

Myth and Paradox in Aristophanes: The Poetics of Appropriation¹

ABSTRACT: Offering a close reading on the most elaborate and paradoxical reworkings of mythical material by Aristophanes in his extant plays, this paper sheds light on the poetics of this procedure: what is changed, how, and why. Special emphasis is placed upon the poetological intention of appropriation, which is to claim the superiority of comedy over other genres. As for their intra-dramatic function (how they operate within the plot), the appropriated myths can be grouped into five categories: 'persuasive', 'aetiological', 'antiphonal', 'abusive', and 'structural' myths.

From the surviving titles of Aristophanic comedy and Old Comedy in general, we can assume that a fair proportion of the plays had mythological content – with the reservation that a title does not necessarily describe the exact content, as for example in *Frogs*, where the chorus of the frogs was possibly invisible.² A title may imply mythological content, but it is not at all certain that the corresponding play was a full-scale mythical travesty. The mythical figure or story referred to by the title may have been placed in a contemporary Athenian context or in a fantastic, utopian world. Unless one possesses some specific knowledge of the plot of a comedy (as e.g. Cratinus's *Dionysalexandros*), it cannot be safely assumed that it dramatized a mythical story in its fullness.³

None of Aristophanes's eleven comedies is mythological *per se* but they do use mythical elements, either as explicit references or as underlying structural patterns. From the latter perspective, *Birds* draw from the Titanomachy and polis-foundation myths, *Lysistrata* from the Amazons and the Lemnian women,⁴ *Peace* from Persephone's rape and other myths about the salvation of maidens and the *anodos* of underworld divinities or fertility goddesses,⁵ *Frogs* from Hercules's descent to Hades and from the psychostasia etc. Bowie (1993) offers a brilliant analysis of such patterns, as well as those from rituals (e.g. *Acharnians* as anomalous Rural Dionysia) and rites of passage (e.g. Philocleon in *Wasps* as undergoing a reversed *ephebeia*). Following Bowie in his play-by-play method of discussion and his structuralistic view, but focusing on explicit references to myths (rather to the structure of the plots), I compile and analyse the myths exploited in the eleven extant comedies from a typological perspective (what is changed, why is it changed, and how the myth is embodied in the play) and from a poetological one (what

¹ I use N. G. Wilson's OCT edition.

² For a statistical account see Carrière (1997) 413-7; Bowie (2010) for an overall account from Sicilian to New Comedy; esp. p.145 on Old Comedy.

³ For this and many other observations and corrections, I owe special thanks to the anonymous referee of the journal. Thanks are also due to Dr Armand D' Angour and John Hamilton-Curzon for refining my English.

⁴ See Bowie (1984) and (1993) 184-95; Martin (1987).

⁵ See Bowie (1993) 142-50; Olson (1998) xxxv-xxxviii.

the use of the myth implies for comedy as a genre).⁶ Of course, the comic poet exploits myths in various ways, from mere quotation and adaptation to appropriation or even creation of his own quasi-mythical narratives (e.g. Amphitheus's genealogy in *Ach.* 48-52).⁷ This paper is only concerned with myths that are appropriated by the poet, explaining their distinction from adapted myths where necessary. In the form of a concise comparative survey, the last section of this paper traces the intra-dramatic functions of appropriated myths – to be read along with the **Appendix**.

Before turning to the individual plays, a clarification of the basic concepts (those appearing in the title of the paper) is necessary. As the reader will soon observe, *myth* is here used as an umbrella term for material of different kinds: mythical stories, known from the oral tradition, literary treatments of myths in poetic genres – such as tragedy and epic – popular legends, allegorical or wisdom concepts, Aesopic fables and others without strict differentiation. This is a deliberate choice which, far from aiming to generate confusion or to ignore historical and anthropological approaches to Greek mythology, intends to show that the techniques of appropriation (reversal, replacement, exaggeration, de-contextualization, vulgarization etc.) apply to all these categories. At any rate, *myth* is not used in the Aristotelian sense, i.e. as the plot of a play.

As for the word *paradox* (and the derivatives *paradoxical*, *paradoxically*, *paradoxicality*) I use it in the Greek sense (*παράδοξος*: contrary to expectation, incredible; *LSJ*) rather than the English one (the self-contradictory in terms of logic), for which I reserve the term *oxymoron*. A similar but distinct term is *surprise*, which I avoid because it often implies physical reactions (e.g. laughter or goggling) to a visual stimulus, rather than a mental response to visual *and* non-visual stimuli.

In reception theory, *translation*, *adaptation*, and *appropriation* are the three terms commonly used to describe the degree of fidelity of a 'recipient' text or artwork to the source it draws on, with *appropriation* being the most divergent version – and hence more paradoxical. For example, a word-by-word translation of an Aristophanic comedy into Modern Greek is, not surprisingly, a *translation*. If, for the purposes of making the comedy more attractive to a contemporary reader or audience, jokes and political references have been modernized, then we have an *adaptation*. And if the 'recipient' artist is openly inspired by, but freely deviating from the prototype in composing an authentic work (like Jean Anouilh's *Antigone*), then we have an *appropriation*. Speaking of Aristophanes as a recipient of myths, a typical category of *translation* is the chorus's evocating the gods with their standardized epithets and descriptions, without any comic interpolation (e.g. *Eq.* 551-63, 581-4; *Nub.* 563-74, 595-607). Or we often have passing references to myths which are no less than accurate in their content (e.g. Odysseus's dressing in rags: *Nub.* 351 ≈ *Od.* 4.244-50). Examples of *adaptation* is Dionysus introducing himself as *υἱὸς Σταμνίου* (*Ran.* 22) instead of 'son of Zeus', and the assertion that Menelaos dropped his sword in sight of Helen's breasts (*Lys.* 155-6) instead of her overall beauty. Here, however, we shall focus on *appropriations*; i.e. on elaborate reworking of myths – in the wide sense described above – with a paradoxical effect.

⁶A typological approach is also offered by Moessner (1907) 82 ff., arranged in thematic sections: description of the gods; parody of epic myth; parody of tragic myth; parody of legends; other mythic elements (passing references). Though a very informative survey, it collects a lot of material (mythology in Old Comedy in general) at the expense of detailed analysis.

⁷On that passage, see Méautis (1932); Griffith (1974); Kanavou (2011) 388-91.

Acharnians⁸

In the parodos, after having concluded his treaty with the Spartans, Dikaiopolis defends himself before the chorus of the Acharnians who have come to stone him. The scene is a parody of Euripides's *Telephus* (BC 438) from which only fragments survive.⁹ Telephus, son of Hercules and Auge, was the king of Mysia, which the Greeks attacked mistaking it for Troy. In the battle, Achilles wounded Telephus who later was advised by the oracle to go to Argos and seek cure from the perpetrator. Telephus went as a suppliant disguised in rags to Agamemnon and received Achilles's cure, in exchange for showing the Greeks the exact way to Troy. In Euripides's version, when Thephus's identity was discovered during the negotiations, threatened to kill the infant Orestes on the altar, whereas in Aeschylus's version it seems that the hero merely held the baby up to raise sympathy.¹⁰ As for Sophocles's *Telephus*, we cannot tell because only one word survives. Whether the idea of threatening Orestes was Euripides's innovation or not, Aristophanes is clearly parodying his version, directly quoting, or alluding to, Euripidean lines and dressing his protagonist with the rags that Euripides (as a *dramatis persona* of the comedy) had used to costume his own Telephus. As Bowie (1993: 28-9) points out, Telephus is well chosen not only as a devise for generating sympathy, given that Dikaiopolis is at an equally weak position asking to be heard by a hostile audience, but also as a reflection of the comic hero's negative aspects: Dikaiopolis made a private peace with the Spartans abandoning Athens, similarly to Telephus who betrayed Troy (the homeland of his wife and an ally of his own) to the Greeks for his personal salvation.

The paradox of the Aristophanic scene can be found in many levels; most obviously, in the replacement of Orestes with a basket of charcoal, which Dikaiopolis threatens to slay with a sword on the altar. The replacement of a noble figure from mythology with a shabby utensil from rural life makes the passing from tragedy to comedy tangible.¹¹ At the same time, the retention of the sword further mocks the limits of tragedy as a genre: comedy is capable of including such tragic, high-register objects. But would tragedy ever dare to show a basket of charcoal? If the basket is meant to allude to the staging of Euripides's play as closely as possible, we could assume that in *Telephus* Orestes would have been brought on stage in his cradle. Alternatively, Aristophanes is simply insinuating that the presentation of an infant on the tragic stage (whether it was a real baby or a doll) is a cheap device and the solemnity of tragedy is merely an illusion.¹² Just before Dikaiopolis grabs the basket, the chorus assume that he is about to seize a baby (*μῶν ἔχει του παιδίον | τῶν παρόντων ἔνδον εἶρξας; ἢ πὶ τῷ θρασύνεται; 329-30*), reinforcing and dictating the audience's anticipation that a baby is indeed about to appear, as in *Telephus*. Against this deliberately fortified expectation, Dikaiopolis enters with the charcoal-basket, shown with emphatic *deixis* (*τουτονι, 331*). And here comes the second paradox: the chorus neither rejects nor, at

⁸ Also see Olson (2002) lii-lxiii.

⁹ See Handley and Rea (1957); Webster (1967) 43-8; Heath (1987); Collard et al. (1995) 17-52; Preiser (2000); Aguilar (2003). On the parody see Rau (1967) 24-41; Foley (1988).

¹⁰ Σ on *Ach.* 332. See Csapo (1990).

¹¹ On replacement as a technique of comic parody, see Tsitsiridis (2010).

