters.[62] The above text adopts Meineke's suggestion of altering the ms. φίλαρχοι and φιλαρχικώτεροι to φίλορχοι and φιλορχικώτεροι respectively, based on Ar. *Wa*. 1534 which describes the three dancing sons of Karkinos as τοῖς τρίλορχοις However, it is not implausible that Pherekrates was punning on the words φίλορχοι "in love with dancing" and φίλαρχαι "in love with power".

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[62] See *PCG* vol. VIII, p. 112.

Petale **fr. 148:**

(Athen. *Deipn*. 8.343c)

κωμῳδοῦσι δ᾽ αυτὸν ἐπὶ ὀψοφαγίᾳ Λεύκων ἐν Φράτερσιν, Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν Εἰρήνῃ, Φερεκράτης ἐν Πετάλῃ.

"Leukon in his *Phrateres,* Aristophanes in his *Peace* and Pherekrates in his *Petale* mock him (Melanthios) on account of his gluttony"

For discussion of the greed of Melanthios, see Kallias' *Pedetai* fr. 14 above (p. 44) and cf. Nothippos' greed in Hermippos *Moirai* fr. 46 below (p. 58).

Persai **fr. 141:**

(Schol. Soph. *El.* 86)

καὶ ταῦτα δὲ Φερεκράτης παρῴδηκεν ἐν Πέρσαις

"and Pherekrates in his *Persai* parodied these words" [i.e. Soph. El. 86]

The scholion provides no further information as to how or where in Pherekrates' *Persai* the parody appeared. Soph. *El.* 86 sees Elektra's first appearance and words on-stage: ὦ φάος ἁγνὸν καὶ γῆς ἰσόμοιρ᾽ ἀήρ and a character's first entrance marks a memorable point for the audience, cf. Ar. *Fro.* 1382-3 where Euripides quotes the opening lines of his *Medeia* in the poetic weighing contest; Strattis *Phoinissai* fr. 46 quotes Hypsipyle's opening lines from

the start of Euripides' *Hypsipyle.*

Krapataloi **fr. 100:**

(Schol. VΓLh Ar. *Pe*. 749a)

Φερεκράτης ἐποίησε τὸν Αἰσχύλον λέγοντα ἐν τοῖς Κραπατάλοις·

    ὅστις <γ'> αὐτοῖς παρέδωκα τέχνην μεγάλην ἐξοικοδομήσας

γ' add. Porson Praef. Hec. p. lii | παρέδωκα Porson | παρέδωκε **VΓLh**.

"Pherekrates made Aiskhylos in his Krapataloi say:

'I who handed over to them a great art, which I constructed myself'"

Our source for this fragment informs us that the speaker is Aiskhylos. The tragedian is promoting his own artistic creativity in a play that pre-dates *Frogs*, given that Pherekrates' first victory is as early as the 440s BC. The mention of Hades in *Krapataloi* fr. 86 suggests that like *Frogs*, Pherekrates' play starred the deceased Aiskhylos, particularly as Aiskhylos talks in the past tense in fr. 100: παρέδωκα. The scholion cites fr. 100 in connection with Ar. *Pe.* 749 which is part of the *parabasis* where the chorus praise Aristophanes' own contribution to comic drama in similar words: ἐποίησε τέχνην μεγάλην ἡμῖν κἀπύργωσ' οἰκοδομήσας. Aiskhylos' appearance on-stage parallels that in Ar. *Frogs* and at line 854-5 Dionysos warns Euripides to retreat from the power of Aiskhylos' language: ἵνα μὴ κεφαλαίῳ τὸν κρόταφόν σου ῥήματι / θενὼν ὑπ' ὀργῆς. See Platon *Lakones* or *Poetai* fr. 69, discussed below, which again describes the construction of language, possibly in reference to Aiskhylos.

Hermippos

(10 titles and 94 fragments) Earliest known production: 435 BC (*PCG* vol. V, p. 561, test. 3)

Moirai (430 BC) fr. 46:

(Athen. *Deipn*. 8.344d)

εἰ δ᾽ ἦν τὸ γένος τῶν ἀνθρώπων τῶν νῦν τοιόνδε μάχεσθαι,

καὶ βατὶς αὐτῶν ἡγεῖτ᾽ ὀπτὴ μεγαλὴ καὶ πλευρὸν ὕειον,

τοὺς μὲν ἄρ᾽ ἄλλους οἰκουρεῖν χρῆν, πέμπειν δὲ Νόθιππον ἑκόντα·

εἷς γὰρ μόνος ὢν κατεβρόχθισεν ἂν τὴν Πελοπόννησον ἅπασαν

"if the race of men who live today were this kind of fighter,

and their leader was a large cooked skate and a ham joint,

then everyone could stay at home, and send a willing Nothippos to war;

for he is only one man but he could eat up the whole Peloponnese"

The greed of the tragedian Nothippos is mocked in exaggerated terms and similar comic accusations of gluttony occur against Melanthios (see Kallias *Pedetai* fr. 14 above). The mock-serious tone of the first line is unravelled by the fantastical idea in line 2 of food leading an army. The ridiculousness of this idea builds to a climax with mention of Nothippos, whose appetite for food is translated into an appetite for war.

Phrynikhos

(10 titles and 86 fragments) Earliest known production: 430s BC (*PCG* vol. VII, p. 393, test. 2)

Phrynikhos is a good poet to compare with Strattis as they each have a similar number of fragments and show interest in music, dance, and tragedy in various contexts. Four of Phrynikhos' plays refer to tragedy out of a possible ten recorded titles. One fragment of Phrynikhos' *Mousai* recalls the life of Sophokles, as do lines in Aristophanes' *Frogs*, and both plays were in 405 BC. This is a small indication of the shock that Athens' dramatic community were in after losing Euripides and Sophokles so recently. In addition Phrynikhos' tribute to Sophokles may have been more extensive since a *Mousai* is also attested for Sophokles.

Mousai **(405 BC, Lenaia, second prize) fr. 32:**
(Arg. II Soph. *O.C.* p. 2,3)

μάκαρ Σοφοκλέης, ὃς πολὺν χρόνον βιοὺς
ἀπέθανεν εὐδαίμων ἀνὴρ καὶ δεξιός·
πολλὰς ποιήσας καὶ καλὰς τραγῳδίας
καλῶς ἐτελεύτησ', οὐδὲν ὑπομείνας κακόν

"Happy is Sophokles, who lived a long life,

died a fortunate and a clever man;

who wrote many noble tragedies,

who died a noble death, and suffered no evil"

The fragment eulogises Sophokles' successful life and work, but Harvey questions the interpretation of these lines as overt praise and notes the high number of sigma used and the fact that the response to this praise is unknown.[63] However, as Sophokles' death was so close to the performance of this play, it is much more plausible to see these lines as some form of encomium than to view them as mockery. Ar. *Frogs* equally shows only fondness for the recently deceased Sophokles (lines 76-82; 1515-19), although Euripides does not escape so easily. Note the description of Sophokles as δεξιός, a term also applied to Euripides in Ar. *Frogs* and in Strattis *Anthroporestes* fr. 1 where Euripides is called δεξιώτατος (discussed below in Chapter 3, p. 124).

Mousai **fr. 33** involves a voting scene in which someone is asked to cast their vote for acquittal or to condemn whoever is on trial. Meineke suggested that this was part of a poetic contest but it is rightly refuted, e.g. recently by Dover and Harvey,[64] since the mention of two voting urns indicates a judicial hearing as occurs in Ar. *Wa*. 986-8, Aiskh. *Eum*. 741-53, and Xen. *Hell*. 1.7.9. This last passage refers to the special voting arrangements for the trial of the generals of the battle of Arginousai in 406 BC, which would still be fresh in the minds of the audience of *Mousai*. While the trial in *Mousai* fr. 33 could still have involved poets, the fragments do not allow positive identification of a tragic contest since it is unknown who is on trial or with what they are charged. *Mousai* was competing against *Frogs* and may have had a similar focus on tragedy (cf. Ameipsias' *Konnos* and Ar. *Clouds* both of 423 BC and both involving Sokrates, while all three plays of 412 BC attack Melanthios the tragedian). Cf. Ar. *Thesm*. as the women vote to put Euripides to death, but caution is advisable when transposing the plot of an Aristophanic play onto that of Phrynikhos without further evidence.

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[63]   Harvey 2000: 113-4.
[64]   Meineke 1839: I.157; Dover 1993a: 26-7; Harvey 2000: 100-2 provides a useful summary of the arguments against Meineke.

Satyroi **fr. 48:**

(Schol. (RERs, V) Ar. *Cl.* 1154b)

βοάσομαι τἄρα τὰν ὑπέρτονον

βοάν

"I will make a high pitched cry"

The text of fr. 48 is also that found at Ar. *Cl.* 1154 as Strepsiades breaks out into tragic song, using a variety of tragic metres and tragic sources when he hears that Pheidippides has learnt from the Inferior argument. The Aristophanic scholion notes that line 1154 comes from the tragedy *Peleus* but there is disagreement over the tragedian's identity. V cites Sophokles as the author (see Soph. *Peleus* fr. 491R in *TrGF*), while RERs believe it is Euripides (see Eur. *Peleus* fr. 623N in *TrGF*). Rau[65] argues in favour of V, mainly because Soph. *Peleus* is parodied in Aristophanes more often than Eur. *Peleus* (which is only parodied at Ar. *Fro.* 863). However, Ángel y Espinós[66] argues the opposite, that RERs are correct and therefore that the lines are Euripidean. His argument is more extensive but is only convincing if the second line of the fragment is taken as: βοάν· ἰώ, πύλαισιν ἤ τις δόμοις; while also accepting that this line is not Sophoklean. Kannicht assigns the fragment to Sophokles (fr. 491) but Dover's admission that the issue cannot be decided remains the most sensible.[67]

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[65]   Rau 1967: 148.

[66]   Ángel y Espinós 1997: 243-8.

[67]   Kannicht in *TrGF* vol. 5.2, p. 617; Dover 1968: 234.

***Tragoidoi* or *Apeleutheroi* fr. 56:**

(Priscian. inst. gramm. XVIII 274 (GrL III p. 350,20))

αἰτίαν ἔχει

πονηρὸς εἶναι τὴν τέχνην

"He is accused of being awful as regards his art"

This could be a comment on the art of composing tragedy, particularly given the comedy's title, *Tragoidoi* or *Apeleutheroi*, where the word τραγῳδοί in Old Comedy most frequently means "tragic performers".[68] In addition, the vocabulary of fr. 56 suggests a link to tragedy; cf. Kratinos *Horai* fr. 276 where the performance of Gnesippos' chorus is described as τὴν τέχνην πονηρά, and cf. Pherekrates *Krapataloi* fr. 100 where Aiskhylos speaks of his τέχνη.

***Tragoidoi* or *Apeleutheroi* fr. 58:**

(Harp. p. 91, line 18; Dind.)

τῆι διαθέσει τῶν ἐπῶν

"In the arrangement of words"

This could be a comment on poetic or even tragic composition technique since the fr. 74 of the play presents a sustained attack on the musician Lampros, said to be Sophokles' music

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[68] e.g. Ar. *Pe*. 806; Ar. *Bir*. 787; Ar. *Wa*. 1498, 1505; *Thesm*. 391. The word can also mean "performances of tragedy", e.g. Ar. *Bir*. 512 ἐν τοῖς τραγῳδοῖς; or even "tragedians" in Krates *Paidiai* fr. 28 (discussed above, p. 42) and possibly Timokles *Dionysiazousai* fr. 6. Harvey and Wilkins 2000: 521 translate Phrynikhos' play-title as *Tragedians* but this is by no means certain. Olson 2006: 47 calls the play "Tragic actors".

teacher.

Lastly, Phrynikhos **fr. 77 (unknown play)**, whose source is Ar. *Cl*. 555-6: "and Phrynikhos brought on-stage a woman doing the kordax dance, who was eaten by a sea-monster". The Aristophanic scholion on these lines says that this was a parody of the Andromeda myth and this therefore presents a possible link to tragic versions of the myth (discussed on p. 39 above under Kratinos' *Seriphioi*).

Eupolis

(15 titles and 489 fragments) Earliest known production: c. 430/29 BC (*PCG* vol. V, p. 295, test. 2-13)[69]

Overall the fragments indicate that Eupolis readily draws on tragedy for his comic plays. This is partly due to the nature of our evidence for Eupolis, which contains many and long fragments from his plays. Three of Eupolis' plays, *Demoi*, *Marikas*, and *Poleis*, which all parody actual lines of tragedy are plays with an overtly political edge. This recalls Aristophanes' own similar use of tragedy e.g. in *Akharnians* and *Frogs*. Storey discusses Eupolis and tragedy briefly but is careful in assigning the label "parody" to describe Eupolis' engagement with tragedy.[70]

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[69]   This is also the view Storey 2003: 56 "Nothing in the fragments of Eupolis suggests a date before 430".
[70]   Storey 2003: 327-330.

***Heilotes* fr. 148:**

(Athen. *Deipn.* 14.638e)

τὰ Στησιχόρου τε καὶ Ἀλκμᾶνος Σιμωνίδου τε

ἀρχαῖον ἀείδειν, ὁ δὲ Γνήσιππος ἔστ᾽ ἀκούειν.

κεῖνος νυκτερίν᾽ ηὗρε μοιχοῖς ἀείσματ᾽ ἐκκαλεῖσθαι

γυναῖκας ἔχοντας ἰαμβύκην τε καὶ τρίγωνον

"singing the songs of Stesikhoros, and of Alkman, and of Simonides

is out-dated, but Gnesippos is the in-thing to listen to.

He discovered night-time songs for adulterers to summon women,

while holding an *iambuke* and a triangular lyre"

Gnesippos is criticised for corrupting women and is unfavourably compared with the old greats of lyric poetry. Storey suggests that the fragment was a choral passage, due to the archilochean metre in lines 1 and 4.[71] Pl. *Rep.* 3.399c explains the corrupting effect of the τρίγωνον which is able to play in varying modes (πολυαρμόνιος) due to its many strings (πολυχορδία) whereas Plato favours the use of only one mode. The ἰαμβύκη was a harp, considered by West, to be the same instrument as the σαμβύκη with its boat-shaped sound box.[72] For the corrupting effects of music in varying modes cf. Pherekrates *Kheiron* fr. 155 and Eupolis fr. 326 (unknown play). For other fragments on Gnesippos see Kallias *Pedetai* fr. 14 above (p. 44).

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[71]   Storey 2003: 179 also discusses the difficulties with the metre of the intervening lines.
[72]   West 1992b: 75-7.

Kolakes (421 BC, City Dionysia, first prize) fr. 172, lines 11-16:

(Athen. *Deipn*. 6.236f-237a)

εἶτ᾽ ἐπὶ δεῖπνον ἐρχόμεσθ᾽ ἄλλυδις ἄλλος ἡμῶν

μᾶζαν ἐπ᾽ ἀλλόφυλον, οὗ δεῖ χαρίεντα πολλὰ

τὸν κόλακ᾽ εὐθέως λέγειν, ἢ ᾽κφέρεται θύραζε.

οἶδα δ᾽ Ἀκέστορ᾽ αὐτὸ τὸν στιγματίαν παθόντα·

σκῶμμα γὰρ εἶπ᾽ ἀσελγές, εἶτ᾽ αὐτὸν ὁ παῖς θύραζε

ἐξαγαγὼν ἔχοντα κλῳὸν παρέδωκεν Οἰνεῖ

"Then we go this way and that to dinner to have our barley cake,

which belongs to someone else, where the accomplished flatterer

must talk quickly right away or else he is thrown outdoors.

I know that this very thing happened to Akestor, the tattooed runaway.

For he told a tasteless joke, then the boy took him outdoors

and handed him, in a pillory, over to Oineus"

The fragment makes a joke at the expense of the tragedian Akestor as part of a passage that describes the life of a parasite, which is spoken by the chorus of flatterers. The narrative here begins with an Homeric expression (in Homer ἄλλυδις only appears with ἄλλος) but it proceeds to describe Akestor's humiliating ejection from a house. His description as τὸν στιγματίαν "tattooed" reflects another vicious attack on his identity as a non-citizen. The reference to Oineus is not fully understood but it is thought to imply "handing him over for execution".[73] The myth surrounding Oineus, dramatised in Eur. *Oineus* tells of the deposed

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[73] See *PCG* vol. V, p. 392; Sommerstein 2000: 448, n. 33 offers an alternative explanation, involving Periboia,

king in exile and in Euripides' play he appeared in rags (as Ar. *Akh*. 418-20 makes clear) before he was reinstated as King at Thebes. Perhaps, then, the penalty for Akestor's bad joke is to join the pitiful Oineus in exile. While the meaning of the line is not certain it is clearly another harsh attack on Akestor as an individual, rather than on Akestor's tragedies.

***Kolakes* fr. 178:**

(Schol. (RVΓ) Ar. *Pe.* 803)

ὁ δὲ Μελάνθιος κωμῳδεῖται εἰς μαλακίαν καὶ ὀψοφαγίαν. καὶ πολὺ μᾶλλον ἐν τοῖς Κόλαξιν Εὔπολις ὡς κίναιδον αὐτὸν διαβάλλει καὶ κόλακα.

"Melanthios was mocked for his softness and greed, and especially in Eupolis' Kolakes as a passive homosexual and a flatterer.

This indicates that Melanthios was ridiculed in three plays at the same contest, at the Dionysia in 421 BC: Eupolis' *Kolakes,* Ar. *Peace,* and Leukon's *Phrateres.* Eupolis again mocks Melanthios in his *Astrateutoi* or *Androgunai* fr. 43 for his great and greedy appetite ὀψοφάγος (schol. Ar. *Pe.* 808b). For other jokes on Melanthios and his effeminacy see Kallias *Pedetai* fr. 14 on p. 44 above.

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daughter of Hipponoos. She was sent to Oineus for execution after a sexual encounter with Hippostratos.

Marikas **fr. 207:**

(Schol. Aiskh. *Pers*. 65)

πεπέρακεν μὲν ὁ περσέπτολις ἤδη Μαρικᾶς

"For city-sacker Marikas has already crossed"

This comic line is a parody of Aiskh. *Pers*. 65: πεπέρακεν μὲν ὁ περσέπτολις ἤδη / βασίλειος στρατὸς εἰς ἀντίπορον γείτονα χώραν where the chorus describe the advance of the mighty Persian army. Eupolis inserts instead the name Marikas, which refers to the political figure, Hyperbolos who is the comic target of *Marikas*. Therefore, the line ends in a comic anti-climax which breaks the otherwise untouched tragic line and the cause of this rupture is, in fact, the name Marikas (cf. Eupolis *Poleis* fr. 231 which uses the same technique, replacing the name Eteokles with Hierokles). Marikas is also a Persian name,

making the quotation of *Persai* more apt.[74] Tuplin discusses other comedies that have Persians as a theme and notices in *Marikas* "a scatter of Persian material".[75]

Another tempting parallel with Aiskh. *Persai* arises from the fact that *Marikas* starred Hyperbolos, with his mother appearing in fr. 209, while Xerxes and his mother are the main characters of *Persai*. This connection with *Persai* need not encompass the whole of *Marikas* but it is of relevance to the scene in which fr. 207 occurred, especially as Eupolis uses tragic quotations in his comedies very frequently.[76] There is another clear parallel with tragedy in *Marikas* fr. 209 where Hyperbolos' mother appears in the play carrying her son's bones on a bread-seller's tray. Bringing on-stage the remnants of the dead is a tragic motif (e.g. in Eur. *Hippolytos* and *Bakkhai*) but not an event that occurs in Aiskh. *Persai*. For the argument that death cannot occur in comedy, see Sonnino, who suggests that the tray contains dice rather than the bones of Marikas.[77]

***Demoi* fr. 106:**

(Longin. *de subl*. 16.3)

> οὐ γὰρ μὰ τὴν Μαραθῶνι τὴν ἐμὴν μάχην
>
> χαίρων τις αὐτῶν τοὐμὸν ἀλγυνεῖ κέαρ.

> "By the battle I fought at Marathon,
>
> none of them will pain my heart and get away with it"

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[74] For discussion of the name Marikas, see Cassio 1985: 38-42 and Morgan 1986: 529-31.
[75] Tuplin 1996: 143 lists other comedies with Persian theme but these all date after *Marikas*.
[76] There is also an intriguing mention of τοὺς Πέρσας[in *Marikas* fr. 192 (fr.1 Aʳ col. ii, line 44), from a papyrus commentary on the play.
[77] Sonnino 1997: 43-60.

These comic lines resemble closely the structure of Eur. *Med*. 395: οὐ γὰρ μὰ τὴν δέσποινην ἣν ἐγὼ σέβω while Eur. *Med*. 398 is identical to the second line of fr. 106. In the tragedy Medeia invokes Hekate, not Marathon, and expresses her intended vengeance on her enemies. In Eupolis' *Demoi*, the speaker is the newly-resurrected general of Marathon, Miltiades (since he was a character in the play and the most likely person to say τὴν Μαραθῶνι τὴν ἐμὴν μάχην). The force of the tragic line, regardless of knowledge that the line is Medeia's, allows the comedy to convey the words of Miltiades via high-style speech. The two-line fragment is not enough to decide if the audience would realise that the line was Medeia's.[78] It could merely work to elevate Miltiades' language.

In connection with this it is worth mentioning ***Demoi* fr. 99.35** and fr. **99.102** where Aristeides (a general and contemporary of Miltiades), who has been recently brought back to life as well, speaks with tragic diction:

***Demoi* fr. 99.35:**
(Pap. Cair. 43227)

ὦ γῆ πατρώια χαῖρε· σὲ γὰρ …[

"o greetings my homeland"

The first line is very similar to Eur. *Oineus* fr. 558: ὦ γῆς πατρῴιας χαῖρε φίλτατον

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[78]   Telò 2006: 263-306 appears sure that the audience will know the lines are Euripidean but it is by no means certain.

πέδον which is also the opening line of the tragic prologue speech, according to Arist. *Rhet.* 1417a 13, and therefore, a potentially memorable and recognisable line (cf. use of Euripidean prologues in Ar. *Fro.* 1206-47 and Strattis *Phoinissai* fr. 46, discussed Chapter 3, p. 186). The speaker of the tragic prologue is Diomedes since he identifies himself as son of Tydeus, and grandson of Oineus.

Demoi fr. 99.102:

(Pap. Cair. 43227)

τί τοὺς θανόντας οὐκ ἐᾷς τεθνηκέναι;

"why couldn't you let the dead be dead?"

The same line occurs in Eur. *Melanippe Desmotis* fr. 507 and continues καὶ τἀκχυθέντα συλλέγεις ἀλγήματα; "and why are you gathering up spilt sorrows".

Therefore, the fragments of *Demoi* contain several instances of deceased Athenian public figures using tragic discourse in their speech although the tone of the tragic quotations is not clear in the comic context.

Poleis fr. 219:[79]

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[79] Olson 2007: 188, 440 wrongly attributes the fragment to Eupolis' *Marikas.*

(Athen. *Deipn.* 10.425a-b)

οὓς δ' οὐκ ἂν εἵλεσθ' οὐδ' ἂν οἰνόπτας πρὸ τοῦ,

νυνὶ στρατηγούς – ∪. ὦ πόλις, πόλις,

ὡς εὐτυχὴς εἶ μᾶλλον ἢ καλῶς φρονεῖς

"those who in the past you would not choose as your table stewards,

are now generals. O city city,

how fortunate you are, rather than prudent"

The phrase ὦ πόλις πόλις occurs in Soph. *O.T.* 629 and at Ar. *Akh.* 27 in Dikaiopolis'

opening speech, which is peppered with paratragic material. Both indicate that the usage of

the phrase here by Eupolis is also probably paratragic.

***Poleis* fr. 231:**

(Schol. (VΓLh) Ar. *Pe*. 1046)

Ἱερόκλεες, βέλτιστε χρησμῳδῶν ἄναξ

"Hierokles, the noblest lord of oracle-mongers"

This line has a close parallel in Aiskh. *Seven* 39: Ἐτεόκλεες, φέριστε Καδμείων ἄναξ and

there is a strong assonance to both lines to make a link clear. Such overt praise in comedy of

an oracle-monger suggests that here the tragic diction is mock-serious. Indeed schol. (VΓLh)

Ar. *Pe*. 1046 notes that Hierokles was mocked in comedy for his inaccurate predictions.

Hierokles and oracle-mongers are elsewhere subject to mockery (e.g. Ar. *Kn*. passim, *Pe*. 1043-1126, *Bir*. 959-91). In substituting the name Hierokles for Eteokles, Eupolis repeats a technique we saw earlier in *Marikas* fr. 207.

Prospaltioi **fr. 260 lines 23-6:**

(PSI 1213, first century)

> ὁρᾶις παρὰ ῥείθροισιν ὅταν η[...] δ[
>
> ἢν μέν τις εἴκηι τοῖς λόγοις ἐκσώιζε[ται,
>
> ὁ δ᾽ ἀντιτείνων αὐτόπρεμνος οἴχε[ται.
>
> αὕτως δὲ ναός (::) ἀπό μ᾽ ὀλεῖς, ἄνθρωπ[ε, σύ.

> "You have seen how beside the streams when...
>
> if someone yields to these words he is saved,
>
> but he who resists, is destroyed, trunk and branch.
>
> In the same way a ship... (::) you'll be the death of me, my fellow"

This is part of a thirty-line papyrus and the above extract reuses Soph. *Ant*. 712-5. Eupolis keeps the same meaning as that of the tragic lines which warn someone against their

unbending nature. In *Antigone,* Haimon tries unsuccessfully to sway his father, Kreon, from his resolve to execute Antigone. In fr. 260 there are some changes to the language so that the metaphorical imagery of unbending trees is replaced with a more direct image of a man who is unyielding; the poetic imagery is toned down, perhaps so that the meaning is clearer. In line 26 a second speaker stops the tragic speech of the first with the exclamation ἀπό μ᾽ ὀλεῖς. The interlocutor cannot take any more of the tragic-style speech and so interrupts the first speaker in the middle of a tragic line. This is an example of a long section of tragic parody of a particular play which comes to an abrupt and comic end in line 26. It is clear that the first speaker is trying to persuade the second of something but it is not clear what (note the repeated use of the verb πείθομαι in lines 18, 22, 28).[80] In so doing the first speaker resorts to the persuasive speech of tragedy, and of Haimon in Soph. *Ant.* in particular. The same Sophoclean passage is used by the comic poet Antiphanes (fr. 228 of an unknown play) in a parody of the mid-fourth century BC. By this time the tragic passage had gained a life of its own, thanks no doubt in part to Eupolis' parody of it in *Prospaltioi*. Cf. Platon *Eortai* fr. 29 below where Euboulos (*Dionysios* fr. 26) later reused the same joke about the Euripidean sigma.

Taxiarkhoi **fr. 268.7-11:**

(*P. Oxy*. 2740, first century)

>]τουτου Σοφοκλέο[υς
>] . εις νιν εἰς φθορ[
>]μενται τὰ δ᾽ ἄλλα[
> Σοφοκλέους ἐσ[τὶν ἐκ

---

80   Storey 2003: 233-8 discusses the whole papyrus text of Eupolis fr. 260.

    Τηρέως δοκῶ [

7 τουτ᾽ οὐ Σοφοκλέο[υς ἐστί; Austin

The passage quoted above is part of a highly fragmentary papyrus that forms part of a commentary on Eupolis' *Taxiarkhoi*.[81] The text is so fragmented that no translation is useful, but two mentions of Sophokles are clearly distinguishable, once in connection with his tragedy, *Tereus*. Austin's conjecture allows more sense to be made of the words in suggesting that the commentator sees a link between a part of *Taxiarkhoi* and Sophokles' *Tereus*. Fitzpatrick and Sommerstein suggest that line 8 is the tragic quotation, as the use of νιν makes clear.[82] Therefore, there is another instance of Eupolis engaging with a tragedy and one which Ar. *Bir.* 100-222 parodies in an extended form. The disputed dating of *Taxiarkhoi* to some time in the 410s BC is discussed below, under *Taxiarkhoi* fr. 280. Eupolis' *Taxiarkhoi* is therefore close in date to Aristophanes' *Birds* (414 BC), indicating that both tragedians used Sophokles' *Tereus*. Unfortunately the date of the Sophoklean tragedy is uncertain, beside a *terminus ante quem* of 414 BC.[83] Cf. Kantharos wrote a comic play called *Tereus* (see p. 77 below).

***Taxiarkhoi* fr. 280:**

(Poll. 7.168 (codd. FS, A))

        ἀντὶ ποικίλου

---

[81] The play is identified from lines 15 and 33 which mention Phormion, who stars alongside Dionysos in the comedy.

[82] Sommerstein et al. 2006: 194-5.

[83] The most recent discussion of the dating is Sommerstein 2006: 157-9; see also Dobrov 1993: 213, but Dobrov's acceptance of Euripides' *Medeia* (431 BC) as a *terminus ante quem* is tenuous at best.

πιναρὸν ἔχοντ' ἀλουτίαι

κάρα τε καὶ τρίβωνα

"instead of a multicoloured robe

having a dirty unwashed

head and tunic"

The language and meaning of this fragment have close parallels with that in Euripides'
Elektra (lines 184-5) and *Orestes* (lines 225-6). In the first case, Elektra expresses disregard
for her appearance with reference to hair and dress: Eur. *El.* 184-5: σκέψαι μου πιναρὰν
κόμαν / καὶ τρύχη τάδ' ἐμῶν πέπλων "look at my grubby hair and these rags of my robes";
in the second, she remarks upon Orestes' appearance: Eur. *Or.* 225-6: ὦ βοστρύχων
πινῶδες ἄθλιον κάρα, / ὡς ἠγρίωσαι διὰ μακρᾶς ἀλουσίας. "O dirty hair and wretched
head, how wild you have grown, unwashed for so long". Both tragic passages and *Taxiarkhoi*
fr. 280 make use of the adjective πιναρὸς, which is unusual in tragedy and therefore all the
more striking.

The similarities between Eupolis *Taxiarkhoi* fr. 280 and the Euripidean passages are only
complicated by the disputed date of *Taxiarkhoi* and the uncertain date of Euripides' *Elektra*.[84]
Storey discusses the dating of *Taxiarkhoi*, favouring a later date in the 410s BC.[85] This would
make it closer in date to the *Orestes* of 408 BC so that allusions between the tragedies are
very probable, however, Eupolis' position in this cannot be fixed. Given Eupolis' penchant

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[84] Cropp 1988: l-li discusses the dating, which ranges from 422-413 BC. Cropp favours a date of c. 420 BC
      because the lines of the play contain a low level of resolution, and Euripidean plays which are securely dated
      in the 410s BC exhibit a higher level of resolution.
[85] Storey 2003: 247-8, although part of his argument involves seeing fr. 280 as Euripidean parody.

elsewhere for using tragic lines, it is plausible that *Taxiarkhoi* fr. 280 contains another example. It is particularly inviting when we consider that the most probable occupant of the ποικίλου in fr. 280 is Dionysos, who appeared in the play to gain training from the naval general Phormion. His use of Elektra's lines to complain about his appearance would add to his characteristically feminine behaviour. There is also an important parallel for this in Strattis' *Phoinissai* fr. 46 in which Dionysos appears on the *mēkhanē* spouting the opening lines of Euripides' *Hypsipyle* (on which see the commentary in Chapter 3, p. 186).

Philonides

(4 titles and 16 fragments) Produced Aristophanic comedies 427-405 BC,[86] father of the tragedian Nikokhares.

Fr. 7 (unknown play):

(Hellad. chrestom. apud Phot. *bibl*. 279 p. 530a 15)

ὅρκους δὲ μοιχῶν εἰς τέφραν ἐγὼ γράφω

"I write the oaths of adulterers in ashes"

Photius, who provides this information, says that Philonides is parodying Sophokles fr. 811 (unknown play): ὅρκους ἐγὼ γυναικὸς εἰς ὕδωρ γράφω "I write the oaths of a woman in water" and clearly both the tragic and comic fragments convey the same sentiment on the transience of oaths from individuals deemed unreliable. In tragedy the unreliable individual is a woman, but comedy goes for the more clear-cut case of an adulterer and has in mind no doubt one of the punishments for adulterers that involved burning their pubic hair with hot ash (as mentioned at Ar. *Cl*. 1083 and *Thesm*. 536-9).

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[86] This follows schol. Ar. *Cl*. 531 which claims that Philonides produced *Banqueters* in 427 BC.

Kantharos

(5 titles and 13 fragments) Only known production date: 422 BC (*PCG* vol. IV, p. 57, test. 2)

Plays of Kantharos that share the same title as tragedies or satyr plays but no other link to that tragedy:

- Kantharos' *Medeia* (a tragedy by Euripides)

- Kantharos' *Tereus* (a tragedy by Sophokles) Kantharos is the only known fifth-century BC comic dramatist to write a comic *Tereus* (Philetairos and Anaxandrides each wrote a *Tereus* in the fourth century BC). Cf. the mention of Sophokles' *Tereus* in Eupolis *Taxiarkhoi* fr. 268 and the extended parody of the tragic *Tereus* at the beginning of Aristophanes' *Birds*.

Leukon

(3 titles and 7 fragments) Earliest known production: 422 BC (*PCG* vol. V, p. 611, test. 3)

***Phrateres* (421 BC) fr. 3:** Athen. *Deipn.* 8.343c mentions Melanthios and mocks him for his greed. For the text, see Pherekrates *Petale* fr. 148 on p. 56 above.

Platon

(28 titles and 292 fragments) Earliest known production: c. 410 BC (*IG* II^2 2325, 63)

Eortai **fr. 29:**

(Schol. Eur. *Med*. 476)

⏑ – ⏑ εὖ γέ σοι <γένοιθ'>, ἡμᾶς ὅτι

ἔσωσας ἐκ τῶν σίγμα τῶν Εὐριπίδου

"may it be well for you at least, because

you saved us from the sigma of Euripides"

The Euripidean scholiast cites this fragment, noting that it parodies Euripides for an excessive use of sigma-sounds at Eur. *Med*. 476. Medeia's speech (lines 465ff.) contains patches with a high number of sigma (e.g. 467, 471-2, 473-4, 476 480-2), which provides appropriate assonance for a speech in which she literally spits bile at Iason. Therefore, the high density of sigma-sounds per line and their persistence through her speech, together with its highly emotive content would make the speech memorable and a worthy target for comic deflation.

Eur. *Med*. 478 also contains many ᾽π᾽. Jebb on Soph. *O.T*. 371 notes nine instances of ᾽τ᾽ in the line (where Oidipous rejects Teiresias' prophecy and insults him), similarly *Aias* 528 contains many ᾽τ᾽ (as Aias almost addresses his wife in person). Soph. *El*. 210 contains a line of ᾽π᾽ words as Elektra lets vent her anger and curses her father's murderers. In all of these cases the characters are expressing anger when they use a consonant repetitively and this is an

appropriate verbal translation of their emotions.

Scott long ago pointed out, in somewhat exasperated tones, that Euripides is not unique in his use of sigma and that the recurrence of sigma-sounds is apparent in the works of Aiskhylos, Sophokles, Euripides, and particularly in Aristophanes.[87] This contradicts Eustathios' claims that comic dramatists shy away from using many sigma (Eust. *Il.*[1] p. 813, 44; Eust. *in Il.*[2] p. 896, 54). Yet the comic caricature of Euripides stuck fast; Eustathios discusses Euripides' use of sigma at a number of points and endearingly calls him ὁ φιλοσίγματος Εὐριπίδης (Eust. *Il.* p. 1170, 54). Cf. Platon *Skeuai* fr. 142 below which associates Euripides directly with a particular character type, so that the comic characterisation of Euripides is again integrally linked to his work. The same joke about Euripidean sigma occurs in a mid-fourth century BC comedy by Euboulos (*Dionysios* fr. 26), a clear sign that the comic reinterpretation of tragedy was fixed in the popular consciousness. Cf. Eupolis' *Prospaltioi* fr. 260 above which parodies a passage of Sophokles, later also used by Antiphanes fr. 228 (unknown play).

Lakones **or** ***Poetai*** **fr. 69:**
(Schol. Orb. coll. med. 12 A 63)

> ὅταν δέωμαι γωνιαίου ῥήματος,
>
> τούτῳ παριστῶ καὶ μοχλεύω τὰς πέτρας

παριστῶ cod. | παρίστω Meineke | παρεστὼς Herw. Coll. p. 54 ('olim') | παρασπῶ Emperius Opusc. p. 309 | παρισοῦμαι Kock

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[87] Scott 1908: 77 "it was only a joke"..."the reputation of Euripides has suffered by scholars taking as sober fact an empty joke on the comic stage".

"whenever I am in need of a cornerstone word,

I will stand beside this man and prise up the rocks"

This refers to the power of speech and possibly of tragic discourse since there are parallels with a description of Aiskhylos' poetry using this style of language at Ar. *Fro*. 854 as Dionysos warns Euripides to keep away from Aiskhylos: ἵνα μὴ κεφαλαίῳ τὸν κρόταφόν σου ῥήματι / θενὼν ὑπ' ὀργῆς with a literal reference to the physical might of his poetry. This imagery recurs in Pherekrates *Krapataloi* fr. 100 (discussed above) where Aiskhylos talks of his work in architectural terms. In addition, the alternative title of the Platon's play, *Poetai,* makes a discussion of tragic discourse plausible. Meineke thinks that Sthenelos is the speaker of *Lakones* or *Poetai* fr. 69 by connecting it with *Lakones* or *Poetai* fr. 72, where the tragedian Sthenelos is mocked for: τἀλλότρια ἐπισφετεριζόμενον "nicking the possessions of others".[88] The charge against Sthenelos certainly could be a comic way of claiming that Sthenelos steals the ideas of others and therefore that he lacks originality. Meineke's reading is inviting yet its plausibility rests on conjecture and it is important to remind ourselves that the surrounding context of the two fragments is lost.

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[88] Meineke 1839 II.2, p. 639.

Skeuai **fr. 136:**

(Schol. Ar. *Wa*. 1312)

ἅψαι μόνον σὺ κἂν ἄκρῳ τοῦ Μορσίμου,

ἵνα σου πατήσω τὸν Σθένελον μάλ᾽ αὐτίκα

"Should you touch a hair on Morsimos' head,

 then I will trample over your Sthenelos utterly"

The fragment sees an argument concerning the two tragic playwrights, Morsimos and Sthenelos. As in Ar. *Frogs*, this indicates the theme of competing tastes and rivalry between fans for certain poets, as well as the rivalries between the poets themselves. This fragment makes clear the threat of physical contact and possibly all-out fighting over these two tragedians. Here theatre mocks itself and so indicates that it has a recognisable form, with characteristics which give it shape as an independent entity, one that is of interest to its audience, or at the very least one which they cannot avoid knowing about.

Skeuai **fr. 140** (Schol. (VEΓ²) Ar. *Bir*. 151a) the scholion notes that Melanthios the tragedian was "mocked as a chatterer" ὡς λάλον σκώπτει in the comedy but does not give a precise reference. The scholion then continues with a quotation from Kallias' *Pedetai* concerning Melanthios (Kallias *Pedetai* fr. 14, see above).

Skeuai **fr. 142:**

(Hdn. Π καθολ. προσῳδ. fr. 31 Hung)

Εὐριπίδης δὲ ἐποίησεν ὑδροφοροῦσαν †αὐτήν†.

ἐμοὶ δὲ †πυραυνακτιανειησο .. ον†

καὶ καινόν, εἰ πύραυνον ὀστράκινον ἔχοι;

"Euripides depicted her carrying water but to me [...........]

and new, if she has an earthenware pan of coals?"

The unknown speaker is talking about Euripides and describes the tragedian's creation of a water-carrying character. Therefore, the speaker is recalling a particular scene and character from a Euripidean play. This is most probably Elektra who carries water (*Elektra* line 55) as is argued below, (cf. another famous water carrier, Amymone is only known in the Aiskhylean satyr play *Amymone*).[89] Part of *Skeuai* fr. 142 is corrupt and so the sense of the lines is lost where the reason is given for mentioning Euripides and his character. The speaker appears to be suggesting that instead of carrying water, Euripides' character should carry a pan of coals, something which the speaker of fr. 142 considers to be innovative: καινόν. By way of comparison, the comic charges in *Akharnians* (413-65) and *Frogs* (948-90) are that Euripides brought characters in rags on-stage and employed low-style subjects. The speaker of *Skeuai* fr. 142 imagines a tragic character carrying a more domestic and dirty prop than a water jar – a pan of coals and this fits with Euripides' water-carrying Elektra who complains about her unkempt appearance, notably her rags (lines 185, 1107) and has short hair like a slave (108,

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[89] Amymone's iconography as a water carrier sometimes appears on vases (e.g. a fifth-century BC calyx krater, 213878, St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum, 191) and persists into later literature: Prop. 2.26b line 47l; Lucian *Dialogue of the Sea Gods* 8.

241). In *Skeuai* fr. 142, Platon presents Euripides as directly connected to the poetry that he produces, just as Platon *Eortai* fr. 29 gave rise to the idea of the Euripidean love of sigma-sounds. We can compare the earlier mentioned Eupolis *Taxiarkhoi* fr. 280, in which Dionysos draws attention to his unkempt appearance in a way that again draws on Elektra's characterisation by Euripides (see p. 74 above).

In light of the number of comments in *Skeuai* on Morsimos, Sthenelos, Melanthios and Euripides it is worth noting that *Skeuai* fr. 138 sees someone grumble about modern dance styles of choruses who stand there without moving in comparison with older dances. The fragment could be a reference to a tragic chorus and the fragments of *Skeuai* taken in sum show that dance and drama were recurrent subjects in the play, and important themes especially when the title, *Skeuai* or *Props* is also taken into account.

Sophistai **fr. 143:**

(Schol. (RV) Ar. *Pe*. 792a)

Ξενοκλῆς ὁ δωδεκαμήχανος,

ὁ Καρκίνου παῖς τοῦ θαλαττίου ∪ −

"Xenokles the twelve-*mēkhanos*,

son of sea-lord Karkinos"

The scholion on Ar. *Pe.* 792 claims that Xenokles the tragedian introduced tricks and marvels into his plays, as indicated by his title of δωδεκαμήχανος. This implies that Xenokles

promoted the use of machines and stage tricks or "special effects" in his plays which caught the attention of comic poets. Cf. *Frogs* 1327 where Aiskhylos again attacks Euripides: "You write this sort of thing and dare to criticize my lyrics, when you compose songs using the twelve tricks of Kyrene?" where Kyrene, according to the scholion, was a prostitute with twelve positions. It is not clear that δωδεκαμήχανος in Platon fr. 143 offers a level of sexual innuendo in the joke against Xenokles but it does reflect his level of ingenuity. In fr. 143, Karkinos is called θαλαττίου because he was an admiral (Thouk. 2.23.2) but also due to the etymology of his name as "crab" which the final scene of Ar. *Wa.* 1501-34 plays upon with a crab dance by Karkinos and his three dancer sons.

***Surphax* fr. 175:**

(Athen. *Deipn*. 8.344d-e)

        (A.) ὁδὶ μὲν ᾿Αναγυράσιος ὀρφώς ἐστί σοι.

        (B.) οἶδ᾽, ᾧ φίλος Μυννίσκος ἔσθ᾽ ὁ Χαλκιδεύς.

        (A.) καλῶς λέγεις

        "(A.) This here is an Anagyrasian sea-perch for you.

        (B.) I know, Mynniskos the Khalkidean is fond of it.

        (A.) You've got that right"

Mynniskos is a tragic actor and Athenaios quotes Platon's comedy as evidence that he was a greedy eater. *Vit. Aiskh.* 15 says that Mynniskos was Aiskhylos' second actor, while one Kleandros was his first actor. Arist. *Poet.* 1461b (25.32.4) notes that Mynniskos represented

the ideal of the early tragic actor and claims that Mynniskos disapproved of the younger

actor's technique and that he called Kallippides an ape for being too over the top. This may be

little more than anecdotal evidence but it is an indication of a development in acting styles for

tragic performances. Mynniskos won an actor's prize in 423/2BC (*IG* II² 2318, 119). This

topic is discussed further under Strattis' *Kallippides* in Chapter 3, p. 145.

Fr. 210 (unknown play):

(Mich. Ital. epist. 24; An. Ox. III p. 195,6)

οὐδεὶς ὁμαίμου συμπαθέστερος φίλος,

κἂν ᾖ ∪ − ∪ τοῦ γένους μακρὰν ∪ −

"no friend is more sympathetic than a blood-relative

even if he is a distant member of your family line"

The word ὅμαιμος is recurrent in tragedy throughout the fifth century but is only found in

comedy here and in Kratinos fr. 478 (unknown play), which strongly suggests that fr. 210

involves paratragic language. The reliance on blood-relations is an idea expressed at Eur. *And*.

985 by Orestes, and in Eur. *Or*. 804-6 again by Orestes, which is possibly connected with

trag. adesp. 384.

Fr. 235 (unknown play): Schol. (RVEΘ Barb.) Ar. *Fro*. 303 notes that Platon mocks

Hegelokhos for his unpleasant voice ἀτερπῆ τὴν φωνήν. There are many jokes against

Hegelokhos concerning his unfortunate mispronunciation of Eur. *Or*. 279 (Strattis fr. 1 and fr.

63, Sannyrion fr. 8, Ar. *Fro.* 303).

Lysippos

(3 titles and 10 fragments) Only known victory 409 BC (*PCG* vol. V, p. 618, test. 3)

- Lysippos' *Bakkhai* shares the same title as tragedies but there is no other link to that tragedy (cf. Aiskh., Soph., Eur., Iophon, Xenokles and Kleophon wrote a *Bakkhai*)

Sannyrion

(3 titles and 13 fragments) Earliest known production after 408 BC (the date of Eur. *Or.*)

Gelos **fr. 2:**

(Athen. *Deipn.* 12.551c)

∪ – Μέλητον τὸν ἀπὸ Ληναίου νεκρόν

"Meletos, that corpse from the Lenaion"

The description of the tragedian Meletos as a corpse, recalls the mockery of his appearance in Ar. *Gerytades* fr. 156 alongside Kinesias and Sannyrion who are all noted for their thinness and unhealthy look. This personal attack on Meletos could also be a comment on his tragic compositions as a reflection of his rigid or unimaginative style which therefore failed in production. Cf. Ar. *Akh.* 138-40 which compares the tragedian, Theognis, to snowy and cold

weather. Aristophanes is the only other poet to mention Meletos (Ar. *Georgoi* fr. 117, *Gerytades* fr. 156, *Pelargoi* fr. 453, fr. 590).

***Danaë* fr. 8:**

(Schol. Eur. *Or*. 279)

<div align="center">

τί οὖν γενόμενος εἰς ὀπὴν ἐνδύσομαι;

ζητητέον. φέρ᾽ εἰ γενοίμην <–> γαλῆ·

ἀλλ᾽ Ἡγέλοχος <εὐθὺς> με μηνύσειεν <ἂν>

ὁ τραγικὸς ἀνακράγοι τ᾽ ἂν εἰσιδὼν μέγα·

ἐκ κυμάτων γὰρ αὖθις αὖ γαλῆν᾽ ὁρῶ

</div>

<div align="center">

"What am I doing going into a chimney anyway?

I must have a look. Now then, let me become a pole cat.

But Hegelokhos <immediately> would show me up,

that tragic man would cry out and look on proudly;

'*Once more the storm is past, I see a cat*' "

</div>

This mocks Hegelokhos' delivery of Eur. *Or*. 279, a popular joke about the actor, as noted in Platon fr. 235 above on p. 85. The recurrence of the joke creates a stereotype of the bad tragic actor who can render Euripides' tragic lines comic. In *Danaë* the joke is adapted to fit succinctly into a scene of comic action where someone tries to climb into a chimney. To do this the speaker wishes he was a pole cat γαλῆ making him small enough to fit. This provides the somewhat unsubtle comic feed to recall Hegelokhos' confusion in pronouncing γαλῆν

instead of γαληνά. Sophokles and Euripides each composed a *Danaë*.

Diokles

(6 titles and 17 fragments) A contemporary of Sannyrion and Philyllios according to the Suda (δ 1115)

Plays of Diokles that share the same title as tragedies or satyr plays but no other link to that tragedy:

- Diokles' *Bakkhai* (cf. Aiskh., Soph., Eur., Iophon, Xenokles and Kleophon wrote a tragic *Bakkhai*) Diokles' *Bakkhai* fr. 4 "to behave like a woman" and "to be womanish" which would have reference to the myth of the *Bakkhai*, especially if it related to Euripides' *Bakkhai* with Pentheus disguised as a woman.

- Diokles' *Kyklopes* (cf. a satyr play by Aristias and later one by Euripides in 408 BC).

- Diokles' *Thyestes* (cf. Euripides' *Thyestes* and three *Thyestes* by Sophokles).

Philyllios

(10 titles and 33 fragments) A contemporary of Sannyrion according to the Suda (δ 1115)

Philyllios was a contemporary of Strattis and the number of Philyllios' plays that share their titles with tragedies is notable but there is no other link to that tragedy:

- Philyllios' *Aigeus* (Euripides' and Sophokles' *Aigeus*)

- Philyllios' *Atalante* (Aiskhylos'and Aristias' *Atalante*)

- Philyllios' *Auge* (Euripides' *Auge*)

- Philyllios' *Helen* (Euripides' *Helen*; cf. Sophokles and Timestheos' *Helenes apaitesin*, Sophokles' *Helenes arpagen*, Sophokles' *Helenes gamon*)

- Philyllios' *Herakles* (Euripides' *Herakles*)

- Philyllios' *Plyntriai* or *Nausikaa* (Sophokles' *Nausikaa*)

Dodekate **fr. 6:**

(Poll. 10.70)

<div align="center">

σοὶ μὲν οὖν τήνδ᾽, ἀμφορεῦ

δίδωμι τιμήν, πρῶτα μὲν τοῦτ᾽ αὔτ᾽ ἔχειν

ὄνομα μετρητὴν μετριότητος οὕνεκα

</div>

"Therefore, amphora, I grant you this honour,

that you be first to have this name

'Metretes' on account of your measured qualities"

This contains a high-style address to an amphora which compares with Praxagora's paratragic address to the lamp at the opening of *Ekkl.* that begins: Ὦ λαμπρὸν ὄμμα τοῦ τροχηλάτου λύχνου / κάλλιστ᾽ ἐν εὐστόχοισιν ἐξηυρημένον. The Aristophanic scholion on the lines suggests the tragedian Agathon as their source. In fr. 6 the iambic trimeters are tragic with no resolution, providing an initial indication that the lines are paratragic, but this can be taken further because there is a parallel for the phrase σοὶ μὲν οὖν τήνδ᾽, ἀμφορεῦ δίδωμι τιμήν in Eur. *Antiope* fr. 223, col. iv, line 125-6 (again in iambic trimeters): Ζεὺς τήνδε τιμὴν σὺν δ᾽ ἐγὼ δίδωμί σοι, / οὗπερ τόδ᾽ εὕρημ᾽ ἔσχες, Ἀμφίων ἄναξ. Additionally note the possible

pun on ἀμφορεῦ in *Dodekate* fr. 6 and Ἀμφίων in Eur. *Antiope* fr. 223.

Theopompos

(20 titles and 97 fragments) Late fifth/early fourth c. BC

***Teisamenos* fr. 61:**

(Schol. (VΓ) Ar. *Wa*. 1221)

τὸν δὲ Μύσιον

Ἀκέστορ᾽ ἀναπέπεικεν ἀκολουθεῖν ἅμα

"(s)he persuaded Mysian Akestor to follow along with"

This classes Akestor not just as a foreigner, but as specifically Mysian, as again occurs in Metagenes *Philothutes* fr. 14, which the scholion proceeds to cite after *Teisamenos* fr. 61. For a list of other mentions of Akestor, see p. 104 below.

Odysseus **fr. 35:**

(Athen. *Deipn.* 4.165b)

Εὐριπίδου τἄριστον, οὐ κακῶς ἔχον,

τἀλλότρια δειπνεῖν τὸν καλῶς εὐδαίμονα

τ᾽ ἄριστον A | ᾽στ ἄριστον Bergk Rel. p. 412 | τἄρ᾽ ἐστὶν Meineke | τὸ ῥηθὲν Emperius

Opusc. p. 346 | τόδ᾽ ἐστὶν Blaydes Adv. I p. 58, τοῦτ᾽ ἐστὶν II p. 91

"Euripides' breakfast/best bit, which didn't go down badly,

was that the happy man dines well on the food of others"

The speaker recalls a Euripidean line, (Eur. fr. 894, unknown play): τἀλλότρια δειπνεῖν τὸν

καλῶς εὐδαίμονα, which accounts for the only use of δειπνεῖν in the Euripidean corpus.

This led Nauck to replace it with φεύγειν but this is excessive, particularly as the derivative

noun, τὰ δεῖπνα does occur frequently in tragedy.[90] Kannicht in *TrGF* prints δειπνεῖν and

suggests that its source is a Euripidean satyr play (specifically *Syleus* with the hungry

Herakles) which is equally plausible.

There are also suggestions to replace τἄριστον with a demonstrative pronoun which would

give the lines sense in themselves. Yet it is important to remember with fragments that they

are but part of a larger whole and so the demonstrative pronoun is not necessarily the answer

here. In fact, the quotation of the Euripidean line containing the word δειπνεῖν, preceded by a

pun on the meaning of τἄριστον, appears as a purposeful joke that takes the Euripidean line

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[90]   E.g. Aiskh. *Eum.* 108; Eur. *Alk.* 749, Eur. *Med.* 193; Soph. *O.T.* 779, Soph. *Trakh.* 268.

out of context and applies a more literal meaning to it. An example of this phenomenon occurs in Arkhippos fr. 47 (unknown play) discussed below on p. 94. It is notable that Theopompos *Odysseus* fr. 35 not only quotes a Euripidean line, but it even labels the fact, so that the audience are in no doubt as to its origins. Cf. Platon *Eortai* fr. 29 on Euripides' use of sigma; Platon *Skeuai* fr. 142 on a Euripidean water-carrying character, Strattis *Anthroporestes* fr. 1 on Hegelokhos' performance in Euripides' *Orestes*.

Althaia fr. 4:

(Athen. *Deipn*. 11.502a)

> λαβοῦσα πλήρη χρυσέαν μεσόμφαλον
> φιάλην· Τελέστης δ᾽ ἄκατον ὠνόμαζέ νιν

"(she) holding the full golden phiale with its boss;

Telestes called it the boat-shaped cup"

The Telestes mentioned is a dithyrambic poet who won a prize at Athens in 402/1 BC.[91] The fragment contains vocabulary common to tragedy (νιν and χρυσέαν). The pronoun νιν is not found in comedy while χρύσεος is only found in comic choral odes (Ar. *Thesm*. 326 and Ar. *Bir*. 1748), or in high-style addresses (Ar. *Cl*. 272 with Sokrates' first invocation of the Clouds, and Agathon's lyrics at Ar. *Thesm*. 108). The phrase χρυσέαν φιάλην occurs in prose lyric, epic and tragedy but not comedy (Eur. *Ion* 1182, Herod. 1.50, Hom. *Il*. 23.243, 253, Hesiod fr. 197.2 (Merkelbach & West), Pin. *Pyth*. 4.193). Similarly μεσόμφαλον is not a comic word and is found exclusively in tragedy, aside from Theopompos' mention of it.

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[91] The evidence comes from a Parian Marble. For the text, see Campbell 1993: 123.

Therefore, the fragment uses high-style language to mock a dithyrambic poet who would himself employ such language.

Metagenes

(10 titles and 20 fragments) First known victories in the 410s BC (*PCG* vol. VII, test. 2, p. 550)[92]

Philothutes **fr. 14:**

(Schol. (VΓ) Ar. *Wa.* 1221)

ὦ πολῖται, δεινὰ πάσχω. τίς πολίτης δ᾽ ἐστὶ <◡>

πλὴν ἄρ᾽ εἰ Σάκας ὁ Μυσὸς καὶ τὸ Καλλίου νόθον;

"O citizens, I suffer terribly. Who is a citizen,

unless he is Sakas, the Mysian, and the bastard son of Kallias?"

This mentions Sakas, the tragedian Akestor, as a Mysian. This is repeated in Theopompos *Teisamenos* fr. 61 which the scholion has just quoted. The Kallias mentioned in the fragment is the no doubt the same Kallias who is attacked in Andok. 1.124-7 in connection with an illegitimate son that he had by his mother-in-law. Therefore, Sakas is mentioned alongside a man of ill-repute, in another damning personal attack. See Kallias *Pedetai* fr. 17 for a list of other mentions of Akestor.

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[92] Pellegrino 1998: 291 discusses the dating of Metagenes' career, placing his first victory at the latest in 413 BC based on *IG* II² 2325.128 where the order of names of Lenaia victors is Poliokhos, Metagenes, Theopompos.

Arkhippos

(6 titles and 61 fragments) Late fifth/early fourth c. BC

***Ikhthues* fr. 28** (Athen. *Deipn.* 8.343c) mentions Melanthios the tragedian, who was known for his greed and Athenaios provides additional details about his role in *Ikhthues*, describing how Melanthios is tied up and fed to the fishes because he is a fish eater, and the fish wish revenge. Eustathios (*Il.* p. 1201.3) indicates that Melanthios' fate echoes myth involving Hesione, who was to be fed to a sea monster. This offers another example of a tragedian playing a role in a comedy (see p. 102 below for further discussion of this fragment).

