SCOLIA AND ABUSE-LYRICS IN OLD COMEDY
THE ATTIC SCOLIA AND THE ABUSE–LYRICS
IN OLD COMEDY

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this thesis is to examine two elements of popular Attic culture as they appear in Old Comedy: the so-called Attic scolia, and the ritualized abuse often associated with cult, which takes the form of the abuse-lyrics so prominent in the iambic scenes. This will be done primarily through a re-examination of an old article by Ernst Wüst [Philologus 77 (1921)]. This is necessary in that Wüst's arguments seem to have been accepted as valid. It will be shown that, although there are Attic scolia present in Old Comedy (in different forms, e.g. in partial citations and in parody), they are not as pervasive and do not play as formative role in the structure of Old Comedy as Wüst asserted. As for the abuse-lyrics, it will be shown that they derive from several traditions of invective: primarily from the cultic αἰσχρολογία and the good-natured abuse frequently associated with religious celebrations, especially those peculiar to women, but also from the Iambographers, whose influence is explicitly attested by the comic poets themselves. In addition, in both parts of this thesis the frequent use of forms of folk-poetry, and the significance of this, will be demonstrated.
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S.P.M.
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CHAPTER ONE:

INTRODUCTION

More than the other genres of ancient Greek literature, Attic comedy drew extensively upon the Realien of contemporary Athens. This is true both of Old Comedy and the New, but much more so of Old Comedy, since Old Comedy embraced a far greater range of the life and activity in Classical Athens than the limited and stereotypical plots of the later comedy. This aspect of Old Comedy is true to such an extent that much of what we know of many areas of popular Athenian culture in the fifth century is directly derived from the evidence supplied by the remains of Old Comedy.

This use of popular Realien runs the entire gamut of political, religious, and social life of fifth century Athens, so that passages frequently appear which involve the simulation of e.g. the proceedings of the law-courts, the political assemblies, and religious institutions, such as the established cult-rituals, and hymn- and prayer-forms.¹

It is just this popular element in Old Comedy which will be the focus of this thesis. It will deal in particular with two

elements widespread in the popular culture of fifth-century Athens: the musical-poetical performances at symposia, in particular the Attic scolia; and ritualized abuse, which is found as part of several of the religious festivals.

While there has been little done in the past about the use of Attic scolia in Old Comedy, there has been much work done on the use and origins of the Comic invective; but this has been done in connection with invective in all its forms and in all parts of the comic drama. This thesis will be concerned only with the abuse uttered by the chorus in the form of brief lyrics and located in the iambic parts of Old Comedy.

Only one scholar has attempted to deal with these two elements in a comprehensive manner: Ernst Wüst,² tried to demonstrate 1) that Attic scolia were included in the iambic scenes of Old Comedy in accordance with a tradition of the genre, and 2) that the choral abuse-lyrics could in many instances be described as gephyrismus, a type of popular, ritualized abuse attested for certain religious festivals. Wüst thought that Aristophanes habitually used this gephyrismus in a way which establishes that he (Aristophanes) was closely imitating the popular ritual. This fact Wüst thought could be deduced from the repeated use of certain metrical and stanzalistic forms, and from the content of the abuse.

²'Skolion und Гεφυρισμός in der alten Komödie,' Philologus 77 (1921): 26-45.
The discussion of the topics raised in this thesis will be divided into two chapters. Chapter Two will deal with the question of the Attic scolia, the third with the question of the gephyrismus.

In Chapter Two we shall examine the use of Attic scolia in Old Comedy. As has already been mentioned, Wüst thought that he could distinguish a pattern in the choral lyrics of the iambic scenes which revealed a regular use of Attic scolia which were included through the force of tradition. However, it will become clear that apart from a few actual examples, his theory will not withstand examination. We shall see that Wüst uses the wrong criteria for establishing the existence of scolia in Old Comedy: in order to establish the desired pattern in the lyrics, he creates something called 'Komödienskolien', whose definition is so broad as to be meaningless. What will also become clear (and this will have some bearing for Chapter Three) is that Aristophanes (and the other comic poets, it may reasonably be presumed) frequently made use of the contemporary folk-music in some of the examples which Wüst identifies as scolia. That is, Aristophanes uses lyrics of a simple sort, clearly imitative of popular melodies such as can only be supposed to have had their sources in the folk-music of contemporary Athens.

We shall see too that there are real examples of scolia to be found in Old Comedy. All the real examples, however, are unmistakable: they are either quoted and named as scolia (cf. Wasps 1222 ff.), or are parodied in an obvious manner. These
scolia are not used in the programmatic and structural manner described by Wüst.

Chapter Three will deal with the questions which the abuse lyrics raise, in particular with regard to their relation to gephyrismus, a relationship which Wüst (in the article cited) suggests exists. Wüst sought to demonstrate that abuse-lyrics were included in a fixed pattern, and we shall examine this assertion as well. It will be necessary to distinguish between the different types of abuse commonly practised by different groups in classical Athens: cultic abuse; gephyrismus (if this is to be separated from cultic abuse); iambic abuse, as found in Archilochus and Hipponax (as will be seen this too may have had cultic origins or inspiration). Naturally the dividing lines between these groups, separated for convenience, will not always be distinct. It will therefore be necessary to show how the abuse-lyrics differ from one another, and fall into identifiable groups.

The apparent connection of the abuse in the parodos of the Ranae with the Eleusinian Mysteries has caused a general supposition of a connection between lyric abuse in Old Comedy and cult. This, in connection with our information about cultic ἀιματολογία, and the possible origin of comedy with popular cultic performances, does make the association of comic abuse with cult possible, and worth examining. Further, the use in Old Comedy of obscene language is frequent, and in this it bears a strong similarity to the practice of the Iambographers. The only
other possible source for this habit is cultic αἵσχρολογία. Both have been seen as the source for obscenity in Old Comedy. In this connection the question of just what γεφυρισμός is becomes important: is it cultic abuse, or simply a form of popular bawdiness which had become loosely associated with the cult, and if the latter, would there be any difference in the form that it takes?

The conclusion will be that the non-parabatic choral abuse, inasmuch as it appears in the form of simple folk-lyrics, may be derived from the γεφυρισμός, at least as far as this can be said with any certainty, while the abuse in the parabases shows some of the characteristics of iambographic invective. Of course, because of our imperfect knowledge of the iambographic genre and of γεφυρισμός, this conclusion can only be in the form of a suggestion.
Those plays of Aristophanes (who wrote as a representative of the final generation in the development of Old Comedy, and so may preserve features which differ from earlier comic poets, and perhaps even from his own contemporaries) which have been preserved more or less intact reveal a structural pattern which is adhered to, with some variation, from play to play: after a prologue, which in Aristophanes is always in trimeters, except for an occasional admixture of lyrics,¹ there follows a series of scenes, usually considered as a whole, the Parados-Agon-Parabasis, which normally features an elaborate pattern of metrically responding passages called, since Zielinski's time, 'epirrhematic syzygies'. In these scenes the conflict of the play is essentially resolved, leaving for the final scenes only the working-out of the consequences of the Agon.² These epirrhematic parts have in the past been the subject of extensive analyses which have revealed the formal structure


adhered to by Aristophanes. Less thoroughly analysed (perhaps because they are less suitable for such analysis) have been the final 'iambic scenes'. By 'iambic scenes' is meant everything which follows the parabasis (although these scenes are often interrupted by other types of scenes, e.g. Lysistrata 1014-42, where a sort of second agon has been introduced). The nature of these scenes discourages any attempt to identify structures which are as formally contrived as the epirrhematic syzygies of the Parodos-Agon-Parabasis. Among those who have tried, however, is Ernst Wüst, who attempted to identify certain formal elements in these scenes: his conclusions will form the starting-point and basis for this investigation.

Wüst's Theory

Wüst tried to show that in the iambic scenes the comic poets followed a convention which dictated the inclusion of scolia (or scolia-like songs) and ritualized abuse-lyrics (typical of certain religious festivals). We shall be concerned in this chapter, however, only with the first part of his argument, that Aristophanes and the other comic poets inserted

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Attic scolia into the iambic scenes as a traditional and therefore formal element of the comic drama.\textsuperscript{5}

Wüst begins by presenting the clearest and (I think) most incontrovertible evidence for his argument, by comparing 1) a scolium from Athenaeus XV 694d (\textit{Scolium 4} in Page's \textit{Poetae Melici Graeci}\textsuperscript{6}):

\begin{quote}
\begin{center}
\textit{σοκλία}, \textit{αρκαδιάς μέδων κλεεννάς,}
\textit{δραχμάς, βραδόλας ὁπαδό Νύμφαις,}
\textit{γελάσειας, ὦ Πᾶν, ἐπ' ἐμαῖς}
\textit{εὔφροσι ταῖσθ' ἀοιδάς κεχαρημένος.}
\end{center}
\end{quote}

with 2) Cratinus Fr. 359 K.-A.:

\begin{quote}
\begin{center}
\textit{χαίρ', ὥς χρυσόκερως βαβάκτα κῆλων,}
\textit{Πᾶν, Πελασγικόν Ἄργος ἐμβατεύων}
\end{center}
\end{quote}

and 3) Aristophanes, \textit{Eccles.} 938-45:

\begin{quote}
\begin{center}
\textit{Νεανίας: Εἶθε' ἔξην παρὰ τῇ νέᾳ καθεύδειν,}
\textit{καλ' ὦ δει πρότερον διασποθήσαι}
\textit{ἀνάσιμον ἡ προσβυτέραν,}
\textit{οὐ γὰρ ἀνασχετόν τούτῳ γ' ἐκευθέρῃ.}
\textit{Γραῦς: Ὀλυμψίων ἄρα νή Δία σποδήσεις,}
\textit{οὐ γὰρ τάπλ χαριζένης τάδ' ἔστιν.}
\textit{κατά τῶν νόμων ταύτα ποιεῖν}
\textit{ἐστὶ δίκαιον, εἰ δημοκρατούμεθα.}
\end{center}
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{5}Wüst, \textit{Skolion}, 26: "Im folgenden sei der Versuch gemacht, einen wesentlichen Teil gerade dieser lyrischen Einschiebsel in einen größeren Zusammenhang zu bringen und zu zeigen, daß auch in ihrer Anordnung der Dichter einem in der Blütezeit der alten Komödie bereits zum Zwang erstarrten Herkommen sich fügte."

\textsuperscript{6}The Attic scolia will be cited by Page's \textit{Poetae Melici Graeci} (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1962) enumeration throughout.

\textsuperscript{7}The last verse is printed as Wüst reads it: it is corrupt in Athenaeus. Wüst's version corresponds metrically with the other scolia, 1-6 Page, with which it surely must correspond, although Page obelizes most of the final line.
As Wüst shows, there is a correspondence of contents (and metre) between 1) and 2), and of metre between 1) and 3). From this correspondence he deduces the widespread popularity of this tune and this subject-matter (hymns to Pan), which he takes as support for the belief (following Reitzenstein) that a book of drinking-songs existed at Athens by the middle of the fifth century, and that this collection provided melodies to which guests at symposia could substitute their own words. He cites as the best evidence for this the four scolia on the topic of Harmodius and Aristogeiton (10-13P.) which, in Wüst's view, represent the efforts of different symposiasts to compose a song on a traditional topic.

Central to his argument is his attempt to use the two short songs from the *Ecclesiazusae* to show that Reitzenstein's definition of scolia is too narrow. This definition is as follows: Kurze Lieder, welche in einfachster Form den Nachhall berühmter Dichtungen oder beim Gelage beliebter Erzählungen, kurze Ausführungen eines allbekannten Sprichworts oder eine Gnome

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8 Wüst, *Skolion*, 26 f.


bilden; ursprünglich sicher Improvisationen, gehen sie auf keinen Verfasser zurück; es sind 'Volkslieder'.

Wüst, therefore, wishes to distinguish two types of scolia: the normal sympotic kind as in the collection in Athenaeus, and what he refers to as 'Komödienskolien', of which the two songs pointed out in the Ecclesiazusae would be examples. He takes as the 'essential, typifying features' of 'Komödienskolien' that they are closely bound to the plot of the drama and thus do not destroy the dramatic illusion (as does happen, for example, with the parabasis), and that each example of 'Komödienskolien' contains within itself a complete 'Gedanke' which is not a generalized statement, but which is a continuation of the plot. However, on this one must comment that it is clear that by this definition 'Komödienskolien' can never (or almost never) have the same subject-matter as regular scolia, since they must form part of the action of the comedy, which means that the presence of such scolia can be revealed only by the existence of metrical schemes which are paralleled in known scolia. Wüst's definition holds true only for the two songs from the Ecclesiazusae: these songs take the metrical form of the Pan-

11 R. Reitzenstein, Epigramm und Skolion, 21.
12 Wüst, Skolion, 28.
13 Wüst, Skolion, 28: "Diese Skolien sind mit dem umgebenden Komödiendialog aufs engste verflochten, treten nicht etwa wie die Parabase, die Illusion zerreißend, aus dem übrigen Text heraus; sie behandeln zwar in sich abgeschlossen je einen Gedanken, aber nicht einen allgemeinen, überhaupt keinen Gedanken von höherer Bedeutung; sie sind einfach eine Fortführung des Gespräches, der Komödienhandlung in anderer Form."
scolium, (and are probably, in the first line, εἷον ἐξῆν ἱκτα, a parody of an established scolium-formula) while at the same time the subject-matter of the songs continues the plot of the play. (It is more difficult, however, to be sure about Wüst's other example, Cratinus Fr.359 K.-A. It is undoubtedly in its subject-matter and in its metrical form typical of an Attic scolium. That it is a scolium cannot be doubted; to fulfil the other criteria of Wüst's definition it would be necessary to ascertain from which part of the play it comes. Molly Whittaker suggested that it formed part of the parabasis. If this is so, it could not fit into Wüst's scheme; but Whittaker's suggestion is hardly provable one way or the other.) Where, however, undeniable metrical parallels do not exist it becomes impossible to call a lyric passage a scolium.

Important in his argument for 'Komödienskolien' is his belief that there were two parts to the typical symposium, the first featuring the performance of 'Vaterlandsliedern' about the native gods and heroes, the second featuring songs reflecting the more drunken state of the guests. He believes that this

14 Cf. Scolium 6 (889 PMG): εἷον ἐξῆν ὁποίος τις ἤν ἕκαστος κτλ. This example (Eccl. 938-45) points to the fact that when Aristophanes imitates the Attic scolia, the parody is clear and unmistakable: both the metre and the first line of the scolium are imitated; compare the examples from the Wasps 1226, etc.

15 Molly Whittaker, 'The Comic Fragments in their Relation to the Structure of Old Attic Comedy,' CQ 29 (1935): 188.
distinction is evident both in the scolia in Athenaeus, and in
the 'Komödiensskolien' of Old Comedy.16

The final important point in Wüst's argument is that the
songs cited from the Ecclesiazusae (938-45) occur exactly
(arithmetisch, p.29) in the middle of the iambic scenes (700-
1181). Throughout the article he reiterates his assertion that
scolia were regularly placed by Aristophanes in the middle of the
iambic scenes. Following this he analyses all the lyrics which he
believes support his argument.

This, I think, is a fair summary of Wüst's theory of
'Komödienskolien'. I intend to show that Wüst was mistaken and
that his definition of 'Komödienskolien' is so broad as to be of
little practical use. In addition Wüst's definition is unclear as
to what exactly his 'Komödienskolien' are: are they scolia in the
accepted sense? i.e. what relation do they bear to actual scolia?
Wüst does not make this clear. It will be seen that few of the
lyrics discussed by Wüst can be called scolia (that is if the
term scolia is to have any real meaning). Upon examination,
however, it will become apparent that some of the lyrics which
Wüst calls scolia are in fact lyrics of the sort which were
likely to have been adapted from contemporary folk-songs. This in
turn will lead to the examination of the other lyrics of the
iambic scenes for further evidence of popular song-forms. Direct
evidence for such forms can be derived from a study of those few

16Wüst, Skolion, 28.
genuine folk-songs which survive from the Classical and the Hellenistic periods; these will reveal certain preferred metrical schemes and strophic forms which are found to be imitated by the comic poets.

