Dionysus, Wine, and Tragic Poetry: A Metatheatrical Reading of *P.Köln* VI 242A=*TrGF* II F646a

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A NEW DRAMATIC PAPYRUS[1] confronts interpreters with many puzzling questions. In this paper I shall try to solve some of these by applying a new perspective to the text. I believe that this fragment is connected with a specific literary feature of drama especially prominent in the final decades of the fifth century B.C., *viz.* theatrical self-consciousness and the use of Dionysus, the god of Athenian drama, as a basic symbol for this tendency.[2]

The History of the Papyrus

Among the most important papyri brought to light by Anton Fackelmann is an anthology of Greek prose and poetry, which includes 19 verses of a dramatic text in catalectic anapestic tetrameters. Dr Fackelmann entrusted the publication of this papyrus to Bärbel Kramer of the University of Cologne. Her editio princeps appeared in 1979 as *P. Fackelmann* 5.[3] Two years later the verses were edited a second time by Richard Kannicht and Bruno Snell and integrated into the Fragmenta Adespota in

[1] This papyrus has already been treated by the author in *Dionysos und die griechische Tragödie. Politische und 'metatheatralische' Aspekte im Text* (Tübingen 1991: hereafter 'Bierl') 248–53. The interpretation offered here is an expansion of my earlier provisional comments in the Appendix, presenting fragments of tragedy dealing with Dionysus.

[2] See C. Segal, *Dionysiac Poetics and Euripides' Bacchae* (Princeton 1982) 215–71 (ch. 7, "Metatragedy"), who demonstrates this self-referential aspect of Dionysus by the example of *Bacchae*.

[3] B. KRAMER, "Zwei literarische Papyrusfragmente aus der Sammlung Fackelmann," *ZPE* 34 (1979: hereafter 'Kramer') 1–14 and Tafel I.

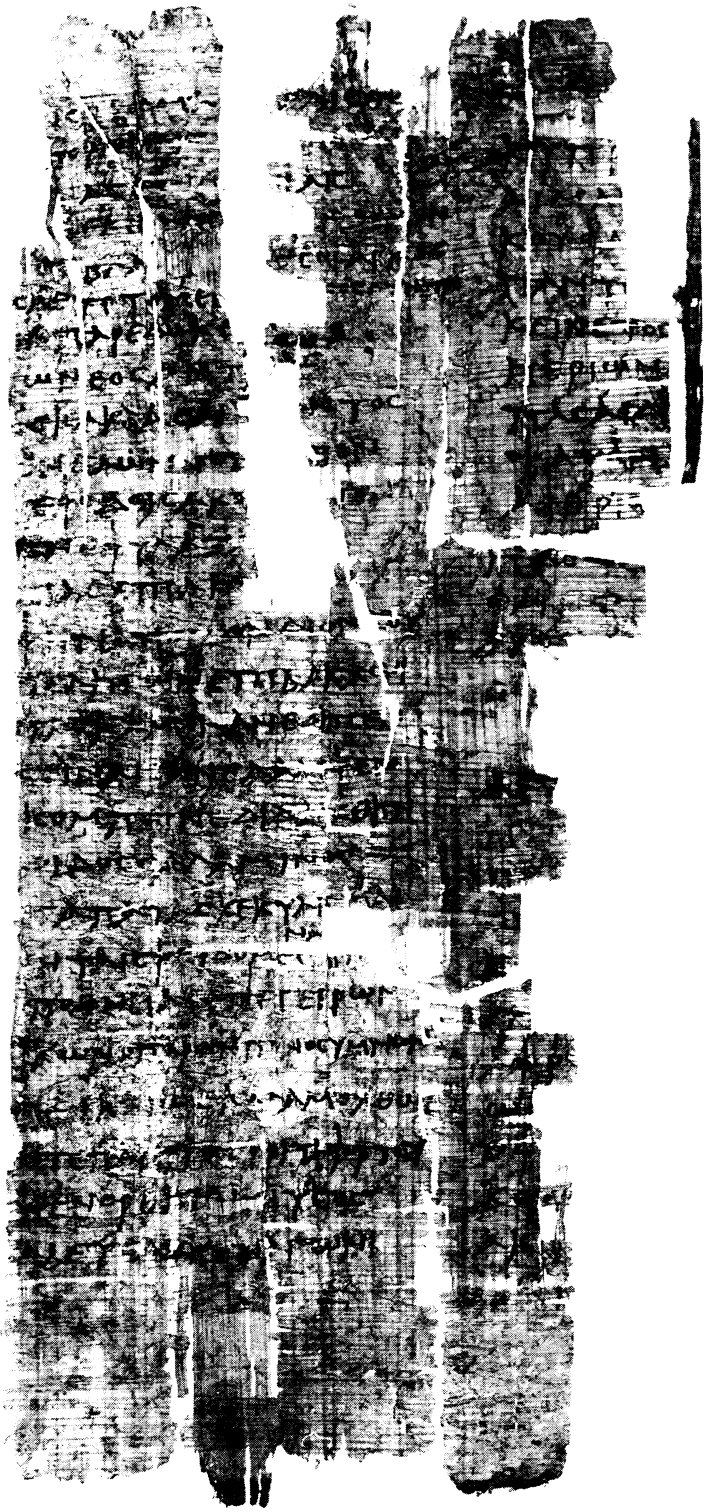
the second volume of *TrGF* as fr.646a.[4] Then by chance another series of fragments from an anthology of Greek verse was found in another Cologne papyrus. Fr. *a* of the first column of this text was found to preserve the ends of the same anapests with six additional lines at the top and two at the bottom of the column. Both ancient copies were brought together and definitively edited by Klaus Maresch in 1987 as *P.Köln* VI 242A.[5] The Cologne copy provides several new readings, and the two additional lines at the bottom in particular, though fragmentary, contain further evidence for the metatheatrical dimension of the text (PLATES 1–2).

Text

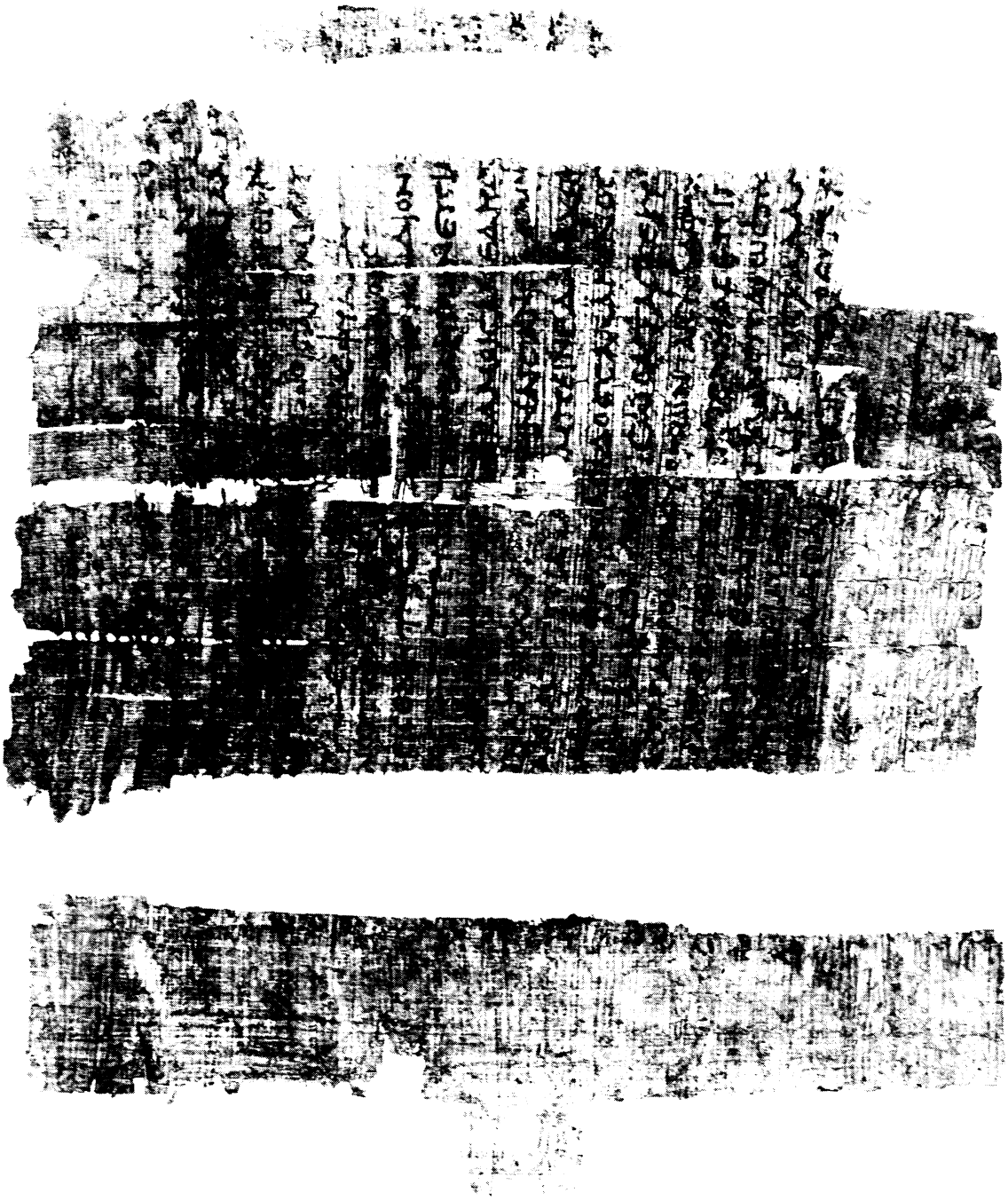
ε]ἰς οἶδμ' ἀπολίσθο[ι
]τορ . . . ις [
]νασε . . ιαις
]σεμελῆς[ ] [ ]ς ὕμνον
] βλα[ ] [ ]θεος 'Αρκάς
]σκεπτομεν[. . .]σοσσυνην΄
] υλε . . δης . . . . . ι ει παρέδωκεν
–υ]πεφευγὼς ἤθυρον ἐγ ὼ νέος ἀντρ ὧν
υ]ουργος ἁπλοῦς, πάσ ης κακίας ἀμ ί αντος
] οσισου καρπὸν μ ὲν ἐλὼν τὸν ὅρ ειον
] αιτο πάλαι θηρῶν ἐφόδοις ἀκόμισ τον
] παιδεύσας ὥριον ἦβ ην ἐφύλαξα
καρπὸ]ν ὀπώρας ἦρα βα θείας ἐπὶ ληνούς
]ν εἰς θνητοὺς ἀνέ φηνα ποτὸν Διον ύ σου
–]σος ὁ μύστης οὔπο τε λήγων ἐπὶ Βάκχωι
–]δε θεοῦ πρώτη πλοκάμοις ἀνέδησεν
]ων λήθη χάρισιν κείναις ἀνέλαμψεν

[4] *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta* II, edd. R. Kannicht and B. Snell (Göttingen 1981: 'Kannicht-Snell') 217–20.

[5] K. Maresch, "242. Anthologie. Anapästische Tetrameter (=*TrGF* II fr.646a) und Hexameter (Hymnus an Aphrodite)," *P.Köln* VI, edd. M. Gronewald *et al.* (Opladen 1987: 'Maresch') 26–46 and Tafel XXII.



P. Köln 242 fr. a (reduced to 77%)



P.Fackelmann 5 (reduced to 74%)

∪∪–∪∪– ∪∪]αι θίασος. τοιάδε⌋ κομπεῖν ἐδιδάχθην
∪∪–∪∪– ∪∪–∪] μέγας φησὶν⌋ ἀοιδὸς Σαλαμῖνος
∪∪–∪∪– ∪∪]ης ταμίας, νῦν δ' ε⌋ἰς ἀπάτας κεκύλισμαι
∪∪–∪∪]ας παῦρος ὑπουργ⌋ῶν ταῖς ψευδομέ̀να[ις]΄ . . . .[
∪∪–∪∪– –]αραπέμψει τὸν ἀ⌋π' ὀθνείας ἐπεγείρων
∪∪–∪∪– –]γνωτε, θεαί· τραγ⌋ικῶν ὁ παρὼν πόνος ὕμνων
∪∪–∪∪– –] ος ὁρίζει μὴ τ⌋ὰ δικαίως καλὰ μόχθωι
∪∪–∪∪– –]φθέντα μόλις θ⌋ῆτε παρέργου τρίτα φόρτου
⌋αδεν ὀρθῆι Διόνυσος
β⌋ραβεύσας γ' ἐν ἀγῶνι

4 Σεμέλης [τέ]κ[ο]ς vocative Maresch; τὸν δ' εἰς] Σεμέλης [τέ]κ[ο]ς ὕμνον Luppe || 5 μειξ]όβιλα[σ]τος West; fort. περ]ὶ βλα[σ]τῶν || 6 fort. σκεπτόμεν[ος || 8 Ἥρας τε χόλον –∪] πεφευγὼς Merkelbach || 9 ἀπάν]ουργος Gronewald, φυτ]ουργὸς Merkelbach, αὐτ]ουργὸς Kannicht, μουσ]ουργὸς Lloyd-Jones || 12 ὥσπερ ὁ] Kramer || 13 τότε δὲ τρυγήσας καρπὸ]ν (Rusten) sim. Kramer || 14 νέο]ν vel ὥριο]ν Merkelbach || 15 ἐξ οὗ δ' οἴνωι μέθυ]σος Luppe || 16 πλήρης] Kramer; περικωμάζει, πλήρης] Luppe; fort. ἐχόρευσεν – μαινὰς] Bierl || 17 καμάτ]ων Merkelbach, κακ]ῶν Lloyd-Jones, πόν]ων, μόχθ]ων sim. Parsons; νεβ⌋ρίδα μαινάς, καμάτ]ων Luppe; νεβρίδ', ἦν δὲ κακῶν καμάτ]ων λήθη. Bierl || 18 ἄγετ]αι Kramer; καὶ νεοβλαστὴς ἄγετ]αι Luppe; ἦχθη τ' εὐδαιμονί]αι vel ἐχόρευσεν δὴ μανί]αι Bierl || 19 ∪∪–∪∪– εἶναι ∪] Bierl || 20 οὐξ ἀμφιρύτου ∪∪]ῆς ταμίας Merkelbach; τραγικ]ῆς Merkelbach, Μούσ]ης vel ὠιδ]ῆς ταμίας Snell; fort. ∪∪– τραγικῆς vel τρυγικῆς (Sansone) Μούσ]ης || 21 fort. ἀλλ' εἶ ταμί]ας vel οὐδ' vel ἀλλ' εἶ Μούσ]ας παῦρος Bierl. In fine ἐπιν[οίαις Maresch vel τότε Μούσαις Snell || 22 ἄγε νῦν, τίς ἐπαΐνῶι vel θορύβωι τίς (Bierl) π]αραπέμψει Kramer || 23 σύγ]γνωτε West, Austin; fort. πῶς γάρ; vel οὐδείς· μᾶλλον σύγ]γνωτε || 24 θεσ]μὸς Lloyd-Jones, Snell; fort. βαρύς. ἀλλ' ὁ ἐμὸς Βάκ]χος Bierl || 25 fort. φθείρειν vel ὑβρίσαι sim., ἵνα μὴ vel ἵνα νῦν λη]φθέντα (Merkelbach, Luppe et Maresch) Bierl || 26 fort. ∪∪–∪∪– οὐδὲ θεαταῖς εὖ]αδεν (Merkelbach). ὀρθῆι Διόνυσος.