Fr. 47 (unknown play):

(Phot. α 1744)

Πειθοῦς γὰρ οὐκ ἦν οὔτε βωμὸς οὔτε πῦρ,

οὔτ᾽ ἐν γυναιξὶν οὔτ᾽ ἐν ἀνδρείᾳ φύσει

"for there is no altar, no fire for Persuasion,

neither between women's or men's nature"

The speaker describes a personified Persuasion, and this passage is very close in its meaning and its use of language to Eur. *Antigone* fr. 170: οὐκ ἔστι Πειθοῦς ἱερὸν ἄλλο πλὴν λόγος, / καὶ βωμὸς αὐτῆς ἐστ᾽ ἐν ἀνθρώπου φύσει. The notable change from the generalised ἐν ἀνθρώπου in Euripides to the more specific ἐν γυναιξὶν οὔτ᾽ ἐν ἀνδρείᾳ in fr. 47 can be explained by noting the alternative meaning of φύσει as "genitalia", as noted by Photius.

Therefore, the Euripidean maxim on the power of persuasion is reinterpreted in comedy to focus on the double meaning of φύσις and this provides a sexual joke inappropriate to the original Euripidean context. Cf. Theopompos *Odysseus* fr. 35 above for a possible similar perversion of the sense of a Euripidean line.

Alkaios

(8 titles and 33 fragments) Earliest known victory 388 BC with *Pasiphaë*

Komoidotragoidia: the title itself, in its hybrid form, suggests an amalgam of the two dramatic forms, and one which could suggest a play involving paratragedy. This is evident in the following fragment:

Komoidotragoidia **fr. 19:**

(Macr. sat. V 20,11)

> ἐτύγχανον μὲν ἀγρόθεν † πλείστους † φέρων
>
> εἰς τὴν ἑορτὴν † ὅσσον οἶον † εἴκοσι·
>
> ὁρῶ δ᾽ ἄνωθεν γάργαρ᾽ ἀνθρώπων κύκλῳ

> "I happened to bring home †...† from the fields
>
> to the feast, †...† twenty;
>
> but I see from above a huge mass of men in a circle"

In spite of the corruption in the above lines, they have a close parallel with Eur. *Or*. 866: ἐτύγχανον μὲν ἀγρόθεν...ὁρῶ δ᾽ "I happened to come from the fields to the gates and I see…". In Alkaios ἐτύγχανον and ὁρῶ are only one line apart but in Eur. *Orestes* ἐτύγχανον μὲν ἀγρόθεν occurs at line 866 while ὁρῶ δ᾽ begins at line 871, four lines later. So Alkaios has adapted and shortened the tragic lines to suit his dramatic and comic needs. The lines of Eur. *Or*. (866, 871) and their comic counterparts in Alkaios fr. 19 both have precisely the same iambic trimeter rhythm throughout. The use of γάργαρ᾽ in fr. 19, line 3 is notably comic and unsuitable for tragic diction (cf. its use in Ar. *Akh*. 3). There is a clear contrast between Alkaios' tragic quotation and the comic roots of his play.

There are a number of mythical titles in Alkaios' work: *Ganymede* (in fr. 3 Zeus mocks Hephaistos), *Endymion* (fr. 10 mentions someone guarding Endymion, perhaps while he sleeps), *Pasiphaë* (fr. 28 mentions a Minoan; it was performed in 388BC, where it competed against Ar. *Wealth)*, *Kallisto* (cf. Aiskhylos' *Kallisto*). Notably the myths suggested by these four titles all involve gods falling for mortals and their attempts to satisfy their respective love or lusts.

Apollophanes

(5 titles and 10 fragments) First Lenaia victory before Ameipsias, Nikokhares and Philyllios (*PCG* vol. II, p. 197)

Plays of Apollophanes that share the same title as tragedies or satyr plays but no other link to that tragedy:

- Apollophanes' *Danaë* (cf. Euripides' and Sophokles' *Danaë*, and Aiskhylos' Danaid

trilogy)

- Apollophanes' *Kretes* (cf. Euripides' *Kretes*)

Nikokhares

(9 titles, 28 fragments) Earliest known victory late-fifth century (*PCG* vol. VIII, p. 39, test. 3)

Agamemnon **fr. 1:**

(Phot. (Sᶻ) α 3479)

οἶδα δ' ὡς

ἀψευδόμαντις ἥδε καὶ τελεσφόρος

"I know that

this woman is an effective prophetess who cannot lie"

***

γνώσῃ δὲ τέχνην τὴν ἐμὴν ἐτητύμως

ἀψευδόμαντιν οὖσαν

"You may recognise clearly my skill as I am a prophetess

who cannot lie"

Both passages describe a prophetess whose identity is Kassandra. This is clear from the title of the comedy, *Agamemnon*, which recalls the *Agamemnon* of Aiskhylos, in which Kassandra

had a role. There are also similarities of vocabulary between the comedy and tragedy in describing Kassandra; Kassandra (rhetorically) asks if she is ψευδόμαντις (line 1195) and describes herself as ἀληθόμαντις (line 1241) and the tragic word, τελεσφόρος appears both in the comic fragment and in Aiskh. *Ag*. 996, 1000.

In Nikokhares fr. 1, the word ἀψευδόμαντις suitably describes Kassandra, condemned by Apollo to speak the truth but not be understood. Therefore, the comic fragment indicates that the comedy made use of both the title and content of Aiskhylos' *Agamemnon*. This is even when the original tragic production occurred many decades before the comedy. This is a feature that recurs in Strattis' work (e.g. his *Phoinissai*, *Medeia*, and *Myrmidones*), as explored in Chapter 4, p. 237. in relation to re-performances of tragedies. Hermippos also wrote an *Agamemnon* although the fragments do not allow a direct relation to be drawn with Aiskhylos' play.

***Lemniai* fr. 15:**

(Et. gen. A. (Et. magn. p. 550, 12))

> ἐπλέομεν, ὦ κόρη, 'πὶ κῶς

> "we are sailing, my girl, to the fleece"

The word, κῶς (meaning "fleece") is used for the "Golden Fleece" at Pin. *Pyth*. 4.237 and at Herod. 7.193 so that the contents of the play are connected with the Argonautic myth, as the title of the play, *Lemnian Women* indicates. Yet at the same time the word, κῶς also means

"bed" so that there is a double entendre at play here. If the characters of the comedy are those from the myth (as appears to be the case with Nikokhares' *Agamemnon*) then it is possible to imagine that Iason is addressing or propositioning Hypsipyle. Aiskhylos composed a *Hypsipyle* and Sophokles composed a *Lemniai*. See Chapter 5, p. 287 for discussion of Aristophanes' *Lemniai* and its potential links to myth and tragedy.

Lastly there is the intriguing title ***Herakles khoregos*** which implies a crossover between the mythical and real Athenian world (cf. Hermes' role in *Wealth),* but the plot is unclear.

Autokrates

(1 title and 3 fragments) Too few fragments for dating.

Even in so poorly preserved a poet as Autokrates, there is a potential link to tragedy since both Autokrates and Sophokles composed a *Tympanistai*.

Analysis

We can now return to the following questions: what was the history of interaction of comedy with tragedy prior to Aristophanes' own career and what was the contemporary scene like? How do the fragments affect views of Aristophanes as a paratragic innovator? A response to these provides information about the non-Aristophanic poets and their use of tragedy in their works, but it also should add to, if not alter, views on Aristophanic paratragedy, its role and its pre-eminence in fifth-century BC Athenian drama. It also prepares the context within which we can analyse the fragments of Strattis in order to gauge the level and variety of paratragedy in his comedies.

There are two approaches to tackling these questions, firstly to see what themes arise from the collection of fragments as a whole. This allows observation of the main ways that comedians make use of comedy. Secondly, where there are sufficient examples, it is possible to attempt to trace the trends of a particular comic author with regard to his interaction with comedy; which forms of interaction with tragedy are common in which authors. This is why the fragments were listed by author so that an idea of their interaction with tragedy can be formed. This is most clearly possible with Kratinos, Eupolis, and Platon, but also to a certain extent with Telekleides, Pherekrates and Phrynikhos, whereas the relevant data from other poets is too minute to make such generalisations useful or informative. Therefore, this section will trace the overall themes and trends of the fragments united in their use of tragedy.

The comic poets who present the most data of relevance to this survey are those who are best preserved. This would seem an obvious statement, but it makes the findings for Strattis all the

more remarkable; there are relatively few and short fragments and yet the use of tragedy in his work is high. Eupolis' plays yield many results, particularly several line-by line parodies of tragic lines. This is again a reflection of the nature of the fragments of Eupolis; we have only fifteen titles for 489 fragments and therefore the average fragment length is greater than for other well-preserved poets, such as Kratinos (for whom we have 29 titles and 509 fragments). More of Eupolis' plays are preserved in papyri than Kratinos, and these longer fragments (sometimes in excess of one hundred lines) proved a fruitful source for this study, if only because the longer preserved sections allow creation of dramatic context that in turn makes it easier to spot quotations and misquotations from tragedy.

Papyri aside, of the thirty-six different sources that record the fragments in this study, Athenaios and the Aristophanic scholia are the predominant sources. Therefore, as with any analysis of groups of fragments, the extant evidence is largely at the mercy of later writers, their memories, and their choice of preservation of particular aspects of Old Comedy. With this in mind there now follows a summary of the overarching themes from the fragments with regards to tragedy and it is clear that the majority of fragments involve naming tragedians, and a great many involve jokes against individuals.

Gnesippos

Remarks about Gnesippos appear in early comic authors (once questionably in Khionides, once in Telekleides, three times in Kratinos, and once in Eupolis), and they are never complimentary, though it is worth noting that all quotations are provided via Athenaios. As we saw earlier, scholars have questioned Gnesippos' identity as a tragedian without

disproving it (see p. 26 above under *Ptokhoi* fr. 4). Particular attention focuses on Gnesippos'

music, its erotic effect and his own adulterous life-style as well as the immorality of his music

(Kratinos *Horai* fr. 276). This involves the typical comic crossover and confusion of the artist

and his art, as seen later in Aristophanes' depiction of particularly Agathon, Euripides, and

Kinesias in an extensive form. Like them, Gnesippos too has a comic characterisation, and

Eupolis *Heilotes* fr. 148 links Gnesippos' music to the new and fashionable style, as opposed

to that of Stesikhoros, Alkman, and Simonides. This relates to a theme common in Old

Comedy that the new and current trends are morally disreputable and inappropriate

replacements for the old, and this is a standard often applied to tragedians and dithyrambic

poets and their work. It also shows this schema at work outside of Aristophanes' career and

his interest in Euripides. We will see this musical theme recur in Strattis fr. 71 (Chapter 3, p.

214) in a refined mockery of Euripidean music which symbolically sees a caterpillar dancing

up and down on an aphrodisiac plant, called *saturidion.*

Melanthios

Melanthios receives personal insults and he is a popular target, appearing in the works of

Kallias, Pherekrates, Eupolis, Platon, Arkhippos, and Leukon (see above Kallias *Pedetai* fr.

14, Pherekrates *Petale* fr. 148; Eupolis *Astrateutoi* or *Androgunai* fr. 43, *Kolakes* fr. 178,

Platon *Skeuai* fr. 140, Arkhippos *Ikhthues* fr. 28, and Leukon *Phrateres* fr. 3) as well as in

Aristophanes (*Pe.* 799-818; *Bir*. 150-1). He is noted as greedy, a flatterer, a chatterer and as

having cowardly "white-arsed" friends; Melanthios is an object of mockery but the focus is

not on his tragedies. The most probable exception to this occurs in Arkhippos' *Ikhthues*, a play

in which Melanthios is fed to the fish chorus as vengeance for his greed and fish-eating.

Eustathios (*Il.* p. 1201,3) adds that Arkhippos is playing with the story of Hesione, ἰστέον δὲ ὅτι παίζων ὁ ποιητὴς Ἄρχιππος εἰς τὸν κατὰ τὴν Ἡσιόνην μῦθον. In the myth, the Trojan princess, Hesione, was to be fed to a sea-monster until she was rescued by Herakles. In some versions Herakles dispatches the monster using a fish-hook[93] but otherwise with arrows. In a play called *Ikhthues*, *Fishes,* it would be an added irony if a fish-hook was involved. This comment by Eustathios makes it probable that Melanthios appeared on-stage in a scene of *Ikhthues* which was itself a parody of the Hesione myth. Little is known about Melanthios' dramatic output, except that based on Ar. *Pe.* 1009-14 he composed a *Medeia*.[94] Therefore, there is no evidence to connect him with a performance of a tragedy involving Hesione. Nonetheless the Hesione myth recalls Sophokles' and Euripides' *Andromeda* which both involve another story of a heroine rescued from a sea-monster, and the latter play was parodied in Ar. *Thesmophoriazousai* when Euripides' relative acts the part of Andromeda while dressed in female attire. This scene is clearly a model for the later *Ikhthues* (which was produced after 403/2 BC).[95] Melanthios would be fit for the part of a heroine in *Ikhthues* in light of the comic insults against him that he was soft, effeminate, and had white-arsed associates. Another parody of the Andromeda myth where a maiden is rescued from a sea monster occurs in Phrynikhos fr. 77 (unknown play) but this time the heroine is a drunken old woman. These are all important considerations to bear in mind when we come to consider Strattis' own *Lemnomeda* which also may draw on tragic versions of a sea-monster myth.

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[93] E.g. as depicted on a Black-Figure Caeretan hydria, sixth century BC (Athens, Stavros S. Niarchos Collection) and a Black-Figure cup, sixth century BC (Taranto, Museo Archeologico Nazionale: 52.155, see *LIMC* Hesione 4 = Ketos 25).

[94] At lines 1009-14, Melanthios is depicted as quoting from his own *Medeia* to express his sorrow at missing the sale of eels in the agora: τὸν δ' ὀτοτύζειν / εἶτα μονῳδεῖν ἐκ Μηδείας, / ὀλόμαν ὀλόμαν ἀποχηρωθεὶς / τᾶς ἐν τεύτλοισι λοχευομένας.

[95] Based on *Ikhthues* fr. 21which mentions Εὐκλείδην τὸν ἄρξαντα "Eukleides who had been *arkhōn*" and this was in 403/2 BC.

Nothippos

Nothippos is only twice mentioned by Hermippos and Telekleides and he is mocked for his greed, like Melanthios, and there is no extant comment about his poetry. It is possible that the portrayal of the gluttonous poet provided an unfavourable reflection on his work as excessive in some form or else merely that Nothippos or Melanthios were overweight. Indeed Athenaios notes that Telekleides (*Hesiodoi* fr. 17) did mock Nothippos as a tragedian but unfortunately he does not elaborate on this.

Akestor/Sakas[96]

Both names refer interchangeably to the same tragedian, with "Sakas" being a Persian name and therefore a more foreign sounding nickname of "Akestor", the tragedian's actual name (Herod. 7.64 notes that the Persians call all Skythian tribes "Sakai"). This is made clear by Theopompos and Metagenes who crown him "Mysian Akestor" and "Mysian Sakas" respectively. Kratinos and Eupolis also mock Akestor for being a foreigner, while Eupolis places him among his flatterers in *Kolakes* along with Melanthios. There are two comic complaints made against Akestor specifically as a tragedian but no signs of extended parody of his work; Kratinos notes that Akestor should condense his work or face the consequences, while Kallias claims that the chorus hate Sakas. Strattis *Kinesias* fr. 16 describes a similarly strained relationship between the dithyrambic poet Kinesias and his chorus, calling him χοροκτόνος Κινησίας "chorus-killer Kinesias".

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[96] See earlier discussion of Kratinos *Kleoboulinai* fr. 92; Kallias *Pedetai* fr. 17; Eupolis *Kolakes* fr. 172; Theopompos *Teisamenos* fr. 61; Metagenes *Philothutes* fr. 14. Aristophanes also mocks Akestor: Ar. *Bir*. 31, *Wa*. 1221.

Sthenelos and Morsimos: pairs of tragedians

Aside from his mention in Platon *Skeuai* fr. 136, Sthenelos is only found in Ar. *Wa*. 1313 and Ar. *Gerytades* fr. 158 where both passages belittle his power as a tragedian. Platon accuses him of being a clothes-stealer and although he does not link it to Sthenelos' poetry, this behaviour could well be a reflection of his poetic practices, i.e. that they were unoriginal and stole material from other tragedians. Platon *Skeuai* fr. 136 brings up Sthenelos in a comparison with the tragedian Morsimos, who again is only mentioned elsewhere by Aristophanes.[97] The scene involves an argument over who is the superior poet, Sthenelos or Morsimos. This comparison of two poets is a theme that recurs elsewhere in the fragments but is epitomised in Ar. *Frogs* between Aiskhylos and Euripides; Kratinos *Boukoloi* fr. 17 laments Gnesippos gaining a chorus at the expense of Sophokles, while Telekleides *Hesiodoi* fr. 17 compares the tragedian Philokles to his uncle Aiskhylos in an unfortunately corrupt fragment. The fragments indicate that the theme of one-on-one poetic rivalry was an appropriate subject for a comic *agōn* prior to Aristophanes' *Frogs*.

Philokles and Xenokles: tragedy in the family

Philokles, nephew of Aiskhylos, is another poet who receives only rebukes for his poetry and in Kratinos fr. 323 he is said to have ruined a speech or story. Aristophanes proves a much harsher critic of Philokles the poet (Ar. *Wa*. 461-2, *Bir*. 280-1, 1295, *Thesm*. 167-8, Ar. fr. 591.44) as well as *com. adesp.* fr. 842. The pressures of being the younger relation of an highly-acclaimed poet would account in part for this criticism (as Iophon, son of Sophokles, faced – Ar. *Fro*. 73-4), in addition to his own poetic failings as perceived by the comic poets.

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[97]   Ar. *Kn*. 401, *Pe*. 803, *Fro*. 151, Ar. fr. 723 (unknown play).

Xenokles, son of Karkinos is another example of a tragedian from a family of performance artists. The whole family was famous in comedy for their abilities as dancers and this family heritage is the focus of the final scene of Ar. *Wa*. 1500-37.

Actors and live performance

There is surprisingly little focus on this topic in the fragments. Platon mocks Mynniskos' greedy appetite which compares with similar jokes against the tragedians Melanthios and Nothippos. Hegelokhos' unfortunate performance of Eur. *Or*. 279 lives long in the memory of comic poets who adapt it to suit their comic ends.[98] Strattis named a play after the actor Kallippides, and twice uses the standard joke about Hegelokhos (fr. 1 and fr. 63) but all remarks concerning actors occur in later comedies (Platon, Sannyrion, Strattis and Aristophanes). This is a sign of how the art of acting was developing and that this was enough to warrant jokes at the actors' expense in comic plays. There is little comic material about actual performances of tragedies but these glimpses are revealing, including Sannyrion's comment (*Gelos* fr. 2) that the tragedian Meletos was a corpse at the Lenaion which may well suggest that one of his plays failed at the Lenaia festival, where there was less tragedy put on than at the City Dionysia.[99] Therefore, Sannyrion portrays Meletos as an absolute failure of a tragic poet based on a particular play's performance.

Aside from Aristophanes, and as will soon be shown, Strattis, no other Old comic authors provide examples of *mēkhanē* jokes in which an actor live on-stage fears for his safety while enacting some form of tragic parody. The absence, even in a study of fragments, is notable

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[98] Platon fr. 235; Strattis fr. 1, fr. 63; Sannyrion *Danäe* fr. 8; Ar. *Fro*. 303.
[99] Evidence for the format of the Lenaia is discussed by Wilson 2000: 27-8.

and suggests that the formation of such jokes was a later development in Old Comedy, perhaps spearheaded by Aristophanes. Indeed most, if not all, *mēkhanē* jokes involve references to Euripidean drama (see Chapter 4, p. 233), which adds to the argument, since Aristophanes' focus on Euripides is unparalleled, and that of Strattis is very high. These points support the general consensus that the *mēkhanē* was only used in tragedy from the 430s BC onward, and from then on it was deemed worthy of comic attention.[100]

The fragments also contain precious little talk of theatrical props and costumes, something which the scene in Ar. *Akharnians* (between Euripides and Dikaiopolis) and the dressing scene in Ar. *Thesm*. each focus on. There is a chance survival of the word ξυστίς in Kratinos *Horai* fr. 294 in reference to tragic costume but this lacks a comic context. However, the mention of tragic masks τοὺς βρικέλους in Kratinos *Seriphioi* fr. 218 is more relevant given the play's clear link to the myth involving Perseus and Andromeda.

Sophokles

The depiction of Sophokles in comedy is notable because the comic poets have barely any negative comments about him (but note Ar. *Pe*. 695-9 on Sophokles' purported interest in money). Kratinos presents him in a favourable light as a contrast to Gnesippos while Aristophanes jokes about him without any personal invective (*Pe*. 530, *Bir*. 100, Ar. fr. 595 which mentions Sophokles, Aiskhylos, and Euripides, and Ar. fr. 598). Phrynikhos' *Mousai* of 405 BC offers praise of Sophokles after his death as does Ar. *Frogs* of the same year (76-82, 786-94, 1516-19). In contrast with the comic depiction of Euripides in particular, there are no

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[100] Taplin 1977: 433, 446-7 rejects the idea of Aiskhylos using the *mēkhanē*; Davidson 2005: 201-3 tentatively says of the *mēkhanē* "it looks as though this was more of a development in the second half of the fifth century, perhaps associated with Euripides"; see also Storey & Allan 2005: 46.

comic jokes against Sophokles for his lyrics, use of music, compositional style, or choice of subject-matter. He is not criticised for his tragic composition.

Comic poets frequently quote from Sophoklean tragedy: Pherekrates *Persai* fr. 141 uses Soph. *El.* 86; Phrynikhos *Satyroi* fr. 48 cites either Eur. or Soph. *Peleus*; Eupolis' *Prospaltioi* quotes Soph. *Ant*. 712-5; Eupolis *Taxiarkhoi* fr. 268 from a commentary on the comic play which perhaps notes a quotation from Soph. *Tereus*; and Philonides fr. 7 (unknown play) uses Soph. fr. 811 (unknown play). The fragments provide one indication that particular passages of Sophoklean tragedy could be repeatedly quoted (Eupolis *Prospaltioi* fr. 260 lines 23-6 repeated in Antiphanes fr. 228), but there is nothing on the scale that we find for Aristophanes' frequent use of particular Euripidean lines (e.g. Eur. *Hipp*. 612 in Ar. *Thesm*. 275, Ar. *Fro*. 101-2, 1471). Without having the wider context for each fragment it is impossible to tell if the audience were meant to realise that the quotations were from Sophokles specifically, but in their current form they do not indicate this. Yet, given how commonly tragic quotations are used in Eupolis' comedies, the audience might be accustomed to trying to identify tragic lines in his plays, as their adaptation into a comic context does form one of Eupolis' comic techniques. This facet of Eupolidean comedy is especially significant when compared with other fragmentary comic poets such as Kratinos or Pherekrates who preserve similar numbers of fragments to Eupolis, but they do not use as many Sophoklean lines. The fragments provide no indications of extended parody of Sophoklean style (encompassing plot, character, or tragic scenes) in the fragments.

Aiskhylos

In comedy both Aiskhylos and Euripides are characterised via their work as tragedians, with talk about their art, their skill, and their artistic style. This is heavily embroidered in Ar. *Frogs* but notably both tragedians appeared on-stage prior to *Frogs* and both, uniquely among comic portrayals of tragedians, talk about their work.

The only direct references to Aiskhylos occur in Telekleides' *Hesiodoi* where he is compared with his nephew Philokles (also a tragedian) and in Pherekrates' *Krapataloi* where Aiskhylos is an on-stage speaking character in which he describes his own skill in tragic composition (see p. 113 below on comic vocabulary). However, Kratinos and Eupolis quote from Aiskhylean tragedy (Kratinos fr. 316; Eupolis *Marikas* fr. 257, *Poleis* fr. 231). Kratinos' *Drapetides* contains a scene inspired by tragic suppliant plays like Aiskh. *Suppliants*. Additionally Nikokhares' *Agamemnon* contains a possible allusion in both title and content to Aiskhylos' *Agamemnon*. The comic fragments show a readiness to adopt Aiskhylean drama into their plays. In addition Aristophanes often uses quotations from Aiskhylos, as did Kratinos and Eupolis (e.g. Ar. *Akh*. 9-12; *Cl*. 1364-7; *Bir*. 807; *Lys*. 188 with reference to *Seven Against Thebes* line 42; *Thesm*. 134-6 with reference to Aiskhylos' *Edonians*; Ar. *Fro*. from lines 758 onward; Ar. fr. 595 which mentions Sophokles, Aiskhylos, and Euripides).

Euripides

Tragic composition of words, text, plays and music are, as the fragments indicate, a point of interest for Old comic poets. Yet with Euripides there occurs great interest in his style of composition and repeatedly through the widest range of poets: Kallias, Telekleides, Kratinos, Eupolis, Platon, Theopompos, Alkaios, not to mention Aristophanes and Strattis. There is a recurrent joke among the comic poets that Euripides composed his tragedies in writing partnerships with Mnesilokhos and with Sokrates and this association with Sokrates occurs in three different comic authors: Kallias, Telekleides, and Aristophanes.[101] Euripides is the only tragedian associated with Sokrates and who is accused specifically as having other collaborators for his work. It is therefore part of the comic stereotype of Euripides, regardless of its factual accuracy. Euripides' connection with sophistry is further discussed by Conacher.[102] Kratinos links the sophistic Euripidean tragic style with Aristophanes in fr. 342, while Platon notes Euripides' use of sigma and he recalls a specific water-carrying character from an unidentified Euripidean play, most probably his *Elektra,* in *Skeuai* fr. 142.

Quotations from Euripides are frequent in the comic fragments: Phrynikhos *Satyroi* fr. 48 of Eur. or Soph. *Peleus*; Eupolis *Demoi* fr. 99.35 of Eur. fr. 558 and *Demoi* fr. 99.102 of Eur. *Melanippe Desmotis* fr. 507, *Demoi* fr. 106 of Eur. *Med*. 395; Theopompos *Odysseus* fr. 35 of Eur. fr. 894 (unknown play); Arkhippos fr. 47 (unknown play) of Eur. *Antiope* fr. 170. This should be noted alongside the many Euripidean quotations that appear in Aristophanes' work, as recorded by Rau.[103]

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[101] See above Kallias' *Pedetai* fr. 15; Telekleides fr. 41 and 42 (unknown plays); Ar. *Clouds* I fr. 392 and Ar. fr. 596 (unknown play).
[102] Conacher 1998.
[103] Rau 1967: 214-17.

The comic poets' prevalent use of paratragedy based on Euripidean plays during Euripides' career could in turn affect Euripides and his composition, as well as the production and performance of his plays. This is not to say that Euripides' later tragedies play into the caricatures of his own work, but to indicate the on-going dynamic that worked both ways between comedy and tragedy, e.g. the on-stage costume change scene in Euripides' *Bakkhai* coming after the one in Aristophanes' *Thesmophoriazousai* when both concern a male character dressing as a female.

Euripides receives the most extensive and personal portrayal on-stage by the end of the fifth-century. This is particularly notable in Aristophanes' jokes concerning Euripides' vegetable-selling mother - an unusually personal joke about a comic caricature, as is the mention of Mnesilokhos (Telekleides fr. 41), who is either Euripides' son of that name or his father-in-law (according to Suda ε 3695). Euripides, like Aiskhylos and Melanthios, had an on-stage role in comedies prior to and during Aristophanes' career. For Euripides' possible on-stage appearance in Kallias' *Pedetai* see discussion of *Pedetai* fr. 15 above.

Throughout the fifth century the comic stereotype was honed and added to; the audience learn through comic portrayals of Euripides about his family, his style of composition, his penchant for sophistic poetry, which relates to the often paradoxical phrases found in his work as well as his alleged collaboration with Sokrates. This picture arises prior to, and then concurrently with, Aristophanes' work and Aristophanes takes this comic Euripides character and creates the most extensive portrayal of a real individual on the comic stage, as witnessed in his *Thesmophoriazousai* and *Frogs*. Strattis' fragments also reflect this popularity of Euripidean drama on the comic stage.

Tragedians and tragedy

The above makes clear that individual tragic poets have separate comic stereotypes which can involve mocking them for varying personal characteristics, aside from their competence at tragic composition; Melanthios is greedy and Akestor is the foreigner "Sakas". There are a number of jokes often repeated e.g. about Euripides as a collaborator in the composition of his own plays, or Hegelokhos and his inaccurate pronunciation skills. These jokes are made by various comedians; they are part of the comic canon rather than belonging to a specific comic author. Clearly, individuals connected with tragedy were popular choices for *komodoumenoi*, whether the comic attention was on their poetry or their personal defects. This is also evident in Sommerstein's examination of Aristophanic *komodoumenoi*, which devotes an entire section to *komodoumenoi* connected with tragedy, a category that he labels as "idols of the theatre".[104]

The comic poets had tastes in, and views of, tragedy which only offer a reflection of popular opinion in the audience regarding tragedy. It is notable that the stereotype for a given tragedian sticks and reoccurs in multiple comic authors. It is not the case for instance that one comic poet praises a tragedian while another comic poet denigrates the same tragedian; the stereotypes are set. Of course individual comic poets have their own styles of presentation of ideas but the stereotypical image of tragedy does add to the arguments that comic poets shared an underlying ideology and a singular approach to presenting ideas to the Athenian audience and other spectators. It would in part explain why comic poets were at such pains to emphasise their differences from other comic poets, if only because they were, underneath it all, working with the same comic model and enforcing, or reacting to, the same model of

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[104] Sommerstein 1996a: 329-30, 348-9.

society.

Another aspect of this is seen in apparent festival themes, e.g. in 421 BC Melanthios is ridiculed in three comedies at that year's Dionysia: Eupolis' *Kolakes* (fr.178), Aristophanes' *Peace* (lines 1009-14), and Leukon's *Phrateres* (fr. 3), while Sophokles is praised after his death in Phrynikhos' *Mousai* (fr. 32) and Aristophanes' *Frogs* in 405 BC, with both plays using the creative arts as a theme. A comparable instance occurs with Sokrates' "stage career" as a comic persona; the first *Clouds* of 423 BC had Sokrates as a central character and the play came third behind Ameipsias' *Konnos* which had a chorus of *phrontistai* ("thinkers") and fr. 9 is addressed to Sokrates.

Comic vocabulary

A different feature of interest in the comic fragments comes from signs of the early development by comic authors of a comic vocabulary for describing tragedy and tragedians, which occurs in an extended form in Ar. *Thesm.* and *Frogs*. This language is used for comic descriptions of tragic language and tone, e.g. Krates fr. 28 which refers unflatteringly to the speech of tragedians as σεμνός λόγος and Kallias fr. 15 uses σεμνή in some form of reference to Euripidean tragedy and Sokrates' involvement with it. Kratinos fr. 323 (unknown play) notes how Philokles destroyed τὸν λόγον which again refers to tragic speech or story specifically. Potential connotations of the word σεμνός are discussed above under Krates *Paidiai* fr. 28.

There are also the interesting ways that comedians describe the process of tragic composition. In Telekleides fr. 41 (unknown play) the comic poet uses cooking techniques as a metaphorical means of explaining Euripidean composition and collaboration; a drama is roasted: φρύγει i.e. it is created and concocted, just as a meal is from raw ingredients. Similarly Khionides *Ptokhoi* fr. 4 frames musical criticism in terms of sense perceptions relating to taste in the use of the word κατεγλυκάνατο. Kratinos *Kleoboulinai* fr. 92 calls on Akestor to condense his work: συστρέφῃ τὰ πράγματα, literally "to roll it up together", quite a helpful visual image for an audience. In Pherekrates *Krapataloi* fr. 100, Aiskhylos describes how he constructed his own mighty art: ἐξοικοδομήσας a word which recalls the power needed for building-construction and we can compare it with Ar. *Fro*. 854-5 which uses the word κεφάλαιος meaning cornerstone or lintel to refer to the power of Aiskhylos' words. This may well be echoed in Platon *Lakones* or *Poetai* fr. 69 where it is mentioned that "a cornerstone phrase" γωνιαίου ῥήματος is needed which will be gained by prising up rocks. Certainly these passages emphasise the perceived weight and power of Aiskhylean language and it calls to mind the weighing contest of *Frogs*, where Aiskhylean tragedy wins out without question. The parallel between depicting Aiskhylos constructing grand edifices of tragic poetry and his success in the weighing contest are instructive for gathering the late fifth century caricature of his poetry as weighty and powerful stuff. We can compare the description of Agathon's methods of composition in Ar. *Thesm*. 52-3 which draws upon imagery of technical crafts including ship-building and woodwork (see p. 54 above).

It is notable, given the number of fragments of Eupolis, that they contain no such discussion of tragedy. Instead Eupolis uses sometimes extensive quotations from tragedy in his comic plays. The tragic lines become part of the comic action and gain a new meaning and relevance

in the process. The fragments do not indicate decisively whether Eupolis was using tragic lines to create a mock-serious tone or purposefully drawing on the more solemn and dignified tone of tragedy to add to characterisation. Those who speak these lines include: Aristeides (*Demoi* fr. 99) and Miltiades (*Demoi* fr. 106), both deceased characters of the Persian War era, with a distinguished history in service of the Athenian *polis*. Perhaps their use of tragic diction helps to mythologise these historical figures, a trick which Aiskhylos deployed in his *Persai*.

Did Aristophanes set the trend to follow in his use of tragedy?

It is not possible to trace a line of development that points towards Aristophanes and his use of paratragedy, but there are the large amounts of highly developed paratragedy in Aristophanic comedy and from that end-point it is possible to cast an eye over the comic fragments before Aristophanes and those contemporary with him. There are recurrent jokes about specific tragedians, stereotypes are formed and comic dramatists experiment with transplanting tragic lines into their own comic plays, just as they have with other creative art-forms from Homer onward. The complex interaction between comedy and tragedy is already found in Kratinos' fragmentary plays where tragic themes shape comic plot. In *Drapetides* tragic plays on a suppliant theme appear to be recalled while in his *Dionysalexandros* we have an extended mythical parody that sees a chorus of satyrs and Dionysos involved in a burlesque of the myth involving Paris and the three goddesses which recalls the satyr play *Krisis* written by Sophokles. Yet each comic poet could develop his own style in adopting elements of their choosing from tragedy, as illustrated in Eupolis' notable penchant for borrowing tragic lines and even extended quotations (or semi-quotations) to add to the atmosphere of his own plays. It is logical to suggest that Aristophanes' style of paratragedy

arose from that of his predecessors and contemporaries and particularly in the fragments of Kratinos, Krates, Kallias, Telekleides, Pherekrates, Phrynikhos, Eupolis and Platon we have some well preserved examples of this. These are features adopted into Aristophanic paratragedy and which, as we shall now examine, become developed in a further way by Strattis.

3   A Commentary on Strattis' Plays with Tragic and Mythic Links

ʾΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΡΕΣΤΗΣ

Anthroporestes (Humanorestes)

The title is in a hybrid form, a format characteristic of Strattis; cf. his *Lemnomeda*, *Iphigeron* and *Atalantos*. The titles *Atalantos* and *Iphigeron* change the gender of the mythical Atalante and Iphigeneia respectively and Iphigeneia is combined with the word "old man", while *Lemnomeda* joins two myths (that of the Lemnian women and Andromeda) and as such is a unique title. The semi-mythical hybrids occur elsewhere in Old Comedy (e.g. Aristophanes' *Aiolosikon*, Polyzelos' *Demotyndareus*, Menekrates' *Manektor*) but the closest to *Anthroporestes* is Pherekrates' *Anthropherakles*. Unfortunately, as there is only one fragment for Pherekrates' play , this raises more questions than it answers. The name Orestes in *Anthroporestes* immediately evokes the Atreid myths, and in *Anthroporestes* fr. 1 the *arkhōn,* who commissioned Euripides' *Orestes* (408 BC) and appointed the actors, refers directly to the first performance of the Euripidean tragedy. The only other fragment of *Anthroporestes*, fr. 2, contains high-style tragic language which suggests that Strattis engaged with tragedy again in the play but these few lines are not enough to reflect the content of the play as a whole or the extent of involvement that the play had with tragedy. There is no direct evidence for mythical characters in the play, aside from its title.

Although the majority of our sources (schol. (MTA) Eur. *Or*. 279, Athenaios, and the Suda) read the title asʾΑνθρωπορέστης, Meineke followed schol. (B) Eur. *Or*. 279 which records ʾΑνθρωποραίστης, *Man-destroyer*. Edmonds and Ropero-Gutiérrez both follow suit and

provide the same reason for rejecting Ἀνθρωπορέστης which is extremely brief and unconvincing: "Orestes was not universally deified"; "este heroe tragico [i.e. Orestes] era considerado un hombre y no estaba deificado".[105] These statements are not explained but suggest that rejection of *Anthroporestes* is based on an interpretation of the meaning of the title which cannot be substantiated from the marginal evidence for the play's contents and plot. However, the title Ἀνθρωπορέστης can be argued for based on the mention of Euripides' *Orestes* in fr. 1, the frequent use of semi-mythical hybrid titles, both by Strattis and other Old comic poets, and especially compared with Pherekrates' *Anthropherakles* as noted above. Nevertheless, the emphasis on Orestes' human qualities in the title, *Anthroporestes* remains intriguing. Cf. later titles including Rhinthon of Taras' *Doulomeleagros* (fourth-third c. BC) and Pacuvius' tragedy *Dulorestes* both of which continue to form compounds based on mythical figures.[106]

In *Anthroporestes* fr. 1 the eponymous *arkhōn* is a character all too aware of the mechanics of tragic productions (as he invokes Euripides' *Orestes* by name and regrets appointing the actor Hegelokhos as its protagonist), but it is unclear how far the comedy connects with Euripides' *Orestes*. If, based on fr. 1, the play dealt more with the realities of dramatic performances rather than their fiction (e.g. bringing tragic characters onto the comic stage as in Strattis' *Phoinissai* fr. 47 and fr. 48), then perhaps the "Human" in *Anthroporestes* refers to the man who played the part in the tragedy as opposed to his mythical counterpart, or alternatively it could refer to an Orestes who appears in *Anthroporestes* in a non-mythical setting in

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[105] Edmonds 1957: 812; Ropero-Gutiérrez 1985: 26 offers examples of other compound nouns like Ἀνθρωποραίστης: κυνο–; μητρο–; θυμο–; Ἰλιο–; yet the existence of these nouns is not enough to prove the title was Ἀνθρωποραίστης in the face of the number of other sources giving Ἀνθρωπορέστης.

[106] On the controversial meaning of Pacuvius' title see Manuwald 2003: 37-38 who tackles interpreting the title *Dulorestes* and comes to a conclusion similar to that used above for dissecting Strattis' title *Anthroporestes*: "Jedenfalls zeigt sich gerade beim *Dulorestes*, daß Pacuvius auch in der Titelgebung eine Mischung von Bekanntem und vielleicht Ungewöhnlicherem vornimmt".

contemporary Athens. In both these cases the Ἀνθρωπο- aspect could differentiate Orestes the Human from Orestes the Hero. This distinction between human and hero is found at Pl. *Rep*. 3.392a which considers stories about gods, daemons, heroes and residents of Hades separately from those about humans.[107] This idea recurs in the use of the word ἀνθρωποδαίμων at Eur. *Rhes*. 971 to describe Rhesos who is dead but not allowed to rest; he remains in a state between the world of humans (Earth) and that of spirits (Hades).

The possibility that in *Anthroporestes* there was a mixing of myth and comic reality finds a parallel in Strattis' *Kallippides*, a comedy named after the real actor Kallippides but containing the mythical character, Herakles. Lastly, it is possible that Ἀνθρωπο- was itself meant as a personal name in the play-title, since it is attested for the boxer, Anthropos who won at the Olympic Games in 456 BC, as Griffith has pointed out.[108] Griffith then argues that Anthropos is also a personal name at Ar. *Akh*. 45-7 which provides a pun on Amphitheos' name: Ἀμφίθεος -οὐκ ἄνθρωπος; which would be a near contemporary example available to Strattis.

Orestes' importance in fifth-century Greek society is clear; the mythical Orestes was worshipped as a hero at Sparta, and Kearns[109] places him among her list of heroes of Attica, noting his aetiological connections with "the rites of the Choes in the Anthesteria, and with the cult of Artemis Tauropolos at Halai Araphenides", quoting Aiskh. *Eum*. 762-74. Meanwhile an Orestes, son of Timokrates,[110] was a common target in Old Comedy, renowned as a clothes-stealing criminal (Ar. *Bir*. 712), described as a violent drunkard at Ar. *Akh*. 1166-

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[107] περὶ γὰρ θεῶν ὡς δεῖ λέγεσθαι εἴρηται, καὶ περὶ δαιμόνων τε καὶ ἡρώων καὶ τῶν ἐν Ἅιδου...οὐκοῦν καὶ περὶ ἀνθρώπων τὸ λοιπὸν εἴη ἄν;

[108] Griffith 1974: 368 cites *P. Oxy*. 222, col. II, line 3, the victory list which mentions Anthropos as boxing victor in 456 BC and the mention of this Anthropos at Arist. *Nic. Eth*. 4.1147b 34.

[109] Kearns 1989: 190.

[110] According to schol. Ar. *Bir*. 1490.

70, and in Eupolis *Kolakes* fr. 179 Orestes is a hanger-on of Kallias. Most notably Ar. *Bir*. 1490-3 indicates that the mythical hero Orestes and this clothes-snatcher could be cross-referenced for comic purposes and this therefore lays the possibility open to Strattis' *Anthroporestes*.[111] However, with only two fragments, speculation about the play's contents can be endless but fr. 1 at least secures dating of this play to after 408 BC and the production of Euripides' *Orestes*.

Fr. 1:

(Schol. (**MTAB**) Eur. *Or*. 279)

> καὶ τῶν μὲν ἄλλων οὐκ ἐμέλησέ μοι μελῶν,
>
> Εὐριπίδου δὲ δρᾶμα δεξιώτατον
>
> διέκναισ᾽ Ὀρέστην, Ἡγέλοχον τὸν Κυντάρου
>
> μισθωσάμενος τὰ πρῶτα τῶν ἐπῶν λέγειν

2 εὐριπίδης **B** | **3** κυντάρου **MTB** | κυν- superscr. -τρ- **B** | Κιννάρου Bentley (*ClJ* 12, 1815), prob. Kock | Κυννάρου Dindorf.

> "and I did not care about any of the other songs,
>
> but I ruined the most intelligent drama of Euripides,
>
> his *Orestes*, when I hired Hegelokhos son of Kyntaros
>
> for the lead role"

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[111] See Hofmann 1976: 200-6 on this clothes-snatching Orestes.

The fragment records an instance of the recurrent joke about the actor Hegelokhos who incorrectly pronounced Eur. *Or.* 279: ἐκ κυμάτων γὰρ αὖθις αὖ γαλήν᾽ ὁρῶ so that the word γαλήν᾽ (meaning "calm") was pronounced γαλῆν (meaning "ferret"). As the scholion citing this fragment notes, Old comedians capitalised on Hegelokhos' mistake: the joke is reworked by Strattis fr. 63 (unknown play), Ar. *Fro.* 303, and Sannyrion *Danaë* fr. 8, while Platon fr. 235 (unknown play) mocked Hegelokhos for his unpleasant voice. Dover notes an added amusement that a γαλῆν crossing your path was a bad omen, as indeed it proved for Hegelokhos.[112] The scholion explains that Hegelokhos' mistake was in running out of breath so that he put a break between the elided phrase γαλήν᾽ ὁρῶ which made it sound like γαλῆν ὁρῶ, while Daitz argues that Hegelokhos accidentally produced one too many circumflexes due to the high number in the line.[113]

The speaker of fr. 1 claims responsibility for hiring Hegelokhos and for ruining the Euripidean drama. The verb διέκναισ᾽ could be third person, with the speaker criticising the *arkhōn*, however, the above translation takes the verb as first person, based on the μοι in line 1 although the matter is certainly open to debate.[114]. One manuscript (B) has the reading Εὐριπί<u>δης</u> in line 2 instead of our Εὐριπί<u>δου</u>, which would give a translation: "*Euripides* ruined *his* drama...by hiring Hegelokhos". The scribe mistakenly took διέκναισ᾽ as a third person singular verb and so he made Euripides the subject of the sentence.

The identity of the speaker of fr. 1 must be the eponymous *arkhōn* as it was his duty to appoint actors to all the playwrights for the Dionysia festival. The *arkhōn* for 409/8 BC, when

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[112] Dover 1993a: 231 citing Ar. *Ekkl.* 791-3 and Theophr. *Char.* 16.3.
[113] Daitz 1983: 294-5.
[114] In drama, both the first and third person of the aorist tense can be elided in order to keep the lines in metre, e.g. Ar. *Bir.* 492-3 ἀπώλεσ᾽ for ἀπώλεσα; Ar. *Bir.* 521 ὄμνυσ᾽ for ὄμνυσε; Eur. *Med.* 7 ἔπλευσ᾽ for ἔπλευσε.

Euripides' *Orestes* was performed, was Diokles who is therefore the speaker of fr. 1. Evidence for the method of appointing actors comes from later sources (Hesychius in the fifth-sixth centuries; Photius in the ninth century; the Suda in the tenth century), who all say that the protagonists were picked by lot but that the winner of the preceding year's acting prize was automatically selected. These sources are discussed by Pickard-Cambridge,[115] Csapo & Slater and most recently by Wilson,[116] who all reconstruct a tentative development of how actors were appointed: firstly, poets acted in their own plays, then poets chose the actors, and finally the *arkhōn* picked the protagonist. In fr. 1 the speaker talks of hiring the actor (μισθωσάμενος), which does not discount the idea of the *arkhōn* choosing the actor by lot as well. Therefore, fr. 1 would be a short-hand for this, since the theatre audience would know what was meant by μισθωσάμενος. Pickard-Cambridge plausibly links the involvement of the *arkhōn* in allotting actors to the introduction of prizes for the actors (for tragedy at the City Dionysia beginning c. 450 BC), which makes the competition fairer but serves as an indication of how important the quality of the actor had become to the performance, as the unfortunate hiring of Hegelokhos indicates.

Fr. 1 is the earliest evidence for hiring an actor and the only evidence for hiring the protagonist (since Hegelokhos played Orestes who spoke Eur. *Or.* 279). Strattis uses the term τὰ πρῶτα – "the first actor" to describe the lead actor, again the earliest use of the term. Cf. Dem. 19.246 which describes Aiskhines as the third actor: τὰ τρίτα λέγων. For other examples of hiring tritagonists see Dem. *On the Crown* 262 (330 BC) and Plut. *Precepts for Governing the State* 816 (c. 115 AD).

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[115] Pickard-Cambridge 1968: 93-5.
[116] Csapo & Slater 1995: 229-30; Wilson 2000: 85-6: "The polis, almost certainly through the Arkhon, took charge of selecting and allotting the actors to poets".

The *arkhōn* also comes under scrutiny in Kratinos *Boukoloi* fr. 17 for denying Sophokles a chorus and instead granting one to Gnesippos (discussed in Chapter 2, p. 101). Both Kratinos and Strattis show a readiness to make remarks in live, on-stage performances, concerning the *arkhōn's* poor judgement for the festival over which he presided. Additionally in *Boukoloi* fr. 20, Hesychius (π 4455) appears to claim that Kratinos again attacks the *arkhōn* for refusing him a chorus, so that perhaps it was something of a running joke for the play, although the corrupt text for Hesychius makes this far from certain.

On the characterisation of the *arkhōn* in fr. 1, note the alliteration of ᾿μ᾿ sounds at the end of line 1 combined with a pun on ἐμέλησέ…μελῶν. This is in addition to the assonance and rhythmic similarity of μὲν ἄλλων and μοι μελῶν in the same line. The meaning of τὸ μέλος is both that of "song" and "limb". Homer and Pindar always use it in the plural meaning limbs, and cf. Kratinos *Horai* fr. 276 which uses this same pun to mock Gnesippos (discussed in Chapter 2, p. 35). In *Anthroporestes*, this play with words, their sound, and Diokles' regrets about the performance of Orestes may suggest that the *arkhōn* was characterised in the play through his artistic role as a man concerned with tragic matters. For the use of such language by comic characters in an artistic profession see e.g. Euripides in *Frogs* using alliteration and repetition at line 833 of ᾿τ᾿; 837-8 of ᾿α᾿; 860 of ᾿ε᾿; 861 repetition of δάκνω; and Platon's claim (see Platon *Eortai* fr. 29 in Chapter 2, p. 78) that Euripides overused sigma-sounds.

The negative image of Orestes already existed in 425 BC in reference to Orestes, son of Timokrates (a violent drunkard at Ar. *Akh.* 1166-70) and we noted earlier that this Orestes was linked with the mythical Orestes in Aristophanes' *Birds* of 414 BC (lines 1490-3). Euripides' *Orestes* (408 BC) later played its part in embellishing this view of Orestes; his behaviour in

the play is at times maddened and frenzied, his plot to kill Helen is well-planned and he uses Hermione as a hostage but then he almost burns the palace (he is prevented by Apollo's timely entrance). The immediate impact of Euripides' depiction of Orestes is lost, but Isaios 8.3 (*On the estate of Kiron*) claims that a Diokles of Phlya was a murderous adulterer and calls him "Orestes" after the mythical figure, indicating in the fourth century that the name had become a derogatory label.

The *arkhōn* uses the verb διεκναίω, which literally means "I grate, scrape away, gouge out". The verb occurs rarely in surviving fifth-century BC literature, but it does appear in Eur. *El.* 1307 and Eur. *I.A.* 27 with a metaphorical meaning of "utterly destroyed". It most notably occurs in Ar. *Fro.* 1228 where again it refers to the destruction of lines of tragedy by recitation; Aiskhylos interrupts Euripides' recitations of his own plays by supplying the phrase ληκύθιον ἀπώλεσεν to complete each Euripidean line. Dionysos encourages Euripides to overcome this so that Aiskhylos "does not destroy (διεκναίσ᾽) our prologues". This is one indication of a comic vocabulary developing to talk about and criticise tragedy by using words metaphorically, as noted in Chapter 2, p. 113.

The *arkhōn's* description of Euripides' *Orestes* as δεξιός is particularly noteworthy and provides another instance of vocabulary to describe tragedy and tragedians. The word is of great importance in connection with tragedians throughout Aristophanes' *Frogs*.[117] The connotations of δεξιός from other contemporary sources are largely complimentary, e.g. Phrynikhos *Mousai* fr. 32 calls Sophokles δεξιός in a line that praises the poet. The wider use

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[117] Dionysos states his mission (and the premise of the comic play) as δέομαι ποιητοῦ δεξιοῦ (Ar. *Fro.* 71). Before the contest (Ar. *Fro.* 1009) Euripides declares, and Aiskhylos agrees, that tragedians improve the citizenry through δεξιότης and νουθεσία.

of the word is discussed by Dover[118] who points out that δεξιός is not common in the fourth century BC, but that it is used in Old Comedy and by Ps. Xenophon's *Ath. Pol.* (1.6 uses the superlative as well) without negative connotations which points towards its positive use in *Anthroporestes* fr. 1 to describe Euripides' play.

Lastly, there is the problem as to the name of Hegelokhos' father, Kyntaros, mentioned in line 3 of Strattis fr. 1, and whether any possible joke or pun is included. Nowhere else is Hegelokhos' patronymic given which would help clear up the controversy and the only known appearance of Κυντάρου is in this fragment; the word is not recorded in any other form. For a detailed discussion of the whole issue see Cannatá who favours preserving Κυντάρου and argues for a pun on κύων and κύντερος which is plausible if not decisive.[119] Other possible names include: Κύννα a *hetaira* in Ar. *Kn.* 765 and *Wa.* 1032, the Macedonian name Κυνάριον –"little dog" of the second century BC and Κυννάνα in the fourth century BC (both from *LGPN* 4 p. 204). Kaibel's suggestion of Κυττάρου "son of an acorn cup" is reasonable, but the most convincing explanation lies in Bentley's suggestion of Κιννάρου and in Dindorf's suggestion of Κυννάρου both of which recall ἡ κινάρος "artichoke", with its variant spelling κυνάρος.[120] Artichokes were thought to damage the voice and so this would provide a joke on Hegelokhos' poor pronunciation,[121] especially as Platon fr. 235 (unknown play) mocked Hegelokhos' voice as unpleasant (discussed in Chapter 2, p. 85).

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[118] Dover 1993b: 449, and again summarised Dover 1993a: 12-14.
[119] Cannatá 1998: 206-8 and he rightly notes the problematic reading of the proverb ἁρπαγὰ τὰ Κιννάρου (p. 200-1).
[120] See *PCG* vol. VII, p. 624-5; Athen. *Deipn.* 2.70a-71d discusses κινάρα which Olson (2006: 395, vol. I) translates as "cardoon" (an artichoke thistle) while noting that κυνάρα is a variant spelling.
[121] As pointed out by Csapo & Slater 1995: 230 and discussed in more depth by Borthwick 1967: 151-2 who also favours this reading for Strattis fr. 1.

Fr. 2:

(Athen. *Deipn*. 3.127d)

τῶν δὲ διδύμων ἐκγόνων σεμιδάλιδος

"of the twin offspring of fine wheat flour"

The phrase arises in Athenaios amidst the discussion of pudding (χόνδρος), during which he quotes Antiphanes *Anteia* fr. 36 which claims that σεμιδάλις comes from Phoinikia. Aristophanes *Olkades* fr. 428 lists σεμιδάλις along with various cereals and plants: ἀράους, πυρούς, πτίσανην, χόνδρον, ζειάς, αἶρας, σεμίδαλιν "wild chickling (poor quality), wheat, barley gruel, porridge/pudding, one-seeded wheat, darnel (a weed), fine wheat flour". For discussion of the type of wheat see Jasny[122] and more recently Olson and Sens.[123]

The overall phrase is an unusual formation in describing wheat as having ἔκγονοι "descendants", a word which usually describes a family line. Here the "descendants" of wheat flour are its product, i.e. bread or cakes, as is stated explicitly in Philyllios *Auge* fr. 4 where a male character sings: "I come, bringing the offspring of three-month wheat; hot rolls, white like milk".

Meineke considers that Strattis uses the genitive, σεμιδάλιδος instead of the more usual σεμιδάλεως because Strattis wished to draw a link with the personal name, Semidalis.[124] In favour of this, Alexis' later comedies *Isostasion* fr. 102 and *Pankratiastes* fr. 173 contain a

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[122] Jasny 1944: 18, 57, 89.
[123] Olson & Sens 2000: 34.
[124] Meineke 1857: V.1.53.

character who is nicknamed Semidalis. Arnott's commentary on both fragments of Alexis

notes that the lines are filled with characters nicknamed after food stuffs. In these fragments

all the other characters are male and so Arnott suggests that Semidalis too was male and gives

examples of other feminine words used as nicknames for men.[125] However, cf. Apollophanes'

Dalis which may well be named after a *hetaira*. Whatever the gender of Semidalis, the

inclusion of the word in *Anthroporestes* fr. 2 provides a pun on its meaning as a type of wheat

and as a personal name, and this is brought out further by the use of ἔκγονοι.

In *Anthroporestes* fr. 2, the phrase διδύμων ἐκγόνων "twin offspring" furthers the familial

metaphor; cf. Eur. *Or*. 1402 δύο διδύμω where the Phrygian slave describes Pylades and

Orestes as twin Greek lions, as he explains how they attempted to kill Helen. Euripides here

imitates Aiskh. *Khoeph*. 937-45 where the twin lions are again Pylades and Orestes.[126] Words

with the root διδύμ- are very common in tragic lyric, particularly in choral odes,[127] but are

absent in Old Comedy (only appearing in Ar. *Lys*. 1281, notably in a song by Lysistrata) and

they are used for later comic play titles.[128]

Therefore, *Anthroporestes* fr. 2 contains high-style language and phrasing to describe

something undeserving of such poetic treatment –i.e. a mock-heroic or dithyrambic treatment.

Cf. Strattis *Philoktetes* fr. 45 which uses a dithyrambic style to describe food (discussed on p.

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[125] Arnott 1996: 268, 511. Athen. *Deipn*. 3.134c quotes *Isostasion*; Athen. *Deipn*. 6.242d quotes *Pagkratiastes*.

[126] See e.g. Garvie 1986: 305; West 1987: 279.

[127] Occurring in a choral ode: Aiskh. *Khoeph*. 792 "double payment"; *Seven* 782 "double crime"; Soph. *Ant*. 966 "twin seas"; Soph. *El*. 206 "twin hands" in Elektra's responsion to a choral strophe; Soph. *El*. 1080 "twin Erinyes"; Soph. *O.C*. 1693 "twin children" i.e. Ismene and Antigone; Eur. *Andr*. 464 "double marriage"; Eur. *Hel*. 220 "twin sons of Zeus" i.e. Kastor and Polydeukes; Eur. *I.A*. 548 "Eros' twin arrows"; Eur. *I.T*. 655 "double argument"; Eur. *Phoin*. 1288 "twin sons" i.e. Polyneikes and Eteokles; Eur. *Or*. 1402 "twin sons" Pylades and Orestes; Aiskh. *Pers*. 1033 "double pain" the chorus speak the line as part of stichomythia with Xerxes.

[128] Words with root διδύμ- provide the titles of some later and New Comedies (by Menander, Antiphanes, Aristophon, Xenarkhos and Alexis) and *com. adesp.* fr. 1132.13 contains the phrase δίδυμα θυγάτρια but it is unclear whether the papyrus records Old or New Comedy. *PCG* vol. VII, p. 461 notes the large domestic vocabulary in fr. 1132.13 and tentatively conclude "idem probabilius de nova comoedia".