First, however, a brief analysis of the Attic scolia will be helpful, both in respect to our discussion concerning Wüst's theory, and to illustrate some aspects of folk-songs (among which most of the Attic scolia are to be numbered) in the classical period at Athens.

The Attic Scolia

The main, and almost only, source for the Attic scolia is the collection in Athenaeus, XV 694C ff., and although it is of great importance for the definition of the term σχόλιον, it is necessary to pass over a discussion of the manner in which the scolia were performed: for the purposes of this inquiry we will accept the scolia found at the above-mentioned place in Athenaeus as representing the most common types of Attic scolia. Of these we are interested primarily in the subject-matter and in their metrical forms. Their date and authorship is also important, however, for Wüst's argument; this question has been much debated, but R. Reitzenstein has shown that this collection without much doubt already existed as early as the mid-fifth century, and that the arrangement which they take in Athenaeus is
equally ancient. There are twenty-five brief songs in this collection, lacking names of authors and information on their origins. If Reitzenstein's conclusions are correct, their arrangement reflects the order in which they would have been sung at an actual symposium.

A) Subject-Matter

The first five scolia concern the gods. The first two (to Athena, Demeter and Persephone) contain prayers that these goddesses direct and preserve Athens (ὅρθεν τὴν ἡ πόλιν; εὗ δὲ τάνθος ἀμφέπετον πόλιν). The third is directed to Apollo and Artemis, and the fourth to Pan, asking that god to take pleasure in the singing of the symposiasts. (As Reitzenstein shows, Scolium 5 is closely connected with 4 and emphasizes the popular belief at Athens in the importance of Pan in the Greek victory over the Persians. The manner in which these simple, anonymous songs were derived from the songs of well-known poets can be seen from Scolium 4:

"Ὤ Πάν, Ἀριαδνας μεθ' ἱερεῖν, ἀρχιστά, βρομίας ὀπαδὲ Νήμφαις, γελάσεις, ὦ Πάν, ἐπ' ἐμαίς εὐφροσυ ταίσθ' ἀοίδαις κεκαρημένος."


18R. Reitzenstein, Epigramm und Skolion, 15.

19R. Reitzenstein, Epigramm und Skolion, 14.
which has been adapted from a Partheneion of Pindar (Fr.95 Sn.-
M.):

\[ \dot{\omega} \pi\acute{\alpha}v, \dot{\alpha}r\kappa\acute{\alpha}d\acute{\iota}\acute{a}ς \mu\epsilon\delta\acute{\epsilon}\omicron \nu \kappa\acute{a}i \\sigma\epsilon\mu\nu\acute{\omicron} \acute{\alpha}d\acute{\omicron}t\acute{\omega}n \varphi\omicron\lambda\acute{\alpha}ξ \\
\]

\* \* \*

\[ \mu\alpha\tau\rho\alpha\varsigma \mu\epsilon\gamma\alpha\lambda\alpha\varsigma \\omicron\acute{\omicron}p\acute{\omicron}\delta\acute{e}, \sigma\epsilon\mu\nu\grave{\alpha}n \chi\acute{a}r\acute{\iota}t\acute{\omega}n \mu\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\acute{\eta}m\acute{a} \tau\acute{e}p\nu\nu\acute{o}v \acute{\omicron} \]

It was a habit of popular song-making in ancient Greece to take
the longer, more complex songs ('Kunstlieder') of a professional
poet like Pindar and, through repeated use and through differing
musical needs, to alter them: 21 the musical needs of symposiasts
would of course differ from those of Pindar, so that only that
part of the Partheneion which could be sung independently of the
rest of the song would be used by the symposiasts.

Scolia 10-13, which are in praise of the Tyrannicides
Harmodius and Aristogeiton, are four songs very similar in their
content. There has been a good deal of argument over whether
these are four separate songs, or one song with four strophes. 22
The answer to this question will be of some importance later, and

20 As colometrized by Bruno Snell, Pindarus, pars altera,
apparently makes use of this at Thesm. 977 ff: 'Ερμην τε Νόμιμων
\acute{\alpha}ντομας \kappa\acute{a}i \Pa\nu\acute{a} k\acute{a}i Νύμφας φίλας \kappa\acute{e}γελάσαι προθύμως τα\acute{\iota}s
\h\acute{\epsilon}με\t\acute{\epsilon}\\rho\acute{\epsilon}\\iota\acute{a}ς χαρέντα χαρε\varsigma\alpha\varsigmas.

21 Another example of this sort of thing among the Attic
scolia is Scolium 8 P., which is adapted from Alcaeus (Fr.249
V.). For a discussion (and bibliography) of this phenomenon
('zersingen'), and not only in respect to the archaic Greek
poets, see Wolfgang Rösler, Dichter und Gruppe (Munich: Wilhelm
Fink Verlag, 1980), 99, and footnote 170.

22 E.g., C.M. Bowra, Greek Lyric Poetry, 2nd ed., 391 ff.;
Wüst, Skolion, 27 f.
so must be examined here. Reitzenstein suggests that the division of the four strophes into two songs (10-11; 12-13) is a possibility. Each group would then begin with the lines:

έν μύρτου κλασὶ τὸ ξίφος φορήσω

In this way in each set of two the first song sets out the deed, and the second the consequences of the deed. However, he rejects this suggestion and opts instead for one song of four strophes. He agrees with Hesychius in ascribing the original to Callistratus and maintains that the repetition of ἐν μύρτου κλασὶ κτλ. is the work of conscious artistry on the part of the poet. He finds a parallel for this in the scolium of Hybrias, where there is also found the use of repetition:

...δόρυ καὶ ξίφος 1
καὶ τὸ καλὸν λαίσηιον, πρόβλημα χρωτός.

There is also repetition in δεσπότας (v.6) and δεσπόταν (v.8).²³ (He argues that the Harmodius-scolium mentioned in the scholium to Acharnians 980 must not be interpolated into the collection in Athenaeus. He also rejects Bergk's suggestion that Wasps 1226, οὐδεὶς πώποτ' ἀνὴρ ἔγεντ' Ἀθηναῖς, is the beginning of an actual scolium in common use at the time; he believes that it was

²³R. Reitzenstein, Epigramm und Skolion, 22 f. There is an inconsistency here: earlier (p.21) he distinguishes the Attic scolia in Athenaeus from longer and more artistically complex scolia, including that of Hybrias.
invented by Aristophanes for comic purposes\textsuperscript{24}). This argument, however, although superficially attractive, ignores the basic characteristic of the Attic scolia, their brevity and anonymity.

Scola 15 and 16 are about Telamonian Ajax and his father. Scolium 15,

\begin{quote}
Παί Τελαμώνος Αταν αὐχμητά, λέγουσι σε ἐς Τροίαν ἄριστον ἐλθεῖν Δαναῶν μετ' Ἀχιλλέα,
\end{quote}

is very similar to Alcaeus Fr. 48 L.-P.: Κρονίδα βασιλῆς γένος Ἀταν τῶν ἄριστων πεδ' Ἀχιλλέα, which again shows how popular songs could be adapted from the work of poets who had attained 'classic' status. The scholium to Lysistrata 1237 ascribes the origin of this scolium to Pindar,\textsuperscript{25} but Reitzenstein suggests that both go back to Homer (B768). Reitzenstein supposes that the author of this song had heard the verses of Pindar and Alcaeus in praise of Ajax and has made his own version. This, in Reitzenstein's view, is an excellent example of how scolia came to be written.\textsuperscript{26}

Scolium 14, advice to avoid the ἀειλωλ, is called the 'logos' of Admetus, a Thessalian hero. The reason for this ascription is no longer clear.\textsuperscript{27} The sentiment is common in the

\footnotesize
\begin{enumerate}
\item[\textsuperscript{24}]R. Reitzenstein, Epigramm und Skolion, 23, n.1; but this is not provable.
\item[\textsuperscript{25}]Nem. 7.26 f.
\item[\textsuperscript{26}]R. Reitzenstein, Epigramm und Skolion, 15 f.
\item[\textsuperscript{27}]R. Reitzenstein, Epigramm und Skolion, 17. This was a popular scolium: cf. Aristoph. Fr. 444 K.-A.: ὁ μὲν ἦδεν Ἀδμήτου λόγον πρὸς μυρρίνην, ὁ δ' αὐτῶν ἥναγκαζεν Ἀρμόδιου μέλος. Compare also Cratinus Fr. 254 K.-A.
\end{enumerate}
Theognidea, e.g. 31-32, 105 W., etc.\textsuperscript{28}

The elegiac distich on the subject of Cedon (Scolium 23) is also found in Aristotle, (Athen. Pol. ch.20.5), where it is explained that Cedon was one of the enemies of the Tyrants. Scolium 24 also deals with the period of the overthrow of the tyrants, in this case with the death of the anti-tyrants at Leipsydrium.

The non-political scolia are also grouped together in similar topics. 17 and 18 (εἴθε λύρα καλὴ γενοΪμην κτλ. and εἴθ᾿ ἄπυρον καλὸν γενοΪμην κτλ.) exhibit the same scolium formula which we saw used in the Ecclesiazusae. Scolium 7 (ὅγιοςνεὶν μὲν ἄριστον κτλ.) is about the four best things in life.\textsuperscript{29}

Philosophical and moral preoccupations are also found in Scolium 6, which expresses a wish to see within the breast of a friend to ascertain if the friend is true. Reitzenstein believes this to be the core of an Aesopian fable. This is possible since Scolium 9 (ὅ δὲ καρκίνος ὃδ᾿ κτλ.) is doubtless adapted from an Aesopian fable,\textsuperscript{30} such as was often told at symposia (cf. Wasps 1182).\textsuperscript{31}

\textsuperscript{28}C.M. Bowra, Greek Lyric Poetry, 2nd ed., 376 f.

\textsuperscript{29}This scolium also reveals the similarity of many of the motifs found in the collection in Athenaeus with motifs found frequently in the Theognidea. Compare 146 W. and 197 W. with scolium 7 (146 πλουτεῖν ἀδίκως χρήματα πασάμενος, 197 χρῆμα ... σὺν δίκη ἀνδρὶ γένηται, Scolium 7.3 τὸ τρίτον δὲ πλουτεῖν ἀδίκως. For the possible origins of this scolium, see Bergk's apparatus criticus.

\textsuperscript{30}Fab. 346 Halm, which ends: τοῦ δὲ ὀφεῖσα μετὰ θάνατον ἐκταθέντος ἐκεῖνος εἶπεν: "οὕτως ἔδει καὶ πρόσθεν εὐθὺν καὶ ἀπλοὺν εῖναι: οὐδὲ γάρ ἂν ταύτην τὴν ἁλκὴν ἔτεισας." Quoted by C.M. Bowra, Greek Lyric Poetry, 2nd ed., 385; R. Reitzenstein, Epigramm und Skolion, 19.

\textsuperscript{31}R. Reitzenstein, Epigramm und Skolion, 19 f. Ezio
Scolium 19 (σύν μοι πίνεις, συνήβα, συνέρα) is an aristocratic call for loyalty, as is 20 (ὑπὸ παντὶ λίθω κτλ) whose origin is very likely in proverbial? Scolia 21 and 22 are jokes. 21 (ά σ τάν βάλανον κτλ.) is thought by Wilamowitz to have been made thus: the second verse is a parodic continuation of the first, which was borrowed from an unknown Dorian poet. This is shown by the dialect (ά, Τάν); the Athenian parodist is mocking the 'plebeijischen geschmack' of the Dorian. The final scolium in the collection, 25, is again about the value placed on truthfulness and loyalty.

Scolium 8: έκ γῆς χρη κατίδην κτλ is an adaptation of Alcaeus Fr.249 V., and is an example of what W. Rösler calls 'zersingen', that is the popular use of the work of a 'classic' poet.

B) Metrical Schemes

Pellizer, 'Per una morfologia della poesia giambica arcaica,' [I canoni letterari di Trieste (1981): 35-48]: 44, notes that animal fables were used at symposia as exemplary narratives, and compares Scolium 9 P. with Xenophanes Fr.1 Gent.-Pr., vv.19-20; adespota elegiaca Fr.27 W., vv.1-4.

32 R. Reitzenstein, Epigramm und Skolion, 17 f.; C.M. Bowra, Greek Lyric Poetry, 2nd ed., 381. This proverb is alluded to at Thesm. 328-30; Soph. Fr.37 P.; Hesych. s.v. ὑπὸ παντὶ λίθω (Y717 Schmidt); and Praxilla 750 PMG.


34 W. Rösler, Dichter und Gruppe, 99, with footnote 170.
The Attic scolia make use of a few popular metrical schemes, mostly aeolic, although there are a few examples of uniquely occurring metres which may or may not be representative of other scolia which have been lost. Below has been set out a brief survey of the metrical schemes used in the known scolia. They will be discussed in connection with Aristophanic lyrics later in this chapter.

The commonest scolia-form is this (Scolium 1):

\[
\text{Παλλάς Ἀποτελεῖτε', ἀνασά Ἀθάνα,}
\text{ὁρθὸν τὴνδε πόλιν τε καὶ πολίτας}
\text{ἄτερ ἀλγέων καὶ στάσεων}
\text{καὶ θανάτων ἀώρων, σὺ τε καὶ πατήρ.}
\]

This metrical shape is found in Scolia 1-7, 10-13, and 24. (5 is corrupt, but it must originally have been the same.) The first and second verses are Phalaeceans, a colon which is rare outside these scolia. (See below for more on this colon.) The Phalaecean is also found at Wasps 1226, οὐδείς πῶποτ' κτλ., the beginning of a scolium, and at Athen. XIV 625C (Scolium 27) οὐδὲν ἤν ἄρα τάλλα πλῆν ὁ χρυσός.

The elegaic distich is found only in 23 P.:

\[
\text{εὐχεῖ καὶ Κήδων, διάκονε, μηδ' ἐπιλήθου,}
\text{εἰ χρῆ τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ἀνθράσιν οἰνοχοεῖν.}
\]

8 P., adapted from Alcaeus Fr.249 V., is in the Alcaic strophe:

\[
\text{EK γῆς χρῆ κατάδην πλῆν}
\text{εἰ τις δύνατο καὶ παλάμην ἔχοι}
\text{ἐπεὶ δὲ κ' ἐν πόντῳ γένηται}
\]
Scolium 9 is also aeolic:

\[ \text{"νος ἔφα, χαλαὶ τὸν ὁφιν λαβὼν. "εὐθὺν χρῆ τὸν ἔτοιρων ἐμ- μεν καὶ μὴ σκολιὰ φρονεῖν."} \]

It consists of two telesilleans and two 'dove-tailed' glyconics.35

Another aeolic strophe is common in the scolia, and is found in 14, 19, 20, 21, 22, and 23; e.g. 14:

\[ \text{"Ἀδύμητον λόγων ἢ ταῖρε μαθῶν τοὺς ἄγαθους φίλει, τῶν δειλῶν δὴ ἀπέχου γνωὺς ὅτι δειλὸς ὀλγή χάρις.} \]

The following is an extended glyconic (Greater Asclepiad).

Scolia 15, 16, 17, and 18 take this form; e.g., 15:

\[ \text{"παὶ Τελαιμῶνας Αἶαν αἰχμητά, λέγουσί σε ἐς Τροϊαν ἄριστων ἐλθεῖν Δαναῶν μετ' Ἀχιλλέα."} \]

The first verse comprises an anaclastic glyconic + dodecas; the second is the same with dactylic expansion in the dodekas. This is West's analysis.36 Wilamowitz37 calls the first part of each verse a choriambic dimeter.


36 West, *Greek Metre*, 60.

A scolium in Ameipsias (Fr.22 K.) takes the following metrical form:

οὐ χρη πόλλ' ἔχειν θωτόν ἀνθρωπον ἀλλ' ἐραν καὶ κατεσθέειν σὺ δὲ κάρτα φείδη.

But this is corrupt: see Page, 913 PMG.