Translation

... he slipped off into the sea ... | (4) ... of Semele (?) a hymn | ... the Arcadian god | ... observed (?) | ... handed over | (8) ... having fled I played as a young boy in caves | ... a simple doer of ... not affected by

any evil | I took the fruit (plant) of the mountain | long ago secure (still uncultivated) from repeated attacks of wild animals | (12) ... having raised the young vine I protected | ... the fruit of autumn I hoisted into deep vats | ... to mortals I showed the drink of Dionysus | ... the initiate ... without any interruption in honor of Bacchus | (16) ... and ... of the god the first female one decorated with fleece. | ... forgetfulness beamed up in those joys (splendors) | the thiasos. To boast of such things I was taught. | ... great says the rhapsode of Salamis | (20) ... the caretaker, now I have been rolled into deceits | ... insignificant helping the illusionistic [conceptions] | ... waking up this man from abroad he will grant him applause | ... sorry (?), goddesses; the present labor of tragic hymns | (24) ... ordains not to ... the justly beautiful with toil |... if someone with difficulty wins the third prize, do [not] consider it a negligible burden (rubbish?) | ... pleased in the right [way?] Dionysus | ... having functioned as an arbitrator in a contest.

Overview

The text may be outlined as follows:

(A) 1–18: Myth and Cult of Dionysus

(a) 1–7: The speaker mentions a ὕμνος (4), probably for Dionysus. Someone, probably the θεὸς Ἀρκάς (5) "handed over" something (παρέδωκεν, 7). This might refer to the myth of Hermes giving the infant Dionysus to the nymphs in the cave on mount Nysa.

(b) 8–14: The speaker tells about his childhood with the Nymphs and his achievement in bringing wine to humanity.

(c) 15–18: These lines conclude a brief praise of wine and Dionysus. They discuss the great effects of Dionysus' sacred gift to mankind, which leads to the establishment of the Dionysiac cult.

(B)19–27 Dionysus as the God of Theater. Metatheatrical Discussion

(a) 19–22: A "rhapsode from Salamis," probably Euripides, is mentioned as a person who believes himself to be "great" (19). But the speaker, probably incorporating the idea of comedy, does not want to adhere to the model given by the famous tragic poet. He criticizes the poet for being weak (?) in respect to theatrical illusion.

(b) 23–28: The tragic style (with hymn) is in the opinion of the speaker inadequate (23). The diction is manifestly too lofty. Comedy has a different way. Dionysus after all prefers that beautiful art which is not spoiled by heaviness (24). Moreover, Euripides was not as great as he said (25). Therefore, Dionysus (in comedy) made the right decision when he functioned once as an arbitrator in a theatrical contest (agon).

The text exhibits two main features: first, the god of wine and of Attic drama is mentioned several times (4, 14, 15, 26), and his myth and cult are major themes in the first part (1–18);[6] second, there is a concern with poetry and theater (which in the following discussion I designate "metatheater").[7] The speaker mentions a hymn (4) and complains about "the present labor of tragic hymns" (23). There are references to an ἀοιδὸς Σαλαμῖνος (19), to the issue of theatrical illusion (ἀπάτη and ψεῦδος, 20f), and to a literary verdict in an agon (25–27).

Dionysus thus serves as a leitmotif in the entire passage; as god of wine and Athenian theater he encompasses both parts of our text. Therefore before entering into more specific discussion of the fragment, I should like first to review Dionysus' rôle in fifth-century Athenian drama.

Dionysus in Drama

While there seems to be no doubt that tragedy and comedy are in one way or another connected with the cult of the god Dionysus, the vexed problem of their origins can never be solved with any certainty on the extant evidence.[8] With

[6] See *infra ad* v. 14 on the use of Dionysus as a metaphor for wine.

[7] This term was presumably coined by L. Abel, *Metatheatre. A New View of Dramatic Form* (New York 1963).

[8] The Dionysiac origin of tragedy is the *communis opinio* in classical scholarship. See *e.g.* H. Patzer, *Die Anfänge der griechischen Tragödie* (=*Schriften der wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaft* 3 [Wiesbaden 1962]); A. Lesky, *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur*[3] (Bern/Munich 1971) 260–270. As far as I know only G. F. Else, "The Origin of ΤΡΑΓΩΙΔΙΑ," *Hermes* 85 (1957) 43–46, and H. D. F. Kitto, "Greek Tragedy and Dionysus," in J. Gassner and R. G. Allen, edd., *Theatre and Drama in the Making* (Boston 1964) 6–20, doubt this theory.

reference to the proverbial οὐδὲν πρὸς τὸν Διόνυσον, however, it is also a common opinion among classicists that Athenian drama had nothing to do with Dionysus.[9] In my recent study I have tried to show that the connection between drama and Dionysus was never really lost. By tracing the actual occurrences of the god's name in the surviving tragic texts and fragments, I have attempted to demonstrate that in the second half of the fifth century B.C. Dionysus became more and more a symbol for the polis and especially for theater itself. More than any other tragic poet, Euripides used the god and his cult as a signal for reflection on the condition of society and the nature and possibilities of his art. The tragedians tend to exploit Dionysus' immanent metatheatrical significance[10] in order to emphasize the dramatic effect of specific theatrical devices and situations. The ambivalence in Dionysus' nature between ecstatic joy and terrible cruelty allowed the poet to intensify the emotional involvement of the public through the sharp contrast between joyful expectation before and catastrophe after the peripeteia. The figure of Dionysus provided an opportunity for meditation upon the conditions of theater and the mechanisms by which it works. In these passages one can in fact identify traces of a pre-Aristotelian poetics.

I assume that these self-conscious features are valid not only for tragedy. By its very nature comedy is a literary genre even more self-reflective than tragedy. During the comic performance, the poet can deal with theatrical problems in a much more direct and obvious way. Not only by breaking the dramatic illusion completely, as in most of the parabaseis, but also more subtly, comedy refers continuously to its own constitution as a dramatic text.[11] Literary reflection is a common

[9] See *e.g.* Lesky (*supra* n.8) 264 and O. Taplin, *Greek Tragedy in Action* (London 1978) 162. For the entire question see Bierl 4–8.

[10] See Segal (*supra* n.2). O. Taplin, "Fifth-Century Tragedy and Comedy: A *Synkrisis*," *JHS* 106 (1986) 166, has serious reservations. For further discussion of metatheater and a possible answer to the controversy between Taplin and Segal see Bierl 111–19.

[11] *Cf.* Taplin (*supra* n.10) 164: "Old Comedy is ubiquitously self-referential: Aristophanes is probably the most metatheatrical playwright before Pirandello." (This judgment should perhaps be qualified by reference to the

theme in comedy itself: besides references to Homer,[12] Hesiod,[13] and the lyric poets,[14] comedy pays particular attention to tragedy. Paratragedy is a special element in comedy; entire plots may depend on the discourse about tragedy, as in *Thesmophoriazusae.* Of special significance is *Frogs*, where Dionysus plays such an important rôle. Euripides is a frequent target of the comic poets.[15] Our papyrus also contains criticism of a poet, and it is probably Euripides who is meant.

Problems: Genre, Speaker, Date, "Hymn," and "Deception"

Among the many still unsolved problems connected with this fragment is the fundamental question of its literary genre. I will offer new evidence for Kramer's suggestion (5) that it is from Old Comedy. The attribution to comedy is basically shared by

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intense concern with the nature of the medium in early German Romantic drama, especially Kleist's *Zerbino.*) For recent studies see D. Bain, *Actors and Audience. A Study of Asides and Related Conventions* (Oxford 1977) 208ff; F. Muecke, "Playing with the Theatrical Self-Consciousness in Aristophanes," *Antichthon* 11 (1977) 52–67; G. A. H. Chapman, "Some Notes on Dramatic Illusion in Aristophanes," *AJP* 104 (1983) 1–23 (*cf.* Taplin 164 n.10); L. K. Taaffe, *Gender, Deception, and Metatheatre in Aristophanes'* Ecclesiazusae (diss. Cornell 1987); and N. W. Slater, "Aristophanes' Apprenticeship Again," *GRBS* 30 (1989) 67–82. At a conference organized by Professor Slater on *Performance Criticism of Greek Comedy* (April 1991 at Emory University), O. Taplin spoke about "Metatheatricals in Greek Comedy."

[12] *Cf.* Metagenes' *Homeros* (*PCG* VII 8–10) and generally W. Scherans, *De poetarum comicorum Atticorum studiis Homericis* (diss.Königsberg 1893).

[13] *E.g.* Teleclides' *Hesiodoi* (*PCG* VII 674–77 [frr.15–24]).

[14] *E.g.* Cratinus' *Archilochoi* (*PCG* IV 121–30); Ameipsias' *Sappho* (*CAF* I 674).

[15] Note how Euripides is treated in *Ach.*, *Nub.*, and *Ran. Cf.* also the comedies dealing with specific Euripidean plots, such as the *Thesmophoriazousae*, *Polyidus*, *Lemniae*, *Phoenissae.* For paratragedy see esp. H. Rau, *Paratragodia. Untersuchungen einer komischen Form des Aristophanes* (=*Zetemata* 45 [Munich 1967]); R. L. Hunter, "P. Lit. Lond. 77 and Tragic Burlesque in Attic Comedy," *ZPE* 41 (1981) 19–24; M. G. Bonanno, "Παρατραγῳδία in Aristofane," *Dioniso* 61 (1987) 135–67.

M. Gronewald, H. Lloyd-Jones, P. Parsons, and M. L. West.[16] *TrGF* II, on the other hand, includes the fragment as a satyr play.[17] Maresch reaches no clear decision, although he seems to imply the satyr play hypothesis by defining the speaker as Silenus and comparing our text to the prologue of the Euripidean *Cyclops*.[18]

The issue of dramatic genre is closely connected with the identity of the speaker(s). But even if the lines are assigned to satyrs or Silenus, the text need not be a satyr play. Satyrs also appear in Old Comedy[19] as well as in Middle Comedy, when satyr play and contemporary comedy resembled each other more closely.[20] Although one of the general motives attributed to satyr play by Anne Burnett is "consciousness of genre,"[21] I cannot find any example of a satyr play where the plot is

[16] See Maresch 29. Most of these scholars have stated their opinions in letters to Kramer and Maresch.

[17] But it has to be stressed that Kannicht and Snell do this only reluctantly and still consider it very likely that the fragment might have belonged to a comedy: "quare fragmentum aliquando aptiorem fortasse locum habebit inter adespota comica" (217).

[18] Maresch 28. W. Luppe, *ZPE* 72 (1988) 36, suggests that the text might come from the epilogue of a satyr play.

[19] Old Comedies with the title Σάτυροι: Cratinus *PCG* IV 232, Ecphantides V 127, Phrynichus VII 414–16, and Ophelio VII 97 (test. 1 [=*Suda* ω 272]). Satyrs also must have appeared in Cratinus' *Dionysalexandros* (see the hypothesis in *PCG* IV 140f). M. Gronewald considers attributing the passage to this play; he argues from the satyrs and the expression in line 27, which could allude to Dionysus' arbitration in the beauty contest; see Maresch 29 and *infra ad* vv. 26f.

[20] See D. F. Sutton, *The Greek Satyr Play* (=*BeitrKlassPhil* 90 [Meisenheim am Glan 1980: hereafter 'Sutton']) 83–85. For titles that require a satyr-chorus see *supra* n.19 and Timocles' *Ikarioi Satyroi* (*PCG* VII 766–69 [frr.15–19]); for the literary genre of this play see Sutton 83–85.