180 below). In comparison ἐκγόν- words are common from Homer onwards and appear in tragedy, particularly Euripidean,[129] furthering the argument that the fragment is in high-style and perhaps using Euripidean language.

On the idea of giving food familial relations, cf. Arkhestratos of Gela fr. 5 line 14 which lists barley and wheat bread and says "I praise ash-cake (ἐγκρυφίην), the son of Tegean wheat flour (σεμιδάλεος υἱόν)".[130] In their commentary Olson and Sens note that "the naming of the honorand's father is an essential convention of Greek praise poetry"[131] which Arkhestratos here parodies, and which may help toward understanding the unsubstantial fragment of Strattis' work, again as mock-serious in tone. The same type of comic imagery is at work in Ar. *Lys*. 549 which puns on the double meaning of μητριδίων ἀκαληφῶν "of seedling nettles" or "of little mums who are like nettles" since a seeding nettle is most full of sting. The chorus-leader uses this phrase to describe Lysistrata as they dress and mock the Magistrate. This metaphorical use of food and plants for comic ends is the type of joke at work in Strattis fr. 2.

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[129] Soph. *O.T.* 171, 1474; *Prom. Bound* 137; Eur. *Aiolos* fr. 15; Eur. *I.A.* 598; Eur. *Hipp.* 450; Eur. *And.* 45; Eur. *Phoin.* 682; Eur. *Med.* 955.
[130] The text is provided in Olson and Sens 2000: 23.
[131] Olson and Sens 2000: 34.

᾿ΑΤΑΛΑΝΤΟΣ

Atalantos

The title of this play is also recorded as *Atalante* or even *Atalantai*, but *Atalantos* is used here based on the criterion *utrum in alterum abiturum erat*? and *difficilior lectio potior*.[132] The word *Atalantos* clearly derives from the mythical name Atalante and so it is more probable that ancient writers corrected *Atalantos* to the more common *Atalante* rather than the reverse. A parallel case of ancient sources confusing the gender of a play-title occurs in Ar. *Dramata* or *Niobos* Δράματα ἢ Νίοβος where a number of sources record the title as Νιόβη instead (at Ar. fr. 289, 295, 296). For Strattis' play, the spelling *Atalantos* is found in the earliest source for the play, a second-century papyrus fragment (fr. 4 below which reads [Στρ]άττις ᾿Αταλ[άν]τῳ) and in the Aristophanic scholia (fr. 8 below), whereas *Atalante* appears in schol. Ar. *Pe*. 348e, the text of which is corrupt, and in later writers (Athenaios and some entries of the Suda). The Suda does contain both *Atalantos* and *Atalante* in different entries, indicating that the uncertainty over the name continued into the tenth century AD. Taking these points together therefore, there is a clear case for reading the play title as *Atalantos*.

The plot of *Atalantos* is unknown and no mythical characters are mentioned in the five extant fragments. As with *Anthroporestes,* incidental information dates the play to long after *Frogs* of 405 BC (see *Atalantos* fr. 8 below). There is additional evidence for dating in *Atalantos* fr. 3, which jokes about Isokrates' relationship with his *pallake,* Lagiska, since Athenaios comments that Isokrates and Lagiska had a child when he was "advancing in years" προβαίνοντα τῇ ἡλικίᾳ (see fr. 3 below). As Isokrates' life is dated to 436-338 BC the

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[132] West 1973: 51 "Which reading was the more liable to be corrupted into the other?"; Reynolds & Wilson 1991: 221describe *utrum...erat.* as a general principle and *difficilior lectio potior* as "strictly speaking no more than an application of this general principle".

description must surely refer to a date in the early fourth century BC, and it is therefore to this period that Strattis' *Atalantos* must date. It is not clear how extensive a role Isokrates and Lagiska had in *Atalantos* as they are only mentioned in one fragment but their inclusion shows Strattis indulging in *onomasti komoidein*, a typical feature of Old Comedy but in a comedy with a mythical title.

There are two main myths concerning Atalante; either her involvement with Meleager and the Kalydonian boar hunt, or her marriage to Hippomenes after he beats her in a running race with the help of some golden apples.[133] The fragments of Strattis' *Atalantos*, however, do not indicate whether either or both myths were used in the play. Additionally *Atalantos* fr. 3 indicates a paratragic scene with the *mēkhanē*, but it is not explicitly related to parody of a tragedy concerning Atalante (cf. Strattis *Phoinissai* fr. 46 where the *mēkhanē* scene comes from Euripides' *Hypsipyle,* not his *Phoinissai*).

Atalante appears frequently in both tragedy and comedy although the frustration of fragments means that the details of Atalante's dramatic roles are scarce. Aiskhylos and Aristias composed an *Atalante* but the fragments give no indication of plot or characterisation,[134] while the fragments of Sophokles' *Meleager* do not contain evidence that Atalante appeared at all. However, in Euripides' *Meleager*, which Cropp & Fick date to the mid 410s BC,[135] Atalante appears as a speaking character. The play is also thought to be the first portrayal of Atalante's disastrous love for Meleager.[136] The tragedy is mentioned in Ar. *Fro*. 864 and quoted later at

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[133] Gantz 1996: 337-8 considers there to be two separate Atalantes, the Boiotian who races Hippomenes for the golden apples (Hes. fr. 72-6 Merkelbach & West, Hyg. *Fab*. 185, Apollod. 3.9.2) and the Arkadian who wrestles Peleus at Pelias' funeral games, joins the Argonauts, and falls in love with Meleager.

[134] *TrGF* vol. 1, p. 86 ascribes one fragment to Aristias' play. *TrGF* vol. 3 ascribes none to Aiskhylos' play. Sommerstein (forthcoming, 2008) suggests that Aiskh. fr. 313 concerns the Kalydonian boar hunt and therefore favours linking it with Aiskhylos' *Atalante*.

[135] Cropp & Fick 1985: 85.

[136] E.g. Gantz 1996: 331 "On the literary side our first evidence of Atalanta as femme fatale is Euripides'

lines 1240-1 and line 1402 and so offers the most probable source for Strattis' comedy, particularly given Strattis' penchant for Euripidean tragedy (cf. especially Strattis' *Medeia* and *Phoinissai* below).

The fragments of Euripides' *Meleager* involve some argument over the role of women in the home (see especially fr. 521, 522, 525, 528) and one character (most probably Althaia) expresses her hatred for a warrior woman, i.e. Atalante. Therefore, for Strattis to compose a play in which the unfeminine Atalante actually is male, called Atalantos, may indicate the close links of comedy with Euripides' *Meleager*. It suggests that Strattis was playing with preconceptions about myths involving Atalante. A feat he perhaps repeats in his *Iphigeron* the title of which again sees a mythical female character masculinised.

Atalante was a popular figure in Old Comedy, as the following titles indicate: Kallias' *Atalantai,* Euthykles' *Atalante,* Philyllios' *Atalante,* Philetairos' *Meleager* and *Atalante* (regarded by Meineke as possibly being the same play)[137] also Philetairos' *Kunagis, Huntress,* may be of interest, and later Alexis' *Atalante*. However, the remaining fragments of these plays give no indication of their link with myths involving Atalante or with the fragmentary tragedies about Atalante. Of possible relevance to these plays, including Strattis' *Atalantos* and Euripides' *Meleager,* is *com. adesp.* fr. 1111 (*P. Oxy.* 2808, first century) from the text of a play which in fr. 1, col. ii, lines 6-9 contain the words:

ην (ποῦ γάρ;) η[

Meleagros".
[137] Meineke 1839: I.350.

Εὐριπιδης δο . [

ἦν γάρ ᾿Αταλάντη[

ἵνα καὶ τὸ νοημ᾿ ὅθεν[

The fragment continues to line 15 and while its overall meaning is irrecoverable, the mention of Euripides and Atalante is clear. Because of the high number of lost comedies about Atalante, the source of fr. 1111 remains unknown, but it does indicate that Euripides and Atalante could be connected in comedy. This adds to the plausibility of connecting Strattis' *Atalantos* with Euripides' depiction of Atalante, regardless of any direct connection between fr. 1111 and Strattis' *Atalantos*.

Fr. 3:

(Athen. *Deipn*. 13.592d)

(cf. a similar text in Zos. vit. Isocr. p. 102, line 19 Dind.; Harp. p. 189, line 5 Dind.)[138]

καὶ τὴν Λαγίσκαν τὴν ᾿Ισοκράτους παλλακὴν

εὑρεῖν με συκάζουσαν εὐναίαν ἔτι,

τόν τ᾿ αὐλοτρύπην αὐτὸν εἶθ᾿ ἥκειν ταχύ

"And I found Isokrates' concubine, Lagiska,

still in bed, fig-squeezing

and then the flute-borer himself entered hurriedly"

Isokrates, the orator and pamphleteer, is mocked here for his relationship with his παλλακή, Lagiska. In the fragment, the speaker describes coming across Lagiska still in bed, perhaps a

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[138] Harpokration's quotation runs from Λαγίσκαν to αὐτὸν and has the verb ἰδεῖν instead of εὑρεῖν in line 2.

slave (female?) recounting what he or she has seen. Lagiska is described as συκάζουσαν literally "squeezing figs" but the meaning here is "masturbating", as Hesychius explains (Hesych. ξ 2220): συκάζειν τὸ κνίζειν ἐν ἐρωτικαῖς ὁμιλίαις = "to rub/tickle in erotic practices". Hesychius (also in Suda σ 1329) then notes that the verb συκοφαντεῖν is used by Platon fr. 255 and Menander fr. 1071 in a similarly sense. The word αὐλοτρύπην, describes Isokrates since his father, Theodoros, owned a flute-making business[139] but it can also have a sexual meaning as in e.g. Ar. *Ekkl.* 624 with τρύπημα. According to Plut. *vit.* 10. *orat.* 836e-f Aristophanes (Ar. fr. 722) as well as Strattis mocked Isokrates in connection with flutes.[140]

Strattis here displays his credentials as a poet of Old Comedy with a low-level and personal joke aimed at the Athenian citizen Isokrates and his *pallake,* Lagiska. Indeed since Lagiska was not a citizen-wife she was an acceptable target for comic plays and the derivation of the name "Lagiska", which means literally "little hare", is very similar to the word λαγνεία, "sexual intercourse, salaciousness". Both Lagiska's name and Isokrates' comic association with flute-making provide Strattis with a gift for this style of sexual humour.

There is also the likelihood of a pun on Λαγίσκαν...εὐναίαν if we compare Xen. *Kyn.* 5.7 (also used at 3.8, 5.9) where εὐναίαν is applied to ὁ λαγώς and means "a hare's form" (a form is a day-nest made by hares). Given the derivation of Lagiska's name ("little hare"), this therefore indicates that the scene described in fr. 3 takes place in Lagiska's bed-chamber.

Plut. *Mor.* 839b explains that Isokrates did not marry while young, but as he grew older he had a daughter by Lagiska who died aged twelve and then he married the daughter of the

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[139] Cf. the comic depiction of Euripides as the son of a mother selling vegetables, Kleon the tanner, or Kleophon the harp maker.

[140] Unfortunately the joke is not specified. The power of these jokes is preserved in later sources, e.g. Philostratos (*vit. soph.* I.17.4) who defends Isokrates by saying that the man knew nothing about either flute-making or any other such banal matter.

orator Hippias, called Plathane.[141] Therefore, *Atalantos* fr. 3 reflects a particular episode in Isokrates' life. Lagiska is mentioned in a list of *hetairai* from Lysias' *Against Lais* (cited in Athen. *Deipn.* 13.586e), but Lagiska is said to have given up this trade while still young, and this was presumably to live with Isokrates.[142] Anaxandrides *Gerontomania* fr. 9 (Athen. *Deipn.* 13.570d-e) also mentions Lais and recalls Lagiska when she was young. Anaxandrides' career is later than that of Strattis, yet Lagiska herself remains an easy comic target as a now ageing ex-prostitute, or perhaps even after her death.[143]

There is no way of knowing from this fragment whether Lagiska or Isokrates appeared in the play or if they had a larger role than the description of them here. However, the very inclusion of a *hetaira* character in comedy recalls both the many *hetaira*-plays of Pherekrates and the move toward Middle Comedy where *hetairai* characters were very common. Perikles' relationship with Aspasia is a frequent target in Kratinos' comedies[144] since Aspasia was neither Athenian nor Perikles' wife, although she was an aristocrat rather than a *hetaira*. Strattis' *Atalantos*, like his *Anthroporestes*, is a play with mythical connotations that includes characters from the real and contemporary Athenian society of the fifth century BC. Cf. the reverse case with Strattis' *Kallippides,* which is named after a real actor but contains the mythical character Herakles.

Fr. 4:

(*P. Oxy.* 2742, second century)[145]

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[141] Davies 1971: 245-8 provides the source material on Isokrates.

[142] Athen. *Deipn.* 13.592b-c later brings up Lysias' *Letters* which note that Isokrates, the most modest of orators, had two *hetairai* called Metaneira and Lagiska although Dem. 59.21 notes a Metaneira was Lysias' lover.

[143] For other references to Lagiska see Athen. *Deipn.* 13.570e, and Harp. p. 189, line 5 Dind., who also notes that Lysias mentions her.

[144] E.g. Kratinos' *Kheirones* and fr. 259.

[145] Details and images of the papyrus are included in Appendix 2. Full colour images are available on-line: <http://www.papyrology.ox.ac.uk/POxy/>.

ἀπο τῆς κράδης, ἤδη γάρ ἰσχάς γιγ[ομαι,

ὁ μηχανοποιός μ' ὡς τάχιστα καθελέτω

2 post ἐτω spat. vac.

"Could the crane handler take me down from the fig-branch

as quickly as possible for I am already becoming a dried fig"

The lines of fr. 4 come from a very fragmentary papyrus containing a commentary on a comic play, which both Uebel and Luppe suggest is a commentary on Kratinos' *Seriphioi*.[146] The surviving section of the commentary discusses the use of the word κράδη to describe theatrical stage machinery and it cites Strattis' *Atalantos* in the process. Pollux (4.128) explains that in comedy κράδη was the word used for the *mēkhanē,* while Plut. *Paroem*. 2.16 claims that the κράδη was a specific part of the *mēkhanē,* the hook (ἀγκυρίς) upon which the actors were held. Therefore, in *Atalantos* fr. 4 the use of κράδη (literally "fig branch") allows for a comic pun with ἰσχάς ("dried fig") so that the distressed speaker on the *mēkhanē* is "a dried fig on a fig branch" reflecting his state of fear on the *mēkhanē,* As Henderson notes, the fig-tree and the branches with its fruit can be used to refer to the male sexual organs in comedy.[147] By comparing the speaker with ἰσχάς therefore Strattis provides a crude way of pointing out his cowardly qualities.

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[146] Uebel 1971: 189; Luppe 1971: 120. The words Perseus and Polydektes (King of Seriphos) appear in the papyrus and Kratinos' *Seriphioi* starred Perseus who in some accounts turns the inhabitants of Seriphos to stone.

[147] Henderson 1975: 118, 134. Henderson notes that ἰσχάς could refer to female genitalia but that this does not occur in comedy until the works of the poet Axonikos. It also would make little sense in the context of Strattis fr. 4

P. Oxy. 2742 gives two other examples of describing the *mēkhanē* as a κράδη; one from Ar. *Gerytades* fr. 160 where someone tells the crane operator to rotate it: περιάγειν...τὴν κράδην. The other is from Strattis *Phoin*. fr. 46 (discussed below, p. 186), which again uses the pun on ἰσχάς and where the speaker is Dionysos, reciting Hypsipyle's lines from Euripides' *Hypsipyle*. It is possible that Dionysos is also the speaker of *Atalantos* fr. 4, especially as this joke about ἰσχάς and κράδη is specific to Strattis' work.

The form γίνομαι is the later spelling for the fifth-century BC γίγνομαι and Threatte[148] notes that γίνομαι is not found in Attic inscriptions until 306/5 BC. By the Hellenistic period γίνομαι is the standard spelling although by the late Roman period both spellings are in use.

Fr. 5:

(Athen. *Deipn*. 7.302d-e; 9.399d)

> ὑπογάστριον θύννου τι κἀκροκώλιον
>
> δραχμῆς ὕειον

> "under-belly of a tuna, and some pigs' trotters
>
> at a drachma"

This quotation appears in *The Deipnosophists* amidst a discussion of tuna references in drama, but Athenaios provides no information about its context in Strattis' play. It is not even clear if the unidentified speaker is trying to buy or sell the food mentioned. Athen. *Deipn*. 9.399c

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[148] Threatte 1980: 562-5.

notes that the word ὑπογάστριον is used exclusively of fish (cf. Ar. *Lemniai* fr. 380 and Strattis *Makedones* or *Pausanias* fr. 32 where they are described as ἡδέα "delicious".

ὑπογάστριον θύννου. The fourth-century BC comic poet, Eriphos, in his *Meliboia* fr. 3 claims that this food is too expensive for οἱ πένητες, "the poor do not have the means to buy the under-belly of tuna, nor the head of sea-bass, nor conger-eel, nor cuttle-fish, which I think the blessed gods do not despise". A similar view is expressed in Timokles *Epikhairekakos* fr. 11 where the speaker notes that the *agora* is stocked with fish for those who can afford it. Davidson's discussion on fish-pricing concludes that they were luxury items based on evidence from comedy and oratory. For more information on θύννος see Olson & Sens and Thompson.[149]

ἀκροκώλια. Pherekrates *Metalles* fr. 113.14 mentions ἀκροκώλια δίεφθα "boiled trotters" in describing a utopia where food, wine and women are in abundance.[150] The ἀκροκώλια δίεφθα are here listed alongside a mouth-watering array of preparations of pig's meat: "and nearby were whole legs of pork, the tenderest, on little platters, boiled trotters steaming with the most heavenly aroma, belly of an ox...". This preparation of pigs' trotters is standard and it also appears in Ar. *Aiolosikon* fr. 4 and Hippokrates περὶ διαίτης (Hp. *Vict.*) 3.75 who recommends them for treating bowel and stomach disorders as it is a fleshy meat which should be boiled. The appearance of ἀκροκώλια in Strattis fr. 5 would suggest that it is a luxurious form of food, as with the use of ὑπογάστριον θύννου. This might explain the high price in fr. 5 asked for the pig meat, while also being open to comic exaggeration.

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[149] Olson & Sens 2000: 139; Thompson 1947: 88.
[150] The theme of the passage is clear as Athen. *Deipn.* 6.268d, who quotes Pherekrates, has just cited Krates' *Beasts* and a similarly utopian passage from Telekleides. Cf. Telekleides fr. 51 (unknown play) which used the phrase ἀκροκώλια δίεφθα "boiled trotters".

Fr. 6:

(Schol. (V) Ar. *Pe*. 348e)

ὁ δεύτερος ἦν κωφός· μέμνηται †καὶ Στράττις. τρίτος μοιχός Κρατῖνος Ἀταλάντηι†. τέταρτος Κροτωνιάτης ἀρχαῖος· Κρατῖνος Τροφωνίω...

(about different Phormions) "the second was deaf †and Strattis mentions him. The third an adulterer. Kratinos in *Atalante*.† The fourth an early citizen of Kroton..."

The Aristophanic scholion lists five different Phormions, the first being the fifth-century BC στρατήγος noted by Thoukydides for his naval successes (see especially Thouk. 2.80-103), whereas the other three Phormions are unidentified. The text of the scholion is unfortunately garbled, since it suggests that an adulterous Phormion appeared in Kratinos' *Atalante, a play which is nowhere else attested. As Strattis composed an *Atalantos* it seems most probable that the scholion's confusion arose at this point. Therefore, it is only a matter of deciding if the Phormion of Strattis' play was deaf, adulterous or both. Since the text seems clear that the second, deaf Phormion belongs in Strattis' play, it is plausible to suggest that the word Atalante be transposed alongside that of "Strattis" as Dindorf suggests: μέμνηται καὶ Στράττις Ἀταλάντη. τρίτος μοιχός· Κρατῖνος ***. τέταρτος. However, Kaibel's differing reconstruction remains plausible: μέμνηται Κρατῖνος. τρίτος μοιχός· Στράττις Ἀταλάντη. τέταρτος.[151] It is unclear if Strattis mocked a deaf or adulterous

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[151] See *PCG* vol. VII, p. 628.

Phormion but it is obviously not the admiral mentioned in Thoukydides who also appeared as a comic character in Eupolis' *Taxiarkhoi*.

Fr. 7:

(Phot. δ 672 = Suda δ 1295)

διφροφόροι· Στράττις ἐν Ἀταλάνταις

" 'carrying a chair'; Strattis uses it in his *Atalantaî*"

The term διφροφόροι is often used to describe the female metics who carried seats for the κανηφόροι in religious processions, including the Panathenaia.[152] This distinctive Athenian context for the word, adds to evidence for the mixture of myth and material from contemporary Athens in Strattis' *Atalantos*. The word is common in Old Comedy e.g. Ar. *Ekkl.* 734 (as Blepyros prepares a Panathenaic-style procession), Ar. *Bir*. 1552, Nikophon *Enkheirogastores* fr. 7, and Hermippos *Theoi* fr. 25.

Ἀταλάνταις. Another variant on the name of the play from a relatively late source that may have confused it with Kallias' Ἀταλάνται.

Fr. 8:

(Schol. (RVEΘ Barb) Ar. *Fro*. 146a-b (Sud σ 691))

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[152] This is according to the *Etymologicum magnum* 279.38 (ed. Th. Gaisford, Oxford 1848) and Aelian *VH* 6.1.

(146a) τινές φασι τῶι σκῶρ πρῶτον κεχρῆσθαι Στράττιν ἐν Ἀταλάντῳ δράματι· (146b) ψεῦδος δέ, πολλῶι γὰρ ὕστερον τῶν Βατράχων δεδίδακται ὁ Ἀτάλαντος Στράττιδος

Ἀταλάντῳ **Schol.** | Ἀτάλαντος **Sud. AGM** | ἢ Ἄτλαντος γραπτέον ἢ Ἀταλάντης superscr. **M** | Ἀποτάλαντος **Sud. V**

"Some say that Strattis was the first to use (the word) 'dung' in his *Atalantos*, but this is false since the *Atalantos* of Strattis was produced long after *Frogs*"

In the fifth century BC σκῶρ is a common word in comedy (e.g. Ar. *Fro.* 146, and derivatives σκατ- in Ar. *Pe.* 42, Epikharmos fr. 56, Sophron fr. 11). The scholion indicates that Strattis' *Atalantos* was produced after *Frogs* (405 BC), and so into the late fifth/early fourth c. BC.

Ἀταλάντῳ. The variant readings disagree about the case but preserve the noun Ἀτάλαντος, except for the correction to M of Ἀταλάντης and the superscript ἢ Ἄτλαντος, which were likely attempts to correct an unfamiliar word to the more common Atalante or Atlas.

ΙΦΙΓΕΡΩΝ

Iphigeron (Iphigeriatric)

The sources for the fragments of *Iphigeron* give the author as either Strattis or Apollophanes or both (Apollophanes is discussed in Chapter 2, p. 96). The evidence is slight and contradictory: Sud. σ 1178 (= *PCG* vol. VII, p. 623, Test. 1) lists *Iphigeron* among Strattis' compositions, while Sud. α 3409 (= *PCG* vol. II, p. 518, Test. 1) ascribes *Iphigeron* to Apollophanes. However, a second-century papyrus containing part of a list of Apollophanes' plays (*PCG* vol. II, p. 518, Test. 1) contains only Δα]λίς Κρ]ῆτες and misses out *Iphigeron,* if the list descends alphabetically. The scholion on Ar. *Pe*. 542c (Apollophanes fr. 3 in *PCG*) cites only Apollophanes as the author of *Iphigeron*, but Harpokration (p. 9, line 9 Dind. = Apollophanes fr. 4) considers his reference as from either Strattis' or Apollophanes' *Iphigeron.*

Kassel & Austin list the two fragments of *Iphigeron* under Apollophanes but pronounce no judgement as to why they have made this choice, while Meineke remains uncertain about the title's attribution.[153] There are only two fragments of *Iphigeron* and based on such slim evidence from a statistically insignificant set of data, the authorship of *Iphigeron* remains in question; Apollophanes' corpus totals only eight fragments and three titles. However, within this uncertainty lies the ability to consider the fragments as potentially from Strattis' work. In fact, Strattis' preference for mythical compound titles (Strattis' *Atalantos, Anthroporestes,* and *Lemnomeda*) favours the argument that *Iphigeron* was Strattis' work since such titles are not displayed in the known plays of Apollophanes.

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[153] Meineke 1839: I.226.

The title *Iphigeron*, like Strattis' *Anthroporestes*, indicates some form of link with the Atreid myths, and Iphigeneia either starred or her characterisation was evoked in the comedy but the two fragments of *Iphigeron* give no hint of this. The character of Iphigeneia recurs in tragedy throughout the fifth century BC, as the innocent victim of the sacrifice that enables the Trojan war to go ahead. Iphigeneia's fate is described in Aiskh. *Ag*. 205-50 (458 BC) and Aiskhylos and Sophokles each composed an *Iphigeneia*, whose dates are unknown. While nothing of Aiskhylos' play remains, Sophokles clearly portrayed events similar to those in Euripides' *I.A.*[154] Euripides' *I.A.* was produced after 406 BC.[155] Euripides' *I.T.* noticeably breaks this trend and sets his story in Skythia where Orestes and Iphigeneia are reunited. Eur. *I.T.* dates to around 414 BC, according to Cropp, due to its use of trochaic tetrameters which only seem to appear in Euripides' plays of the 410s BC onward and his increased use of resolution in iambic trimeters.[156] Given Strattis' interest in Euripides (see especially *Anthroporestes* fr. 1 and Strattis' *Phoinissai* and fr. 71), a link to Euripides' *I.T.* and/or *I.A.* is probable so that *Iphigeron* would date to after 414/3 BC.

As with *Atalantos*, the title *Iphigeron* suggests the likelihood of gender inversion and gender confusion in the comedy although the fragments do not indicate how to interpret the title. If *Iphigeron* involved a woman dressed as an old man then there is a similar occurrence in *Ekklesiazousai* with the ladies disguised as Athenian citizens. If *Iphigeron* contained a male character disguised as a young woman then this is comparable to Euripides' relative in *Thesmophoriazousai* who plays the parts of an Athenian woman and the Euripidean Helen and Andromeda. Incidentally both the Euripidean Iphigeneia and Andromeda appear in what

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[154] See Sophokles *Iphigeneia* fr. 305 where Odysseus addresses Klytaimnestra about Akhilleus: σὺ δ', ὦ μεγίστων τυγχάνουσα πενθερῶν "and you, you happen upon the greatest of in-laws", which evokes a similar plot to Euripides' *I.A.*

[155] This is according to schol. Ar. *Fro*. 67. Diggle 1994: 290 takes this scholion as evidence that *I.A.* was produced along with *Bakkhai* and *Alkmaion* by Euripides' son upon his death, and so in 405 BC.

[156] Cropp 2000: 60-1.

are termed Euripides' escape plays in which a female character is rescued out of a difficult, perhaps life-altering, situation from a foreign land. In fact, both Iphigeneia and Andromeda were to be sacrificed in their respective myths (and in Euripides' development of Iphigeneia's story in *I.T.* Iphigeneia even becomes the performer of sacrifices). In addition Arkhippos' *Ikhthues* and Phrynikhos fr. 77 (unknown play) both contain parodies of heroines needing rescue (the tragedian Melanthios as Hesione and an inebriated old woman as Andromeda respectively; these are discussed in Chapter 2, p. 103). This range of comic examples presents the possibility that Strattis used this style of character in his comedy which would draw on tragedy for its escape play themes, as Aristophanes did in *Thesmophoriazousai.*

Apollophanes fr. 3:

(Schol. (RV) Ar. *Pe*. 542c)

ἐπεὶ ἐν ὀξυβάφοις χαλκοῖς τὰ ὑπώπια ἀνατρίβοντες ἢ τοιούτοις τισὶν ἀφανῆ ποιοῦσιν. καὶ Ἀπολλοφάνης ἐν Ἰφιγέροντι·
κύαθον λάβοιμι τοῖς ὑπωπίοις

"Since they rub black eyes in small bronze saucers or treat them with some such vessels. And Apollophanes in his *Iphigeron* says:

'(I wish?) I could obtain a cupping-vessel for these black eyes' "

The cupping-vessel was made of bronze (Arist. *Probl*. 890b7-26) and used on injuries, such as black eyes, to reduce the swelling. At Ar. *Pe*. 539-42 Trygaios comments that all the cities, who are now friends thanks to Peace, have black eyes and cupping glasses which indicates

that they have been fighting. Obversely Ar. *Lys*. 444 has the magistrate call for a woman to be tied up, and she replies by threatening him saying "very soon you'll be seeking a cupping glass". Cf. Ar. *Babylonians* fr. 75 where Dionysos thinks Athenian demagogues have asked for two bronze saucers (ὀξυβάφω, referring to cupping glasses, as in *Iphigeron* fr. 3 above), not wine cups. Euripides' satyr play *Eurystheus,* in which Eurystheus sends Herakles to the Underworld, also mentions a κύαθον to treat black eyes so that the object recurs as a comic prop often in scenes of comic violence.

Apollophanes fr. 4:

(Harp. p. 9, line 9 Dind.; A27 Keaney)

ἀδελφίζειν· ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀδελφὸν καλεῖν παρ' Ἰσοκράτει...καὶ Στράττιδι ἢ Ἀπολλοφάνει ἐν Ἰφιγέροντι

" 'To brother (someone)'; instead of the phrase 'to call (someone) brother', used by Isokrates...and by Strattis or Apollophanes in *Iphigeron*"

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(Antiatt. p. 83, 25)[157]

ἀδελφίζειν· ὡς ἀδελφῶι προσφέρεσθαι. Στράττις Ἰφιγέροντι

" 'To brother (someone)'; to approach someone as your brother. Strattis in *Iphigeron*"

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[157] In the manuscript προσφέρεσθαι and Στράττις Ἰφιγέροντι are separated by the phrase: ἀσχημονῆσαι· Εὐριπίδης Ἑκάβῃ (line 407), and then a lacuna. Meineke emends this (1839: I.226) to the text given above.

Harpokration says that the verb ἀδελφίζειν is used in place of the actual phrase "to call (someone) brother". Photius (α 333) says the verb means to call someone brother many times and in a flattering way (πυκνῶς καὶ θεραπευτικῶς) and adds that its use is not only in comedy but also in oratory, which indicates that the word was usually found in a comic context. The importance of sibling relations in a play called *Iphigeron* may well relate to Iphigeneia and Orestes. In Euripides' *I.T.* and *Orestes* ἀδελφ- words are very common (nineteen in *I.T.*; twenty in *Orestes*; cf. ten in *I.A.*).

ΚΑΛΛΙΠΠΙΔΗΣ

Kallippides

The title refers to the tragic actor Kallippides, but the fragments provide no direct indication of his role in the play. The three surviving fragments concern food and there is little information about the plot, although fr. 11 suggests a *symposion* or celebration scene. Most importantly, fr. 12 indicates that Herakles had a role in the play, as it describes Herakles' greedy eating habits, a common comic motif (discussed at Strattis fr. 12 below). The roles of Herakles and Kallippides in the comedy are unclear, but it is tempting to link the two together and suggest an association between the flamboyant actor and the larger-than-life Herakles, with the one playing the other and sharing the insatiable appetites of the comic Herakles. This concept of the greedy actor does occur in Platon *Surphax* fr. 175 which mocks the actor Mynniskos for his expansive appetite (discussed in Chapter 2, p. 84). Herakles was also a serious tragic character (e.g. in Soph. *Trakhiniai* or Eur. *Herakles*) and one that Kallippides

could well have played. Again Strattis' work involves this mixture of mythical characters and contemporary figures from the real world; cf. Strattis' *Anthroporestes, Atalantos*, and *Phoinissai*.

Kallippides was also a comic target for his acting in Ar. *Skenas Katalambanousai* (*Women Pitching Tents*) fr. 490: ὥσπερ ἐν Καλλιππίδῃ / ἐπὶ τοῦ κορήματος καθέζομαι χαμαί "As in Kallippides, I sit on the sweepings on the ground". This implies a perceived lack of decorum and dignity in Kallippides' acting style, that he would sit in the dirt (cf. the accusation made in Aristophanes' *Frogs* against Euripides for having royal characters dressed in rags and dirt). Braund has argued that with the phrase ἐν Καλλιππίδῃ Aristophanes refers specifically to Strattis' play *Kallippides*.[158] The consequences of this statement, were it shown to be true, would be immense but as fr. 490 is not even a complete sentence and it makes no mention of Strattis it seems inadvisable to build a case around this hypothesis.

A possible allusion to the actor occurs at Ar. *Cl.* 64, as argued for by Braund, when Strepsiades lists a Kallippides amongst the possible names considered for Pheidippides.[159] This is plausible, given his notoriety as indicated by his other appearances in comedy and acting prizes. Equally inviting, is Braund's suggestion that Strattis could have played on the possible Skythian origins of the name Kallippides (Herod. 4.17 notes a Graeco-Skythian tribe, called the Kallippidai). The use of this type of humour suits Old Comedy but remains, as Braund puts it, a "reasoned hypothesis" since the fragments of Strattis' *Kallippides* give no hint of such jokes.[160] We can compare the scathing attacks on Akestor the tragedian for being a foreigner (see Chapter 2, p. 104).

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[158] Braund 2000: 151. Brunck emended the ms. to ἐν Καλλιππίδου "in the house of Kallippides".
[159] Braund 2006: 110, n. 7.
[160] Braund 2000: 155.

The *Didaskaliai* (*IG* II² 2319 col. ii) lists tragedies performed at the Lenaia and records Kallippides' success in 419/8 BC when he won the actors' prize while performing in Kallistratos' *Amphilokhos* and *Ixion* (the third title is not preserved) with the poet winning second prize. Elsewhere in the victor's list of tragic actors at the Lenaia (*IG* II² 2325, 252), one individual, "]ΔΗΣ" who gained five victories, is often restored as Kallippides.

Below are some of the many references to, and anecdotes about, Kallippides and the changing attitudes to acting. These are aspects of the actor which Strattis could have used in his *Kallippides* either through a Kallippides character or through a Herakles who may have been depicted so as to recall the actor.

Xen. *Symp*. 3.11 attests to the actor's popularity and describes Kallippides as boasting that he was able to pour out tears to large audiences; an indication of his highly emotive style of performance. Arist. *Poet*. 1461b (32.4) cites an instance when Mynniskos (an early tragic actor, famous for working with Aiskhylos) called Kallippides an ape "because he overdid everything". Arist. *Poet*. 1462a (26.7) also remarks on Kallippides' acting style, noting that he and others were censured for representing women who were not free: οὐκ ἐλευθέρας γυναῖκας μιμουμένων. This fact holds comic potential and, although Aristotle does not say who censured Kallippides, the criticism could easily have come from a comic dramatist. Aristotle makes clear his preference for the old style of acting, finding fault not with the poetry of tragedy, but rather its representation by the actors; a sign of the increased power and presence of actors in plays. As we noted in Chapter 2 (p. 106), Old comic poets showed an

added interest in this topic toward the end of the fifth century BC, a time when Strattis too was active.

A comparison of Kallippides to a mime occurs in an anecdote at Plut. *Agesilaos* 21 in which Agesilaos (444-360 BC) puts down Kallippides by snubbing him and failing to recognize the actor, whom Plutarch describes as "renowned and famous all over Greece and cultivated by all". Agesilaos finally declares that Kallippides must be a Lakonian mime – δεικηλίκτας. Csapo & Slater suggest that the mime to which Agesilaos refers may only have been performed by helots,[161] making the insult to the celebrity Kallippides all the more biting (cf. attacks on the tragedian Akestor, as Sakas the foreigner, discussed in Chapter 2, p. 104).

Other late anecdotes which demonstrate Kallippides' lasting fame include Plutarch *On the glory of Athens* 348d (c. 115 AD) where Plutarch imagines a parade of all those associated with tragedy including tragic actors: "the Nikostratoses, and Kallippideses and Mynniskoses and Theodoroses and Poloses like beauticians and stool bearers of the rich woman Tragedy, or rather following along like the painters, gilders, and dyers of statues". (transl. Csapo & Slater 1995). Also *Vit. Soph.* 14 cites Istros and Neanthes (sources of the third century BC) as saying that Sophokles died because Kallippides sent him some unripe grapes on which the tragedian choked and died because of his old age and that Kallippides was returning from a show at Opous in Lokris during the festival of the *Khoes*. This indicates that Kallippides was renowned enough for his skill that he could travel beyond Athens and find work but it again provides the anecdote (this time metaphorically) that Kallippides' novel style was not to the taste of his predecessors. Polyaenus 6.10 (c. 162 AD) also notes that actors travelled, recalling how in 399 BC Nikostratos and Kallippides were hired as the two most famous actors from

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[161] Csapo & Slater 1995: 232.

Ionia by the garrison commander of Aeolis, Alexander. He used the actors and their popularity to lure an audience to a performance whereupon he held the audience to ransom. A similar story of Kallippides travelling (Athen. *Deipn*. 12.535d) states that Kallippides, the famous flute-player Khrysogonos (who won at the Pythian Games) and Alkibiades returned from Asia together on-board ship to Athens in 407 BC. Kallippides' fame was therefore already great in the last decade of the fifth century BC.

Given the range of our knowledge and sources about Kallippides and his development of his craft it is sad that the fragments of *Kallippides* concern only food and Herakles' greedy consumption of it. We are left to speculate as to the possibilities of the role of Kallippides in his own play beyond his possible connection with the gluttonous Herakles.

Fr. 11:

(Phot. (b, S^Z) α 1285)

δός νῦν τὸν ἄμυλον πρῶτον αὐτῷ τουτονί

"now firstly give this cake here, made of fine meal, to him"

The speaker instructs an individual, perhaps a slave, to pass a cake to another character. In light of *Kallippides* fr. 12, with its description of the gluttonous Herakles, the recipient of the cake could be Herakles.

ἄμυλος literally means "not ground at the mill" and refers to the finest meal. At Ar. *Akh*. 1092 ἄμυλοι are listed among the food at a feast which Dikaiopolis attends with the priest of

Dionysos: ἄμυλοι, πλακοῦντες, σησαμοῦντες, ἴτρια "fine meal cakes, flat cakes, sesame cakes, honey and sesame cakes". At Ar. *Pe.* 1195, Trygaios prepares for the wedding at the end of the play and calls for the feast to be laid out, including τοὺς ἀμύλους, τὰς κίχλας, πολλὰ τῶν λαγῷων, τοὺς κολάβους –"fine-meal cakes, thrushes, loads of hares, and bread rolls". Again these cakes are used in celebrations that often occur at the end of Aristophanic comedies. Therefore, Strattis *Kallippides* fr. 11 suggests that a symposion and/or celebration scene occurred in the comedy and it is possible that fr. 11 comes from such a scene situated at the end of the play. Pütz summarises the forms and patterns of such scenes in Aristophanic comedy.[162] For ἄμυλος in comedy see also Eupolis fr. 195.1; Metagenes *Thouriopersai* fr. 6.11; Pherekrates *Metalles* fr. 113.17; Platon *Phaon* fr. 188, and in the majority of these examples ἄμυλος appears as part of a long list of foods, no doubt to whet the appetite.

Fr. 12:

(Athen. *Deipn.* 14.656b)

> Στράττις γοῦν ἐν Καλλιππίδῃ ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους φησίν·
>
> αὐτίκα δ' ἥρπασε τεμάχη
>
> θερμάς τε κάπρου φλογίδας ἔβρυχέ τε πάνθ' ἅμα

"At any rate, Strattis in *Kallippides* says of Herakles:

'and immediately he snatched fish slices

and hot roasted pieces of boar and gulped it all down together' "

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[162] Pütz 2007: 114-5, 148-50.

Athenaios cites *Kallippides* fr. 12, during a discussion about roast pig, as an example of the term for roast meats (φλογίδας). Most importantly Athenaios notes that Herakles appeared in the play and that he conformed to the comic stereotype of the hero with an insatiable appetite. Schol. Ar. *Wa*. 60 notes that comedies frequently brought up Herakles' greed and this image of the gluttonous, meat-guzzling Herakles recurs in Ar. *Bir*. 567 (where offerings to Herakles are made to a seagull because they are considered greedy birds), *Bir*. 1583-1605, Ar. *Aiolosikon* fr. 11, *Fro*. 60-5, 503-18, 549-73, Eur. *Alk*. 747-802 and possibly in Arkhippos *Herakles gamon* fr. 10, since it discusses pig meats. Already by 421 BC such jokes about Herakles were seen as unoriginal, according to Ar. *Pe*. 741-3 where the chorus claim Aristophanes has removed typical jokes such as those about a greedy Herakles kneading bread, swindling, being beaten up.

Arkhestratos fr. 16[163] talks of κάπρος as a fish and according to Aristotle it was so called supposedly because it made a noise like a boar (Arist. *HA* 535b 18). ἅμα emphasises that Herakles eats both foods in one go with no interest in appreciating their different flavours, only in shovelling down as much food as possible, and so he lives up to his comic stereotype.

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[163] Olson & Sens 2000: 78-9.

Fr. 13:

(Athen. *Deipn*. 7.304c)

μνημονεύει δὲ τῶν θυννίδων καὶ Στράττις ἐν Καλλιππίδῃ

"Strattis also recalls the word 'tuna fishes' in his *Kallippides*"

Olson & Sens discuss ἡ θυννίς although they cannot identify the variety of tuna.[164] A fragment of Aristotle (recorded by Athen. *Deipn*. 7.303d) claims that the θυννίς had a small fin, ἀθέρα on its belly which distinguished it from θύννος. See Strattis fr. 5 above for discussion of θύννος.

ΛΗΜΝΟΜΕΔΑ

Lemnomeda

The sources for this play most frequently record the title as *Lemnomeda* and the two variant readings, Λιμνομέδων by the Suda and Λιμνοπέδαις by schol. Pl. (fr. 24) are a false invention inspired by the more common word λίμνη "lake". For other hybrid titles in Strattis compare *Anthroporestes* and *Iphigeron*. The hybrid *Lemnomeda* suggests a concoction of myths involving Andromeda and the Lemnian Women. Both myths occur extensively in tragedy and Geissler suggests in addition that *Lemnomeda* was a parody of Euripides' *Hypsipyle*.[165] The fragments of *Lemnomeda* do not support this or help to interpret the title as

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[164] Olson & Sens 2000: 159.
[165] Geissler 1969: 58-9. Masciadri 2008: 170, n. 246 shares this view and part of his work analyses the sources for the story of the Lemnian Women. Masciadri also dissects *Lemnomeda* in the same way given above.

they focus on aspects of a symposion: wine and drunkenness (fr. 23), dice games (fr. 24) and eating (fr. 26) making it clear that a symposion scene occurred in the play, either on or offstage.

The combination in *Lemnomeda* of two myths forms a unique title in Old Comedy and warrants further discussion. Dramas about the Lemnian women, their queen Hypsipyle and their encounter with Iason and the Argonauts are frequent throughout the fifth century BC, including Aiskhylos' *Lemniai/oi, Kabeiroi, Hypsipyle*,[166] *Rowers/Argo*, Sophokles' *Lemniai*, Aristophanes' and Nikokhares' *Lemniai*, and in the mid-late fourth-century *Lemniai* comedies by Antiphanes, Alexis and Diphilos. Euripides' *Hypsipyle* deals with Hypsipyle's life after leaving Lemnos, but it is still relevant to Strattis' play as it contains reminiscences about Iason by Hypsipyle and her children.[167] Only two plays are called *Andromeda,* by Euripides and Sophokles and very little is known about Sophokles' play. However, Andromeda was a popular stage character, as discussed earlier under Kratinos' *Seriphioi*, in which she had a role (see Chapter 2, p. 39 above). Euripides' *Andromeda* is better preserved than that of Sophokles and Euripides' tragedy told of Perseus falling in love with and rescuing Andromeda from the sea monster. It dates to 412 BC and, given Strattis' interest in contemporary tragedy, it provides a probable *terminus post quem* of 412 BC since there are no other means of dating *Lemnomeda.*

Both Andromeda and Hypsipyle fall in love with the heroes that they encounter; Andromeda with Perseus and Hypsipyle with Iason. However, Andromeda is reliant on Perseus as her rescuer, whereas the Lemnian women, according to Sophokles and Aiskhylos are warriors

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[166] Thought to be from one trilogy by Sommerstein 1996b: 60-1, following Mette, Wecklein and Bothe.
[167] In Eur. *Hypsipyle* fr. 752 the chorus note that Hypsipyle often sings of the Argo. In *Hypsipyle* fr. 759a Euneos explains to Hypsipyle how he and his brother survived and that Iason has died.

who had killed their male counterparts and are the sexual aggressors against the Argonauts. As a scholion on Apollonios' *Argonautica* explains,[168] in Aiskhylos' *Hypsipyle* the Argonauts could not land on Lemnos μέχρι λαβεῖν ὅρκον παρ' αὐτῶν ἀποβάντας μιγήσεσθαι αὐταῖς while Sophokles' *Lemniai* contained a mighty battle. In stark contrast, Euripides' Hypsipyle shows none of these militaristic qualities and is rather a feminised object of pity. The mythical and dramatic tradition open to Strattis present intriguing possibilities for his *Lemnomeda* but Strattis' methods in combining these myths in a single comedy must remain unresolved.

Aristophanes' *Lemniai* provides evidence that the myth of the Lemnian women was used in the work of Strattis' contemporary, as illustrated in the Aristophanic fragments (e.g. fr. 373, 374), which are explored in detail in Chapter 5 (p. 287) and cf. Nikokhares' *Lemniai* (discussed in Chapter 2, p. 98). There is no singular identifiable tragic source for any of these *Lemniai* comedies but cf. Aristophanes' and Strattis' *Phoinissai* which both draw extensively on Euripides' *Phoinissai* (see *Phoinissai* commentary p. 182 below and Chapter 5, p. 277).

Fr. 23:

(Athen. *Deipn*. 11.473c)

> Ἑρμῆς, ὃν ἕλκουσ' οἱ μὲν ἐκ προχοιδίου,
> οἱ δ' ἐκ καδίσκου <γ'> ἴσον ἴσῳ κεκραμένον

> "Hermes, which some draw forth from a little wine pourer,
> and some from a little wine jug, mixed in equal parts (of water to wine)"

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[168] Schol. (LP) Ap. Rh. *Arg*. 1.769-73.

The unidentified speaker of fr. 23 describes a wine, called Hermes, which is also mentioned at Athen. *Deipn*. 1.32b: καὶ ῾ερμῆς δ᾽ εἶδος πόσεως παρὰ Στράττιδι "Hermes is a form of drink mentioned by Strattis". According to Strattis fr. 23, it is mixed 1:1 wine to water, ἴσον ἴσῳ, which makes it a very strong wine and may explain why the speaker notes that it is in small vessels (both nouns are diminutives: προχοίδιος from πρόχους and καδίσκος from κάδος). Phot. ε 1938 provides other examples of named wines: ᾿Αγαθοῦ Δαίμονος καὶ Διὸς Σωτῆριος "of the 'Good Spirit' and of 'Saviour Zeus' ".

Hermes, as the name of the god and of the wine, provides comic material at Ar. *We*. 1132 when Hermes laments humans sacrificing to *Ploutos* and not the Olympians: οἴμοι δὲ κύλικος ἴσον ἴσῳ κεκραμένης "alas for the cup mixed fifty-fifty" referring to the wine that is his namesake.[169] It is probable that Strattis repeats the punning on the name of wine and god in some manner, but it is unclear if Hermes was present in *Lemnomeda*.

The standard measures of water to wine are 3:1 and 5:2, which is notably weaker than the 1:1 of *Lemnomeda* fr. 23. Athen. *Deipn*. 10.426b-427c and 10.430a-431f discuss the evidence for the various proportions for mixing water and wine, while Kratinos fr. 195 implies that different types of wine require different mixing proportions.[170] Wine of strength 1:1 is not uncommon in comedy,[171] and strong wines are frequently associated with foreignness (*Kn*. 1187 and *Akh*. 73-5 which claims Persians drink unmixed wine, as do the Thracians (*Akh*. 141) and with madness (*com. adesp*. fr. 101.12 which claims that drinking too much of the 1:1 would make a person insane). At the extremes Alkaios fr. 22 says "mix one (of water) to two

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[169] The whole scene beginning at line 1110 is filled with jokes on rituals and ritual foods involving Hermes.

[170] Athen. *Deipn*. 1.29d "now if he should see a nice little Mendaean wine, freshly in its bloom, he pursues and follows it and says 'oh how soft and white, will it take three (parts water)?' ".

[171] Alexis fr. 59, 246.4, Sophilos fr. 4, Timokles fr. 22, Xenarkhos fr. 9, and Strattis fr. 64 (unknown play): "The black Skiathian wine mixed half and half, invites the traveller to drink".

(of wine)", an exceptionally strong wine. Page and Pütz provide useful summaries of the ancient evidence for mixing wine.[172]

προχοίδιου. The word appears in Xen. *Kyr*. 8.8.10 where he talks about the old customs of the Persians not to take προχοίδας to symposia so that they did not become too inebriated. The same phrase as in fr. 23 for comparing the usage of the two vessels is found in Kratinos *Putine* fr. 206: τοὺς μὲν ἐκ προχοιδίου / τοὺς δ᾽ ἐκ καδίσκου but the significance of the expression is unclear in either comedy.

In considering the performance of these lines in fr. 23, the first four words are all aspirated, although the sound was a weaker sound than the English 'h'. Nevertheless it gives a sense of heavy breathing which suggests that the speaker was somewhat inebriated and given the strength of the wine, this seems all the more possible.

Fr. 24:

(Schol. Areth. (B) Pl. *Lysis* 206e)

Χῖος παραστὰς Κῶιον οὐκ ἐᾶι λέγειν

"A Khian standing beside a Koan does not allow him to speak"

The fragment is a proverb in which Khian and Koan refer to dice throws of *astragaloi*.[173] A Koan was the highest throw (6), also called ἐξίτης and a Khian was the lowest throw (1),

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[172] Page 1955: 308; Pütz 2003: 161-7.
[173] A dice game which was common at aristocratic symposia, as was draughts – πεσσεία; see Kurke 1999: 275.

called κύων. The idea that a Khian (i.e. a low throw) does not let a Koan (a high throw) speak refers to the fact that the score of a Khian and Koan combined gives only an average score, so that the high-scoring Koan has, in effect, been wasted. Strattis fr. 80 (unknown play) is the word ἀστραγαλίζειν and could potentially come from *Lemnomeda*.

Pütz notes that in comedy the game of *astragalos* "often appears in depictions of a golden age in connection with food"[174] and she cites Kratinos *Ploutoi* fr. 176.2 and Telekleides *Amphiktyones* fr. 1.14 as examples which fit with the idea that *Lemnomeda* was a mythically-based play. The mention of Khian and Koan could also describe the inhabitants of these two islands, the former off the coast of Asia Minor, the latter to the South, near Rhodes. Equally both produced wine, which was a potential cause for rivalry, and Pütz notes that comedy frequently praises Khian wine while Koan wine is deemed poor quality.[175]

Com. adesp. fr. 1105, *P. Oxy.* 2743 provides a large fragment of an Old Comedy and fr. 1, line 7 (second century) repeats the proverb of fr. 24. This papyrus text is listed under Strattis' *Lemnomeda* in *CGFP* 220 but only, as Austin admits because of its link with the proverb in *Lemnomeda* fr. 24. There is no consensus as to which play *com. adesp.* fr. 1105 comes from; Lobel suggested *Lemnomeda*, Luppe Eupolis' *Demoi*, Koerte Kratinos' *Fugitives*, and Tammaro Kratinos' *Thressai*.[176]

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[174] Pütz 2003: 221, n. 1.
[175] Pütz 2003: 202-3.
[176] Luppe 1971: 121; Koerte cited in Austin *CGFP* 220; Tammaro 1975-1977: 101.

Fr. 25:

(Harp. p. 45, line 1 Dind.; A181 Keaney)

ὑποδήματα

σαυτῷ πρίασθαι τῶν ἁπλῶν

2 πρίασθαι **QNK** | περιασθαι **M** | περιθέσθαι **P**

"to buy for yourself shoes (sandals) with single soles"

In this fragment the unknown speaker appears to instruct a male character to buy some very simple shoes. Demosthenes *Against Konon* 54.34 mentions shoes with single soles, τῶν ἁπλῶν, along with thread-bare cloaks, τρίβωνες, as part of the outfit of an Athenian who impersonates the Spartan way of life, in order to seem humble. To judge by Demosthenes, the shoes are not at all luxurious and may even imitate Spartan dress.

ὑποδήματα is a generic word for shoe, which Stone notes is used in Aristophanic comedy in reference to a loose type of shoe.[177] It is found as early as Hom. *Od*. 10.369, 18.361, and still in Xen. *Kyroupaidia* 8.2.5 and commonly in Plato, e.g. *Phaidon* 61d; *Rep*. 2.372a.

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[177] Stone 1981: 236. See also Bryant 1899: 72.

Fr. 26:

(Athen. *Deipn*. 7.327e)

πολλοὺς δὴ μεγάλους τε φάγρους ἐγκάψας

"Indeed after scoffing many large bream"

The majority of our information about the φάγρος comes from Athenaios (*Deipn*. 327c-e), who cites numerous comic references to the fish (Epikharmos *Hebas gamos* fr. 56, Ameipsias *Konnos* fr. 8, Eupolis *Astrateutoi* fr. 42, Metagenes *Thouriopersai* fr. 6.6, and Antiphanes fr. 191). They are often mentioned as part of a list of seafood, as Olson and Sens note.[178] Thompson's *Glossary of Greek fish* considers that φάγρος is a small red fish from the Nile.[179] See Strattis *Philoktetes* fr. 45 below (p. 180) on μεγάλους τε φάγρους.

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[178] Olson & Sens 2000: 121.
[179] Thompson 1947: 273.

ΜΗΔΕΙΑ

Medeia

There are only three surviving fragments of Strattis' *Medeia*, but Medeia is a common character in fifth-century BC tragedy concerning her life with, and after, Iason and the Argonauts. Sophokles' *Kolkhides* involves Iason and Medeia's first meeting at Kolkhis and Sophokles' *Skythiai* possibly deals with the death of Apsyrtos in Skythia.[180] However, Medeia appears most often after the Argonautic expedition: Sophokles' *Aigeus*, and *Rhizotomoi* (lit. *Root-cutters*) and Euripides' *Peliades* (455 BC), *Aigeus*, and *Medeia* (431 BC, extant) and the poorly attested *Medeia* of Neophron.[181]

In Strattis *Medeia* fr. 35 (discussed below) a character addresses an insult to Kreon, who in Euripides' *Medeia* was King of Korinth and Father of Iason's new bride. Strattis uses a Euripidean title and character as he does in his comedy *Phoinissai* where Iokaste appears quoting her Euripidean lines (see *Phoinissai*, p. 182 below). Since Euripides' play is the only tragedy called *Medeia* (aside from our limited information about Neophron's *Medeia*), it is no coincidence for Strattis to use the title and character of Euripides' play. In Strattis *Medeia* fr. 34 a character instructs another to take a perfume to someone, which recalls Medeia telling her children to take a gift to Iason's bride although the identity of the comic characters is unknown.

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[180] The play certainly records part of the Argonautic myth and the subject of Apsyrtos' death is a plausible one: Sophokles *Skythiai* fr. 546 notes that Medeia and her brother Apsyrtos had different mothers while fr. 547 mentions the Argonauts sailing home. The source for both of these fragments is a scholion on Ap. Rh. *Argonautica* bk. 4 at the point in the *Argonautica* where the Kolkhians prepare to chase the fleeing Argonauts, an action which leads to the death of Apsyrtos (Sophokles fr. 546 = schol. Ap. Rh. 4.223-30a; Sophokles fr. 547 = schol. Ap. Rh. 4.282-91b).

[181] Page 1938: xxxiii discusses the similarities between both *Medeia* plays and thinks that the Neophron fragments post-date Euripides' play.

The appearance of Kreon in Strattis' play may suggest that the comic *Medeia* was set in Korinth, as was Euripides' *Medeia*, but there is no evidence of a chorus of Korinthian women in Strattis' play. Certainly the fragments from Strattis' *Medeia* indicate that the plot of the comedy was somehow intertwined with the Medeia myth, and with Euripides' own *Medeia*.

The Euripidean *Medeia* observes the destruction of Medeia and Iason's relationship and of the family they had created. Iason, for the sake of self-preservation, marries Kreon's daughter, while Medeia murders the new bride, the bride's father, and lastly Medeia's own children. However, *Medeia* is a recurrent comic play title, occurring for Kantharos (fifth century BC), Antiphanes and Euboulos (both later fourth century BC). The South Italian comic dramatists, Epikharmos and Deinolokhos, produced plays called *Medeia* prior to that of Euripides (fifth century BC). The fragments of these comedies provide little indication of plot or characters and no evidence that they used Euripides' *Medeia*. Philyllios, a contemporary of Strattis, wrote an *Aigeus*, the title of which also suggests links with myth and possibly tragedy that involved Medeia (see Chapter 2, p. 88 for Philyllios' other titles, many of which have parallels with tragic titles).

There is no date for Strattis' *Medeia*, but the perfumer Megallos (named in fr. 34) is mentioned in comedies from the last quarter of the fifth century and well into the fourth century BC.[182] Similarly Deinias (also named in fr. 34) is mentioned by a fourth-century philosopher, Herakleides Pontikos, so that there is no strong reason to place this play early in Strattis' career, even though Euripides' *Medeia* dates to 431 BC (cf. Aristophanes'

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[182] The earliest comedians mentioning Megallos are Pherekrates and Aristophanes (who are fifth-century contemporaries) and in the fourth century there is Amphis and Euboulos. See Strattis fr. 34 for more details.