¹² The use of a real infant as Orestes in Euripides's tragedy should not be precluded on grounds of practical inconvenience. In fact, if the infant cried, that would be most suitable for the play. On the other hand, it is highly unlikely that Orestes was presented as a toddler, played by an older child like the children in *Medea*, given that the fourth-century iconography always depict an infant (LIMC vii.2: *Telephos* 55-63).

least, notices the deception, but they become part of the illusion (of the drama within the drama), as if they deliberately want to collaborate with Dikaiopolis in his deceit. They cry for the basket no less than they would cry for a baby being threatened and they finally succumb to Dikaiopolis's demands. A third paradox is that, whereas Telephus's appeal to Agamemnon (Eur. fr. 706, *Ἀγάμεμνον, οὐδ' εἰ πέλεκυν ἐν χεροῖν ἔχων | μέλλοι τις εἰς τράχηλον ἐμβαλεῖν ἐμόν, | σιγήσομαι δίκαιά γ' ἀντειπεῖν ἔχων*) is a rhetorical exaggeration, Dikaiopolis is willingly placing his neck on the *ἐπίξηνον*, the butcher's chopping block (318, 355, 365, 366). Again, we can read this as comedy competing with tragedy: if the tragic hero is brave (only) in words, the comic hero can afford to put himself in 'real' danger, because in the end he never dies. Finally – one more paradox – the outraged chorus is suddenly silenced and Dikaiopolis has plenty of time to visit Euripides in order to borrow the rugs he had used for his Telephus (393-489). Only when he returns can the action move on. What we actually have here is a rehearsal on stage, an actor looking for his costume in order to get the feeling of his role.

Dikaiopolis starts his defence by blaming the Athenians for the Peloponnesian War. Some young Athenians, he maintains, got drunk and kidnapped a Megarian prostitute named Simaitha, and in revenge some Megarians kidnapped two Athenian prostitutes belonging to Aspasia (524-9). Then Pericles was outraged and passed the Megarian Decree, leading the Megarians to ask for the involvement of Sparta.¹³ The background story with the prostitutes parodies Herodotus's story (attributed by the historian to Persian learned men) that the enmity between Europe and Asia arose from a series of mutual rapes of princesses (Hdt. 1.1-1.5).¹⁴ The Phoenicians seized Io from Argos and transported her to Egypt; the Greeks seized Europe from Tyre and then Medea from Colchis; Paris seized Helen and the Greeks started the Trojan War in response. In the comedy, the Trojan War is replaced with the Peloponnesian War; the dispute between the Greeks and the Phoenicians with the hostility of the Athenians against the Megarians; the three mythical generations with contemporary time. However, some details have been retained or exaggerated. First, the number of the women involved: four (Simaitha, *πόρνα δύο*, and Aspasia who for the purposes of comedy – at least – was a whore).¹⁵ Secondly, the detail that one of the opposing sides (the Greeks in Hdt. / the Megarians in *Ach.*) disproportionately seized two girls in revenge for the abduction of only one girl.¹⁶ Last and more striking, Dikaiopolis's conclusion that the war essentially begun *ἐκ τριῶν λαικαστριῶν*, 'because of three cocksuckers' (529), rather echoes Herodotus's judgement that *εἰ μὴ αὐταὶ ἐβούλοντο, οὐκ ἂν ἠρπάζοντο* (1.4.2). Whereas the paradoxical appropriation of the myth of Telephus consists of theatrical replacements and exaggerations, this latter case exploits historical de-contextualization and verbal vulgarization, displaying how Aristophanes – already from his first extant comedy – experiments with different techniques of parody.

¹³ On Pericles's insistence on the Megarian Decree, Thuc. 2.21.3; 1.140-144. On him having personal motivations for the Decree, cf. *Pax* 605-9.

¹⁴ Since we do not know the publication date of the *Histories*, or whether they were read in public, it is unsure whether the parody is drawn on this version of the tale or another source. On the issue, see Fornara (1971).

¹⁵ Eup. *Dem* fr. 110.2. Idem fr. 267 calls her 'Helen' implying that she led Pericles to start the Samian War.

¹⁶ Hdt.'s comment: *ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ἴσα πρὸς ἴσα σφι γενέσθαι μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Ἕλληνας αἰτίους τῆς δευτέρας ἀδικίης γενέσθαι*. (1. 1.2.1.) This detail makes me assume that Ar. draws on Hdt. directly.

Knights

The slave Demosthenes reports to the Sausage-Seller an oracle according to which the latter is meant to succeed Paphlagon as a leader of the Demos (197-201):

“ἀλλ’ ὅπoταν μάρψῃ βυρσαίετος ἀγκυλοχῆλης
γαμφληῆσι δράκοντα κοάλεμον αἵματοπώτην,
δὴ τότε Παφλαγόνων μὲν ἀπόλλυται ἡ σκοροδάλμη,
κοιλιopώλησιν δὲ θεὸς μέγα κῦδος ὀπάζει,
αἶ κεν μὴ πωλεῖν ἀλλᾶντας μᾶλλον ἔλονται.”

‘Dactylic hexameter meter, oracular and dialectal formulae (ἀλλ’ ὅπoταν), αἶ for εἶ (cf. *Birds* 978), the replacement of humans with animals, long compound words like “leather eagle” and “blooddrinking,” as well as the presence of epicisms like κῦδος and ὀπάζει [...] and the heavy, spondaic rhythm of the final line [...], all contribute to the serious tone of a text meant to be received with respect.’¹⁷ This imagery comes from the *Iliad*, where an eagle flies above the Trojans, snatching a snake, which in turn curls and bites the eagle and gets released; Hector alone refused to accept that this was a bad sign (*Il.* 12.200-9). The Sausage-Seller wonders about the meaning, in fact expressing the audience’s question. Demosthenes, in his answer, identifies Paphlagon as the eagle and the Sausage-Seller as the snake, with the comic exegesis that a snake is long like a sausage (202-10) – perhaps a satire of the practices of oracle interpreters. It is interesting that the snake is called κοάλεμον, ‘stupid’,¹⁸ which ought to be counted as one of the many negative qualities of the Sausage-Seller, who is essentially no better than Paphlagon. That he is called πονηρός (181) is not a contradiction, because this is a moral term (‘sly’, ‘rogue’, ‘malicious’), not a term of pure intelligence. More telling is that, whereas in the Homeric version the snake, after being released by the wounded eagle, eventually dies before the Trojans’ eyes (κείμενον ἐν μέσσοισι, *Il.* 12.209), here we do not learn about its fate; we only learn that Paphlagon, the eagle, perishes. One would say that Aristophanes simply keeps the part of the imagery that facilitates his foreground meaning: the Sausage-Seller’s victory. One could argue however, that Aristophanes conceals the information which he would expect the audience – at least its most learned part – to guess: that neither the Sausage-Seller will last for ever, which of course goes beyond the end of the play. So the paradox lies in the comic exegesis of the myth, which subverts its initial solemnity, and the concealment of its end, which raises doubts in the minds of the informed audience. Aristophanes reworks this Homeric scene also in *Ves.* 15-20 (see below).

Clouds

Along with *Ecclesiazusae*, these two plays are the poorest in terms of mythological material.¹⁹ Of course, the conception of clouds as deceptive entities is well attested in mythology, the most famous cases being Helen’s ghost in Troy, referred to as νεφέλη,²⁰ and the cloud in the shape of Hera, which Zeus made for Ixion to mate with, in order to

¹⁷ Platter (2007) 116.

¹⁸ Cf. *Eq.* 221; Aeschin. *Socr.* 16; Plu. *Cim.* 4; Hsch. *ad loc.*

¹⁹ Carrière (1997) 424. The fact that I devote the smallest section to *Knights* does not contradict this principle. Simply, *Knights* contains more non-paradoxical myths, which as such are not discussed.

²⁰ Eur. *Hel.* 45, 705, 707, 750, 1219.

reveal his lustful intentions for the actual goddess.²¹ But explicit references to these or other myths are rare.²² One notable case in *Clouds* is the paradoxical, poetological treatment of Electra in the parabasis (534-44):

νῦν οὖν Ἡλέκτραν κατ' ἐκείνην ἢδ' ἡ κωμῳδία
 ζητοῦσ' ἦλθ', ἦν που 'πιτύχη θεαταῖς οὕτω σοφοῖς· 535
 γνώσεται γάρ, ἦνπερ ἴδη, τὰδελφοῦ τὸν βόστρυχον.
 ὡς δὲ σῶφρων ἐστὶ φύσει σκέψασθ'· ἦτις πρῶτα μὲν
 οὐδὲν ἦλθε ράψαμένη σκῦτινον καθειμένον,
 ἐρυθρὸν ἐξ ἄκρου, παχύ, τοῖς παιδίοις ἴν' ἢ γέλως·
 οὐδ' ἔσκωπεν τοὺς φαλακρούς, οὐδὲ κόρδαχ' εἴλικυεν, 540
 οὐδὲ πρεσβύτης ὁ λέγων τᾶπη τῇ βακτηρίᾳ
 τύπτει τὸν παρόντ', ἀφανίζων πονηρὰ σκώμματα,
 οὐδ' εἰσηῖξε δᾶδας ἔχουσ' οὐδ' "ιοῦ ἰοῦ" βοᾶ,
 ἀλλ' αὐτῇ καὶ τοῖς ἔπεσιν πιστεύουσ' ἐλήλυθεν.