[21] *Catastrophe Survived* (Oxford 1971) 232. At 92 n.10 she states that the *Cyclops* of Euripides opens with a quick reference to several other satyr plays; see also P. Waltz, "Le drame satyrique et le prologue du Cyclope d'Euripide," *L'Acropole* 6 (1931) 278–95.

interrupted in order to discuss literary problems or even to criticize a poet, as happens in our text.[22]

Any assertion about literary genre should be based mainly on such strictly philological aspects of the text as meter and vocabulary. The meter especially speaks almost certainly in favor of Old Comedy. The catalectic anapestic tetrameter is clearly, almost uniquely, associated with it.[23] There are two possible alternatives to consider. On the one hand it is the verse par excellence of the Aristophanic parabasis; on the other, it is used in the comic ἀγών.[24] The discussion is linked with the question whether we have to assume a single speaker or a

[22] Tragedy and satyr play could express some metatheatrical reflections, but never allowed a complete break of the dramatic illusion. There are very rare cases of a direct address to the audience in tragedy, as *e.g.* in the prologues of Aesch. *Sept.*, Soph. *OT*, and Eur. *Or.* (at 128 Electra says εἴδετε, although the chorus has not yet entered). See W. M. Calder III, "The Staging of the Prologue of *Oedipus Tyrannus*," *Phoenix* 13 (1959) 125–27, who justly observes: "It would be a misnomer to call such a practice as this the *breaking* of the dramatic illusion. If anything, it is rather a strengthening of the illusion; for the audience becomes part of it." Generally for tragedy see Bierl 115f; for the satyr play see Sutton 163, who stresses that it was never a comedy of ideas nor could it provide explicit criticism of specific political persons or cultural institutions. Satyr play is more "the comedy of incongruity" (Sutton 159), or even better, "tragedy at play" (τραγῳδίαν παίζουσαν), as Demetrius put it (*Eloc.* 3.169); see also Sutton 159–79.

[23] See U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Griechische Verskunst* (Berlin 1921) 367: "Der Tetrameter, d. h. die Verbindung des vollen und des katalektischen Dimeters, herrscht in der alten Komödie, ist aber auf sie beschränkt." In Middle Comedy it is to be found only in Anaxandrides' Γεροντομανίαι (fr.10 Kock=Ath. 14.614c [Wilamowitz 367 n.1]) and Epicrates fr.10.30f K.-A. Moreover, it was used in Epicharmus' Χορεύοντες or Χορευταί (Kaibel, *CGF* I 116). The early tragedians Phrynichus (*TrGF* I 3, T 12) and Aeschylus (III T 158.a/b) employed the meter as well. Outside comedy it was later used by Alexander Aetolus (fr.7: Powell, *Coll. Alex.* 126). See Kramer 3, Kannicht-Snell 217, and Maresch 29. For the meter see J. W. White, *The Verse of Greek Comedy* (London 1912) 121–30, and B. Snell, *Griechische Metrik*[2] (Göttingen 1962) 23.

[24] The second alternative was suggested to me by John Vaio and Albert Henrichs. Kramer (5) asserts that, besides a parabasis, it might also come from a dialogue between speaker and chorus. Presumably she had in mind the parodos in *Nub.* 275–438, where after its entrance the chorus participate in the dialogue between Socrates and Strepsiades (see esp. 356–438); *cf.* also the short example at *Eccl.* 514–20. Kramer did not consider the possibility of an *agon*.

dialogue between two or even three speakers. Nothing rules out a dialogue. Maresch argues (28) that the new readings of the verbal forms in the first person provided by *P.Köln* VI 242A make it more probable that only one person speaks. But it is a feature of any agon that two speakers representing antithetical standpoints exchange their views in the first person, and occasionally a third speaker is also present as a comic commentator.

Given the metatheatrical background it cannot be ruled out completely that Dionysus participates in an agon as a speaker himself. But it is unlikely that he is the speaker of a parabasis, as Kramer suggested.[25] When Dionysus appears in comedy, he is usually a character in the plot, not a leader of the chorus. Further, choruses usually comprise members of the same group as the leader. A play with Dionysus as chorus leader would imply a chorus of Dionysi.[26] It cannot be ruled out that such a comedy was written, but no title Διόνυσοι has survived. Kramer's argument that the text might derive from a Βάκχαι is implausible. For plays with this title it seems more probable that

[25] The major argument brought forward against Kramer's hypothesis (5) is that Dionysus is mentioned several times in the third person; see vv. 4(?), 14, 15, 26; *cf.* J. Ebert, "Zu den Papyri Sammlung Fackelmann Nr. 5 und 6," *ZPE* 36 (1979) 53. In other words: why should Dionysus speak of himself in the third person? This problem could be solved with the argument that in a parabasis the identities of the poet and the chorus who speak on his behalf practically merge. This is stressed, as in our case, by the device of making the actor of the parabasis speak in the first person singular, as at Ar. *Nub.* 518ff and *Pax* 752ff; *cf.* Cratinus fr.251 K.-A., Metagenes fr.15, Pherecrates fr.102, Plato Com. fr.99. Addresses to the κριταί occur also outside the parabasis (Ar. *Nub.* 1114–130, *Av.* 1102–17, *Eccl.* 1154–62). For this see W. Kranz, "Parabasis," *RE* 18A (1949) 1125f. Furthermore, it is also a characteristic of Dionysus to conceal from men his identity as a god.

[26] See *contra* Kassel-Austin, *PCG* IV 121. Indeed the problem of the plural in titles (*Archilochoi*, *Hesiodoi*, *Odysseis*, *Kleobulinai*, *Cheirones*) is not yet solved. Wilamowitz, *Herakles*[2] I (Berlin 1895) 56 n.14, interprets *Archilochoi* simply as a story about Archilochus. There is *e.g.* a *Ploutoi* attested for Cratinus. But they are not different Ploutoi, but only daemons similar to Plutus: absurd comic allegory. Nothing indicates that Plutus was their leader. From Cratinus' *Odysseis* fr.147, however, one may deduce that Odysseus was an actor and not the chorus leader.

the coryphaeus was a bacchant leading the thiasos, as in the case of Euripides' *Bacchae*, rather than Dionysus himself.[27]

Unfortunately the metrical handling of the anapests as well as some aspects of vocabulary do not seem compatible with Old Comedy.[28] Some interpreters have therefore suggested that the fragment is Hellenistic.[29] Thus far no real agreement has been reached on the meaning and date of the fragment.

Still, both the use of anapestic tetrameters and the metatheatrical discussion suggest strongly that the text is from a parabasis or an agon of Old Comedy. If this assumption is valid, we can try to determine the date more closely. The prominence of Dionysus is a feature of Euripides' last period of work, culminating in *Bacchae*. If Euripides is the poet criticized, the temporal distance from his death in 406 cannot be great. A date around 400 is supported by the fact that the parabasis and the agon, as formal elements of Old Comedy, tend to become more and more restricted or to disappear entirely as early as the works of Aristophanes after *Frogs*.[30] Scarcely any passages in anapestic catalectic tetrameters are attested in Middle Comedy.[31] The tendency to omit the parabasis and to free the play from archaic elements in which the poet engages in direct address to the

[27] See *supra* n.26, and for Βάκχαι Lysippus (*PCG* V 618–21) and Diocles (V 18f). For New Comedy see Antiphanes (*CAF* II 35).

[28] As for meter, the diaeresis of single metra in particular is more strictly respected than usual. The fragment also contains a number of words not typically found in comedy; for a list see Kannicht-Snell 217 and Maresch 29.

[29] P. Parsons thinks of a late imitation of comedy; C. Austin believes that Alexander Aetolus might be the author.

[30] Already in Ar. *Plut.* there are no signs of a parabasis. In *Eccl.* and *Plut.* the agon consists only of the first part, in *Plut.* even the ode is missing. For a general discussion of the development of the late agones of Aristophanes and his contemporaries during the transition from Old to Middle Comedy see T. GELZER, *Der epirrhematische Agon. Untersuchungen zur Struktur der attischen alten Komödie* (=*Zetemata* 23 [Munich 1960: hereafter 'Gelzer']) 265–76, 280–82. For the complete disappearance of the parabasis and agon in Middle Comedy see H.-G. NESSELRATH, *Die attische Mittlere Komödie. Ihre Stellung in der antiken Literaturkritik und Literaturgeschichte* (Berlin/New York 1990: 'Nesselrath']) 137, 270, 335.

[31] The only exceptions are Anaxandrides fr.10 Kock and Epicrates fr.10.30f K.-A. See *supra* n.23 and Nesselrath 269 and 335.

public can be attributed to the general development towards New Comedy, with its less chaotic and more probable plots,[32] as well as to the increased influence of Euripidean tragedy (*e.g. Ion.*). The criticism of Euripides might therefore be a reaction to this Euripidean tendency in the early fourth century. The speaker in 19–27 might be pleading for the retention of the form of Old Comedy.[33] Presumably the attack on Euripides is also associated with a general criticism of the exaggerated style of the New Dithyramb, which was frequently a target of Old Comedy.[34] Indeed the late fifth-century tragedy of Euripides and Agathon had some characteristics in common with the New Dithyramb.[35] It is even reported that Euripides composed the proemium for Timotheus' *Persae*.[36] The speaker of line 23 finds the new fashion "painful." Resistance to this influence disappears in Middle Comedy, and tragic-dithyrambic diction is usually integrated without a personal attack upon representatives of the new style.[37] This would further corroborate the dating to *ca* 400 B.C. Our text is thus of particular interest for literary history because it provides evidence for the poetic struggle related to the transition from Old to Middle Comedy.[38]

[32] See generally T. B. L. Webster, *Studies in Later Greek Comedy* (Manchester 1953), and Nesselrath *passim*.

[33] This suggestion I owe to John Vaio. For the influence of Euripides' *Ion* on later dramatic works see E. Fraenkel, *De media et nova comoedia quaestiones selectae* (diss.Göttingen 1912) 13–32, and B. M. W. Knox, "Euripidean Comedy," in *Word and Action. Essays on Ancient Theater* (Baltimore 1979) 250–74.

[34] For attacks against Cinesias see *e.g.* Ar. *Av.* 1372–1409, *Ran.* 153 and 1437–39, *Eccl.* 330, and against Phrynis *Nub.* 969–71; *cf.* the attack on Melanippides, Cinesias, Phrynis, and Timotheus in Pherecrates' *Cheiron* (fr.155 K.-A.). For the parody of tragic monodies enriched with dithyrambic diction see Ar. *Thesm.* 39ff and 1011ff (Agathon) and *Ran.* 1309ff (Euripides).

[35] See Nesselrath 245 with notes.

[36] Satyrus *Vit.Eur.* fr.39.22. For verbal connections between Euripides and Timotheus' *Persae* see T. H. Jansen, *Timotheus, Persae. A Commentary* (Amsterdam 1984) *ad* 71f, 90, 130, 140, 159.

[37] For more on the relation between comedy and dithyramb see Nesselrath 241–66, esp. 241–53.

[38] See generally F. Perusino, *Dalla commedia antica alla commedia di mezzo* (Urbino 1987), and for the Middle Comedy esp. Nesselrath *passim*.

The notion of praise appears at several points. The speaker's praise of wine implies praise of Dionysus. The term ὕμνος is twice used emphatically. Literally, ὕμνος means simply 'a sung text' in contrast to 'a spoken text', but from the very beginning it is 'a song directed to gods'.[39] In 23 there is a complaint about "the present labor of tragic hymns." Hymns are characterized by their relatively lofty, exaggerated diction[40] against which the speaker in the second half polemicizes (19–27). The adjective "present" might give an explanation for the unusual vocabulary in the fragment, which presumably includes some hymnic language. Perhaps the speaker in the second part considers the first part (1–18) a kind of hymn to Dionysus, especially the 'praise of wine' (8–18). We have seen that some interpreters have argued that this fragment cannot belong to comedy, on the grounds that the vocabulary is not comic. But it may be that the hymnic elements in the text stem from a parody of this lofty style. The poet might be importing the language of the tragic hymn into a comedy to expose how 'heavy' and burdensome this style is (23–25). The speaker of 19–27 could be saying that Euripidean "tragic hymns" are incompatible with the free mood of comedy.

So far ἀπάτη and ψεῦδος (20f), as key-words in the meta-theatrical discourse of our fragment, have not been explained, and the connection with the poet from Salamis remains an unsolved problem. Interpreters have regarded ἀπάτη as 'deceit, fraud', or even 'personal error' (Kramer), a meaning attested only rarely for ψεῦδος.[41] But in theatrical language ἀπάτη has an

[39] For a good recent study of the hymn see J. M. Bremer, "Greek Hymns," in H. S. Versnel, ed., *Faith, Hope and Worship. Aspects of Religious Mentality in the Ancient World* (Leiden 1981) 193–215. See also K. Keyssner, *Gottesvorstellung und Lebensauffassung im griechischen Hymnus* (Stuttgart 1932).

[40] For the stylistic characteristics of hymns see E. Norden, *Agnostos Theos. Untersuchungen zur Formengeschichte religiöser Rede* (Leipzig/Berlin 1913) 143–77.

[41] LSJ *s.v.* ψεῦδος I.2 "in Logic, *false conclusion, fallacy*," *e.g.* Arist. *An.Pr.* 61b3. See Kramer 13: "Die Verse 12–15 [*i.e.* 18–21] lassen zwar vermuten, dass sich der unbekannte Dichter in Irrtümer verstrickt hat, obwohl es sonst nicht seine Art zu sein scheint, doch geht leider aus den erhaltenen Resten nicht hervor, worin sein Irrtum besteht." Maresch 28f is not clear, though for him it must be something negative. He interprets the transition to a new idea in 20

almost technical meaning of 'trick' or 'intrigue'. This connects the line with the preceding section where a poet is mentioned, presumably Euripides. It was in fact Euripides who made intrigue a ubiquitous motif of tragedy.[42] One need only recall his *Helen* and *Iphigeneia in Tauris.*[43] And these famous intrigues also became a target of Old Comedy.[44] The term could also imply a pre-Aristotelian commitment to poetic questions. We have proof that in the fifth century sophists were already concerned with defining the common denominator of drama. Plutarch attributes to Gorgias the view that "the one who deceives is more just than the one who does not, and the one who is deceived is wiser than the one who is not" (*Mor.* 348C=D.-K. 82B23, ὅ τ' ἀπατήσας δικαιότερος τοῦ μὴ ἀπατήσαντος καὶ ὁ ἀπατηθεὶς σοφώτερος τοῦ μὴ ἀπατηθέντος).[45] It has been shown recently that this definition is based on the archaic concept of δίκη as a relationship of equilibrium between action and reaction. In this purely theoretical sense ἀπάτη means not only fraud, trick, or deceit, but also theatrical illusion

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(νῦν δ') as a contrast between an idealized past and a less happy present. See also Maresch 45 with his remark that 20 cannot have a positive meaning for 'joy' here as sometimes in Koine. H. Lloyd-Jones, "The Anapaestic Tetrameters from the Fackelmann Collection," *ZPE* 36 (1979) 22, regards it as a "strange expression" and makes the emendation ἐς ἅπαντας κεκύλ[ισται.