Two final examples are found in Aristophanes, Vespae

1240-1 and 1245-47. 1240-41:

οὐκ ἔστιν ἀλυπεκίζειν ὁδικῆς ἀμφοτέροισι γίνεσθαι φιλον

1245-7:

χρήματα καὶ βιαν Κλειταγόρα τε κάμοι μετὰ Θεταλῳν.

1245-47 is as arranged by Page, 912 PMG. J.W. White arranges it as follows:

χρήματα καὶ βιαν

Κλειταγόρα τε κάμοι μετὰ Θεταλῳν.

which gives a final verse that is the same as the final verse in Scolia 1-7 etc.38

Note on the Phalaecean Colon

The Phalaecean colon (---) is found in the first two verses of Scolia 1-7, 10-13, 24, and 27 (the Scolium of Pythermus). In the classical period (it is found in a number of

38John Williams White, The Verse of Greek Comedy (London: Macmillan, 1912), Para.568.
places in the Hellenistic poets; see Wilamowitz, *Griechische Verskunst*, 137-153, and West, *Greek Metre*, 151.) it appears in very few others places, e.g. at Eurip. *Hipp.* 559, and at Soph. *Ajax* 634 and in the ode at 693 ff.\(^{39}\)

Wilamowitz detects the Phalaecean in Simonides' *Scolium* to *Scopas* (542 *PMG*). This is the metrical arrangement of the first strophe (according to Wilamowitz\(^{40}\)):

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{-} & \text{v} \text{-} \text{v} \text{-} \text{v} \\
\text{v} & \text{-} \text{-} \text{-} \text{-} \text{-} \text{v} \text{-} \text{-} \text{-} \text{-} \text{-} \text{-} \text{-} \\
\text{v} & \text{-} \text{-} \text{-} \text{-} \text{-} \text{v} \text{-} \text{-} \text{-} \text{-} \text{-} \text{-} \\
\text{-} & \text{-} \text{-} \text{-} \text{-} \text{-} \text{-} \\
\text{-} & \text{-} \text{-} \text{-} \\
\text{-} & \text{-} \text{-} \\
\text{v} & \text{-} \text{-} \\
\text{v} & \text{-} \text{-} \\
\text{-} & \text{-} \\
\text{-} & \text{-} \\
\end{align*}
\]

He notes that verse 1, an ionic trimeter, is the same as a Phalaecean but for the choriamb in the first foot.\(^{41}\) He also points out that the first metron of the third verse, an iambic metron with an anapaestic first foot, is the same as the first metron of the third verse of those scolia which begin with a Phalaecean. He concludes that this strophe is an expanded form of the most typical scolium-stanza.\(^{42}\)

That the Phalaecean was particularly associated with scolia is shown by the fact that it is often found tied to an


\(^{41}\)ibid.

\(^{42}\)"... sie erscheint allerdings als eine Steigerung der Skolionstrophe, deren metrische Ingredientien alle vorkommen." *Sappho und Simonides*, 183.
invocation of the god Pan as in Scolium 4. This is so at Cratinus 359 K.-A.: these two verses are undoubtedly the beginning of a scolium. It is also used at Soph. Ajax 693 ff., a choral ode beginning with an invocation of Pan. Clearly Sophocles had the Pan-scolium in mind when he wrote this ode:

εφριξ' ἐρωτε, περιχαρής δ' ἀνεπτάμαν.

Ιὼ Ιὼ Πάν Πάν,

Ω Πάν Πάν ἀλίηπλαγκτε κυλ-

λανίας χιονοκτύπου

πετραές ἀπὸ δειράδος φάνηθ', ὥ κτλ.

This last verse is a Phalaecean:

The Phalaecean is also used at Vespae 1226, 1227, where Bdelycleon each time begins a scolium. It is also found at 1248 where Philocleon improperly continues a scolium begun by Bdelycleon. These final two examples are above all evidence for the Phalaecean being the colon normally associated with scolia: Aristophanes could have used any opening verse, but he chose the Phalaecean. There is one final example of the Phalaecean to be mentioned. At Aves 1411, it follows a Greater Asclepiadean in a parody of Alcaeus,43 the first verse of which is metrically the same as Scolium 14.44

43Fr. 345 V., as printed by Voigt:

44J.W. White, The Verse of Greek Comedy, Para. 532, compares this to Birds 1415 and Wasps 1238.
Some Metrical Schemes of Popular Songs

Popular and primitive songs are alike in that they both naturally prefer simple, repetitive forms. This can be seen in the examples which Martin West gives in his *Greek Metre*. These show repetition both of metrical form and of content, often with word-for-word repetition. The popular songs of ancient Greece show similar characteristics. A very small number of folk-songs have survived independent of adaptations in the more developed forms of poetry, such as childrens' begging-songs, work-songs, and folk-hymns. (Although these are often dated to the Hellenistic period, they can be assumed, because of the conservative nature of folk-music, to preserve a long-standing tradition.) These show simple cola arranged in straightforward strophes, often with a series of one type of colon ended by a catalectic version of the same colon. An examination of some songs in comedy and tragedy (but less obviously so in tragedy) shows a clear imitation of the popular melodies and strophic forms to be found (or conjectured) in popular songs. Imitation extends even to content in some instances, in particular in cult-hymns and wedding-songs, where there may be little or no change from the songs as actually sung by the people of Attica.

---

West, lff, takes his examples from C.M. Bowra's *Primitive Song*. 
A brief description of some of the cola and strophic forms found in surviving folk-songs will be useful before passing on to an examination of the lyrical passages in the iambic scenes of Old Comedy.

The Reizianum colon: Reiziana are used in the Rhodian Swallow-song which takes the form of an irregular series of reiziana and other metres: 46

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Carm. Pop. 2 P.:} & \quad \text{reiz.} \\
\text{καλὰς άρας ἄγουσα,} & \quad " \\
\text{καλούς ἐναυτοὺς,} & \quad " \\
\text{ἐπὶ γαστέρα λευκά,} & \quad " \\
\text{ἐπὶ νῆτα μέλαινα.} & \quad "
\end{align*}
\]

Synapheia: Also characteristic of popular songs is the use of short cola with synapheia with a catalectic or otherwise differing colon to mark strophe-end. This is seen once again in the Swallow-song; also, in comedy, at Equites 1111-50 (telesillea + reizianum clausula); Ecclesiazusae 290 ff. (irregular pattern of telesillea + reizianum clausula); Pax 1329 ff (telesillea in wedding-song 'Υμήν 'Υμέναι' ὡ κτλ.); Pax 856-67 (two telesillea + reizianum); Aves 1731 ff. (a wedding-song, as in Pax 1329 ff.). 47 All these instances will be treated in greater detail later.

The Adonean colon: The Adonean, which Wilamowitz also treated as a popular colon (as clausula for the reizianum), 48 is

\[\text{46U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, Griechische Verskunst, 400.}\]

\[\text{47U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, Griechische Verskunst, 253; also, by the same author, Lysistrate (reprint Berlin / Zürich: Weidmann, 1964), 28.}\]

\[\text{48U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, Griechische Verskunst, 399ff.}\]
found in the Rhodian Swallow-song, in the Elean Hymn to Dionysus, and in the Sapphic strophe; e.g., the Elean Hymn to Dionysus (871 PMG):

\[ \text{\textit{έλθεὶν ἡρῷ Διόνυσε}} \\
\text{\textit{Αλείρῳ ἐς νάδων}} \\
\text{\textit{ἀγναίσιν σὺν Χαρίτεσιν}} \\
\text{\textit{ἐς ναόν τῷ βοῖῳ}} \\
\text{\textit{πολὺ θύνυ ἂδει ταῦρε,}} \\
\text{\textit{ἄδει ταῦρε.}} \]

The same colon is also found in the milling-song from Eresus (Plut. Sept. Sap. Conv. 157e: 869 PMG):

\[ \text{\textit{ἄλει μῦλα ἄλει}} \\
\text{\textit{καλ γάρ βασιλεύων}} \\
\text{\textit{μεγάλας Μυτιλήνας}} \\
\text{\textit{Πιττακός ἄλει.}} \]

Iambics: Iambics are also presumed to have been used in folk-songs. There are, however, no independently surviving iambic folk-songs from an early period, but their existence is deduced from the use of iambic lyrics at those places in Old Comedy where a popular origin for a song is thought likely; for example, Dicaeopolis' song of the Rural Dionysia (Ach. 263 ff.) would be expected to be modelled on actual folk-songs. Other examples, to be treated more fully later, are: the Komos of the Choes (Ach. ad fin.); a song sung at a sacrifice (Vespae 868 ff.); Aves 851-58=895-902; Thesm. 312ff; 352ff; Ranae 397 ff. (procession of the

49U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, Griechische Verskunst, 384-5. Wil. reads \textit{ἀγναίσιν} for the original \textit{ἀγνόν}. Page, in his apparatus, comments on his own colometry of this lyric, "lectio plerumque incerta, numeris fides nulla," PMG, ad loc.

50U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, Griechische Verskunst, 400 f.
Mystae); 416ff (λαμβισμολ); 51 Ach. 929-51; and Ach. 1008-17=1037-46. (That iambics had their origin in folk-songs is also to be deduced from their use in λαμβισμολ, which will be the subject of Chapter Three.)

Glyconics and Pherecrateans: Another colon found often in folk-songs is the glyconic along with its catalectic form, the pherecratean. This is found in Anacreon Frr.1 and 2; and in the dramatic poets where they imitate folk-music, e.g. in Euripides, Andr. 501 ff.; H.F. 348 ff.; Ion 184 ff.; Phoen. 202 ff.; Bacch. 403 ff.; I.A. 164 ff., 543 ff. In Aristophanes it is found at Equites 973 ff.; Vespae 319 ff.; Aves 681 ff.; and Thesm. 1136 ff.52

E.g., Agamemnon 452-55:

οί δ' αύτοῦ περὶ τείχος
Θήκος 'Ιλλάδος γῆς
εὐμορφὸι κατέχουσιν· ἐ-
-χόρα δ' ἔχοντας ἔκρυψεν

The first two verses are pherecrateans. The second two form either one priapean or a "dovetailed" glyconic + pherecratean.

Rhythmic Refrains: also adopted from folk-music is the use of rhythmic refrains, which is a habit of nearly all

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51 U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, Griechische Verskunst, 242, n.2.

primitive folk-music. They occur in Aristophanes, e.g. Ranae 399 ff.; and Pax 856-62.

Enoplia and prosodiaca: These two cola (En. x-¨-¨-x [the first anceps is resolvable]; pros. x-¨-¨-, according to Wilamowitz) also have a popular origin. Wilamowitz quotes the beginning of a paean to Lysander (Plut. Lys. 18) Carm. Pop. 21P (867 PMG), for the prosodiac:

τὸν Ἐλλάδος ἀγαθέας
στρατηγὸν ἀπ' εὐρυχόρου
Σπάρτας ὑμνήσομεν, ὦ
λῃ Παιάν.

The first two verses are prosodiaca.

Wilamowitz points out some examples of enoplia-prosodiaca to be found in Old Comedy: in the Vespae (1518-22=1523-27); e.g. 518-22:

ἄγ' ὁ μεγαλώνυμα τέκνα
τοῦ θαλασσίου <θεοῦ>,
πηδάτε παρὰ ψάμαθον
καὶ θίν' ἀλός ἀτρυγέτου
carλδων ἄδελφοι.56

Cratinus, Fr.151 K.-A. (from the Odysseus):

σίγα νυν πᾶς, ἔχε σίγα,
καὶ πάντα λόγον τάχα πεύσῃ;
ἡμῖν δ' 'Ιθακῇ πατρίς ἑστὶ,
πλέομεν δ' ἃμι 'Οδυσσέα θείῳ.

53U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, Griechische Verskunst, 462f.
54U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, Griechische Verskunst, 376-95.
55U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, Griechische Verskunst, 376.
Chariclides (Fr. 1 K.-A.) uses an enoplion in the first verse:

δέσποιν' Ἐκάτη τρισδίτι
τρίμορφε τριπρόσωπε
τρίγυλας κηλευμένα

Wilamowitz notes that Bergk thought this an actual folk-song, since it is not in the comic style.

Many of the lyrics found in the iambic parts of Old Comedy will now be examined for evidence of the use of Attic scolia, and for the use of forms found in folk-music. For the present we shall ignore the abuse-lyrics.

The Acharnenses

836-41=842-46=847-52=853-59: These are four songs in responding iambic metra, each closed with a reizianum. Although metricians arrange these stanzas in different ways, they are undoubtedly iambic, and are believed by Wilamowitz to be derived from popular songs. Wilamowitz likes to think that these songs

58 U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, Griechische Verskunst, 386f.
contain strophe, antistrophe, and epode "in nuce", (In this case two iambic tetrameters; six iambic metra; reizianum), a pattern which is avoided in tragedy.60

929-39=940-51: Wüst wishes to call these lyrics scolia, but of course there are no actual scolia using iambics, as these songs do. He observes that they occur exactly ("rechnerisch") in the middle of the "heiteren Szenen" 719-980.61 These six songs are arranged in the pattern 2x3 (all responding) which is established by the placing of two catalectic iambic metra at 935/6 and 947/8.

\[ \text{ενδησον, ο βέλτιστε, τῷ} \]
\[ \text{εννυ καλὺς τὴν ἐμπολὴν} \]
\[ \text{οὕτως ὁπως} \]
\[ \text{ἄν μὴ φέρων κατάξῃ.} \]

Wüst himself admits that the metre would prevent these verses from being called scolia, but he nevertheless calls them scolia. He then quotes Reitzenstein to the effect that the concept of scolia is not bound to any fixed metres.62 This may be true, but without any verbal similarity to any known scolium, we must find some metrical similarity, and none exists.

60 U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, Griechische Verskunst, 207.

61 Wüst, Skolion, 29.

62 Wüst, Skolion, 30; R. Reitzenstein, Skolion und Epigramm, 13.
1008-17=1037-46: Short iambic lyrics, catalectic alternating with acatalectic. B.B. Rodgers notes the similarity of this metrical system to that of Pax 856-67, and 909-21.63

1150-61=1162-73: These lyrics will be discussed in Chapter Three.

The Equites

973-76=977-80=981-84=985-88=989-92=993-96: These lyrics are arranged in six four-line songs, as follows:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Hexisoton fados hemeras} & \quad \text{= }-\text{-}\text{-}\text{-}\text{-}\text{-} \\
\text{ekastai tois parousi kal} & \quad \text{= }-\text{-}\text{-}\text{-}\text{-}\text{-} \\
\text{tais deur fistoumenois,} & \quad \text{= }-\text{-}\text{-}\text{-}\text{-}\text{-} \\
\text{hun Klean apolhetai.} & \quad \text{= }-\text{-}\text{-}\text{-}\text{-}\text{-}
\end{align*}
\]

They thus form strophes which repeat AAAAAA, comprising three glyconics + a pherecratean, i.e. a catalectic glyconic. This metrical pattern is not found in the collection of scolia, nor is there anything in the content to suggest a connection with actual scolia. There is a similarity, but no more, in the metre between these lyrics and the last two verses of Scolium 9 P. (ο καρκ(νος Ὣδε ἐφα κτλ. = 2 tel. + 2 "dovetailed" glyconics) but this metre is by no means peculiar to scolia. B.B. Rodgers [in The Knights of Aristophanes (London, 1910), ad loc.] remarks on the likelihood of this being a popular melody. R.A. Neil [in The Knights of Aristophanes (Cambridge, 1901), ad loc.] also remarks that the metre "is very song-like in effect" and compares it to

the fragments of Anacreon in the same metre, as well as Equites 1111-50 and Ranae 450 ff. He finds similar stanzas in tragedy, e.g., Soph. O.T. 1186-1203; and the Delphian Paean of Aristonous. More important is the fact that this lyric is a parody of tragic 'Jubellieder',\textsuperscript{64} and that this would be clearly perceived by the Athenian audience.