In Aeschylus's *Choephoroi*, Electra goes to Agamemnon's tomb bringing offerings and finds a tuft of hair, left there by Orestes, which she recognizes as similar to her own; thus, she knows that her brother is back. Here, Electra is *this* comedy (and Aristophanes by extension, one could say)²³ who is looking for 'wise spectators', to be recognized through a proper sign; the equivalent of the βόστρυχος is presumably a favourable vote or an applause.²⁴ As for the wise spectators sought out, they probably correspond, in mythical terms, to Orestes, given that the βόστρυχος is τὰδελφοῦ. This of course is a paradoxical reversal of the tragic original, where Electra does not seek for Orestes who is instead seeking for her.²⁵ According to Telò, however, the spectators stand for the father Agamemnon, to whom the poet-Electra is dedicated.²⁶ There is one more fundamental question to face: why is a tragic figure chosen to personify comedy? Other mythical figures, like Thalia or Iambe, would have been more appropriate, but Aristophanes chooses Electra. Silk suggests that 'Aristophanes now (plausibly) identifies this play as a 'new mode' [(καὶνὰς ιδέας, 547)], a textual hybrid, a 'serious comedy', a tragicomedy (or comitragedy) even (hence the reference to a tragic 'Electra' at line 534).²⁷ But what the poet says in 547 is that he *always* brings in new ideas (ἀλλ' αἰεὶ καὶνὰς ιδέας εἰσφέρων σοφίζομαι), not only on the occasion of *Clouds*. As for the 'severity' of the comedy (σῶφρων, 537), it is not the first time Aristophanes makes such a claim (cf. *Ach.* 500). A plausible suggestion could be that the selection of a tragic figure to personify a comedy is a paradox, a poetological comment on the genre as a whole, where the poet confesses that comedy is not actually self-defined but mimics the ways of tragedy (*Ἡλέκτραν κατ' ἐκείνην*, 534). But, ironically, this heteronomy is given in the parabasis, i.e. the most self-referential part of the play, which is something not observed in tragedy. Through this 'meta-paradox', comedy manifests its uniqueness.

²¹ *S. Phil.* 676-80; *Diod.* 4.69; *Plut. Moralia* 777e; *Luc. DDeor.* 9.4-5.

²² Passing references are made to Athamas, husband of Nephele and later of Ino (257), and to Iapetos, Kronos' brother (998). See Bowie (1993) 127-30 on Ixion and Athamas; Reckford (1991) on Iapetos.

²³ 'Of course, the comparison of our comedy and Electra is facilitated by the fact that the *komodia*, like Electra, is feminine', O'Regan (1992) 203 n.22.

²⁴ Hackforth (1938); refuted by Newiger (1961) 425-6.

²⁵ Dover (1968) *ad loc.* Cf. Starkie (1911) *ad loc.*; Sommerstein (1982) *ad loc.*

²⁶ Telò (2016) 127-35. His interpretation, however, relies heavily on the spectators' assumed remembrance of *Wasps*.

²⁷ Silk (2013) 37-9.

The second appropriated mythological figure in the play is Peleus (1061-1070), whom the Better Argument mentions as an example of a man who was rewarded for his virtue. According to the story, Peleus was once Acastus's guest in Iolcus. When the latter's wife Hippolyte (or Astydamia) tried to seduce him, he resisted, and in revenge she falsely accused him of trying to rape her. Acastus abandoned Peleus in a forest with wild animals, taking away his sword as punishment, but the gods bestowed him a knife to defend himself.²⁸ 'A knife? What a civilized reward the poor sucker got! Now Hyperbolus, the man from the lamp market, has made a vast amount of money by being a rascal, but never a knife, no indeed!' replies the Worse Argument.²⁹ He is essentially reckoning the knife in its monetary value, which is low indeed, and disregards its vital (for Peleus) practical value. In real life, as opposed to mythology, profit is the only benefit, the Worse Argument implies, and therefore mentions a counter-example from contemporary Athens, that the politician Hyperbolus.³⁰ The juxtaposition of a mythical and a real person here works in two directions: not only is Peleus degraded (ἀστεῖόν γε κέρδος ἔλαβεν ὁ κακοδαίμων, 1064) but also Hyperbolus is elevated to the level of a 'legendary' rascal. The Better Argument now tries a second mythical *exemplum*, given that the point with the knife did not work:

Κρ. καὶ τὴν Θέτιν γ' ἔγημε διὰ τὸ σωφρονεῖν ὁ Πηλεὺς. 1067

That Thetis was given to Peleus as a reward for his virtue is an arbitrary assertion. In Homer, Thetis married the hero by the command of Zeus, against her will (πολλὰ μάλ' οὐκ ἐθέλουσα).³¹ According to Philodemus, both the *Cypria* and Hesiod presented Zeus as outraged and swearing that he would make Thetis marry a mortal after she rejected him.³² Herodotus reports that Peleus carried her off.³³ According to Pindar, Zeus and Poseidon were rivals for Thetis's hand, but they became afraid when they learnt that she was destined to give birth to a son mightier than his father, so they married her off to Peleus.³⁴ The real paradox however lies in the Worse Argument's following reply:

Ητ. κᾶτ' ἀπολιποῦσά γ' αὐτὸν ὄχετ'· οὐ γὰρ ἦν ὕβριστής
οὐδ' ἠδὺς ἐν τοῖς στρώμασιν τὴν νύκτα παννουχίζειν·
γυνὴ δὲ σιναμωρουμένη χαίρει· 1070

Actually, Thetis left Peleus because she felt offended by his disrespectful reprimanding, when he saw her holding their son Achilles over the fire.³⁵ Here, Thetis is said to have abandoned Peleus because (in bed) he treated her with *too much* respect!³⁶ This can be read as a comic parallel to Peleus's aforementioned troubles with Hippolyte: Peleus is always punished by women whom he fails to satisfy.

²⁸ Pind.*Nem.*4.57-61; Pl. *Rep.* 3.319 c; Apollod.13.3.3.

²⁹ trans. Henderson (1998).

³⁰ For his lamp-making business cf. *Pax* 690, *Eq.* 739, 1316. The accusation concerning Hyperbolus's illegal enrichment is rather a comic commonplace than a reference to an actual scandal.

³¹ *Il.*18.430-3.

³² *Cypria* fr.2; Hes.fr. 210.

³³ Hdt.7.191.2

³⁴ Pind. *Isthm.* 8.27-41.

³⁵ Ap.Rh. 3.13.6. Soph. fr 151.

³⁶ Sommerstein (1982) *ad loc.*

Cerberus,⁴³ Hydra or Typhoeus (with a hundred licking fawners instead of snake-heads),⁴⁴ and Chimaera (with Lamia's testicles,⁴⁵ camel's arse, and seal's odour),⁴⁶ this creature is more repugnant than terrifying. Not only is the monster itself paradoxical, but also the progression of the description, which reverses the traditional course of Hercules's labours. Starting from the hauling of Cerberus, which traditionally is the final labour, the passage essentially ends with the most atypical labour, the cleaning of the stables (to which the version in *Peace* alludes much more clearly).⁴⁷ The labour of the Augean stables is first attested in Pind. *O.* 10.27f and a contemporary metope from the temple of Zeus at Olympia (right end of the east porch). Interestingly, adjacent to this is another metope depicting the fetching of Cerberus. Furthermore, the Olympian metopes are the only source in which the labour of cleaning the stables appears after Cerberus (Fig. 1).⁴⁸ Aristophanes may have been inspired for the merge of these two images by the sequence on the temple, or he may have found inspiration in an earlier narrative of the labours which also served as the source of the stonemasons in Olympia.

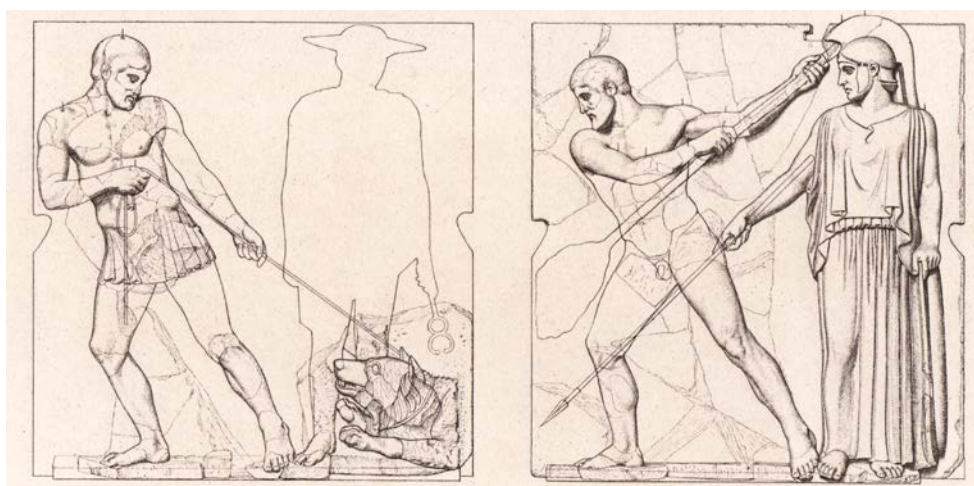


Fig. 1. Sketch of the fifth and the sixth metope of the pronaos, Temple of Zeus at Olympia. Drawing by Max Kühnert, in Curtius, E. and Adler, F. (eds.) (1894) *Olympia: die Ergebnisse der von dem Deutschen Reich veranstalteten Ausgrabung*. Berlin: vol. 3, pl. xlv.

Early on in the play, after many unsuccessful attempts made by Philocleon in order to escape his house (climbing the chimney, 144-8; breaking the door open, 152-5; ripping the mesh of the windows, 164-5), where his son Bdelycleon has restricted him in

⁴³ For Cleon as Cerberus cf. *Eq.* 1007, 1030, discussed by Lind (1990); *Pax* 313.

⁴⁴ Typhoeus appears in *Hes.Thg.*824-30. For Cleon as T. cf. *Eq.*511. Cerberus was his offspring.