[42] Presumably Aeschylus (in *Philoctetes*) invented the drama of intrigue by substituting Odysseus for Diomedes of the epic version. For this and the early date see W. M. Calder III, "Aeschylus' *Philoctetes*," *GRBS* 11 (1970) 178f.

[43] The theme of μηχανή is almost a leitmotif in *Helen*; see Bierl 167f.

[44] Intrigue and trickery became also major themes in satyr play (see Sutton 149f, 169–71) and in New Comedy, which was much influenced by Euripides. But again, satyr play and New Comedy did not speak about literary questions so openly as to break the illusion of the plot.

[45] See T. G. Rosenmeyer, "Gorgias, Aeschylus, and *APATE*," *AJP* 76 (1955) 225–39; G. Lanata, *Poetica pre-platonica* (Florence 1963) 204–07; L. Richter, "Antike ästhetische Theorien zur gesellschaftlichen Funktion der griechischen Tragödie," in H. Kuch, ed., *Die griechische Tragödie in ihrer gesellschaftlichen Funktion* (Berlin 1983) 173–76; and A. Garzya, "Gorgias et l'*APATE* de la tragédie," in P. Ghiron-Bistagne, ed., *Anthropologie et théâtre antique* (Montpellier 1987) 149–65.

or 'suspension of disbelief'.[46] The precondition of the function

[46] Gorgias explained that by the psychagogic power of the spoken word one can deeply influence the audience: see the detailed study by C. Segal, "Gorgias and the Psychology of the Logos," *HSCP* 66 (1962) 99–155. λόγος as an essential element of tragic illusion is also connected by Gorgias with the concepts of ἀπάτη and ψεῦδος: see *Hel.* B 11.8, λόγος ὁ πείσας καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἀπατήσας, and 11, ὅσοι δὲ ὅσους περὶ ὅσων καὶ ἔπεισαν καὶ πείθουσιν δὲ ψευδῆ λόγον πλάσαντες. Close to the expression in our fragment in applying both ἀπάτη and ψεῦδος is Polyb. 2.56.12: ἐπειδήπερ ἐν ἐκείνοις (*i.e.*, tragedies) μὲν ἡγεῖται τὸ πιθανόν, κἂν ᾖ ψεῦδος διὰ τὴν ἀπάτην τῶν θεωμένων, ἐν δὲ τούτοις (*sc.* historiography) τἀληθές. See F. W. Walbank, *Historical Commentary on Polybius* I (Oxford 1957) 261f, on the unusual meaning of ἀπάτη. Behind that lies the Aristotelian concept of τὰ δυνατὰ κατὰ τὸ εἰκός (*Poet.* 1451a37f). In order to achieve this effect, the poet needs illusion and complete emotional impact on the public, which are sometimes explained by archaic terms for magic (γοητεία and μαγεία). Thus ἀπάτη and ψεῦδος are almost synonyms for other expressions occurring in this context, such as ἔκπληξις, ψυχαγωγία, γοητεία. In order to create this effect, emotional vocabulary plays also an important part in tragedy. B. Schnyder, *Zur Darstellung der Emotionen auf der Bühne des Aischylos* (diss.Munich, in progress), addresses this aspect in Aeschylus. For the great emotional impact of dramatic illusion on the public, see *e.g.* the criticism of Andoc. 4.23 and the famous episode of the miscarriages of women watching the *Eumenides* (*Vita Aeschyli* 9 [=*TrGF* III T A 1.30–32]), with W. M. Calder III, *CQ* N.S. 38 (1988) 554f. For the intellectual history of the concept of poetry from Homer to Gorgias as a development from religiously to scientifically based magic see J. de Romilly, "Gorgias et le pouvoir de la poésie," *JHS* 93 (1973) 155–62, esp. 160f for ἀπάτη as the fundamental concept of poetry in the fifth century when the belief in a religious inspiration had vanished. The expressions of magic were understandable metaphors for the poetic effect, but in an enlightened distinction between false and true poetry was labelled as false, ψεῦδος or ἀπάτη. In the vocabulary of the fifth century these separate fields of words seem to overlap, *i.e.* ψεῦδος and ἀπάτη lost their originally pejorative meaning in the context of poetics. For the connection between poetics and such archaic magic-religious beliefs as corybantism, esp. in Platon's *Ion*, see R. Velardi, *Enthousiasmòs. Possessione rituale e teoria della comunicazione poetica in Platone* (Rome 1989), esp. 73–98. ἐκπλῆξαι and ψυχαγωγῆσαι are also important terms in Aristotle's *Poetics*: for ἐκπλῆξαι see 1451b11; for the anagnorisis described as ἐκπλητικόν, 1454a4; ψυχαγωγῆσαι in the context of peripeteia and anagnoris, 1450a33; *cf.* ὄψις ψυχαγωγητική, 1450b16f. For the association of ἀπάτη and ψυχαγωγία see Dio Chrys. 32 (I 268 von Arnim), on ἀπάτη and γοητεία see Gorg. *Hel.* 11.10 and Polyb. 4.20.5. For a slight differentiation between ἔκπληξις and ἀπάτη in a short treatment of Aeschylus' staging characteristics see *Vita Aesch.* 7 (*TrGF* III TA1.25f): ταῖς τε {γὰρ} ὄψεσι καὶ τοῖς μύθοις πρὸς ἔκπληξιν τερατώδη μᾶλλον ἢ πρὸς ἀπάτην κέχρηται. M. Lefkowitz, *The*

of theater is an agreement between poet and audience on the process of communication. The poet must have the ability to exert 'deception' on the public; but the public must be willing to be 'deceived', that is to become involved in the illusion the poet produces.[47] ἀπάτη, or illusion, is after all also a major feature in Dionysus' cult. Through costume, mask, dance, rhythmical music, and wine the worshippers are brought to a different level of consciousness, ecstasy, where they can experience the blessings of Dionysiac religion.[48]

Lives of the Greek Poets (Baltimore 1981) 158, translates: "He used visual effects and plots more to frighten and amaze than to trick his audience." I think Lefkowitz is mistaken (as are Kramer and Maresch on our fragment) in rendering ἀπάτη as "trick." The meaning becomes much clearer with the reading "plot based on dramatic illusion." The passage is based on Euripides' criticism of Aeschylus in *Frogs* 911ff. Aeschylus is described as being mostly concerned with giving his characters heroic dignity. The main point is that Aeschylus—as in the long onstage silence of Niobe and Achilles (*Ran.* 912; *cf.* Prometheus)—is more interested in making a "terrifying impression" (ἔκπληξιν τερατώδη) than in giving a "real plot [with peripeteiai and complexities, *TrGF* III T A 1.16] based on dramatic illusion" (ἀπάτην); a poet who follows this archaic method is in the eyes of Euripides no tragedian at all. The entire context recalls Coleridge's "suspension of disbelief": see his *Biographia Litteraria* (1817) ch. 14: "That willing suspension of disbelief for the moment, which constitutes poetic faith."

[47] See also O. Taplin, *Greek Tragedy in Action* (London 1978) 167–71, and B. Gentili, *Poetry and Its Public in Ancient Greece. From Homer to the Fifth Century*, tr. A. T. Cole (Baltimore 1988) 55. For a reflection of this metatheatrical thought in Euripides' *Helen* and *Bacchae* see Bierl 170–72, 200f. *Cf.* the rhapsode Ion who exerts an immense power on the emotions of his audience (Pl. *Ion* 535). He is described as deeply involved emotionally—he has tears in his eyes, his pulse beats rapidly, his hair stands upright—and is capable of transferring these emotions directly (like a magnet) to his listeners. See H. Flashar, *Der Dialog Ion als Zeugnis platonischer Philosophie* (Berlin 1958). The actor Callippides is described in similar fashion in Xen. *Symp.* 3.11: he is said to be proud because he is able to make his audience weep.

[48] For the tangential relation between ecstasy and theater see E. Rohde, *Psyche. The Cult of Souls and Belief in Immortality among the Greeks*, tr. W. B. Hillis (London 1925) 285: "Now the art of the actor consists in entering into a strange personality, and in speaking and acting out of a character not his own. At bottom it retains a profound and ultimate connexion with its most primitive source—that strange power of transfusing the self into another being which the really inspired participator in the Dionysiac revels achieved in his

To sum up, I suggest that the literary context of the papyrus has not been taken seriously by most interpreters. Moreover, the subject matter—with Dionysus as the prominent figure—has been almost completely neglected. I firmly believe that the god's metatheatrical implications, together with the numerous signs in the text that hint at a discussion about theater in theater, are the key to a better understanding of the papyrus.

Possible Solutions

Kramer und Maresch argue that the entire passage is spoken by only one person, while Kannicht and Snell see the text as a dialogue, with a change of speaker in lines 12 and 19.[49] Although 19 begins a new unit, 12 could also do this only if we assume with Kannicht and Snell that the speaker is reporting on the education of a youth. But this would completely break the train of thought dealing with the cultivation of wine.[50] The identification of the speaker(s) depends entirely on one's understanding of 8–18. In 8 we hear about a young person playing in the caves, and in 10–18 someone speaks about the cultivation and introduction of wine. Four mythical persons are associated with this event: in Attica Oeneus[51] and Icarius,[52] in Chios Oinopion,[53]

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ekstasis." See also D. Cole, *The Theatrical Event. A Method, A Vocabulary, A Perspective* (Middletown 1975) 12–84.

[49] Kannicht-Snell 218f. Their conclusion is based on the assumption that fr. A of *P. Fackelmann* 5 with three paragraphoi placed between lines 5/6, 12/13, and 18/19 supplies the missing left margin of the column containing the actual anapests (fr. b). If that assumption is correct, these signs would indicate changes of speaker as they normally do in papyri.

[50] See *infra ad* 10–13. Kannicht and Snell suggested also that the person educating ἥβην, *i.e.*, the child Dionysus, could be a nymph of mount Nysa, preferably Makris. The masculine ending of παιδεύσας speaks against this. Although female rôles were played by male actors, women normally kept their rôle identity. See *e.g.* the female choruses in Euripides: *Ion* 230 ἔχω μαθοῦσα, *Phoen.* 202 οἶδμα λιποῦσα and 209.

[51] Apollod. 1.3.1; Roscher, *Lex.* 3 (1897) 752.

[52] Σ Hom. *Il.* 10.29; Liban. *Narr.* 28 (VIII 51 Foerster), *Vitup.* 8 (VIII 325), *Comp.* 5 (VIII 360); Apollod. 3.14.7; Roscher, *Lex.* 2.1 (1890) 111f.

[53] Diod. 5.79.1; Ath. 1.26b–c=Theopomp. *FGrHist* 115F276; Paus. 7.4.8; Roscher, *Lex.* 3 (1897) 793–98.

and generally Dionysus, the god of wine himself.[54] Theoretically any of these figures could be meant—or simply any male person closely connected with Dionysus (a satyr or Silenus) praising wine. Kramer (4f) prefers Dionysus because, unlike the other figures, his childhood is a permanent feature in his myth, which also involves viticulture (Diod. 3.70.7f).

As I showed above, meter and the metatheatrical content encourage attribution of the fragment to a parabasis or an agon of Old Comedy. In the following sections I will discuss these possibilities in some detail.

Parabasis

In the parabasis the ancient comic poet speaks through the medium of the chorus to break the dramatic illusion and reveal his concerns to the public.[55] This formal element of isolation from the main plot was often regarded as the original nucleus of comedy.[56] Sifakis rejected this communis opinio and analyzed the parabasis as a later addition, where the comic poet speaks on his own behalf.[57] Characteristic of the parabasis is its complicated structure with two major parts, a non-responding first half and the strophic epirrhematic syzygy, with seven subdivisions altogether.[58] After the introduction (κομμάτιον) comes the parabasis in the stricter sense (ἡ ὁμωνύμως τῷ γένει

[54] Roscher, *Lex.* 1 (1884) 1063–69. In Soph. *Dionysiskos* (*TrGF* IV fr.172) the satyrs expressed their delight about wine which was recently invented by the infant Dionysus. Of minor importance are Eumolpus (Plin. *HN* 7.199); Staphylus, the son of Silenus, who invented the mixing of wine with water (*ibid.*); Maron who followed Osiris as expert in viticulture and founded Thracian Maroneia (Diod. 1.18, 20), where he was worshipped as hero of the sweet wine (Roscher, *Lex.* 2.2 [1894] 2382f); and Orestheus, Oeneus' grandfather, to whom a she-dog had borne the first vine plant (Hecataeus *FGrHist* 1F15 and Apollod. 1. 64).

[55] For the parabasis in general see L. Körte, "Komödie," *RE* 11 (1921) 1242–48, and Gelzer 203–12.

[56] See *e.g.* Wilamowitz, *Aischylos, Interpretationen* (Berlin 1914) 3; W. Kranz, *Stasimon. Untersuchungen zu Form und Gehalt der griechischen Tragödie* (Berlin 1933) 25; Lesky, *Gesch. d. griech. Lit.* 485.

[57] G. M. Sifakis, *Parabasis and Animal Choruses. A Contribution to the History of Attic Comedy* (London 1971), esp. 20–22.

[58] See Heph. περὶ ποιημάτων 8 (72f Consbruch).