1111-20=1121-30=1131-40=1141-50: Wüst calls these lyrics γεφυρισμός. However, they will also be discussed here in connection with their metrical form. They form simple, repeating strophes of telesillea + reizianum (the catalectic form of the telesillean colon). West (Greek Metre, 116) remarks that aeolic forms were not uncommon in Old Comedy, and that "while tragic parody is intended in some cases, in others the metre is clearly being used as a natural, popular song-form," and points to this passage as an example. He notes that telesillea and reiziana were a feature of popular songs, citing as examples Pax 856-62; 1329-59; Aves 1731-36; Ranae 448-53; Ecclesiazusae 289-99.

The Nubes

The Nubes lacks examples of lyrics which reveal popular song-forms.

\textsuperscript{64}p. Rau, Partragodia (Munich, 1967), 188; B. Zimmermann, Untersuchungen zur Form und Dramatischen Technik der Aristophanischen Komödien, (Meisenheim am Glan, 1985), II: 175.
The Vespae

868-74=885-91: These form short iambic lyrics with dochmiac clausula. Not only the metrical scheme suggests a popular origin, but also the surrounding dialogue: the song itself is part of a prayer to Apollo which has been preceded by a call for ritual silence (εὐφημία μὲν πρῶτα νῦν ὑπαρχέτω) and which is ended with the refrain ἰῆς Παιάν. In such circumstances it can be expected that the poet would use a traditional song-form. The same remarks apply also to the responding passage. It is this sort of passage which leads to the conclusion that iambics were a traditional feature of folk-songs, though we have no actual examples of folk-songs in this measure.

1224-48: This is an important passage for understanding sympotic singing in fifth-century Athens. In it are found several beginnings to scolia, both those attested elsewhere and those which can be presumed to have been invented by Aristophanes, though this is by no means certain. Examples of scolia are found at 1226 οὖδείς πώποτ' ἀνὴρ ἠγεντ' Ἀθήνας and in Philocleon's comic continuation, 'οὐχ οὖτω γε πανοῦργος <οὐδὲ> κλέπτης.' Both of these verses are phalaeceans, which is the colon used in the first two verses of the commonest scolium-form. The same colon is also found at 1248 where again Philocleon continues a scolium begun by Bdelycleon. Verses 1234-5 are a parody of Alcaeus (Fr.141 L.-P.). Line 1238 is the first line of Scolium 14 ('Αδμήτου λόγον κτλ). Lines 1240-41 are assigned by the scholiast to a scolium of either Alcaeus or Sappho. The final scolium in
this section is found at lines 1245-47. These verses form three
dodrantes which are reminiscent of the final verse of the
standard scolium-form (which is two dodrantes).

1265-74: To be discussed in Chapter Three.
1450-53: These verses are mostly choriambics mixed with
iambics and trochees. Wilamowitz calls them choriambic dimeters
(which he calls 'volkstümlicher Vers').

Prato notes their
similarity to tragic metrics, principally Euripides, although
Wilamowitz finds parallels in Pherecrates Frr. 95 and 96 K.; e.g.,
95 K.:

\[ \tau \nu \varepsilon \alpha \tau \nu \delta \iota \sigma \tau i o \iota \delta (\psi )' \\
\hat{\eta}, \lambda e \pi a \sigma t \nu \lambda a \phi a m \epsilon \nu o i c \mu e \sigma t \nu \epsilon k \chi a r u \varphi o \delta (s) a i. \]

1518-22=1523-28: Two strophes consisting mainly of
enoplia and prosodiaca, which Wilamowitz compares to the Elean
cult-song discussed above.

The Pax

856-67=910-21: In each of these two lyric sections there
are two three-line stanzas (856-59, 860-62; 910-12, 914-15) which
take the following form:

\[ \]

65 Ń. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, Lysistrate (reprint,
66 C. Prato, I canti di Aristofane, 123, where there are
further references.
67 Ń. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, Griechische Verskunst,
385.
As Wüst points out, this stanza (in the first two lines) is the same as *Scolium* 9 (ὁ καρκίνος ὑδ᾿ ἐφα ἵ χαλά τὸν ὁφιν λαβὼν κτλ.). However, while this can not be taken as proof that it is a scolium, it is evidence for the use of telesillea in popular songs. These stanzas, in the use of telesillea and reiziana, are similar to the lyrics at *Equites* 1111 ff., and *Ranae* 449 ff. The use of such encomiastic lyrics must be considered a natural counterpart to the abuse-lyrics. The form which these encomia take, however, may be influenced by the similar practice of singing praise- and abuse-lyrics at symposia; this topic will be dealt with in the following chapter.

1329-59: The play ends with a wedding-song, which Dale calls "an epithalamium of popular rude form".68 These verses are a mixture of telesillea and reiziana (Platnauer arranges them in strophes of two tel. and three reiz.69) with the refrain ‘Ὑμὴν ὑμέναι’ ὁ, ‘Ὑμὴν ὑμέναι’ ὁ. Dale notes that "both these forms must be echoes of actual wedding-songs, and there is no doubt that the simpler forms of aeolic were used in ancient popular refrains." Dale also remarks that this same use can also be found


in tragedy in the "more seemly and thoughtful refrains", that is, in ἔφυμωσι, an example of which was given above. 70

The Aves

1372-74: 'Αναπέτωμαὶ δὴ πρὸς Ὄλυμπον πτερύγεσσι κούφαις
πέτομαί δ' ὁδὸν ἀλλοτ' ἐπ' ἄλλαν μελέων.
1376: ἀφόβω φρενι σώματι τε νέαν ἑφέσων

Wüst remarks on the use of the choriamb. The scholium
(and Hephaestion, Ch.9) to verse 1372 says it was borrowed from
Anacreon 33 P.: 'Αναπέτωμαὶ δὴ πρὸς Ὄλυμπον πτερύγεσσι κούφαις
διὰ τὸν Ἐρωτ· οὐ γὰρ ἐμοὶ παῖς ἐθέλει συνηθᾶν.

1410: ὤρνυθές τινες οἶδ' οὐδὲν ἔχοντες πτεροποικίλων,
ταυσιπτερε ρικίλα χελίδοι,
1415 ταυσιπτερε ρικίλα μάλι αὐθίς

Wüst compares these verses to Scolium 14 and 19: e.g., 14:
'Αδμήτου λόγου, ἢ ταίρε, μαθῶν τοὺς ἄγαθοὺς φίλει,
|| τῶν δειλῶν
δ' ἄπεχου, γνοὺς ὄτι δειλοῖς ὀλίγα χάρις.

Lines 1411 and 1415 are phalaeceans with a pyrrhic base. 71

1470-81=1482-93=1553-64=1694-1705: See Chapter Three.

1720ff: The Aves concludes with a wedding procession, as
in the Pax (1329 ff.). Both in the metres and in the content
these verses strongly suggest that actual wedding-songs are being
used, or at least closely imitated. This is seen most clearly in
verses 1731-36=1737-42, where the two stanzas are made up of


71C. Prato, I canti di Aristofane, 201. 1410 is borrowed
from Alcaeus (Fr.345 V.); see above, page 20.
telesillea closed with pherecrateans (although the precise arrangement of these verses is much debated, this does not affect my argument). This is similar to the wedding-song at Pax 1329 ff., and to the song at Equites 1111-1150.

The *Lysistrata*

1043-58=1059-72=1188-1204=1205-15: Wüst wishes to call these verses scolia, though of course they are long lyrics with complex metrical schemes. Having previously cited exact metrical correspondence between known scolia and the lyrics of Old Comedy, Wüst now supports his argument with much vaguer evidence, comparing these verses to the Scolium of Hybrias the Cretan. But this is certainly wrong: the Scolium of Hybrias is a much larger composition than any of the Attic scolia; its origin was in a different culture from that of the Attic scolia.72 The scolium of Hybrias consists of two stanzas each in themselves longer than any scolium found in the collection in Athenaeus.

1279-94:A cletic hymn, which "reflects in form and context the usages of actual life".73

The *Thesmophoriazusae*

72Wüst, *Skolion*, 32.

947-1000: Wüst tries to bring this stasimon into his argument as an example of 'Komödienskolien' on the grounds that it includes many references to the same gods as in *Scolia* 1-4. This, however, is in itself an extremely tenuous connection with actual scolia; it is all the more so since there are also references in this stasimon to gods who are not mentioned in *Scolia* 1-4. Nevertheless, verses 969-76=977-84 are of interest, since they contain iambics and reiziana as in the stanzas at *Acharnenses* 836ff.

The *Ranae*

385-88=389-93: These verses form two iambic stanzas closed with a catalectic iambic metron, a strophic form which Dale calls popular and primitive. She finds similar stanzas at *Acharnenses* 1008 ff., *Nubes* 1447, and *Plutus* 1290.

399-404=405-410=411-416: A cletic hymn in iambic metre, which in the context can be assumed to represent an actual cletic hymn. Each stanza is ended with the refrain, "Ιανύς φιλαξορευτό συμπρόσεμενέ με." Radermacher suggests that if this refrain is in imitation of actual cletic hymns, then these stanzas would represent improvised singing. It is followed by a series of nine simple stanzas.

74A.M. Dale, *The Lyric Metres of Greek Drama*, 75 f.

34=435-37=438-40=441-44, which Dale calls "old rustic ἀμβλωμός or γεφυριμός ... which was probably the most ancient form of the popular metre."\textsuperscript{76} These stanzas will be discussed later in connection with their function as ritual abuse; for the present we shall only take note of their metrical shape, which is 2ia\textsuperscript{-} 2ia\textsuperscript{-} 3ia.

e.g., 420-22: βούλεσθε δήτα κοιλη
sκώφωμεν Ἀρχέδημον;
δς ἐπτέτης δν ούκ ἐφυσε φράτερας

449-54=455-59: These stanzas take the form 2ia 2ia\textsuperscript{-} tel tel tel reiz. The association of iambics with choriambic cola is seen also in the stanzas at Acharnenses 836 ff.\textsuperscript{77}

814-17=818-21=822-25=826-29:

e.g. 814-17: ἢ ποι δεινὸν ἐπιβρεμέτας χόλον ἐνδοθεν ἐξει,
ἡμίκ' ἐν δεύλαλον παριάθ θήγοντος ὄψτα
ἀντιτέχνου' τότε δὴ μανίας ὑπὸ δεινής
 ὄμματα στροβήσεται.

Wüst calls these verses scolia and compares them to Scolium 23, which is elegiac: the first two verses of the stanzas from the Ranae are dactylic hexameters and so is the first verse of 23. But these verses are completely unlike any known scolium; Radermacher compares them, in function at least, to the tragic πάροδος,\textsuperscript{78} and Dale thinks that Aristophanes is here imitating

\textsuperscript{76}A.M. Dale, The Lyric Metres of Greek Drama, 76.

\textsuperscript{77}A.M. Dale, The Lyric Metres of Greek Drama, 80 f.

\textsuperscript{78}L. Radermacher, Aristophanes' Frösche, 259.
Aeschylus, which is not improbable considering the context of the passage. 79

1251-56: These verses form two brief stanzas of three lines, two glyconics closed with its catalectic form, the pherectanean. As such they follow the pattern of popular songs which we have already seen.

1482-90=1491-99: Although these two stanzas, forming strophe and antistrophe (three lecythia, five trochaic dimeters, and an ithyphallic), are in a high style, 80 they also show at least one characteristic of popular songs: the repetition of ἐπὶ ἀγαθῷ in lines 1487 and 1488 is characteristic of folk-songs. Radermacher cites the Swallow-song for this characteristic: Ἄειδος Ἰαμβίζων || καλὰς ὥρας ἀγουσα, || καλοὺς δ’ ἐν οὐσώμενος, || ἐπὶ νῦν ἐμπνεύσα, || ἐπὶ γαστέρα μέλανα (repetition of ἐπὶ... ἐπὶ...).

The Ecclesiazusae

289-310: These verses form two stanzas comprising an irregular series of telesillea and reiziana each introduced by a longer verse-form (an iambic dimeter + lecythion), which is similar to the songs at Equites 1111 ff.

900-923: Apart from the undeniable scolia-imitations at 938-45, Wüst also identifies verses 900-923 as scolia, but with less certainty. These verses are in a variety of metres, causing

79A.M. Dale, The Lyric Metres of Greek Drama, 44.
80L. Radermacher, Aristophanes' Frösche, 349.
great disagreement among scholars as to their strophic arrangement: Wilamowitz even suggested that 918-20 are in prose. 81

938-41=942-45: These scolia-imitations have already been discussed.

952-68: These verses form a song-and-response of the Young Man and the Young Woman. The metrical correspondences are inexact, but this could be due to corruption in the text. 82 The use in these songs of repetition points to a popular model: both begin δεύρο δή, δεύρο δή, and both end μέθες, ἱκνοῦμαι σ' Ἐρως, || καὶ ποιησον τὴν ὕμνον ἐς εὐνήν || τὴν ἐμὴν ἴκέσθαι. 83

969-72=973-75: A continuation of the song-and-response between the boy and girl. Again there is verbal repetition: each song ends with the refrain ἄνοιξον ἀσπάζομαι με•|| διὰ τοῦ σὲ πόνους ἔχω. These four stanzas are a parody of a typical παρακλαυσίθυρον. 84

The Fragments

81 U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, Griechische Verskunst, 479.

82 U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, Griechische Verskunst, 478.


84 U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, Aristophanes, Lysistrata, 216.
The following fragments are called scolia by Wüst; whether they actually are scolia is questionable. Each of the fragments given below, however, fits the description which I have used for popular lyrics: simple aeolic and iambic cola used stichically and closed (usually) with its catalectic variant:

Eupolis 175 K.-A.: οὐ πῦρ οὐδὲ σίδηρος
οὐδὲ χαλκὸς ἀπείγει
μὴ φοιτῶν ἐπὶ δείπνον.

This song is in the pherecratean metre.

Eupolis 176 K.-A.: ὥς χαρίτων μὲν ὤξει,
καλλιβίδας δὲ βαίνει,
σησαμίδας δὲ χέξει,
μῆλα δὲ χρέμπταται.

The metre is −−−−̕−−−− (an aristophanean) with the final verse catalectic. The same metre occurs in Aristophanes Fr.9 K.-A. (10 K.):

οὐκ ἔτος, ὥ γυναῖκες,
πᾶσι κακοίσαιν ἡμᾶς
φλῶσιν ἐκάστοις ἀνδρεῖς;
δεινὰ γὰρ ἔργα δρῶσαι
λαμβανόμεσθ' ὑπ' ἀυτῶν

and in the first two lines of Aristophanes Fr.715 K.-A.:

ὅστις ἐν ἡδυόσμοις
στρώμασι παννυχίζων
τὴν δέσποιναν ἐρείδεις.

The first two fragments are typically comic in that they have the same simple metre used κατὰ στίχον, ended with the colon's catalectic variant. Fr.9 K.-A. of Aristophanes presumably ended with the catalectic as in the fragment of Eupolis.

Eupolis Fr.395 K.-A.:

διεξάμενος δὲ Σωκράτης τὴν ἐπιδέξει 'ἄδων' Στησιχόρου πρὸς τὴν λύραν οἰνοχόην ἐκλεψεν
is metrically similar to *Scolium 15* (*ποι Ἑλαμβώνοις*) in the first verse, and refers to the performance of scolia.

Wüst also cites the last two lines of Ameipsias Fr.22 K.:

οὐ χρῆ πόλλ’ ἔχειν θυητὸν ἀνθρωπον,

ἀλλ’ ἐρᾶν καὶ κατεσθίειν’ σὺ δὲ κάρτα φείδη.

which seems either to be from an established scolium or perhaps one invented by Ameipsias.\(^{85}\)

In this chapter I have drawn together the evidence for the use of Attic scolia in Old Comedy, and I believe that the following conclusions may be drawn from this evidence.

In determining what may be called scolia we must first distinguish the different types of songs which went by that name. We have seen that there are scolia of three sorts: one type includes the larger poems by well-known authors (Alcaeus, Pindar, etc.\(^{86}\)) who wrote songs specifically called scolia; a second type including the brief anonymous songs collected by Athenaeus, which apparently belong to an oral, improvisational tradition; and third the poems of the 'classic' poets which had become traditional as favourites for performance at symposia, and which, because they had attained traditional status, could be adapted to

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\(^{85}\) Page enters this among the *carmina convivalia* (913 *PMG*). The colometry of this fragment is in doubt: the text is corrupt. See p.22.