⁴⁵ The explanation given by Biles and Olson (2015) *ad loc.* is that Lamia (a children's bogie) could transform herself into any form, and by MacDowell (1971) *ad loc.* that she was hermaphroditic. I prefer Sommerstein (1983) *ad loc.* 'Since Lamia is elsewhere always female, the "balls of a Lamia" may mean 'no balls at all''. For Cleon as a passive homosexual, cf. *Ach.* 664.

⁴⁶ For the animal's repulsive smell cf. *Od.* 4.406, 435-43. MacDowell (1971) *ad loc.* noticed the structural similarity of 1035 (*φώκης δ' ὄσμήν, Λαμίας δ' ὄρχεις ἀπλύτους, πρωκτὸν δὲ καμήλου*) with Chimaera's description in *Il.* 6.181 (*πρόσθε λέων, ὄπιθεν δὲ δράκων, μέσση δὲ χίμαιρα*).

⁴⁷ Cf. Σ and Platnauer (1964) on *Pax* 753. *Peace* was produced the year after *Wasps*, when Cleon was dead (*Pax* 269); for the problem of mocking a dead person in present tense, cf. *Pax* 47; Platnauer *ad loc.* and xvi.

⁴⁸ For the course of Hercules's labours, cf. *Apollod.* 2.5.1-12; *Diod.Sic.* 4.11-13; *Hyg. Fab.* 30. The labour of the stables is absent in *Eur. HF* 359f. but again the Cerberus labour is the last one.

order to prevent him from going to the courts, the old man slips out suspended beneath a donkey, as another Odysseus escaping Polyphemus's cave (169-91; cf. *Od.* 9).⁴⁹ Given that there are no close verbal similarities to the Homeric version,⁵⁰ that the latter was adapted for the stage many times,⁵¹ and that this version is scenically elaborate (with the donkey braying and with Philocleon clinging to it backwards, i.e. facing its tits, penis, or arse),⁵² it is clearly suggested that here we probably have a parody of a previous production, rather than one of the *Odyssey* itself. The donkey was probably not a real one, given that it needs to walk, stand, and bray at specific moments, but a pair of actors.⁵³ This humorously corresponds to the Homeric version, where each fellow was suspended beneath three sheep (9.430-2). The mighty Odysseus has now become a dotard, the sheep flock (woolly and usually white animals) have been turned into a single donkey (an animal with dark, short, and rough hair), the mass-escape becomes a one-man show, and the successful plan becomes a resounding failure. As Bdelycleon detects his father – with Sosias's help and with some delay for better comic effect – and sends him back to the house. Also, the original sequence of events has been reversed or compressed: Philocleon's self-introduction as *Οὔτις* comes after the escape attempt – unlike the *Odyssey* – and his re-introduction with his (supposedly) 'true' name comes immediately afterwards, again unlike the *Odyssey* (184-5, cf. *Od.* 9.505). Philocleon claims to be the 'son of Escapehorse from Ithaca' (*Ἰθακοῦς Ἀποδρασιππίδου*), which is a very ironic patronymic for someone who did not manage to escape and did not have a horse but a donkey. That Philocleon conceals his real identity even after he has been detected is of course a sign of his petty chicanery but can also be read as a metatheatrical comment: the concept of 'recognition', a central element both for tragedy and comedy, is nothing but an illusion. It never actually happens, because there is always a layer that is not revealed: the actor behind the mask.

Peace

While in *Wasps* Aristophanes transforms a successful mythical plan (the escape from the Cyclops' cave) into a failure, in *Peace* he does exactly the opposite from as early as its opening scene, appropriating Euripides's *Bellerophon*. Having been accused for a fake rape, having been sent to face Chimaera, having lost his children, having been sent into exile and suffering from melancholia it is obvious that this tragic hero was especially hated by the gods. So he rides Pegasus towards Olympus, in order to complain to the them, but halfway he is thrown off Pegasus back to earth.⁵⁴ Given our otherwise limited information about this tragedy, we cannot estimate to what extent Aristophanes appropriates this play, apart from the replacement of Pegasus by a giant dung-beetle and

⁴⁹ For a detailed discussion, see Moessner (1907) 94-7.

⁵⁰ MacDowell (1971) 156.

⁵¹ Cf. *Pl.* 290-301; Cratinus's *Odyseis*; Euripides, Aristias, Callias, Epicharmus and Antiphanes, all had a *Cyclops*. For Cyclops and Odysseus in Old Comedy and satyr play in general, see Mastromarco (1998); Casolari (2003) 179-57 and 209-11.

⁵² Biles and Olson (2015) 146-7.

⁵³ Arnott (1959) 177-8.

⁵⁴ See Dixon (2014); Collard et al. (1995) 98-120; Luppe (1990); Gregorio (1983); Webster (1967) 109-11. For gods' hating him, cf. *Il.* 6.200. For his fall from Pegasus, cf. Pind. *Isthm.* 7.43-8. For his getting injured after the fall, cf. *Ach.* 427-9. For the parody in *Pax*, see Ruffell (2011) 314-60; Telò (2010); Dobrov (2001) 89-104; Bowie (1993) 134-8; Rau (1967) 89-97.

the allusion to, or quotation of, a few lines.⁵⁵ And although it seems convenient to assume that the parody was rather more concentrated on the scenic effects than on the text,⁵⁶ this cannot be proven on the basis of the few surviving fragments. Even for the stagecraft, we can only make speculations about the original, like that ‘the tragic hero must have been carried off by Pegasus behind the *scaenae frons*, after which his disastrous fall was described to the audience in a messenger speech, rather than being allowed to land again on stage’.⁵⁷

What is in this case of particular importance is that Trygaeus succeeds in his journey in opposition to the tragic hero – claiming thus the superiority of comedy. Driven by a collective motive (*ὑπὲρ Ἑλλήνων πάντων πέτομαι*, 97), and not by a personal one like Bellerophon, he reaches Olympus riding his giant dung-beetle, in order to complain to Zeus about destroying (‘sweeping away’, 55) the Greeks with war. The specific substitute for Pegasus, the giant dung-beetle, is chosen as a symbol of the corruption and unnaturalness of wartime Athens.⁵⁸ However, the explanation that Trygaeus gives for its use, is that the dung-beetle alone has ever managed to reach Olympus, according to Aesop (127-134). Here, in order to justify the paradoxical use of a (tragic) *mythos*, Aristophanes employs another type of widespread popular narrative, which was also commonly designated as a *mythos* by the ancient Greeks — viz., a fable. According to the fable referred to by Trygaeus, an eagle once offended a beetle, and the beetle in response broke the eagle’s eggs; then the eagle nested in Zeus’s lap to lay its eggs safely, but the beetle followed it and pestered Zeus, so that the god leaped up and smashed the eagle’s eggs.⁵⁹ Thus, strictly speaking, it was the eagle that went to Olympus first, not the beetle; this is why Trygaeus does not tell the whole fable, because it does not actually serve him (no less than because the fable would be well known). Of course, given that Trygaeus goes to Olympus to defend a right claim, the wicked eagle would not fit.

Here there is a paradox that scholarship has failed to address hitherto: even though the dung-beetle represents in most distasteful terms the abnormality of war, at the same time it becomes the vehicle (literally) of elevation, pacification, and purification. Therefore, it is perhaps more plausible that the primary function of the beetle lies with its scenic and parodic effect, rather than with some political allegory. In this respect, instead of reversing the audience’s expectation outright – that the rider will fall and not reach his destination – Aristophanes chooses to create suspense: the beetle does not take off firmly, as Pegasus must have had, but wavers as it smells ‘scrumptious shit’, endangering its rider (150-2). And then, when they eventually reach Olympus and Trygaeus hears the news from Hermes (196-7), ‘what more striking substitution could there be for Bellerophon’s tragic punishment at the hands of Zeus than the glaring absence of the gods, an abandoned Olympos?’⁶⁰ This wavering between mythic expectation and its reversal is exemplified in the dung-beetle itself, and in the names

⁵⁵ 76≈ E.fr. 306; 154-5≈ E.fr.307; 722≈ E.fr.312. There are also lines from *Stheneboia* (126≈E. fr.669.5) and *Aiolos* (119≈E.fr.18).

⁵⁶ E.g. Ruffell (2011) 320.

⁵⁷ Olson (1998) xxxiv.

⁵⁸On the significance of scatology vs fragrance in the two halves of the play, as well as of homosexual vs heterosexual sex, see Henderson (1991) 62-6; Whitman (1964) 109-10.

⁵⁹ fab. 3 Perry; Vit.Aesp. 135-9 Perry; Σ 129-30 (with some variations). Also used at *Ves.* 1446-8 and *Lys.* 695.

⁶⁰ Dobrov (2001) 100.

given to it by Trygaeus throughout the scene: first *κάνθων* (82), then *Πήγασε* (154),⁶¹ but eventually a *ἵπποκάνθαρος* (181). So, in fact, it is not the Aesopic beetle that paradoxically replaces the Euripidean Pegasus, but the Aristophanic horse-size dung-beetle that replaces both of them by combing the two. If comedy manifests its differentiation from tragedy, it does so without identifying with other genres either.