Akharnians of 425 BC and *Thesmophoriazousai* of 411 BC which both use Euripides'

Telephos of 438 BC).

Of interest to Strattis' *Medeia* is *CGFP* 350 (P. Lit. Lond. 77) which clearly records a Medeia

play although there is no consensus as to whether it is from a comedy, tragedy (by Neophron)

or a satyr play. The papyrus fragments do contain an address to some Korinthian women as

well as mentioning the names Kreon, Aigeus, and Iason which indicate that the episode of the

myth told correlates with that found in Euripides' *Medeia* and Strattis' *Medeia*. Kassel &

Austin (vol. VIII, p. 518) follow Sutton in suggesting that it is from a satyr play and so do not

list the papyrus among the comic *adespota*.[183] Hunter discusses the tragic elements of the

papyrus text and concludes it is not comic because there is no parallel for such a sustained

tragic burlesque throughout a text.[184] This is not an entirely convincing argument given the

average length of comic fragments is too short for us to be able to detect such sustained

burlesque. The *Medeia* and *Phoinissai* of Strattis suggest that such an extended use of tragedy

was possible although there is no positive evidence to link *CGFP* 350 with Strattis' *Medeia.*

Fr. 34:

(Athen. *Deipn*. 15.690f)

        ⏑ – ⏑ καὶ λέγ᾽ ὅτι φέρεις αὐτῆι μύρον

        τοιοῦτον, οἷον οὐ Μέγαλλος πώποτε

        ἥψησεν, οὐδὲ Δεινίας Αἰγύπτιος

        οὔτ᾽ εἶδεν οὔτ᾽ ἐκτήσατο

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[183] Sutton 1987: 7-60.
[184] Hunter 1981: 23-4.

"And say that you are bringing her such a perfume,

as Megallos never did make,

nor did Deinias the Egyptian

see or possess"

One character commands another to take perfume to a third and female character, but none of these figures is identifiable. In light of fr. 35 and the play's title, the speaker may here be Medeia, or a Medeia-styled character, who wishes to send a perfume to her rival, just as Medeia sends a poisoned robe and diadem to Glauke in Euripides' play. If this is the case, then the speaker's comments, that Megallos never made such a perfume, nor Deinias saw or owned one, would have a double-edged irony; Megallos and Deinias certainly would not make a poison in place of a perfume.

In citing the fragment, Athenaios also claims Megallos is a Sicilian and the inventor of the perfume *megallion*. Athen. *Deipn*. 15.690f notes that the Athenians claim Megallos as Athenian but the sources more usually call him Sicilian. His frequent mention in comedy testifies to his renown in Athens where he is repeatedly associated with his perfume: e.g. Ar. *Telemesses* fr. 549, Pherekrates *Petale* fr. 149, Anaxandrides fr. 46, Euboulos fr. 89 and Amphis fr. 27.

Deinias is mentioned at Athen. *Deipn*. 12.552f-553a, in a quotation from Herakleides Pontikos (a philosopher of the fourth century BC) in his *peri Hedones* (*On Pleasure*) which states that Deinias the perfume-seller fell in love through self-indulgence, squandered his money but was then unable to carry out his desires and so castrated himself in grief. In this

anecdote a retailer of luxurious goods is undone by his own luxurious lifestyle, with his trade reflecting his character. It also indicates that Deinias, like Megallos, was famed for his perfume in the fourth century BC. The anecdote indirectly shows that perfume was a luxury item, as Deinias' art as a perfume-maker of expensive scents is reflected in his mode of living, just as comedy characterises others by their trade/art e.g. Aristophanes' contrasting depiction of Euripides and Aiskhylos in *Frogs*. This mention of Deinias and Megallos therefore indicates that the speaker of Strattis *Medeia* fr. 34 is instructing the second character to give the perfume high praise when they deliver it to the third female character.

μύρον frequently occurs in Aristophanes' work as a tool with which women seduce men (e.g. Ar. *Lys*. 47, 940-6, Ar. *Cl*. 51, and Ar. *Ekkl*. 524-5) and as part of the equipment for a *symposion* (Ar. *Akh*. 1091). See Strattis *Phoinissai* fr. 47 (p. 189 below) on the proverb advising against mixing μύρον with lentil soup. The word μύρον is uncommon in tragedy, appearing only six times in all the fifth-century authors, mostly in fragments of satyr dramas. For a more in-depth discussion of μύρον see Pütz[185] but note its appearance in Eur. *Or*. 1112, and in Herod. 3.20, 3.22 and 3.112 where the word reflects an association with the foreign (i.e. non-Attic). Therefore, perfume would be appropriate tools for a Medeia to use as she was herself both a foreigner in mainland Greece and a sorceress. Equally, as Strattis' play is a comedy, if this perfume was intended for Iason's new wife then the effects of a bad perfume would be more comic, but less deadly, than a good poison.[186]

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[185] Pütz 2003: 264-78, 266 on Egyptian perfume.
[186] Cf. Apollod. 1.9.17 whose version of the Lemnian women myth sees Aphrodite punishing the women by making them smell horrible so that their men reject them.

Fr. 35:

(Athen. *Deipn*. 11.467e)

οἶθ' ὧι προσέοικεν, ὦ Κρέων, τὸ βρέγμα σοῦ;
ἐγῶιδα· δίνῳ περικάτω τετραμμένῳ

"Do you know, o Kreon, what the top of your head looks like?
I do, it's like a *dinos* turned upside down"

An unidentified character insults Kreon with reference to the shape of his head, and the direct address indicates that Kreon is on-stage. Kreon, the mythical king of Korinth, appears in Euripides' *Medeia*. It is possible that the response to the question in fr. 35 is spoken by another character, so that three would be on-stage at this point. Cf. a similar formulation in Kratinos *Putine* fr. 199 sets up a joke in which a character, perhaps Kratinos' wife, Comedy thinks how she can stop Kratinos' excessive alcohol consumption and their idea is to break all pottery since it could potentially hold alcohol (rather than remove the wine itself!).

The *dinos* was a common type of container, as discussed by Athen. *Deipn*. 11.467d-f. One of his examples from Arkhedikos *Diamartanon* fr. 1 (*The Mistake-Maker*, fourth-third century BC) notes a pun on δεινός meaning "skilful" and the vessel. Cf. Ar. *Cl*. 1473 where the *dinos* was possibly represented on-stage as a pun on the cosmological use of the word in *Clouds*. Schol. Ar. *Wa*. 618d explains that the *dinos* was a ceramic vessel for wine, without a foot or base but instead it was rounded and had wheels underneath, while schol. Ar. *Cl*. 381 also says that it was a deep wine cup. These descriptions suit the comic image in fr. 35 where Kreon's

head is compared to a well-known, smooth surfaced, deep cup so that he is being mocked for

having a rounded, bald head. Pütz[187] considers fr. 35 serves as an example of the symposion

game of *eikasmos,* i.e. a game of comparison, as occurs at Ar. *Bir*. 804-6, and so Kreon's head

is compared to a vessel that would be found at a symposion.

βρέγμα. The word is most common in the Hippocratic corpus and in Aristotelian works on

medicine and nature. Cf. jokes about the shape of Perikles' head.[188] As the leader of Korinth in

a comedy Kreon may even have resembled leaders past or present in Athens. It offers a

possibility that Strattis' comedy was concerned with political matters but aside from using

political *komodoumenoi* (e.g. Isokrates in *Atalantos* fr. 3), the fragments of Strattis' comedies

are noticeably apolitical when compared with e.g. the works of Eupolis and Aristophanes.

Fr. 36:

(Harp. p. 209, line 6 Dind.; M46 Keaney)

Μυσῶν λείαν...κέχρηνται δὲ τῇ παροιμίᾳ ἄλλοι τε καὶ Στράττις ἐν

Μηδείᾳ καὶ Σιμωνίδης ἐν ἰάμβοις

" 'plunder of the Mysians'...and others, including Strattis in his *Medeia*

and Semonides in his iambics, make use of the proverb"

The appearance of the proverb in the iambics of Semonides of Amorgos (seventh century BC)

signifies the long and enduring usage of the phrase, although the wider context for the

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[187] Pütz 2003: 66 n.35 and 242 n.1 for more examples from comedy.
[188] Kratinos *Kheirones* fr. 258 (see also fr. 250), *Nemesis* fr. 118, and Telekleides fr. 47 (unknown play).

Semonides passage is unknown.[189] The aetiology for the proverb, "plunder of the Mysians",

relates to King Telephos, who was wounded by Akhilleus. Harpokration (citing Demon's

book, *On proverbs*, see *FGrH* 327 F4) notes that this proverb originated from the time when

Mysia was being plundered by its neighbours and by robbers while King Telephos was in

exile. Indeed the Mysians were always controlled by Phrygians, Lydians, or Greeks.

Aristotle (Arist. *Rhet*. 1372b) explains the negative connotations of the expression "plunder of

the Mysians" when it is used to describe those who have been treated unjustly but do not fight

back. The refusal to fight an injustice suggests a level of cowardice in the victim. This is how

Demosthenes deploys the expression in Dem. 18.72 (*On the Crown*) arguing that for Greece

to sit back and let Philip invade means Greece has become "plunder of the Mysians" by their

(obstinate) refusal to resist or respond to a clear act of aggression by their opponents. A

further indication that the Mysians were aligned with cowardice is visible in Eur. *Rhesus* 252-

3: the chorus contrast Dolon's bravery with that of the Mysians: "Those from Mysia do not

honour our alliance".[190] The Mysians retained their negative image into the Roman era (e.g.

Cic. *Flacc*. 27).

Therefore, someone in Strattis' *Medeia* is referred to as an easy prey because of their inability

or refusal to resist their attacker(s). In the context of the Medeia myth, and Euripides' play

specifically, the figure referred to as "plunder of the Mysians" could even be Iason or Kreon,

who are victims of Medeia's vengeance and who refused to face up to the threat she posed.

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[189] See West 1992a: Sem. Amorg. fr. 37.
[190] See Magnes fr. 5 on another proverb concerning the Mysians: ὁ Μυσῶν ἔσχατος meaning "nothing, a nobody", discussed in Pearson 1917a: 58-9.

ΜΥΡΜΙΔΟΝΕΣ

Myrmidones (Myrmidons)

There is only one, corrupt fragment of Strattis' *Myrmidones,* but the interest of the play lies in its title. The Myrmidons are known from Homer's *Iliad* as the loyal troops of Akhilleus but the only tragedy entitled *Myrmidones* is by Aiskhylos and the only other comedy called *Myrmidones* is by Philemon (fourth-third century BC). In his play, Aiskhylos focused on Akhilleus' camp, the warrior's refusal to fight, and the death of Patroklos. The one fragment of Strattis' *Myrmidones*, contains no indication of a link to a tragedy but Strattis' *Anthroporestes*, *Medeia* and *Phoinissai* share title and content with tragedies by Euripides and so it is highly probable that Strattis repeated this pattern with his *Myrmidones*, and Geissler too considers that there is a link with Aiskhylos' tragedy.[191]

Aristophanes frequently employs lines of Aiskhylos' *Myrmidones* in his comedies.[192] At Ar. *Fro*. 911-3 Euripides criticises Aiskhylos' dramatic technique of bringing the Akhilleus character in Aiskhylos' *Myrmidones* and *Phrygians* on-stage but keeping them silent for a long time. These tragedies were part of a trilogy of plays on Akhilleus, making them a memorable study of Akhilleus. Aristophanes certainly could recall Aiskhylos' *Myrmidones* in his *Frogs* of 405 BC and this makes Strattis' own use of the tragic *Myrmidones* equally plausible. At Ar. *Fro*. 1264 Euripides quotes from Aiskh. *Myrmidones* fr. 132 which contains the phrase Φθιῶτ᾽ ᾽Αχιλλεῦ which also occurs in Strattis *Kinesias* fr. 17 which may be a conscious reference by Strattis to Aiskhylos' *Myrmidones*.

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[191] Geissler 1969: 60.
[192] Ar. *Bir*. 807-8 from Aiskh. *Myrmidones* fr. 139; Ar. *Fro*. 992 from *Myrmidones* fr. 131; Ar. *Fro*. 1264-5 from *Myrmidones* fr. 132; Ar. *Ekkl*. 392-3 from *Myrmidones* fr. 138.

Although the text is corrupt, Strattis *Myrmidones* fr. 37 mentions an army and then Byzantine

coinage, σιδαρέοι and Kock uses this to offer a more historically-based interpretation of

Strattis' *Myrmidones*. Kock suggests that Alkibiades, who captured Byzantion c. 410 BC, had

troops called Myrmidons as a military-camp joke and so these men were Strattis' chorus.[193]

There is no evidence to substantiate Kock's claim about the Myrmidons and there are only

two direct connections between Alkibiades with Akhilleus in ancient sources: part of an

iambic trimeter (*trag. adesp.* fr. 363) which Plutarch uses to describe Alkibiades: "οὐ

παῖς Ἀχιλλέως, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνος αὐτὸς εἶ" (Plut. *Alk.* 23.6),[194] and secondly Antisthenes fr.

199 Giannantoni: "εἰ μὴ τοιοῦτος ἦν ὁ Ἀχιλλεύς, οὐκ ἄρα ἦν ὄντως καλός".[195] Book 1

of Xenophon's *Hellenika* is filled with Alkibiades' exploits c. 410-407 BC which must have

provided Kock with the link between fr. 37 and Alkibiades.[196]

There is also the wider parallel between Akhilleus and Alkibiades, both flamboyant

characters, who each withdraw their support for their own side causing them great suffering.

As the end of Aristophanes' *Frogs* makes clear, the anticipated return of Alkibiades to Athens

was thought as a remedy to its troubles, surely with Akhilleus' return to battle in mind.

Xenophon makes a point of saying that Alkibiades was unpopular both with his army and

back at Athens and so he retreated to his castle in the Khersonese, which is in the direction of

Byzantion. This lack of popularity among his troops recalls the attitude of the Akhaians to

Akhilleus and in Aiskhylos' *Myrmidones* fr. 132c Akhilleus fears being stoned. This provides

another potential link between the two individuals. Kock's conjecture enables construction of

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[193] Kock 1880: I.720.

[194] In discussing *trag. adesp.* fr. 363, *TrGF* vol. 2, p. 112 lists the possible sources as Sophokles' *Philoktetes at Troy*, or his *Skyrioi*.

[195] "If Akhilleus was not a man of this kind (i.e. like Alkibiades), then he was not beautiful". Giannantoni 1990: vol. IV, p. 347-9 discusses a whole work purportedly written by Antisthenes about Alkibiades.

[196] Alkibiades captures Byzantion, defeats the Spartan fleet at the battle of Kyzikos (410 BC), and rejoins the Athenians. In 407 BC he is deposed as general in the area (Xen. *Hell.* 1.5.14) after the Spartan fleet defeated the Athenian at the Battle of Notion, and Konon was called in as his replacement.

ideas for Strattis' *Myrmidones*, but since his supposition is so pivotal to interpreting this play and fr. 37, it remains a very tenuous foundation on which to advance a theory on Strattis' *Myrmidones*.

Fr. 37:

(Poll. 9.78 (codd. FS, CL))

ἐς τοῖς βαλανείοις προῖκ᾽ ἐλοῦθ᾽ ὁσημέραι

ἁπαξάπασα † γῆ στρατιὰ σιδαρέων

1 προῖκ᾽ ἐλοῦθ᾽ ὁσημέραι Kock | προκέλευθος ἡμέρα **FSCL** | **2** στρατιὰ **L** | σιδαραιων **FS** | ἁπαξάπασ᾽ ἂν ἡ στρατιά, σιδαρέων / <τριῶν τ᾽ ἐδείπνουν> Kock | ∪ – ἁπαξάπασα δ᾽ ἡ στρατιά, <δέκα> / σιδαρέων Kaibel | ἁπαξάπασα † γῆ στρατιαὶ σιδαρέων *PCG*

"In the baths the whole army washed freely everyday

at the cost of [a quantity of] *sidareoi*†"

The critical apparatus indicates the variety of interpretations offered and the uncertainties of interpreting the actual text. This translation follows the manuscript L in reading στρατιά in line 2, as do Kock and Kaibel, instead of στρατιαί which Kassel and Austin print in *PCG*.[197] The unidentified speaker of fr. 37 refers to free army bathing in the first line, whereas the second line talks of something that cost a number of *sidareoi*. Kock's conjecture, τριῶν τ᾽

ἐδείπνουν contrasts the idea of free bathing with dining at the cost of three *sidareoi,* which is at least a plausible solution to a problematic text. *Sidareoi* were the monetary unit of Byzantion and were made of iron. Cf. Strattis or Pherekrates *Agathoi* fr. 2 which also talks of the leisurely activity of bathing.

ΤΡΩΙΛΟΣ

Troilos

There are two fragments of Strattis' *Troilos*; fr. 42, which contains a quotation from an unidentified tragedy undercut by a crude comic line, and fr. 43 which mentions a wild fig tree in language that recalls Homer's description of the fig tree outside Troy (Hom. *Il.* 22.145, 11.167, 6.433) and this therefore supports the idea that Strattis' *Troilos* did in some manner reproduce a form of the Troilos myth, which is set at Troy. The fragments do not help with identifying characters or reconstructing plot or the version of the myth that Strattis used.

Troilos, son of Priam and Hekabe, appears in myth only to be killed by Akhilleus outside the gates of Troy, because Troilos' survival ensured that of Troy. This is the one consistent feature of an otherwise highly variable mythical tradition.[198] Troilos frequently features in artistic representations on pottery in the Archaic period (sixth century BC), particularly on Attic pottery.[199] The scenes show him alongside his sister, Polyxena and contain a hydria as they collect water outside the walls of Troy while Akhilleus lies in ambush.

In contrast to the mythical figures of Strattis' *Anthroporestes*, *Atalantos*, *Medeia*, *Philoktetes*,

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[198] Boitani 1989: 1-19 and Gantz 1996: 601 discuss the various and contradictory accounts of Troilos in ancient sources.
[199] See *LIMC* I, 2, p. 78-91, 147; Carpenter 1991: 17-21 and figures 20-35.

and *Phoinissai*, myths about Troilos do not appear often in tragedy or comedy. Sophokles' *Troilos* is the only eponymous tragedy, which means that it was in all likelihood a major source for Strattis' own *Troilos*. Therefore, it is worth examining this tragedy, to which Sommerstein has provided a recent commentary.[200] Schol. Hom. *Il*. 24.257 explains that in the tragedy, Troilos was ambushed and killed by Akhilleus while exercising his horses beside the Thymbraion. Hom. *Il*. 24.257 is also the only mention of Troilos in the *Iliad*, where notably Priam laments the loss of the young boy, whom he describes as ἱππιοχάρμην "chariot-fighter". This is clearly the object of parody on an Apulian or Boiotian vase from c. 400 BC which shows Troilos leading not a horse but a mule as Akhilleus waits to ambush him. There are no indications that this vase is depicting drama, but this parody of the Troilos myth coincides with Strattis' own career.[201]

Soph. *Troilos* fr. 623 contains only the phrase: πλήρη μασχαλισμάτων "full of corpse-mutilations" which refers to Troilos' corpse that Akhilleus would disfigure in order to ward off the vengeance of the ghost of the victim.[202] Soph. *Troilos* fr. 619 describes Troilos as ἀνδρόπαιδα, indicating his youth, while Soph. *Troilos* fr. 621 sees a character tell of how they and another were travelling to a spring, a probable reference to the site of Troilos' death. Therefore, Sophokles' play concerned the ambush and murder of the young Trojan prince by the older Akhilleus at Troy. Sommerstein follows Hofmann[203] in dating Sophokles' *Troilos* to 418 BC and this date would make Strattis' use of the play probable, providing the comedy with a *terminus post quem*.

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[200] Sommerstein et al. 2006: 196-247 includes text, translation and comment.
[201] Carpenter 1991: 19 and fig. 26, a red-figure bell-krater, London, BM FA93.
[202] Cf. Aiskh. *Khoeph*. 439 and Soph. *El*. 445 where Klytaimnestra had used this practice of *maschalismos* on Agamemnon to ward off his ghost.
[203] Sommerstein et al. 2006: 215-6.

Another fifth-century reference to Troilos comes from the tragedian Phrynikhos (fr. 13 of an unknown play), and it is recorded by Athen. *Deipn.* 13.564f which notes that Phrynikhos describes Troilos as: λάμπει δ᾽ ἐπι πορφυρέαις παρῇσι φῶς ἔρωτος "the light of love shines on his red cheeks",[204] a description of the boy's beauty. In connection with this, among the variations in the Troilos myth, a recurrent theme is that of Akhilleus' love for Troilos for which the clearest verbal accounts begin in the Hellenistic period.[205] However, there is evidence that it dates long before this, including a sixth century BC shield band in bronze relief, showing Akhilleus killing a naked Troilos on an altar, where there is a cockerel (cockerels were love-tokens given by men to boys).[206] Troilos is a common figure on Sicilian and South Italian fourth-century BC vases (*LIMC* I, 2, p. 84; VIII, 2, p. 69) without his sister Polyxena and the focus is rather on the youthful and naked physique of the young Troilos, who is watched by a hiding Akhilleus. The moments leading up to Troilos' death are the kernel of the myth used in these artistic portrayals and the eroticism of this scene again suggests that the story of Akhilleus' desire for Troilos did reach back into classical accounts. Therefore, the theme of homosexual desire would be one which Strattis could use in his comedy, as it appears he did in his *Myrmidones* and *Khrysippos*, whose tragic counterparts also concerned this theme (see Chapter 4, p. 247 below on love plots).

In his other comedies, Strattis makes repeated use of myth which recurs in tragedy, frequently Euripidean (Strattis' *Anthroporestes*, *Atalantos*, *Medeia*, *Phoinissai*, and *Khrysippos*), but Strattis' interest in tragedy is not limited to Euripides, as seen with Aiskhylos' and Strattis'

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[204] Athen. *Deipn.* 13.604a repeats the quotation.
[205] Lykophron's *Alexandra* lines 309-312 (second century BC) and the scholion on these lines. The poem records Kassandra's prophecy, including Troilos' murder by a lustful Akhilleus; Servius on Vir. *Aen.* 1.474 also records this version.
[206] Carpenter 1991: 20, fig. 31, c. 580 BC, Olympia, Museum, B987.

Myrmidones. It also appears that Strattis' *Troilos* followed this trend and engaged with Sophokles' *Troilos* specifically although the details of the parody are lost (cf. Strattis' *Philoktetes* and Sophokles' *Philoktetes,* discussed below, p. 177).

Fr. 42:

(Schol. (VΓ) Ar. *Wa*. 1346a)

ἧι μήποτ᾽, ὦ παῖ Ζηνός, ἐς ταὐτὸν μόλῃς,

ἀλλὰ παραδοὺς τοῖς Λεσβίοις χαίρειν ἔα

1 ἐς ταὐτὸν μόλῃς Dobree Adv. II p. 204 et Meineke Qu. sc. II p. 67 | ἐς ταὐτὸ μόλῃς **V** | ᾽εστ᾽ αὐτομόλῃς **Γ** | ἐς ταὐτὸν μόλοις Nauck.

"with her never, o child of Zeus, go to the same place,

but rather surrender her to the Lesbians and good riddance"

Strattis fr. 42 contains a tragic line (*trag. adesp.* fr. 561) followed by a line of comic bathos, which employs a common comic strategy for using tragic quotations in comedy where the comic line undercuts the tone and meaning of the tragic one (used in Strattis *Phoin*. fr. 47, see also Ar. *Wa*. 111 which alters lines from Euripides' *Stheneboia* for comic effect).

In the first line of fr. 42 a character purports to offer advice in tragic metre and style, visible in the use of Ζηνός not Δίος, ἐς not εἰς, the expression ἐς ταὐτόν[207] and μόλῃς. This high-

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[207] This phrase occurs at the end of Eur. *Rhes*. (line 968-9) as part of the Muse's lament for the dead Rhesos: οὐ γὰρ ἐς ταὐτόν ποτε / οὔτ᾽ εἶσιν οὔτε μητρὸς ὄψεται δέμας. "for he will never come to the place where I am nor will he see his mother in the flesh".

style is utterly demolished by the comic language and content of the second line. The expression χαίρειν ἔα occurs in comedy (Ar. *We*. 1187) but is found in this form only in Euripides of the three tragedians in e.g. *El*. 400, *Hipp*. 113. The lowered tone is brought out in the phrase τοῖς Λεσβίοις χαίρειν ἔα, since schol. Ar. *Wa*. 1346 tells us that the verb λεσβιᾶν referred to women performing oral sex (λεσβιᾶν also occurs at Ar. *Wa*. 1346 and Theopompos *Odysseus* fr. 36, cited by this scholion). The low humour of the second line contrasts utterly with the tragic style of the first. The Lesbians are used in a similarly structured joke in Pherekrates *Kheiron* fr. 159: (A.) δώσει δέ σοι γυναῖκας ἑπτὰ Λεσβίδας. / (B.) καλόν γε δῶρον, ἔπτ᾽ ἔχειν λαικαστρίας "(A.) he will give you seven Lesbian women. (B.) A wonderful gift that, to have seven cock-suckers/prostitutes". The formal style of the first line, which quotes Hom. *Il*. 9.270, is undermined, and the meaning changed by the sexually explicit second line.

Theopompos *Odysseus* fr. 34 contains another example of undercutting a Homeric line, (Hom. *Od*. 19.232 between Penelope and Odysseus) with a comic idea: "bring me the embroidered robe you have given to me, which Homer likened to the skin of the best onion". The same style of joke also occurs at Strattis *Phoin*. fr. 47 where a tragic quotation is comically enhanced by some culinary advice and Strattis *Phoinissai* fr. 46 where Dionysos quotes Euripides' *Hypsipyle* but then compares himself to a dried fig (with possible sexual connotations) and discusses why he has come on-stage.

The unidentified speaker of fr. 42 gives impassioned and bitter advice to a child of Zeus on how to deal with a woman who is either a prostitute or behaving like one in the speaker's eyes. The unidentified child of Zeus is male and if he is on-stage then a mythical character

appeared in the play, perhaps one that relates to the Troilos myth. Clearly the lost context within which this joke functioned is vital for understanding the passage. Meineke thought that the first line was from Sophokles' *Troilos* and this is followed by Sommerstein who considers the woman referred to is Polyxena, and the child of Zeus Sarpedon and that therefore Sophokles' *Troilos* involved those who were in love with Polyxena.[208] However, the child of Zeus, could be Herakles, Hermes or Dionysos who regularly appear in comedy, or Apollo (e.g. Herakles in Ar. *Frogs* and Strattis' *Kallippides*; Hermes in Ar. *Peace*, *Birds*, and *Wealth*; Dionysos in Kratinos' *Dionysalexandros*, Ar. *Frogs* and Strattis' *Phoinissai*).

While the female mentioned in the comedy need not be a tragic character, Helen is a plausible candidate, a woman who is notorious for her extra-marital relations with Paris. At Eur. *Tro.* 890-4, Hekabe notes Helen's effect on men but also Helen's lust upon seeing the handsome Paris at Eur. *Tro.* 988: ὁ σὸς δ᾽ ἰδὼν νιν νοῦς ἐποιήθη Κύπρις. For a comic play, it is not much of a leap from the sexual predator, such as appears in Euripides, to the performer of oral sex in Strattis' *Troilos*.

Fr. 43:
(Athen. *Deipn*. 3.76e)

ἐρινὸν οὖν τιν᾽ αὐτῆς πλησίον
νενόηκας ὄντα;

"So have you noticed a wild fig-tree near it?"

The speaker and addressee are unknown, as in *Troilos* fr. 42. Kock considers that the αὐτῆς refers to the σκοπιὴν of Hom. *Il*. 22.145 where Hektor and Akhilleus are said to run "past the look-out point and the wild fig tree".[209] This is a plausible suggestion and two other references to the fig-tree, both with the phrase παρ᾽ ἐρινεόν, occur at Hom. *Il*. 6.433 (where Andromakhe begs Hektor to draw up his troops beside the fig tree at Troy, where she notes Troy is vulnerable to the Greek attack) and at Hom. *Il*. 11.167 (as Hektor and the Trojans retreat back to Troy). For other uses of ἐρινὸν see also Hom. *Od*. 12.103 (a fig tree above Kharybdis) and Sophokles' *Helen's Marriage* fr. 181 where it refers to the fruit. Therefore, the mention of wild fig tree in a play called *Troilos* supports the connection of Strattis' *Troilos* with myth involving Troilos at Troy. Athen. *Deipn*. 3.74d and 3.76e indicate that συκῆ was a more common word for fig-tree in comedy referring to a cultivated tree.

ΦΙΛΟΚΤΗΤΗΣ

Philoktetes

There are tragedies called *Philoktetes* by Aiskhylos (c. 470 BC), Euripides (431 BC, third prize), and Sophokles (409 BC, first prize, extant) all of which are compared by Dio Chrysostom (in Or. 52; Or. 59 summarises the Euripidean prologue). In addition there are *Philoktetes* plays by Philokles, and Akhaios as well as Sophokles' *Philoktetes at Troy* which points to a very strong tradition of the myth on the tragic stage prior to and contemporary with Strattis' career. In addition Theodektes, a tragedian of the mid-fourth century BC, also wrote a

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[209] Kock 1880: I.723.

Philoktetes, showing the continuing popularity of the myth in drama.[210] Therefore, Strattis'

inclination for titles and subject matter of a tragic nature (easily observable in his

Anthroporestes, *Phoinissai*, *Medeia*), make it impossible to doubt that Strattis' own

Philoktetes would be involved with the tragedies on some level. However, the three fragments

of Strattis' *Philoktetes* give little indication of how this interaction functioned. The

Philoktetes plays of Aiskhylos, Sophokles, and Euripides all concerned embassies to

Philoktetes on Lemnos in an attempt to persuade him to return to Troy. Therefore, it is

reasonably certain that Strattis used this section of the Philoktetes story in some way.[211] Cf.

Strattis *Medeia* fr. 35 which mentions Kreon, a character who appears in Euripides' play of

the same name. Strattis *Philoktetes* fr. 44 may suggest a link to Sophokles' *Philoktetes*,

offering a tentative *terminus post quem* for Strattis' *Philoktetes* of 409 BC and given the

rough dating of Strattis' careers from the 410s BC onward, it is reasonably certain that Strattis

composed his *Philoktetes* after that of Sophokles.

Artistic representations on pottery of Philoktetes in the Trojan cycle show scenes of him bitten

by the snake at an altar (two Attic pots in *LIMC* VII, 2, 321 and another described at VII, 1,

379), or alone on the island, and these date from the mid-fifth century onward, and this latter

scene is also depicted on a chalcedony scaraboid (*LIMC* VII, 2, 322, 325).

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[210] *TrGF* vol. 1, Theodektes fr. 5bii tells us that in this version Philoktetes is bitten on the hand, not the foot.
[211] Gantz 1996: 588-90 notes that myths about Philoktetes revolve around his being wounded and later healed in order to take Troy.

Fr. 44:

(Poll. 7.134 (codd. FS, A, C))

οὐδ᾽ ἐν κοπρίᾳ θησαυρὸν ἐκβεβλημένον

"nor the casket/treasures chucked out on the dung-heap"

Pollux quotes this phrase purely to illustrate the use of the word for dunghills, κόπρια, so that there is no context for fr. 44 in Strattis' play. The fragment mentions wealth that has been cast out or lost and the idea of it on a dunghill contrasts strongly with the material worth of the θησαυρόν. Sophokles' *Philoktetes* provides descriptions of the debased existence of Philoktetes as given by Neoptolemos (line 31-47) while Odysseus even uses the word τὸ θησαύρισμα (line 37) to describe Philoktetes' possessions. The word θησαυρός occurs so frequently in tragedy and comedy (and gives its name to comedies mostly in the late fourth century e.g. Krates II, Anaxandrides, Arkhedikos, Diphilos, Menander) that a link between Sophokles and Strattis based on θησαυρός is not certain. Yet according to Dio *Or.* 59.11, Euripides' *Philoktetes* contains a scene where Philoktetes describes his sorry life, so that this was a theme common to both Sophokles' and Euripides' *Philoktetes*. Therefore, the fragment could be interpreted as reproducing the tragic image of *Philoktetes* reasonably closely.

It is true that there are no dunghills in tragedy, and κοπρία is not in the tragic vocabulary, whereas a comedy, if it were retelling the tragic version of the myth, would be sure to exaggerate a tragic situation beyond all reasonable proportions, for instance by bringing up κοπρία. Therefore, if fr. 44 relates to myth about Philoktetes, then it could indicate that

Strattis' *Philoktetes* was set on Lemnos in his hovel of a home and that it concerned his reluctant rescue by the victory-seeking Greeks.

Fr. 45:

(Athen. *Deipn*. 7.327e)

> κᾆτ᾽ εἰς ἀγορὰν ἐλθόντες ἁδροὺς
> ὀψωνοῦσιν μεγάλους τε φάγρους
> καὶ Κωπαίδων ἁπαλῶν τεμάχη
> στρογγυλοπλεύρων

> "Then, when they go to the market,
> they buy a great abundance of large bream,
> and slices of tender, round-sided Copaic eel"

A character describes a set of people who go to the *agora* to buy fish, including the expensive Copaic eel. Cf. Ar. *Pe*. 1010 where the greed of Melanthios the tragedian is shown as he goes himself to the *agora* to buy eel. In fr. 45 there is notable detail in describing the food, its large amount, size, shape and texture. The description appears purposefully mouth-watering and if the fragment is viewed in the context of its relation to the tragedies called *Philoktetes* then perhaps it aims to entice Philoktetes out of his exile.

Athen. *Deipn*. 7.297c notes that the eels that grow in the Copaic lake are renowned for their large size. Copaic eels were a delicacy from Boiotia.[212] Additionally Davidson has noted a

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[212] See Ar. *Akh*. 880; Ar. *Pe*. 1005; Ar. *Lys*. 36 where Kalonike is happy to hear of the demise of the Boiotians as

characteristic of comic characters in expressing desire for expensive fish, and particularly eel, as if they were smitten with a woman.[213] This adds an extra layer of connotations to using luxurious eel as a mode of seductive persuasion and it makes it clear that fr. 45 is addressed to a man, possibly Philoktetes. Note the recurrence of the expression μεγάλους τε φάγρους from line 2 in Strattis *Lemnomeda* fr. 26 where a character is said to be furiously eating this delicacy.

στρογγυλοπλεύρων. This compound adjective is unique to Strattis, and may well be his invention. A similar word occurs in Arkhestratos of Gela fr. 5 line 11 describing Thessalian bread as στρογγυλοδίνητος, "whirled into a round". Olson & Sens note that it too is an *hapax legomenon*.[214] Arkhestratos' hexameter work is notable for its parodic tone in describing food and gastronomy, and so it is equally appropriate to find Strattis creating a word to suit the over-inflated tone of a scene which is merely a discussion of fish. Cf. the elaborate use of compound adjectives in (so-called) Middle Comedy when parodying dithyramb, e.g. Euboulos *Kubeutai* fr. 56 describing a Thericlean cup as εὐκύκλωτον, "well-rounded", akin to στρογγυλοπλεύρων, and Antiphanes *Philothebaios* fr. 216 which has an involved description of cooking Boiotian eel. Euboulos *Orthanes* fr. 75 also contains a highly descriptive and poetic account of foods and their preparation. Cf. the high-style description of bread rolls at Strattis *Anthroporestes* fr. 2. In fr. 45, although the speaker's intent is not certain, (s)he uses a poetic tone to create a grand image of the food described.

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long as they save the eels, and Ar. *Lys*. 702; Ar. *Lemniai* fr. 380, Strattis *Potamioi* fr. 40).
[213] Davidson 1997: 10.
[214] Olson & Sens 2000: 23, 32.

ΦΟΙΝΙΣΣΑΙ

Phoinissai (Phoenician Women)

The fragments of *Phoinissai* provide the clearest evidence that Strattis could use a tragic title and draw on the content of that tragedy to form his comic plays. Analysis of his *Phoinissai* therefore holds important implications for how we approach Strattis' other comedies with tragic titles. *Phoinissai* is also the best preserved comedy by Strattis which uses tragedy. The eight fragments display the breadth and depth of Strattis' interaction with tragedy through its close connections with Euripides' *Phoinissai*. Strattis *Phoin*. fr. 47 and 48 are not only quotations of Iokaste's lines of Euripides *Phoinissai*, but Iokaste even speaks her tragic lines in the comic *Phoinissai* with obligatory comic embellishments (cf. Strattis *Medeia* fr. 35 which was addressed to Kreon, a character in Euripides' *Medeia*). The tragic lines found in Strattis *Phoinissai* fr. 47 and fr. 48 come from the same scene of Eur. *Phoinissai* which must therefore reflect the structure of the comic scene.

Strattis manipulates Euripides' *Phoinissai* in a different way in fr. 49 with a mockery of the Theban dialect. Thebes was the setting for Euripides' *Phoinissai* and we see Strattis seizing the opportunity to joke about the Thebans. In fr. 50 the use of παρατραγῳδῆσαι in a highly fragmentary line provides an interesting but inconclusive illustration of the nature of Strattis' play as one bound up in tragedy. However, fr. 46, in which a character claiming to be Dionysos on the *mēkhanē* appears reciting Euripides' *Hypsipyle*, indicates that the comedy did more than interact with Euripides' *Phoinissai,* since there is no Dionysos in the tragedy, although the god does have a close connection with Thebes and is frequently mentioned in choral odes of the tragic *Phoinissai* (as also occurs in Euripides' *Bakkhai*). Strattis uses a

mixture of Euripidean tragedies to formulate the comic action of his *Phoinissai,* which recalls Aristophanes' own *Thesmophoriazousai* (discussed in Chapter 5, p. 270). Furthermore the myths behind Euripides' *Hypsipyle* and *Phoinissai* overlap, forming different parts of the same Theban cycle: in Euripides' *Hypsipyle,* Hypsipyle meets Amphiaraos, Polyneikes and his army who are on their way to Thebes to fight out the battle that occurs in Euripides' *Phoinissai*. Therefore, the *Hypsipyle* quotation in fr. 46 should not be seen as a random choice by Strattis.

It is also possible that Euripides' *Hypsipyle* and *Phoinissai* formed part of the same trilogy based on schol. (RVMEΘBarb) Ar. *Fro*. 53a which provides the main information for dating Euripides' *Phoinissai* and *Hypsipyle* to the period 411-408 BC.[215] At Ar. *Fro*. 52-4 Dionysos claims that he was inspired to action while reading Euripides' *Andromeda*. The scholion notes that Dionysos could have mentioned other recent plays and then lists *Hypsipyle,* together with *Phoinissai*, and *Antiope*. Mastronarde[216] suggests that the scholion saw these three plays as forming a trilogy of Euripidean plays although he reserves final judgement on the trilogy and date of *Phoinissai*. Cropp and Fick,[217] using their technique of calculating the percentage of resolutions in iambic trimeters that occur in *Antiope*, would date the play to 426-419 BC and so reject the idea that schol. Ar. *Fro*. 53a is providing a chronological list. Additionally they note that Euripides' *Antigone* was probably performed in 410 BC and plausibly suggest that the scholion text was corrupted from *Antigone* to *Antiope*. Therefore, the scholion could have meant a Euripidean trilogy of *Hypsipyle*, *Phoinissai*, and *Antigone* which would see each play placed in chronological order of their occurrence in the Theban Cycle.[218] These three

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[215] See also Kannicht's discussion in *TrGF* p. 736.
[216] Mastronarde 1994: 13-14.
[217] Cropp & Fick 1985: 75-6.
[218] This idea of a trilogy of related plays is not unknown to Euripides; cf. the trilogy of *Alexandros*, *Palamedes*, and *Troades*, discussed by Scodel 1980.

Euripidean plays each star notable female characters: Hypsipyle, queen of Lemnos, Iokaste, mother of Oidipous and his clan, and Antigone, rebellious daughter of Oidipous. If this idea of a connected trilogy is unpalatable to some, then there is the possibility that the scholion listed three other plays that, like *Andromeda,* contained a central and sympathetic female character.

However, the possibility that *Hypsipyle* and *Phoinissai* were in the same trilogy would make Strattis' use of the play in his *Phoinissai* all the more interesting and comical; in Strattis *Phoinissai* fr. 46 Dionysos would sail into the scene via *mēkhanē*, dressed as Hypsipyle, but into the wrong play from the trilogy; he is tragically late. The scholion confirms that Euripides' *Phoinissai* and *Hypsipyle* were close in date, so that the joke in Strattis' play would still stand if *Phoinissai* and *Hypsipyle* were not in the same trilogy, with Dionysos' tragic entrance in *Phoinissai* fr. 46 occurring at the wrong festival.[219]

Euripides' *Phoinissai* incorporates the main part of the Theban cycle in which Polyneikes and Eteokles kill one another and it is modelled on Aiskhylos' *Seven Against Thebes* (467 BC) which relates the same mythical episode. The Theban cycle was very popular for tragic adaptation.[220] The suitability of Euripides' *Phoinissai* for adoption into comic models is made apparent by the fact that Aristophanes wrote a *Phoinissai* and most interestingly there are clear indications, as with the *Phoinissai* of Strattis, that Aristophanes' play was based around Euripides' *Phoinissai*. This is examined extensively in Chapter 5 (p. 277) but the main points

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[219] Cf. Hubbard 2006: 236 who thinks that Eur. *Khrysippos* and *Phoinissai* are in the same trilogy following the difficult Peisander scholion. Nonetheless Hubbard comes to similar conclusions about Strattis: "that the whole trilogy, if it were one, exercised his comic attention; at the very least, it establishes that Euripides was a favourite target of this author's paratragic *mimēsis*".

[220] A different view on the same myth appears in Aiskh. *Eleusinioi* (on which Euripides based his *Supplices*, c. 423 BC), and in Sophokles' *Ant*. (c. 440s BC), *O.T.* (c. 428 BC), *O.C.* (401 BC), and his *Epigonoi* (which sees the sons of the Seven take on Thebes and oust the son of Eteokles), and in Ion of Khios' dithyramb on the myth. A scene similar to that in Euripides' *Phoinissai* occurs in *trag. adesp.* 665, which is discussed below in Chapter 4, p. 229.

of interest are Ar. *Phoin*. fr. 570 which provides a neat summary of Euripides' play using tragic diction and vocabulary recurrent in Euripides' play, Ar. *Phoin*. fr. 574 quoting Antigone at Eur. *Phoin*. 181-2, and Ar. *Phoin*. fr. 573 which contains imitation of Euripidean monody about a lamp. The fact that both Strattis and Aristophanes named a comedy after a Euripidean play and adopted some aspect of the tragedy's content into their comic play is particularly striking. The Euripidean play overall, but also its details, clearly offered useful material for parody which had proved popular with audiences and so it was worth repeating in some form.

The *Phoinissai* of Strattis follows its Euripidean model to some extent in terms of plot and character but there is no indication that the comedy contained a chorus of Phoenician women, even though they provide the name of the tragedy. In Euripides' *Phoinissai* they are a notable addition to the Theban myth and have little involvement in the plot-action of the play. None of the Strattis fragments contain clearly identifiable choral episodes so that there is minimal indication for how the chorus functioned under Strattis (see Chapter 4, p. 221).

Strattis' *Phoinissai* comes after Euripides' *Phoinissai* and *Hypsipyle* of 411-408 BC as well as *Thesmophoriazousai* of 411 BC. As Aristophanes' *Phoinissai* is undated it remains unclear whether Strattis was emulating Aristophanes' idea of using *Phoinissai* for a comedy, or the reverse. It is possible that one comic poet could have been mocking both the tragic and comic *Phoinissai* in composing his own *Phoinissai*. It remains an intriguing idea.

Fr. 46:

(*P. Oxy*. 2742, second century)[221]

Διόνυσος ὅς θύρσοισιν αὐληταὶς † δει·λ †

κω[. . .] ἐνέχομαι δι' ἐτέρων μοχθ[ηρ]ίαν

ἥκω κρεμάμενος ὥσπερ ἰσχὰς ἐπὶ κράδης

1 post δει·λ spat. vac. Austin *CGFP* 74 | αὐληταὶς, δοραὶς, / κώ[μοις] Webster, Festschr. Kraus (1972) p. 455. | αὐληταὶ *PCG*

"Dionysos, I who am involved with thyrsoi, flute-players †....†

[...] on account of the wickedness of others

I have come here suspended like a dried fig on a fig-branch"

This fragment comes from the same papyrus as Strattis *Atalantos* fr. 4 which gives examples of comedy's use of κράδη to describe the *mēkhanē*. For details on the papyrus and the terms κράδη and ἰσχὰς see Strattis *Atalantos* fr. 4 above.

In fr. 46, the *mēkhanē's* victim and the speaker of the lines is Dionysos himself who voices his distress at being suspended on the *mēkhanē*. He begins by reciting the opening lines of Eur. *Hypsipyle* (fr. 752) which were originally spoken by Hypsipyle:[222] Διόνυσος ὅς θύρσοισι καὶ νεβρῶν δοραὶς / καθαπτὸς ἐν πεύκῃσι Παρνασὸν κάτα / πηδᾷ χορεύων Παρθένοις

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[221] Details and images of the papyrus are included in Appendix 2. Full colour images are available on-line: <http://www.papyrology.ox.ac.uk/POxy/>.

[222] Collard et al. 2004 and Jouan & Van Looy 2002 agree on this, but Csapo & Slater 1995: 269 wrongly ascribe the lines in Euripides' *Hypsipyle* to Dionysos.

σὺν Δελφίσιν. "Dionysos who with *thyrsoi* and skins of fawns for attire, leaps down Parnassos amidst torch-light and who dances with Delphian maidens". However, the comic Dionysos of fr. 46 soon diverges from the tragic model, perhaps in the fluster of being suspended from the *mēkhanē*.[223] This is clearly his entrance scene into the comedy, since he recites the opening lines of *Hypsipyle* and explains his appearance on-stage. For those in the audience familiar with Euripides' *Hypsipyle* there is added value in Strattis making Dionysos recite these lines on the *mēkhanē* since he appeared at the end of Euripides' *Hypsipyle* play, via the *mēkhanē* although none of his lines survive. There is an additional link between the two characters since Hypsipyle is a descendant of Dionysos.

In the fragment, Dionysos' overt dramatic self-awareness unravels the tragic illusion and this is completed when Dionysos notes his appearance is like "a limp fig" ἰσχὰς. The word can refer to male sexual organs and here it indicates his fear at being suspended on the *mēkhanē* (cf. Strattis *Atalantos* fr. 4, p. 134 above). Dionysos begins with a tragic quotation and ends with a joke involving ἰσχὰς; he was a god associated with sexuality and fecundity after all (cf. *Phoin.* fr. 47 and *Troilos* fr. 42 where tragic lines are followed by low or bawdy humour).

ἐνέχομαι means literally to become entangled in something but fr. 46 uses it metaphorically, as occurs elsewhere, e.g. at Herod. 1.190, Kyros is said to be ἀπορίησι ἐνειχετο "steeped in confusion" and Eur. *I.A.* 527 describes Odysseus as φιλοτιμίᾳ μὲν ἐνέχεται, δεινῷ κακῷ. "He is enslaved to ambition, a terrible evil". For Dionysos on the *mēkhanē,* this verb could have added comic value if he were to enact becoming entangled in the ropes of the *mēkhanē* while he moves from tragic to comic discourse.

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[223] Ropero-Gutiérrez 1985: 65 chooses to include the full first line from Eur. *Hypsipyle* fr. 752 in her text of Strattis fr. 46 although she recognises that this is not what is written in the actual papyrus!

The text of Strattis fr. 46 given above assumes a reading of αὐληταὶς (as does Webster) and differs from the αὐληταὶ of *PCG*. This choice is explained using images of the papyrus in Appendix 2 but most importantly it is based on the grounds that the dative case offers a more plausible meaning to the text alongside the dative plural θύρσοισιν.

In line 2, following the indecipherable δει·λ, there is a 1-2 letter blank space in the manuscript before κω[. . .] which indicates letters that have rubbed off. The hole in the papyrus after κω[leaves space for three or four letters so that κώμοις is a distinct possibility, as illustrated in Appendix 2. This would see Dionysos commenting that he is the god "involved with thyrsoi, flute players and revels". Therefore, a possible reconstruction, which would also resolve the unreadable δει·λ that precedes κώμοις, would make the first two lines read: Διόνυσος ὅς θύρσοισιν αὐληταὶς <u>τε καὶ</u> / <u>κώμοις</u> ἐνέχομαι δι᾽ ἑτέρων μοχθ[ηρ]ίαν.[224]

Dionysos, instead of being involved with Dionysiac activities is now hanging on a *mēkhanē* and has been forced to come on-stage "due to the wickedness of others". As Strattis' *Phoinissai* concerned the myth as told in Euripides' play, these "others" could be mythical characters from Euripides' play, whose problems he has been called in to resolve. However, as this is Old Comedy, the "others" could refer to real Athenians who could appear in the play.

The word κῶμος is rare in tragedy, appearing once in Aiskhylos, never in Sophokles and most frequently in Euripides' satyr drama *Kyklopes*. It notably appears at Eur. *Bakkh.* 1167 in relation to Dionysiac revelry and at in Eur. *Phoin.* 791 in a choral ode which contrasts Ares

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[224] Examples of lines in iambic trimeters ending with τε καί occur at Soph. *Phil.* 312; Soph. *Ant.* 171; Soph. *O.T.* 267, 1234. Ar. *Akh.* 1045 and *Thesm.* 975 are in iambics and also have lines ending τε καί.

with Dionysos. As we know that Dionysos is the speaker here in Strattis' *Phoinissai*, these Euripidean examples of the use of κῶμος make it a plausible reconstruction as it is a word with which Dionysos is associated, and specifically so in Euripidean tragedy.

A phrase in Plato's *Theaitetos* offers a notable parallel for the corrupted and uncertain text in fr. 46, as Sokrates lists activities which future leaders are unaware of in their youth: καὶ δεῖπνα καὶ σὺν αὐλητρίσι κῶμοι.

Fr. 47:

(Athen. *Deipn*. 4.160b)

(line 2 alone occurs in: Arist. *De sens*. 5.443b 30; Alex. Aphr. ad loc. (CAG III p. 97,2 Wendl.; Apost. 13.12).

<blockquote>

παραινέσαι δὲ σφῷν τι βούλομαι σοφόν.

ὅταν φακῆν ἕψητε, μὴ 'πιχεῖν μύρον

</blockquote>

<blockquote>

"I want to give you both some sage advice:

when you boil lentil soup, don't pour on any perfume"

</blockquote>

The first line of this comic fragment repeats Eur. *Phoin*. 460: παραινέσαι δὲ σφῷν τι βούλομαι σοφόν, which was spoken by Iokaste in the tragedy but Athenaios provides the crucial information that Iokaste was the speaker of Strattis fr. 47 as well.[225] In Euripides' play Iokaste addresses her sons, Polyneikes and Eteokles, as she attempts to dissuade them from

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[225] Athenaios makes it plain that Iokaste is the speaker in Strattis' *Phoinissai* too: κατὰ τὴν Στράττιδος τοῦ κωμῳδιοποιοῦ Ἰοκάστην, ἥτις ἐν ταῖς ἐπιγραφομέναις Φοινίσσαις φησίν· παραινέσαι...μύρον.

killing each other. However, line 2 of Strattis fr. 47 deviates from Euripides but still manages to make the comic lines rhyme. Similarly Eur. *Phoin*. 461-4 also rhyme in couplets. So Strattis is trying to recreate the effect of Euripides' lines but twists that effect to comic ends. The iambic metre in the first line is tragic, with each anceps long, but in the second (comic) line they are short, so that the contrast in the two lines is both rhythmic and involves a change in the style of language and no doubt in delivery. Cf. Strattis *Troilos* fr. 42 (on p. 174 above) which uses the same formula as fr. 47 for its joke and which lists other examples.

In the Euripidean tragedy, Iokaste gives her advice at length in a sentence lasting four lines as she tries to end the quarrel between her sons. However, in Strattis' comic rendition, Iokaste's advice is short and sweet, taking the form of a common proverb which warns against spoiling a good thing by trying to make it better, i.e. adding perfume to lentils. It is the homely advice that might be expected from a stereotypical Athenian mother rather than from the mythical queen of Thebes and this disjointed image helps the fusion of the comic scene with its tragic model. Cf. the mixture of tones in Strattis *Medeia* fr. 34 which contains the word μύρον, a word common in comedy but rare in tragedy.

Athenaios, in quoting Strattis fr. 47, explains that putting perfume on lentils is a common proverb,[226] as does Aristotle in a discussion on classing smells (Arist. *de sens*. 5.443b 30) where he explicitly states that Strattis used the proverb to mock Euripides. Aristotle offers his explanation of the proverb, noting that fine scents "do not contribute in any way to appetite; their effect upon it, if any, is rather the opposite". Perfumes are an expensive commodity but if adding perfume to soup does not enhance its taste, this makes the combination of the two

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[226] It recurs in Theophr. *Od*. 10, Plut. *Caes*. 17.5-6 and survives into the Roman period: Cic. *Att*. 1.19; Gell. *N. A.* 13.27 who notes that Varro's satire uses the phrase.

items worthless. Wilkins notes that lentil soup was a poor man's food and possibly associated with giving bad breath,[227] and therefore making the lentil soup smell nice with expensive μύρον is both a gross waste of resources and would render the food inedible, and equally μύρον could only mask bad breath, not actually improve it.

The fact that Aristotle recalls Strattis' play in his treatise on smells and the fact that it mocked Euripides indicates how effective the comedy had been on at least one learned gentleman, and suggests that Strattis had created a memorable scene. Strattis *Phoin*. fr. 47 indicates how closely Strattis' comic play interacts with Euripides' *Phoinissai,* making it clear that the tragedy is subject to comic parody. This effect is continued in Strattis *Phoinissai* fr. 48.

Fr. 48:

(Poll. 9.123)

> εἶθ᾽ ἥλιος μὲν πείθεται τοῖς παιδίοις
> ὅταν λέγωσιν ἔξεχ᾽ ὦ φίλ᾽ ἥλιε

> "If the sun obeys the children
> whenever they say 'come out dear sun' "

As with fr. 47, this fragment has a close parallel of word and meaning with a line of Euripides' *Phoinissai*. At Eur. *Phoin.* 504, Eteokles expresses his thirst for power in terms of his willingness to go to the ends of the earth for it: "to go to the rising sun and stars in order to gain tyranny". Iokaste, in her response to Eteokles (lines 528-67), argues against such

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[227] Wilkins 2000: 15.

φιλοτιμία and urges ἰσότης. In so doing she gives an example of the ἰσότης between night and daytime so that at line 546 she cuts to the core of her argument: εἶθ' ἥλιος μὲν νύξ τε δουλεύει βροτοῖς, / σὺ δ' οὐκ ἀνέξῃ δωμάτων ἔχων ἴσον;[228] "If even the sun and night serve mortals, still will you not be content with an equal share of your heritage?". The phrase εἶθ' ἥλιος is repeated in Strattis fr. 48, indicating that Iokaste speaks these lines, as she does those in Strattis fr. 47. It is notable that Strattis picks the central point of the Euripidean Iokaste's argument to parody, a point that is both memorable and one of high dramatic tension in the tragedy. Both Eur. *Phoin.* 546 and line 1 of Strattis fr. 48 have identical iambic trimeters despite the verbal differences between the two. The Euripidean lines used in both Strattis fr. 47 and fr. 48 come from the same Euripidean scene, most clearly indicating the parallel structure of the comic scene in which our Iokaste perhaps addresses a comic Eteokles.

Poll 9.123 explains that children shout the phrase, ἔξεχ' ὦ φίλ' ἥλιε as part of a game, whenever a cloud covered the sun. In fr. 48 the children are said to have power over the sun to make it come out, which comically illustrates the meaning of the Euripidean lines; that the sun is enslaved to man. As with fr. 47, Strattis alters Iokaste's tragic discourse for comic results by bringing in a more down to earth phrase - this time involving a simple game that children play with the sun. Ar. *Nesoi* fr. 404 also mentions this children's game, indicating that it was something a comic poet could expect an audience to recognise. There is also an interesting fragment from Ar. *Daidalos* fr. 192: ὁ μηχανοποιὸς ὁπότε βούλει τὸν τροχὸν / ἐᾶν †κἀνεκας† λέγε χαῖρε φέγγος ἡλίου "o crane handler, whenever you wish to raise me aloft with the wheel, say, 'Hello light of the sun' "[229] where the phrase provides a signal to the crane handler and which is very similar to the children's saying as found in fr. 48.[230] See

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[228] Greek text from Diggle 1994: 112.
[229] Translation from Csapo & Slater 1995: 269.
[230] Olson 2007: 356, 373, 465 provides text, brief discussion, and translation of Strattis fr. 48, focusing on the

Chapter 5 (p. 284) on the importance of the sun as a theme in Euripides' *Phoinissai*.

Fr. 49:

(Athen. *Deipn.* 14.621f-622a)

> ξυνίετ᾽ οὐδέν, πᾶσα Θηβαίων πόλις·
>
> οὐδέν ποτ᾽ ἄλλ᾽. οἱ πρῶτα μὲν τὴν σηπίαν
>
> ὀπιτθοτίλαν, ὡς λέγουσ᾽, ὀνομαζετε,
>
> τὸν ἀλεκτρύονα δ᾽ †ὀρτάλιχον, τὸν ἰατρὸν δὲ†
>
> σάκταν, βέφυραν τὴν γέφυραν, τῦκα δὲ
>
> τὰ σῦκα, κωτιλάδας δὲ τὰς χελιδόνας,
>
> τὴν ἔνθεσιν δ᾽ ἄκολον, τὸ γελᾶν δὲ κριδδέμεν,
>
> νεοκάττυτον δ᾽, ἤν τι νεασπάτωτον ᾖι

3 ὀπιτθοτιλαν **A** | ὀπιτˢθοτιλαν **CE** | ὀπισθοτιλαν Eust.