καλουμένη παράβασις: Heph. 8), mostly in the same meter as in our text, *i.e.* anapestic catalectic tetrameters, which are therefore also often simply called οἱ ἀνάπαιστοι.[59] Here in particular the chorus becomes the mouthpiece of the comic poet, usually speaking about literary problems and his rivals on the Attic stage, with the main purpose of praising his own artistic achievements.[60]

What would this solution imply? The choral leader/comic poet might contrast two styles, the hymnic manner of tragedians and the lighter style of comedy. As Dionysus is the god of theater, the comic poet presents the whole discussion at his level. He imitates hymnic language in praising Dionysus (1–7) and wine, Dionysus' sacred drink (8–18). As a comic poet, he has to rehearse that kind of language, because he normally uses a different style. His real target might be Euripides (19), but he might use him only as a source of quotations about the greatness of Dionysus, since this god was a central theme in Euripides' late work. In the parodos of *Bacchae* Euripides or his chorus of maenads also praises Dionysus (71f): τὰ νομισθέντα γὰρ αἰεὶ Διόνυσον ὑμνήσω. Teiresias too praises the achievement of the wine god in a similar way (278–83):

ὃς δ' ἦλθ' ἔπειτ', ἀντίπαλον ὁ Σεμέλης γόνος
βότρυος ὑγρὸν πῶμ' ηὗρε κεἰσηνέγκατο
θνητοῖς, ὃ παύει τοὺς ταλαιπώρους βροτοὺς
λύπης, ὅταν πλησθῶσιν ἀμπέλου ῥοῆς,

[59] Ar. *Ach.* 627; *Eq.* 504; *Pax* 735; *Av.* 684. For the use of meters other than anapests see Körte (*supra* n.55) 1243.

[60] This is valid for Aristophanes' early comedies from *Ach.* to *Pax*: *Ach.* 628–58; *Eq.* 507–46; *Nub.* 518–62 (here in Eupolideans); *Vesp.* 1015–50; *Pax* 734–64. In *Av.* 685–722 and *Thesm.* 785–813 the poet does not speak about himself, but the chorus retain his dramatic character and talk about arguments more closely related to it. Themes normally found in the epirrhematic syzygy penetrated the anapests. Finally in *Ran.* the anapests are omitted: in the epirrhematic syzygy (686–705) the poet gives strictly political advice in trochees, whereas the famous agon deals with metatheatrical questions. For the interpretation of *Frogs* see Bierl 27–44. For παραβάσεις in anapestic catalectic tetrameters see: Ar. frr.264f, 431, 590.A. col. I 5ff K.-A.; Callias frr.20f; Cratinus frr.76, 251, 342, 346; Eupolis frr.13, 205; Lysippus fr.4; Metagenes fr.15; Pherecrates fr.199; Philonides fr.5; Teleclides fr.2.

ὕπνον τε λήθην τῶν καθ' ἡμέραν κακῶν
δίδωσιν, οὐδ' ἔστ' ἄλλο φάρμακον πόνων.

Then the comic poet who composed the anapests turns to the problem of dramatic illusion (20). For this purpose he prefers the comic Dionysus of wine to the tragic Dionysus, because tragedy as embodied in the most famous playwright of these days is too burdensome. The link between the first part (1–18) and the second (19–27) might thus be the comic point of the argument: the humor lies in the trivialized conception of Bacchus. The god of myth, who is praised in highly stylized song, is contrasted with the god of ordinary cult, whom the average Athenian would associate with drinking wine. It is characteristic of the cult of Dionysus to free men from pain, to make them forget the evils, toil, and sorrows of everyday life.[61] A major means to reach this goal is wine, which the god gave to mankind (8–14). The effect on his followers is shown in 16–18. In the Dionysiac ecstasy the thiasos will be free of burdens. This cultic dimension is made to resemble the comic freedom to create a light and fanciful plot which is opposed to the heavy burden of tragedy. In other words, the comic poet equates his poetics with Dionysus' main cultic function. On this point I would recall Cratinus' notorious obsession with wine,[62] for the poet of the anapests might have picked up Cratinus' preoccupation with wine and transformed this theme for his metatheatrical argument in the parabasis. Moreover, all comic poets seem to have put more emphasis on the Athenian cultic dimension than on the cruel, more ambivalent aspect of the god that prevails in tragic texts.

There are admittedly several considerations that might tell against this scenario. The poet, for example, refers to a lesser

[61] This function of drinking wine to forget is first attested in Alcaeus (wine is λαθικάδης, fr.346 L.-P.), whereas in the epic world one gathers to drink wine in joy and happiness. See H. Maehler, *Die Auffassung des Dichterberufs im frühen Griechentum bis zur Zeit Pindars* (=*Hypomnemata* 3 [Göttingen 1963]) 54: "Pointiert könnte man sagen: die homerischen Menschen greifen zum Becher, weil es ihnen Freude macht; Alkaios, weil es ihm bitterschlecht geht."

[62] See Ar. *Eq.* 526–36; *Pax* 700–03 with Σ 702d, ὅτι φίλοινος ὁ Κρατῖνος, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν τῇι Πυτίνηι σαφῶς λέγει. For *Pytine* see *PCG* IV 219–32.

degree than usual to his own concerns. In his dramatic character the chorus leader praises himself less than the wine. But although concern with the dramatic rôle of the chorus is normally a major theme in the epirrhematic parts, it can penetrate the anapests as well.[63] Moreover, as we have seen, Dionysus or persons closely related to him work perfectly to convey the poet's message about drama. Another point against the conclusion that this is a parabasis might be the lack of other examples of parabaseis in the stricter sense in which a comic poet attacks Euripides and tragedy. Reflection about the theatrical art is usually limited to comedy, and criticism of other poets concentrates on the poet's direct rivals in the contest. This objection could be eliminated if we assumed that the criticism is directed against the Euripidean influence in the comedy of the late fifth and fourth centuries.

Agon

Previous research has not seriously considered the possibility that our fragment derives from the epirrhematic portion of an agon, which is often composed of anapestic catalectic tetrameters.[64] The word ἀγῶνι (27) could be a metatheatrical signal of this possibility. If we accept the probability of a change of speaker, we have three ways of viewing the structure of the fragment: with one, two, or three characters.

(a) The text could be similar to the agon in *Frogs*. At 26f we are reminded of the rôle of Dionysus as an arbitrator of an agon, perhaps a specific allusion to the famous debate between Aeschylus and Euripides in Aristophanes. In the same way, we might have a debate between two tragic poets demonstrating the various aspects of their poetry. Before the fragment begins, the speaker might have been challenged by his adversary to show his ability to compose a hymn. The poet might have

[63] See Sifakis (*supra* n.57) 43.

[64] See Ar. *Eq.* 763–823; *Nub.* 961–1008; *Vesp.* 348–57, 382–402, 548–620, 650–718; *Av.* 462–522, 550–610; *Lys.* 486–531, 551–97; *Ran.* 1006–76; *Eccl.* 583–688; *Plut.* 489–597. Kramer (5 n.1) refers only briefly to the agon, but does not consider it as a real possibility. For the agon in general see Gelzer, *passim*; for the anapests see White (supra n.23) 121 with n.2.

responded by quoting part of a previous composition (1–18a, the putative original having been spoken by a mythical figure praising Dionysus and his wine). "To speak of such things of pride I was taught" at 18b would refer to his education as a tragic poet. Then he would shift to a new argument, the ἀπάται, plots based on illusion or the deception-scenes in tragedy. Euripides is attacked because he believes himself to be great, perhaps with particular regard to this aspect of drama. In 20 the speaker perhaps refers to Dionysus who is the arbitrator in this agon as well. Then he asserts that Euripides is weak (παῦρος, 21) in his use of these devices; therefore he does not need Euripides. The hymn he has cited earlier he now describes as a burden (23). Euripides composed his tragedies in this fashion, but our poet prefers a different style. In the following lines he would give an example, and his adversary would have to answer.

A problem for this solution might be the length of this speech in an agon. The longest example I find is the exposition of the λόγος δίκαιος in Aristophanes' *Clouds* (961–83).[65]

(b) It might be preferable to think of a dialogue between two opponents, with a change of speakers in 19. Again the question is one of identity. I am inclined to think of an agon between two male Dionysiac figures symbolizing tragedy and comedy,[66] who could be differentiated as such by their masks. The first part would represent tragedy (1–18). Who this person might be has already been discussed: anyone connected with the introduction of wine. His hymnic praise of wine, and thus implicitly of Dionysus, would represent the style of tragedy. His opponent refers to this praise as "tragic hymns" (23). The comic point of the passage would lie precisely in the reduction of Dionysus, god of tragedy, to the god of wine. The tragedian wants to prove his close relation to the god by concentrating on what the

[65] All other examples tend not to exceed 10–15 lines. See *e.g. Nub.* 984–99; *Vesp.* 605–20, 666–79; *Av.* 554–69.

[66] Antiphanes wrote a comedy Ποίησις, where tragedy and comedy are compared (fr.191 Kock). Tragedy has the easier job, because there the plot is provided by myth. Comedy, on the contrary, has to invent everything by itself (πάντα εὑρεῖν). But there is no surviving trace of an agon between the two genres. Moreover, the two dramatic genres were usually represented by the maenad-like figures of Τραγῳδία and Κωμῳδία; see also Bierl 114f.

average Athenian most immediately associated with Dionysus. But his style is so artificial that it seems inadequate for the Dionysiac 'ideology' of comedy, that is, freedom from burdens (23–25).

Another possibility might be an agon between a person who is fond of Euripides (1–18) and someone who rejects him (19–27). With his practice of transforming myth into situations of everyday life, Euripides had an enormous influence on the development of fourth-century comedy. In *Frogs* Dionysus is already a 'euripidomaniac'.[67] Later in Middle Comedy we find an interesting testimony for the comic preoccupation with Euripides in Axionicus' Φιλευριπίδης[68] (fr.4 K.-A.), where in a Euripidean monody a cook reflects upon the preparation of food; and in fr.3 there are two more euripidomaniacs rather similar to Dionysus (οὕτω γὰρ ἐπὶ τοῖς μέλεσι τοῖς Εὐριπίδου ἄμφω νοσοῦσιν, ὥστε τἆλλ' αὐτοῖς δοκεῖν εἶναι μέλη γιγγραντὰ καὶ κακὸν μέγα). Whether the cook is one of them remains unclear. While Aristophanes puts emphasis on the comic parody, this example goes further: the persons of Axionicus' fragment have nothing to do with tragic poetry, but are merely figures whom Euripides supported and introduced on the tragic stage. The comic effect lies in the grotesque contrast of form and speaker.[69] In a similar way the speaker of 1–18 might represent a working-class citizen, presumably a fat, wine-drinking, Silenus-like peasant with some tragic traits: he might, for example, wear cothurni instead of sandals. In the countryside he produces his own wine every year, but in his comic representation he is a grotesque imitation of a mythical figure or even Dionysus himself. As such, he uses the language of Euripides, the Dionysiac tragic poet par excellence. This form of expression is not, however, natural to him, but only superficially rehearsed (ἐδιδάχθην, 18). His opponent, perhaps also in the costume of a peasant, would be an anti-Euripidean

[67] *Ran.* 66f, τοιουτοσὶ τοίνυν με δαρδάπτει πόθος Εὐριπίδου; at 103 Dionysus says that he is crazy for Euripides' lyric, μᾶλλὰ πλεῖν ἢ μαίνομαι.

[68] Another comedy with this title is on record, by Philippides (*PCG* VII 346).

[69] For a comparison of Aristophanes and the self-reflective discussion about theater in theater in Axionicus frr.3 and 4 see also Nesselrath 245–47.

(Μισευριπίδης) who wants to prove that this Euripidean style is inadequate and in reality incompatible with Dionysus and comedy.
(c) A last but less probable scenario would be an agon with three persons speaking. The third person might be Dionysus or a mythical figure in the Dionysiac context in the rôle of the *bomolochos* (8–18).[70] Again one might recall the situation of the agon in *Frogs*, where Dionysus is the arbitrator and *bomolochos* who interrupts the debate with comical and grotesque comments. The opponents might again be a tragic and a comic poet. Lines 1–8 could be a citation or imitation of a tragic encomium of Dionysus, presumably by Euripides. Dionysus, reminded of his childhood, interrupts and continues the eulogy, but reduces it to the level of a praise of wine, which everyone liked to drink, especially at his festival. Again the comic point appears in 18b: although a god, he had to be taught to speak about himself in a boastful tone. In effect, this is not his natural style but an imitation of Euripides. Then in 19ff the comic poet would answer criticizing Euripides as inadequate for comedy.

Commentary on single lines

1: "... he slipped off into the sea" (possibly an *optativus obliquus*). In cult and myth the associations of Dionysus with the sea and water are numerous. See esp. W. F. Otto, *Dionysus. Myth and Cult*, tr. R. B. Palmer (Bloomington 1965) 160–70 (ch. 14 "Dionysus and the Element of Moisture"); W. J. Slater, "Symposium at Sea," *HSCP* 80 (1976) 161–70; R. Seaford, *Euripides, Cyclops* (Oxford 1984) 96f. For comedy see Ar. *Dionysos Nauagos* (*PCG* III.2 157) and Hermippus fr.63.2 K.-A. The expression recalls especially the myth reported in *Il.* 6.130ff: Dionysus escapes into the sea, where Thetis receives him as he runs from Lycurgus who raged against the maenads. See also the detailed version in Nonnus *Dion.* 20.325ff.

[70] For this figure in the agon see Gelzer 124f.

οἶδμα: Soph. *Ant.* 337, 588; *TrGF* II frr.167a.1, 618.3; Antiphanes fr.196.3 Kock; Limenius (*Coll.Alex.* 149.9); and *Epica Adespota* 3.24 (*Coll.Alex.* 77). ἀπολισθάνω: Ar. *Lys.* 678.