\(^{86}\) This category may include choral poetry.
suit the needs of performance. We have also seen that when Aristophanes refers to the performance of scolia it is to either the songs of the second type or of the third type that he refers. The Attic scolia included songs representative of many of the types of songs performed at symposia (encomia, abuse-lyrics, advice, and political statements); but only a very limited number seem to have attained the special status of those scolia preserved in Athenaeus. The term Scolium, then, should be confined to a restricted group of songs which are alluded to by Aristophanes, that is, they are, for Aristophanes, the scolia.

The evidence does not support the argument for the widespread and customary use of scolia in Old Comedy, as Wüst tried to show. Nor can Wüst get around this by calling his would-be scolia 'Komödienskolien' (which indeed have no relation to

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88E.g. at *Wasps* 1222-48 each time Bdelycleon begins a scolium for Philocleon to continue, he chooses one from the collection of Attic scolia or at least one which closely fits the pattern of the collection. Cf. also the schol. to verse 1238; *Acharn.* 980 and schol.; *Lysis.* 632, 1237 and schol.; and compare Theopompus Comic. Fr.64 K. and Cratinus Fr.254 K.-A.

89E.g. Fr.235 K.-A.: ἄσων δὴ μοι σκόλιόν τε λαβὼν Ἀλκαίου κανακρέωντος. Also *Clouds* 1355 ff., where there is a reference to the poems of Simonides as suitable songs for sympotic singing; and Eupolis 395 K.-A., where the same is said of Stesichorus. Another example is found in the collection in Athenaeus, *Scolium* 8P., which is adapted from Alcaeus (Fr.249 V.): See W. Rösler's discussion of this, *Dichter und Gruppe*, 99.
real scolia): his own definition of 'Komödienskolien' is so broad as to be meaningless, so that to find lyric passages which meet his criteria is a pointless task in that virtually every lyric passage in Old Comedy can be made to fit (as Wüst's own article shows). That none of his 'Komödienskolien' breaks the dramatic illusion is not a significant fact; his other point, that each 'Komödienskolion' contains a 'Gedanke' which is complete in itself, is also unpersuasive. His description of his chosen Aristophanic lyrics is accurate in those two points, but he is wrong in associating them with the Attic scolia, and in finding a fixed and traditional position for them in the structure of the drama. However, the examples with which he began his article, that is, Cratinus Fr.359 K.-A., and Thesmophoriazusae 938-45, are undeniably examples of scolia, or are at least clearly imitations of actual scolia: but these are isolated examples which are insufficient to establish a pattern.

As we have seen, when Aristophanes does make use of actual scolia this is always done very explicitly: usually with direct ascription (e.g. Vespae 1225 f.: ἀδώ δὲ πρώτος 'Ἀρμοδίου κτλ.). This of course is the clearest proof of the remarkable completeness of that collection in gathering the various representative types of scolia such as were actually sung at symposia.

Other than the Pan-scolium and those like it, that is those which use the phalaecean colon in the first two verses, the Attic scolia found in Athenaeus make use of many cola and
strophic forms which are not peculiar to scolia. Consequently, to
draw conclusions from the fact that a lyric passage in
Aristophanes has a metrical form similar to a scolium (other than
the Pan-scolium), as Wüst does, is unjustifiable. An example of
this is Wüst's comparison of a passage in the Pax(909-921), where
the stanzas consist of two telesillea and one reizianum, to
Scolium 9, which is in similar metres. But this is purely
coincidental. The metrical pattern of Scolium 9 is found in a
number of songs in Aristophanes, some of which Wüst does not
mention in his article.

As we have seen, the metrical patterns (and hence the
tunes) used in folk-music formed a substantial part of the lyrics
found in the iambic parts of Old Comedy. In addition many of the
genres of lyrics performed at symposia (encomia, psogos,
paraenesis, etc.) were also introduced into the comic drama:
although these genres were favoured in scolia, they are not used
in comedy as scolia, but as the natural expression of the chorus
in its role as commentator on the events taking place on the
stage. That it (the chorus) uses forms similar to those found in
actual scolia is therefore coincidental.

\[90\] Wüst, Skolion, 31.
CHAPTER THREE:

THE ABUSE-LYRICS IN OLD COMEDY

We saw in the last chapter that Aristophanes and the other poets of Old Comedy frequently made use of the simple, popular lyric forms for which they found (one supposes) their models in the folk-songs of contemporary Athens. This practice, common to the comic poets (as far as we can ascertain), will figure prominently in this chapter also, since the comic poets employed such forms in several of the abuse lyrics which have been preserved to us.

In this chapter we shall examine the choral abuse-lyrics found among the iambic scenes of Old Comedy.¹ Our interest will lie in determining the nature and hence the origins of these lyrics, whether it is to be found in cult, in the iambographic tradition, in some other source, or perhaps in a combination of these sources. This will entail a preliminary discussion, albeit a brief one, of the types of abuse found in these sources. We shall take as a datum that Old Comedy did not have, in all its aspects, only one simple, uncontaminated tradition: this will be assumed to be true of the abuse in Old Comedy as well. We shall

¹Only the abuse-lyrics: there is of course abusive language throughout the plays of Aristophanes. We are here, however, interested solely in abuse in the form of lyrics.
also assume that many strands of Athenian culture and literature went into the development of Old Comedy, some fundamental (that is, aspects of Old Comedy which would have by Aristophanes' time been regarded as essential features, and therefore included as a matter of course), others quite consciously employed by them. We are concerned with merely identifying the different sources, to the extent that this is possible. It is important to stress that the evidence is meagre, so that conclusions can only be in the form of suggestions. Still, enough evidence can be gathered to make the attempt worth the effort.

Fundamental to Old Comedy is the contest, or ἀγών, between the two central characters or ideas brought into conflict. Such a situation naturally, given the comic context, generates abuse between the opponents. Added to this is the chorus, who, for the most part standing aside from the action, comment on the fortunes of the main characters. This commentary takes the form of praise (of the 'hero', whose side they always take following the outcome of the contest) and abuse (of the 'hero's' opponent, and of politicians and other prominent individuals, who, although outside the dramatic situation, are often clearly meant to be associated with the defeated man or idea). This association, however, is to be inferred [for instance, in the Aves 1470 etc., where the choral-lyrics tell of characters who mirror the characters introduced upon the stage]

2For the lack of "eine organische Verbindung" in the structure of Old Comedy see G. Giangrande's discussion in 'The Origin of Attic Comedy,' Eranos 61 (1963): 1-24, especially 7 ff.
but cannot be proven; it is not an invariable rule, (see for instance, the Ranae, where both Aeschylus and Euripides are praised equally.) We shall be concerned in this chapter with these choral comments, in particular with the choral stasima which follow the parabasis.

The satirical and parodic character of Old Comedy naturally causes one to seek for the models used by the comic poets, including those for the invective. Scholars have always sought to identify the sources for the invective and obscenity in Old Comedy, though this is perhaps due more to the unusually great importance attaching to the few bits of information available concerning the origins and early development of Old Comedy, and the desire to identify sources and trace influences from one period to the next. Two sources are usually identified as the inspiration for, and as the models of, the abuse contained in Old Comedy: cult-ritual, and Ενσβρος.

Before moving on to consider in detail the abuse-lyrics which have been preserved to us, we shall examine briefly these two possible sources of abuse.

First cultic ritual will be considered. There is a similarity between abuse in cults and some of the abuse-lyrics of Old Comedy, which has caused many scholars to see the influence of the former on the latter. Among them is Jeffrey Henderson, ³

who, discussing more particularly obscenity rather than abuse in Attic cults, notes that, "the importance of these cults for our examination of Old Comedy resides not simply in the presence of obscenity but in its context: obscenity is almost always cast in the form of ritual strife and abuse."

The principal cults in which good-natured abuse and obscenity were encouraged are those in honour of Demeter and Dionysus. For Demeter, the main festivals in this regard are the Haloa, the Stenia, and the Thesmophoria. At the Haloa the women hurled abuse at one another in a playful manner (παιδικαὶ πολλαὶ καὶ σκώματα). This was true also at the Stenia and the Thesmophoria. A possible example of ritual abuse (namely gephyrismus) will be considered separately in a moment.

More important, however, in this regard are the festivals of Dionysus, which more clearly involve elements which contributed to the development of comedy. These festivities permitted unusually great freedom of speech, at least in the ability to engage in abuse (τὰ ἐξ ἀμαξῶν σκώματα; σκώπτειν

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5 Hesychius, Στήνωσκε ἑρτή Αθήνησιν. καὶ διασκώπτουσιν καὶ λοιδοφοροῦσιν (Σ1825S), and, Στηνώσαι· βλασφημήσαι, λοιδορήσαι. (Σ27S). See also Photius, Στήνωσι p.538.9 P.; Collected by Fluck, Skurrile Riten, 15 ff. For the Thesmophoria, Apollodoros Mythogr., Bibliotheca 1.5.1.; Fluck, Skurrile Riten, 18 f.
during the processions (compare the equation of πομπεύειν with λοισορεῖν). 8

The second possible source for the use of abusive language in Old Comedy is the precedent of the iambographers. Although there is more evidence for their influence, there is not the space here to go into this question in great detail. Some discussion, however, will be useful to show what influence the iambographers exerted upon the comic poets. 9 We are interested particularly in the iambographers' use of obscene language (αισχρολογία) and obscene personal vituperation, etc., which is found nowhere else in Greek literature previous to its reoccurrence in Old Comedy. Important for our purposes is the question of the nature of the poetry of Archilochus, Hipponax, and Semonides: it is much disputed whether their poetry involves the factual revelation of their own experiences, or whether their

6 Scholium to Lucian, Jup. Trag. 44; Fluck, Skurrile Riten, 34 f.

7 Scholium to Demosth. De Cor. 11. Also, Men. 396K; Suda, s.v. τὰ ἐκ τῶν ἁμαξῶν σκώμματα (T19 Adler); Photius, s.v. τὰ ἔξ ἁμαξῶν (p. 565.11 P.); and Harpocration s.v. πομπεύειν καὶ πομπεύειν (ed. Dindorf, 1:253).


9 Ralph Mark Rosen, in Old Comedy and the Iambographic Tradition, (Diss. Harvard, 1983), has made the most recent attempt to trace in detail the influence of the iambographers upon Old Comedy. A few examples of direct influence are Lysis. 360 f. (= Hipp. Fr.120 W.), which is a reference to the poetry of Hipponax; similar is Ranae 659 f. (= Ananias Fr.1 W.); and Ach. 118 ff. (=Archilochus Fr.187 W.), which is a direct quotation from Archilochus. Further examples are discussed in Rosen (although some are very doubtful).
poetry belongs to a *genre* in which the themes which we see are traditional and the poet's voice impersonal. This question cannot be settled here; a brief summary of the essential points of the question will have to suffice.

Martin West (trying to trace the influence of the iambographers on Old Comedy in general) argues that iambus was not simply personal invective,¹⁰ but that it formed part of a traditional entertainment including the adoption by the poet of a persona not his own.¹¹ This assertion involves us in an ongoing dispute concerning the nature of the iambographic *genre*. West argues for this impersonal, mimetic interpretation, while others maintain that the iambographers wrote personal poetry in which they related their own experiences and feelings.

Briefly, West argues that several of the main fragments and testimonia about the lives of the iambographers show a repeating pattern (e.g., the common deaths-by-hanging of the poets' enemies), which leads him to the conclusion that the iambographers assumed poetic personas and that the subject-matter of their poems followed traditional, fixed plots which were without any relevance to the poets' own lives. This is how he interprets the Lycambes, the Bupalus, and the Orodocoedes fragments and testimonia. One of the main props to this argument is the (supposed) linguistic evidence that many of the names used


¹¹West, *Studies*, Ch.2, 'Iambus' passim.
by the iambographers are traditional and carry meanings indicative of the roles which the poetic characters play in the supposedly traditional entertainment. 12

The story of Lycambes and his daughters (with West's interpretation) thus conforms to a standard, traditional narrative, with Lycambes and his daughters being stock types. 13 For support West points to a similar story in Aristotle (Fr. 558 R.) of how the tyrant Lygdamis came to power on Naxos. 14 The other examples of the standardized iambographic quarrel are (with this interpretation): Semonides' abuse of Orodocoedes (Luc. Pseudolog.2,) and Hipponax's abuse of Bupalus (Frr.13-14 W., 16-17 W., and possibly 84 W., and his curse upon a contract-breaker (Fr.115 W.), if this really ought to be ascribed to Hipponax. 15

12West, Studies, 26 f.

13West, Studies, 27. West cites the support of Dover Hardt Entretiens X, 206ff, to the effect that in Archilochean iambus the poet is not necessarily speaking in his own voice: "There is room for 'the assumed personality and the imaginary situation'."

14Another parallel story concerns the beginnings of Comedy. The story goes that some farmers, mistreated by some men from the city, went to the city at night and proclaimed the unjust treatment which they had received at the hands of the city-dwellers. They were then made to repeat their verses in the theatre. When they did so they smeared their faces with wine-lees. This is found in the Scholium to Dion. Thrax, p.18.15 Hilgard. Cited by West Studies, 27.

15It has also been ascribed to Archilochus, for which see the apparatus in Degani's edition of the testimonia and fragments of Hipponax.
Opposed to this interpretation are C. Carey, M. Bonanno and W. Rösler. They assert that the iambographers wrote about their own experiences and expressed their true feelings. Bonanno argues that the use of possibly fictitious names for the targets of iambus is not necessarily indicative of a fictitious situation, but that false names are used either to protect the poet or to increase the satirical effect by the use of allusive names, names which are manifestly to be associated with the intended target of the invective. Carey joins in this disagreement, saying that "the attack on Lycambes is in spirit, manner and language quite inappropriate for the stylized abuse of a stock character;" and that, "This is not entertaining abuse but solemn poetry." 

Those scholars opposed to West's theory of the Iambographers have some difficulty with the poetry of Hipponax, since it is quite clear that he (Hipponax) assumes a fictitious persona in his poetry. The low character (πτωχός) which appears as the first-person narrator in Hipponax's iambi must be a pose


17M.G. Bonanno, M.H. 37 (1980), especially 74 ff.

18C. Carey, CQ 36 (1986): 64 f.
on the poet's part since poets were drawn from a higher social class than this character seems to belong.19

Perhaps the strongest evidence of the iambographers' influence upon Old Comedy is to be found in their use of exaggeratedly virulent curses.20 Such curses are used also by Aristophanes, perhaps in direct imitation of the iambographers. The comic poets were certainly aware of the iambographic tradition and asserted a moral purpose and justification for their own invective.21 It is important to note that the targets of the iambographers' invective are people with whom the poets have a personal relationship, whether real or fictitious. In Old Comedy the invective uttered by the chorus tends to fit into two distinct categories: it is either directed at people with whom the chorus has a personal quarrel (again, whether real or imaginary is not important) or with people who have no personal connection with the chorus.


20G. L. Hendrickson, in a discussion of Archilochean invective ['Archilochus and the Victims of his Iambics,' AJPh 46 (1925): 101-127], points to the elaborate curse attributed either to Archilochus (Fr. 79a D.) or Hipponax (Fr. 115 W.), in which the poet expresses his wish that an oath-breaker suffer a shipwreck and its consequences, as being an example of a survival of the primitive belief in the effectiveness of curses (p. 115). This is clearly true and shows once again the pervasiveness of folk-custom in ίπσωντας. Perhaps we must look to the form which the curse takes to see the particular influence of the iambographers.