> "You, the whole city of the Thebans, you know nothing whatsoever;
>
> in the first place, so they say, you call σηπίαν (cuttlefish) ὀπιτθοτίλαν,
>
> and ἀλεκτρύονα (cockerel) †ὀρτάλιχον, and ἰατρὸν (doctor)† σάκταν,
>
> your βέφυραν is our γέφυραν (bridge), and your τῦκα our σῦκα (figs),
>
> your κωτιλάδας are our χελιδόνας (swallows),
>
> our ἔνθεσιν (mouthful) is your ἄκολον, our γελᾶν (to laugh) is your κριδδέ
>
> μεν, and our νεοκάττυτον (new-soled shoe) is your νεασπάτωτον"

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children's game rather than the tragic parody.

A character addresses the city of Thebes, and presents a mocking comparison of Theban and Athenian words, indicating that the speaker is not Theban, but most probably Athenian. The critical tone of the passage is set by the ξυνίετ᾽ οὐδέν…οὐδέν but this turns to comic exaggeration that the whole of Thebes is ignorant because of their linguistic differences. This would appeal to an Athenian audience for whom Thebes was an enemy throughout the Peloponnesian war. Cf. Strattis *Kinesias* fr. 14 in which an Athenian outwits a Boiotian because of their different measuring units, and Strattis *Makedones* or *Pausanias* fr. 29 which discusses the non-Athenian word ἡ σφύραινα.

The collection of Theban words in fr. 49 seems somewhat sporadic in choice, but to an Athenian all the derided Theban terms had silly meanings. Here the treatment of Theban dialect is clearly comical, and subverts the other comic aim of using dialect in order to create a realistic image of a Theban through use of language.[231] On the Boiotian dialect see Colvin[232] who discusses Euboulos *Antiope* fr. 11 where a character uses Boiotian dialect to compare the large meals of Boiotia to the small ones of Athens, as an indication of Boiotian greed. The myth of Antiope is also set in Boiotia, which provides a later parallel for Strattis fr. 49 where the non-Athenian setting of a tragedy offers the potential for jokes about Boiotians. Cf. Ar. *Akh.* 860-954 (425 BC) where the Theban trader offers Dikaiopolis a variety of delicious foods, including a Boiotian delicacy, Copaic eel. Notably, this is another scene with tragic colouring, and Sommerstein has noted that lines 881-94 are presented in the form of a tragic reunion scene between Dikaiopolis and his beloved Copaic eel.[233]

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[231] Willi 2003: 18 rightly points out that "the representation of dialects other than Attic belongs to the realistic features of comic dramaturgy" but fr. 49 does not so much create a Theban dialect as dismantle it one word at a time.
[232] Colvin 1999: 276-8, 312.
[233] Sommerstein 1980: 201.

ὀπιτθοτίλαν literally means "rear-diarrhoea", a reference to the cuttlefish's ability to squirt ink. The Attic spelling would be ὀπισθοτίλαν which manuscripts (CE) record.

ὀρτάλιχον is a diminutive of ὀρτάλις meaning "chickling". The word appears at Ar. *Akh.* 871 in lines spoken by the Theban trader visiting Dikaiopolis which indicates that Strattis was using words that Athenians actually perceived as Theban. Colvin notes that the -ιχ- suffix on ὀρτάλις is specifically Boiotian, and it occurs in Boiotian names.[234]

σάκταν in Attic Greek means a sack (e.g. Ar. *We.* 681 where Karion sees the priest putting the offerings in a sack) and can also mean stuffed or packed (from the verb σάττω). A smaller version of the bag, σακίον was a used for holding money (Ar. *Thesm.* II fr. 343). As line 4 of the fr. 49 is corrupt, the relevance of σάκταν to ἰατρὸν is unclear, unless σάκταν refers specifically to a doctor's bag.

βέφυρα reflects a difference of dialect to the Attic spelling of the word for bridge, γέφυρα, and there are no Attic words beginning βέφ- so that there is no comic double meaning to the word (as does occur with ὀπιτθοτίλαν for Athenian σηπία). The pronunciation βέφυρα is comical because it sounds like a mistaken or careless pronunciation of γέφυρα. The same kind of joke is used for τῦκα and σῦκα (Attic).

κωτιλάδας means a chatterer or twitterer (from the verb κωτίλλω) which accurately describes swallow-song. Words associated with κωτίλλω are often used of female chatter; at Soph. *Ant.* 756 Kreon says to Haimon: γυναικὸς ὢν δούλευμα μὴ κώτιλλέ με "You're a

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[234] Colvin 1999: 246, 255, 259-60.

woman's slave, don't prattle at me!"

ἄκολον is an uncommon word, appearing in Hom. *Od*. 17.222 as Melanthios imagines the beggar Odysseus asking for scraps during the suitors many feasts. Therefore, it might be seen as an old-fashioned word for the Thebans to use.[235]

κριδδέμεν is the Boiotian for the verb κρίζω "I shriek". In several non-Attic dialects, including Boiotian, -δδ- is the equivalent of Attic -ζ-. Cf. Ar. *Lys*. 94 the Spartan Lampito says μύσιδδε for the Attic μύθιζε. Buck lists -δδ- as a characteristic feature of Boiotian together with infinitives ending in -μεν (cf. the Megarian's speech at Ar. *Akh*. 741 and 771: εἶμεν for Attic εἶναι).[236] In Ar. *Bir*. 1521 Prometheus uses κρίζω to describe the foreign gods shrieking like Illyrians. As with ἄκολον the word appears in Homer (Hom. *Il*. 16.470 describing the cries of a horse hit by Sarpedon's spear). Therefore, the Theban equivalent for Attic laughter (γελᾶν) would suggest a barbarian and uncivilised sound to Athenian ears.

νεασπάτωτον. At Ar. *Pe*. 48 Kleon is described as eating dung, and the word used is σπατίλη. Schol. (RVLh) Ar. *Pe*. 48a-b explains that σπατίλη refers to human excrement or to leather shavings which are thrown out, while σπάτος is the leather skin itself. Therefore, the Theban νεασπάτωτον literally means a "new-leather". In contrast the Attic νεοκάττυτον of fr. 49 uses the Athenian word for leather, καττύς as found elsewhere in comedy and the verb καττύω means "to stitch leather" (e.g. Ar. *Kn*. 314-5).

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[235] Ropero-Gutiérrez 1985: 112 suggests that the word ἄκολον comes from the Phrygian expression *bekos akkalos* meaning "bread and water".

[236] Buck 1955: 71, n. 84; 152, n. 218.

Fr. 50:

(Lex. Mess. (Orus Περὶ ὀρθογραφίας) f.282ᵛ 3)

ἐγὼ γὰρ αὐτὸν παρατραγῳδῆσαί τι μοι

[[ε]]κε . [. . .] ιο

2 κεν vel κερ[

"For I (say) that he used some mock-tragic style on me"

or

"For I (asked/wanted) him to use some paratragedy for me"

The fragment provides the only example from the classical period of the use of the verb παρατραγῳδῆσαι which only recurs in texts of a much later date.[237] Unfortunately fr. 50 is short and the sense of it is incomplete and ambiguous; one character describes the actions of another concerning the use of paratragedy. Kaibel suggests that this is from the comic prologue, presumably because he felt it would make sense to set up the paratragic frame for the comic play at the beginning.[238] However, without the beginning and end of the line there are not enough words to create enough sense and context to place the fragment. The first line of fr. 50 appears to be an iambic trimeter, which would mean the fragment cannot come from a *parabasis*.

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[237] Words with the root παρατραγῳδ- are vary rare, occurring in Plutarch (*de liberis educandis* p. 7, Stephanus), Longinus (*de subl.* 3.1.6), twice in the Suda (σ 536 and ε 2807), and three times in the Aristophanic scholia (schol. Ar. *Wa.* 1484, schol. Ar. *Akh.* 1190b, schol. Ar. *Bir.* 1246). The earliest of these sources, Plutarch (1ˢᵗ-2ⁿᵈ c.) and Longinus (1ˢᵗ/3ʳᵈ c.), use the adjective παρατράγῳδος in discussions about the style of language. Longinus uses the word to criticise a passage of tragedy (Aiskh. *Oreithyia* fr. 281) for being over the top: οὐ τραγικὰ ἔτι ταῦτα ἀλλὰ παρατράγῳδα. The passages from the Suda and Aristophanic scholia employ the verb to comment on Aristophanes' use of tragedy.

[238] See *PCG* vol. VII, p. 647.

The fragment shows that the comic *Phoinissai* displays self-awareness of its involvement with tragedy, as does Dionysos in *Phoinissai* fr. 46. However, in *Phoinissai* fr. 47-8, the tragic Iokaste appears in the comedy, still playing (at least part of) her role from the tragic *Phoinissai.* Therefore, *Phoinissai* fr. 50 adds an extra metatheatrical dimension to events that have already been presented through the fragments. In a style recognisable from Aristophanes, Strattis uses paratragedy freely and shows a self-awareness of this, thereby doubly breaking any dramatic illusion which could be created through reusing Euripides' tragedy in a comedy.

As the fragment is so short it is near impossible to determine the person referred to by the αὐτὸν but they are clearly involved in making paratragedy. As such the αὐτὸν could be the comic poet himself, Strattis, or Dionysos, in light of his role in *Phoinissai* fr. 46. If the speaker of fr. 50 is acknowledging that someone (αὐτὸν) used paratragedy on the speaker, then the ἐγὼ could be the poet Euripides commenting on Strattis. There is one example in Old Comedy of a comic poet acknowledging the existence of a tragic in Aristophanes' *Skenas Katalambanousai* fr. 488, as Aristophanes admits borrowing Euripides' style but he comically claims to consider himself less vulgar than Euripides. There is also evidence that a comic poet could present himself on-stage as Kratinos did in his *Putine* at the City Dionysia in 423 BC.

Fr. 51:

(Poll. 10.183 (codd. FS, ABCL))

— ∪ οὐδὲ σχοινί᾽ οὐδὲ στραγγαλίδες εἰσιν ∪ —

"neither are there ropes nor intricate knots"

This line is incomplete but the mention of "no ropes or complex knots" could be taken metaphorically to imply that something or someone faces no restrictions, complications or complexity. Phot. p. 541,5 (= Sud. σ 1157) tells us that στραγγαλίδες meant specifically τὰ δύσλυτα ἄμματα "a knot which is difficult to loosen"; cf. Pherekrates *Automoloi* fr. 25 ὑμεῖς γὰρ ἀεὶ στραγγαλίδας ἐσφίγγετε "well you are always tying impossible knots". Dobree[239] interprets this fragment of Pherekrates as an attack on the Athenians for always delaying whenever offered peace. This pushes the fragment too far, but tying knots that were difficult to undo would be strong imagery for a seafaring state such as Athens.

Fr. 52:

(Erotiani vocum Hippocraticarum collectio (codd. A, HLMO) λ 25)

λεβήριδος· ὑμενώδους ἀποσύρματος, ὅπερ ἐστί τὸ τῶν ὄφεων λεγόμενον γῆρας, ὡς καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν Ἀμφιαράῳ καὶ Στράττις ἐν Φοινίσσαις

" 'of an old skin': of a peeled off skin, which is said to be the 'old age' of snakes, as both Aristophanes in *Amphiaraos* and Strattis in *Phoinissai* have it"

According to Erotian, Strattis and Aristophanes use λεβηρίς to refer to the skin of a snake (though it can also refer to a bean pod). λεβηρίς represents an empty and discarded shell, now devoid of use but it also relates to ideas of rejuvenation since the snake is rejuvenated by removing its old skin. Cf. Ar. *We*. 733 which has an example of snakes involved in a rejuvenation ritual, because of their ability to change their skins, as the snakes of Asklepios restore Wealth's sight.

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[239] See *PCG* vol. VII, p. 117.

The genitive form used by Strattis, λεβήριδος appears frequently as part of a comparison e.g. Zenob. vulg. II 95 γυμνότερος λεβήριδος and τυφλότερος λεβήριδος (the latter is said to be a phrase from Aristophanes' work). Nauck has suggested a parallel between Strattis fr. 52 and the use of λεβήριδος as part of the proverb, κενότερος λεβήριδος which occurs at Athen. *Deipn*. 8.362b, where the speaker Myrtilos calls a fellow dinner guest "emptier than a snake's skin" i.e. empty-headed. It is plausible that Strattis used λεβήριδος in a comparison of this kind as did his contemporary Aristophanes but only the word λεβήριδος actually appears in Strattis *Phoinissai* fr. 52.

For the idea of old age in relation to shedding snake skins, cf. the Hellenistic Dosiadas (*A.P.* 15.26.14) in his puzzle-poetry describing a snake as σύργαστρος ἐκδὺς γῆρας "the belly creeper, the shedder of old age". Aristophanes (Ar. *Pe*. 336) uses the same phrase ἐκδὺς γῆρας as part of a pun on the meaning of γῆρας as both old age and snake skin (as the chorus rejoice at Trygaios' peace) and at Ar. *Lys*. 670 where the male chorus declare their need to become young again and shake off their γῆρας (cf. Ar. *Lys*. 364 where a member of the male chorus threatens to beat an old woman of the female chorus out of her skin γῆρας). According to Athen. *Deipn*. 3.109f, Aristophanes' *Geras* (fr. 129) told of old men regaining their youthful vigour: τῶν τὸ γῆρας ἀποβαλλόντων. The theme of rejuvenation is seen elsewhere with old characters given a burst of youthful vigour (e.g. Philokleon in *Wasps* or the old lady in *Ekklesiazousai*) and presents possibilities that rejuvenation was a theme in Strattis' *Phoinissai*.[240]

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[240] On snakes and rejuvenation see Arist. *Hist. An*. 5.17 (549b 25); Nik. Ther. 31; Plin. *Nat*. 8.(49).111 (citing Theophrastos).

Fr. 53:

(Athen. *Deipn.* 15.699f)

Σέλευκος δὲ οὕτως ἐξηγεῖται ταύτην τὴν λέξιν (fr. 46 Muell.)· γράβιον ἐστιν τὸ πρίνινον ἢ δρύϊνον ὃ περιεσθλασμένον καὶ κατεσχισμένον ἐξάπτεσθαι καὶ φαίνειν τοῖς ὁδοιποροῦσιν...μν[ημονεύει δὲ] γραβίων κα[ὶ Στράττις] ἐν Φοινίσσαι

"and Seleukos explains this word (γράβιον) in this way; γράβιον is a stick of ilex or common oak which is pounded and split and set alight for travellers to use to light their way...and Strattis mentions γραβίων in his *Phoinissai*"

The attribution of this fragment to Strattis is based on Schweighäuser's view that the lacuna before ἐν Φοινίσσαις can only possibly contain Strattis' name, which therefore discounts the suggestion by Meineke that the author referred to is Aristophanes.[241] Athenaios' comment on γραβίων highlights the function of the γράβιον as a form of torch used by those on a journey. This suggests that a character in the comedy arrived on a journey and was using one, or intended to depart and take one with them.

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[241] Meineke 1840 II.2.783, who cites the same view from Schweighäuser.

ΧΡΥΣΙΠΠΟΣ

Khrysippos

The two fragments of Strattis' *Khrysippos* elicit no clear connection with the mythical Khrysippos. The only other fifth-century drama on Khrysippos is Euripides' poorly preserved tragedy, *Khrysippos*.[242] The tragic fragments indicate that Euripides used the myth concerning Khrysippos, son of Pelops and the nymph Axiokhe or Danais, which involved Khrysippos' abduction and rape by Laios, the boy's pedagogue, resulting in Khrysippos' subsequent suicide. There are variants to this story, but as with Troilos, the kernel of the myth is the death of the beautiful young prince.[243] It is not clear if the fragments of the comic *Laios* plays by Platon and Lykophron concerned the Khrysippos myth and Aiskhylos *Laios* fr. 122 refers to a baby in a pot, possibly Oidipous, making any connection with Khrysippos very unlikely. Strattis' *Phoinissai* and *Medeia* use Euripidean titles and characters, so that it is worth considering the potential tragic links for Strattis' *Khrysippos* as is done with Strattis' *Philoktetes, Myrmidones,* and *Troilos*.

Euripides' *Khrysippos* is of unknown date,[244] and it is poorly preserved. Schol. Eur. *Phoin.* 1760 (Schwartz) notes that Euripides' *Khrysippos* was the first play to depict homosexual desire.[245] Even though Aiskhylos' *Myrmidones* (depicting Akhilleus' love for Patroklos) pre-

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[242] Cf. Lykophron's later tragedy, *Khrysippos,* while Accius' *Chrysippus* provides a Roman tragedy, in part based on Euripides, although the Attic tragedy is in too poor a state to determine any links between the two dramas.

[243] Cf. other fifth-century sources: Praxilla of Sikyon (fr. 5 *PMG*) tells of Zeus abducting Khrysippos, which does not involve his death but it does remove Khrysippos from the human plane; Thouk. 1.9.2 and Pl. *Kratyl.* 395b explain that Atreus killed Khrysippos for fear that the latter would inherit power from Pelops.

[244] Cropp & Fick 1985: 77-8 rightly consider the evidence for the play to be too menial for statistical analysis. Aristophanes of Byzantion's hypothesis to *Phoinissai* mentions Eur. *Khrysippos*, *Oinomaos* and *Phoinissai* together but it is not at all clear that they formed a trilogy. See the commentary on *Phoinissai* in Chapter 3 (p. 182) for schol. Ar. *Fro*. 53a and the probable date and trilogy of *Phoinissai*. See Jouan & Looy 2002: 380 on various scholars' reconstructions of Eur. *Khrysippos*.

[245] The Euripidean scholion attributes its account to Peisander and notes that Khrysippos committed suicide out of shame after his rape. On this scholion and others that mention the Khrysippos myth, see Mastronarde 1994

dates the *Khrysippos*, the connection of Laios with early declarations of homosexual desire occurs in Pl. *Laws* 8.836c where the speaker notes that before the time of Laios the law forbade sexual desires between men and boys.[246] Therefore, Plato offers an explanation of the mythical origins of homosexual relations which Euripides was first to display on-stage. Both of these accounts suggest a possible focus for Strattis' comedy.

The depiction of homosexual lust in Euripides' Khrysippos is also evident in the play, where Laios expressed his desires on-stage, as mentioned by Cicero in his analysis that homosexual love is lustful.[247] The fragments of *Khrysippos* give one indication of this at Eur. *Khrysippos* fr. 840 which is taken as an admission of Laios' desires,[248] as Laios struggles with his thoughts: ΛΑΙΟΣ: λέληθεν οὐδεν τῶνδέ μ᾽ ὧν σὺ νουθετεῖς· / γνώμην δ᾽ ἔχοντα μ᾽ ἡ φύσις βιάζεται. "none of the words with which you counsel me have escaped my notice, but in spite of having this view, nature forces me". In Eur. *Khrysippos* fr. 842, a character, most probably Khrysippos, admits: γνώμης σόφισμα καὶ χέρ᾽ ἀνδρείαν ἔχων / δύσμορφος εἴην μᾶλλον ἢ καλὸς κακός "as long as I have sound judgement and brave hand, would that I were ugly rather than beautiful but bad". The power of beauty to corrupt others is a timeless theme, e.g. in Aiskhines *Against Timarkhos* section 134 (346 BC), which forms part of an attack against Timarkhos' scandalous homosexual relationships.

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who discusses the hypotheses to Eur. *Phoinissai* and see *TrGF* vol. 5.2, p. 877-8.

[246] γάρ τις ἀκολουθῶν τῇ φύσει θήσει τὸν πρὸ τοῦ Λαΐου νόμον, λέγων ὡς ὀρθῶς εἶχεν τὸ τῶν ἀρρένων καὶ νέων μὴ κοινωνεῖν καθάπερ θηλειῶν πρὸς μεῖξιν ἀφροδισίων...

[247] Cic. *Tusc.* 4.71 (= 4.33-34 old numbering) "quis aut de Ganymedi raptu dubitat, quid poetae velint, aut non intelligit, quid apud Euripidem et loquatur et cupiat Laius?...Atque horum omnium lubidinosos esse amores videmus".

[248] Clement of Alexandria who provides the quotation names Laios as the speaker; see *TrGF* vol. 5.2, p. 882. Hubbard 2006: 225 suggests that the lines are addressed to Khrysippos mid-abduction, partly because of the present tense βιάζεται which is a reasonable if in no way conclusive interpretation.

The impact of Euripides' *Khrysippos* was certainly enough to produce a curious anecdote, as told by Aelian (Aelian *Hist. Misc.* 2. 21), that Euripides composed his *Khrysippos* for Agathon, with whom he was in love. While the story is clearly false, it reflects the deep impact that the portrayal of homosexual love in Euripides' *Khrysippos* had on those able to read the original play. Agathon's lover was, in fact, Pausanias, as mentioned in Plato's *Protagoras* and *Symposion*.

Like Strattis' *Troilos,* the myth of Khrysippos concerns the untimely demise of a beautiful youth at the hands of an older man (in the Troilos myth, Akhilleus kills the young Troilos). For Strattis to use both of these myths in separate comedies implies that he had a successful schema for dealing with them comically and/or that the myths were popular with audiences, and so were worth a comic make-over.

Strattis *Khrysippos* fr. 54 has someone list strict methods of curbing another man's behaviour which could be Pelops or Laios discussing Khrysippos' habits, while in fr. 55 one man orders another to lead out a colt, which strongly suggests that the comedy reflected the version of the Khrysippos myth where Laios abducted Khrysippos at the Olympian Games.[249] South Italian and Sicilian fourth-century vases depict this abduction with chariot, perhaps at the Games and again may help us understand Strattis fr. 55. The use of the crude word κοχῶναι in fr. 56 is a timely reminder that the comedy would use low-style vocabulary to describe something that tragedy either would disdain from doing or that it would manage more delicately.

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[249] Hubbard 2006: 225 seems certain that the mention of the chariot in fr. 55 defines Strattis' *Khrysippos* as "a comedy surely modelled on Euripides, [which] unquestionably brings a chariot on-stage with Laius telling the boy how to hold the reins". Hubbard's assertive tone ("surely...unquestionably") belies a certain insecurity in his statement, but our survey of the rest of Strattis' work makes clear the links of Strattis to Euripides.

Fr. 54:

(Athen. *Deipn*. 4.169a)

εἰ μηδὲ χέσαι γ᾽ αὐτῶι σχολὴ γενήσεται,

μηδ᾽ εἰς ἀσωτεῖον τραπέσθαι μηδ᾽ ἐὰν

αὐτῶι ξυναντᾶι τις, λαλῆσαι μηδενί

"If he will not even have the time to shit,

nor to spend time in a gambler's den, nor, if

a man should meet him, to chatter to him"

One character explains the harsh treatment of another, who is deprived of physical needs and social pleasures. The comic exaggeration μηδὲ χέσαι perhaps also expresses the anger or desperation of the speaker who lists four prohibited actions in three lines. The nature of the prohibitions suggests the unruly nature of this character and indicates why the speaker is so intent on curbing such expensive behaviour; cf. Pheidippides, the spendthrift son of Strepsiades in Aristophanes' *Clouds*.

Kock also views the scene as involving a young man, educated by a stern father who laments his son's way of life.[250] Kaibel's plausible formulation of the scene is of someone giving advice to Pelops as to how he can protect Khrysippos from the traps of Laios (i.e. from being seduced by an older man) but it cannot be verified.[251] If this fragment is spoken by a mythical character then the use of comic vocabulary (such as χέσαι ἀσωτεῖον) would be humorous

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[250] Kock 1880: I.726.
[251] See *PCG* vol. VII, p. 649.

and inappropriate in a tragedy, and their description of Khrysippos reveals that he is not as angelic a character as in myth. On ἀσωτεῖον see also Wilkins who translates the line as "nor for looking in at the house of a spendthrift".[252]

Fr. 55:

(Poll. 10.55)

> ∪ – πρόσαγε τὸν πῶλον ἀτρέμα, προσλάβων
>
> τὸν ἀγωγέα βραχύτερον· οὐχ ὁρᾷς ὅτι
>
> <ἔτ'> ἄβολός ἐστιν;

"Lead the colt gently, shorten the rein,

don't you see that it still hasn't shed its foal-teeth?"

A character instructs another in reining a horse, which is noted for being particularly young: πῶλον and still with its first teeth: ἄβολος. Sophokles *Mousai* fr. 408 contains the expression ἄβολον ἵππον though there is no context for its use. The speaker of fr. 55 notes that a shorter rein will keep the colt under control better, emphasising the inexperience of the colt. As with fr. 54, if there are links to the mythical Khrysippos then the speaker would be Laios instructing the young Khrysippos, and Pseudo-Apollod. 3. 5. 5 notes that Laios taught Khrysippos how to drive a chariot (cf. Soph. *Aias* 549 Aias speaks of the need for Eurysakhes πωλοδαμνεῖν in order to emulate his father). In other versions Khrysippos' abduction occurs at the Panhellenic Games, presumably where he entered the chariot event.[253] Evidence for the

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[252] Wilkins 2000: 293.

[253] Hyg. *Fab.* 85 sets the abduction at the Nemean Games, as did Praxilla of Sikyon, fr. 5 *PMG,* p. 389 (recorded in Athen. *Deipn.* 13.603a).

use of colts includes Rhesos' horses in Euripides *Rhesos* (e.g. 616); Eur. *I.A.* 613-23 (for a wedding carriage); Eur. *Phoin.* 41; Soph. *O.T.* 802 (both for Laios' carriage); Eur. *Andromakhe* 992 (Peleus' carriage).

Artistic evidence on fourth-century South Italian pottery depicts Khrysippos being abducted by Laios in a four horse chariot (*LIMC* III, 2, p. 226-7). There is a common iconography for this scene; horses pointing to the left and Laios guiding the chariot while holding Khrysippos who reaches out behind him (cf. the similar iconography for the fourth-century wall-painting of Hades' abduction of Persephone). One vase has an Eros fly overhead, indicating Laios' desire (*LIMC* III, 2, p. 226 "Chrysippos" I.1). This iconography appears after Euripides' *Khrysippos* but it is unclear if the two are connected. The name Khrysippos means literally "Golden horse" which gives added weight to a link between Khrysippos and the colt.

The imagery of an uncontrolled colt appears in Eur. *Phrixos* A fr. 818c (the opening lines of the play) as someone bemoans their misfortunes, comparing their struggles to that of a colt: "If this were the first day of my troubles and I had not been sailing through adversity for so long, it would be right to struggle, like a newly-yoked colt who has recently taken the bit; but now I am dulled and wise to misfortune": Εἰ μὲν τόδ᾽ ἦμαρ πρῶτον ἦν κακουμένῳ / καὶ μὴ μακρὰν δὴ διὰ πόνων ἐναυστόλουν / εἰκὸς σφαδάζειν ἦν ἄν, ὡς νεόζυγα / πῶλον, χαλινὸν ἀρτίως δεδεγμένον / νῦν δ᾽ ἀμβλύς εἰμι, καὶ κατηρτυκὼς κακῶν. Note the similar sounding words ἀμβλύς εἰμι in Euripides fr. 818c and ἄβολος ἐστι in Strattis fr. 55.

In poetry, colts or fillies placed under the yoke occur frequently, evoking erotic imagery and/or disorderly behaviour: e.g. Anakreon *PMG* 72 on yoking a filly; Theognis bk. 2[254] in

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[254] The following Greek text is taken from West 1989.

two passages (1249-52; 1267-70) compares a boy-lover with a horse. Note particularly lines 1251 where the boy and horse: "yearn for a good rider and a beautiful meadow" ἡνίοχόν τε ποθῶν ἀγαθὸν λειμῶνά τε καλὸν and secondly the more reproachful tone of Theognis 1267-70 that horse and boy have a similar mentality since a horse will leave his former rider lying in the dust and similarly the boy "loves whoever is around" παῖς τὸν παρεόντα φιλεῖ. At Eur. *Bakkh*. 1056 a messenger describes the bacchants as αἳ δ' ἐκλιποῦσαι ποικίλ' ὡς πῶλοι ζυγά "fillies freed from the yoke"; at Eur. *Hipp*. 545 Iole, before marrying Herakles, is called πῶλον ἄζυγα λέκτρων. This small sample of imagery reflects fantasies of untamed youth, where there is little differentiation based on gender. Therefore, there are potential sexual undertones to Strattis fr. 55, strengthening the idea that the speaker is Laios and the pupil Khrysippos.

Fr. 56:

(Schol. R^H Hippocr. epid. 5.7 (Erot. fr. 17 p. 104.10 Nachmanson))

κοχῶναι...μέμνηται καὶ Στράτ<τ>ις ἐν Χρυσίππῳ

"the crotch...Strattis recalls in his *Khrysippos*"

There is no context for Strattis' use of the word κοχῶναι. Elsewhere in comedy it appears in contexts which mainly seem to highlight that area of the body (Ar. *Kn*. 424, 484, *Skenas Katalambanousai* fr. 496) while schol. vet. (VEΓΘM) et Tricl. (Lh) *Kn*. 424a gives an anatomical description of κοχώνη.

Selected Strattis Fragments Unassigned to Plays: fr. 63, 66, 69, 71, 88

Fr. 63:

(Schol. (MTAB) Eur. *Or*. 279)

(A.) γαλῆν᾽ ὁρῶ (B.) ποῖ πρὸς θεῶν, ποῖ ποῖ γαλῆν;

(A.) γαληνά (B.) ἐγὼ δ᾽ ᾤμην σε γαλῆν᾽ λέγειν ὁρῶ

1a γαλῆν᾽ Meineke | γαλῆν **B** | γαλήν **M** | γαλὴν **TA** | γαλήν᾽ Bentley *ClJ* 12 (1815) 105 |

1b γαλῆν **B** | γαλήν᾽ **M** | γαλὴν **TA** | **2a** γαληνά **TB** | γαλῆνα **MA** | **2b** σε γαλῆν λέγειν

ὁρῶ **B** | σε γαλήν λ. ὁρῶ **M** | σε γαλὴν λ. ὁρῶ **T** | σε γαλὴν λ. ὁρᾶς **A** | σε λέγειν

"γαλῆν ὁρῶ" Bentley | γαλῆν λέγειν σ᾽ ὁρᾶν Dindorf

(A.) "I see a fair wind (B.) Where by the gods, where o where is a

ferret? (A.) a fair wind! (B.) and I thought you said 'I see a ferret'!"

These lines record another variation on the joke about Hegelokhos' pronunciation of Eur. *Or*. 279 which proved so popular among comic dramatists (discussed at *Anthroporestes* fr. 1 above, p. 120). The formulation here varies from that in Strattis *Anthroporestes* fr. 1 and so the question is whether or not fr. 1 and fr. 63 stem from the same comedy. The Euripidean scholion quotes both of these fragments of Strattis back to back as examples of comedians chiding Hegelokhos for his oral errors. After quoting Strattis' *Anthroporestes* fr. 1, the scholion states: καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις παίζων φησί· γαλῆν᾽… as a way of leading into fr. 63. The question is whether ἐν ἄλλοις refers to other lines of the same play, or to another play

altogether whose title was unknown to the scholiast. Notably the Euripidean scholion for *Or.* 279 is careful to name the other poets and their plays which are sources for jokes about Hegelokhos, mentioning Strattis' *Anthroporestes,* Sannyrion's *Danaë,* and a work by Aristophanes.[255] Therefore, as the scholion has provided play titles for the other fragments, but not for Strattis fr. 63, the καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις means "elsewhere in Strattis' work" and the scholiast had only a vague idea as to where that was. As further proof, scholia in the same mss. (MTAB) make use of the phrase καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις at schol. Eur. *Or.* 896 and 1378 where the phrase refers to "elsewhere in Euripides' work", as indicated by the scholion on 1378 which even follows the phrase with a quotation from a separate Euripidean play, *Bakkhai*.

Therefore, the placement of fr. 63 in the works of Strattis is unknown. The lines would fit well into Strattis' *Kallippides* which concerned the tragic actor and where a joke about another tragic actor's mistake would be relevant. However, the dating for *Kallippides* is not fixed (see Appendix 1) and so it is not certain that it came after 408 BC and Hegelokhos' error. If, however, speaker (A) in fr. 63 was, in fact, Hegelokhos, or even if he were just being imitated, then it would be appropriate for him to appear in a play concerning another tragic actor, Kallippides.

In order to place Hegelokhos as a speaker, it is necessary to look at the workings of fr. 63. Firstly it differs from the joke of Strattis *Anthroporestes* fr.1 where the *arkhōn* presents the joke, while acknowledging his responsibility for Hegelokhos' error since he hired the tragic actors. The discussion there is metafictional; it talks about the tragic production as a whole, discussing technicalities of its performance. In Strattis fr. 63 two undefined characters base a

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[255] There is a lacuna in the text after his name, so that the quotation and the play title are unknown.

comic exchange around Hegelokhos' mistake, using his genuine error to produce a comic interplay between the two; they recreate the mispronunciation live on the comic stage. There is a possibility therefore that one of the characters is Hegelokhos himself. The extensive critical apparatus indicates the confusion as to where the joke lay in the line but if Hegelokhos were speaker (A.) then in fr. 63 he pronounces the phrase correctly, only to be misheard by speaker (B.), and the real Hegelokhos re-lives his embarrassment and shame on-stage again before an audience. If Meineke's conjecture is followed then Hegelokhos initially pronounces the line incorrectly, which speaker (B) reproduces only for Hegelokhos to correct. It must be admitted that the joke still functions perfectly well without speaker (A) being Hegelokhos because, as the other comic examples of this joke indicate, it was very well-known.

Fr. 66:

(Phot. (b,z) α 1211)

᾽Άμμων ὁ κριοῦ δέρμα καὶ κέρατ᾽ ἔχων

"Ammon who has the skin and horns of a sheep"

A speaker here describes the distinctive outward appearance of Zeus Ammon, whose oracle was in Libya at the Siwa Oasis. Herod. 2.42.3 explains that the Egyptians represented Zeus Ammon with a ram's head because Herakles had asked to see Zeus naked and Zeus had covered himself with a ram's skin to avoid revealing his body. For the same disguise motif cf. Ovid *Met.* 5.327-8 (Jupiter is said to hide from Typhoeus in Libya by disguising himself "unde recurvis / nunc quoque formatus Libys est cum cornibus Ammon". This disguise in sheep's clothing strongly recalls Dionysos' antics in Kratinos' *Dionysalexandros*, all of which

is perhaps relevant to Strattis fr. 66.

Kaibel has suggested that the first line of fr. 66 is Euripidean because the phraseology is a feature of Euripidean prologues in its use of a personal name, relative clause, and participle, which is an unusual feature outside of Euripides' work (see its use in the prologues of Eur. *I.T., Arkhelaos, Hippolytos* and *Hypsipyle*). This last point makes Kaibel's suggestion very probable and Ar. *Fro*. 1206-47 indicates how memorable the opening structure of these Euripidean prologues was, as they are mocked for their metrical and linguistic repetition. These tragic openers also help the audience identify the plays, cf. Strattis *Phoinissai* fr. 46 quotes the first line of Eur. *Hypsipyle*. No Euripidean play is known to start as fr. 66 does, but it could either be a pastiche of Euripidean prologues or a lost first line, cf. Euripides fr. 955h (untitled play) mentions the oracle of Ammon.

The importance of this oracle is reflected in some of its visitors: Kroisos (Herod. 1.46), Kimon in the 460s BC, and the Athenians before sailing to Sicily in 415 BC. At Athens the popularity of the cult of Zeus Ammon was reflected in an ode to Zeus Ammon by Pindar, and in the construction of a temple to the god in the Peiraieus at Athens, all during the fifth century BC. Ar. *Bir*. 619 and 716 both mention the oracle of Ammon alongside that of Delphi. Therefore, Ammon's mention in a comedy would also be recognised by many in the audience.

Fr. 69:

(Phot. α (b, z) 2239)

ἀπάλλαξόν με φροντίδων

"release me from worries"

Photius states only that Strattis used this phrase but it is of a type common in tragedy for expressing a release from suffering. Cf. a similar expression at Aiskh. *Ag.* 1: τῶνδ᾽ ἀπαλλαγὴν πόνων, and Aiskh. *Ag.* 165: φροντίδος ἄχθος χρὴ βαλεῖν, as well as Ar. *Akh.* 201: πολέμου καὶ κακῶν ἀπαλλαγείς, and Ar. *Pe.* 920: δεινῶν ἀπαλλάξας πόνων. The use of the ἀπαλλάσσω in the imperative form: ἀπάλλαξόν occurs most frequently in Euripidean tragedy: Eur. *Med.* 333 Kreon: μ᾽ ἀπάλλαξον πόνων, *I.A.* 323 Agamemnon: ταύτην σῶν ἀπάλλαξον χερῶν, cf. Aiskh. *Eum.* 180, Apollo: ἀπαλλάσσεσθε.

Fr. 71:

(Athen. *Deipn.* 2.69a)

πρασοκουρίδες, αἱ καταφύλλους

ἀνὰ κήπους πεντήκοντα ποδῶν

ἴχνεσι βαίνετ᾽, ἐφαπτόμεναι

ποδοῖν σατυριδίων μακροκέρκων,

χοροὺς ἑλίσσουσαι παρ᾽ ὠκίμων

πέταλα καὶ θριδακινίδων

εὐόσμων τε σελίνων

"The leek-munchers, you who

throughout leafy gardens go,

making tracks with fifty feet,

treading with feet on long-tailed orchids,

twisting in dances among the leaves of herbs,

and of lettuces, and of sweet-scented parsley"

Athenaios quotes fr. 71 during a discussion on lettuce in literature but provides no other context for the passage, nor a title for the play from which it comes. It is the only quotation of Strattis to be found in book 2 of *The Deipnosophists*. Suda σ 1178 (*PCG* vol. VII, p. 623) also mentions book 2 at the end of a lists of Strattis' play titles. This led Wagner to suggest that Strattis fr. 71 belonged either to *Anthroporestes* (the first title in the Suda's list), to *Psykhastai* (the last title in the Suda's list), or to *Pausanias*, (the penultimate title and the only one not

listed alphabetically).[256] This argument is unconvincing on a number of points; *The Deipnosophists* book 2 is part of the epitome, the abridged Athenaios, covering books 1 and 2 and as such it is incomplete and may have contained more references to Strattis that are now lost. Secondly some scholars emend Suda σ 1178 so that after the last title, *Psykhastai*, the Suda cites Athenaios book 12 instead of book 2.[257] This is at least reasonable, given that a fragment of *Psykhastai* (fr. 57) comes from Athenaios book 12 and *Psykhastai* is the title which directly precedes the Suda's mention of Athenaios. Therefore, the play to which Strattis fr. 71 belongs must remain undecided based on the current evidence.

In Strattis fr. 71, the complex and embroidered language is used to describe the movement and actions of small garden pests in a vegetable garden as if they were dancing. This contrastive mix of style and content is a form of poetic parody but scholars also note features which mark it specifically as a parody of Euripidean monodies. Kassel and Austin in *PCG* observe that the phrase ἴχνος ποδός (lit. "the trace of his foot", i.e. footsteps) is common in Euripidean tragedy and that the verb ἑλίσσειν, found in line 5, is often used by Euripides of dancing.[258] For examples of ἴχνος ποδός, see e.g. *Herakles* 125, *I.T.* 752, *El.* 532-3, *Phoin.* 105 and in Homer's *Iliad*. For the Euripidean use of ἑλίσσειν, see e.g. Eur. *I.A.* 1480, while Eur. *Tro.* 3, 333 even uses the phrase ἴχνος ἐξελίσσουσιν ποδός to describe group or choral dancing, and *Herakles* 977 contains ποδός and ἑλίσσομαι, (and cf. Ar. *Fro.* 827 has ἀνελισσσομένη parodying Euripidean word usage).

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[256] Wagner 1905: 34; Wilamowitz-Moellendorff 1921: 412 thinks that the Suda meant *Pausanias*.
[257] Bernhardy 1853; Daub 1882: 140.
[258] *PCG* vol. VII, p. 656.

Borthwick considers that the whole of fr. 71 parodies Euripidean monodies, both in its verbal style and use of music.[259] There is a recurrent use of insects as imagery in parodies of the musical changes taking place in the late fifth century BC: e.g. Agathon's music in *Thesm.* is compared to μύρμηκος ἀτραπούς "the paths of an ant",[260] while Pherekrates *Kheiron* fr. 155, lines 28-9 contains a pun on the word κάμπη "musical turn" and καμπή "caterpillar" as Music complains of her treatment by dithyrambic poets. To this sort of evidence Borthwick adds Strattis fr. 71: "It seems that the comparison of chromatic melodies to crawling insects appealed to the poets of old comedy".[261] The passage in Strattis fr. 71 therefore parodies stylistic aspects of Euripidean lyrics, without citing a specific Euripidean example. Cf. Ar. *Fro.* 1309 which parodies Euripidean style, rather than a particular play. A possible explanation for the subject matter relates to mockery of Euripides as having a vegetable-selling mother, according to Aristophanes.

πρασοκουρίδες. Strattis is the only classical author to use this word, which later turns up in Theophr. *Hist. plant.* 7.5.4 and Arist. *HA* 551b 20 in wildlife treatises but never in poetry. Hesych. (π 3215) describes πρασοκουρίδες as green organisms who devour vegetables in gardens. Davies & Kathirithamby discuss this insect, calling it 'Leekbane' and they list the ancient sources for the mini-beast, noting that in Aristotle it can fly which they rightly feel contradicts Strattis' depiction of it having fifty feet.[262]

σατυριδίων μακροκέρκων. An allusion to satyrs is clear in the literal translation of the Greek: "long-tailed *saturidion*" since satyrs are depicted with long tails. In addition, the

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[259] Borthwick 1968: 60-73.
[260] "whatever that means" says MacDowell 1995: 254.
[261] Borthwick 1968: 71.
[262] Davies & Kathirithamby 1986: 167.

orchid was famed for its aphrodisiac properties and Dalby combines these facts to explain the expression σατυριδίων μακροκέρκων as a comic reference to the orchid's erotic power, particularly given the sexual appetites of satyrs.[263] According to the decoration of pottery used in symposia, the other common occupation of satyrs was dancing, and so there is clear comic reversal (if not irony) in having the caterpillars dancing up and down on the orchids (*saturidia*).

Fr. 88:

(Poll. 6.156)

> ὁμοπτέρους δὲ τοὺς ὁμότριχας εἰπόντος Εὐριπίδου, Στράττις τοὺς ὁμήλικας
> εἴρηκεν ὁμοπτέρους

> "while Euripides said that hair of the same type was 'of the same plumage',
> Strattis said that those of the same age were 'of the same plumage' "

Pollux notes that Eur. *El.* 530 and Strattis both use the word ὁμοπτέρους to refer to sets of objects with similarities. In the *Elektra* passage, Elektra ridicules the old man for thinking that he can tell the hair at the altar is that of her brother, Orestes, which incidentally mocks Aiskhylos' *Khoephoroi* where hair plays a part in the recognition scene between Elektra and Orestes. Aiskhylos also uses the word ὁμόπτερος of the hair (*Khoeph.* 174), which is a further indication of the allusion in *Elektra* to its Aiskhylean predecessor. The only other instances of the word in fifth-century literature occur at Aiskh. *Suppl.* 224, Eur. *Phoin.* 328

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[263] Dalby 1996: 86, 237, n. 193; Faraone (1999: 177) lists *saturion* in his glossary as follows: "derived from the word 'satyr,' denotes plants in the orchid family thought to produce erections and male lust".

and Ar. *Bir*. 229 so that there is a notable tragic use of the word.

Pollux does not make it clear if Strattis used ὁμοπτέρος to refer to tragedy or even to Euripides' plays. It makes poetic sense to describe hair in terms of a plumage (as occurs in tragedy), and practical sense to describe people as being birds of the same feather (as Strattis is said to use the word), since their feathers would all be the same age. The appearance of the word in Ar. *Bir*. 229 indicates the similarity of ὁμοπτέρος to this English expression, "birds of a feather", as the Aristophanic line forms part of a pun where Tereus calls out to the bird chorus and refers to them as τῶν ἐμῶν ὁμοπτέρων "my fellow birds". Tereus is referring to a homologous group and one made up of birds, which provides a pun on the literal meaning of ὁμοπτέρος. Therefore, it is probable that in fr. 88 Strattis uses tragic vocabulary generally, and perhaps even Euripidean poetic vocabulary in particular, especially in light of his continual engagement with Euripidean drama.

4 Strattis and his Use of Tragedy and Myth

It is now possible to develop ideas about Strattis as a poet who engages with myth and tragedy. This involves purposefully keeping Aristophanes in the sidelines (until Chapter 5) in order to consider the works of Strattis in their own right and to distinguish Strattis' style of paratragedy and interaction with myth. The work of Aristophanes shapes the interpretative framework within which scholars analyse all Old Comedy because eleven of his comedies survive as complete plays. Indeed it is Aristophanes' own recurrent interest in tragedy that spurs on this study into the use of tragedy outside of Aristophanic fragments. Only a quarter of Aristophanes' plays survive intact for us to examine as complete units but nonetheless perceptions of Old Comedy are intricately tied to ideas of Aristophanic comedy. This is not an accurate or fair representation of the variety of Old Comedy and its form and function since it is, by necessity of survival of texts, Aristophanes-centred. This is in part a reason to try to move away from Aristophanes for a while, but also an acknowledgement of how impossible the task really is of considering Strattis solely on his own merits.

While acknowledging this, the chapter considers the work of Strattis that survives as a unity in that it represents the creative output of a single comic poet. This analysis will work on the premise that Strattis' aim was to win over the audience with laughter and entertainment while both audience and poet were simultaneously aware that the ultimate goal was victory in the comic contest at the festival over fellow comic dramatists.

In order to interpret the fragments through their use of tragedy and myth it is important first to face the problems and limitations that a fragmentary dramatic corpus presents to this work.

Once these have been discussed, the focus falls on trends in the fragments relating to Strattis' uses of tragedy in his comedies and the forms which this takes. This recurrent use of tragedy is all the more striking given the amount lost from plays of Strattis. There will also be consideration of how the titles and contents of Strattis' comedies reflect a thematic interest in mythical and tragic subject matter.

Limitations of analysing Strattis in fragments

When Old Comedy is used as a tool to glean information about fifth-century Athens, be it to do with culture, intellectual perceptions, political perspectives or personal preferences in humour, discussion inevitably touches on the distortion of comedy that shapes our views on the comic material. When dealing with Old Comedy in fragments there is an extra dimension of distortion at play dependent on the survival record for each poet and his plays; an understanding of even individual plays is shaped by what information has and has not been passed on to us. The gaps in Strattis' work are so vast that the space left for over-interpretation of the remnants is dangerously large; the comic distortion is itself disfigured.

Therefore, the fragments that survive of Strattis' comedies shape the format of this analysis, with its reliance on tragedy and myth as guiding lines. It is worth remembering that this analysis itself is a product of fragments, not of a comprehensive set of complete plays. The use of tragedy that recurs in Strattis' work provides a point of continuity throughout the fragments but also it serves as a warning of how much care is needed in examining this phenomenon. Tragedy is apparent as a theme, tool, and subject in Strattis' plays but the wider framework of his comic creations, of which tragedy was only a part, is lost. The three main

areas where the effects of this are most keenly felt are: **1).** The plays lack a specific performance context. **2).** There is not sufficient material for plot reconstruction. **3)**. The role of the chorus and presence of *parabases* is unknown.

1). The specific performance contexts for all of Strattis' plays are uncertain because each has only a rough dating (see Appendix 1). It is not known at which festivals any of Strattis' plays were performed although he had one victory at the Lenaia (*IG* II^2 2325, 138). This makes Strattis' work appear all the more isolated from the Athenian context in which it was performed; it is not possible to link specific plays to actual historical events, as can be done for Aristophanes, and so it is harder to interpret Strattis' own interaction with the events and peoples of the world around him.

2). For those working on dramatic fragments the staple diet of analytic processes relies on plot reconstruction. This is not an option with Strattis since no play has more than a ten-line fragment and there are no hypotheses or other summaries about the contents of any play. The realm of analysis for Strattis is limited. Therefore, no plot is clearly ascertainable and it cannot be reconstructed in the majority of cases without conjecture running wild over the remnants of the text. More than 90 % of each play is no longer extant. However, analysing Strattis' use of tragedy does allow a way into his work and it offers some suggestions for the content of his plays. It also begins to build a case for comparison with the uses of tragedy in Aristophanic comedy which appears in Chapter 5.

3). None of the fragments of Strattis refer to, or contain, a chorus speaking or singing, although some titles in the plural may well refer to the identity of the chorus for that play:

Phoinissai, Myrmidones, Psykhastai, Makedones, and *Potamioi*. The commentary has established that Strattis was indebted to Euripides' *Phoinissai* on many levels for his own comic *Phoinissai* and this presents the possibility that Strattis used a chorus of Phoenician women, as did Euripides, but there is no evidence for the role of the comic chorus in Strattis' plays to qualify this suggestion. The same is possible for Strattis' *Myrmidones* which shares its title with Aiskhylos' *Myrmidones* and the chorus in this tragedy did have a central dramatic role relating to the plot of Aiskhylos' play since they formed the retinue of Akhilleus' loyal Myrmidon troops. Without any examples of the chorus at work in Strattis' comedies its role or importance remains unknown.

Therefore, there is no indication of direct interaction between chorus and audience, which raises the issue of whether Strattis' plays contained any *parabases*. Sifakis' study of *parabases* indicates how hard they are to spot in fragments. He tabulates parabatic lines that he identifies in the fragments of Old Comedy, based on their content and metre but the table comprises only ten poets and some *adespota*. The majority of these poets are the ones who are best preserved in fragments: Aristophanes, Kratinos, Eupolis, Pherekrates, and Platon.[264] Platon is the only poet preserved in fragments alone whose work spans the fifth and fourth centuries BC. Therefore, while the sample of Strattis' work surviving in fragments is too small to provide evidence for any of his *parabases,* neither is the survival rate of parabatic lines in fragments a reliable set of data on which to pass judgement about Strattis.

Strattis was writing at the end of the fifth century BC and a notable development in Aristophanes' plays from this time is the appearance of the *parabasis* in a reduced form in *Thesmophoriazousai* and *Frogs*. Meanwhile in the only two complete fourth-century plays,

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[264] Sifakis 1971: 48-51.

Ekklesiazousai and *Wealth,* the *parabasis* is lacking altogether. Of the choral passages in *Wealth*, only the *parodos* is recorded, while the choral passages in the second half of *Ekklesiazousai* are not included. In Aristophanes' *Wealth* the chorus' role is markedly reduced and it is more often set apart from the dramatic action of the play. In *Ekklesiazousai*, several scenes toward the end of the play are maintained largely by three characters (an old woman, a young one and a young man), while Aristophanes' *Aiolosikon* is described as containing no choral lyrics.[265] This falls in line with developments in Euripides' later tragedies where the chorus has a reduced dramatic role. Although the evidence for Strattis' work does not determine whether the plays contained choruses, his work comes at a time where both Euripides and Aristophanes' plays reflected a trend for curtailed choral roles in drama. It is therefore highly probable that Strattis too scaled down the chorus.

Tragedy as a guiding line

Taking the above into account, this study is now in a position to realise the uniqueness of Strattis' interest in tragedy and myth, and to examine further the patterns and features of what appears in the fragments. His interaction with tragedy acts as a linking force throughout the fragments because its use is so pronounced in Strattis' work and permeates a large section of it. A brief summary of this also marks out the numerous forms of this interaction, equalling that of even Aristophanes. These are:

- parody of tragic lines (*Phoinissai* fr. 46, 47, 48, *Troilos* fr. 42).

- a pastiche of Euripidean monodies in fr. 71.

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[265] Platon. *Diff. com.* 13. p. 3 Kost. (= *PCG* vol. III.2, p. 33-4). However, Platonios is an often unreliable source. In fact, two *Aiolosikon* plays are attested and fr. 8 and 9 indicate that choral lyrics did occur. Therefore, this is usually interpreted as indicating that one play contained the choral lyrics which the other lacked, a view held by Kaibel (*PCG* vol. III.2, p. 34).

- appearance of the word παρατραγῳδῆσαι in *Phoinissai* fr. 50.

- jokes about the realities of tragic production via the mispronunciation of Hegelokhos' lines (*Anthroporestes* fr. 1, fr. 63).

- jokes about the use of the precarious *mēkhanē* (*Atalantos* fr. 4 and *Phoinissai* fr. 46).

- the adoption of tragic scenes and/or tragic characters within comedies which share the title of that tragedy (*Phoinissai* and *Medeia*) -a rare phenomenon recorded in comedy.

- the appearance of other comic titles which have an equivalent in one or more tragedies but no clear link in the fragments to that tragedy: *Myrmidones* (Aiskh. *Myrmidones*), *Philoktetes* (Aiskh., Soph., Eur. *Philoktetes*), *Troilos* (Soph. *Troilos*), *Khrysippos* (Eur. *Khrysippos*).

- hybrid titles which refer to mythical characters, all of whom recur in tragedy: *Anthroporestes*, *Atalantos*, *Iphigeron*, *Lemnomeda*.

- Strattis' *Kallippides* named after the tragic actor, the only comic title of this type for an actor. Cf. Strattis' *Kinesias*, referring to the dithyrambic poet.

Given that the evidence for Strattis' work is so fragmentary, it is all the more striking that his involvement with myth and tragedy is so extensive in those same fragments. This also comes after the evidence from Chapter 2, in which we saw tragedy as a recurrent subject in earlier Old Comedy but never on the scale found in Strattis, even among the poets whose work is better preserved than that of Strattis. This adds further support to the idea that one of Strattis' main interests in comedy was the use of topical artistic and dramatic subjects and the individual figures who shaped these media. It is this which defines Strattis' own unique style as a poet of Old Comedy and this subject will be developed in the course of the chapter in order to consider the following questions:

What was Strattis doing with all this tragedy? Which features of tragedy does Strattis choose to transfer to his comedies? What aspects does he focus on? Are there any clear themes in the tragic plays which might indicate to us why Strattis used them for his comedies? Does Strattis, like Aristophanes, focus on Euripidean tragedy and how is it characterised? This prepares the way for Chapter 5 and consideration of whether Strattis' use of tragedy indicates any novel approaches, compared with Aristophanes' interaction with tragedy.

In acknowledging the important place which tragedy had in Strattis' work we have three major forms of influence to take into account: that of individual tragedians (Euripidean, Sophoklean, and Aiskhylean tragedy), tragedy in general, and Aristophanic paratragedy. The last of these transcends Strattis' own career, providing a point of reference and influence for Strattis in his use of tragedy. It is with the direct tragic influences that this chapter is mainly concerned, but nonetheless we should remain aware of this threefold influence.

Strattis and tragedy

A starting point lies in one of the more assured observations about Strattis. Strattis used tragic versions of myths to underpin his comic plots. It is possible to identify a tragic model for part if not all of Strattis' *Phoinissai*, *Medeia*, and *Anthroporestes* that is also reflected in the titles of these plays and this is unparalleled in the corpus of non-Aristophanic Old Comedy. In all three cases it is more specifically Euripidean models which are apparent in Strattis' work. The Euripidean characters of Iokaste and Kreon appear respectively in Strattis' *Phoinissai* and *Medeia*, whose titles reflect the myths and tragedies in which they originally starred. The question then becomes how far did the relationship extend between Strattis' comic plays and

the tragic plays that he chose to associate with his comedies, since in both his *Phoinissai* and *Medeia* there are clear indications that any dramatic illusion that is set up by using these mythical characters and stories can be broken. In *Phoinissai* there is a long passage in which an Attic speaker mocks the dialect of the Thebans (fr. 49) with no explicit connection with Euripides' *Phoinissai* (although we and the audience know that Euripides' *Phoinissai* was set at Thebes). In Strattis' *Medeia* there is the mention of Deinias and Megallos who were real perfume manufacturers, while *Medeia* fr. 31 sees the mythical Kreon mentioned and mocked in a way that tragedy would not dream of.

This does set the tone for these comedies of Strattis as they contain a mixture of a tragic model and tragic characters. Yet it is not clear if the two plays are set in a fictional world similar to the real world of the audience (as occurs in Aristophanes' plays) or if these mythical and tragic characters appear within their mythical world of the play but with "visitors" from outside of the myth (as occurs in satyr-plays). This is also the case in Kratinos' *Dionysalexandros* where Dionysos is an interloper in the myth of the abduction of Paris.[266] *Dionysalexandros* also provides an earlier model parallel to Strattis' work in that a common myth is adapted into the format of Old Comedy. However, in Strattis there is an extra level because there is evidence that he does not just use myth, but specifically tragic myth, i.e. the version of a myth and the style of its presentation as found in tragedy. This also means that Strattis can draw on the actual performances of this tragedy and of tragedy in general, adopting its live action and capturing the facets of tragic performance in his comic play, as indeed he did with his jokes about the *mēkhanē* and Hegelokhos.

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[266] For the most recent discussions of the play, see Storey 2006:105-25; Bakola 2009 (forthcoming).