Birds

With a plot resembling Gigantomachy, Titanomachy, and myths of city-foundation;⁶² with Tereus, Procne, Prometheus, Iris, Poseidon and Hercules as *dramatis personae*; with an invented avian theogony and cosmogony (465-521, 693-702); with two Aesopic fables (771-5, 651-3) and with a *ξουθός ἵππαλεκτρυών* (800),⁶³ *Birds* is the comedy most permeated by myth among the extant comedies (along with *Frogs*) – so much so that there is an entire monograph on the topic.⁶⁴

Tereus's presence is explicitly a parody of the Sophoclean version of the relevant myth in the lost tragedy *Tereus*: *τοιαῦτα μέντοι Σοφοκλέης λυμαίνεται | ἐν ταῖς τραγωδίαισιν ἐμὲ τὸν Τηρέα* (100-1). The legend was as follows: the Thracian king Tereus raped his sister-in-law Philomela and cut off her tongue in order for her not to reveal the deed to her sister and his wife, Procne. However, Philomela depicted her rape through a woven tapestry and Procne, in revenge, chopped and served to Tereus their son Itys. On realizing what he had just eaten, Tereus pursued the sisters with a spear, until the gods intervened and transformed all three of them into birds: a hawk (Tereus), a nightingale (Procne), and a swallow (Philomela).⁶⁵ It was Sophocles who invented (and established) Tereus's transformation into a crested hoopoe, instead of a hawk.⁶⁶ The three metamorphoses were reported in the final *rhexis* of the play (fr. 581 Radt) and, conceivably, the actors appeared motionless on the *ekkyklema* with some kind of avian accoutrement, like crests or feathers.⁶⁷ So Aristophanes had to compete with an already unusual and scenically elaborate imagery and, as if he ostentatiously wanted to prove that comedy is unrivalled in paradoxicality, he stretched or reversed every aspect of the tragic myth. First of all, he made the 'snapshot' of the metamorphosis a permanent situation: stuck in the conventions of tragedy, which is too serious to dress the characters as proper animals, Tereus remained a miserable hybrid, neither a man nor a hoopoe. He has a triple crest (94), a beak (99), plucked plumage (94, 103-4), and he lives among the birds. At the same time, he speaks (Attic, even though a Thracian), has taught the birds how to speak (199-200; rather an irony for someone who cut off someone else's

⁶¹ The verb *βουκολήσεται* (153) does apply to horses; cf. *Il.*20.221.

⁶² For these structural patterns, see Bowie (1993) 151-77; Dunbar (1995) 7-9.

⁶³ Taken from Aesch. *Myrmidons* (fr. 134).

⁶⁴ Hofmann (1976).

⁶⁵ Cf. *Lys.*564; Aesch. *Supp.*58-67. 'The later Roman mythographers [Ovid's *Metamorphoses*] somewhat absurdly inverted the transformation of the two sisters, making Procne the swallow and the tongueless Philomela the songstress nightingale', Frazer (1921): 100. Also, later sources speak of an axe instead of a spear (Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.14.8).

⁶⁶ Cf. Aesch. *Hik.* 63; Hyg. *Fab.*45; Pearson, *Fragments of Sophocles* 224. For some explanations of this replacement, Dunbar (1995) 140-1.

⁶⁷ Dobrov (2001) 115. However, a painted tableau could also have been used. Entirely on Sophocles's play, see Hourmouziades (1986); Stähler (2000); Fitzpatrick (2001); Hofmann (2006); Luppe (2007); Coe (2013); Finglass (2016).

tongue), he has a servant, and uses a bowl and a spoon to eat (78).⁶⁸ Procne is also a hybrid: she is referred as *τοῦρνίθιον* (667) and *ᾧ φίλτατον ὀρνέων πάντων...ἀηδοῖ* (677-9), bearing a *ρύγχος* (672), but at the same time she is summoned as *Πρόκνη* (665), is treated in erotic terms appropriate for humans (*ἐγὼ διαμηρίζοιμ' ἄν αὐτήν*, 669; *κἂν φιλήσαι μοι δοκῶ*, 671), and plays the flute (683); *ᾧσον δ' ἔχει τὸν χρυσόν* (670) either refers to her wearing jewellery or is a pun for the female genital, both cases referring to a human characteristic.⁶⁹ In contrast to Tereus and to the Sophoclean intertext, where Procne was the protagonist, here she is a mute character and lives with Tereus in love (*τὴν ἐμὴν ἀηδόνα*, 203; *ἄγε σύννομέ μοι*, 203). Her crime, as well as Tereus's crime, are passed over in silence: the lamentation of Itys is mentioned (212) but not explained; no word of Philomela. From a cruel tyrant, Tereus becomes a nice and helpful friend; from a ruthless revenger, Procne becomes a charming entertainer; from a means of divine punishment, the transformation into birds becomes something to covet for Peisetairos and Euelpides; all in all, a total reversal of the myth. As for the invention of Tereus's bird-servant, whose appearance causes terror to the two Athenians (61, 65, 68), and his introduction as a prelude to the entrance of Tereus on stage, the most appropriate analysis was given by Gelzer: 'By this duplication Aristophanes is able, without adding anything new and by the mere parallelism of the process, to use expectations, aroused by the fact that apparently exactly the same is going to happen again, to delude and surprise his spectators, making them anticipate by analogy what is in fact *not* going to happen: in the repetition of the pattern the king appears *unsummoned* and his appearance is the *opposite* of frightful... and yet the same items are used: the door, the bird's costume, the beak... It is precisely through all this repetition that the audience's expectations are deluded and surprised.'⁷⁰

In order to persuade the birds about their ancient origin and reign, supposedly dating before the Olympians, and the Titans, and the earth (468-9), Peisetairos employs a series of *τεκμήρια* (482), all of which are in fact comic inventions. The claims that the rooster was the first king of Persia, the hawk of Greece, and the cuckoo of Egypt and Phoenicia are supported via wordplay, proverbs, the appearance of these birds, or people's reactions to them (e.g. people waking up with the cry of the rooster denotes their obedience to his rule). Moreover, the fact that several kings and gods have a bird sitting on their sceptre or crown indicates according to Peisetairos the birds' royal status, but fails to explain their antecedence. As for the fable attributed here to Aesop, that the first bird in the world, the Lark, buried its father within its head, since the earth did not exist yet (471-5), we cannot appreciate to what extent Aristophanes adapted or appropriated this fable. It is however certain that he did not invent it.⁷¹ Conceivably, a fable could speak of a Lark burying its father in its head for some reason (cf. Zeus devouring Metis), but such a pragmatic justification, as there being no burial land, must be a comic addition. In any case, the fact that the first bird ever is said to have had a

⁶⁸ Dobrov *op. cit.*; On Tereus, see also Koenen (1959); Hoffman (1976) 71-9; Griffith (1987); Holmes (2011).

⁶⁹ Dunbar (1995) *ad loc.* On the physical appearance of the nightingale-piper, see Romer (1983).

⁷⁰ Gelzer (1996) 200.

⁷¹ [Note by the reviewer:] Aelian (*Nat. Anim.* 16.5) cites a similar Indian aetiological fable about the hoopoe and its crest. There are also parallel fables in Rabbinic Jewish literature. Indian mythographers and Jewish rabbis may well have taken material from the Greek fabulistic tradition, but they are unlikely to have read Aristophanes. It must be assumed that there was originally a Greek aetiological fable about the lark, which spread towards Israel and India and which was comically adapted by Aristophanes in *Birds*. See Schirru (2009) 103-8; Dijk (1997) 197-200; Adrados (1990) 223.

father is paradoxical in its own right. Apart from serving the advancing of the comic plot, i.e. to take the birds into partnership, this ornithological genealogy works as a parody of well-known techniques of oratory —blandishing the audience about their nobility and invoking glaringly unfounded arguments as *τεκμήρια*.⁷²

Not surprisingly, the birds are persuaded, change their prior attitude, and agree to follow Peisetairos’s plans (and so do the gullible Athenians in reality, the poet seems to comment). But surprisingly, even though they had no knowledge of their glorious past until a few lines ago (470), now they ‘put on airs’ and narrate with great authority (*προσέχετε τὸν νοῦν... ἴν’ ἀκούσαντες πάντα παρ’ ἡμῶν ὀρθῶς...*, 688–90) an avian cosmogony which Peisetairos never actually taught them! Of course, one would say that since we are in the parabasis, the chorus is omniscient. But this explanation ignores the inherently paradoxical context: this is the first (as far as we can tell) non-parabatic parabasis in Aristophanes. The birds do step forward – which is what parabasis technically means – addressing the audience, but they are not speaking on behalf of the poet on matters relating to the contest or to current politics.⁷³ They are not supposed to be omniscient here. Their cosmology is a parodic concoction of Orphic cosmogonies,⁷⁴ presocratic philosophy (Empedocles and perhaps Epimenides), and mainly of Hesiod’s *Theogony* (116 ff.)⁷⁵

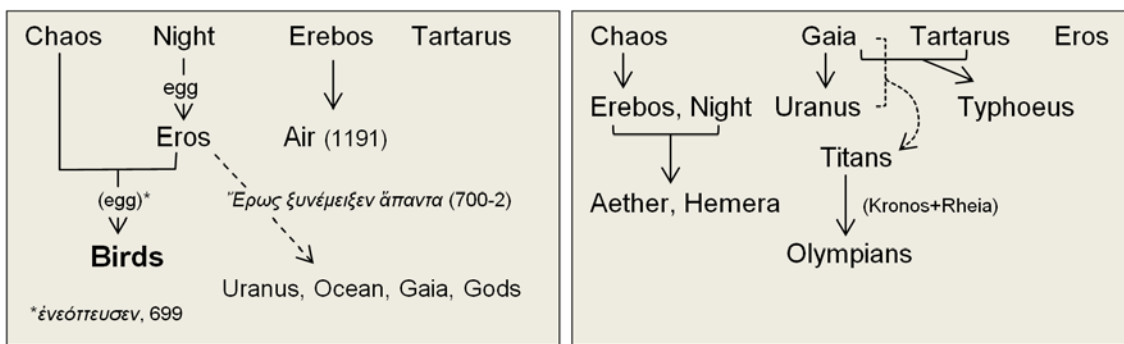


Fig. 2. A schematic comparison of Aristophanes’s cosmogony (left frame) and Hesiod’s *Theogony* (right frame).