5: βλά[σ]τ[ας] or βλα[σ]τ[οὺς] Maresch 42; μειξ]ό-βλα[σ]τ[ος] West (referring to Pan). Perhaps περ]ὶ βλα[σ]τ[ῶν]. For βλάσται as 'birth' see Soph. *OT* 717. The myth of Dionysus' birth was famous; it would also fit well with Σεμέλης (4). Perhaps the myth suitable for a tragic hymn is here ridiculed for its lofty style and even more for its incredible content. That might be the reason why the speaker tells the lighter stories about Dionysus' childhood in the following section.

θεὸς Ἀρκάς can be either Pan or Hermes. In *Anth.Pal.* 5.139 (Meleager) Pan is called Ἀρκάς, in 11.150 (Ammianus) Hermes. Silenus and Hermes are closely connected. Hermes appeared in Cratinus' *Dionysalexandros* (*PCG* IV 140.5 test. i [*P.Oxy.* IV 663]). Hermes brought the baby Dionysus to Silenus and the Nymphs of Nysa. See *infra ad* 7. For the association of Dionysus, Hermes, and Pan, see P. Borgeaud, *The Cult of Pan in Ancient Greece*, tr. K. Atlass and J. Redfield (Chicago 1988) 178f. For Pan in the Dionysiac landscape see Eur. *Bacch.* 952. In Nonnus *Dion.* 27 Pan is an ally of Dionysus in his conquest of India.

6: Perhaps σκεπτόμεν[ος (referring to Hermes).

7: παρέδωκεν: *sc.* ὁ Ἑρμῆς τὸν Διόνυσον ταῖς νύμφαις Austin, with reference to Diod. 4.2.3.

8: Ἥρας τε χόλον –∪] πεφευγὼς Merkelbach; τότε δ' ἐκ ζαθέων κρύβδα] πεφευγὼς ... ἄντρων Austin. In *P.Köln* VI 242A ἄντρας seems to be corrected to ἄντρων; *P.Fackelmann* 5 reads ἄντρὸι[ς. Snell supplemented ἐν τοῖς διθύροις in the next line, after Porph. *De Antr. Nymph.* pp.56.11, 57.4, 70.15, 76.13, 77.11 Nauck (*Od.* 13.103–12) and Σ Ap. Rhod. 4.1131 (de antro Μάκριδος), ἐν τούτῳ τῷ ἄντρῳ τὸν Διόνυσον ἔθρεψεν· διὰ τοῦτο "Διθύραμβος" ἐκλήθη, διὰ τὸ δύο θύρας ἔχειν τὸ ἄντρον. Maresch ἐπὶ τῶν διθύρων. The story of Dionysus' childhood is a frequent theme: *Hymn.Hom.* 26.5f; Diod. 4.2.3f, and 3.70.1. See Eur. *Ion* 53f νέος μὲν οὖν ... ἠλᾶτ' ἀθύρων. For ἀθύρω 'to play' and its close connection with Dionysus see Nonnus *Dion.* 10.325, 384; esp. 25.184 Βάκχος ἀθύρων and

10.391 Διόνυσος ἀθύρων (see Kramer 8). The verb can also designate the musical aspect of Dionysus (κατὰ πηκτίδων *Anacreont.* 41.11 and μοῦσαν ἀθύρων *Hom.Hymn.* 19.15) and would thus prepare for the metatheatrical discussion in 19–27.

9: ἀπάν]ουργος "guileless" (Gronewald) will not do. The supplement is evidently inspired by a questionable interpretation of ἀπάται (20); the word itself is attested only in late prose: *e.g.* Pollux 3.133; Plut. *Mor.* 966B; Lampe, *Patristic Greek Lexicon* 173. In the following lines the speaker describes his achievement of growing the vine. The context thus suggests φυτ]ουργός "tending plants or trees" or as a noun "planter" (*Syll.*[3] 22.20); at Nonnus *Dion.* 47.58, 70, 125, Icarius, one of the possible speakers, is called φυτοεργός (Kramer 8); the word is used metaphorically in tragedy as 'begetting, generating'; *cf.* Aesch. *Supp.* 592, Soph. *OT* 1482, Eur. *Tro.* 481. Another possibility is αὐτ]ουργός (*i.e. vini sator*) Kannicht (*TrGF* II 219), 'self working' Soph. *Ant.* 52, or 'one who works his land himself' Eur. *Or.* 920. Lloyd-Jones, *ZPE* 36 (1979) 22, restores μουσ]ουργός, attested also in comedy *Com.Adesp.* 15.18 Demiańczuk. This solution would provide a link to the musical and metatheatrical dimension of Dionysus expressed by ἤθυρον in the preceding verse.

A reference to the Μοῦσαι would also go well with the emphasis on simplicity (ἁπλοῦς) and purity (ἀμίαντος). To be pure and undefiled was an important aspect of Dionysiac mystery cults. For purity in the Dionysiac context see A. J. Festugière, "La signification religieuse de la parodos des Bacchantes," *Études de religion grecque et hellenistique* (Paris 1972) 66–80 (= *Eranos* 54 [1956] 72–86); J. Roux, *Euripide. Les Bacchantes* I (Paris 1970) 270f. In 15 a μύστης actually appears. The initiate has to be pure as the god himself. For the simple and pure life of the initiates see Eur. fr.472 N.[2] 9–19. For the μύστης in connection with Dionysus see *ibid.* 10; Ar. *Ran.* 354ff; Heraclitus 22 B 14 D.-K.; and the golden lamella of Hipponium, G. Pugliese Carratelli, *ParPass* 29 (1974) 110f, v. 16, and S. G. Cole, "New Evidence for the Mysteries of Dionysus," *GRBS* 21 (1980) 223–38. See in general W. Burkert, *Ancient Mystery Cults* (Cambridge [Mass.] 1987).

The expression κακίας ἀμίαντος is unusual. A man normally becomes polluted through deeds like murder. He is ritually impure and a danger to society; he can be freed by a καθαρμός, a special ritual purification. See R. Parker, *Miasma. Pollution and Purification in Early Greek Religion* (Oxford 1983) esp.3f. The notion of moral badness inherent in κακία is alien to the archaic concept of miasma. The comic poet perhaps does not make a clear distinction between κακία and κακά (*cf.* Eur. *Hipp.* 946–49 ἐπειδή γ' ἐς μίασμ' ἐλήλυθα . . . σὺ σώφρων καὶ κακῶν ἀκήρατος;). Similarly Menander fr.540 Kock Μειράκιον, οὗ μοι κατανοεῖν δοκεῖς ὅτι ὑπὸ τῆς ἰδίας ἕκαστα κακίας σήπεται καὶ πᾶν τὸ λυμαινόμενόν ἐστιν ἔνδοθεν. ἀμίαντος: Aesch. *Pers.* 578 (not referring to moral purity, but to the sea); Philodamus 120 ἀγήρων ἀμίαντον ... ναό[ν (*Coll. Alex.* 168); and a close parallel at Pl. *Leg.* 777E ἀμίαντος τοῦ τε ἀνοσίου πέρι καὶ ἀδίκου. ἀμίαντος repeats asyndetically the notion of ἁπλοῦς. The speaker wants to say that he is just a simple wine-peasant; the concept of purity is thus made banal along comic lines.

10–13: This section describes Dionysus' major accomplishment in giving wine to mankind: 10–12 are about its cultivation, 13 is about its production. Kannicht and Snell interpret ὥριον ἴβην (12) as the young Dionysus. The subject behind παιδεύσας must then logically be one of the mythological figures who brought up Dionysus. If the speaker is masculine, as the ending of the participle suggests, he must be Silenus (Eur. *Cyc.* 1ff). Hence the assumption that the literary genre could be a satyr play. But a reference to the upbringing of Dionysus would interrupt the train of thought, which has to do with viticulture. I agree with Maresch that ἴβη must mean 'vine' (Hsch. H 14 ἴβη· ... καὶ ἄμπελος). So: "I have grown the young vine and protected it." The adjective ὥριον speaks in favor of this meaning; it is commonly used in connection with plants or fruits as 'produced in season' (Hom. *Od.* 9.131; Hes. *Op.* 394) or 'youthful, fresh' (Euphorion fr.11 [*Coll. Alex.* 32]). Thus, "the young vine" would fit perfectly, but the meaning "in due season" (LSJ *s.v.* II) cannot be ruled out. ὥριος is not used of persons, and to "educate the youthful youth" would be a pleonasm. Rather, the cultivation of the vine is compared to the

education of a child (Kramer 10: ὥσπερ ὁ] παιδεύσας ὥριον ἤβην ἐφύλαξα). This comparison reflects the metaphor of the educator as gardener, which has its origins in the late fifth century (A. Henrichs, *ZPE* 1 [1967] 50f, with reference to Antiphon 87 B 60 D.-K. and Pl. *Euthphr.* 2D, *Resp.* 491D–E, *Phdr.* 276B). If we understand ἤβην as "wine" rather than "youth," the metaphor is comically reversed. The poet might even play with the double meaning of the noun for the sake of comic effect.

10: For the concept that fruits grow wild on the mountains (ὄρειον) see Ar. fr.698 K.-A., ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσιν ⟨δ'⟩ αὐτόματ' αὐτοῖς τὰ μιμαίκυλ' ἐφύετο πολλά (in this case the fruits of the strawberry tree).

11: κ]αὶ τὸ *e.g.* Kramer or ὅς γ' αὐτοφυὴς πέφυτ]αι Kramer. ἀκόμιστον "unattended" *cf.* Nonnus *Dion.* 12.296f ἐν σκοπέλοις δὲ αὐτοφυὴς ἀκόμιστος ἀέξατο καρπὸς ὀπώρης (Kramer 9). See also Soph. *Ichneutae TrGF* IV F 314.149. Kannicht and Snell think of "secure," with reference to θηρῶν ἐφόδοις and κομίζω, 'rapio', LSJ *s.v.* II. For ἔφοδος see ἐφοδεύων Timocles fr.34.2 K.-A. Sansone (*per litteras*) suggests that θηρῶν could be participle from θηρᾶν.

12: ὥριον ἤβην (see *supra ad* 10–13): As an adjective of two endings, ὥριος recurs only in the late epigram *Anth.Pal.* 7.188.

13: καρπὸ]ν Rusten. καρπὸς ὀπώρας: Nonnus *Dion.* 4.355f. For the subject matter see Diod. 3.63.4. Kramer's supplement τότε δὲ τρυγήσας καρπὸ]ν introduces an unwanted sequence of four short syllables.

14: νέο]ν or ὥριο]ν Merkelbach. For Dionysus' achievement of introducing the wine see Eur. *Bacch.* 279f; Astyd. *TrGF* I 60 F 6; Nonnus *Dion.* 12.197–201. For the subject matter of 8–14 in connection with Dionysus see Diod. 3.70.7f. According to *Com.Adesp.* fr.106/7 Kock, "the gods" are reported to have "shown the wine to mortals" (ὁ Μνησίθεος δ' ἔφη τὸν οἶνον τοὺς θεοὺς θνητοῖς καταδεῖξαι). In the simplistic exposition of comedy, the divine gift of wine is the starting point of all cultic activities, for the male μύστης (15) as well as the female maenad (16). For ἀναφαίνω see Soph. *OC* 1222; *Com.Adesp.* fr.44 Kock; see also *IG* II² 3639.3 ὃς τελετὰς ἀνέφηνε καὶ ὄργια. For the periphrasis ποτὸν Διονύσου see Eur. *IT* 163 Βάκχου τ' οἰνηρὰς λοιβάς; 953f Βακχίου μέτρημα; *Ion* 1232f σπονδὰς ἐκ

Διονύσου βοτρύων; *IA* 1061 κρατῆρά τε Βάκχου; *El.* 497 πολιόν τε θησαύρισμα Διονύσου τόδε; Thespis, *TrGF* I 1 F 4.6, ἴδε σοὶ Βρομίου {αἴθοπα} φλεγμὸν λείβω; Moschion, *TrGF* I 97 F 6.24f, Βακχίου γλυκεία πηγή.

15: ἐξ οὗ δ' οἴνῳ μέθυ]σος Luppe, *ZPE* 72 (1988) 35. Comedy tends to equate Dionysus with wine and drunkenness (Alexis fr.214.2 Kock, ὁ δὲ Διόνυσος οἶδε τὸ μεθύσαι μόνον), but Luppe's suggestion is unlikely for metrical reasons (see *ad* 13).

16: περικωμάζει (Luppe), πλήρης (Kramer 11)] δὲ θεοῦ. In classical Greek λήγω mostly takes a supplementary participle; see Kühner-Gerth II 2.56f (§482.6). The construction here seems to be reversed, and οὔποτε λήγων is used adverbially like ἔχων, *etc.*, to indicate attendant circumstances ('without interruption'): Kühner-Gerth 86f (§486.6 and n.10). The beginning of 16 is problematic. Before δὲ θεοῦ Kramer suggested πλήρης as an expression for enthusiasm. The subject of the sentence, presumably μαινάς, would either follow in 17, as suggested by Luppe, or precede in the lacuna of 16; the object of ἀνέδησεν is more likely to have stood in the next line (*e.g.* Luppe's νεβρίδα) than in 16. In the first position of the verse ἐχόρευσεν would fit well: ἐχόρευσεν — μαινὰς] δὲ, but then θεοῦ is only a possessive genitive. πρώτη (*sc.* μαινάς) provides an aetiological indication: only after the invention of wine does the first maenad find her way into cultic history. A frequent symptom of maenadic ecstasy is the loosening of the bound hair (see Eur. *Bacch.* 695) or of the nebris (*P.Oxy.* XLVII 3317.7). Since πλοκάμοις is certain, we encounter here the cultic element of decorating the nebris with wool. See *Bacch.* 111ff, στικτῶν τ' ἐνδυτὰ νεβρίδων στέφετε λευκοτρίχων πλοκάμων μαλλοῖς.