When mythical characters appear in the eleven extant Aristophanic comedies they are in specially created separate or mythical places outside of the city of Athens. For example, in *Peace* Trygaios meets gods after travelling from Athens to the sky and there he finds Peace whom he then takes back to earth. Similarly in *Birds* Peisetairos and Euelpides are travelling from Athens when they meet the tragic character Tereus. In *Frogs* Dionysos and Xanthias are already travelling to the Underworld as the play opens and on their way they meet Herakles. The other Aristophanic comedies (*Knights*, *Wasps*, *Clouds*, *Lysistrata*, *Thesmophoriazousai*, *Ekklesiazousai*) are situated on Athenian soil and there is no such divine involvement nor does a mythical figure appear.

It is apparent that Aristophanes chose not to pretend that mythical, divine or fictional tragic characters lived in Athens. Once found outside of the city, such figures could be brought back to it but they were not a part of the everyday Athenian world that Aristophanes created. Divine characters (such as Hermes in *Wealth*) could visit Athens but they were not depicted as living in the city. Therefore, Aristophanes is at pains to preserve a sense of realism for his plays, even amidst the strangest of stage characters (e.g. a flying, horse-sized dung beetle, a talking dog and a cheese-grater acting as trial witnesses). In the Aristophanic comic world, mythical, fictional tragic, and divine characters do not just appear in Athens; they have to be introduced. This rule need not hold for Strattis but it does indicate that comic poets could be very careful in how they introduced characters of the collective imagination onto the stage.

In the comic plays of Strattis mythical worlds cross over with fictional "real" worlds on the comic stage. This is suggested by Strattis' *Philoktetes* which contains no direct links to tragic versions of the myth, aside from the title (used by Aiskh. Soph. and Eur.). Instead, Strattis

Philoktetes fr. 45 mentions a trip to the *agora* and this indicates something from contemporary Greek culture appearing in the play. The same can be said for *Myrmidones*, *Khrysippos*, *Iphigeron, Lemnomeda, Troilos,* and *Atalantos* but these last two plays show signs of using tragedy (a tragic quotation and a *mēkhanē* joke respectively).

Of the plays included in this analysis the majority of Strattis' characters that are identifiable hold a connection to myth, tragedy and the performance of tragedy. Nearly all the titles of Strattis' comedies in this study refer to mythical figures, Kallippides the actor received an eponymous comedy (as did Kinesias the dithyrambic poet), the *arkhōn* spoke in *Anthroporestes* fr. 1 about his role in producing tragedies, Herakles appeared in Strattis' *Kallippides* (fr. 12), Dionysos starred in *Phoinissai* fr. 46 while a Euripidean Iokaste spoke in *Phoinissai* fr. 47 and 48 recalling lines from her appearance in Euripides' *Phoinissai*.

In using the gluttonous Herakles in his *Kallippides*, Strattis was drawing on a stock character of Old Comedy. It is unclear how innovative he was in the details of his portrayal of such a character but the inclusion of Herakles indicates Strattis was following lines of convention in Old Comedy. Ar. *Pe*. 741-3 (421 BC) notes that comic Herakles characters were old-hat, yet they clearly remained popular as Aristophanes uses one in his *Frogs* of 405 BC. The only other figures identifiable in these plays of Strattis are Lagiska and Isokrates, who are characterised in *Atalantos* (but not necessarily as stage characters). These are glimpses of the characters and their characterisation but no sign of characters such as Strepsiades and Dikaiopolis in Aristophanes has survived in Strattis' comedies.

***Phoinissai* in-depth**

Strattis' *Phoinissai* relies on Euripides' *Phoinissai* not only for its title, but also for its content; Strattis fr. 47 and 48 quote directly from the same tragedy but in each case this is undercut by a following comic line. Most importantly, the same character as in the Euripidean *Phoinissai* speaks these comic lines, namely Iokaste. An awareness of Euripidean tragedy means that it is possible to reconstruct a scene from Strattis' *Phoinissai* which recalls Eur. *Phoin*. 460 and 546 specifically and so the whole scene between Iokaste and her sons, Eteokles and Polyneikes, as she urges them to choose the path of reconciliation with each other, rather than that of war. By a remarkable coincidence, another version of this same tragic scene is recorded in *trag. adesp*. fr. 665, a papyrus text of the second or third century that contains thirty-four lines of almost continuous text. The passage covers a scene parallel to that of Eur. *Phoin*. 443-637 and it is during this very same passage that Strattis' *Phoinissai* fr. 47 and 48 take their two Euripidean quotations. The text of *trag. adesp*. fr. 665 does not provide verbatim quotations of Euripides' *Phoinissai*, but the similarities between the content are clear; Iokaste, Polyneikes and Eteokles all have speaking roles in fr. 665 as they discuss who will control Thebes. It is only unfortunate that the author and date of *trag. adesp*. 665 are unknown, which means that we can only speculate as to the relationship between this and Strattis' or Euripides' *Phoinissai*. It does, however, indicate the continuing popularity of the scene between Iokaste and her sons.

In Strattis' *Phoinissai* there is a combination of many of the features listed for Strattis' uses of tragedy: a link with Euripides via direct parody of a specific play, using the title and at least one of the characters (Iokaste) from Euripides' *Phoinissai*. The comedy contains features which indicate that it was more than a reworking of Euripides' *Phoinissai* by including a

mēkhanē joke in fr. 46. Euripides' *Phoinissai* had no *mēkhanē* scene with the timely arrival of a god or hero, even if it might be expected. Instead Strattis fr. 46 contains parody of a different Euripidean tragedy, his *Hypsipyle.* The purposeful construction of Strattis' *Phoinissai* around Euripidean tragedy is especially visible in this use of Euripides' *Hypsipyle* as this play concerns another part of the same Theban cycle from which Euripides created his own *Phoinissai* and the commentary on *Phoinissai* in Chapter 3 (p. 182), suggested that *Phoinissai* and *Hypsipyle* could have formed part of the same trilogy. Lastly the Theban setting provides the opportunity for jokes about Thebans in *Phoinissai* fr. 49 and there is the mention of the verb παρατραγῳδῆσαι in *Phoinissai* fr. 50. All of these fragments of Strattis' *Phoinissai* come from various ancient sources and give a picture of Strattis' comedy as devoted to tragedy, Euripidean tragedy and specifically Euripides' *Phoinissai*.

Therefore, Strattis undertakes an artful union of Euripidean myth and style of tragedy and represents it through a single comic play. This is reminiscent of Aristophanes' *Thesmophoriazousai* in its contrived form of presenting a barrage of Euripidean material to the audience (i.e. the plays, the poet and his style). Aristophanes chooses the appropriate tragedy to continue the comic plot, and Strattis fr. 46-9 indicates a similar activity, but with a notable focus on the Theban myth cycle and Strattis keeps a close link to the plot of Euripides' *Phoinissai* in fr. 47-48.

The mockery of Theban dialect in Strattis *Phoin*. fr. 49 bears no immediate relation to Euripides or tragedy. Instead, we see Strattis taking the opportunity to laugh at Athens' neighbour. The Thebans had fought against the Athenians in the Peloponnesian War, and this would not have been forgotten during the following decade which saw Athens and Thebes in

an alliance against Sparta. Above all, Thebes and Athens were neighbouring powers and therefore natural rivals regardless of the severity of that rivalry. In addition Euripides' *Phoinissai* was set at Thebes, which gives Strattis fr. 49 an added relevance within the context of parodying Euripides' *Phoinissai.* This also indicates that Euripides' *Phoinissai* did not dominate Strattis' comedy to the extent of making it merely a comic reworking of a tragedy.

In Strattis *Phoinissai* fr. 46, Dionysos does appear as a comic character on the *mēkhanē,* which suggests that Strattis was adapting the forms of tragic parody, as already found in Aristophanic comedy so as to produce a brand of comedy, to which Strattis' *Medeia* certainly belongs as well. Earlier appearances of Dionysos in Old Comedy also involve mythical parody/burlesque, most notably Kratinos' *Dionysalexandros*, a play which reflects Kratinos' style of comedy that uses mythical plots as the basis for comic ones. Strattis makes use of this practice which reaches back far into Old Comedy. However, in the case of Kratinos' *Dionysalexandros,* the mythical burlesque has an added political dimension in which the play mocked Perikles for his part in causing the Peloponnesian War.[267] Rosen discusses further Kratinos' attack on Perikles in his *Nemesis* and *Thraittai* and considers that "Kratinos was concerned with using the mythological burlesque for political attack"[268] and so Rosen sees the emphasis on the use of politics with myth providing an appropriate framework.

There is a comparable example in Eupolis' *Taxiarkhoi* which again uses Dionysos in a political comedy as he stars opposite a comic Phormion but this time without a mythical setting; the choice of Dionysos in *Dionysalexandros* and *Taxiarkhoi* by these comic poets

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[267] Recorded in the hypothesis of *Dionysalexandros*, *P. Oxy*. 663 line 45 (= *PCG* vol. IV, p. 140).

[268] Rosen 1988: 55. Cf. Storey 2006: 116-19 who plays down the element of political allegory in *Dionysalexandros,* and Heath 1990: 147 who notes that, "Cratinus' mythological burlesques did not always have a political target".

aims to make Dionysos into a political animal, as he is too in Aristophanes' *Fro*gs, albeit unwittingly. Dionysos again clashes with demagogues in Ar. *Babylonians* (fr. 75) when he is going to trial (ἐπὶ τὴν δίκην ἀπελθών) and misunderstands the request of some Athenian demagogues for two drinking cups as a request for two saucers, used for treating black eyes, no doubt expecting they will need the latter more than the former in their line of work (see *Iphigeron* fr. 3 on cupping glasses in comedy, Chapter 3, p. 143). There is also the title Aristophanes' *Dionysos Shipwrecked*[269] but the one fragment is not informative as to the role of Dionysos. Similarly the most information about Dionysos' role in Aristomenes' comedies, *Dionysos Asketes*, *Dionysos the Athlete,* comes from the titles.

This host of examples shows that Strattis was picking on a regular character of Old Comedy, by bringing Dionysos on-stage in his *Phoinissai,* as he did with the appearance of Herakles in his *Kallippides*. However, due to the lack of political material apparent in Strattis' plays, it is impossible to tell how his use of mythical burlesque and particularly his creation of another comic Dionysos compared with these other comic treatments of the god. Aristophanes in *Frogs* effectively demonstrates the dual characteristics of Dionysos, as an Athenian interested in both Athens' artistic and political scene. Equally the mixing of myth and politics was still alive among Strattis' contemporaries other than Aristophanes, as seen in Polyzelos' *Demotyndareos*. This is not only suggested in the title of this comedy, with its reference to the *dēmos* and the mythical Tyndareos, but also by the mention of Theramenes and Hyperbolos in the play (Polyzelos fr. 3 and 5 respectively).

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[269] *Vit. Ar*. test.1.159 (= *PCG* vol. III.2, p. 157) notes that some assign the play to Arkhippos.

Strattis, the *mēkhanē,* and other tragic jokes

The comedies of Strattis offer two examples of jokes on the *mēkhanē*, one with Dionysos quoting from Euripides' *Hypsipyle* (Strattis *Phoinissai* fr. 46) and one with an unknown speaker who is possibly Dionysos again (Strattis *Atalantos* fr. 4). In both cases a character expresses distress at being on the *mēkhanē*, a clear metatheatrical reference that exposes the stage character as merely a man dangling precariously above the audience. The humour of such scenes is heightened through knowledge that the *mēkhanē* was a piece of stage apparatus used in tragedies. Plato *Kratylos* 425d (c. 385 BC) talks of tragic poets using *mēkhanai* to lift up the gods to resolve difficult plots, which provides a source of evidence independent from comedy that assumes the use of *mēkhanē* in tragedies. This view is also expressed in Antiphanes *Poiesis* fr. 189.13-16 and Euripides' plays frequently end with just such an intervention by a divine character. This indicates that the *mēkhanē* was used for the kind of entrance that occurs in Strattis *Phoinissai* fr. 46.

Indeed jokes about the *mēkhanē* in comedy are both recurrent and formulaic; the speaker expresses distress and may address one of the stage hands, as in the two examples from Strattis. We can compare Ar. *Pe.* 174-6 where Trygaios takes his dung-beetle to heaven (in a parody of Euripides' *Bellerophon* which starred Pegasos, rather than a dung-beetle), Ar. *Daidalos* fr. 192: "o crane handler, whenever you wish to raise me aloft with the wheel, say, 'Hello light of the sun' " (transl. Csapo & Slater 1995: 269), and Ar. *Gerytades* fr. 160: "the crane operator should have turned the crane as quickly as possible". Ar. *Gerytades* is also a play steeped in tragedy, tragedians, and poetry more generally in fr. 156, 158, 161, 162, 175 (parodying Soph. *El.* 289), and fr. 178.

In all of these comic plays one or more tragedies has a role indicating that this was a standard joke to use when mocking the technical practicalities of performing tragedy. In tragedy both human heroes and divine characters can appear on the *mēkhanē*, such as Hermes in Euripides' *Antiope* or Perseus in Euripides' *Andromeda*. Comedy emulates tragedy in this, e.g. Trygaios at Ar. *Pe*. 154-79 echoing Bellerophon from Euripides' *Bellerophon*; Iris at Ar. *Bir*. 1199 who is described as flying; Strattis fr. 46 echoing Euripides' *Hypsipyle*. The *mēkhanē* was also possibly used at the end of Euripides' *Medeia* for Medeia, and for the Dioskouroi in Euripides' *Helen*. However, Sokrates' entrance in Aristophanes' *Clouds* via suspended wickerwork indicates its wider usage in comedy with a non-mythical character (cf. the use of the dung beetle in place of Pegasos in Ar. *Peace*). Sokrates' appearance in *Clouds* is the only instance of a comic character based on a real individual, the Athenian Sokrates, appearing on the *mēkhanē*.[270] Sokrates appears in a scene that evokes a mock-tragic tone, representing Sokrates as a pseudo-heroic figure – which is exactly what he turns out to be for Strepsiades.[271] Yet all of these examples involving the *mēkhanē* produce the same comic effect of bathos and ridicule of the individual suspended, and so result in an effect contrary to that intended for a tragic character on the *mēkhanē*.[272]

These examples of *mēkhanē* jokes either relate to a specific tragic prototype or evoke tragedy generally. The above evidence indicates the popularity of comic *mēkhanē* jokes involving Euripidean tragedies. Therefore, the association between Sokrates in *Clouds* and this tragic machinery is no coincidence, particularly in light of the evidence for Euripides' alleged collaboration with Sokrates (as discussed in Chapter 2, p. 110). The manner in which

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[270] Ambrosino 1984/5: 51-69 interprets ταρρός as a wickerwork cheese rack used for drying out cheeses rather than as simply a basket. This meaning of ταρρός better suits Sokrates in his wish to avoid the moisture of the ground and it is more comically preposterous as a device on the *mēkhanē* in comparison with its use in tragedy.

[271] Cf. other instances of tragic tone and speech at Ar. *Cl*. 1321 with Strepsiades' lament at his change of fortune.

[272] See Csapo & Slater 1995: 268-70 for ancient literary sources on the *mēkhanē*.

Euripides deployed the *mēkhanē* in his tragedies attracted the attention of comic dramatists and suggests that he was a pioneer in the use of the *mēkhanē,* though not necessarily the first tragedian to use it. These *mēkhanē* jokes also point to a different kind of interaction with tragedy from parody of a speaker's words and pronunciation. With the *mēkhanē* the visual element of tragedy is being scrutinised, its staging, presentation and the unfortunate comic effects that the use of the *mēkhanē* obviously entailed in tragedy.

Overall, the instances of jokes involving the *mēkhanē* imply a mockery of Euripidean drama specifically, rather than merely a joke at the expense of tragic conventions. In fact, it is notable that such errors in the actual performance of tragedies, as portrayed in comedy, do seem to depend on Euripidean productions; this holds in the case of the majority of extant *mēkhanē* jokes and in the jokes about Hegelokhos (found in Strattis fr. 1 and 63). *Anthroporestes* fr. 1 makes direct mention of Euripides' *Orestes*, but the joke is rather on Hegelokhos and his infamous pronunciation of the lines, and unfortunately for Euripides this occurred in his play; he is inextricably linked with the fault of his protagonist. In Strattis fr. 63 the speaker mentions neither poet nor performer but makes the same joke about Hegelokhos' pronunciation. These are all examples of conscious mockery of tragic convention and mannerisms.

Another form of Euripidean parody is found in Strattis fr. 71 which is part of a pastiche of Euripidean monodies, but which has features which recall the florid descriptions of everyday objects for which dithyramb is also satirised (see also the commentary, p. 214). Without knowledge of either which play fr. 71 belongs to, nor of its wider context, the purpose of the passage is unclear. Did it offer an attack on Euripides and his style of composition or rather

did it use Euripides' style to make successful comedy without necessarily wishing for a negative effect on Euripides' reputation? This is a problematic issue in Aristophanic scholarship as well and we shall return to it again elsewhere but Strattis fr. 71, Strattis' *Kallippides* and his *Kinesias* show that Strattis chose to mock innovation in the arts as seen in acting, dithyrambic poetry and Euripidean tragedy, although these scant references provide little evidence upon which to decide how serious a criticism Strattis presents. This interaction with the arts is a notable a feature of Strattis' work and mockery of innovation is common in Old Comedy where it argues against what it sees as needless and detrimental change.

So far Strattis has displayed through his comedies a working knowledge of tragedy which allows him to adapt what he saw in tragic productions to fulfil his aim of producing successful comic ones. Moreover, a particular interest in Euripidean tragedy is observable, as is clearly visible in Aristophanes' own comedies, and which recurs in other plays of Old Comedy (as discussed in Chapter 2, p. 110). Strattis' own knowledge of Euripidean plays must reflect a parallel level of knowledge in at least a portion of his theatre audience. In addition the majority of the spectators of tragedy were also potentially those of comedy which helps to explain why Strattis could fill a number of his plays with tragedy and tragic references. This was a popular trend in the late fifth century BC.

Euripides' *Phoinissai* informs our reading of Strattis' *Phoinissai.* It shows Strattis' devotion to tragedy and that he tries to capture a tragic performance, or multiple performances, on the comic stage and then manipulate these for his own ends. This is so effective because of the audience's level of knowledge of tragedy and therefore Strattis can take advantage of this shared familiarity in his audience to create comic action. This same effect is reflected in a

lesser degree in Strattis' *Medeia* and *Anthroporestes*.

Comedy can be at its most potent when it adopts the guise of the familiar and of views shared by the audience, but then chooses to take it in unforeseen directions. Although only fragmentary texts of these dramas survive it is worth emphasising that the comedies of Strattis which make use of tragedy, like those of Aristophanes, were not merely cases of text imitating text but rather of one art-form, comedy, imitating the reality of performance of another art-form, tragedy. These echoes of tragedy, which appear in comedy, can have a particular performance in mind (e.g. that of Hegelokhos) and so the comic poets create a direct connection between their work and the audience. This connection is vital for a successful performance of Old Comedy which draws endlessly from the world around it and which is based on other people's experiences of that world.

Tragic titles for comic ends?

Strattis' choice of titles and subject-matter indicate that he saw comic mileage in adaptations of certain tragic versions of already well-known myths. This is seen most clearly with Strattis' *Phoinissai*, *Medeia*, and *Anthroporestes* (on a metatheatrical level in *Anthroporestes* fr. 1). All three comedies reflect connections with their Euripidean counterparts, so that the comic titles could also serve as a marker to the audience, indicating that the tragedy referred to in the title had a role in the comic play. The fact that this pattern recurs three times in Strattis' work makes it all the more plausible that he was relying on audience knowledge about tragedy and their expectation of it in his comedies. This technique is also used by Aristophanes, whose *Aiolosikon* and *Phoinissai* invoke Euripides' *Aiolos* and *Phoinissai* respectively. Sommerstein

has argued convincingly for the reliability of comic titles at the time of performance and that they worked to intrigue their audience and this is certainly reflected in the plays of Strattis.[273] Therefore, it is worth turning again to the proliferation of mythical titles in Strattis' work because many of these also have tragic equivalents. Yet the different uses of tragedy apparent in *Phoinissai*, *Medeia,* and *Anthroporestes* warn against looking for a straightforward Strattidian model for adopting tragedy into comedy. It is rather a reminder of the ingenuity and inventiveness that comic poets employed in order to keep the audience on their side.

In the cases of Strattis' *Medeia* and *Atalantos,* Medeia was a popular character in tragedy and there are many comedies called *Medeia*.[274] Similarly, there is a rich tradition of plays connected with Atalante in comedy[275] and some in tragedy.[276] However, Strattis is alone in creating the comic perversion *Atalantos* from the name Atalante (cf. Aristophanes' *Niobos* from *Niobe*). Atalante did appear as a tragic character in Euripides' *Meleager* and her unfeminine characterisation may have been the cause of Strattis' title, *Atalantos* (as discussed in Chapter 3, p. 130). Strattis was treading on well-worn comic material in composing plays about Medeia and Atalante, but the title *Atalantos* indicates his claims to a certain amount of innovation.

The title of Euripides' *Phoinissai* is borrowed by both Strattis and Aristophanes while the myth of Polyneikes and Eteokles was popular in tragedy but not in comedy. Similarly *Philoktetes* is a popular tragic title.[277] However, the only known comedy is the *Philoktetes* of

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[273] Sommerstein 2002: 12-15.
[274] Sophokles' *Kolkhides*, *Skythiai*, *Aigeus*, and *Rhizotomoi*, Euripides' *Peliades* (455 BC), *Aigeus*, and *Medeia* (431 BC, extant). In comedy: *Medeia* plays were composed by Kantharos, and Antiphanes, and from Sicily and South Italy, by Epikharmos and Deinolokhos (fifth century BC).
[275] Kallias' *Atalantai,* Philetairos' *Atalante, Meleager, Kunagis,* Euthykles' *Atalante* and Philyllios' *Atalante* (only title).
[276] Aiskhylos' and Aristias' *Atalante,* and Euripides' *Meleager.*
[277] Aiskhylos, Euripides, Sophokles (x2), Philokles, Akhaios and Theodektes (fourth century BC).

Epikharmos (early fifth-century Italian dramatist). Therefore, in this case Strattis would have plenty of tragic dramatic material to draw on for his play, but not any comic.

In the case of Strattis' *Khrysippos* (referring to the myth involving Khrysippos' abduction by Laios) the only known tragic *Khrysippos* is by Euripides. There is no evidence for any other plays based on this myth,[278] and so again Strattis had a myth that he could freshly adapt for the comic stage. Strattis' *Myrmidones* appears to offer a similar case to *Khrysippos*, in that only Aiskhylos composed a tragedy called *Myrmidones*. This tragedy is parodied and mentioned in Aristophanes' work,[279] but Strattis was perhaps the first to devote a comedy to *Myrmidones*.

The tragedies called *Philoktetes* and *Myrmidones* both concern different parts of the Trojan cycle and in addition there is Strattis' *Troilos*. The only eponymous tragedy in relation to this is Sophokles' *Troilos*, which also relates to the Trojan cycle. Equally there are no other comic *Troilos* plays known, as was the case with Strattis' *Khrysippos*. Strattis chooses a mixture, both of myths with little tradition in the tragic or comic theatre as well as those which are better known and have a long tradition in Attic theatres (e.g. *Phoinissai, Philoktetes* and *Medeia*). The tragedies *Myrmidones*, *Meleager* and *Medeia* date before Strattis' career but are all used by other comedians contemporary with Strattis.[280]

Myths concerning the Trojan Cycle are well represented in tragedy but it is interesting that specifically tragedies of the Trojan myths provide the basis for three of Strattis' comedies (*Philoktetes*, *Myrmidones*, and *Troilos*). Indeed Pearson's work on Sophoklean fragments

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[278] It is unlikely that Aiskhylos' *Laios* involved Khrysippos since fr. 122 describes a baby exposed in a pot.
[279] Ar. *Bir*. 807-8 from Aiskh. *Myrmidones* fr. 139; Ar. *Fro*. 992 from *Myrmidones* fr. 131; Ar. *Fro*. 1264-5 from *Myrmidones* fr. 132; Ar. *Ekkl*. 392-3 from *Myrmidones* fr. 138.
[280] For *Myrmidones* see footnote 255 above; *Meleager* in Ar. *Bir*. 829-31, *Fro*. 1238-40, 1316; *Medeia* in Ar. *Pe*. 629; *Bir*. 1175; *Thesm*. 1130; Platon *Eortai* fr. 29 (on which see Chapter 2, p. 78).

discusses Sophokles' particular interest in Trojan myth and Sophokles wrote both a *Philoktetes* and a *Troilos*.[281] It is not therefore implausible to see Strattis' use of these two plays as some form of comment on Sophokles' own taste for Trojan myth.

Strattis' *Anthroporestes* and *Iphigeron* both suggest a relation to the peripheries of myths set at Troy and to the numerous tragedies concerning Iphigeneia[282] and Orestes,[283] the children of Agamemnon. The mention of Euripides' *Orestes* in *Anthroporestes* makes the link explicit. There are no Old comic plays called *Iphigeneia* or *Orestes* and only one play with title based on a derivative of *Orestes* (the *Orestautokleides* of Timokles) but this dates to the third quarter of the fourth century, long after Strattis' *Anthroporestes*.

Lastly there is the *Lemnomeda* of Strattis which is unique in suggesting a mixture of two separate mythical sources: the Lemnian women and Andromeda. Therefore, potential tragic sources include: Euripides' *Andromeda*, (which features in an episode in Ar. *Thesm*.), Euripides' *Hypsipyle,* Sophokles' *Lemnian Women*, Aiskhylos' *Lemnian Women/Men*, *Hypsipyle*, *Kabeiroi*, and *Rowers/Argo*. For all the comedies of Strattis with hybrid titles, the myths to which they can be related were popular subjects for tragic plays (*Iphigeron*, *Atalantos*, *Anthroporestes, Lemnomeda*). This does not prove that Strattis used parody of these tragedies to create his comedies, but the above list of tragedies indicates how common these myths were for public performance, and therefore that they were ones which Strattis could rely on his audience knowing well, even in their disguised hybrid format.

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[281] Pearson 1917b: xxiii; xxxi.

[282] Eur. *I.A.* and *I.T.* as well as Soph. *Iphigeneia* (fr. 305 of which sees Odysseus address Klytaimnestra about Akhilleus), and Aiskh. *Iphigeneia* for which only one fragment survives. Aiskh. *Ag.* 1417 records Iphigeneia's fate to be sacrificed for the sake of the Trojan fleet and the episode is also described in Sophokles' and Euripides' respective *Elektra* plays (Soph. *El.* 530-46; Eur. *El.* 1020-9).

[283] Particularly Aiskhylos' *Eumenides* Euripides' and Sophokles' *Elektra,* and Euripides' *Orestes*.

The above summary shows the strong correlation between titles of Euripidean plays and those of Strattis, when compared with the titles of other tragedians. In the cases of Strattis' *Phoinissai, Medeia,* and *Anthroporestes* the comedies contain parody of the Euripidean tragedies of the same name whereas the only eponymous dramatic model for Strattis' *Khrysippos* is Euripides' *Khrysippos*. As Euripides was a contemporary of Strattis' early career, this is not in itself surprising and in addition we can recall Aristophanes' own taste for Euripidean dramatics. Sophokles, another contemporary of Strattis, produced two plays which present potential models for Strattis' *Troilos* and *Philoktetes*. The Sophoklean *Philoktetes* was produced in 409 BC but there is no date for Strattis' *Philoktetes* so that a link is not certain (this is discussed under Strattis *Philoktetes* fr. 44 in Chapter 3, p. 179). The other plays entitled *Philoktetes* by Euripides and Aiskhylos make it impossible to know if Strattis was drawing on any particular *Philoktetes* tragedy, or if he picked Philoktetes, exactly because the three tragedians had all written a *Philoktetes*. However, it is plausible to argue that the recent production of *Philoktetes* by Sophokles is what inspired Strattis to reproduce some form of it. This is certainly the case for his comic *Phoinissai*.

It is clear that none of Strattis' titles lacks a potential tragic model since tragic dramatists manipulated so many myths for their own purposes. Yet this is the point; tragedians foraged among the rich sources of myth to form their dramatic productions and this is the main identifying feature of tragedy (with notable exceptions in Phrynikhos' *Sack of Miletos* and *Phoinissai* and Aiskhylos' *Persai* that all drew upon events within living memory). If Old Comedy chooses to cover a mythical subject of this type, it is nearly always drawing from an example set by tragedy and therefore comedians can choose to use that tragic myth as well. The audience of the Dionysia saw tragedies every year which presented myths, and so when

comedies chose to do the same they were copying their sister art, as Old Comedy so often did.

This has important implications for understanding how plays would be viewed and for how the audience could approach these plays. The festival audience developed a knowledge of a range of tragedies and specific versions of tragedies when they came to observe the comedies of Strattis. The audience need not be aware which particular tragedy is being parodied, except where it is made explicit, as occurs in the use of Eur. *Helen* and *Andromeda* in Ar. *Thesm*.[284] This does not detract from the general entertainment of the piece, particularly as the comic actors could use voice, silence or pauses, timing, gesture, props, music and costume to indicate that they were imitating a tragedy.[285] A number of Strattis' plays make explicit in their title that a link to tragedies can be expected in the plays. This suggests firstly that tragedy was a popular subject for Strattis to use, and secondly that it was successful or else Strattis as well as Aristophanes would not have devoted so much of their time to pursuing it as a comic theme for their plays.

Hybrid titles

The previous sections have established where tragic parody and usage is apparent in the fragments of Strattis, and where titles of his plays can be linked to tragedies and so to specific tellings of a myth or myth-set. However, the works of Strattis also contain a unique set of play titles formed from invented mythical hybrid nouns. There is a trend in Strattis' work for plays

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[284] In fact, the *Telephos* parody in *Thesmophoriazousai* is only revealed in the altar scene with Euripides' relative and the "baby" wine-skin but once we recognise the tragic basis for the comic scene, we see how the preceding comic action has led up effortlessly to a *Telephos* parody; the relative was disguised, threatened, made a defence speech and then resorted to hostage-taking in parallel with King Telephos' own actions in Euripides' play.

[285] Dover 1972: 188-9 argues convincingly that the audience's ignorance of the specifics of a tragedy need not detract from their enjoyment of tragic parody. Of tragedy he says, "It was part of the life of the community".

concerned with individuals: *Kinesias*, *Pausanias*, and *Kallippides* but this also includes the group of hybrid titles which all refer to mythical individuals: *Anthroporestes, Iphigeron, Atalantos,* and lastly *Lemnomeda*. These titles are each formed from two concepts, which overlap syntactically to make one word. With the exception of *Lemnomeda*, the play titles can be split so that half is instantly recognisable as a mythical and tragic model while the other half defies interpretation: Atalante and Iphigeneia as men? Moreover, Iphigeneia as an old man? And what to make of Orestes as a human, when of course he is one (some possibilities are discussed in the commentary in Chapter 3, p. 118). There is assonance of *Lemnomeda* with Andromeda, as well as a visual similarity of the letters, compare: ΛΗΜΝΜΕΔΑ with ΑΝΔΡΟΜΕΔΑ, but what does it mean to mix Lemnian women with Andromeda? Taken together these titles present a collection of mythical characters with a distorted identity. They would perplex even those audience members who were most knowledgeable about myth and so the titles encourage discussion and debate even before the play has received a full staging. The novelty of these titles sees Strattis offering to reinvent myths, already well-worn on the comic and/or tragic stage, and to present them in a new form.

Other mythical hybrid titles include Pherekrates' *Anthropherakles* and *Pseudherakles*, which were noted in commentary in Chapter 3 (p. 117) for their similarity to Strattis' title *Anthroporestes*. The number of play titles known for Pherekrates is similar to that for Strattis and they include two other compound titles: *Myrmekanthropoi* (in a mythical retelling of the Deukalion flood with men as ants) and *Doulodidaskalos,* indicating a preference on his part for such compound titles. Polyzelos' *Demotyndareos* is a notable case of a hybrid title involving the mythical figure of Tyndareos used in a more political play than we find in Strattis' work. Another case of a mythical hybrid title is Menekrates' *Manektor* for which

Meineke[286] saw that the first half of the title refers to the name Manes. Manes is a Phrygian or

Paphlagonian name[287] which would be appropriate for Hektor whereas for Athenians, Manes

would also mean a slave's name.[288]

The recurrence of hybrid titles in Strattis hints at a feature of his own style of comic

composition. The recurrence of these titles among his plays suggests that he developed a type

of comic formula to work in his plays, involving a particular character type, or even a stock

character, which combined the audience's familiarity with a myth and specific mythical

character with an unexpected twist (such as we see in Kratinos' play *Dionysalexandros*

through its title and subject-matter). There are examples of just such a disjunction already

observable in the fragments of Strattis' *Phoinissai* and *Medeia* where tragic characters appear

in comic contexts. In terms of a poet's individual style, we can compare the visible preference

in the works of Polyzelos and Philiskos, for θεῶν γοναί plays. As Nesselrath points out,[289]

even though we have very few fragments for these two comic poets,[290] their works still have

the highest number of such plays between them.

The hybrid titles which Strattis uses are in themselves a distinct feature of his work in that

they mix myths, change genders of mythical characters and potentially borrow titles directly

from specific tragic versions of a myth. This is indeed the case with Aristophanes' *Aiolosikon*

where the hybrid title not only links to the mythical Aiolos but more specifically to the

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[286] Meineke 1839 I. 493 = *PCG* vol. VII, p. 1.
[287] As stated by Strabo 7.304 and 12.553.
[288] E.g. Diogenes the cynic had a slave Manes; at Ar. *Bir*. 1311 Peisetairos addresses a slave as Manes.
[289] Nesselrath 1995: 14.
[290] For Polyzelos we have 13 fragments and 5 play titles, for Philiskos 8 or 10 titles (depending on whether *Artemis and Apollo gonai* and *Hermes and Aphrodite gonai* are two or four *gonai* plays) and only 3 or 4 fragments. He is not mentioned once in Athen. *Deipn*. which in part explains our lack of fragments for his plays.

Euripidean play *Aiolos*.[291] The title of the comedy links with a specific tragedy while providing an intriguing hybrid form which indicates that the comedy goes beyond the tragic version of the myth, as indeed was the case for Strattis' *Anthroporestes* which could also refer to someone impersonating Orestes or being mistaken for him. In addition there is one example where a mythical hybrid word links to costume changing and on-stage disguise at Ar. *Fro*. 499 as Xanthias dons the Herakles-costume belonging to Dionysos, while referring to himself as ὁ ῾Ηρακλειοξανθίας. In this we see a stage character dressing in the costume of another and noting the fact with the use of a compound name. This scene in *Frogs* may be a reference to other plays that involved cross-characterisation. There is a clear link between hybrid nouns and changes of costume and/or use of disguise. Our most frequently cited example of this is Kratinos' *Dionysalexandros* in which Dionysos plays the role of Paris, but additionally at one point is reduced to disguising himself as a sheep (see Strattis fr. 66 on Zeus Ammon disguised in a sheepskin in Chapter 3, p. 211).

A mythical hybrid character also occurs on-stage in Ar. *Thesm*. where Euripides' relative disguises himself as a woman but ends up actually performing the parts of the Euripidean heroines, Andromeda and Helen, inadvertently duplicating the role of a male actor. All actors were men and in its dealings with tragedy, Old Comedy tends to dwell on the points of dramatic effect which tragedy would wish to cover over. It is possible that Strattis used some form of Euripidean *Andromeda* parody in his *Lemnomeda* and the gender confusions of Strattis' *Atalantos* and *Iphigeron* suggest the use of disguise and even gender disguise; either male actors playing female heroines who are disguised as men (e.g. the chorus of Ar. *Ekkl*.), or male protagonists disguised as mythical heroines (e.g. Euripides' relative in Ar. *Thesm*.).

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[291] On the two *Aiolosikon* plays see footnote 242 above. Cf. *Clouds* I and II as an example of rewriting the same play and *Thesm*. I & II. that are two separate but similar plays.

Strattis and female characters

The myths and tragedies which Strattis chooses often involve female characters in leading roles (*Atalantos*, *Iphigeron*, *Medeia*, *Phoinissai*, and *Lemnomeda*). The audience's attraction to such female characters can be judged by the centrality of female characters in tragedies throughout the fifth century BC and this prominence in itself makes them worthy of comic adaptation. The tragic stage allowed for the public appearance of these female characters, whose power of emotive expression could be very striking. See for example, Chong-Gossard's recent examination of tragic female song, in which he notes that "singing is very much a female prerogative, and most monodies in extant tragedy are sung by female characters".[292] This draws attention to the expressive qualities of tragic female characters, whose prominence could attract a comic poet's prowling eye (as seen in Ar. *Thesm*. with parody of Euripides' *Andromeda* and *Helen*). The titles and contents of Strattis' comedies make use of mythical females who are found in tragedy. These offer different tragic models open to comic reinterpretation.

These Euripidean characters can be strong, independent-minded women as found in Euripides' *Medeia, Phoinissai*, and *Meleager* (in which Atalante appears; see the commentary in Chapter 3, p. 130 on Strattis' *Atalantos*). Iokaste in Euripides' *Phoinissai* is a resilient character, if ineffective in preventing war between her children. Her role is both domestic and political as family counsellor and failed reconciler of warring parties. On the other hand the Euripidean characters Medeia and Atalante act against the female stereotype of obedient figure of the home (be that as a mother or bride). The Medeia of Euripides destroys her family

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[292] Chong-Gossard 2003: 212. This topic is now the subject of his new book: *Gender and Communication in Euripides' Plays. Between Song and Silence* (2008, Leiden).

rather than nurturing it, while the Euripidean Atalante expresses no interest in homely duties through her love of hunting, a masculine occupation.

There is a separate group of Euripidean females, who also show strength and resilience but are all women requiring rescue. These occur in Euripides' *Andromeda*, *Hypsipyle, Iphigeneia in Aulis, Iphigeneia in Tauris*. Their strength is exhibited through their femininity and in contrast to Atalante and Medeia they do not kill or fight their families in the tragedies (Hypsipyle had refused to kill her father Thoas, while Iphigeneia in *I.T*., who was forced to perform human sacrifices, is rescued from this by the arrival of Orestes). The love and rescue motif of the Andromeda myth occurs in tragedy and is common in comedy, in a play by Phrynikhos, Kratinos' *Seriphioi,* and Ar. *Thesm.* These are discussed in Chapter 2 (p. 103), together with another rescue myth involving Hesione which occurs in Arkhippos' *Ikhthues* as Melanthios the gourmand and tragedian takes on the role of the unfortunate Hesione. Although Sophokles wrote an *Andromeda* too, it is Euripides' *Andromeda* that Aristophanes parodies and perhaps Strattis did the same in his *Lemnomeda*.

Love plots

The majority of female figures mentioned above are partly defined by the men who desire or once desired them (Medeia and Iason, Hypsipyle and Iason, Andromeda and Perseus, Atalante and Meleager). Notably too there are Euripidean models for all of these figures that Strattis could use and in the case of Euripides' *Meleager* there is consensus among scholars that Euripides introduced the element of love between Meleager and Atalante.[293] Euripidean

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[293] Cropp & Collard 2008: 614 hold this view; Jouan & Van Looy 2000: 407 claim that most scholars agree on this point.

heroines in love is a theme exploited in Ar. *Thesm.* and plausibly one that Strattis too used, as his choice of myths indicates.

Strattis' titles *Myrmidones*, *Khrysippos* and *Troilos* provide a parallel theme of homosexual love and/or desire which is visible in the eponymous tragedies. In the Khrysippos and Troilos myths, the death of a young boy is brought about by an older man. Aiskhylos' *Myrmidones* concerned Akhilleus' love for, and loss of, Patroklos.[294] Euripides' *Khrysippos* provides the only tragic version of Laios' desire for the boy Khrysippos who commits suicide in most versions. Euripides' *Khrysippos* receives ancient notoriety for its depiction of homosexual desire of Laios for Khrysippos (see the commentary on *Khrysippos* in Chapter 3, p. 202). Lastly, Sophokles' *Troilos* concerns Akhilleus killing the Trojan prince, Troilos, and while it is not certain if it contained the version in which Akhilleus fell in love with Troilos, there is clearly an erotic undertone to the idea of a beautiful boy being killed by an older man, as is evident in the case of Khrysippos. These myths are all depicted infrequently in tragedy and Strattis' comedies share the title of their tragic predecessors. Strattis here chooses a theme for his comedies that is not purely Euripidean.

Aiskhylos' *Myrmidones* was noted for its love story in Pl. *Symp*. 180a for conflicting with the Homeric account of Akhilleus. Later sources focus specifically on Akhilleus' passionate *thrēnos* to the dead Patroklos (Lucian's *Amores,* Plutarch's *Eroticus* and Athen. *Deipn*. 13.602e). Indeed Ovid (*Trist*. 2.409-12) can remark some five hundred years later, while discussing love stories in tragedy, that one tragedy involved an "Achillem mollem" with "obscenos risus" and "praeteriti verba pudoris" but that the tragedian did not risk destroying

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[294] See Aiskh. *Myrmidones* fr. 134a-137.

his career by creating such a character (let alone facing banishment).[295] This "tender Akhilleus" has obvious links to Akhilleus as a figure of homosexual love, as occurs in Sophokles' *Lovers of Akhilleus,* a satyr play, where Akhilleus is the younger *eromenos*. Michelakis follows Krumeich et al. in considering that the lovers are the chorus of satyrs and that homosexual desire and education were interrelated themes in the play since Akhilleus' mentor, Phoinix and father, Peleus both have a role.[296]

Michelakis discusses Akhilleus' depiction in Aiskhylos' *Myrmidones* and later he is willing to consider Strattis' *Myrmidones* as a burlesque of the tragedy.[297] He even suggests that the plot would lend itself to comedy, because in Aiskhylos' *Myrmidones* an antagonism develops between the Akhaians and the protagonist, Akhilleus (Akhilleus fears being stoned in fr. 132c). Michelakis draws a parallel with Aristophanic comedy where chorus and protagonist are at odds (e.g. *Akharnians* and the chorus vs. Dikaiopolis) so that Strattis would also have comic mileage in this clash between characters in the play. This remains a plausible suggestion, but there is no evidence to support Michelakis' conjectures in the fragments of Strattis.

Assuming that Strattis' *Troilos* involved the versions of the myth where Akhilleus falls in love with Troilos, then Strattis twice draws upon myth where the mighty figure of Akhilleus is in love, a theme already noted as recurrent in tragedy and satyr plays. Indeed it suits the emotional character of Akhilleus, whose passionate nature is the hallmark of his depiction in the *Iliad* although there is no hint of the lustful Akhilleus in Homer's epic.

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[295] "Est et in obscenos commixta tragoedia risus, / multaque praeteriti uerba pudoris habet. / Nec nocet auctori, mollem qui fecit Achillem, / infregisse suis fortia facta modis".
[296] Krumeich et al. 1999: 227-35; Michelakis 2002: 172.
[297] Michelakis 2002: 22-57; 120.

Myths and tragedies that involve homosexual desire are clearly present in Strattis' work, but it is not at all evident how they would be subject to mockery. When Aristophanes brings up Aiskhylos' *Myrmidones*, he does not focus on this aspect of the tragedy; yet the status of homosexual relations remained a subject for public debate, as Aiskhines' *Against Timarkhos* indicates by drawing upon poetry (especially sections 133, 139-50) to differentiate between socially acceptable and disreputable homosexual relations.[298] Comedy too could have had its own take on this subject and in the case of Strattis this was brought out through his interest in tragedy.

Strattis and Middle Comedy

Given the importance of myth and tragedy to Strattis' work, it is worth placing this in the context of developments in comic drama. Strattis' career falls in the late fifth and early fourth centuries BC (see Appendix 1) and so it precedes what is termed Middle Comedy, a period which Nesselrath dates to 380-350 BC and which he characterises by an increase in mythical parodies and a decrease in political comedy.[299] Nesselrath uses the titles of comedies to show that there is a high proportion of plays with titles on a mythical subject matter in 388 BC but not in e.g. 405 BC or much later in 311 BC. Similarly Bowie[300] considers that from the time of Kratinos down to the late fifth century BC there was an increase in the use of mythological models for Old Comedies (26-47%). This is based only on a survey of the titles of Old Comedy which reflect the number of plots based on the myth identified in the title. Bowie believes this increase is due in part to tragedy and its adoption into comedy which resulted in

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[298] See the commentary on Strattis fr. 55 in Chapter 3, p. 206. For extensive listings of ancient sources on homosexuality see Hubbard 2003 *Homosexuality in Greece and Rome: A Sourcebook of Basic Documents*. Chapters 1-5 cover pre-Hellenistic source material.
[299] Nesselrath 1990: 188-91.
[300] Bowie 2000: 319-322.

a development in comic plots, and the evidence for Strattis' comedies fits this model.

Mythical parody is readily apparent in fifth-century Old Comedy and Nesselrath calculates that out of "die Drei Grossen der Alten Komödie" Kratinos and Aristophanes both have a sizeable proportion of their titles which indicate mythical parodies therein (a third and quarter of their respective works).[301] One example of this is Kratinos' *Odysses* which involves parody of the Homeric version of Odysseus and the Cyclops and parodies the use of hexameters. Platonios mistakenly thought that this play and Aristophanes' *Aiolosikon* were examples of Middle Comedy but the error does point to an ancient understanding that the development of Old Comedy involved the increased adaptation of myths.[302] The use of myth-parody is a feature concurrent between the two periods of Old and Middle Comedy and indicates a development in comedy during the fourth century BC regardless of whether the label of Middle Comedy existed as an ancient form or is accepted by scholars today.

However, Nesselrath sees a difference between the use of mythological parodies by Old comic poets and those of Middle Comedy proper in that Middle Comedy rationalised the myths to a greater degree, adopting them more fully into their comic plays without the inclusion of political satire.[303] Nesselrath's definition of Middle Comedy is as much about linking forward to New Comedy as it is a move away from Old Comedy. This point recurs in his work on *gonai* plays, which he considers "probably represented the most homogeneous group within the multi-faceted field of mythological comedy".[304] He views the theme of illegitimately conceived children in these plays as looking forward to the plots of Menandrian

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[301] Nesselrath 1990: 204. For Aristophanes he cites: *Aiolosikon, Daidalos, Danaides, Dramata* or *Kentauros, Dramata* or *Niobos, Kokalos, Lemniai, Polyidos* and *Phoinissai*.
[302] Platon. *Diff. com.* 13 p. 3 Kost. = *PCG* vol. III.2, p. 33-4.
[303] Nesselrath 1990: 240, 336.
[304] Nesselrath 1995: 9.

comedies, where the characters are Athenian humans rather than gods. This division between mythological parodies in Old and Middle Comedy is hard to support given the evidence of Strattis' plays. For example his *Phoinissai* (fr. 47-49) indicates a clear attempt to rationalise tragic myth into comic material. Yet it is an intriguing idea that there is a connection between the recurrence of mythical titles which recall tragedies in Strattis and his contemporaries in the early fourth century and the later recurrence of tragic models without their mythical names in Menandrian plays.

In an attempt to distinguish types of mythological burlesque, Arnott creates two categories: "travesty of a myth, with or without political innuendo, and parody of tragic (especially Euripidean) versions".[305] Nesselrath's analysis of *gonai* plays fits Arnott's "travesty of myth" categorisation while Strattis' plays suit the second group. The interaction of Strattis' comedies with tragic adaptations of myth and his interest in how these adaptations affected an audience hint at the breadth of Arnott's second category.

Rosen has considered the plays of Platon in light of labels such as Middle Comedy and mythical parody and notes features which Platon has in common with ideas of Middle Comedy. He disagrees with Nesselrath's view that there is such a clear divide between mythical burlesque in Old Comedy and that of the fourth century BC, and prefers the idea of progressive, developing comedy.[306] This can be seen to sit more easily alongside our findings for Strattis as his comedies, like Platon's, stretch from Aristophanes' career and beyond it.

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[305] Arnott 1996: 370.
[306] Rosen 1995: 123, 127, 136.

The high number of Strattis' plays with mythological and tragi-mythological models is remarkable, particularly when we compare this with Aristophanes' comedies in Chapter 5. Strattis' frequent use of mythological and tragic play titles binds him to the development of comedy that Nesselrath labels as Middle Comedy. Indeed Nesselrath's own point about a critic called Evanthius of Late Antiquity,[307] who named the period between Old and New Comedy as "satyra", and which Nesselrath suggests is related to the high number of Middle comedies which deal with mythical travesty, is also suited to describe the period of Strattis and his contemporaries in the twenty or so years before it is possible to attempt to define a form of comedy distinctive from Old Comedy.

The influence of tragedy: beyond the fifth century

We have examined Strattis' work in light of tragedies written in the fifth century BC noting that Strattis engages with the works of Euripides, Sophokles, and Aiskhylos. However, Strattis continued writing into the early fourth century BC and it is perfectly reasonable to wonder what other tragic plays were being performed alongside these later comedies of Strattis and whether he was influenced by, or in turn bestowed influence upon, them. After all, performances of tragedy did not stop in 405 BC with the deaths of Sophokles and Euripides. Yet the evidence for tragedy in the early decades of the fourth century BC is minimal. After the deaths of Sophokles and Euripides, their children and younger relatives presented plays posthumously at the very end of the fifth century as had earlier been the case with Aristias, son of Pratinas and Euphorion, son of Aiskhylos.[308]

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[307] Nesselrath 1990: 43; Evanthius p. 124, 58; Evanthius describes satyra as "genus comoediae" (p. 124, 62).
[308] Aristias produced a play in 467 BC, as recorded in hypothesis of Aiskhylos' *Seven Against Thebes*.

Most important however, is the issue of re-performance of tragedies which officially began in 386 BC as a part of the Dionysia festival,[309] at a time toward the end of our tentative dating of Strattis' career (see Appendix 1). However, there is earlier evidence for re-performance of tragedy, in an apparently official declaration by the Athenians allowing for the posthumous re-performance of Aiskhylean drama as recorded in *Vita Aeschyli*: Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ τοσοῦτον ἠγάπησαν Αἰσχύλον ὡς ψηφίσασθαι μετὰ τὸν θάνατον αὐτοῦ τὸν βουλόμενον διδάσκειν τὰ Αἰσχύλου χορὸν λαμβάνειν. Similar citations also appear in Philostratos, *Vita Apollonii* 6.11, and Quintilian 10.1.66.[310] Brockmann provides an enticing argument for a re-performance of Aiskhylos' *Persai* shortly before Aristophanes' *Akharnians,* which would provide further evidence for his thesis that for Aristophanes and the purposes of his comedies, politics and tragedy go hand in hand.[311]

Prior to this, Easterling[312] had already considered the sources indicating that re-performance of Aiskhylean drama would not be a one-off event, and that other tragedies could also be reproduced in *deme* theatres which were rising in number during the late fifth century BC, e.g. at Thorikos, Ikarion, and Rhamnous.[313] It is simply implausible that Aristophanes, prior to composing his *Frogs,* had seen no performances of Aiskhylos' plays before he constructed a parody of both the poet and his work. Aiskhylos was renowned enough when alive that Aristophanes could find out much about him by rumours, stories, and recitals at parties, but in order to depict Aiskhylean tragedy, the performances of his plays were paramount.

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[309] *IG* II² 2318, 201 established in the archonship of Theodotos: ΕΠΙ ΘΕΟΔΟΤΟΥ / ΠΑΛΑΙΟΝ ΔΡΑΜΑ ΠΡΩΤΟ [Ν] / ΠΑΡΕΔΙΔΑΞΑΝ ΟΙ ΤΡΑΓ [ΩΙΔΟΙ

[310] Brockmann 2003: 19-26 analyses the sources and their worth. See the *Vita Aeschyli* in *TrGF* vol. 3, T.1.12.

[311] Brockmann 2003: Vorwort xii; Marshall 2001: 62 considered the implications for re-staging the *Oresteia*; most recently Lech 2008: 661-4 has examined the possible dates for revivals of *Seven Against Thebes*.

[312] Easterling 1993: 564.

[313] Rehm 1992: 39 counts fourteen *deme* theatres out of the 139 *demes* identified in Attika.

Fifth-century Athens was mainly an oral culture, and this is the key to understanding how particularly drama and popular tragedies could become disseminated among the Attic population. Hunter and Lewis have each drawn attention to the role of gossip in Athens, particularly popular at the barbers and perfumeries[314] for transmission of information, while Mastromarco[315] has recently noted the numerous instances for Athenians engaging with tragedies after their original performances via recitals at symposia, learning phrases for personal effect and social standing, attending re-performances, and having a greater mental capacity for recalling lines. The musical features of tragedy make this easier, i.e. the rhythm and metre accompanied by a particular tune, but also visual aids including memorable gestures and costume, as well as the few individuals with access to actual texts to read. In addition Mastromarco could have cited Macleod's observation that in Aristophanes' *Akharnians* the rags of various tragic roles not only act as identity markers for specific plays, but are represented as if they were papyri rolls owned by the playwright Euripides, which indicate that texts were available and it acts as a symbol of the high intellectuality displayed in Euripidean tragedies.[316]

When we turn to the career of Strattis, and consider which tragedies influenced him and how, re-performance again becomes a central issue. Re-performance was a way for the younger generation of poets, such as Aristophanes and Strattis to experience earlier plays or to recall plays that they may have already seen years ago e.g. Aiskhylos' *Myrmidones*, or Euripides' *Medeia* (431 BC). Such plays, viewed in retrospect and through re-performance, would have a different effect on a spectator than the production of an entirely new and unknown play. Strattis, in all likelihood, would have watched the original performances of Euripides' and

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[314] Hunter 1990: 302; Lewis 1996: 14-19 and cf. Vlassopoulos 2007: 33-52 on political gossip in the agora.
[315] Mastromarco 2006: 137-91.
[316] Macleod 1983: 47-8.

Sophokles' work, such as say Sophokles' *Troilos* and *Philoktetes* or Euripides' *Medeia, Orestes*, *I.A.*, *I.T.*, and *Phoinissai*. In addition the increase in the number of *deme* theatres points to a higher rate of exposure of Athenians to tragedy throughout the year, much to Plato's frustration, who complains of theatre-mad individuals, touring all the festivals so as not to miss a tragedy.[317] This high density of tragedy makes it a worthwhile topic for Old Comedy and lucrative material for comic satire precisely because it would be a common subject about which many Athenians were aware.

It is within this context that Strattis' comedies were being composed and performed; he was present for the final years and original performances of Sophokles' and Euripides' tragedies, and he could attend re-performances of tragedies as well. Therefore, Strattis was composing comedy during a period of change within tragedy; by 404 BC, the poets Sophokles and Euripides were dead, but their plays could continue to entertain audiences. This was made possible through re-performances, but also in the works of Strattis that could keep alive the interest in these tragedies. There is also an argument for nostalgia on the part of an Athenian audience for the time before Athens' defeat by Sparta and her allies in the Peloponnesian war. Rosen's recent paper on what he calls "fandom" discusses the preservation of Greek tragedy in Aristophanes.[318] This chapter would extend this to include Strattis' comedy as playing an important role in preserving tragedy and in re-performing it in comic style.

However, the question as to how the new tragedy of the fourth century BC could have influenced Strattis remains unanswered. In the years following 380 BC, a new range of tragedians appear including Theodektes, Astydamas (son of the tragedian Morsimos and

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[317] Pl. *Rep.* 5.475d.
[318] Rosen 2006: 27-47, especially 27-31.

grandson of Philokles the tragedian, who was the nephew of Aiskhylos), Aphareus, and Karkinos, whom Aristotle frequently discusses in his *Poetics*, and whose titles frequently recall Euripidean titles.[319] However, these authors appear toward the end of Strattis' career (see Appendix 1) and are possibly too late in date for interaction with Strattis and his work.[320] Xanthakis-Karamanos, in her work on fourth-century tragedy, notes Aristotle's complaint that it contains more rhetoric, and a lowering of tragic diction, possibly following the influence of Euripides.[321] This increase in rhetoric is not visible in Strattis' style of writing and in his use of tragedy but the influence of Euripides certainly is. This latter influence continues to hold a prominent position in comedies of the late fourth century BC at Athens,[322] including the works of Rhinthon of Taras in the late fourth-early third centuries BC;[323] the promotion of Euripides by Strattis' comedies is but a small part of this legacy.

A Tragic Conclusion

Therefore, in answer to our query, are Strattis' borrowings a criticism of Euripides or of tragedy, we can say that there need not have been any. The fragments give no explicit criticism of Euripides or of other tragedians and their work. Euripides is not brought on-stage, as he is in Aristophanic comedy, to face such criticism in person (as a comic character, that is). Are then Strattis' intentions in using tragedy mainly frivolous, merely making a mockery of tragedy for comic entertainment? This aspect of entertainment is vital here but there is a

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[319] Arist. *Poet.* 1455b 29 on Theodektes' *Lynkeus*; Arist. *Poet.* 1453b 33 on Astydamas' *Alkmaion*; Arist. *Poet.* 1454b 23 on Karkinos' *Thyestes*; Arist. *Poet.* 1455a 9 on Theodektes' *Tydeus*; Arist. *Rhet.* 1400b 12 on Karkinos' *Medeia*; Arist. *Pol.* 1255a 37 on Theodektes' *Helen*.

[320] Astydamas' first victory falls in 372 BC, Theodektes' in 368 BC and Aphareus' first production is in 368 BC.

[321] Xanthakis-Karamanos 1979: 67-8.

[322] E.g. Antiphanes, Alexis, Menander, and Diphilos.