Even though the concept of a cosmic egg was probably not unknown, its introduction into the otherwise Hesiodic model (where there is no egg), its duplication (both Night and Eros appear to lay eggs), and the attribution of wings to Chaos (*Χάει πτερόεντι*, 698) are certainly Aristophanes’s innovations. Eros, who remains inactive in Hesiod’s narrative, here becomes the father of the birds, and Night becomes their ‘grandmother’. Both entities are traditionally winged (*Νύξ ἡ μελανόπτερος*, 695; *στίλβων νῶτον πτερύγοιν*

⁷² From a different perspective, Kanavou (2011: 392–400) reads it as a satire of myths themselves (of traditional genealogies, city-foundation stories, and eponymous heroes).

⁷³ An implicitly ‘parabatic’ moment in the play is 1274–5 (*στεφάνω σε χρυσῶ τῷδε σοφίας οὔνεκα | στεφανοῦσι καὶ τιμῶσιν οἱ πάντες λεῶ.*), said by the herald to Peisetairos, which is also appropriate for the poet who is about to win the first prize.

⁷⁴ [Note by the reviewer:] There are solid indications that the egg concept goes back to fifth-century Orphic theogony and was known to the author of the Derveni papyrus. See West (1984) 70–71, 86–87, 101–106, 111–112, 178–183, 198–203, 230; Kouremenos *et al.* (2006) 20–31. However, for a fourth-century author, the concept of a cosmic egg was not necessarily connected to Orphism; Betegh (2004) 148–9.

⁷⁵ For a detailed analysis, see Dunbar (1995) 437 ff. For a full diagram of Hesiod’s *Theogony*, see Lattimore (1959) 222–6.

χρυσαῖν, 697),⁷⁶ thus being appropriate as the birds' ancestors. In this context, Ἔρωσ ὁ ποθεινός (696) seems a most intentional phonologic pun for Ἔρωσ ὁ πετεινός.⁷⁷ At the same time, in addition to his winged nature, Eros is a central concept for the play. He is the force that led Peisetairos and Euelpides towards the birds (ἔρωσ βίου διαίτης τε καὶ... ξυνοικεῖν τέ... καὶ ξυνεῖναι, 412-5). And again, after Nephelokokkygia is established, the birds brag that κατέχουσι δ' ἔρωτες ἐμᾶς πόλεως [sc. ἀνθρώπους] (1316). In the exodus, ὁ δ' ἀμφιθαλῆς Ἔρωσ is invoked during the marriage of Peisetairos with Basileia (1737-41). Even here, as part of the cosmogony, the deified Eros is referenced just after Procne's dance, which has sparked the sexual and romantic interest of the viewers (667-84). Therefore, apart from being an appropriate (in so far as he is winged) ancestor of the birds, Eros exemplifies that 'love is in the air' throughout the play.⁷⁸

Lysistrata

In this comedy, *eros* is exclusively a sexual term, and in what is a fundamental paradox, *eros* is omnipresent (as an instinct) through its total absence (as an act).⁷⁹ Appropriated mythology is once again employed, with Lysistrata praying (551-4):

Λυσ. ἄλλ' ἤνπερ ὁ <τε> γλυκύθυμος Ἔρωσ χῆ Κυπρογένει' Ἀφροδίτη
ἤμερον ἡμῖν κατὰ τῶν κόλπων καὶ τῶν μηρῶν καταπνεύσει,
κατ' ἐντέξει τέτανον τερπνὸν τοῖς ἀνδράσι καὶ ῥοπαλισμούς,
οἷμαί ποτε Λυσιμάχας ἡμᾶς ἐν τοῖς Ἑλλησι καλεῖσθαι.

Traditionally, Eros – appearing in various forms – either paralyses or shakes people's entire body or strikes their hearts and minds (καρδίαν, θυμὸν, φρένας).⁸⁰ Here Lysistrata becomes more explicit and realistic: *eros* strikes with the spasms of erection (τέτανον τερπνὸν makes an oxymoron),⁸¹ and with 'bludgeon-dicks' (a *hendiadys* – so unrestrained is the drive). Even though the physiology of sex is not something unknown, the grotesque obscenity within a prayer of otherwise pious language (Κυπρογένει', καταπνεύσει) is a paradox. One of the most popular mythical examples of this kind of pathology is Menelaus's love at first sight of Helen (155-6):

Λαμπ. ὁ γῶν Μενέλαος τᾶς Ἑλένας τὰ μᾶλά πα
γυμνᾶς παραφιδῶν ἐξέβαλ', οἶῶ, τὸ ξίφος

⁷⁶ Cf. 574 (Νίκη πέτεται πτερύγοιν χρυσαῖν καὶ νῆ Δί' Ἔρωσ γε.); 1737-8 (Ἔρωσ χρυσόπτερος). See Christopoulos (2010).

⁷⁷ Note the alliteration of τ throughout the period.

⁷⁸ On the role of *eros* in *Birds*, see Arrowsmith (1973).

⁷⁹ Of course, the fact that men could have sex with their hetaerae, pornai, or male lovers is ignored, as is also masturbation and the women's possibility to use slaves and dildos (107-10), in order for the sex strike to have a point. See Dover (1972) 160; *idem* (1993) 40; Henderson (1980) 177.

⁸⁰ οὐ γὰρ πῶ ποτέ μ' ὤδέ γ' ἔρωσ φρένας ἀμφεκάλυψεν (Il.3.442; cf.14.294). Cf. Archil. 191 (as fog), Sappho 47 (as wind), Sappho 130 (as snake; note the sensational oxymoron λυσιμέλης δόνει, 'Eros the limb-paralyser is shaking me'), Ibykos 286 (as lightning), Eur. *Tr.* 255 and *IA* 547-51 (as archer). Eros's association with honey is later (Theocr. *Idyll* 19, cf. Anacreont. 28). See Calame (1999).

⁸¹ Henderson (1987) *ad loc.*

Even though the scholia *ad loc.* maintain that *Little Ilias* (fr. 28 West) had the same version, the claim that Helen's breasts caused Menelaos to drop his sword is attested for the first time in Eur. *Andr.* 628-30: οὐκ ἔκτανες γυναῖκα χειρίαν λαβών, | ἀλλ', ὡς ἐσεῖδες μαστόν, ἐκβαλὼν ξίφος | φίλημ' ἐδέξω.⁸² Of course, it is highly possible that *Andromache* was first performed outside Athens (ca 425 BC),⁸³ but it could still have become familiar to the Athenians in the late 410s BC, conceivably through a re-performance. In any case, whether originating from epic, melic, or tragic poetry, or from vase-painting, the detail of the breasts was already known and would certainly have been more paradoxical to hear in high-register poetry rather than here, in comedy. Instead of paradoxical appropriation, Aristophanes here aims at the dramaturgical adaptation of the myth: Helen's example is cited by the Spartan Lampito – herself a woman with impressive breasts (ὡς δὴ καλὸν τὸ χρῆμα τιθίων ἔχεις, 83) – by way of bragging about the 'legendary boobs' of her native land.



The Persephone Painter (Greek, Attic), Bell Krater; Front: Helen fleeing from Menelaos, 440-430 B.C., earthenware, H: 12 13/16 in. (32.5 cm); Diam (lip): 14 25/32 in. (37.5 cm); Diam (foot): 7 3/32 in. (18 cm), The Toledo Museum of Art, Purchased with funds from the Libbey Endowment, Gift of Edward Drummond Libbey, 1967.154. Even though the motif of Menelaos's dropping his sword was very popular, here alone is combined with Helen's (semi)nudity.⁸⁴

A second mythical exemplum, that of Tereus, is employed to allude to another aspect of the pathology of sex drive: to sexual abuse.⁸⁵ Lysistrata complains to Prodicus that soldiers come to the market dressed in full armour – a ridiculous outfit for this place – and misbehave (ἀγοράζοντας καὶ μαινομένους, 556). Most of the examples she provides

⁸² For Menelaos's dropping his sword at the sight of Helen's beauty, in general, cf. Eur. *Or.* 1287; Ibykus 296; Stesichorus 201. For Helen's breasts, see Maguire (2009) 52-5.

⁸³ Σ on *Andr.* 445. See Allan (2000) 149-60.

⁸⁴ Cf. LIMC iv: *Helene* 260-277.

⁸⁵ Aeschin. *In Tim.* 191 attributes a series of crimes, from robbery to *coups d'état*, to unrestrained physical pleasures.

are indeed funny (557-562) but the last one, about a Thracian mercenary, is ambivalent (563-4):

ἕτερος δ' <αὖ> Θραῖξ πέλτην σείων κάκόντιον ὥσπερ ὁ Τηρεύς,
ἐδεδίττετο τὴν ἰσχαδόπωλιν καὶ τὰς δρυπεπεῖς κατέπινεν.