21Cf. Eq. 1274 ff.: λοιδορῆσαι τούς πονηρούς οὐδέν ἐστ' ἐπίθυμον κτλ.. This expresses an impersonal moral justification; personal justification is found at Vesp. 1217; Nubes 575 f.; and Aves 137 f.
Last, but not least, in importance as a source of influence upon the abuse-lyrics is what may be termed the popular or folk-customs of Athens, which are not to be associated too closely with cult. Of course, there are no actual examples of such abuse: it must be deduced from its imitations in the comic poets. The best-known source for folk-abuse (outside of those which have already been discussed) is that normally associated with the celebration of the Eleusinian Mysteries, that is, the so-called γεφυρισμός, or abuse-at-the-bridge, which took place on the bridge over the Kephissos during the procession to Eleusis. 22

It is disputed whether this abuse is a part of the cult itself, or if the connection is entirely fortuitous. Arguing for the non-fortuitous connection are Wilamowitz, 23 O. Kern, 24 Fluck, 25 and F. Graf, 26 but this has been denied by Deubner, 27 Nilsson, 28 and

22 Hesych., s.v. γεφυρίς (Γ705), γεφυρισταί (Γ715); Suda s.v. γεφυρίζων (Γ212 Ad.); Ammonius, περί σταυροφόρων λέξεων, (443 Nickau); collected by Fluck, Skurrile Riten, 52ff.


24 γεφυρισμό, RE 7.1229.

25 Skurrile Riten, 52 ff.

26 Fritz Graf, Eleusis und die orphische Dichtung Athens in vorhellenistischer Zeit, (Berlin and New York: Verlag von Alfred Töpelmann, 1974), 45, where there are further references.

27 Ludwig Deubner, Attische Feste, 73: "Daß die γεφυρισμό an der Brücke über den Athenischen Kephisos einen religiösen Hintergrund hätten, hat Foucart mit vollem recht bezweifelt. Dergleichen Neckereien konnten sich bei enger Passage leicht genug einstellen, und wo kämen wir hin, wenn jeder Scherz als agrarischer Ritus angesprochen würde?"

Foucart. In the opinion of the latter group of scholars this abuse is simply the sort of thing which can be expected to arise among any group of merry-makers during any festive occasion. More important for my purposes is the fact that there is no evidence for the form which the ζυφυρισμός took, whether it was in prose or in verse. Now, the simple folk-lyrics which appear in the iambic scenes, when examined simply for their metrical form, have been seen to have no literary sources. May we not therefore assume that Aristophanes is using metrical forms which are true to the traditions of folk-music? May we not also assume that he is using forms of abuse which are modelled on popular forms, and should not ζυφυρισμός be so described?

The question of the cult-association of ζυφυρισμός cannot be answered with certainty, but the evidence for the use of ritualized abuse outside cult causes one to doubt the necessity of the connection. It must be taken into consideration that friendly abuse (in Greece, as elsewhere) was naturally very


30 On this important point the remarks of Ralph Mark Rosen, Old Comedy and the Iambographic Tradition, (Diss. Harvard, 1983), 4, are worth quoting: "Although most of the evidence for ritual abuse in festivals such as the Haloa, the Stenia or the Thesmophoria says nothing about iambic verse per se (i.e., terms such as skommata, or paidiai are used without reference to literary form), the connection between iambics and ritual abuse seems implicit in the name of Demeter's servant Iambe, who, as early as the Hom. Hymn to Demeter, uses mockery of Demeter to shock her out of her mourning." However, this does not take into account abuse whose metre is simple aeolics.
common. We have other evidence for the (especially sympotic) use of such non-cultic abuse, namely the *Hom. Hymn to Hermes* 54 ff., θεός δ' ὑπὸ καλὸν ἀειδεῦν ἐκ αὐτοσχεδίας πειρόμενος, ἥτοι κοῦροι ἥβηται θαλῆσι παραιβόλα κερτομέουσιν κτλ.; and in Isocrates, πρὸς Νικοκλέα 47, εὑροὶ δ' ἄν τις αὐτοὺς ἐν μὲν ταῖς πρὸς ἀλλήλους συνουσίαις ἢ λοιδοροῦντας ἢ λοιδορουμένους κτλ.31 Such sympotic abuse is only a particular manifestation of folk-custom, one which has left many traces in literature. These descriptions ought to make anyone hesitate to ascribe all abuse found in Old Comedy to a cultic or literary origin.

From the foregoing discussion it is clear that little can be stated with any certainty about the origins of the form which the abuse took in the hands of the comic dramatists. We can see that there was a tradition of obscenity, bawdiness, and the good-natured abuse of prominent citizens which was part of the celebration of some of the Athenian festivals, and that the dramatic festivals lent themselves especially to this custom.32 But we have no evidence for the form which it took. More evidence exists of course for the similarly obscene and abusive poetry of the iambographers, but here too, there is much disagreement on the precise nature of this genre. Wüst was on the right track

31 These and further references to sympotic abuse are collected by Reitzenstein, *Skolon und Epigramm*, 26, n.2.

32 See Zimmermann, *Untersuchungen zur Form und dramatischen Technik der aristophanischen Komödien*, Beiträge zur Klassischen Philologie, Heft 166 (Meisenheim/Glan: Verlag Anton Hain, 1984-85) II:169, for a discussion of this point.
with his theory that there exists a pattern in the abuse-lyrics showing that they were taken from popular custom, although his theory cannot be defended in some of the details. He sought to show that some of the abuse lyrics fit a pattern and that this pattern's origin lay in the γεφυρισμός associated with the celebration of the Eleusinian Mysteries. The most compelling instance of this is *Ranae* 416 ff., where the identification of the abuse with *gephyrismus* is possible. However, as was discussed above, that *gephyrismus* was part of the cult is itself a matter of dispute. Here, however, we get into problems of definitions, which are impossible to resolve. In order to reach some (perhaps only tentative) conclusions about this problem it will be useful to examine the form and content of each of the abuse-lyrics and to see how they are used in the surviving plays of Aristophanes and the comic fragments.

It is a natural outgrowth of the dramatic situation that choral praise developed alongside of the choral abuse. Because of this, it will also be useful to examine the praise-lyrics, although these will be examined cursorily, and more for their metrical forms than for their contents. Abuse lyrics will be treated first, followed by praise lyrics, and finally by lyrics which combine praise and abuse.

The first example of a lyric consisting purely of abuse which we shall consider is *Ach*. 1150-73. These verses, plus 1143-49, form the second parabasis, with 1143-49 forming the usual

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33 Wüst, *Skolion*, 40 ff.
anapaestic commation (ἳτε δὴ χαὶρετες κτλ.). The two strophes, 1150-61-1162-73, are, as is usual with the parabatic ode and antode, in a higher style of lyric, similar (in its elevated tone) especially to the tragic style, which is unlike the other lyrics following the parabasis, in which simple, repetitive metrical forms are the norm. Choriambic and iambic metres are used in these verses which are, as Wilamowitz demonstrated, in a style which imitates tragic lyric, though with changes suited to comedy.

The strophe contains abuse of Antimachus, a melic poet, who, as choregus, has failed to provide the chorus with their customary dinners following the Lenaia. This, however, is not necessarily to be taken as relating an actual occurrence. There follows an elaborate curse in the form of a wish that various misfortunes befall Antimachus, including a wish for him to be sitting down to eat a sizzling squid, only to have it snatched away at the last second by a dog. In the antistrophe the chorus imagines Antimachus being way-laid by a bandit named Orestes, which results in Antimachus grabbing a turd in the darkness and

34Wilamowitz, GV, 206, n.2.

35Zimmermann, Untersuchungen, II:172.

36This sort of comic curse is repeated elsewhere, cf. Equites 929-40; Pax 1009 ff. These comic curses are adaptations of a long-standing popular tradition, which poets such as Archilochus made use of. See G.L. Hendrickson, AJPh 46 (1925): 101-127, for a discussion of such curses. This curse is quite similar to Hipponax, Fr.115 W. (This is discussed by Rosen, Old Comedy and the Iambographic Tradition, 87 ff.).
throwing it at Orestes, but hitting Cratinus. The two strophes run in full as follows: 37

'Αντίμαχον τὸν Ψακάδος ἔτον ξυγγραφητι τὸν μελέων 1150 ποιητήν,
ὡς μὲν ἀπλῷ λόγῳ, κακῷς ἐξολέσειεν ὁ Ζεύς.
ὅς γ’ ἐμὲ τὸν τλήμανα λήναια χορηγῶν ἀπέλυσ’ ἄδειπνον.
ἀν ἔτ’ ἐπίθομεν τευθόδος ὑπομενον ἥ ὀ’ ὑπημένη
σίζουσα πάραλος ἐπὶ τραπέζῃ κειμένη
ἀκέλλου: κάτα μέλ-
λοντος λαβεῖν αὐτοῦ κύων
ἀρπάσασα φεύγοι. 1161

Τούτο μὲν αὐτῷ κακὸν ἔμυ, κἂθ’ ἔτερον νυκτερινὸν γέ-
νοιτο.

ηπιαλῶν γὰρ οἰκας’ ἐξ ἱππασίας βασίζων, 1165
ἐκτα κατάξειτ’ τις αὐτοῦ μεθόων τῇς κεφαλῆς ὁ Ἐρέστης
μανήμενος, ὁ δὲ λύθην βαλεῖν
βουλήμενον ἐν σκότω λάβοι
τῇ χειρὶ πέλεθον ἀρτίως κεχεμένον.

ἐπάξειεν δ’ ἔχων
τὸν μάρμαρον, κάπελθ’ ἀμαρ-
τῶν βάλοι Κρατίνον. 38

The important aspect of this choral lyric is that the abuse is directed at someone, real or imaginary (it is unimportant which), who is in some way connected with the chorus. This is the distinguishing aspect of all those abused by the chorus in the parabatic parts (with one exception). We shall see that it is different in the other choral lyrics.

The next example of choral lyric-abuse occurs at Equ. 973-84-985-96. This ode is in simple aeolic metres (stanzas of

37 All quotations from Aristophanes, unless otherwise stated, are from the O.C.T. of Geldart and Hall.

38 These verses are arranged differently by Wüst (40 f.):

'Αντίμαχον τὸν Ψακάδος,
tὸν μελέων ποιητήν,
ὡς μὲν ἀπλῷ λόγῳ κακῷς
ἐξολέσειεν ὁ Ζεύς: κτλ.

[The rest of the text is not shown in this document]
three glyconics with pherecrateans for the clausulae). These simple stanzas (cf. Equ. 1111-50) indicate the imitation of popular lyric, but enjambement is also used (982f, 984f, 989f, 993f), which Zimmermann calls an indication of 'verfeinerten Metrik'.  

The ode runs as follows:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{973} & \quad \text{\textgreek{h}d\textgreek{i}stou \textgreek{f}a\textgreek{o} \textgreek{h}m\textgreek{e}r\textgreek{a} \textgreek{a}} \\
& \quad \text{\textgreek{e}stai to\textgreek{i}si paro\textgreek{u}si kai} \\
& \quad \text{to\textgreek{i}si de\textgreek{e}u\textgreek{e} \textgreek{a}fiknuoum\textgreek{e}nou\textgreek{i},} \\
& \quad \text{\textgreek{h}n Kle\textgreek{w}n ap\textgreek{ol}h\textgreek{tai}.} \\
& \quad \text{ka\textgreek{a}toi pre\textgreek{b}vut\textgreek{e}r\textgreek{w}n ti\textgreek{v}n} \\
& \quad \text{\textgreek{o}\textgreek{i}n \textgreek{a}r\textgreek{g}a\textgreek{a}le\textgreek{w}t\textgreek{a}t\textgreek{a}n} \\
& \quad \text{\textgreek{e}n tw de\textgreek{i}g\textgreek{m}at\textgreek{i} t\textgreek{i}wv \textgreek{d}i\textgreek{k}\textgreek{w}n} \\
& \quad \text{\textgreek{h}kou\textgreek{s} \textgreek{a}nti\textgreek{le}g\textgreek{o}n\textgreek{t}\textgreek{a}n,} \\
& \quad \text{\textgreek{w}c e\textgreek{i} \textgreek{m} \textgreek{g} \textgreek{e}n\textgreek{e}n\textgreek{e} \textgreek{o}\textgreek{u}\textgreek{t}\textgreek{o} \textgreek{e}n} \\
& \quad \text{\textgreek{t}i\textgreek{v} pol\textgreek{e}i m\textgreek{e}g\textgreek{a}c, s\textgreek{u}c a\textgreek{d} \textgreek{h}-} \\
& \quad \text{\textgreek{s}t\textgreek{h}n sk\textgreek{e}b\textgreek{h} d\textgreek{o}c h\textgreek{r}h\textgreek{s}i\textgreek{m}w,} \\
& \quad \text{d\textgreek{o}i\textgreek{a}uec o\textgreek{u}d\textgreek{e}c to\textgreek{r}u\textgreek{m}h.}
\end{align*}
\]

The ode is a parody of tragic 'Jubellieder', (such as Eurip. El. 866 f., Alc. 244, I.A. 1250, Fr. 443; and Aeschylus, Ag. 1577.40), but it continues into \(\text{\textgreek{d}n\textgreek{om}a\textgreek{si}t} \text{\textgreek{k}\textgreek{w}m\textgreek{\phi}e\textgreek{\v}e\textgreek{i}v\). The Equites is unique in being entirely abusive of Cleon without mentioning him by name, outside of this stasimon. However, in the parados the chorus had made it clear that Cleon had attacked Aristophanes. Therefore the chorus (and Aristophanes) has a personal motive in attacking Cleon in this stasimon.

Equites 1264-89-1290-1315 forms the second parabasis (in trochaic tetrameters catalectic), e.g. 1264-75:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{1264} & \quad \text{t\textgreek{i} k\textgreek{a}l\textgreek{a}\textgreek{l}i\textgreek{ou} \textgreek{a}r\textgreek{x}\textgreek{h}\textgreek{o}\textgreek{m}\textgreek{e}\textgreek{n}o\textgreek{i}v} \\
& \quad \text{\textgreek{h} k\textgreek{a}t\textgreek{a}p\textgreek{a}n\textgreek{o}\textgreek{m}\textgreek{e}\textgreek{n}o\textgreek{i}v} \\
& \quad \text{\textgreek{h} \textgreek{t}o\textgreek{a}i\textgreek{v} t\textgreek{i}p\textgreek{w}v \textgreek{e}l\textgreek{a}t\textgreek{h}\textgreek{r}a\textgreek{c} \textgreek{a} \textgreek{d}e\textgreek{i}d\textgreek{e}i\textgreek{v}, \textgreek{m}\textgreek{h}d\textgreek{e}n \textgreek{e}c \textgreek{h}\textgreek{u}\textgreek{s}i\textgreek{\sigma}\textgreek{\i}\textgreek{\sigma}\textgreek{r}\textgreek{a}\textgreek{t}a\textgreek{ou},}
\end{align*}
\]

39 Zimmermann, Untersuchungen, II:175.

40 P. Rau, Paratragodia, (Munich: Beck,1967), 188; Zimmermann, Untersuchungen, II:175.
μηδὲ θούμαντιν τοὺς ἄνεστιν αὖ λυπεῖν ἔκοψης καράς;
καὶ γὰρ οὕτος ὡς φίλ' Ἀπόλλων δεῖ πεινῆ, θαλεροῖς
δακρύοις
σᾶς ἀπˈ ὁμένος φαρέτρας Πυθώνι δία μὴ κακῶς πένεσθαι.
λοιδορήσαι τοὺς πονηροὺς οὐδέν ἐστ' ἐπίθηκον,
ἀλλὰ τιμὴ τοῖς χρηστοῖς, ὅστις εὖ λογίζεται. 1275

The first three verses (as printed here) are an adaptation of a Pindaric prosodion (Fr. 89 Sn.-M.). 41 There is, as Zimmermann says, a tension ("Spannung") between the lofty, lyrical beginning, and the colloquial, vulgar conclusion. 42 Here too, as in Ach. 1150ff, the person abused is associated with the chorus, in this instance with the chorus' self-assumed role of abusing bad citizens (λοιδορήσαι τοὺς πονηροὺς 1274).