17: ∪∪–∪∪– ∪∪]ων λήθη: καμάτ]ων Merkelbach, κακ]ῶν Lloyd-Jones, πόν]ων or μόχθ]ων Parsons; see Kramer 11; for the concept of forgetting the evil burdens of daily life under the influence of Dionysus and his wine see Alcaeus fr.346.3 L.-P.; Soph. *Ant.* 150–54; Eur. *Bacch.* 279–83, 771–74, *Cyc.* 172; Astyd. *TrGF* I 60 F 6; *TrGF* II fr.636a.1–5; Ar. *Ran.* 1531. For the cult as χάρις see Soph. *Ant.* 150–54, Eur. *HF* 673–86, Ar. *Ran.* 335, and Dionysus' association with the Χάριτες at *HF* 673f and *Bacch.* 413. Cult as χάρις belongs to the positive side of the god; closely associated is another Dionysiac theme, the longing for beauty (τὰ ... καλά 24) and happiness, on which see Henrichs,

ZPE 4 (1969) 239f, and R. Merkelbach, *Die Hirten des Dionysos* (Stuttgart 1988) 124f. Lines 16 and 17 must have been connected by enjambement, but it is doubtful whether one should punctuate after λήθη or ἀνέλαμψεν. Kramer connected ἀνέλαμψεν with λήθη: "Lethe, which makes one forget the burdens, shone forth in such splendor." But this sounds artificial; therefore I suggest νεβρίδ', ἣν δὲ κακῶν καμάτ]ων λήθη. The θίασος would then be the subject of ἀνέλαμψεν (here in the sense of 'to become enthusiastic' as attested by Philostr. *VA* 5.30). The asyndeton is problematic, but might be justified in a description of the ecstatic movement of the thiasos. In 18 and 23 there are other asyndeta, if the punctuation Maresch suggests is right. They are features of the vivid comic speech.[71] κεῖνος for ἐκεῖνος is common in tragedy.

18: Kramer suggested ἄγετ]αι or ἔπετ]αι θίασος. Perhaps better φέρετ]αι, *cf.* Eur. *Phoen.* 1489 αἰδομένα φέρομαι βάκχα νεκύων. But the inconsistency of the tenses would be striking. Perhaps ἦχθη τ' εὐδαιμονί]αι, *cf. Bacch.* 72–75; another possibility is ἐχόρευσεν δὴ μανί]αι. Parsons' suggestion that ἐδιδάχθην indicates the rehearsal of the comic rôle is worth considering; see Kramer 12. This would be a further link to the metatheatrical discourse that begins in the next line. It would also function as a conclusion to the first part while marking the transition to the second: "to boast of such things I was taught." κομπεῖν is paratragic (Soph. *OC* 1344f ταῦτα ... ἔστι μοι κομπεῖν , *Aj.* 770 τοσόνδ' ἐκόμπει μῦθον), and so is the motif of boasting of one's intimacy with the gods and of one's religious practices: Eur. *Hipp.* 950–54 (Theseus attacks Hippolytus) οὐκ ἂν πιθοίμην τοῖσι σοῖς κόμποις ἐγὼ θεοῖσι προσθεὶς ἀμαθίαν φρονεῖν κακῶς. ἤδη νυν αὔχει καὶ δι' ἀψύχου βορᾶς σίτοις καπήλευ' Ὀρφέα τ' ἄνακτ' ἔχων βάκχευε πολλῶν γραμμάτων τιμῶν καπνούς (for commentary see Barrett, *Euripides, Hippolytos* [Oxford 1964] 342–45). The speaker of 15–18 stresses conclusively the significance of the cultic rôle of Dionysus as wine-god. A change of speaker after this line is probable.

[71] Asyndeta in a similar context are not as rare as one might think: in the agon of Ar. *Nub.*, 863, 758, 779, 817, 874; *Nub.* 1416 at a step in a reasoning argument (*cf.* K. J. Dover, *Aristophanes, Clouds* [Oxford 1968] *ad loc.*); in an anapestic parabasis *e.g. Ach.* 641, *Eq.* 541, *Nub.* 549; in an anapestic agon *Vesp.* 348, *Ran.* 1012.

19: Both Euripides and Homer are connected with Salamis. For Homer see *Anth.Pal.* 7.5, 16.299; Paus. 10.24.3. It is reported that Euripides was born on the island: *Vita Euripidis* 1 (*Scholia in Euripidem*, ed. E. Schwartz I [Berlin 1887] 1) Εὐριπίδης ὁ ποιητὴς ... ἐγεννήθη ... ἐν Σαλαμῖνι; *IG* XIV 1207b, Εὐριπίδης Μνη[σα]ρχίδου Σαλαμείνιος, τραγ[ικὸς] ποιητής. Moreover, it is reported that he often retreated to his place of birth (see *infra*). For more material see Kramer 12f. In comedy, where Euripides was often the target, the criticism of Euripides is more probable. Kramer (13) believes that at the beginning of our line must have been a Euripidean citation praising the greatness of Dionysus (with reference to *Bacch.* 329, 770; fr.177 N.[2]). She notes the problem that such praise would have nothing to do with ἀπάτη or ψεῦδος. The problem is whether μέγας forms part of a quotation or refers to "the poet of Salamis." Moreover, μέγας can function as predicate (⏑⏑–⏑⏑–εἶναί τε] μέγας φησὶν ἀοιδὸς Σαλαμῖνος, "the rhapsode of Salamis says that he is great") or as an adjective with ἀοιδός.

Kannicht and Snell (220) have shown the hyperbolic manner of designating Euripides as ἀοιδός. This is a first sign of criticism of the tragedian. ἀοιδός is the common name for the minstrel in Homer: *Il.* 24.720; *Od.* 3.270. Solon fr.29 West uses the term in connection with ψεῦδος: πολλὰ ψεύδονται ἀοιδοί; in tragedy *e.g.* Eur. *HF* 110 γόων ἀοιδός. In Ar. *Ran.* 1316 the term is used by Aeschylus in the lyrical recitation of a lofty Euripidean song. The association with Salamis could also be an allusion to the rumor, certainly spread also by comedians, that Euripides used Salamis as a retreat from the masses (*Vita Eur.* 5, Schwartz 4f: φασὶ δὲ αὐτὸν ἐν Σαλαμῖνι σπήλαιον κατασκευάσαντα ἀναπνοὴν ἔχον εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν ἐκεῖσε διημερεύειν φεύγοντα τὸν ὄχλον) or that he even composed his tragedies in a dark cave on Salamis.[72] Thus he is neither a favorite of the masses nor a care-free, unburdened man, both signs of the common Dionysiac ideology; see Eur. *Bacch.* 395–402, 424–32.

[72] Philoch. *FGrHist* 328F219. For the fictitious nature of the anecdote see W. M. Calder III, "Alexander's House (Pausanias 8.32.1)," *GRBS* 23 (1982) 284f, and Lefkowitz (*supra* n.46) 90ff.

20: The question is whether ταμίας belongs to Euripides or to Dionysus as the god of the "tragic Muse." ταμίας can be in apposition in the nominative to ἀοιδός; therefore Merkelbach's conjecture οὐξ ἀμφιρύτου τραγικ]ῆς (vel ὠιδ]ῆς vel Μούσ]ης Snell) or another predicative noun. Another possibility might be a new sentence after Σαλαμῖνος, which would provide a statement about Dionysus. If the assumption that this is a comedy is right, the speaker could address Dionysus especially as the god of comedy, in contrast to tragedy and Euripides. Dionysus is responsible for both literary genres. Thus perhaps even τρυγικῆς[73] Μούσ]ης ταμίας. For τρυγικός as special term for κωμῳδικός see Ar. *Ach.* 628, ἐξ οὗ γε χοροῖσιν ἐφέστηκεν τρυγικοῖς ὁ διδάσκαλος ἡμῶν. In anapests τρυγικός is used for metrical reasons instead of τρυγῳδικός (*Ach.* 886). τρυγῳδία is a comic term for κωμῳδία emphasizing the importance of wine in comedy.[74] Therefore, the word would fit excellently in our context. ταμίας is a frequent epithet for Zeus in poetry, as the 'dispenser' of all things to men: Hom. *Il.* 4.84; as a poetical citation at Pl. *Resp.* 379E; Soph. *TrGF* IV F 590.4; Eur. *Med.* 170; Isoc. 11.13; the lofty expression might imitate especially Pindar: ταμίας κώμων *Isthm.* 6.57, ταμίαι τε σοφοί Μοισᾶν (*i.e.* the poets!) *Isthm.* 9.7f; in an Aristophanic hymn, *Nub.* 566 τόν τε μεγασθενῆ τριαίνης ταμίαν (for Poseidon). At Soph. *Ant.* 1154 ταμίας even refers to Iacchus-Dionysus. But the term has also a quite trivial side, 'one who carves and distributes'; in a comic agon at Ar. *Vesp.* 613 it is a man who distributes food, a 'steward'.

ἀπάτη and ψεῦδος presumably do not mean here 'deceit' or 'error' but, as argued above, dramatic illusion by mimesis. The new papyrus fragment (*P.Köln* VI 242A) now makes it certain that the speaker himself and not another figure (as had been assumed before) had recourse to ἀπάτας. The speaker could mean: "Now I have been rolled into illusion," *i.e.* "now we have to use illusion consistently." Dionysus is the god of both

[73] Suggested orally by David Sansone.

[74] τρύξ is the new wine (*e.g.* Ar. *Nub.* 50). For τρυγῳδία see Körte (*supra* n.55) 1216f.

tragedy and comedy.[75] The ambivalent figure of Dionysus unifies in himself ἀλήθεια and ψεῦδος,[76] *i.e.* illusion, which as the precondition of art can also bring forward beauty (*cf.* καλά 24).

The expression εἰς ἀπάτας κεκύλισμαι seems to reflect a specific comic idiom. Kramer points to the close parallel in Ar. *Thesm.* 651: Mnesilochus says in desperation κακοδαίμων ἐγώ, εἰς οἷ' ἐμαυτὸν εἰσεκύλισα πράγματα ("oh miserable me, what trouble I've rolled myself into!"). The phrase could thus express the transition to the ἀπάτας in a drastic, colloquial way, standing in sharp contrast to the high level of speech just before. In both instances it is a specific metatheatrical term, clearly hinting at the tragic device of the ἐγκύκλημα. In *Thesm.* 651 Mnesilochus "rolled himself into trouble" by using Euripides' tragic discourse. In our text the comic poet, or the speaker representing comedy, notes in the first person that he has been rolled or has rolled himself into illusion, *i.e.* the tragic form of Euripides. He may be saying that with the new comic style there is scarcely any distinction between tragedy and comedy. In the following lines he wants to express his opposition to this kind of comic composition.[77] Albert Henrichs has suggested to me that he could mean "Now I've gotten mixed up in deceit."[78] But then we would have again the problem of what these deceits are, and how this notion is related to the context. The speaker might have "entangled

[75] See Ar. *Nub.* 518f, where at the beginning of the parabasis the choral leader as mouthpiece of Aristophanes also mentions Dionysus: ὦ θεώμενοι κατερῶ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐλευθέρως τἀληθῆ νὴ τὸν Διόνυσον τὸν ἐκθρέψαντά με. This expression implies a special relationship with Dionysus like that of a father to a son, of a teacher to a pupil, or of the master to his apprentice. In *Thesmophoriazusae* Aristophanes shows that very tricky plots like Helen's intrigue do not work in comedy. Euripides has to learn that his tragic discourse is bound to fail in comedy; he can only save himself and his friend Mnesilochus by adapting to the comic discourse (Bierl 172–76).

[76] The antonyms ΑΛΗΘΕΙΑ ΨΕΥΔΟΣ occur on an Orphic bone tablet (*SEG* XXVIII 660; M. L. West, "The Orphics of Olbia," *ZPE* 45 [1982] 22f).

[77] I owe much of this thought to John Vaio.

[78] For the metaphorical use of κ. ἔν τινι 'to wallow in something': Theog. 619 ἐν ἀμηχανίῃσι κυλίνδομαι; Pl. *Phd.* 82E ἐν ἀμαθίᾳ κ.

himself in deceits" by reporting Euripides' untrue assertion that he was a great poet. The comic point might then be that Euripides was notorious for his deceits and intrigues. Therefore it is natural that he lies also when he has to judge his own dramatic quality. Charles Segal suggests that the verb 'to roll (down)' implies a development toward the worse. He believes that Dionysus is the speaker and compares the good past, when he was widely esteemed, with the desperate situation of today.[79] In former times he was a great god; nowadays, he complains, he is put down by poets like Euripides, who question myth as the valid basis of society. He lost his sovereignty—already in *Bacchae* he had to contend with human deceit in order to reach his goal. In the new sort of comedy, which is built entirely on the deconstruction of myth (*e.g.* Ar. *Plut.*), Dionysus became more and more the target of humor.

21: Perhaps ἀλλ' εἶ ταμί]ας παῦρος ὑπουργῶν ταῖς ψευδομέ̓να[ις]΄ ἐπιν[οίαις (Maresch 46): "But you (Euripides) are an insignificant dispenser."[80] These words would provide a strong criticism of Euripides. παῦρος 'small, little, insignificant' would stand in opposition to μέγας (19). See Pind. *Ol.* 13.98 παύρῳ ἔπει; Hes. *Op.* 538 στήμονι δ' ἐν παύρῳ; Eur. *Med.* 1087 παῦρον δὲ γένος. If one adopts the alternative that ταμίας in 20 refers to Dionysus, one might read οὐδ' εἶ Μούσ]ας παῦρος: "You (Dionysus) are not even small in regard to the Muses, when you help in the notions of dramatic illusion." The speaker might even play with the double meaning of ἀπάται and ψεῦδος; ἀπάται (20) could mean simply "deceit," whereas ψευδομέ̓να[ις]΄ ἐπιν[οίαις presumably must be interpreted in a more technical way as "the concepts of dramatic illusion." Conceivably the line might even refer again to the speaker, who would be addressing himself in a monologue (ἀλλ' εἶ Μούσ]ας παῦρος)—he complains that he loses his power whenever he complies with the concept of dramatic illusion. Or pursuing the

[79] Thus Segal comes close to Maresch 28f: see *supra* n.41.