Tereus was not only a Thracian and an armed persecutor, which is the superficial reason why the mercenary is compared to him, but was also a rapist. As for *πέλτην σείων κάκόντιον*, it can well be understood as a *double entendre* for the man waving his erected genitalia (cf. the *ρόπαλισμούς* mentioned just a few lines above (553) and a *δόρυ* in place of an erected penis in 985). Secondly, even though the usual metaphor for the female genitalia was *σῦκον / συκῆ* (*Pax* 1350, Archil. 331W), *ἰσχάς*, the dried fig, was used by Hipponax (124) to indicate the ‘cunt’ and could also mean the ‘anus’.⁸⁶ Thus a *ἰσχαδόπωλις*, ‘fig seller’, can be understood as implying a mature prostitute or a bawd. And *δρυπεπεῖς* was definitely understood in this way (cf. Ar. fr 140: ὦ πρεσβῦτα, πότερα φιλεῖς τὰς δρυπεπεῖς ἐταίρας | ἦ <σὺ> τὰς ὑποπαρθένους, ἀλμάδας ὡς ἐλάας, | στιφράς;). Therefore, through the funny incident of a swashbuckler stealing and devouring figs in the market, the appropriated myth and the ambiguous vocabulary allude to stories of coarse exploitation of women. ‘Although prostitution was state regulated, prostitutes and hetairai were still abused by male clients. Paintings on cups showed men abusing and beating them with sandals and sticks. Vase paintings depicted men kicking prostitutes and pulling them by the hair.’⁸⁷

But far from denouncing such behaviour, *Lysistrata* duplicates it, presenting us with mutual abuse between the two sexes. If Tereus exemplifies male violence, an Aesopic fable is used to exemplify female violence, with the old women’s semichorus threatening the old men’s semichorus as follows (691-5):

ὡς εἰ καὶ μόνον κακῶς <μ’> ἐρεῖς, ὑπερχολῶ γάρ,
αιετὸν τίκτοντα κἀνθαρός σε μαιεύσομαι.

The allusion is to the fable discussed above in connection to *Peace*, about the beetle’s revenge on eagle by making Zeus to break its eggs. With this intertext, “I’ll midwife you” is a euphemism for “I’ll smash your eggs”. However, I find hard to agree with Sommerstein’s and Henderson’s certainty that “I’ll smash your eggs” points to the men’s testicles,⁸⁸ firstly because there is no parallel for this metaphor, however evident it might seem (as the former admits); secondly because the usual threat was to tear off one’s testicles, not to smash them;⁸⁹ last but not least, because “I’ll smash your eggs” is in itself something implied, so that “I’ll smash your testicles” would be a second-level implication – probably hard to be decoded in the course of oral speech.⁹⁰ In any case, the fable is well chosen, since the beetle that overpowers the eagle suits the women’s ostensible inferiority to – and eventual victory over – men. The suitability of this fable is also explained in connection with, and as a continuation of, the previous exemplum of Tereus: it fictionalizes the afterlife of Tereus and Procne as winged animals (even though not a hoopoe and a nightingale, but an eagle and a beetle) and redresses the balance

⁸⁶ Henderson (1991) § 122 with n.137.

⁸⁷ Tetlow (2005) 80-81. For such iconography see Keuls (1993) 174-86.

⁸⁸ Sommerstein (1990) *ad loc.*; Henderson (1991) §83 and (1987) *ad loc.*

⁸⁹ Cf. 363; *Eq.* 772; *Pl.* 312; 955-6.

⁹⁰ *μαιεύομαι* usually applies to the birth of mammals and ideas (the Socratic method).

between them. If the eagle's initial offending of the beetle corresponds to Philomela's rape, and the beetle's first breaking of the eagle's eggs corresponds to the murder of Itys, then the second 'smashing of eggs' conceptualizes that Procne is not just crying for her Itys passively in her afterlife,⁹¹ but she takes revenge on Tereus eternally – not only for the rape, but for also attempting to kill her.

This technique, which is here called by the term of 'responsive' or 'antiphonal' myths, is clearly used, for the first time in Aristophanes, in the second stasimon:

Χο. Γε. μῦθον βούλομαι λέξαι τιν' ὑμῖν... (782)

Χο. Γυ. κἀγὼ βούλομαι μῦθόν τιν' ὑμῖν ἀντιλέξαι... (805)

The old men's semichorus invokes, as an example to imitate, Melanion, a man who hated women so much that decided to live in the wilderness as a huntsman forever (785-95). In response, the old women's semichorus reports the story of Timon, who hated the evil men (only the evil ones, not all men) but loved women (805-20). However, both tales are appropriated according to the interests of each side: 'Melanion was famously the lover and suitor of Atalanta; he did indeed stay in the countryside, but with Atalanta. Timon is not known to have had time for anyone, male or female.'⁹² Conceivably, by citing legends like these, Aristophanes wanted to test his audience's readiness to perceive a paradox. If the parox is not perceived (because, for instance, Melanion's story was not well-known), the debate between the two semichoruses seems valid; if it was perceived on the other hand, the audience would laugh. In both cases, this would be a good result for the poet. Viewing the passage under this light, we can say that Aristophanes's insistence to characterise these tales as real *μῦθοι* (782, 805; and indeed, in the first occasion, *μῦθον... ὃν ποτ' ἤκουσ' αὐτὸς ἔτι παῖς ὄν*) is a misleading deixis, a playful puzzle for his well-versed spectators. The paradox lies not only in the appropriation of the myths, but also in the very labelling of the generated stories as 'myths'. As for the antiphonal arrangement, a first attempt at this pattern can be traced in the first stasimon of *Knights*, where the chorus evokes Poseidon in the strophe (551-63) and Athena in the antistrophe (581-4). In evoking the contest of the two gods for the patronship of Athens, one could reasonably link Paphlagon to the former and the Sausage-Seller to the latter god, in a way that the myth becomes a prelude of the comic agon.⁹³ Be that as it may, in *Knights* there are no antiphonal semichoruses (but a single united chorus), no incorporation of the myth in the characters' arguments, and no paradoxical appropriation.

Thesmophoriazusae

Appropriation of tragic myth is the *raison d'être* of this play, with its second half being a collage of parodies of Euripides's *Telephus* (687 f.), *Palamedes* (770 f.), *Helen* (850 f.), *Andromeda* (1011 f.) and perhaps the *Cyclops* (1200 f.). Aristophanes's mastery is especially shown in the first one of these parodies, in the way in which he differentiates it from – and makes it more paradoxical than – the *Telephus* parody in *Acharnians*. It is not, of course, simply that he replaces the basket of charcoal with a sack of wine. In *Acharnians*, Dikaiopolis tried to deceive the chorus by telling them that he would slay their 'beloved

⁹¹ Cf. Aesch. *Ag.* 1140–5.

⁹² Bowie (2007) 198. For Melanion and Atalanta, cf. Xen. *Cyn.* 1.7; Apollod. 3.9.2. For Timon as a legendary misanthrope (whether a historical or a proverbial figure), cf. *Av.* 1549; Phryn. *Com.* 19. For Timon in *Lys.* see Hawkins (2001). Aristophanes had written both a *Timon* and a *Melanion*.

⁹³ Bowie (1993) 69–71.

ones' (τοὺς φιλιτάτους 326) and they reasonably took this to mean a παιδίον (329) instead of a basket of charcoal. Here, it is the protagonist who gets deceived by the chorus. The in-law truly believes that he is holding an actual baby and he is surprised when he unwraps it: *τουτι τί ἐστίν; ἀσκὸς ἐγένεθ' ἢ κόρη | οἴνου πλέως* (733-4). As for the reaction of the two choruses, in both plays they participate in the illusion (since they lament for an object as if it were a human being) but in opposite ways. The Acharnians, as already noted, recognize the basket as such. In *Thesmophoriazousae*, Mika (the mother) and the women's chorus insist on calling the wine-sack a baby (690, 706), even after the in-law has discovered its true nature (744, 754), and even after it is 'slain' (761). Moreover, the wine-sack replaces not any kind of baby but, specifically, a daughter in specific (κόρη 733, τὴν παῖδα 761) instead of a boy like Orestes – another misleading *deixis*. In this case, of course, the poet's intention was not to test his audience's knowledge of the myth – which was widely known from many sources – but to repeat the comic aphorism that women are drunkards; if wine runs in the arteries of this baby instead of blood (694), it is certainly a girl. Yet the most unexpected element is that, contrary to the myth, to the tragedies, and to *Acharnians*, here the petitioner does slay the hostage, spilling its 'blood' on the altar.⁹⁴ The slaughter (ἀποσφαγήσεται 750), the insistence that the 'victim' is a girl, and the fact that it is a goatskin (δέρμα 758) may infer to another myth: Iphigenia being slain like a calve (Aesch. *Ag.* 232) or a fawn being slain in her place (Eur. *IT* 28; *IA* 1587). It must be clarified that there *is* coherence with the Telephus myth, if we consider that Iphigenia is Orestes's sister, thus a legitimate substitute for the hostage baby. If we are right in dating *IT* to 414 – 412 BC,⁹⁵ an allusion to it in *Thesm.* (411 BC) becomes more plausible, even though the merge of the girl and the sacrificial animal into a single entity rather echoes the Aeschylean version. Comedy is once more claiming its dramaturgical superiority over tragedy (it 'dares' to show on stage events that tragedy only reports through messengers) and its proximity to realism as in comic stage, miraculous rescues are not an option.⁹⁶

This latter point is especially emphasized by the parody of *Palamedes*. Accused by Odysseus for conspiracy against Agamemnon, Palamedes was executed while in Troy, and his brother Oiax reported the news to their father Nauplios in Euboea by inscribing them on oars which he threw in the sea, so that their father would prepare their revenge.⁹⁷ The in-law attempts to imitate Oiax,⁹⁸ but as he soon realises such stage-properties are not simply lying around in normal life,⁹⁹ so he grabs some wooden tablets (dedications) from the altar beside. His difficulty with carving ρ, while trying to write *Euripides* according to the scholia, increases the bathos. This is necessary, because the original mythical model is so paradoxically successful (an oar flowing from Troy to Euboea and reaching its addressee), that only a total failure (not even having the proper

⁹⁴ For the famous depiction of the scene in the Apulian bell-krater by the Schiller Painter, ca 370 BC (Würzburg, Martin von Wagner Museum H 5697), see Kossatz-Deissmann (1980); Csapo (1986); Taplin (1987) 102-5; Austin and Olson (2004) lxxv-lxxvii.