The next example of lyric abuse is Vespae 1265-91. This too forms a second parabasis. (Originally it had four parts, two strophes and two sections of trochaic tetrameters cat., which formed an epirrhematic syzygy. However, lines have been lost between 1283-84. 43 ) The metrical form of the strophe is not modelled on any poem which had attained 'classic' status as is the normal Aristophanic practice in his parabases:

41τοῦτο ἀρχὴ προσοδίου Πυθώνος ἔχει δὲ οὕτως·
Τί κάλλιον ἄρχομένοις
ἡ καταπαυμένοις
ἡ βαθύζων τε Λατώ
καὶ θοᾶν ἴππων ἐλάτειραν ἀέλσαι;

This is discussed by by Fraenkel, Beobachtungen zu Aristophanes, 205, and Wilamowitz, Hermes 54 (1919): 54-57 (= Kl. Schr. IV [Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1962], 292-95).

42Zimmermann, Untersuchungen, II.176. A scholiast says that it is a parody of the Phaedra (ἡ δὴ ποτ' ἄλλος νυκτός κτλ.), but Wilamowitz (ibid.) discounts this, saying that it is from a Pindaric source.

We have seen that it is normal for the abuse contained in
the parabatic parts to be inspired by a personal grievance (real
or feigned) on the part of the chorus against the targets of the
abuse. This lyric is unlike any other parabatic choral abuse-
lyric in Aristophanes in that it does not relate the abused
person to the activities of the chorus in any way. The abuse is
entirely for the sake of abuse: the abused is not brought into
any relationship with the chorus.

Pax 775-817. Wüst wishes to call these lyrics
gephyrismus, saying that the parabasis, which immediately
precedes these lines, ends at 774; however, it is similar in
technique and style to the other parabatic lyrics, and so ought
to be considered a part of the parabasis. Without the ode and
antode the parabasis would be lacking entirely in the typical
responding sections. Metrically these verses are a combination of
aeolic and dactylo-epitrite; e.g., the first strophe, 775-795:

Moûsa σὺ μὲν πολέμους ἀπωσαμέμη μετ’ ἔμοι 775
tοῦ φίλου χόρευσον,
kλείουσα θεών τε γάμους ἀνδρῶν τε δαίτας
cαὶ θαλασσαὶ μετὰ σοὶ γὰρ τὰ τά’ ἐξ ἀρχῆς μέλει.
ην ὀν τις παῖσιν χορεύσαι,

44 Wüst, Skolion, 42.
This lyric begins with an imitation of the Oresteia of
Stesichorus (Fr.33P = 210 PMG).\textsuperscript{45} This, like Ranae 674 ff., is a
comic imitation of a cletic hymn. After the high-poetic style of
775-79, Aristophanes turns to simpler, more colloquial
language. The colloquial parts are marked by the use of the Aristophanean
to $\ldots$ (785,6,7).\textsuperscript{46} Once again the targets of the chorus'
abuse are related to the chorus in their role as chorus; that is,
the invective is caused by a wrong suffered by the chorus at the
hands of the person at present being abused. They pray to the
Muse to join their dance, but not to heed the prayer of Carcinus.
This abuse is continued in the antistrophe with abuse of Morsimus
and Melanthius, again in connection with the chorus (χορόν δὲ μὴ
'χη Μόρσιμος μηδὲ Μελάνθιος 801-2). The Scholiast says that
Morsimus and Melanthius (two brothers, the great-nephews of
Aeschylus) were very bad tragic poets,\textsuperscript{47} which naturally

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{45}Frr.210-12 PMG = Peace 775-79, 796-800.
\item \textsuperscript{46}Zimmermann, Untersuchungen, II:181.
\item \textsuperscript{47}See M. Platnauer, Aristophanes' Peace, (Oxford: Oxford
University Press, 1964), note ad loc.
\end{itemize}
associates them with the chorus. 48  

Aves 1470-81 = 1482-93 = 1553-64 = 1694-1705: The colometry of these lines is disputed. 49 They are formed from trochees and lecythia, e.g., 1470-81:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{πολλά δὴ καὶ κατακαὶ θαυ-} & \quad 1470 \\
\text{μόστ' ἐπεπόμεσθα καὶ} & \\
\text{δεινὰ πράγματ' εἴδομεν.} & \\
\text{ἐκτείνεται τῷ Καρόλας ἁ-} & \quad 1475 \\
\text{πωτέρῳ Κλεόνυμος,} & \\
\text{χρήσιμον μὲν οὐδὲν, ἀλ-} & \\
\text{λως δὲ δειλὸν καὶ μέγα.} & \\
\text{τούτῳ τοῦ μὲν ἣρος ἔδει} & \\
\text{βλαστάνεται καὶ συκοφαντεῖ,} & \quad 1480 \\
\text{τοῦ δὲ χειμώνος πάλιν τὰς} & \\
\text{ἀσπίδας φυλλοφροεῖ.} &
\end{align*}
\]

These lyrics mark off the scenes containing the 'intruders', or alazones, and serve the practical purpose of allowing changes of costume to be made; 50 but they also echo the events taking place on the stage: for example, abuse of Cleonymus (in which he is called a sycophant, 1479) is followed immediately by a scene with a sycophant (1410-79); while verses 1482-93, containing abuse of the foot-pad Orestes, foreshadow the entry of Prometheus (1494), who fears he is being observed and pursued by Zeus. These lyrics are "simple trochaic systems", 51 and are

48 Melanthius is again abused at Pax 1009 ff.

49 Compare the editions of O.C.T., Prato, and Schröder.

50 Zimmermann, Untersuchungen, II:184.

51 L.S. Spatz, Strophic Construction in Aristophanic Lyric (Diss. Indiana University, 1968), quoted by Zimmermann, II:186 n.16.
linguistically unpoetic.\textsuperscript{52} In these lyrics the chorus stays in character, but the abuse, as in other lyrics of this sort, is not related to the chorus or to the activities of the chorus: though the chorus of birds speaks of itself as flying over the earth and seeing these variously typical κυμαπούμενοι, this is simply a device to introduce the abuse. None of the figures of abuse is brought into a personal connection with the chorus.

Lysistrata 781-967-805-820. These verses form an amoibaion between the two semi-choruses. This, however, can not be considered abuse, at least not of the sort which we are looking at, although Wüst does call this gephyrismus.\textsuperscript{53}

Lysistrata 1043-1071-1189-1215. This stasimon is unlike the usual, and expected, stasimon: it contains no abuse. Indeed, at the very beginning, it proclaims that it will not utter the usual abuse (1043-45):

\begin{quote}
où παρασκευαζόμεθα
tών πολιτών οὐδὲν ἔνθερς
φλαύρον εἰπεῖν οὔδὲ ἔν.
\end{quote}

In the antistophe, instead of speaking about some figure not in the play, the chorus addresses the audience, inviting them to a feast at their home, only to announce that the door will be locked when they arrive. The responding stasimon (1189-1215) also invites the poor to come to the chorus' house (the choral "I" is used), but once again there is a catch: the house is guarded by a fierce dog. These two stasima appear where abuse is usually

\textsuperscript{52}Zimmermann, \textit{Untersuchungen}, II:186.

\textsuperscript{53}Wüst, \textit{Skolion}, 42.
found. Perhaps the situation of the last half of the play prevents the inclusion of abuse, abuse which the audience has so come to expect that Aristophanes must announce the alteration of his usual practice. The typical pattern (in the earlier plays at least) is to have the triumphant victor of the agon fend off the *alazones* in the iambic scenes. In the *Lysistrata* there are no *alazones*; the final scenes are of reconciliation and rejoicing: the plot produces no losers to be abused.

*Ranae* 417-34: These little stanzas, in iambics, are uttered by the chorus during the parodos. However, they will be considered with the other choral lyrics, since the later plays of Aristophanes do away with the usual structure established in the earlier plays. In the *Ranae*, since the contest between Aeschylus and Euripides takes up the entire second half of the play, the first half is filled with the sort of episodes which are normally found in the second half of each play, including abuse-lyrics.

These lyrics are uttered by a procession of initiates apparently meant to represent the procession to Eleusis to take part in the Mysteries.54 This (apparent) fact has caused the lyrics to be suspected of being examples of the abuse actually associated with the Eleusinian Mysteries.55 In addition to Wüst, Dale says that this lyric "represents the old rustic ἱμπερίσμος or γεφυρίσμος, the lampooning at the bridge, which was probably the

54 This is a much disputed point; however, it has little bearing on my argument.

most primitive form of popular metre."56 However, as we have seen, we do not know what form the *gephyrismus* took, and whether it was even in the form of songs at all.

It is the general opinion of scholars that the parodos of the *Ranae* does not represent accurately a cult-scene, but that Aristophanes picks and chooses from any number of popular festivals to suit himself.57

The metrical patterns found here are entirely typical of folk-lyrics: the avoidance of enjambement,58 in which respect compare *Ach.* 263-79 (phallic song); the use of iambics with aeolics is found elsewhere in Aristophanes (*Ach.* 836 ff., *Nub.* 303 ff.59 Eduard Fraenkel60 calls these lyrics true *λαμβισμός*:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{βούλεσθε δήτα κοινή} & \quad 420 \\
\text{σκώψῳμεν Ἄρχεόδημον;} & \\
\text{ός ἐπτέτης ὅν οὐκ ἔφυσε φράτερας,} & \\
\text{νυνὶ δὲ δημαγωγεῖ} & \\
\text{ἐν τοῖς ἄνω νεκροῖς,} & \\
\text{κάστην τὰ πρώτα τῆς ἐκεί μοιχηρίας.} & 425 \\
\begin{array}{c}
\text{τὸν Κλεισθένειον ὃ ἄκούω} \\
\text{ἐν ταῖς ταφαῖσι πρωκτῶν} \\
\text{τίλλειν ἐαυτοῦ καὶ σπαράττειν τὰς γυνάους.} \\
\end{array} & \\
\text{κάκοπτετ' ἐγκεκρυφώς,} & \\
\text{κάκλαε κάκεκράγει.} & 430
\end{align*}
\]

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56 A.M. Dale, ibid.
57 Zimmermann, Untersuchungen, I:132. Cf. also Deubner, at the place cited above, n.27.
58 Zimmermann, Untersuchungen, I:131; cf. Wilamowitz, GV, 96.
59 A.M. Dale, Lyric Metres, 80 f.
60 Beobachtungen zu Aristophanes, 203; cf. Wilamowitz, GV, 242, n.2.
As with other such lyrics (e.g., Equ. 973 ff.) the targets of abuse are unconnected with the chorus and its usual activities. Throughout these abuse-lyrics the chorus continues in their role as religious initiates: no reference is made to their role as comic chorus.

Ranae 674-85-706-717: The lyrics form the ode and antode of the parabasis, and, like the parabasis of the Pax, there is tension between the high-style and the colloquialisms, the hymn-form and the abuse, the tragic rhythm and the content:61

As in other parabatic abuse-lyrics the abuse is connected with the activities of the chorus as a chorus: here the chorus invite the Muse to join in, and take pleasure in, the choral dance. Immediately after this formal invitation (a parody of a cletic hymn, though we have no evidence that this was taken from some poet, which, as we have seen, is the practice in Aristophanes) Cleophon is abused, and the abuse is in connection

61Zimmermann, Untersuchungen, II:288.
with his singing: he is mocked as a foreigner (ἐφ' οὖ δὴ χείλεσιν ἄμφιλόλως δεινὸν ἐπιβρέμεται θηρία χελισῶν τέπλι βάρβαρον ἐξομένη πέταλον †). In the antode, which the Scholiast says is taken from the tragic poet Ion of Chios (Fr.41 Nauck), a certain bath-house keeper named Cleigenes is abused as a bad citizen. This abuse is part of the general choral address to the audience, which takes the form of a παραίνεσις περὶ τῆς πολιτικῆς κατασκευῆς.62

There are a few non-Aristophanic abuse-lyrics found among the fragments of Old Comedy. The largest (and most interesting) is the fragment of Eupolis' Demoi, Fr.99 K.-A. (CGFP 92). These verses are clearly from the parabasis, and are for this reason remarkable: nowhere in the extant work of Aristophanes (although with one partial exception, for which see below) does he use the sort of abuse (short iambic stanzas) found here in the parabatic parts in the Demoi. These lyrics are quite similar both in form and in content to those of the Ranae 416ff.63 The passage runs as follows (the iambic parts):

62 Radermacher, Aristophanes' Frösche, 238.

63 See Fraenkel, Beobachtungen, 201 f.; and the commentary in PCG.
These lyrics are followed by twelve verses in trochaic tetrameters catalectic. The series of κωμῳδομένοι in these verses (joined by δέ) are like those found in Aristophanes outside of the parabatic parts, where the abused people are unconnected with the chorus. Here Eupolis combines what Aristophanes keeps separate.64

There are a few other abuse-lyrics pointed out by Wüst.65

One of which is Cratinus Fr. 62 K.-A. (57, 58 K.):

64 Here is how Fraenkel, Beobachtungen, 202, describes the parabasis of the Demoi (he is interested in proving that the parabasis originally contained hymns rather than abuse): "Alles was davon erhalten ist, das heisst ein umfangreiches Stück, zwanzig Verse, der Gegenstrophe, ist rein skoptisch: eine Reihe von Athenern, hoch und niedrig, werden verhöhnt. Skoptische Partien fehlen auch in den Parabasenliedern des Aristophanes nicht (Pax 871ff., 801ff., Ran. 678ff., 707ff.), aber da sind sie in den Zusammenhang von Gebethymnen eingebettet, und diese Hymnen richten sich bezeichnenderweise nicht an irgendwelche grosse Gottheiten, sondern an die Muse. Ob in der verlorenen Strophe der Demenparabase eine hymnische Einleitung vorhergegangen ist, lässt sich nicht wissen. Notwendig scheint mir eine solche Annahme nicht; das ganze Lied mag skoptische gewesen sein."

65 Wüst, Skolion, 44.
For the metres of this lyric see PCG ad loc.

Eupolis 386K.-A. is also an abuse-lyric:

μισω δε και † Σωκράτην
ton ptochov ἀδολέσχην,
δε τάλλα μὲν πεφρόντικεν,
ὅποθεν δε καταφαγεὶν ἔχοι
toūtou kathmèlnke

For discussion concerning the metres see PCG, Cratinus Fr. 62.

Such are the lyrics of abuse in Old Comedy, at least those unmixed with praise. The praise-lyrics alternate with the abuse-lyrics. These will be discussed more briefly. We are more interested in their metrical forms than in their contents.

The first example is Acharnians 1008-17~1037-46. These lyrics form an encomiastic amoibaion between the chorus and Dicaeopolis, in simple iambics. The strophe is the second macarismus of Dicaeopolis (the first is at 836ff, which will be discussed later). The chorus sings two brief lyrics of praise. They run as follows:

ζηλω σε τῆς ευβουλίας,
μᾶλλον δὲ τῆς ευωχίας
ἀνθρωπε τῆς παρούσης.

and,

66 For the metre of these lines see PCG. Wüst arranges and completes them as follows:

<άλλον εἶα, τὸ φήσομεν>
Λάμπωνα, τὸν ὧν βροτῶν
ψήφος δύναται φλεγομέν ἐείπων φίλων ἀπείργειν;
<ἐκπέτε μὲν ἀρτίως,>
νῦν δ' αὕτης ἐρυγγάνει·
βρύκει γάρ ἄπαν τὸ παρόν· τρίγυλη δὲ κἂν μάχοιτο.
ηκουσας ώς μαγειρικώς 1015
καμψής τε καί δειπνητικώς
αυτή διακονείται;

Note the use of ζηλώ σε κτλ. This is a formula which occurs several times in the praise-lyrics.67

In the second lyric section (1037-46) the chorus explains what is happening on stage: Dicaeopolis is keeping the benefits of peace for himself:

άνηρ ανηφιρηκέν τι ταῖς 1037
σπουδάζαιν ἥδυ, κούκ ἔφι-
κεν οὐδὲν μεταδώσειν.

and,

ἀποκτενεῖς λυμῷ 'μὲ καλ
τούς γείτονας κυμή τε καλ 1045
φωνῇ τοιαύτα λάσκων.