[323] Rhinthon's titles, like those of Strattis, are intriguing for their parallels with tragic titles: *Amphitryon* (Sophokles wrote an *Amphitryon*), *Herakles, Iobates* (Sophokles wrote an *Iobates*), *Iphigeneia in Aulis, Iphigeneia in Tauris, Medeia, Orestas* (the title's meaning is unclear), *Telephos*, and an interesting compound: *Doulomeleagros* which mixes the mythical and mundane, as did Strattis' *Anthroporestes*. Incredibly, the fragments of Rhinthon are more poorly preserved than those of Strattis.

high level of complexity in Strattis' interaction with tragedy, as surveyed above, which shows an attention to detail and a revival of the achievements of tragedy in the fifth century BC at the end of the lives of Euripides and Sophokles and then at a time when they were only recently deceased. Strattis' plays do show an in-depth knowledge of tragedy and of Euripidean drama but there are no signs of personal attacks on Euripides the man, as recur in Aristophanic comedy and which we saw appearing in the comic fragments of other authors in Chapter 2. For Strattis this absence may well be a result of the extensive loss of the body of his work but this remains speculative and we should avoid arguments based on the gaping holes in the Strattidian corpus. Such arguments go beyond the reasonable interpretative limits of Strattis fragments and it is now timely that we take the information gathered about Strattis, tragedy, and myth and place this among the more substantial evidence of Aristophanic paratragedy.

5   Strattis and Aristophanes

"...it's a case of writing what you know and we both have a comprehensive knowledge of cinema in a really geeky way. So we figured that, as we understand the equations of action and horror films, we should use them ourselves." [324]

--Simon Pegg on writing police-film parody, *Hot Fuzz*.

It is pure fantasy to imagine Aristophanes in interview, and in terms of contemporary examples Plato's *Symposion* comes the closest to that, yet Simon Pegg's attempt at explaining his own comic creation could equally fit a response by Aristophanes to questions about his use of paratragedy. Aristophanes too "understood the equations" for tragic plays and used them to the full on a variety of levels in all eleven of his extant comedies, visible also in many of the fragments of his work. The task of this chapter is to explore this knowledge of Aristophanic comedy and paratragedy and compare it with the newly acquired awareness of Strattis in order to gauge, where possible, each poet's formulae for using tragedy. This involves situating the paratragedy of Strattis alongside that of Aristophanes within its contemporary context of comic composition and performance. It aims to relate the analysis of Strattidian comedy to knowledge of Aristophanic comedy and its long standing affair with paratragedy. Through examining the mechanics of paratragedy this chapter works towards an explanation for the growth of the phenomena of paratragedy in the late fifth century BC.

The investigation into Strattis as a comic poet has given a glimpse of the kind of comic drama that Strattis was capable of and that he chose to compose. His work fits into the mould of Old

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[324] Extract from the interview with Simon Pegg: "Love and bullets in Somerset", [Available on-line. Accessed 17/02/09] http://www.telegraph.co.uk/arts/main.jhtml?xml=/arts/2007/02/15/bffuzz115.xml.

Comedy with its brand of humour: contemporary, sexual, ludicrous, personal, parodic, using jokes against non-Athenians, and containing paratragic treatments. Despite the small sample of Strattis' output, there is still a disproportionately large number of his comedies infused with performance arts, myth and tragedy, and this takes into account the survival of other Old comic poets (discussed in Chapter 2). His overt use of figures with artistic backgrounds and of mythical themes, mixed in with a large dose of tragedy indicates the unique mark that Strattis put on his style of Old Comedy, and it is this feature of Strattis' work which invites comparison with the best preserved source of Old Comedy, Aristophanes. Both authors throughout their work, provide evidence of a constant engagement with that most contemporary of forms, tragedy, and both use liberal amounts of Euripidean tragedy.

Aristophanes' own career overshadows that of Strattis, both in terms of our superior knowledge about it, and because Aristophanes begins presenting plays in competition before Strattis. Since Aristophanes' use of paratragedy precedes Strattis it would not be something the latter could ignore. Therefore, it is important to consider what debt Strattis owed to Aristophanes in the formation and the themes of his comedies. This will indicate where the innovation (or at least the difference) in Strattis' comedic style lies. Strattis composed his comedies with an awareness of Aristophanes as both predecessor and contemporary in comic drama and particularly in the use of paratragedy. This does not, however, prevent him building on the work of his predecessor as well as moving the use of tragedy in a new direction.

This comparison of the two dramatists does not aim to present Aristophanic paratragedy as the standard by which Strattis is to be measured. Rather Aristophanes' work provides the evidence for how paratragedy could function within a comic play as a whole, and it shows

how one comic poet chose to use tragedy as a tool to form a comic play which could entertain and inform his audience; a model which Strattis could both adopt and adapt.

By examining the reliance of the two comedians on tragedy, tragic myth, and particularly Euripidean tragedy the chapter compares the techniques that each poet deploys in order to engage with the artistic medium of tragedy. The specific uses which they make of tragedy will help with appreciating their shared and separate styles in comic composition for a live, staged performance. This will indicate any differences detectable in Strattis' and Aristophanes' attitudes towards Euripidean and other tragedy, but more instructively it will point out which of the features defined for Strattis' use of tragedy appear in Aristophanic comedy. There is also the more elusive but curious question: why the focus on Euripides?

The terms of the comparison

Any interpretation of the fragments of Strattis is naturally contaminated by a reading of Aristophanes' plays and fragments. These can inform the discussion and understanding of the Strattis fragments, since both poets are contemporary and writing in the same genre and potential competitors against one another at festivals. A reading of Strattis relies on the existence of Aristophanes' eleven complete plays to provide an idea of what an overall comic play from the period of Old Comedy would look like. The fragmentary comic scenes and half-lines from Strattis' plays would make little to no sense without this. Yet there are distortions created through comparing a very fragmentary Old comic author with the (so to speak) sole survivor of that genre, Aristophanes. For example, a recurring feature in the larger Aristophanic corpus could be misunderstood in comparison with the tiny amount that remains

of Strattis' comedies, as noted at the end of Chapter 4 (p. 258). Most importantly, the interpretation of a few lines of Strattis, devoid of their original context in the play's plot, mood, and character, will always be far more tenuous than analysis of a passage from a complete Aristophanic play.

Additionally, knowledge of Aristophanes is reflected by a long history of scholarship in which repeated (though often divergent) assumptions are made about the nature and content of his work. We will explore below the conflicting views of Aristophanes' attitudes to Euripides and of his seriousness in using tragedy. This level of debate and scholarship does not exist for Strattis, although some of it is incidentally relevant to Strattis as well. The chance citations of Strattis by the Aristophanic scholia have also played a hand in moulding the evidence for Strattis. Of the eight mentions that Strattis receives in the Aristophanic scholia, most are in connection with real individuals named by both Strattis and Aristophanes (*Atalantos* fr. 6, *Kinesias* fr. 16, 19, 20, *Potamioi* fr. 38), two citations concern jokes of an explicitly sexual nature (*Putisos* fr. 41, and *Troilos* fr. 42), and the citation of Strattis *Atalantos* fr. 8 provides vital dating information for the comedy. The ancient scholia harvest their knowledge of Strattis and other playwrights in order to annotate a text of Aristophanes (cf. Strattis fr. 4 and 46 which come from *P. Oxy*. 2742, a papyrus commentary on a non-Aristophanic comedy). The scholia provide incidental points of similarity between the two poets in their use of personal names and sexual humour but we must remember that Aristophanes is always their priority.

Aristophanes and paratragedy

Each of the eleven extant plays by Aristophanes contains interaction with tragedy and with Euripidean tragedy on a small or larger scale. Aristophanes shows a strong bias in favour of Euripidean paratragedy and his comedies take a great interest in the person of Euripides and his qualities as a tragic poet. Eight of these eleven comedies (i.e. not *Birds*, *Ekklesiazousai*, or *Wealth*) make reference to Euripides by name while Euripides appears on-stage as a comic character in three of these plays, *Akharnians*, *Thesmophoriazousai*, and *Frogs*. He also appears in *Proagon, Dramata* or *Kentauros* and *Thesm.* I. These are comedies laced with Euripidean plays via quotations and enactments of tragic scenes, notably from his *Telephos*, *Palamedes*, *Andromeda*, and *Helen*. Euripides is the most frequently occurring comic character based on a person from real life in Aristophanes.[325]

Scholars have long admired Aristophanes' infatuation with the creative arts in general, and tragedy and Euripides specifically, e.g. Murray,[326] Dover,[327] Silk,[328] Olson,[329] and particularly Rau's detailed study, devoted to the quantity, range, and type of parody that Aristophanes uses from tragedy.[330] Most recently Platter has taken a very serious view of Aristophanes' inter-genre playing and all of these modern works show an attempt to engage with the profusion of

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[325] Kleon is the second most common Aristophanic stage character, appearing in *Knights* and *Wasps,* surreptitiously as the characters Paphlagon and a dog respectively. Cf. Karkinos and sons in *Wasps*, Sokrates in *Clouds*, Kinesias and Meton in *Birds*, Agathon and a relative of Euripides in *Thesmophoriazousai*, Aiskhylos in *Frogs*.

[326] Murray 1933: 19, 106: "He [Aristophanes] loved all poetry; he loved perverting it and laughing at it".

[327] Dover 1972: 215. Dover suggests that Aristophanes' generation had a taste for tragedy, while the slightly earlier Kratinos parodied epic and archaic poetry.

[328] Silk 1993: 477 "Meagre though they are, the fragments of Aristophanes' predecessors and contemporaries contain allusions to tragedy and tragedians as well as samples of paratragedy. However, Aristophanes' interest in tragedy is special".

[329] Olson 2002 and Austin & Olson 2004 provide the most recent and detailed commentaries on *Akharnians* and *Thesmophoriazousai.*

[330] Rau 1967, especially 10-18 which outline his approach to paratragedy and 185-218 which provide an index of paratragic occurrences in comedy and a list of tragedies used by Aristophanes.

tragedy present in Aristophanic comedy.[331] Scholars too are fascinated by the nature of the relationship between Euripides and Aristophanes. Wycherley follows Murray's view that Aristophanes' use of Euripides and his tragedy reflected admiration for the tragic poet and that Aristophanes was besotted with Euripidean tragedy[332] whereas MacDowell offers Euripides up as a sitting duck for Aristophanes.[333]

This reaches far beyond Strattis' engagement with Euripides as visible in the fragments even though there is a bias amongst the fragments of Strattis for engaging with Euripidean drama. Certainly when Strattis mocks the problems with tragic production (e.g. bad actors or unsafe stage machinery), he too draws on Euripides. The ensuing discussion of paratragedy in this chapter reflects the dominance of Euripides and Euripidean tragedy in the paratragedy of Strattis and Aristophanes.

Aristophanes made Euripides and his tragedy such a characteristic part of his comedies and his comic repertoire that Kratinos could coin the word εὐριπιδαριστοφανίζειν (fr. 342), taken as comically pointing to similarities between the two poets.[334] Yet the association can also work as a comic suggestion that Aristophanes monopolised Euripidean parody to the point where Kratinos can create a hybrid verb; Aristophanes' repeated use of Euripides as a stage character serves as further indication of this and Kratinos' hybrid verb indicates that the two are inseparable, so that mention of one evokes the other.

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[331] Platter 2007: 36-37 "tragedy is also a major springboard from which comedy comes to define itself".
[332] Wycherley 1946: 98-9: "Lines of Euripides were obviously running through his [Aristophanes'] head continually. He was simply steeped in Euripides".
[333] MacDowell 1995: 53 "the most mockable tragedian of all is Euripides".
[334] The scholion which quotes fr. 342 says that Kratinos is criticising Aristophanes because he mocks and imitates Euripides. Luppe 2000: 19 rightly voices caution against relying on the scholion's interpretation. For a more detailed discussion see Chapter 2 (p. 31) on fr. 342.

Strattis' differing approach to tragedy indicates another comic poet trying to make his own distinct mark on a particular topos in Old Comedy which Aristophanes had indeed made his own. Therefore, Strattis was necessarily embroiled in an attempt to reclaim Euripidean poetry as a topic for his comedies, while emulating and building on the work of his comic predecessor, Aristophanes. Aristophanes' success with Euripidean parody was brought to a head in *Frogs* (405 BC), which not only won first prize at the Lenaia but was even re-performed (404 BC), apparently because of the political views in its *parabasis*[335] but nevertheless this is also a play clothed in tragedy. Of the three first prizes that Aristophanes won, two, *Akharnians* and *Frogs*, starred Euripides (the placing of *Thesmophoriazousai* is unknown). Evidence of tragic re-performance at the Dionysia after 386 BC, at *deme* festivals, and in the recitals of tragic lines at *symposia* (as discussed in Chapter 4, p. 255) all indicate how popular and lucrative re-performances of tragedy, could be for both a comic dramatist and his target audience. This offers an important perspective on Strattis' own adoption of tragedy. His use of tragedy as a mainstay of his comedy looks more clearly like a purposeful career move, which also defined his type of Old Comedy, and which would only be worthwhile if Athens contained theatre-goers who were tragedy-obsessed.

Tragic and comic realities

As a way into analysing their paratragic activity, the use of tragedy by Aristophanes and Strattis can be divided into two levels of interplay between the theatrical and fictional world. In summary, these two objects of mockery are [1.] the theatre of reality, i.e. mocking the fiction of dramatic performance and [2.] the reality of theatre; mocking the realities of

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[335] This is mentioned in *Frogs Hypothesis* 1.39-40 and *Vit. Ar.* (*PCG* vol. III.2, T.1.35-9). Sommerstein 1993: 461-76 discusses potential political repercussions of re-performing *Frogs*.

dramatic production and performance. The first category works by mocking the façade of tragedy as the tragedian wishes it to appear to the audience which becomes comically twisted on the comic stage. The second category involves drawing attention to the reality of what a tragedy is and what it is made up of, i.e. actors, poets, dancing singers, machines, and the blunders associated with all of these in performance. The focus here is on the physical and performative aspects of presenting tragedy, stepping outside of the tragic performance to point to facets of its production which could be understood by audience members who were both spectators and potentially active participants in tragic productions.

Much of Strattis' interaction with tragedy occurs in the first of these categories. Strattis engages with tragedy by harvesting tragic plots, scenes, and characters and so the tragic corpus presents plenty of choice. It indicates his knowledge and engagement with Attic tragedy to provide humour. Strattis' comedies have a strong interest in the myths which make up the tragedies and this is of great import in Strattis' approach to combining the comic and tragic genres. The extent and precise form of this interplay can depend on the title of Strattis' play and as Dover rightly pointed out with *Frogs*, a title can be a most misleading indicator of the contents of a play.[336] Yet whereas *Frogs* appears as a purposefully perplexing title and reveals none of the hidden depths of tragedy involved in that comedy, Strattis' open use of tragic titles is impossible to miss and the title and tragic content are related in his *Phoinissai*, *Medeia* and *Anthroporestes*.

Strattis can combine this use of the fictive content of tragedy with jokes on [2.] the reality of theatre, so that at chosen points comic forces exert full control over any elements borrowed from tragedy. This occurs in Strattis' use of the *mēkhanē* (in *Phoinissai* and *Atalantos*), and in

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[336] Dover 2000: xvii-xix.

his use of Hegelokhos' erroneous pronunciation of his lines in the actual performance of Euripides' *Orestes* (in *Anthroporestes*), while Strattis' *Kinesias*[337] and *Kallippides* indicate his interest in the creators of performance art. Although knowledge about *Kallippides* is sparse, Strattis' focus on the actors is notable here and in *Anthroporestes* fr. 1 which draws attention to the actual effects (actual in the eyes of comedy) on Euripides' play of hiring the actor Hegelokhos. Strattis presents his version of the mechanics and realities of tragic performance to a live audience who could recognise the disjunction between the fictional and real.

The plays of Aristophanes also combine [1.] the theatre of reality and [2.] the reality of theatre. Aristophanes brings individuals connected with performance arts onto the comic stage presenting them as a caricature of their own art. Aristophanic plays that combine Euripidean tragedy and Aristophanic comedy create a hybrid of the two forms. A new, third form of art is created on the comic stage. In the extended tragic parodies of *Thesmophoriazousai* and *Akharnians*, Aristophanes is at pains to cite his sources, in opposition to the scraps between comic poets, where accusations of plagiarism abound. This is because in the parodies of *Telephos, Helen, Andromeda,* and *Palamedes*, a successful identification of the source of the parody at some point is important for its full enjoyment. In comparison, Strattis signposts some of his interaction with tragedy via the title of the play which creates a clear and purposeful connection between tragedy and comic drama. Strattis' own successes (his prize at the Lenaia shows that there was at least one) are due in part to the creativity of the tragedians of his time.

Aristophanes' *Thesmophoriazousai* presents the seemingly paradoxical situation of moulding a comic composition via a tragedy. The use of Euripides' plays in the comedy presents a two-

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[337] The dithyrambic poet, much satirised by Aristophanes, who appears as a character in his *Birds*.

fold effect; firstly the tragic style, diction, metre, music and poetry are made to stand incongruously alongside equivalent comic features, and are clearly a foreign element inside the comedy. Secondly the use of tragedy in this manner makes for a successful comedy; without Euripides, Aristophanes could not have created the comedy. A form of this view is held by Bowie in his analysis of *Thesmophoriazousai* and he considers that Aristophanes points out to Euripides the galling fact that his plays could be successful, but through the medium of comedy.[338] It is an enticing idea, which invites consideration of the dialogue between the real poets, in much the same way that Aristophanes' engagement with Kleon has led to enormous amounts of ancient and modern speculation.[339] Aristophanes is pulling the strings of tragedian and politician alike so that he makes them his performers to the public while ironically he too is a player to the masses.

Aristophanes and tragedy: an example to Strattis

All of Aristophanes' plays contain some or all of the following: tragic scenes, lines, and misquotations from tragedy, and comic recreations of tragic characters so that tragedy can envelop a whole comic play and its structure. *Akharnians* will serve as a case study for examining how Aristophanes infuses his comedy with Euripidean tragedy. Certainly the parody of Euripides' *Telephos* permeates the whole of *Akharnians*, as Olson neatly summarises,[340] with verbal allusions to the tragedy opening and closing the comedy. Dikaiopolis' first appearance on-stage (line 8 of his speech comes from Eur. *Telephos* fr. 720) and Lamakhos' last as the wounded hero, place both characters in the role of the tragic

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[338] Bowie 1993: 217-25.
[339] Roselli 2005: 18-19 considers that Aristophanes' use of Euripides as an on-stage character is a purposeful mirror of Kleon's appearance in *Knights* and so it is inherently critical of both tragedian and politician.
[340] Olson 2002: lviii-lxi.

Telephos so that it is not just Euripides' play but specifically his character creation of Telephos who literally encapsulates Aristophanes' comedy. Meanwhile the comic plot of *Akharnians* borrows aspects of the dramatic plot of Euripides' *Telephos* as Dikaiopolis holds an object to ransom and pleads his case before an unsympathetic chorus, just as the wounded Telephos of Euripides' tragedy did. Therefore, the tragic plot provides the motives for some of the comic plot action.

Most notably there is an unusual fusion of the Aristophanic Dikaiopolis and the Euripidean Telephos as a hybrid creation in the *parabasis* that can then deal with the serious business of Old Comedy and voice the views of the actual comic poet who is the creative force behind the hybrid. So a comic actor, acts as a comic character who is acting as a tragic character (rather than as the tragic actor), who voices metatheatrical views from the comic poet himself. The complexity of this arrangement has fascinated scholars, especially Foley[341] who views the tragic dimension as adding weight to Aristophanes/Dikaiopolis' real concerns about the war, and Goldhill[342] who adds in a dose of Bakhtinian carnivalesque to his interpretation, recently followed by Platter.[343] Most importantly, the appearance of Euripides himself within the comedy, helping to dress Dikaiopolis in tragic garb as Telephos, prior to this enigmatic speech shows Aristophanes using every trick in the book of comic drama to tell his audience that the following speech calls on Euripides' *Telephos,* if they had not already linked the tragedy to Aristophanes' *Akharnians*.

Akharnians contains no attack on Euripides for his tragic characters of loose or dubious morals, as occurs in *Thesmophoriazousai*, and it is clear why; in *Akharnians*, Euripides is

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[341] Foley 1988: 43.
[342] Goldhill 1991: 167-222.
[343] Platter 2007: 143-75.

mainly brought on-stage to facilitate recognition that this is a scene based on a tragic play. This scene in *Akharnians* is the first surviving evidence for extensive and overt use of tragedy in comedy, but already there are many layers jostling for position in the ever-shifting hierarchy of comic action. It demonstrates that fun can be poked at the workings of the serious form of tragedy while simultaneously pointing to affairs of real concern to Athenians in the 420s BC vis-à-vis the Peloponnesian war and the hardship already being visited upon the Athenians.

In using tragedy to raise these issues Aristophanes was working with a medium which could catch the audience's interest and enthusiasm, and he must have seen them as great fans of good tragedy. Moreover, he used the comic Euripides to anchor firmly the motif of tragedy in his play. No doubt the success of this extended interaction with tragedy via a comic Euripides encouraged him to continue it in other plays; *Thesmophoriazousai,* produced in the highly tense political atmosphere of 411 BC which resulted in the oligarchic revolution, and *Frogs* in 405 BC when Athens was faced with defeat after twenty five years of war. In these plays Euripides appears and has an ever increasing role in the comic plot which correlates with a rise in personal attacks on Euripides and his work in comedy. Whatever messages are read behind them, the tragic parodies continue and they employ similar techniques to *Akharnians* with tragic plots taking over comic plays. This is in addition to the recurrence of paratragedy in Aristophanes' other eight plays without the appearance of a comic Euripides.

In *Thesmophoriazousai,* Euripides' repeated rescue attempts, and the attempts of Euripides' relative to be rescued, each lead to clear parodies of his *Palamedes, Andromeda,* and *Helen* so that, as in *Akharnians,* the tragic scene takes over the comic one albeit with unsuccessful

results for the comic characters. In *Frogs*, Euripides himself provides the very cause or excuse for the comic play as Dionysos journeys to the Underworld to resurrect the recently deceased tragedian. The ensuing *agōn* between Aiskhylos and Euripides allows for the largest amount of tragic quotations from specified plays in extant Old Comedy; Aristophanes shows off his paratragic talents. The comic action is in total submission to the tragic quotations of the *agōn* which function as part of the contest that will see one poet return to life and so, presumably to active composition once again.

The clearest point to emerge from the above discussion is that when Aristophanes wishes to make explicit an allusion to, imitation of, or plain lifting of an aspect of tragic plot, character or mood he inevitably pulls out the comic character of Euripides to ensure that there is a smooth transition between the comic and tragic genres. So when Aristophanes brings the comic character, Euripides, on-stage he makes his audience clearly aware that Euripidean paratragedy is about to occur. The audience can view the comic character of Euripides alongside his tragic creations as reinterpreted by a comic author. This is a repeated theme in Aristophanes' work, which reaches its most technical form in *Frogs* where the contest between Aiskhylos and Euripides provides the excuse for continual and highly complex parodies of both authors. If this is Aristophanes' version of a tribute to the masters of the tragic genre, Aristophanes emphasises to his comic rivals that he is master of the craft of paratragedy. And Strattis is among these rivals. The level of metatheatricality in Aristophanic comedy can be at its highest when Euripides is on-stage.

However, Euripides is not present to act as a marker for every paratragic scene in Aristophanic comedy, as with Trygaios' flight on the dung-beetle in *Peace* which instead

visually and verbally parodies Euripides' *Bellerophon*. But if Euripides is not present in person, then a trademark of his craft is. In Chapter 4 (p. 234), it was noted that comic scenes of Aristophanes and Strattis involving the *mēkhanē* invariably parody a Euripidean context. Even Sokrates' appearance in *Clouds* is a tragic-style entrance and there was already a link between Sokrates and Euripides in comedy (in the works of Telekleides, Kallias, and Aristophanes, as discussed in Chapter 2, p. 110). Both Strattis and Aristophanes make a distinct association between Euripidean drama and the use of the *mēkhanē*.

When Mastromarco[344] rightly notes that an audience is more likely to recognise Aristophanic parody if the tragic and comic contexts of the object parodied are similar, the above discussion indicates that the stage presence of Euripides or the use of the *mēkhanē* can also induce this recognition. In addition Strattis takes this idea of recognising tragic parody in a different direction in his use of tragic-titled plays where the myth and tragic versions of it are more central. In these cases, there is no doubt as to which tragic myth will receive comic treatment and so the interest lies in how this will come about. The very fact that Strattis could think to compose such comedies is indicative of the viewing habits of his audience and their ability to recognise tragic parody, as well as to enjoy it.

Clouds and comic uses for tragic tone

It has long been suggested that the motives of Aristophanes in using tragedy run much further than simply providing entertaining and satirical parody of the contemporary performances of tragedy. Modern scholars have pointed to an underlying seriousness in the parody of Euripidean scenes and characters, as seen in the above discussion of *Akharnians*. Goldhill's

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[344] Mastromarco 2006: 177-8.

aside that "poetics are never easily separated from politics, especially in Aristophanes" hints at this complexity.[345] The fragments of Strattis are in such small pieces that it makes detection of a more serious undertone to his work practically impossible. As we have already seen with Aristophanes' use of tragedy, it varies in every play and can span a comic play (*Akharnians*), focus on one scene (Trygaios' flight in *Peace*), or involve an amalgam of tragedies (*Thesm.* and *Frogs*).

A potentially more serious use of tragedy in comedy occurs in *Clouds* which additionally shows that the engagement with tragedy need not always take the form of explicit references to tragic scenes or even those of a particular tragedy. The play's interpretation is always problematic due to it being the surviving revival of an earlier play (the original was performed in 423 BC but it did not win at the Dionysia), and particularly due to the enigmatic role of the chorus, as examined by Segal.[346] Silk rejected Segal's claims of the high poetic value of Aristophanes' lyrics, but agrees that in *Clouds* the *parodos* is purposefully dramatic and recalls tragedy.[347] Parker's extensive study of Aristophanic lyrics supports Silk, and sees Aristophanes' power as dramatic rather than lyric: "Aristophanes was not a lyric poet".[348] Nevertheless, the final scene between Strepsiades and the Clouds (lines 1452-63) is noted for Strepsiades' tragic-style declarations as the Clouds reveal their true plans to him; Dover notes that both the Clouds' revelation and Strepsiades' rebuttal are in a solemn style with a lack of comic rhythm.[349]

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[345] Goldhill 1991: 186.

[346] Segal 1969: 143-61.

[347] Silk 1980: 106-12 also admits that there are no jokes in these lyrics. As a comic poet, Aristophanes made a conscious choice here and it is still easy to agree with Silk's earlier observation that "the presumed seriousness of the lyric does not in itself make it good" (p. 101). Cf. Silk 2000b: 310 which examines lyrics in non-Aristophanic comedy, but concludes that "there is no sign at all of any counterpart to Aristophanes' creative preoccupation with tragedy". This is harder to support in light of Strattis fr. 71 (see commentary in Chapter 2, p. 214).

[348] Parker 1997: 10-12.

[349] Dover 1968: 263-4.

Underlying tragic models for this scene at *Clouds* 1452-63 and, as it turns out at this point in the play, for the whole of *Clouds*, have been identified by Zimmermann. He sees the tragic concept of "learning through suffering" in the scene, a concept which he notes is found in plots by the three tragedians.[350] Indeed when Segal's admission of the high quality of the lyrics (exemplified by Oscar Wilde's own loose translation of their opening choral ode)[351] is recalled alongside Silk's acceptance that the *parodos* possibly held a serious tone and certainly no jokes, it is clear that Aristophanes wished to emphasise the tragic nature of his comic chorus here. He draws the link with tragedy through the choral lyrics, and no doubt their style of movement and gesturing, so that a connection with tragedy was all the more apparent to the audience.

Prior to this scene, Strepsiades' emotional declaration that his own son, Pheidippides has beaten him up (lines 1321ff.) sees *Clouds* move into darker territory than the earlier parts of the comedy had suggested, and perhaps such a rupture in the father-son relationship calls to mind the family upheavals and reversals that make up so many tragic plots (e.g. fratricide of Polyneikes and Eteokles, Phaidra's inappropriate feelings for Hippolytos, Medeia's actions toward her own children). Yet as to the overall tone of *Clouds* it is still not clear that it need be serious even when Strepsiades admits his error in avoiding payment of his debts (lines 1462ff.) and this is implicitly compared to such tragic heroes as e.g. Theseus in *Hippolytos* or Kreon in *Antigone* admitting their mistakes. However, this point of tone is still open to debate because a serious moment in tragedy provides a similar plot device for the ending of Aristophanes' comedy at a point of equivalent dramatic importance in the comedy.

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[350] Zimmermann 2006: 332.
[351] First published as 'Chorus of Cloud-Maidens (275-87, 295-307)' in the *Dublin University Magazi*ne, 1875 vol. 86, no. 515, 622. Republished by Grant 1976: 158-9.

The case of *Clouds* informs our consideration of Strattis' plays in two fundamental ways: firstly, the complexities of intertwining the whole of a comic play with tragedy (as occurs in *Akharnians*) are entirely denied to a modern reader of Strattis' fragments. There is simply not enough to work with in any one of his plays, although the fragments of his *Phoinissai* particularly invite such consideration. Secondly, the role of the chorus in a comedy can also provide an important point of connection between tragic and comic genres, as seen with the Cloud chorus and the chorus of Akharnians, with the latter chorus filling a similarly hostile role to that of the chorus in Euripides' *Telephos*.[352] This is of especial interest to two of Strattis' plays, *Phoinissai* and *Myrmidones* both of which draw on tragic models, the former with a unique chorus who are a Euripidean addition to the familiar Theban myth, and the latter represent a chorus, which as Michelakis argues,[353] had an important role in Aiskhylos' *Myrmidones*. It in no way explains how Strattis used the chorus in his own plays, but there is the opportunity for using elements of the tragic chorus in his comedies, as the works of Aristophanes indicate. This is particularly instructive since the role of the chorus was not something that we can see in the fragments of Strattis (see discussion Chapter 4, p. 221).

It is also possible for both comic poets to manipulate the conflicting tones of comedy and tragedy so that the power of the former destroys (with laughter) the artistry of the latter. This incongruity makes Aristophanes' stock joke about the occupation of Euripides' mother as a vendor of vegetables all the more amusing. It is not found directly in Strattis' fragments unless Strattis fr. 71 is considered in a fresh light. The fragment forms part of a parody of Euripidean monodies (see commentary in Chapter 3, p. 214) and concerns caterpillars

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[352] This is evident from Telephos' defensive address to the chorus of Akhaians at Eur. *Telephos* fr. 703 μή μοι φθονήσητ᾽, ἄνδρες Ἑλλήνων ἄκροι, / εἰ πτωχὸς ὢν τέτληκ᾽ ἐν ἐσθλοῖσιν λέγειν adopted by Ar. *Akh.* 497-8 where Dikaiopolis is trying to convince audience and chorus simultaneously of his view. Dikaiopolis' relation with the Akharnians mirrors that of Telephos with the Akhaian chorus. This schema is repeated in *Thesmophoriazousai* as the relative confronts the female chorus in another *Telephos* parody.

[353] Michelakis 2002: 13-14 and ch. 4.

munching their way through garden greenery. The choice of a lowly subject matter in the ornate passage is part of the humour of the piece, yet the choice of herbs and vegetables particularly may have related it to a wider parody about Euripides and his mother. This is something that Strattis could have made more explicit in the surrounding context of fr. 71, which of course we lack. A comparable example occurs in Ar. *Fro*. 1331-64 with Aiskhylos' extended parody of Euripidean monody which is formed from banal subject matter (a stolen cockerel) but described in the most melodramatic of tones.

Strattis too uses homely and down to earth subjects in mockery of Euripidean drama as is evident in Strattis *Phoin*. fr. 47 where Iokaste's tragic line ends in a culinary proverb, while *Phoin*. fr. 48 sees the tragic context switched over to a child's game of following the movements of the sun and shouting at it. Similarly in the interpretation of Strattis' *Medeia* fr. 34, which the commentary in Chapter 3 (p. 162) suggested, the preparation of punishment for Iason's new wife involves the reference to real sellers of perfume which would be out of place in a tragedy. The incongruity of juxtaposing comic and tragic tone occurs also in Strattis *Troilos* fr. 42 which provides a tragic quotation followed up by a totally unsuitable allusion to oral sex. In Strattis *Troilos* fr. 42 and *Phoinissai* fr. 47, a tragic line is replaced by a comic one but with Aristophanes this substitution could be just one word change from the tragic line e.g. Ar. *Pe*. 528 where Eur. *Telephos* fr. 727 is quoted except that the word τέκος is replaced in the comedy with πλέκος. A slightly different example from Ar. *Fro*. 1477-8 has the first line from a tragedy unaltered (Eur. *Polyidos* fr. 638) but in the second the sense moves away from serious thoughts of life and death to the comically mundane thoughts of food and sleep. Aristophanes can use such tragic lines to create a subtle effect that compares more to Strattis *Phoinissai* fr. 46 and fr. 48. Both authors formulate these jokes to provide a contrast between

the comic and tragic genres and they do so in a number of ways.

The *Phoinissai* plays by Strattis and Aristophanes

The overlap in Aristophanes' and Strattis' interest in Euripidean tragedy is clearly observable in the *Phoinissai* plays of all three dramatists. This situation is unique as two comic poets, equally comfortable with paratragedy, choose the same Euripidean play to incorporate into their respective comic corpora. Only seven fragments survive from Aristophanes' *Phoinissai* and eight from Strattis' but the commentary in Chapter 3 (p. 182), has shown how much information Strattis' fragments contain about his use of Euripides' overall play, its characters, their tragic lines and another Euripidean play quoted by Dionysos on the *mēkhanē,* who is also aware of his paratragic state.

The limits imposed on interpretation of these fragmentary comedies are made up for by the fact that Euripides' *Phoinissai* is complete (albeit too complete with problems of interpolation).[354] Since the tragedy dates to between 410 BC and 408 BC,[355] both of the comic *Phoinissai* were composed after *Thesmophoriazousai* (411 BC) which exemplified extended on-stage parodic re-enactments of Euripides' *Telephos*, *Palamedes*, *Helen* and *Andromeda*. So Aristophanes and Strattis could build on this type of parody of Euripides' work. It implies that the success of *Thesmophoriazousai*, encouraged Aristophanes and Strattis to produce a similar style of detailed tragic parody with Euripides' *Phoinissai* at its centre.

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[354] See Bremer & Mastronarde 1983 and Diggle 1994.
[355] Based on schol. Ar. *Fro*. 53a which is discussed in the commentary on *Phoinissai* in Chapter 3, p. 183.

The close knowledge of Euripides' play, apparent in Strattis' *Phoinissai* and which will shortly be examined in Aristophanes', suggests that both comedies were composed and performed near the original tragic performance. This reasoning can be questioned since Euripides' *Telephos* of 438 BC was parodied in 425 BC and 411 BC, yet Aristophanes' *Thesmophoriazousai* provides a contemporary example with its close parodies of both *Helen* and *Andromeda*, which were performed in the year prior to the comedy. In comparison, Strattis *Phoinissai* fr. 46 parodies Euripides' *Hypsipyle* which dates after 412 BC but before *Frogs* in 405 BC[356] and this backs up the thesis that Strattis' *Phoinissai* could date close to Euripides' *Phoinissai*. However, the lack of dates for both of the comic *Phoinissai* is frustrating, making it unclear which came first. Nor do the comic fragments indicate whether Aristophanes and Strattis were aware of each other's play. Unless they were produced in the same year, (perhaps even at the same festival), one of the comic *Phoinissai* must have been written in light of the other and was influenced by that comedy; it is impossible to tell which.

Euripides' play dramatises the events of the death of Polyneikes and Eteokles, which form the central act of the play, while the surrounding scenes deal with the tense build-up to the double fratricide and the unhappy consequences on the whole line of Kadmos. Within this familiar part of the Theban cycle, which Aiskhylos earlier depicted in his *Seven Against Thebes* (467 BC), Euripides adds a new feature, a chorus of Phoenician maidens who at the beginning of the play arrive in Thebes in time to witness the events of the tragic play, in a manner akin to the audience who have just sat down in the *theatron* to watch Euripides' tragedy.

Both comedies recall the plot of the original tragedy, as was seen in Strattis fr. 47-48 but this is also evident in Ar. *Phoin*. fr. 570: ἐς Οἰδίπου δὲ παῖδε, διπτύχω κόρω, / Ἄρης

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[356] Again this is based on schol. Ar. *Fro*. 53a; see the commentary in Chapter 3, p. 183.

κατέσκηψ᾽, ἔς τε μονομάχου πάλης / ἀγῶνα νῦν ἑστᾶσιν "Ares descended upon the <u>twin</u>

children of Oidipous, his <u>twofold</u> sons, and now they have set up the arena for <u>single</u> combat".

This fragment describes the central event of Euripides' *Phoinissai*, the death of Eteokles and

Polyneikes at each other's hands in single combat. This fragment contains no direct quotation

from Euripides' play, but it echoes the language and sentiment of the scene in Euripides'

Phoinissai where their deaths are revealed via dialogue between Kreon and a messenger and

then in detail by the messenger's speech (Eur. *Phoin*. 1346-63). Rau draws attention to Eur.

Phoin. 1359-63 in comparison with Ar. *Phoin*. fr. 570 in his apt but short point that "wohl

umfangreich parodiert in Ar. *Phoinissai*".[357] Yet there are similarities between fr. 570 and

Kreon's first lament (Eur. *Phoin*. 1346-53): εἰσηκούσατ᾽ <u>Οἰδίπου</u> τάδε <u>παίδων</u> <u>ὁμοίαις</u>

συμφοραῖς ὀλωτότων; "O house, have you heard this, Oidipous' two sons are both

destroyed in the same unfortunate act?" and from his second lament (Eur. *Phoin*. 1354-5):

<u>διπτύχων παίδων</u> φόνος ἀρᾶς τ᾽ <u>ἀγώνισμ᾽</u> <u>Οἰδίπου</u>; where the language that Kreon uses

plays on the opposition between two men and one fate and this is repeated in Ar. *Phoinissai* fr.

570, indicated by the underlining of the relevant words. This language is continued in the

messenger's account of events out on the battlefield (Eur. *Phoin*. 1360-3): <u>ἔστησαν</u> ἐλθόντ᾽

ἐς μέσον μεταίχμιον ὡς <u>εἰς ἀγῶνα μονομάχου</u> τ᾽ ἀλκὴν δορός. Throughout this tragic

scene the vocabulary used is that which is recurrent Ar. *Phoin*. fr. 570, particularly the theme

of two men, one fight, two deaths, which in the comic fragment is made too overt and is over-

played via the use of the dual number so that this fragment gains a parodic tone.

The tragic language of Ar. *Phoin*. fr. 570 is seen in the use of the dual form and of the verb

κατέσκηψ᾽. This is from the verb σκήπτω, "I strike" whose compounds formed on κατα-

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[357] Rau 1967: 216.

and ἀπο- are often used in tragedy to describe the destructive action of gods against mortals.[358] The mention of Ares in Ar. *Phoin.* fr. 570 is comparable to his invocation by the Euripidean chorus at Eur. *Phoin.* 240-55 as they note that Ares threatens Thebes. At Eur. *Phoin.* 252, the chorus specifically lament the time when Ares will "bring the misery of the Erinyes upon the twin sons of Oidipous" παισὶν Οἰδίπου φέρων / πημονὰν Ἐρινύων in words which again suggest that they were a source of inspiration for the sentiment of Ar. *Phoin.* fr. 570.

Therefore, the language and events recalled in Ar. *Phoin.* fr. 570 refer to the most highly emotive moment and to the culmination of the plot in Euripides' *Phoinissai* when Kreon learns of the death of his nephews and sister, Iokaste; it is his tragic moment, while the messenger narrates the details. The Aristophanic fragment notably involves a summary of the events of its tragic model rather than a word for word rendition of any one part of the tragedy. This is an interesting technique for Aristophanes to use as he exploits mercilessly his Euripidean model and provides an amalgam of the main event of the myth as told in Euripides' tragedy. However, the wider relevance of this fragment to Aristophanes' play is not clear from the remaining fragments.

A second feature of both *Phoinissai* comedies is that they quote directly from Euripides' *Phoinissai*. This occurs in Strattis fr. 47-48 and in Ar. *Phoin.* fr. 574: ἰώ Νέμεσι, βαρύβρομοί τε βρονταί "O Nemesis, and low-roaring lightning bolts" which is the same phrase that Antigone speaks in Euripides' play while watching with her tutor from the wall of Thebes as the warriors gather below (at Eur. *Phoin.* 182-3). She says this line upon sighting Kapaneus

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[358] Cf. Eur. *Hipp.* 438 and 1418 where the nurse and Artemis respectively describe Aphrodite's effect on mortals; Eur. *Med.* 1333; Aiskh. *Pers.* 740; Aiskh. *Ag.* 366; Aiskh. *Eum.* 801; cf. Herod. 8.65.3.

and calls upon Nemesis and Zeus' thunder and lightning to strike down boasting men. It is possible to imagine Aristophanes adopting this wall-watching scene to make remarks about numerous contemporary Athenian figures, but unfortunately the fragments offer no clear sign of this. However, the fragment is a second indication that Aristophanes' *Phoinissai* maintained close contact with its Euripidean model.

Thirdly Ar. *Phoin*. fr. 575, contains only the word θεατροπώλης "theatre-ticket-seller", but it provides a hint of metatheatrical activity that is common in Aristophanic comedy. It is not clear how it fitted into a parody of Euripides' *Phoinissai* but it indicates the creativity of the comedy which was more than a comic re-composition of Euripides' *Phoinissai*.[359]

Fourthly, Ar. *Phoin*. 573 contains a generalised parody of Euripidean monody which, like Ar. *Phoin*. fr. 570, does not quote directly from Euripides' *Phoinissai*. Ar. *Phoin*. fr. 573: στίλβη θ' ἢ κατὰ νύκτα μοι / φλόγ' ἀνασειράζεις ἐπὶ τῷ / λυχνείῳ "Lamp, you who during the night rein in the flame for me on the lamp-stand". This lyric address to a lamp foreshadows a later similar scene that opens Aristophanes' *Ekklesiazousai* where Praxagora sings her own ode-to-lamp which again parodies no particular original.[360] However, Ar. *Phoin*. fr. 573 contains a typically Euripidean metrical feature; a resolved glyconic. This feature also occurs in the parodos of Eur. *Phoin*. 226 as the chorus address the twin peaks of Parnassos that shine with the torches from Bacchic revelries, and which share the theme of light with fr. 573.[361] Ar. *Phoin*. fr. 573 forms a Euripidean-style choral ode that contains a lowly ode to a lamp-stand in a purely domestic context and one that echoes, but does not suit, the sombre tone of Eur.

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[359] For instance Ar. *Phoin*. fr. 576 is the lone word "mousetrap".
[360] The Aristophanic scholion on this line suggests that Agathon's work is the source for the parody.
[361] Dindorf (*PCG* vol. III.2, p. 295) chooses to compare Ar. *Phoin*. fr. 573 specifically to Eur. *Phoin*. 229 where the chorus addresses the magical vine of Dionysos, which produces wine daily, but the subject-matter of these lines is further removed from that of Ar. *Phoin*. fr. 573.

Phoin. 226. It works by subtly twisting the meaning of Euripides' original lyrics.

In mockery of lyrics, Aristophanes had the additional tools of the music and choreography to help jog the memory of his audience about the earlier Euripidean production. The stasimon at Eur. *Phoin*. 226 is also typical of Euripides' later lyrics where the first strophe and epode are each one long sentence. Mastronarde summarises the characteristics of this dithyrambic style: "there are short cola, an abundance of compound epithets (several unique in extant Greek or used in a uniquely eccentric sense), run-on appositions, accumulation of relative clauses and imbalance between main clauses and subordinate clauses, verbal repetition and the paradoxical wedding of beautiful language and sensuous description to violent content".[362] If Aristophanes' *Phoinissai* continued in this style after Ar. *Phoin.* fr. 573 then it would clearly stand out from its comic context as an example of an extended Euripidean parody comparable to that at *Frogs* 1331-64.

In fact, Aristophanes' only other known reference to Euripides' *Phoinissai* occurs at Ar. *Fro.* 1337, as Sommerstein points out,[363] where the comic Aiskhylos composes a pastiche of Euripidean monodies. Ar. *Fro.* 1337 echoes the language of Eur. *Phoin*. 1031 with the same repetition of φόνια φόνιος and an even clearer link to the tragedy is reflected in the subject matter (as occurred with Ar. *Phoin*. fr. 573) since the Euripidean stasimon tells of the Sphinx while the *Frogs* pastiche concerns a different kind of bird; a cockerel.

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[362] Mastronarde 1994: 331. Csapo 1999-2000: 399-426 discusses developments in later Euripidean music and provides a survey which illustrates the increase in monody in these later tragedies (p. 410-14). He argues that the use of New Music in dithyramb and drama relates closely to Dionysos: "New Musical song frequently evokes Dionysiac music, Dionysiac cult, and Dionysiac dance" (p. 417).
[363] Sommerstein 1996c: 278.

Overall, Aiskhylos' monody in *Frogs* parodies specific Euripidean features, notably the repetition of verbs, nouns, and adjectives and the third stasimon of Eur. *Phoin*. 1019-66 employs these techniques. Ar. *Fro*. 1352-5 involves plenty of repetition and lines 1354-5 are in iambics, while the stasimon of Eur. *Phoin*. 1019-66 which contains the φόνια φόνιος, is in iambic and trochaic rhythm. Therefore, as with Ar. *Phoin*. fr. 573, there are metrical echoes between the Euripidean source of parody and the comic lines in Aristophanes. In the *Frogs* passage it is not necessary for the audience to realise that the source of the pastiche is in part *Phoinissai* since Aiskhylos' pastiche fits a general attack on Euripidean style of monody. Yet there is no reason why the more seasoned theatre-goers might not spot this.

In two different comedies Aristophanes interacts with Euripides' *Phoinissai* specifically via their lyrical passages. This suggests that their style and form were such that they appealed to Aristophanes for parody and that they lent themselves toward Aristophanic parody of Euripides. A comparable instance of lyric pastiche occurs at Strattis fr. 71, concerning insects in the garden which uses similar style, metre, and banal subject-matter to Ar. *Phoin*. fr. 573. Other examples occur, particularly at Ar. *Fro*. 1309-28 which is also in Aeolic metre, where Aiskhylos mocks Euripides' lyrics for their innovative use of music together with their mad and meaningless verbal sense. Therefore, Ar. *Phoin*. fr. 573 perhaps formed part of an amalgam and pastiche of Euripidean monodies, that illustrated a comic criticism, also voiced by the Aiskhylos of *Frogs*; that Euripides' down to earth subject matter and world view ill suit his music which is so ornate.

Both the opening of *Ekklesiazousai* and Ar. *Phoin*. fr. 573 treat the lamp to a hymnic address that would be far more suitable to Helios himself, and just such an address to Helios opens

Euripides' *Phoinissai* although in iambic trimeters rather than lyrics,[364] making the strong role of Helios apparent in Euripides' *Phoinissai*. In Iokaste's opening address, Mastronarde, following Haslam, has argued convincingly for the deletion of lines 1-2, so that the very first word of Euripides' *Phoinissai* would be Ἥλιε. Haslam even suggests that the spurious lines came from Aristophanes' or Strattis' *Phoinissai*; a possible though as yet unsupported idea.[365]

Helios is mentioned in Antigone's lyrics to the old slave's spoken verse, which follow directly on from Iokaste's monologue, as she addresses a prayer (line 175) to ὦ λιπαροζώνου θύγατερ Ἀελίου / Σελαναία "Selene, daughter of Helios with shining belt". Later Iokaste again draws on Helios in her speech to Eteokles and Polyneikes in her impassioned attempt to dissuade them from duelling with one another (line 546). This is in response to Eteokles' admission that he would travel to the sun to gain power (line 504). This scene is highly dramatic and one which Strattis draws upon in fr. 47 and 48 of his *Phoinissai*. Strattis fr. 48 indeed involves a comment about Helios in reference to a game played by young children, which is itself an indication that Helios was a memorable and central motif in the tragedy. At Eur. *Phoin*. 1563 Antigone imagines Oidipous' agony if he were to regain his vision, and see the corpses of his sons by looking at "the chariot of the sun"[366] so that the theme of Helios remains throughout the play, passing among the characters and finally to Oidipous, the last character to appear. Helios links together the dysfunctional family which do not interact together on-stage nor could they actively, with only three actors.

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[364] Rau 1967: 205 also makes this point by citing Eur. *Phoin*. 1ff.; Soph. *Aias* 845ff., 856ff.; Soph. *Ant*. 100, 102ff.; Eur. *Tro*. 860.

[365] Mastronarde 1994; Haslam 1975: 172, 149-74. Haslam points to three ancient sources that start *Phoinissai* at line 3: the papyri *P. Oxy*. 3321(second or third century), *P. Oxy*. 3322 (first or second century), and a papyrus hypothesis, *P. Oxy*. 2455 fr. 17 col. xx, while the medieval manuscript tradition starts at line 1. The papyrus evidence is powerful and not entirely rejected in van der Valk's objections to Haslam (van der Valk 1982: 235-40).

[366] εἰ δὲ τέθριππά γ' ἔθ' ἅρματα λεύσσων / ἀελίου τάδε σώματα νεκρῶν / ὄμματος αὐγαῖς σαῖς ἐπανώμας.

Therefore, the comparison of the two *Phoinissai* comedies produces some particularly interesting points; that the role of Helios in Euripides' *Phoinissai* was pronounced enough for both comedians to parody, perhaps one copying the other, and that therefore it held an importance in the tragedy which could be transferred to the comedy for the sake of engaging the audience of that comedy. It could be that Helios provided a marker for the audience to recognise the tragic play within the comic one, especially as Helios is mentioned at the opening of the play, and because the god was a recurring motif in the play, which comedy could present as excessive through repeated mentions. It is clear that Helios' appearance in Euripides' tragedy lent itself to comic dramatists to mock the idea that Euripidean drama dealt with everyday subject matter that was unsuitable for the tragic genre in Strattis *Phoin*. fr. 48 and Ar. *Phoin*. fr. 543.

There is no indication of speakers in Aristophanes' *Phoinissai* which would prove that tragic characters appeared in his comedy, as Iokaste had in Strattis' *Phoinissai*. Both comedies draw on the plot of Euripides' play although it is not clear to what ends, and both titles suggest a chorus of Phoenician women could have appeared. Ar. *Phoin*. fr. 573 may have involved just such a pastiche of the choral lyrics, which link to the chorus of Phoenician women. It is not clear how the comic dramatists used a chorus that was both foreign and female but each of these were popular subjects in comedy. However, it is noteworthy that Aristophanes' only other recorded use of Euripides' *Phoinissai* was in *Frogs* in order to mimic Euripidean lyrics.

The plays of Aristophanes and Strattis show that the period 412-405 BC was a fruitful one for tragic parody and it demonstrates that detailed use of Euripidean tragedy was in vogue as demonstrated by interaction with Euripides' *Phoinissai, Hypsipyle, Andromeda, Orestes*, in

Strattis' *Phoinissai* and *Anthroporestes* and in Aristophanes' *Thesmophoriazousai* (also drawing on Eur. *Helen), Phoinissai,* and *Frogs*. Aristophanes and Strattis, who share the habit of engaging with tragedy in their comedies, at times use the same tragic subject matter, sometimes when drawing on whole plays. This again supports the idea that the other more poorly preserved plays of Strattis with tragic titles did interact in some form with these tragedies.

Aristophanes and myth

The technique of using a tragic title for a comedy that parodies that tragedy is recurrent in Strattis where ten out of nineteen known titles are also those of tragedy (including the hybrid titles). The use of titles in this way is less common for Aristophanes; fourteen of the forty-four titles of Aristophanes refer to mythological subject matter but only four of these have parallels in tragedy and all are fragmentary comedies: Ar. *Aiolosikon* I & II (cf. Euripides' *Aiolos*); *Danaides* (cf. Aiskhylos' *Danaides* and *Suppliants)*; Ar. *Lemniai* (cf. Sophokles' *Lemniai* and other tragedies on this myth);[367] Ar. *Polyidos* (Euripides' *Polyidos,* Sophokles' *Manteis or Polyidos*, and Aiskhylos' *Kressai* are all on the same myth), and Ar. *Phoinissai* (cf. Euripides' *Phoinissai*).[368]

While hybrid mythical titles recur in Strattis' work, *Aiolosikon* is the only example for Aristophanes but it does indicate a hybrid title being used to signify a tragic parody of Euripides' *Aiolos*. Aristophanes *Polyidos* fr. 469, in mentioning Phaidra, daughter of Minos,

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[367] These are listed in the commentary on *Lemnomeda* in Chapter 3, p. 153.

[368] The remaining mythological titles are Aristophanes' *Amphiaraos, Daidalos, Dionysos Shipwrecked, Dramata* or *Kentauros*, *Dramata* or *Niobos*, *Heroes*, and *Ploutos* I & II. Cf. Rau 1967: 12 lists plays with possible tragic parody: *Kokalos, Anagyros, Dramata* or *Niobos*, and *Daidalos*, but he is unsure if they should count as "Mythentravestie" instead.

connects the comedy to the myth which sees Minos appoint Polyidos the seer to find Minos'
son, Glaukos. The myth involved Polyidos restoring life to Glaukos which already presents a
positive end for the tragedy.[369] However, there is no direct evidence linking Aristophanes'
comedy to the tragic *Polyidos* plays.

Aristophanes' *Lemniai* is an interesting case, particularly because of Strattis' *Lemnomeda*.
Aristophanes' play lacks a date but the fragments do reflect involvement with the myth
surrounding Hypsipyle and the Argonauts. Sophokles' *Lemniai* and Aiskhylos' *Hypsipyle* both
tell of the Argonauts' arrival on Lemnos which leads to Iason's sexual relations with
Hypsipyle.[370] Rau's mention of Aristophanes' *Lemniai* is brief and his claim unsubstantiated:
"Stoff verwendet in Ar. *Lemniai*, wohl parodisch" which is suitably unspecific given the play
is in fragments.[371] However, the fragments make his meaning clearer. Hypsipyle is cited by
name (Ar. *Lemniai* fr. 373) with a pun on the name of her father, Thoas, and the word θοός
"speedy" calling him the slowest runner among men. Bond[372] relates this mention of Thoas to
the prologue of Euripides' *Hypsipyle* providing a tentative connection to tragedy. Dindorf and
Brunck have noted that the lines appear to adhere to the rules of tragic trimeters, while Olson
considers the expression τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις to be "deliberately absurd paratragic
periphrasis, echoing passages such as E. Med. 471; Ph. 440; frr. 403.7; 1030".[373]

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[369] Therefore, Revermann (2006: 102) is misguided in his argument that Ar. *Polyidos* is an example of a comedy
that had altered a myth to have a happy ending. Aristotle described this phenomena in Arist. *Poet.* 1453a 36:
"Orestes and Aigisthos depart as friends, no one dies or is killed". According to Revermann in Ar. *Polyidos*,
"the 'happy ending' closure is clearly detectable (fr. 469)" but this is certainly not due to Ar. *Polyidos* fr. 469
but rather the Polyidos myth itself.
[370] See *TrGF* vol. 4, p. 336-7 which records sources indicating that both tragedies concerned negotiations
between Lemnians and Argonauts.
[371] Rau 1967: 216.
[372] Bond 1963: 159.
[373] Olson 2007: 94. Cf. Ar. *Fro.* 68 where Dionysos uses the phrase to express his determination to resurrect
Euripides, an opportune time for a paratragic phrase.

Again there is a connection with the Lemnian myth in Ar. *Lemniai* fr. 374: "They killed their child-begetting husbands" which indicates that the murder of Lemnian men was a past event. Additionally in Ar. *Lemniai* fr. 375 ἀνδρῶν ἐπακτῶν πᾶσα γαργαίρει στοά "every *stoa* is overflowing with foreign men", the use of ἐπακτός is particularly relevant to the newly arrived Argonauts in both its literal capacity, meaning "brought in, imported" and in its metaphorical meaning "adulterer". The meaning provides a comic pun while the tone is more appropriate to tragedy.[374] The evidence for a connection with tragedy is slight but Aristophanes' play borrows title and subject from Sophokles' *Lemniai* and this was also the subject of Aiskhylos' *Hypsipyle*. Strattis' use of tragic titles alongside Aristophanes' *Phoinissai* implies that connections to tragedy are plausible for Aristophanes' *Lemniai* as well. We can compare Nikokhares' *Lemniai* fr. 15 "we are sailing to the fleece" which also clearly interacted with the story of Iason's visit to the Lemnian women (see in Chapter 2, p. 98).

Female characters, choruses and costumes

The careers of Strattis and Aristophanes in the late fifth century BC mark a time in which tragic parody flourished. In their use of tragic characters, it is striking how frequently the translation of female tragic characters onto the comic stage occurs, but particularly Euripidean female characters: Iokaste, Hypsipyle, Andromeda, Helen, Iphigeneia, Medeia, Atalante. Inclusion of the last two is based on Strattis' comedies *Medeia* and *Atalantos*. Strattis' work is a part of this comic/tragic debate around female characters, their use, exploitation and entertainment value. In Chapter 4 we noted the varying types of mythological female characters that are portrayed by Euripides and that Strattis chooses to involve in his comedies:

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[374] Stanford 1981: 218 discusses the word's use at Soph. *Aias* 1296 noting that it is a more polite term for "adulterer" than μοιχός.

the independent and strong women (Medeia, Atalante, Iokaste) and those in need of rescue (Andromeda, Hypsipyle, Iphigeneia).