[80] I am inclined to adopt the common view that ταμίας (20) stands in apposition to ἀοιδός (*i.e.* Euripides).

thought of Segal (see *supra ad* 20), Dionysus is angry because he lost his sovereignty as a god (ἀλλ' εἶ ταμί]ας παῦρος), since he has to act now in plots where he must deceive.

22: As an alternative to Kramer's (14) ἄγε νῦν, τίς ἐπαίνωι π]αραπέμψει I suggest ἄγε νῦν, θορύβωι τίς π]αραπέμψει. In comedy παραπέμπω θόρυβόν τινι can mean "waft applause" to somebody (esp. a poet), *cf.* Ar. *Eq.* 546–48 (see LSJ). This hints again at the metatheatrical aspect of the text. It is still disputed whether τὸν ἀπ' ὀθνείας refers to the poet (Kramer) or to Dionysus (Maresch 46). In myth Dionysus is commonly said to have come from abroad: see *e.g.* the prologue of *Bacch.*, 13–20. But I believe Kramer is right. Euripides has just been designated as "the bard from Salamis" (19). Line 22 obviously continues the attack against the "foreigner" Euripides. The comical point might lie in the fact that Salamis had an in-between constitutional status. Since Solon's time it belonged to the territory of Athens, but it did not form a deme, and was therefore politically not a real part of Attica; it was only considered a colony of citizens. See W. Judeich, "Attika," *RE* 2 (1896) 2223, and E. Oberhummer, "Salamis," *RE* 1A (1920) 1828. Euripides was always considered an Athenian. His parents were both Athenians and emigrated only for business reasons: *Vita Eur.* 1 (Schwartz I 1), Εὐριπίδης ὁ ποιητὴς ..., Ἀθηναῖος ; *Suda* E 3693, 3695; Wilamowitz, *Herakles*[2] I (Berlin 1895) 5f. For a pejorative (and sexual) use of a person from Salamis see Ar. *Eccl.* 38–40. For ὀθνεῖος see Eur. *Alc.* 532, 646, 810; *Suppl. Hellenist.* fr.626.6 ἀπ' ὀθνείας (*sc.* γῆς). ἐπεγείρων can simply mean to awaken from sleep[81] (implying that the poet was very lazy), or even from death; this could indicate a terminus post quem implying that the poet was already dead and would have been brought back from the underworld; so this would be an internal allusion to Aristophanes' *Frogs*;[82] see also *infra ad* 27. So: "Now, who will wake up this man from abroad and grant him applause?" The answer in 23 must be negative.

[81] See Ar. *Nub.* 79. For ἐγείρω see Soph. *TrGF* IV F 890, Eupolis fr.41 K.-A.

[82] I have not found an exact parallel for this metaphorical meaning.

23–24: Maybe πῶς γάρ, or better οὐδείς· μᾶλλον σύγ]γνωτε,[83] θεαί. The goddesses are thought to be the Muses, perhaps already mentioned in 21. As followers of Dionysus in his tragic dimension they are invoked for forgiveness, if the speaker rejects the great tragic poet Euripides in favor of his comic discourse. For the Muses connected with the (tragic) Dionysus see Solon fr.26 West; Aesch. *TrGF* III F 60; Soph. *Ant.* 965; Eur. *Bacch.* 410ff, 563ff; *Paian* of Philodamus 53–62; Pl. *Leg.* 672D. The explanation for the excuse is the next sentence with the probable supplement βαρύς (24). βαρύς 'burdensome, grievous, oppressive' is quite common in tragedy: see Aesch. *Pers.* 1044, *Sept.* 332, 767; Soph. *OC* 1204. *P.Köln* VI 242A now gives the unambiguous reading ὁ παρὼν πόνος ὕμνων. πόνος is in close connection to μόχθωι (24) and φόρτου (25). These terms express the strict antinomy to the Dionysiac ideology of a complete lack of any burden. So: "The present toil of tragic hymns is heavy." "Tragic hymns" are a kind of *pars pro toto* for the entire literary genre of tragedy. Hymns aim at a very lofty level of language, and their subject matter is limited to the praise of a deity. In tragedy we have two famous hymns to Dionysus, Soph. *Ant.* 1115–54 and Eur *Bacch.* 71ff.[84] The word ὕμνος already appeared in 4. If the speaker is Dionysus, he might be saying that he does not like these bombastic hymns about himself and prefers a different level of expression. There might be another point against Euripides, who stressed secular themes. He was notorious for his anapestic hymns with philosophical-physical coloring.[85] Furthermore, Old Comedy integrated many hymns into its plots which are closely

[83] σύγ]γνωτε: so already West, Austin, and Maresch 46.

[84] Also Eur. *Hypsipyle* frr.57–59; see *Euripides, Hypsipyle*, ed. G. W. Bond (Oxford 1963) 18: "Frs. 57–59 appear to come from a stasimon in praise of Dionysus." For the fifth stasimon in *Antigone* see A. Bierl, "Was hat die Tragödie mit Dionysos zu tun? Rolle und Funktion des Dionysos am Beispiel der 'Antigone' des Sophokles," *WürzJbb* 15 (1989) 50–55, and Bierl 127–32.

[85] N[2] frr.593, 594, 912. See R. Wünsch, "Hymnos," *RE* 9 (1914) 163.

connected to the old cultic function of these songs.[86] For ὕμνος in comedy: citation of Cratinus (fr.70 K.-A.) in Ar. *Eq.* 530 τέκτονες εὐπαλάμων ὕμνων; *Av.* 210, 679, 905 κλῆσον ὦ Μοῦσα τεαῖς ἐν ὕμνων ἀοιδαῖς (a poet in Nephelokokkygia); *Ran.* 212, 382; *Thesm.* 993.

24–25: Perhaps βαρύς· ἀλλ' ὁ ἐμὸς Βάκ]χος. Lloyd-Jones and Snell read θεσ]μός (see Kannicht-Snell 220).[87] For the missing infinitive in 25 after ὁρίζει I suggest *e.g.* φθείρειν or ὑβρίσαι. For the construction ὁρίζω with infinitive see Soph. *TrGF* IV F 24 and Moschion, *TrGF* I 97 F 6.30–32 ὥρισεν νόμος τύμβοις καλύπτειν κἀπιμοιρᾶσθαι κόνιν νεκροῖς ἀθάπτοις, μηδ' ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς ἐᾶν. For ὑβρίσαι see *e.g.* Ar. *Lys.* 400. φθείρειν 'destroy, spoil': Soph. *Aj.* 1343f τοὺς θεῶν νόμους; *cf.* Ar. *Av.* 1067f κτείνω δ' οἳ κήπους εὐώδεις φθείρουσιν λύμαις ἐχθίσταις. The compound διαφθείρω is often used in association with λόγος: Ar. *Ran.* 1200 τοὺς προλόγους διαφθερῶ; Cratinus fr.323 K.-A. ὅνπερ Φιλοκλέης τὸν λόγον διέφθορεν. Also relevant in our context is Pherecrates fr.155 K.-A., where a Muse complains about getting spoilt by modern dithyrambic poets like Melanippides, Cinesias, Phrynis, and Timotheus: Φρῦνις ... κάμπτων με καὶ στρέφων ὅλην διέφθορεν (14f). For the desire of beauty concerning τὰ δικαίως καλά see above on 17. Thus: "But my Bakchos (*i.e.* the one of comedy) ordains not to spoil the really (justly) good by trouble (distress)." He means that he can develop his comic plot without the tragic discourse.

25: My conjecture is: φθείρειν vel ὑβρίσαι· μή τοι or γοῦν λη]φθέντα.[88] Luppe, *ZPE* 72 (1988) 35, proposes a different construction; he makes a stop after ὁρίζει, and proceeds with an asyndeton assuming that the μή (24) belongs to θῆτε (25). Therefore he reads: μὴ τὰ δικαίως καλὰ μόχθωι | [σπουδῆι τε μακρῶι λη]φθέντα ... The subjunctive θῆτε suggests either a

[86] See *e.g.* Ar. *Ach.* 263–79 (Φαλῆς); *Eq.* 551–64 (Poseidon); *Vesp.* 868–74 (Apollo); *Ran.* 875–84 (the Muses); *Ran.* 324ff (Iacchus).

[87] Basically the result of θεσμός would be the same. Maryline Parca suggests that πόνος (23) might be the subject of ὁρίζει.

[88] λη]φθέντα Merkelbach, Luppe, and Maresch.

negative imperative or a ἵνα-clause. Therefore it is also possible to read: φθείρειν, ἵνα μὴ or ἵνα νῦν. The question whether the sentence is negative or positive depends on one's interpretation of φόρτος. Is it simply another synonym for 'burden' (*cf.* Eur. *Supp.* 20 or *IT* 1306), or does it have the specifically comic connotation of 'vulgar stuff, rubbish, balderdash'?[89] φόρτου παρέργου is to be taken with θῆτε.[90] Thus: "to consider something as a negligible burden" or "negligible rubbish." ληφθέντα is best taken as a neuter accusative with τρίτα. τρίτα λαβεῖν, 'to win the third prize',[91] seems to be a reference to the dramatic agon of the City Dionysia. Thus the whole sentence: "If someone scarcely wins a third prize, do not consider it a negligible burden!" This could be an allusion to the relatively poor success of Euripides. In his career he won only five first prizes (with one posthumous victory included).[92] The speaker means that he absolutely does not need Euripides, who is unsuccessful and whose tragedies are quite "heavy stuff"; that is absolutely against what Dionysus wants. Or with the ἵνα construction: "Bacchus ordains not to spoil the justly beautiful by toil, in order that you (do not) consider it a negligible rubbish (burden), if somebody scarcely wins a third prize."

26: One might conjecture: ∪∪–∪∪– οὐδὲ θεαταῖς εὖ]αδεν (Merkelbach). ὀρθῆι Διόνυσος. "The public did not like him either." The form εὖ]αδεν, however, is epic, but ἀνδάνω is common in tragedy: *e.g.* Eur. fr.93.3 N.², *TrGF* II F 130. In comedy see *e.g.* Ar. *Eq.* 553.

26–27: With the stop after]αδεν we would have another asyndeton. The main verb of the next sentence is missing. Perhaps

[89] See LSJ *s.v.* φόρτος I and II. For the second meaning in comedy see *Pax* 748 (also in anapests) φόρτον καὶ βωμολοχεύματ' ἀγεννῆ, and *Plut.* 796.

[90] For this construction see LSJ *s.v.* τίθημι B.II.4.

[91] Compare Hom. *Il.* 23.275 τὰ πρῶτα λαβὼν κλισίηνδε φεροίμην. See also Eur. *Epigr.* 3 Bergk, πρῶτα δραμεῖν καὶ δεύτερα καὶ τρίτα.

[92] See Schwartz I 8.23ff. Three victories are attested in a more detailed way: (a) in 441 B.C. with a unknown tragedy (*TrGF* I DID D 1), (b) in 428 with *Hippolytus* (C 13), (c) the posthumous victory with *Iphigeneia in Aulis*, *Alcmaeon*, and *Bacchae* (C 22). In 455 and 431 (C 9, 12) it is attested that Euripides won the third prize, as is claimed in our fragment.

the speaker wants to suggest that Dionysus is on his side because he made the right decision as an arbitrator in an agon once before. But it is not certain that ὀρθῇι really is dependent on β]ραβεύσας. *Cf.* Axiopistus (?) or Pseudoepicharmea 2.7 (*Coll. Alex.* 221) ὀρθῶς βραβεῦσαι. This could be an allusion to Aristophanes' *Frogs*, where Dionysus decided against Euripides. There is another instance where Dionysus functions as an arbitrator: in Cratinus' *Dionysalexandros* he is judge of a beauty-contest (see the hypothesis, *PCG* IV pp.140f).[93]

This is only a brief outline of the possibilities for an interpretation of this papyrus. I am well aware that my suggestions cannot be conclusive, but I hope that this new approach sheds further light on a difficult fragment.[94]

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[93] Gronewald made the suggestion that our fragment might even come from the *Dionysalexandros*; see Maresch 29 and *supra* n.19.

[94] During a stay at the University of Illinois (Urbana-Champaign) I worked on the papyrus again and presented the results in a lecture on 22 February 1991; I thank William M. Calder III for this invitation. I owe special thanks to John Vaio (Chicago) and particularly to Albert Henrichs (Cambridge, Mass.), who discussed the paper with me at length. A revised version was presented at a seminar of the Center for Literary Studies, Harvard University (26 April 1991); I am very grateful to Albert Henrichs, Gregory Nagy, and Richard Thomas for this opportunity. My thanks also to Helene Foley and Dirk Obbink (New York), who invited me to repeat the presentation at Columbia University (7 May 1991). I am grateful for the many suggestions and comments of all participants in the lively discussions that followed these lectures, and to William M. Calder III, David Sansone, and Douglas Olson (Urbana), who kindly read and corrected earlier drafts of this paper. I am indebted to Cornelia Römer and Klaus Maresch for providing photographs of the papyri and for giving me permission to publish them again here. After completing my manuscript, I received the collection of essays, *Musa Tragica. Die griechische Tragödie von Thespis bis Ezechiel*, edd. B. Gauly *et al.* (Göttingen 1991), where our fragment is reedited with a brief introduction and translation (250–53, 302) by Richard Kannicht and his students, who attribute the text to satyr-play (with reference to Luppe's suggestion, *supra* n.18). I thank Professor Kannicht for sending me the new publication so promptly.