Nubes 457-77: These verses form an encomiastic amoibaion between the chorus and Strepsiades, in which, unlike other encomia, Strepsiades is praised for his future blessed state:68

Χο. λῆμα μὲν πάρεστι τῷ δ' γ' 1201ff
οὐκ ἄτολμον ἀλλ' ἔτοιμον. ζησθί δ' ώς
tαῖτα μαθῶν παρ' ἐμοί κλέος ὁμφανόμενης
ἐν βροτοίσιν ἐξείς.

Στ. τί πείσομαι;
Χο. τὸν πάντα χρόνον μετ' ἐμοῦ
ζηλωτότατον βίον ἀνθρώπων ἀλάξεις. κτλ.

Note the use of ζηλωτότατον. At 1201ff Strepsiades sings his own macarismus. 1205 ff.:

'μάκαρ ὦ Στρεφιάδες,
αὐτός τ' ἔφις ώς σοφὸς,
χοτον τὸν υλὸν τρέφεις,'
φήσοι οὖ δή μ' οἱ φίλοι

67As was noted by Colin MacLeod, 'The Comic Encomium and Aristophanes' Clouds,' Phoenix 35 (1981): 142-44.

68Pointed out by Zimmermann, Untersuchungen, I:177.
This passage is discussed by C. MacLeod in the article cited above, where he argues that Strepsiades sings his own macarismus at the place where the chorus usually sings the macarismus.

Vespae 1450-73. This is a macarismus of Philocleon, who has changed his ways under the tutelage of his son. The metre is iambic without enjambement. E.g. 1450-61:

Note that the vocabulary is entirely colloquial, as befits the metre (e.g., the usual, colloquial ζηλω γε της ευτυχίας, which we have seen in the other examples).

Ranae 534-48~590-604: these form encomiastic amoibaia. 534 ff. is ironic praise of Xanthias, although Dionysus takes the praise as being directed at himself (542-48). As in the other praise-lyrics, Xanthias is praised for his cleverness and cunning.

69 The lack of enjambement is characteristic of folk-lyric. Cf. PMG 848.
A few lyrics combining praise and abuse appear in the iambic scenes. They are of interest and of importance, since they show Aristophanes experimenting with his material, and since they demonstrate that the lyrics of praise and abuse came to be, at least in Aristophanes, important elements of his dramatic technique.

The first example of a mixed lyric is Ach. 836ff. The ode is arranged into four six-line strophes in iambics with reiziana for the clausulae:

εὐδαίμονε ἡ ἄνθρωπος, οὐκ ἡκουσας οἱ προβάλλει 836
tὸ πρᾶγμα τοῦ βουλευματος; καρπώσεται γὰρ ἄνηρ
ev τάγορα καθήμενος:
κάν εἰσίη τις Κτησίας
ἡ συκοφάντης ἄλλος, οἱ—
μύζων καθεδείται.

οὐδ’, ἄλλος ἄνθρωπων ὑποψωμὼν σε πημανεῖ τι,
οὐδ’, ἐξεμορέχεται Πρέπεις τὴν εὐρυπρωκτίαν σοι,
οὐδ’, ὠστείν Κλεονύμων‘
χλαίναις δ’, ἔχους φανῆν δίει
κοῦ εὐμυτυχῶν σ’ ἤπερβολος
δικών ἀναπλήσει’ κτλ.

The first strophe begins with praise of Dicaeopolis (εὐδαίμονε ἡ ἄνθρωπος) and proceeds to show how Dicaeopolis triumphs over the 'intruders' or alazones who in the imagination of the chorus come upon the stage to impose upon Dicaeopolis. These imagined alazones are of the same type as appear before Dicaeopolis on the stage, as well as elsewhere in the plays of Aristophanes, being such standard characters as the sycophant, the euryprokto, degenerates etc. Zimmermann calls this an

70 Cf. Ranae 416ff; the similarity is noted by Prato, ad loc.; and Wilamowitz, GV, 207.
"encomiastische Spottlied". This lyric, like the other non-parabatic abuse-lyrics, is directed against people not in any way associated with the chorus. In this it is similar to Ranae 1482-99 (for which see below).

Equites 1111-1150 is also a combination of praise and abuse. It takes the form of an amoibaion between the chorus and Demos. The chorus begins by praising Demos, but immediately qualifies the praise by faulting him for his gullibility. This is unique in that the person abused is on stage and conversing with the chorus. But the abuse is not complete: in the second section Demos explains how he only appears to be taken advantage of by unscrupulous politicians:

σκέψασθε δὲ μ’, εἶ σοφῶς
αὐτοὺς περιέρχομαι
τοὺς ολομένους φρονεῖν
κἀ’ ἐξαπατύλλειν.

τηρῶ γὰρ ἐκάστοτ’ αὖ-
τοὺς οὐδὲ δοκῶν ὧρὰν
κλέπτοντας· ἔπειτ’ ἀναγ-
κάζω πάλιν ἔξεμείν
ἀττ’ ἄν κεκλαδίσσει μου,
κημὸν καταμηλῶν.

This lyric is also unique in being the only one in which the person praised is not one of the central characters; but this is just another example of the peculiar nature of the Equites.

The final example of this type of lyric is Ranae 1482-90°1491-99. It is a macarismus of Aeschylus, the poet who is to be brought back to life by Dionysus. His mental abilities are praised as is the case with other lyrics of praise:

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71Zimmermann, Untersuchungen, II:170.
As we noted with *Ach.* 836 ff., praise of the hero is combined with abuse of extra-dramatic characters, although, unlike that lyric, here "der Chor singt ein Lied, das formal höheren Stil zeigt als die in der Komödie üblichen Intermezzi."72

A brief review of the lyrics treated in this chapter will bring together the important points. First, it can be seen that there is a distinct difference in the nature of the choral lyric-abuse found in the parabatic sections and that found in the choral lyrics outside the parabases: in the parabases the targets of the abuse are almost always associated in some way with the chorus, whereas in the non-parabatic lyrics the abuse is not

72Radermacher, *Aristophanes' Frösche*, 349, where, along with other evidence of the formal nature of this lyric, he compares this (for the use of anaphora) to the Rhodian Swallow-song (*PMG* 848).
prompted by any personal animosity. Thus the invective in the parabases always originates from a personal grievance (real or feigned) conferring some sort of justification (at least in the chorus' eyes), and often in response to what the chorus perceives to be a wrong which they have suffered as a comic chorus, or as representatives of the Athenian people (at the hands of politicians). In this way Old Comedy is similar to the invective of the Iambographers: Archilochus abuses Lycambes and his daughters as a result of a broken vow; Hipponax (Fr.115 W.) as we have seen, also composed an elaborate curse against an oath-breaker.

The chorus is often self-conscious and defensive about its use of invective and it will often assert moral justification for it, saying that those who are abused deserve the abuse. For example, in the second parabasis of the Acharnenses the abuse is directed at Antimachus as being a choregus who has not treated the chorus in the customary fashion. Here the chorus speak as a comic chorus and not in their role as old Acharnian men. In the Equites Aristophanes puts no όνομαστί κωμῳδόν into the parabasis, possibly because the entire play is made up of abusive exchanges between the sausage-seller and Paphlagon (representing

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73 E.g. the chorus feels it has been personally wronged at Ach. 1150 ff., Pax 775-817, and Ran. 674-85-706-717. For the similar motives of the Iambographers, see Hendrickson, AJP 46 (1925): 144 ff.; and C. Carey, CQ 36 (1986): 66.

74 Cf. Ach. 1150-73, where the choregus, Antimachus, has failed in the customary duties towards the chorus.

75 E.g. Eq. 1274 ff.
Cleon). There is, however, abuse in the second parabasis (1264 ff.). As usual the abused (Thumantis and Lysistratus) are abused by the chorus speaking as a chorus of Athenians and not in their dramatic role.

The ode and antode at Pax 775 ff. also fit this pattern. These lyrics (at the end of the parabasis) insert abuse into what was begun as a cletic hymn. As we have seen, the abused people (Carcinus and his sons in the ode, the brothers Morsimus and Melanthius in the antode) are abused for their shortcomings in the realm of tragic poetry (Morsimus and Melanthius) and dancing (Carcinus and his sons), in both of which the chorus, as a chorus, has a personal, or at least artistic, interest. In the Ranae Cleophon is abused on the charge of being a Thracian (675 ff.), and in the antode (706 ff.) Cleigenes, a bath-house keeper, is abused: in both ode and antode, the abuse is made by the chorus in connection with their role as comic chorus. In the case of Cleophon, the abuse is introduced in connection with his supposed poor singing abilities, due, it is claimed, to his foreign origins. In the case of Cleigenes, the abuse is introduced in connection with the chorus' non-dramatic role as advisor to the Athenians.76

Further examples of this sort of choral invective are found at Aves 1470-81, 1482-93, 1553-64, 1694-1705; and in the

76Fraenkel, discussing the abuse in the parabasis of the Demoi of Eupolis [Beobachtungen zu Aristophanes, 202] states that the abuse in the parabatic parts of Aristophanes' plays is always connected with "Gebethymnen", but this is not entirely true. There is one exception to this rule, for which see below.
parodos to the *Ranae*. R. Rosen, discussing the parodos to the *Ranae*, says that "the whole parodos is self-consciously invective, i.e., that it re-enacts some sort of invective ritual of a religious procession", but wishes also to see this as evidence that Aristophanes is "making . . . claims about the relation between comedy in general and its iambic heritage." 77

This, however, is not obvious, and it would perhaps be better to say that, while Aristophanes is depicting the Eleusinian procession, we do not know with what fidelity to the truth he is doing so; after all, we know that he often mixes together material drawn from various sources. Nor is a conscious imitation of the iambographers necessarily clear: as we have seen, iambographic invective sprang from the souring of personal relationships, and was not the impersonal type of abuse found in the parodos to the *Ranae* (to judge from what has survived).

Such is the lyric abuse contained in the parabatic parts. The abuse in the other choral lyrics, on the other hand, is expressed in simple metres and simple strophic arrangements, which, as we have seen, are clearly imitations of folk-lyrics. The abuse in these lyrics is directed at targets who are in no way associated with the chorus either in a general artistic sense, or in the chorus' non-dramatic role as advisor to the state on political matters: the abuse takes the character of abuse for its own sake, without apologies.

77Ralph Mark Rosen, *Old Comedy and the Iambographic Tradition*, 115.
There is one possible exception to these two types of choral abuse in Aristophanes, which must be considered along with the rather similar example from Eupolis (Fr.99 K.-A.). The second parabasis of the Vespae (1265 ff.) provides an example of an ode in which the abuse is strikingly similar to that of the non-parabatic choral lyrics; that is, there seems to be no connection between the abused person and the activities of the chorus. Further the metres used in the ode are simple, unsophisticated trochaics,78 again unlike the usual parabatic ode, where the typical practice is to adapt or parody a lyric of some poet who had attained 'classical' status. Furthermore, the chorus does not sing a hymn, nor does it talk about its role as advisor to the Athenian Demos, but launches straight into the abuse. The fragment from the Demoi of Eupolis consists of series of brief iambic stanzas followed by trochaic tetrameters catalectic. It is clear (because of the tetrameters) that this fragment is from the parabasis, and this has caused scholars to speculate on the reasons for this unusual form. (One scholar, A. Körte, suggested that the Demoi represents an earlier stage in the development of Old Comedy,79 but of course there is no way to prove this.) Körte, however, while demonstrating how this parabasis differs from those of Aristophanes, omits Vespae 1265 ff. from his

78See Macdowell, Aristophanes Wasps, note ad loc. for a metrical analysis.

79Alfred Körte, 'Fragmente einer Handschrift der Demen des Eupolis,' Hermes 47 (1912): 276-313, esp. 293.
comparison. Still, the parallel is not exact: in the *Demoi* a series of targets is abused (as in the *Ranae* 416 ff.), while in the *Vespae* only one man, Amynias, is attacked.

Some of the praise-lyrics have been included to show that a distinction exists among them similar to that among the abuse-lyrics. The simple songs of praise which use popular metres and colloquial idiom fall between the iambic scenes and alternate with the abuse-lyrics, while the more elaborate praise-lyrics are found in the parabases.

Conclusion

We saw in Chapter Two that, much more than Tragedy, Old Comedy made use of the simple, popular forms of lyric found in contemporary Athens. These folk-lyrics were employed almost exclusively in the choral stasima which occur in the iambic scenes of each drama. Of course, as with all the other material from the popular life of Athens of which Aristophanes made use, he felt free to adapt folk-lyric as he pleased. This is seen clearly in the example of *Eq.* 973 ff.: in these lyrics the simple aeolic cola (glyconics and pherecrateans) are used with enjambement, in what is meant to be an imitation (or parody) of tragic "Jubellieder." This mixing of the colloquial and the literary is also seen in the use of language, for example, at *Eq.*

80 Körte, ibid.

81 See above, p.63.
1264 ff. (the second parabasis), where colloquial and abusive language is set among what is an obvious adaptation of a Pindaric prosodion. 82

We also saw that true Attic scolia are rare in Aristophanes and what is left of Old Comedy. Where they do occur no pattern in their use can be established. It also became clear in the discussion of Aristophanes' use of scolia that the collection in Athenaeus seems to be representative: Aristophanes uses either the scolia found in the collection, or else those very similar to them.

In the foregoing discussions we have also seen how the lyrics of abuse may be divided in general into two groups, the simpler lyrics found outside the parabatic parts, and the lyrics of the parabasis and the second parabasis (this applies also to the praise-lyrics).

We may conclude that, although the comic abuse may well have originated in cult, considering the abundant evidence for ritualized abuse at the Thesmophoria, the Stenia, the Haloa, and the Mysteries, this cannot be accepted entirely without doubt. The influence of the iambographers can be seen in that sort of invective which involves the chorus in a personal quarrel with the target of the abuse. This is found particularly in the use of elaborate curses such as that at Acharnenses 1150 ff. The other sort of abuse-lyric can then be seen to represent a popular tradition of non-malicious abuse which surrounded many of the

82See above, p. 64.
religious celebrations, of which the Υεφυριζμός, associated with the Mysteries, is merely one example. It must be remembered that the Υεφυριζμός may not have been part of the cult itself, but merely part of the carnival atmosphere which went along with its celebration.

An important point was made by Rosen,\textsuperscript{83} namely that there is no direct evidence for the form which popular types of abuse took. Rosen assumes that it will have been iambic (and therefore represents the influence of the iambographers), but should not the simple aeolic metres which we have seen in the choral stasima in Aristophanes also be considered for this role? Should we not consider it likely that Aristophanes, when he wishes to recreate the carnival-like atmosphere of the popular religious festivals, uses the most common popular forms, whether it be called gekyrismos, tothasmos, etc., (though here, too, we have also seen that Aristophanes may not have copied his models precisely)?

This category would also include the simple iambic and trochaic stanzas, so that the originators of the form need not be the iambographers, but the folk-tradition, which after all was common to the iambographers as well.

This association of popular lyric-forms with σκώματα in its simplest forms (by 'simplest' I mean, abuse for the pure fun of it, and with no other purpose asserted, however insincerely) is strong evidence that this was no mere invention of Aristophanes, but that he was acting under the influence of the...

\textsuperscript{83}See above, footnote 30.
popular cultural tradition. Where, as in the parabatic parts, he indulges in imitation of the classic poets, he makes it clear that the abuse is uttered not simply for the sake of abuse, but that some point, whether political, moral, or artistic, is being made. This shows perhaps the influence of the iambographers, who do not seem to have uttered invective indiscriminately: their invective sprang from a perceived, or at least alleged, injustice, and it was not frivolous, as is true of much of the comic abuse of Old Comedy. Whether or not this distinction may be applied to Eupolis too, is unanswerable, since, although the parabasis of the *Demoi* shows simple, popular forms in the abuse-lyrics (and so may be reckoned as evidence in support of the answer 'No'), we have seen that such lyrics are not entirely alien to the parabases of Aristophanes. This fact, and the fact that we know so little of the structure of Old Comedy apart from Aristophanes, make it impossible to generalize.
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