The attraction of tragic heroines to comic poets relates to the fact that women portrayed in the extreme, or grotesquely, are a mainstay of much comedy and these tragic heroines can be shaped to this mould since they are already known to the audience from the tragic productions. The inclusion of so many Euripidean heroines demonstrates that there were plenty of memorable portrayals of female mythical characters by Euripides, ones which the poets of Old Comedy felt fully prepared to exploit for their own ends. This occurs in Platon *Skeuai* fr. 142 which refers to a Euripidean water-carrying female character, most probably Elektra (see Chapter 2, p. 82). It is surprising that the copious literature claiming the dominance of the female on the tragic stage does not cite the corroborating evidence from tragedy's sibling comedy more often;[375] the correlation between the two forms over their interest in presentation of the female is undeniable (while varying hugely in their concerns and dramatic effects).

Both *Thesmophoriazousai* and *Frogs* discuss Euripidean female tragic characters, as well as those of Agathon in *Thesmophoriazousai*. As Clark notes, the tragic Melanippe and Stheneboia are uniquely Euripidean creations; the former characterised by sophistic speech, the latter by uncontrollable passions, while Phaidra displays both of these characteristics. All three characters receive comic attention from Aristophanes.[376] There is condemnation of Euripidean heroines in Ar. *Fro*. 1043-4, expressed via the Aiskhylos character, who is presented as the more conservative tragedian compared to Euripides. Aiskhylos states that he

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[375] E.g. Chong-Gossard 2003; Zeitlin 1996; Foley 1981: 127-168.
[376] Clark 1998: iii, 2, 46-8.

never introduced *pornai* (the lowest form of prostitute) like the Euripidean Stheneboia or Phaidra, or any ἐρῶσαν "women in love" onto his stage. At Ar. *Thesm*. 547-8, Mika complains that Euripides creates only Melanippes and Phaidras but no Penelopes. Therefore, the contrast in styles of female depiction in tragedy was one of debate amongst theatre-goers of the time. It is reflected too in the premise of *Thesmophoriazousai* since the focus in the play on cross-dressing and tragic performance links to the play's interest in the portrayal of specifically Euripidean tragic females.

In their tragedies, the Euripidean Phaidra and Stheneboia reveal forbidden thoughts on-stage, in Phaidra's case with eloquent intelligence, which could produce an unsettling effect in the male-dominated audience. In addition to comic attention on what the women say, there is the matter of how they say it, or rather sing it. The Euripidean Andromeda, Hypsipyle, and Helen perform monodies whose emotive range and power is characteristically Euripidean and Ar. *Fro.* 1031-64 parodies this. Hall points to the necessary skill of these singers, adding that: "indeed, much of the solo singing in Old Comedy is parody of virtuoso singing by female tragic characters".[377] Perhaps this public display of emotive substance and style by these Euripidean women is what caused such fuss amongst the audience and their open declarations of feminine thought and feelings became twisted into charges that Euripides was presenting *pornai* on stage.

Euripides in *Thesmophoriazousai* is the object of hatred for the women of the play. Euripides' ability to upset the sensibilities of some of his audience must have been a view in circulation among the audience otherwise it would not have been a joke worth pursuing to its comic

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[377] Hall 2002: 30. On p. 35 Hall considers that an outstanding monodist was needed for *Helen* 167-73 and *Andromeda.*

extremes in *Thesmophoriazousai*. It is notable that the two main parodies used in *Thesmophoriazousai* involve the rehabilitated Helen (cf. her portrayal in Euripides' *Trojan Women* to that in *Helen*) and the innocent Andromeda. Chapter 4 (p. 247) focused on Strattis' repeated use of mythical love stories, especially ones retold on the tragic stage, which recall the extended comic versions of romantic scenes of *Thesmophoriazousai* that contain the parodies of Euripides' *Helen* and *Andromeda*. The titles and fragments of Strattis seem to reflect a similar if not greater interest in this area than occurs in Aristophanes' work. However, the large amount of material for the latter poet reveals the variety of subjects he chooses and the range of approaches to those topics in a way that is totally impossible to observe for Strattis' comedies.

The only indisputable appearance of a female tragic character in Strattis' plays is of course Iokaste in his *Phoinissai*. Her comic characterisation presents an interesting set of possibilities; was this Iokaste depicted as another typical woman of Old Comedy who was greedy for food, wine, sex, and specifically adultery, as well as foreign religious cults?[378] Iokaste could fit some of these labels, but she is also the concerned mother trying to preside over her warring children, although they are now men rather than boys. This makes Strattis fr. 47 all the more amusing as the advice she gives to her sons would better suit children than warriors. In Aiskhylos' *Seven Against Thebes* Iokaste's sons receive Homeric-style treatment, witnessed in the arming scene (lines 677-719) and in the *ekphrasis* of some of the warriors' shields, and the comic Iokaste could be used to deflate any such epic tone in Strattis' *Phoinissai*.

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[378] E.g. to Dionysos or Cybele; see Ar. *Lys.* 1-3, 388, 700; Eupolis' *Baptai* contained effeminate Athenian men worshipping a Thracian goddess, Kotyto (discussed by Storey 2003: 98-9).

Female characters are ever-present in Old Comedy, but they are the focus of Aristophanes' "women plays": *Lysistrata*, *Thesmophoriazousai* I & II,[379] *Ekklesiazousai*, all of which have female choruses as well as playing out male-female conflicts on-stage. To these plays we can add *Skenas Katalambanousai* (fr. 487 tells of the women's excessive drinking habits). In these comedies, the female characters have the chance to speak but it is about sex, wine, and food which plays on the idea of what women get up to in groups. In comedy therefore, these women are portrayed as housing the most "unladylike" thoughts (since these defects are the opposite of the stereotype of the good woman, epitomised by Penelope, wife of Odysseus). This sets up a model of the female that can be mixed with that from tragedy. It would fit into Aristophanes' *Lemniai* which recalls the story of the Argonauts' sexual liaisons with the Lemnian women.

Through the recurrent use of tragic female characters, the paratragedy of Aristophanes and Strattis suggests that these characters embody the art form itself. Late fifth-century BC tragedy was dominated by a joint Euripidean and Sophoklean hegemony and particularly Euripides' style of depicting women on the stage appears to have captured the comic poets' imagination, perhaps spurred on by public indignation. In turn the comic poets could use these characters to shape their own comic needs and aims.

Certainly cross-dressing in Aristophanes can be linked to female tragic characters and to the performance of tragedy within comedy.[380] In Aristophanes' *Thesmophoriazousai* the Euripidean characters of Helen and Andromeda are used in conjunction with costume change,

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[379] The two comedies are discussed by Austin & Olson 2004: lxxvii. More recently Karachalios 2006, following Butrica, has argued that *Thesmophoriazousai* II pre-dates the extant *Thesmophoriazousai.*

[380] Although not in every case, e.g. in *Lysistrata* the female chorus dresses up the Athenian official on-stage as a woman.

involving male comic characters hiding their identity and gender and so changing their appearance and behaviour. The men in the comedy (Agathon, Euripides' relative, Kleisthenes and finally Euripides) all dress as women in their wish to identify with the female characters in order to achieve their varied desires; Agathon uses female costume and mannerisms to aid his composition of tragedies, Kleisthenes to suit his personal preferences, and the relative and Euripides in order to escape the women of the Thesmophoria. The question of whether gender and costume-crossing occurred in Strattis' *Iphigeron* and *Atalantos* remains an open one (as discussed in Chapter 4, p. 245) but Aristophanic comedy provides plenty of dramatic examples that make it highly probable.

In tragedy the use of scenes where characters acknowledge a change of costume sees the genre at its most metatheatrical, regardless of whether a male character dresses as a man or woman or vice versa, since the wearing of costume is part of the process that delineates actor from audience.[381] Telephos at the beginning of Euripides' *Telephos* famously declares to the audience that, in effect, he will be disguised to other characters in the play but he and the audience will share the knowledge that this beggar is, in fact, King of Mysia: δεῖ γάρ με δόξαι πτωχὸν −x−∪−, / εἶναι μὲν ὅσπερ εἰμί, φαίνεσθαι δὲ μή. Dionysos' role in Eur. *Bakkhai* begins in a similar vein as he announces to the audience alone that he is to be disguised as a mortal. For once though, it is not Dionysos who undergoes a costume change that results in him being dressed as a woman but instead it is his mortal adversary Pentheus although Dionysos' feminine beauty is described by an awe-struck Pentheus. Aiskh. *Edonians*, seen as a source for Euripides' *Bakkhai*, also dwells on this in fr. 61 where Lykourgos calls Dionysos γύννις and ψευδάνωρ.[382] In Ar. *Frogs,* Dionysos is all the more

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[381] Cf. Robson 2005: 173-81 who discusses the role of costume to aid comic characters in tragic composition.
[382] Lykourgos, King of the Edonians (inhabitants of Thrace) rejected Dionysos who then defeated the king. Sutton 1971: 387-411 makes the comparison of *Edonians* and *Bakkhai.*

amusing in the very masculine role and attire of Herakles (i.e. his lion skin and club) but with an additional costume underneath his heroic garb of a *krokotos* and *kothornoi*. This again makes it probable that the Dionysos of Strattis *Phoinissai* fr. 46 was in feminine attire when he spoke Hypsipyle's lines.

Costume changing and using it to disguise gender was a common trope in tragedy and one that comedy too could manipulate for its own ends. Euripides' and Sophokles' *Skyrioi* is of equal interest here as it is a fragmentary source for the story of the young Akhilleus hidden on the island of Skyros and dressed as a girl, to avoid taking part in the Trojan war.[383] In this myth Akhilleus is still a young man, which would make him convincing in female disguise. The ritual aspect to cross-dressing is noted by Zeitlin[384] as found in puberty rites where an adolescent is made to dress as his or her sexual opposite. She also points out certain Dionysiac festivals which encourage gender inversion e.g. the Kretan Ekdysia and the Argive Hybristika.

When Aristophanes wishes to draw attention to paratragedy, the costume and props (i.e. other visual elements of the tragedy being parodied) are used as well as the comic Euripides. This is seen in the change of costumes in *Akharnians* and *Thesmophoriazousai,* both of which occur in scenes before the tragic parody begins and so provide a move from comic to tragic territory. These scenes purposefully focus on costume change and this is a vital part of any dramatic production when only three actors were employed to play all the main roles. Equally the bird costumes of Tereus and the chorus in Ar. *Birds* could themselves have imitated or parodied

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[383] The Cyclic epic fragments provide the earliest source for this: *Kypria* fr. 19, *Little Iliad* arg. 3, and *Kypria* arg. 7. In all versions Akhilleus and Deidameia (a daughter of Lykomedes) have a child, usually called Neoptolemos, and then Akhilleus goes to Troy. Luppe 1982: 265-71, restores the hypothesis to Eur. *Skyrioi* link in order to link it with the account in Apollod. 3.13.8 where Odysseus finds the hidden Akhilleus by playing a trumpet call for war.

[384] Zeitlin 1996: 344.

those used or described Sophokles' *Tereus* which is parodied at the beginning of *Birds*.[385] In a different use of the visual echoes of Euripides' *Bellerophon* in *Peace*, Trygaios sets off for heaven astride a dung-beetle rather than the more heroic Pegasos of the tragedy, which again draws attention to the stage setting as part of the tragic parody. Therefore, Aristophanes uses costume and setting, as he uses the *mēkhanē* and the comic Euripides, to create a space on the comic stage for tragic parody. These all involve visual media, but we can include the musical and lyric aspects of tragedy as other identifiers for paratragic comic action.

Both costume and *mēkhanē* are again used as indications of Euripidean parody by Strattis in his *Phoinissai* and potentially in his *Iphigeron, Atalantos,* and *Lemnomeda*. As far as comic performance is concerned, costume provides a simple but effective way of indicating which genre (comic or tragic) a character can claim to be a part of at any given moment in a comedy. It provides the set up for the use of tragic elements in a comedy.

Euripides on-stage

Aristophanic parody of Euripidean drama spans forty years from *Akharnians* to *Aiolosikon* and he is the only comic poet known for repeatedly bringing Euripides on-stage as a comic character in *Akharnians* (425 BC), *Thesmophoriazousai* (411 BC) and *Frogs* (405 BC) as well as in the fragmentary *Dramata* or *Kentauros* and *Proagon*. The gap between the first and last stage appearance of the comic Euripides indicates his enduring appeal as a comic character to Aristophanes, and presumably, to his audience as well. The presentation of real individuals as main characters in a comedy is a common characteristic of Aristophanes' work, as listed

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[385] Sophokles *Tereus* fr. 581 describes Tereus' transformation offstage. Dunbar's view that Tereus' appearance as a hoopoe would be "grotesque" in a tragedy is neither decisive or convincing and as she admits Io the cow appears in *Prometheus Bound* (Dunbar 1998: 127). Tereus' stage appearance should not be ruled out.

earlier in the chapter (p. 263, footnote 325). Aristophanes presents Euripides as an innovator who chooses down-to-earth subject matter and characters, makes scandalous re-tellings of myth involving female characters, uses sophistic material, and who messes around with music. The only examples of real individuals appearing in Strattis' fragments involve purely artistic personae of Kallippides and Kinesias each in eponymous comic plays and their respective innovations in acting and music make them comparable to Aristophanes' Euripides. Strattis *Kinesias* fr. 44: "chorus-killer Kinesias" reflects the copious amounts of comic vitriol against Kinesias' music, health and appearance.[386]

Aristophanes uses the comic Euripides to speak about his own tragic poetry and to air Aristophanes' own comic material concerning intellectual and philosophical matters, and to express a generally grumpy temperament. This is seen in his impatience with both Dikaiopolis in *Akharnians* and with his relative in *Thesmophoriazousai*. In these scenes Euripides forms the other half of a comic partnership where he is the target of jokes from a comic *bomolokhos* which makes the tragedian a figure of mockery on many levels; Euripides is the butt of the joke and the *bomolokhoi* show that a writer of tragedy really cannot take a joke. This is an apt comic model because Aristophanes' frequent use of tragic lines indicates how out of place humour can be in a Euripidean tragedy.

Most recently the editors of *Komoidotragoidia* have seen the appearance of Euripides in Aristophanic comedy as "una paradossale, segreta incoerenza" in which Euripides is both victimised and admired for his style of tragedy: "accanto agli stereotipi del passatismo, cifra dell' *Archaia*, che fanno di Euripide la vittima designata dell' esecrazione moralistica, si

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[386] Pherekrates *Kheiron* fr. 155.8-13, Ar. *Bir.* 1372-1409, Ar. *Fro*. 153, 1437 on music; Platon fr. 200, Ar. *Gerytades* fr. 156.9, Ar. *Ekkl.* 330 on his health and appearance.

scorge trasparenza una sorta di gelosa ammirazione verso la modernità del poeta tragico".[387] In other words, Euripides is the figure whom Aristophanes both admires and loves to hate. The link is a complex one, and as the editors Medda, Mirto, and Pattoni state, it is certainly true that "Le sottigliezze dell' intertestualità fra commedia e tragedia, dunque, vanno ben oltre la parodia del genere serio".

Aristophanes the educator?

Strattis was interested in myth as used by tragedians and Aristophanes saw these also as an instructive comic model for contemporary Athenian audiences, as discussed above in connection with *Akharnians*. Aristophanes' portrayal of Euripides repeatedly expresses his relation to the sophists and other novel thinkers of the late fifth century BC, especially Sokrates. Modern scholars have followed Aristophanes in trying to show how Euripides' own work is filled with contemporary philosophical thought.[388] The evidence from comedy is clear: association between Euripides and Sokrates occurs in Ar. *Fro*. 1491-9, *Cl*. 1369-72, 1377-8. In Old Comedy there is an apparent rumour that Sokrates helped Euripides compose his tragedies,[389] which may well be entirely fictitious but highlights a contemporary link between the two. An example of their similar comic characterisation for non-traditional religious views is seen when either the comic Euripides or Sokrates swear oaths by non-Olympians (for Sokrates' oaths see Ar. *Cl*. 264-5, 424, 627; for Euripides' oaths see Ar. *Thesm*. 272, *Fro*. 891-4). Both Euripides and Sokrates are depicted as ill-tempered intelligent men, who are placed in opposition to the simple-minded as a way of creating comic action.

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[387] Medda et al. 2006: ix.
[388] Conacher 1998; Allan 2000: 145-56.
[389] See Ar. *Cl. I* fr. 392; Telekleides fr. 41, 42; Kallias *Pedetai* fr. 15, discussed in Chapter 2, p. 110.

In the portrayal of Kinesias in Ar. *Bir*. 1373-1409, this figure of musical and literary talent is paraded on-stage not merely to mock his music but also his haughty pretensions. The comic Kinesias reveals the secret of his dithyrambic poetry and asks Peisetairos for wings because he wishes to reach the clouds upon which dithyramb depends. Therefore, he unwittingly admits that his form of musical poetry is vapid, without substance and obscure; in comic terms, it is meaningless fluff. This view recurs at Ar. *Cl*. 333 where the chorus of Clouds are presented as objects of worship by dithyrambic poets: κυκλίων τε χορῶν ᾀσματοκάμπτας. Therefore, Aristophanes is presenting a reasonably consistent comic portrayal of Kinesias, just as he does with Euripides and Sokrates.

Aristophanes claims to educate his audience in the *parabases* especially of *Clouds* and *Frogs* and for all the comic ambiguity of these pronouncements, this does occur in his use of tragedy. The earlier discussion of *Akharnians* shows this as Dikaiopolis' speech borrows the Euripidean Telephos' own words in a scene paralleling the dramatic action of Euripides' *Telephos* which in *Akharnians* provides the platform for Dikaiopolis' speech against continuing the war with Sparta. In *Frogs* the search for *the* tragic poet to save Athens on the brink of defeat and collapse in war is the over-reaching aim of the plot, coupled with very real concerns about the direction of the war and the treatment of those who had supported the four hundred in 411 BC, as brought out in the *parabases*. If larger chunks of Strattis' work survived it would be easier to place him in relation to his predecessors on this topic.

Aristophanes uses Euripides as a character and representative of the tragic art and notably he can tweak this characterisation to fit the context of his comedy and to make the points that he wishes. In *Akharnians,* Euripidean costume and rhetoric are used within the Athenian debate

on real matters of war and peace. By contrast, in *Thesmophoriazousai* the audience gain a unique view of Euripidean drama in a collage format, where Euripidean love stories and female characterisation are show-cased to the perceptive viewer. In *Clouds* and *Frogs* and at the beginning of *Thesmophoriazousai*, Euripides is the intellectual pronouncer of nonsense; his art here displayed as having much in common with the professional orators and sophists. It is notable that after the first scene of *Thesmophoriazousai* this facet of Euripides' comic character disappears completely as Aristophanes' engagement with tragedy moves on to other matters. However, in *Frogs*, Euripides the thinker remains throughout, suiting the comic cause of the play. Euripides in comedy is therefore a comic tool, like everything else within Aristophanes' grasp. This is a useful pointer for considering Strattis' use of Euripidean drama in that there need not be one over-arching model and ideal behind it.

Euripistrattizein?

Aristophanes was a successful Old comic poet.[390] His competitors in the comic trade thought him worth mocking in their own comedies and this notoriety is a measure of Aristophanes' success. His squabble with Eupolis is one example bringing fame to all involved, including Kratinos who in *Putine* fr. 213 makes claims that Aristophanes used Eupolis' work: κακῶς λέγει τὸν Ἀριστοφάνην ὡς τὰ Εὐπολιδος λέγοντα.[391] These claims are countered in the *parabasis* of Ar. *Cl.* 553 with accusations that Eupolis' *Marikas* borrowed from *Knights*, and Eupolis *Baptai* fr. 89 admits this. In *Putine* (423 BC), Kratinos had reason to pick a literary fight with Aristophanes, in light of the latter's remark at Ar. *Kn*. 400 in the previous year.[392]

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[390] His victories at the Lenaia were *Akharnians* (425 BC), *Knights* (424 BC), *Proagon* (422 BC), *Frogs* (405 BC), and second prizes at the Lenaia for *Wasps* (422 BC) and at the Dionysia for (*Birds* 414 BC).

[391] This is according to an Aristophanic scholion, which is the source of fr. 213 (schol. (VEΓΘM) Ar. *Kn.* 531a).

[392] εἰσεμὴ μισῶ γενοίμην ἐν Κρατίνου κῴδιον an apparent reference to his incontinence. Luppe 2000: 15-20 and Rosen 2000: 30-2 discuss the relationship between Kratinos and Aristophanes in *Knights* and *Putine*.

This is part of an ongoing dialogue between the poets which reflects the popularity of Aristophanic Comedy, otherwise why mention Aristophanes and wish to be associated with him? This poetic rivalry continues in Kratinos fr. 342 (discussed in Chapter 2, p. 31) and provides evidence during Aristophanes' own career that comedians were aware of the close ties between Aristophanic comedy and Euripidean tragedy.[393] Sommerstein records fourteen different comic poets who are referred to in comic plays between 432/1 and 405 BC and ten of them are mentioned by Aristophanes alone[394] but there is no reference to Strattis, nor does he mention Aristophanes. In contrast Sannyrion is mentioned by, and mentions, Aristophanes and he is a poet with a comparably thin survival record to Strattis.[395] It makes the silence between Strattis and Aristophanes more notable, particularly given that they both had a close interest in Euripides' *Phoinissai*.

For all his interest in, and interaction with, Euripidean tragedy the fragments of Strattis contain no direct remarks on Euripides' work[396] and no indication that a comic Euripides appeared on Strattis' comic stage. While this could be a case of the fragments' survival dictating content, it is also true that the Aristophanic and tragic scholia show an awareness of Strattis' work but do not link Strattis to the use of a stage Euripides. However, Strattis' *Phoinissai* can be seen as a form of tribute to Euripides; it is a purposeful assimilation of Euripides' version of a popular myth re-moulded for the comic stage. In this carefully constructed play, Euripidean drama receives comic attention and the fragments do not indicate if the poet himself, Euripides escaped unscathed. This is in marked contrast to Aristophanes,

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[393] See also Bakola 2008: 1-29 which examines the comic persona created by comic dramatists, with Kratinos depicted as "the drunk", Eupolis as "the teacher" and Aristophanes as "the reformer".

[394] Sommerstein 1996a: 349.

[395] Sannyrion *Gelos* fr. 5 talks about Aristophanes; Aristophanes *Gerytades* fr. 156 involves Sannyrion.

[396] In *Anthroporestes* fr. 1 the *arkhōn* does call Euripides' tragedy δεξιώτατον but the wider context for this remark is lacking. The fragment does not criticise Euripides' composition, but rather the *arkhōn's* unfortunate choice of Hegelokhos as actor for Euripides' tragedy.

for whom Euripides was a regular target of mockery, not only for his tragedies but in connection with changes occurring within Athenian society in the late fifth century BC concerning developments in rhetoric and philosophy, particularly moral, and its effects on the Athenian people. Aristophanes used Euripides with both contemporary political and social points in mind. Yet in addition to this focus on Euripidean drama, both Aristophanes and Strattis set their sights far beyond Euripides, as explored above, and they also turned to the tragedy of Sophokles and Aiskhylos.

The huge influence that the work of Aiskhylos, Sophokles, and Euripides had on tragedy as an art and entertainment (a point which *Frogs* is insistent upon) ensured that their tragedies would be re-performed not long after their deaths, as discussed in Chapter 4 (p. 256). This helps to explain Strattis' intense interest in tragedy, with his plays representing comically reformed re-performances of tragedy, to meet the tastes and demands of the audience.

Both Strattis and Aristophanes focus on the mechanics of tragedy, the world beneath the theatrical mask, and this does point to a curiosity about the formation and creation of a tragic play, and one which reflects a similar curiosity among some of the audience. This is akin to the huge interest generated in the twentieth century by the beginnings of commercial film for "behind the camera" information; an interest in the film itself results in curiosity about its creation (as reflected e.g. in film magazines, documentaries about films, films about films). Such artistic introspection appears as the next step in human analysis of a successful phenomenon; a wish to understand it and relive the enjoyment of it. This is visible in film (and the film *Hot Fuzz*, mentioned at the beginning of the chapter is but one recent example) and this provides one explanation for how Strattis and Aristophanes constantly reproduce,

rework and claim to reveal the secrets of so popular a form as tragedy. In Aristophanes' case this involves much comic consideration of the man behind the art, for Strattis the surviving fragments indicate more involvement with tragic plots and characters. Strattis' plays indicate the flexibility in using tragedy in comedy; that it need not entirely be dictated by Aristophanes and his overtly pronounced interaction with Euripides.

6   Conclusions

The fragments of Strattis are vital for understanding paratragedy in Old Comedy generally, and in Aristophanic comedy specifically. The comedies of Strattis stand out among the comic fragments for the frequency and range of their interaction with tragedy. These are the simplest but perhaps most important conclusions to emerge from the preceding work. Examination of Strattis' work has hitherto been overlooked in discussions of comedy's engagement with tragedy and the preceding chapters make clear that this should no longer be the case. We have presented the evidence for Strattis' importance, via a commentary on relevant fragments of Strattis in Chapter 3 and then through an examination of these features of Strattis' work overall in Chapter 4. This has aimed to present the plays of Strattis as the product of a single poet in order to support the claim that Strattis is of fundamental importance to any examination of Old Comedy's use of tragedy. The overview of paratragedy of other fragmentary comic authors in Chapter 2 gave an idea of the levels of paratragedy that are visible in the comic fragments, providing a context within which to measure Strattis' use of paratragedy. Finally in Chapter 5 Aristophanes provided another comparative context within which to place Strattis' fragments, since Aristophanes' work is filled with a range of paratragic material.

This analysis of Strattis' work is in turn only possible because of our knowledge of Aristophanes and his continual use of tragedy and tragedians in his comedies. A comparison of paratragic activity in the works of Strattis and Aristophanes enriches our knowledge of each poet, their compositional techniques, their preferences, and those of the audience.

Moreover, the works of Strattis in particular indicate that comic plays of the late fifth and early fourth centuries BC were rich with paratragedy, particularly involving Euripidean tragedy.

Tragedy provided the means for us to analyse the fragments of Strattis. By exploring Strattis' persistent interaction with tragedy we have gained a reading of Strattis' fragments based on the remaining evidence. Tragedy acts as a linking force and a guiding line throughout the works of Strattis. This is exemplified in our ability to reconstruct the basis of a scene in Strattis' *Phoinissai* using fr. 47, fr. 48, and Euripides' *Phoinissai*. The same is also possible with Strattis' *Medeia* and in both of these comedies we learn that tragic characters appear in the comedies. Needless to say tragedy was not the only theme of importance to Strattis, but given the nature of our evidence for Strattis, his interaction with tragedy provides a means to perform some useful analysis of his works.

There is enough evidence of Strattis' interaction with tragedy that any subsequent work on paratragedy cannot afford to ignore him or a number of other poets, whose use of tragedy emerged in Chapter 2. It should no longer be acceptable to discuss paratragedy in terms of purely Aristophanic comedy; this merely distorts further our view of an art-form for which the majority of its plays survive in fragments.

Strattis' importance

The fragments of Strattis indicate the highest level and range of interaction with tragedy out of all the fragmentary comic poets. Part of their power comes from their menial number: ninety fragments in total, but only seventy-one whole lines. Nonetheless, these fragments still manage to reflect a clear and continual involvement with tragedy. This is all the more impressive following out examination of the evidence from other fifth and early fourth-century comedies. Even the best preserved poets: Eupolis, Kratinos, Pherekrates, and Platon do not have fragments that show the same level and range of interaction with tragedy as we find in Strattis' work.

Strattis can use *mēkhanē* jokes, tragic lines and language, jokes about actors, parody of Euripidean monody, which are the same techniques that we saw appearing in Chapter 2, except that *mēkhanē* jokes are only known in the works of Strattis and Aristophanes. In addition Strattis' plays provide evidence that non-Aristophanic comedy would also choose to adopt tragic plots into comic plays, and for Strattis this also involves borrowing the title of the relevant tragedy. We have seen how important a wide variety of myths were to Strattis and his comic compositions and that a tragic title could reflect the tragic content of his plays, as occurs with *Phoinissai*, *Medeia* and *Anthroporestes*. This suggests the possibility of something similar for the many titles of Strattis' plays that share their titles with tragedies, but contain no other direct link to tragedy in the few fragments for that play (Strattis' *Myrmidones, Philoktetes, Khrysippos, Iphigeron, Lemnomeda, Atalantos*).

Examination of Strattis' *Phoinissai* provided our most extended example of Strattis' interaction with tragedy, and specifically Euripidean tragedy. Uniquely we also possess fragments of Aristophanes' *Phoinissai* and both plays draw on Euripides' *Phoinissai* and tragic style in a number of ways. This last point strongly refutes the claim of Silk, which was cited in the introduction (p. 11), that Strattis' paratragic activity is innately different from that of Aristophanes.

Other features specific to Strattis' comedies have emerged from this study, including his use of hybrid titles, which refer to individual characters, who are part mythical. The titles *Iphigeron* and *Atalantos* play with gender and may link to the recurrent comic theme of disguise and gender play in Old Comedy. Secondly there is a proliferation of myths involving leading Euripidean female characters in Strattis' plays, with a similar trend reflected in Aristophanes' plays, suggesting a period in which such tragic characters were popular to use in comedy. This high level of mythical material in Strattis' plays has been seen as a move toward Middle Comedy although it is not merely mythical burlesque that we find in Strattis, but rather tragic interplay that forms some of his plots and characters.

The fragments of Strattis were used in Chapter 5 to provide a point of comparison and contrast with Aristophanes, the acknowledged master of paratragedy and user of Euripidean tragedy. Strattis is a contemporary of Aristophanes but writing after the latter's career had begun. A concrete dating for any of Strattis' work is beyond us. Yet the generalised evidence for dating (cited in Appendix 1) places Strattis' career in the latter half of Aristophanes'. Therefore, Strattis' paratragedy could be influenced by that of Aristophanes.

We have examined the extent of analysis possible in Aristophanes' use of paratragedy, e.g. in *Akharnians, Clouds, Thesmophoriazousai,* and *Frogs* which serves to indicate the limitations for study of paratragedy in Strattis. The complexities of Aristophanes' use of tragedy in his plays sees tragic themes intertwined in the comic action throughout the play and this is something that it is impossible to detect from the fragments of Strattis.

The focus on *mēkhanē* jokes in Aristophanes and Strattis is notable, as they provide a visual jibe at tragic performance, and also comically reflect the real danger and fear involved in using the *mēkhanē*. All *mēkhanē* jokes are connected to tragedy and many specifically to Euripidean tragedy. Therefore, this promotes the argument that both Strattis and Aristophanes were at pains to cite their tragic sources when they used tragedy for extended scenes in their comedies. In Strattis this is also indicated when his comedies have tragic titles and also contain tragic characters (his *Phoinissai* and *Medeia*) or tragic lines (his *Troilos*). In comparison Aristophanes recurrently uses Euripides as an on-stage character, and Euripides' appearances in Aristophanic comedy frequently act as a catalyst for paratragic action. Therefore, we see individual facets arising in the way that these two comic poets interact with tragedy.

Re-performance and the audience

Strattis and Aristophanes respectively adapt what they need from tragedy in order to compose their comedies. This interest in tragedy, especially Euripidean, reflects a level of interest and of knowledge among the audience about tragedy. The use of tragedy in comedy was both popular and successful; it had a fan-base. Otherwise why would Aristophanes and Strattis

delve into the tragic arts for comic material with such regularity?

Re-performance is a central issue for understanding Strattis' interplay with tragedy. The career of Strattis comes at a point of transition in the history of Attic tragedy, with the deaths of Sophokles and Euripides at the end of the fifth century BC. Therefore, in the following years there would have been a nostalgic feeling among some Athenian theatre-goers for the time of these great tragedians. Directly following the tragedians' deaths, Ar. *Frogs* reflects how popular re-performing extracts from tragedy could be, and even the comic play was itself re-performed. By 386 BC, re-performances of tragedies were made an official part of the City Dionysia.

As Strattis provided a close reproduction of aspects of fifth-century tragedy, this could be explained as a form of re-production of tragic plays, which an audience of tragedy-lovers would enjoy. This might have been particularly welcome following the deaths of Euripides and Sophokles in 406 BC. Strattis' recurrent use of tragedy, tragic plots, themes and characters in his plays was a purposeful career move; some theatre-goers were indeed tragedy-obsessed.

The fragments do not allow us to say for sure whether Strattis involved tragedy in his plays in order to satirise it, due to the inadequate number, length and content of these fragments. Similar attempts to discern the purpose and tone of Aristophanic tragic parody has produced no consensus among scholars, as we saw in Chapter 5, even when his work is far better preserved than that of Strattis. Therefore, we are unlikely to resolve this matter for the fragments of Strattis. As Dentith in his work on parody has argued, parody is closely bound to

its original cultural context and so its meaning and tone can change with every successive interpretation of that parody which falls outside of its original context.[397] However, in trying to place Strattis in his original cultural context, the idea of Strattis celebrating the art of tragedy is a plausible one, based both on Strattis' detailed and continual use of tragedy in his plays, and based on his position as a poet of Old Comedy at the end of the fifth century BC at the time of the deaths of Sophokles and Euripides. Their era of dominating Attic tragedy had come to an end, an era that provided lucrative material for poets such as Strattis and Aristophanes.

The works of Strattis and Aristophanes are testament to the continuing relationship that Old Comedy held with tragedy throughout the fifth century BC. Both Aristophanes and Strattis were writing during the period of actual performances of tragedy. They could react against a live performance and this is clearly brought out in the ways that they choose to bring up tragedy in their works. Therefore, uniquely we have an age of parody of performance of the play since the original tragic performance was witnessed by poets and audience alike.

The readings and interpretations of Strattis' fragments add to our knowledge of fifth-century paratragedy, and indicate that in the late fifth century BC there was a rise in such activity as is also reflected in the works of Aristophanes. Particularly in the period 412 BC – 405 BC both Strattis and Aristophanes partake of a range of recent tragedies which they adopt into their comedies; most notably both write a *Phoinissai*, and Aristophanes composed a *Lemniai* while Strattis wrote a *Lemnomeda*. During this period they also both draw on Euripides' use of the *mēkhanē* and involve tragic heroines in their comedies: Helen, Andromeda, Iokaste,

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[397] Dentith 2000: 9 and 41 on ancient parody: "it has necessarily been filtered through the particular cultural situations of those who have tried to make sense of it".

Iphigeneia, Atalante, Hypsipyle, and many of these come from Euripidean plays.

Strattis therefore emerges as a potential rival as well as a follower of Aristophanes in using tragedy in his comedies. Aristophanes is not after all unique in his interest in tragedy but he had developed the art of paratragedy into something which some of his contemporaries, including Strattis, would aim to build upon. The loss of the *Phoinissai* comedies of Aristophanes and Strattis is particularly unfortunate for understanding the relationship between these comic poets. Euripides' *Phoinissai* is surrounded by much debate as to its content and length, due to the copious amounts of interpolation. The comic texts of both Aristophanes and Strattis were written prior to this interpolation. They are the closest we come to knowing about the real Euripidean tragedy of the fifth-century BC since Aristophanes and Strattis saw and reacted to the original production of Euripides' plays, and produced comedies on the subject for an audience who had experienced the same. Their understanding and expectations of paratragedy were not limited to the interpretation of a text, and this is a point worthy of note for any form of analysis of paratragedy.

In terms of the art of story-telling, myths are shared between all authors of art and literature but plots belong to specific authors, since the plot is the way that each author chooses to deploy a myth. The plots of tragedy record a moment in a myth. Like film, Attic tragedy can take part of a longer story and focus the narrative and performative narrative on one episode. Tragedy itself is a focaliser of myth. It creates a story to which all the audience in the theatre are exposed and this indicates the influence that tragic poets held over their audiences. While all audience members could react in separate ways to the tragedies before them, they were nonetheless all responding to the same plays. This shared response, and the conflicting views

that it produced, provide the basic material for comic poets to re-work tragedy. Strattis and Aristophanes reproduce aspects of these highly effective tragic plays through their own dramatic medium. The extent of this is seen in contemporary paratragedy in the works of Old comic poets, particularly those of Strattis and Aristophanes but the effect was extensive enough to continue down to the comedies of Menander and beyond.

As a final point, this thesis has been concerned with the nature and the form of comedy's relationship with tragedy in the fifth and early fourth centuries BC. The formulation of this link remains obscure and as an example of this I include a list of the eclectic vocabulary used throughout the preceding work to express the connection between comedy and tragedy:

comedy's   use of   **tragedy**

response to

relationship with, to

interaction with

involvement with

adoption of

adaptation of

incorporation of

reaction to

reception of

echoing of

In addition Platter talks of "interpenetration" between comedy and tragedy.[398]

This serves as an indicator of how this work has conceived the links between the two dramatic

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[398] Platter 2007: 144.

art-forms, and this is due in the main to Strattis, whose work has provided the means for a fresh look at the art of paratragedy.

7 Appendix 1: Dating Strattis

Strattis was certainly composing comedies in the late fifth and early fourth centuries BC; Strattis *Atalantos* fr. 8 and *Kinesias* fr. 16 note that *Atalantos* and *Kinesias* came after Aristophanes' *Frogs* (405 BC).[399] However, both the dating of Strattis' career and of his individual plays is a difficult task since none of his comedies have a specific date. This is in part due to the infrequent mention of Strattis in ancient and later sources. In addition, nothing survives of the Victors' List for comic poets in the early fourth century BC at the Dionysia, in which we would expect mention of Strattis if he had won there.

The other main source for dating Strattis' plays is other relevant tragedies. This means that our method for dating mainly involves using a *terminus post quem* based on a tragedy's production date. Therefore, the plays are given in order of the earliest potential dates after which they could have been performed. This does not provide an accurate date for when these plays were actually performed, but it does allow us to keep a consistent method of dating. There is also the mention of *komodoumenoi* to help with dating more generally. However, there are no historical events referred to in Strattis' plays to aid dating. This section dates all of Strattis' plays where possible so as to give a more cohesive picture of his dramatic career. There are three sections to this appendix: **1).** Dating Strattis' career; **2).** Strattis' datable plays; **3).** Strattis' undatable plays.

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[399] Schol. Ar. *Fro*. 146b for *Atalantos*; schol. Ar. *Fro*. 404a for *Kinesias*.

1. Dating Strattis' career

The evidence for dating the career of Strattis is minimal and generalised:

- *IG* II^2 2325, 138. On the victories list for the Lenaia, Geissler restores ΣΤΡΑΤΤΙ]Σ which would plausibly place him just after Philyllios and Philonikos.[400] Philyllios is mentioned in Strattis' *Potamioi* which dates no later than 390s BC. Both Philyllios and Philonikos are contemporaries of Sannyrion, whose *Danaë* dates to after 408 BC. The only dating information for Philonikos is *IG* II^2 2325, 137.

- Athen. *Deipn*. 10.453c notes that Kallias the Athenian comes a little before the time of Strattis. This generalised comment is not helpful. However, see Chapter 2 (p. 48) on the importance of Athenaios bringing up Strattis while discussing *The Grammar Tragedy*, an apparent extended parody of tragedy.

- Two of Strattis' plays come after 405 BC (see Strattis *Atalantos* fr. 8 and *Kinesias* fr. 16, discussed below).

The following scholars date Strattis' career, but some do so without an explanation for the periods they have chosen:

- Geissler considers Strattis a poet of Middle Comedy because he is the last name in column 2 of the Lenaia victory list. He dates all of Strattis' plays after 410 BC.[401]

- Nesselrath dates his career to the period 419-375 BC.[402]

- Luppe dates his career to 409- c. 375 BC.[403]

- Webster dates the following plays without explanation: *Zopyros Perikaiomenos* to

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[400] Geissler 1969: 12.
[401] Geissler 1969: 12.
[402] Nesselrath 1990: 203.
[403] Austin *CGFP* 220, p. 208 (*P. Oxy*. 2743); Luppe 1971: 121.

400-390 BC; *Kinesias, Makedones,* and *Atalantos* (he calls it *Atalanta*) to 380-70 BC.[404]

- Rosen notes the difficulties of dating Strattis but opts for 409-370 BC, but then says down to "at least 375 BC", citing Geissler and Strattis fr. 3. This is presumably due to the fragment containing reference to Isokrates and Lagiska, but again it is not explained why 375 BC is picked, nor is their an explanation for Rosen's labelling of Strattis as "a poet of Middle Comedy".[405]

- Sommerstein gives rough dates of 415 BC - 380 BC.[406]

2. Strattis' datable plays

Kallippides - *terminus post quem* 418 BC?

The fragments do not help with dating the play. Kallippides the actor won first prize at the Lenaia in 419/8 BC (*IG* II^2 2325, 252), and the success and renown that Kallippides would have gained from this may have inspired and/or encouraged Strattis' comedy named after him. Geissler dates the play between 410-400 BC, considering that the play could scarcely be written before 410 BC but he provides no further explanation.[407]

Troilos *- terminus post quem* 418 BC?

The only relevant tragedies are Sophokles' and Phrynikhos' *Troilos*. Sommerstein follows Hofmann[408] in dating Sophokles' *Troilos* to 418 BC while Geissler offers no date.

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[404] Webster 1953: 259-261.
[405] Rosen 1999: 148 and n. 2-3.
[406] Sommerstein et al. 2006: 234.
[407] Geissler 1969: 67-8, n. 4.
[408] Sommerstein et al. 2006: 215-6.

Iphigeron - *terminus post quem* 417-14 BC?

The possible dating for this play relies on its potential connection with either of Euripides' plays on Iphigeneia. Euripides' *I.T.* dates to 417-414 BC. Cropp[409] argues for a date c. 414 BC because of the use of trochaic tetrameters which only seem to appear in Euripides' plays of the 410s BC onward, and because of his increased use of resolution in iambic trimeters. Euripides' *I.A.* was produced after 406 BC.[410] Aiskhylos' and Sophokles' *Iphigeneia* are undated. The masculine form, *Iphigeron,* of a female heroine Iphigeneia recalls *Atalantos* and these gender-bending titles could be of a similar date. *Atalantos* dates to long after *Frogs.* Geissler does not discuss *Iphigeron*.

Lemnomeda - *terminus post quem* 412 BC?

This dating is extremely tentative. It relies on acceptance that myths involving the Lemnian women and Andromeda are relevant to the play, and therefore that Euripides' recent *Andromeda* would provide Strattis with material, as it had for Aristophanes in *Thesmophoriazousai.* Euripides' *Andromeda* dates to 412 BC, while his *Hypsipyle* (according to schol. Ar. *Fro.* 53a), dates after 412 BC but before *Frogs* in 405 BC. Geissler thinks that Lemnomeda is later than 410 BC and wonders about a link to Euripides' *Hypsipyle* and *Andromeda*.[411]

PCG, vol. VIII, *com. adesp.* fr. 1105 (*P. Oxy.* 2743 fr. 1, line 7, second century) repeats the proverb of Strattis' *Lemnomeda* fr. 24. Therefore, it is worth considering if Strattis is the author in the papyrus text, especially as it also mentions Lampon, which provides a means of

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[409] Cropp 2000: 60-1; cf. Cropp & Fick 1985: 23 who date *I.T.* to the period 417-412 BC using metrical statistics.
[410] Schol. Ar. *Fro.* 67. Diggle 1994: 290 takes this as evidence that *I.A.* was produced along with *Bakkhai* and *Alkmaion* by Euripides' son in 405 BC.
[411] Geissler 1969: 59.

dating fr. 1105. In the earlier publication of this in *CGFP* 220, Luppe doubts a link to Strattis because he dates Strattis' career to the period 409-375 BC and he considers that the mention of Lampon later in the papyrus makes a link with Strattis' play less suitable as Lampon was a follower of Perikles (who died in 430 BC) and one of the founders of Thourioi in 443 BC. However, Luppe admits Lampon is still mentioned in 414 BC in Ar. *Bir*. 521, 988. Therefore, it is perfectly feasible for Strattis to mention him as well since his career begins in the 410s BC. However, the appearance of the dicing proverb of *Lemnomeda* fr. 24 alone provides insufficient evidence to connect *com. adesp.* fr. 1105 with Strattis. Additionally papyri contain fragments of Old Comedy that are only firmly attributed to Aristophanes, Kratinos, and Eupolis.

Phoinissai - *terminus post quem* 411 BC

Euripides' *Phoinissai* dates to between 411-409 BC,[412] and his *Hypsipyle* to 412-405 BC. Aristophanes' *Phoinissai* provides no help with dating the *Phoinissai* of Strattis.

Philoktetes - *terminus post quem* 409 BC?

This dating assumes that Strattis' play makes use of Sophokles' *Philoktetes,* which was performed in 409 BC. Euripides' *Philoktetes* dates to 431 BC (along with his *Medeia*) and Aiskhylos' *Philoktetes* c. 470 BC. Geissler also assumes that Strattis' *Philoktetes* is after 409 BC.[413]

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[412] Based on this, Geissler dates Strattis' play to post-409 BC. Geissler 1969: 60-1.
[413] Geissler 1969: 59.

Anthroporestes - *terminus post quem* 408 BC.

Anthroporestes fr. 1 directly refers to the production of Euripides' *Orestes* of 408 BC in its mention of Hegelokhos. Ar. *Fro*. 303 (405 BC) provides the only other example of this joke with a firm date. Strattis used the same joke again in fr. 63 (unknown play) in a variant form but as part of a different play (see the commentary in Chapter 3, p. 209 on this point). However, *Anthroporestes* cannot be dated with any greater certainty, and neither can Platon's or Sannyrion's version of the Hegelokhos joke. All of these poets are active in the late-fifth and early-fourth centuries BC.

Kinesias - *terminus post quem* 405 BC

Schol. Ar. *Fro*. 404a says that Strattis' *Kinesias* came not long after *Frogs*. Jokes about Kinesias occur in *Frogs* (Ar. *Fro*. 152-3, 1437-8) and continue into the fourth century in Ar. *Ekkl*. 330, a play from the 390s BC. Strattis' *Kinesias* has the most *komodoumenoi* of his plays: Thrasyboulos, who is mentioned in the play was also a figure of fun in the fourth century (e.g. at Ar. *Ekkl*. 203, 356 and at *We*. 550), Laispodias who is only named in Ar. *Bir*. 1569, and Sannyrion who is named in Ar. *Gerytades* fr. 156. Geissler dates it to c. 400 BC based on the *Frogs* scholion.[414]

Myrmidones - 405 BC – 390s BC?

Aristophanes parodies lines from Aiskhylos' *Myrmidones* in the period 414-390s BC (Ar. *Bir*. 807, Ar. *Fro*. 992, 1264, and Ar. *Ekkl*. 392) and in addition Strattis' *Kinesias* fr. 17 quotes from Aiskhylos' *Myrmidones*: Φθιῶτ᾽ Ἀχιλλεῦ. We know that Strattis' *Kinesias* dates to not long after *Frogs*. Therefore, it is possible that Strattis' *Myrmidones* also fits this period of 405-390s BC. Kock places the play after 409 BC because of Alkibiades' battles at Byzantion but

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[414] Geissler 1969: 70 and followed by Meriani 1995: 22 without further explanation.

the one fragment gives no direct link to either Alkibiades or this particular event.[415] It only refers to an army at Byzantion, which is not in itself a datable phenomenon. Geissler's date for the play to a little after 409 BC is not convincing.[416]

Potamioi - *terminus ante quem* c. 390 BC

Schol. (VEΘN Barb) Ar. *We*. 1194 says that Strattis' *Potamioi* dates before both Ar. *We*. (of 388 BC) and *Ekkl*. (the late 390s BC). Therefore, Strattis' play dates at the latest to towards the end of the 390s BC. Philyllios the comic poet, and contemporary of Strattis, is mentioned in *Potamioi*. Geissler dates it to a little after 401 BC or before 391 BC.[417]

Atalantos - 390s BC onward.

Schol. (RVMEΘBarb) Ar. *Fro*. 146b states that *Atalantos* was much later than *Frogs* of 405 BC: πολλῷ γὰρ ὕστερον τῶν Βατράχων δεδίδακται ὁ Ἀτάλαντος Στράττιδος. Therefore, *Atalantos* post-dates *Kinesias* which comes shortly after *Frogs*. *Atalantos* fr. 3 mentions Isokrates and Lagiska, his concubine. Isokrates had been previously married and Athen. *Deipn*. 13.592d notes that Isokrates married Lagiska "when he was advancing in years", as does Plut. *Mor*. 839b. Isokrates' life dates c. 436-338 BC, all of which suggests a date in the fourth century BC. In addition a papyrus *PCG* VIII *com. adesp*. fr. 1146.17-19 ("Comoedia Dukiana") mentions Isokrates' eulogy of Helen, which Rothwell Jnr. argues was probably written in the 390s BC.[418] Therefore, Isokrates could be a comic target at this time. Taken together this evidence suggests a date in or after the 390s BC for Strattis' *Atalantos*.

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[415] *PCG* VII, p. 640.
[416] Geissler 1969: 60.
[417] Geissler 1969: 71, 84.
[418] Rothwell Jr. 2007: 188-91. Rothwell Jnr. provides a text and translation of the papyrus. On p. 128-30 he suggests linking *com. adesp*. fr. 1146 with Arkhippos' *Ikhthues* as the papyrus involves an encomium to the sheat, σίλουρος. Willis 1991 [1993]: 331-53 was the first to suggest that fr. 1146 belonged to Arkhippos' *Ikhthues*. Luppe 1993: 39-41 labelled it a fragment of New Comedy. Csapo 1994: 39-44 supported Willis.

Makedones/Pausanias - c. 390s BC onward?

Lais the courtesan is mentioned in Strattis *Makedones* or *Pausanias* fr. 27 and according to the source of the fragment (Athen. *Deipn.* 13.589a), Pausanias the Thracian was a lover of Lais.[419] Lais is mentioned in Ar. *We.* 179 and 303. Athen. *Deipn.* 13.570d-e also quotes Anaxandrides' *Old-man's Madness* which mentions Lais and Anaxandrides' career as coming after that of Strattis. This slight evidence strongly suggests a date in the fourth century BC. Geissler dates it to 400-390 BC.[420]

Medeia - c. 390s BC onward?

Euripides' *Medeia* of 431 BC is of little help for dating Strattis' *Medeia*. However, Strattis does name Megallos and Deinias the Egyptian, both perfume sellers. Megallos is mentioned in other Old Comedies from the late fifth-century: Ar. *Telemesses* fr. 549, Pherekrates' *Petale* fr. 149, and in the mid-fourth century by Anaxandrides fr. 46, Euboulos fr. 89 and Amphis fr. 27. Deinias is described by Herakleides Pontikos (a fourth-century BC philosopher) according to Athen. *Deipn.* 12.552f. This very slight evidence suggests a date for Strattis' play in the fourth century BC. Geissler does not discuss the play.

3. Strattis' undatable plays

Arguriou Aphanismos - We have only the play-title.

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[419] I side with Kassel & Austin in considering that this is the Pausanias referred to in the title rather than Meineke's suggestion that it was Pausanias, the lover of Agathon (see *PCG* vol. VII, p. 636). While both ideas are plausible, the lack of surety for either suggestion makes the identity of Pausanias a tenuous point on which to build a case for the date or contents of the play.

[420] Geissler 1969: 70.

Zopyros Perikaiomenos - ?

Geissler dates the play to 400 BC because he is certain that the play is a parody of Spintharos' tragedy *Herakles perikaiomenos* but admits that the tragedian's dates, and that of his play, are unknown.[421] At Ar. *Bir.* 762 the chorus mocks a Phrygian Spintharos, but his identity is not made clear in the comic context. Geissler considers the ridiculed Zopyros is either the paidagogue of Alkibiades or a Phaidon of Elis who features in Plato's *Phaidon.*

Putisos - ?

Possibly a spurious play title. No date given by Geissler.

Psykhastai - ?

Geissler dates it to between 410 and 400 BC based on fr. 57 which contains the expression σκυτίνη ἐπικουρία which Geissler notes is a recurrent joke in that period. This is, however, very slim evidence for dating.[422]

Khrysippos - ?

For Cropp & Fick, the fragments for Euripides' *Khrysippos* are too few in number to be included in their statistical exercises.[423] Geissler's claims that Euripides' *Khrysippos* dates to 409 BC are unfounded.[424]

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[421] Geissler 1969: 68.
[422] Geissler 1969: 67.
[423] Cropp & Fick 1985: 70, 77-8.
[424] Geissler 1969: 59.

8   Appendix 2: *P. Oxy*. 2742 (second century)

Images of the papyrus from: http://www.papyrology.ox.ac.uk/POxy/ [Accessed 17/02/09]

Figure 1. The vertical brackets indicate the section which contains Strattis *Atalantos* fr. 4, Strattis *Phoinissai* fr. 46, and Aristophanes *Gerytades* fr. 160.
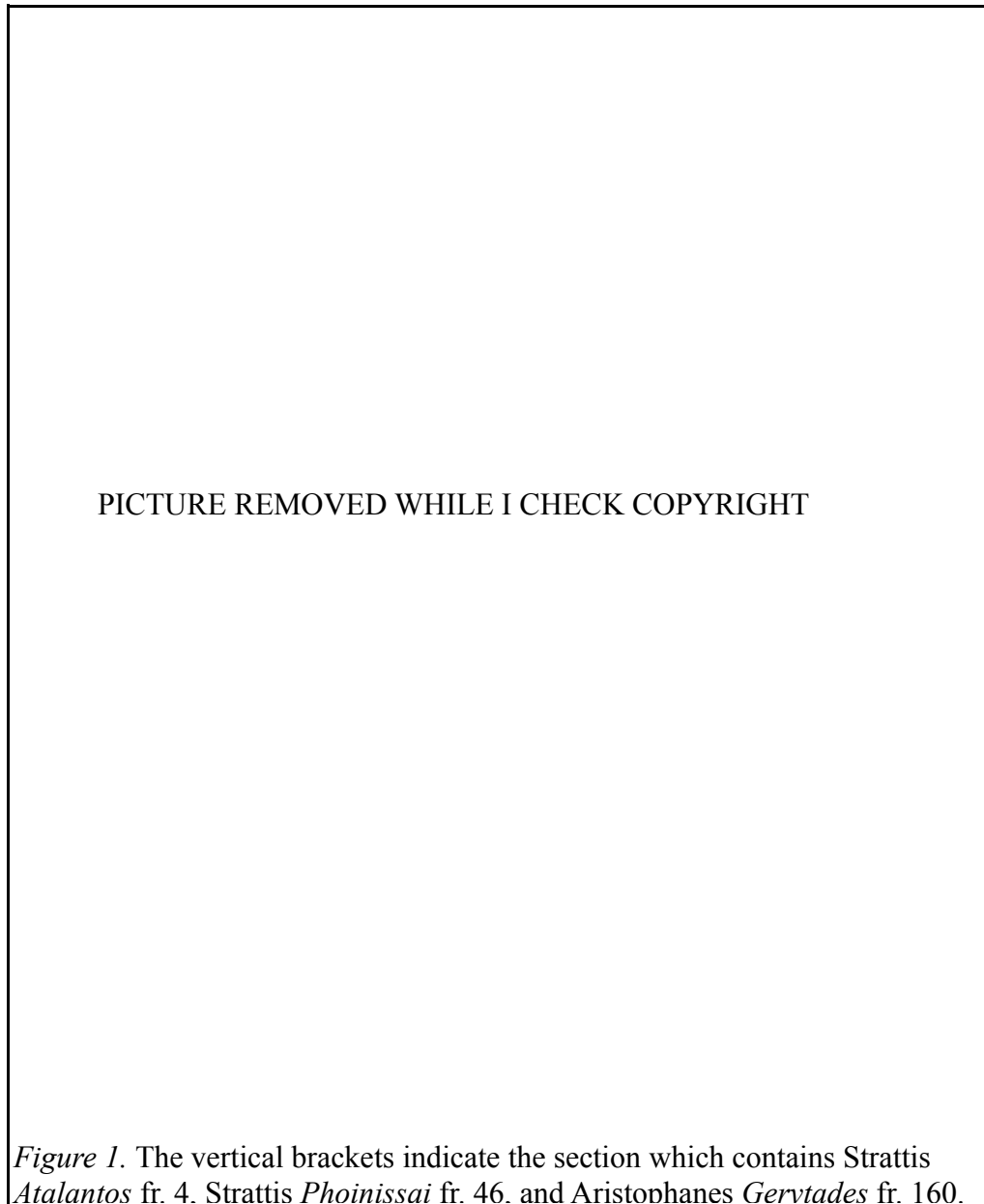
Figure 1. The white brackets trace part of Strattis *Phoinissai* fr. 46: αὐληταὶς † δει·λ † κω[. . .] in order to show the spaces in the text and the small black bracket shows the size of the hole in the papyrus. The section in white brackets on the right hand side of the papyrus

also shows that only the letters of αὐληταί are visible, without a final sigma. Yet there is clearly space for an extra character, making αὐληταίς a very plausible reconstruction, especially as the word on the line above extends one letter further than αὐληταί, and it reads: φονισσαις.

PICTURE REMOVED WHILE I CHECK COPYRIGHT

Figure 2. Upper part of papyrus, with a demonstration of reconstructing the word κώμοις and the 'ε' of ἐνέχομαι in to Strattis *Phoinissai* fr. 46.

Figure 2 provides a demonstration of a possible reconstruction of the hole in the papyrus, that comes after κω[...] and which was visible in Figure 1. The reconstruction illustrates that there

is space to restore κώμοις and the 'ε' of ἐνέχομαι to Strattis fr. 46. In Figure 2, the reconstructed κώμοις is made using letters from the papyrus itself, which are numbered. The source-letters are numbered in white, the reconstructed text has black numbering.

9 Bibliography

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