⁹⁵ Cropp (2000) 60; Kyriakou (2006) 39-41.

⁹⁶ On the parody of *Telephus* in this comedy, see also Miller (1948); Rau (1967) 42-50; Farmer (2017) 167-72.

⁹⁷ *Cypria* arg. and fr. 27 West; Pindar fr. 260; Σ on *Thesm.* 770. Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Astydamos II also had a *Palamedes* of their own. For Euripides's play, see Webster (1967) 174-6; Scodel (1980) 43-63; Kovacs (1997); Mariscal and Presentación (2007). For the parody here, Rau (1967) 51-3; Farmer (2017) 172-4.

⁹⁸ ὡς ἐκεῖνος (770) does not refer to Palamedes, even though it comes immediately after his name, but to his brother ('the man I'm thinking of, cf. *Ach.* 428; Austin and Olson *ad loc.*)

⁹⁹ Bowie (1993) 222.

supplies for the plan to start) could compete with it. The replacement of oars with small tablets could very well be a meta-theatrical allusion. The judges of the dramatic competitions casted their votes by inscribing the name of their favourite competitor on a tablet (ἔγραψε μὲν ταῦτα εἰς τὸ γραμματεῖον, *Lys.* 4.3.3).¹⁰⁰ Even though we have no information on whether the *γραμματεῖα* were wooden, clay, or stone, and even though the tablets here, the dedications, are initially called *ἀγάλματα* (773), the overall wording is tempting: *ρίψω γράφων* (771), *γράφων διαρρίπτουμι* (774), and especially *πινάκων ξεστῶν δέλτοι* (778). The in-law can be seen as dispersing the ballots for the judges to find, in which case the *ρ* must come from *Aristophanes*, the winner's name.

Both in the parody of the *Telephus* and that of *Palamedes*, the in-law performs a one-man show, appropriating a single scene from the tragedies (the hostage, the oars), and the chorus and Mika participate in the illusion. In the following parodies of the *Helen* and the *Andromeda*,¹⁰¹ both produced the year before *Thesm.*, exactly the opposite happens. 'Euripides' becomes a deuteragonist, playing Teukros and Menelaus in the first case, and Echo and Perseus in the second; the parodies are not 'photographic' but combine several (appropriated) scenes, restaging *Helen* and *Andromeda* in fast-forward, and in contrast to Mika, Kritylla and the Skythian archer are not deceived by the in-law (862-3; 1111-2). Reversing the Euripidean original, Aristophanes's 'Helen' is not a dynamic woman, 'Menelaus' is not a dolt, and 'Theonoe' (supposed to be played by Kritylla; 897-8) is not an ally.¹⁰² The couple's *anagnorisis* is perfunctory, and most importantly their escape plan fails, as happens also with the parody of *Andromeda*. For this latter case we cannot assess the characterological and structural paradoxes since we miss the original,¹⁰³ but things are better on the level of form and stagecraft. In the first part of the parody, while anticipating the arrival of Euripides, the in-law/Andromeda reaches such a degree of desperation that he confuses his identities, mixing male and female adjectives and pronouns; in 1022-38 alone: *τὸν πολυστονώτατον βροτῶν... κώλοὸν ἄφιλον... / ἔστηκ' ἔχουσ'[α]... ἐμπεπλεγμένη / μέλεος, ὃ τάλας ἐγώ, τάλας*. The second part is a slanging match with 'Echo' – not a witty device indeed, but this is precisely what Aristophanes blames Euripides (the real one) for, concerning his decision to employ Echo as a *dramatis persona*. The last part is a homoerotic play between 'Perseus' and 'Andromeda' as a transvestite (1114-24). Whether Euripides/ Perseus entered on the *mechane*, as in the tragic original, is controversial, but Sommerstein offers a compelling case for him doing so.¹⁰⁴ However, this is not on the basis of *παρέπτετο* (1014) or *διὰ μέσου γὰρ αἰθέρος | τέμνων κέλευθον πόδα τίθημι' ὑπόπτερον* (1099-10), which can be mere exaggerations by the pretend-Euripides, but on the basis of dramatic technique. All previous parodies use a stage prop as a point of reference: the wine-sack / baby for *Telephus*, the wooden tablets

¹⁰⁰ On the judging system, see Pickard-Cambridge (1988) 95-9; Pope (1986); Csapo and Slater (1995) 157-65; Wilson (2000) 98-102 and 346-7 nn.222-37; Marshal and Van Willigenburg (2004); Todd (2007) 368-70.

¹⁰¹ On the parody of *Helen*, see Rau (1967) 56-65; Farmer (2017) 177-81. On the parody of *Andromeda*, see Rau (1967) 65-89, Mastromarco (2008), Major (2013), and Farmer (2017) 182-8. For the original *Andromeda*, see Webster (1967) 192-9; Bubel (1991); Wright (2005) *passim*; Bañuls Oller and Morenilla Talens (2008).

¹⁰² Austin and Olson (2004) lxi.

¹⁰³ At least, with regard to the Skythian archer who is sleeping by the captive in-law, until 'Echo' wakes him up with 'her' fuss (1007-81), I would suggest that he stands for the sea monster rather than for Andromeda's father Kepheus (as Austin and Olson (2004) lxiii).

¹⁰⁴ Cf. Sommerstein (1994) 229 and Prato (2001) 315. The use of the *mechane* in the original is attested by Pollux 4.128.7

/ oars for *Palamedes*, the altar / tomb for *Helen* (888). Likewise, the *mechane* would remind the audience of what they had seen a year ago, on the very same stage.

After all these unsuccessful attempts (or rehearsals, we could say), Euripides becomes a procuress in order to finally unchain his in-law, and offers a young girl to the Skythian, to put him out of the way. The Skythian asks the bawd's name, so that he can pay 'her' later:¹⁰⁵

To. ὄνομα δέ σοι τί ἐστίν;
 Eu. Ἀρτεμισία.
 To. μεμνήσι τοίνυν τοῦνομ' Ἀρταμουξία.

Ἀρταμουξία appears *παρὰ προσδοκίαν*; not so much for its juxtaposition with the proper *Ἀρτεμισία* as for its contradiction with the preceding assertion *μεμνήσι τοίνυν τοῦνομ(α)*. The Skythian returns and seeks for the bawd, running around the stage and calling her insistently with the wrong name (1213, 1216, 1222). This game with the fake identities and names alludes to Polyphemus's blinding by Odysseus, who had introduced himself as 'Mr. Nobody'. Given that *Thesm.* is a collage of parodies of Euripidean plays (*Telephus*, *Palamedes*, *Helen*, *Andromeda*), this final parody must allude to *Cyclops* (esp. 675-88) – and therefore we can take BC 411 as a *terminus ante quem* for the satyr play.¹⁰⁶ Imitating tragedians' trilogies, Aristophanes ends his own play with an embedded satyr-play.¹⁰⁷

Even though the second part of the comedy exclusively deals with tragic myth, there is also a cosmogonic myth at the very beginning of the play: the separation of the senses of sight and hearing during the creation of the animals (13-18). Any attempt to identify the Euripidean version, and the influence of specific philosophers in it, is abortive due to limited fragments from either side.¹⁰⁸ A parallel between this myth of separation of the senses that Aristophanes attributes to Euripides, and the myth of separation of the sexes that Plato (who was between 12 and 18 years old the year of *Thesm.*) ascribed to Aristophanes,¹⁰⁹ would tempt one to argue that the theory of the senses is more Aristophanic than truly Euripidean. But likewise, is the theory of the sexes truly Aristophanic or rather Platonic? At any case, we cannot appreciate the paradoxes in the myth itself (if any),¹¹⁰ but we can see a paradox in the manner in which it is incorporated into the play. The play begins with the in-law asking Euripides where they

¹⁰⁵ The average price for a hired *hetaira* in that time ranged from three obols to a drachma (*Thesm.* 1195; Antiph. 293.3; Pl. Com. 188.17), with the most expensive ones charging a stater (four drachmas, Theopomp. Com. 21) or more (like the Corinthian Lais in her prime; Epicr. 3.10-9). At the other end, common street *pornai* costed only an obol (one sixth of a drachma, Philem. 3.13). See Loomis (1998) 166-85.

¹⁰⁶ Ussher (1978: 24), who also noted the similarity, does not claim an influence. Austin and Olson (2004: lxiv) are more acquiescent. Wright (2006) dates *Cyclops* to BC 412. On the other hand, Dale (1969: 129) and Seaford (1984: 49-50) take BC 408 as *terminus post quem* – despite the fact that Seaford (1982: 161-8) had initially proposed the late 410s.

¹⁰⁷ Equally plausibly, Bowie (1993: 224-5) sees this final act as a comic coda, in the way of a comedy being performed after a tragic trilogy and a satyr play. See Pickard-Cambridge (1988) 66.

¹⁰⁸ For *Αἰθήρ* as an originator in Euripides, cf. Eur. fr. 839; for generation as a process of separation, cf. Eur. fr. 484; for Euripides's 'obsession' with *Αἰθήρ*, cf. *Thesm.* 51, 272, 1099; *Ran.* 892.

¹⁰⁹ *Symp.* 189c-193e. See i.a. Dover (1966); Eisner (1979); Saxonhouse (1985); Carnes (1998) 104-21; Dobson (2013).

¹¹⁰ The images of the sun as an eye and of the ears as funnels were commonplace. E.g. *ἀκτίς ἀελίου... ὃ χρυσέας ἀμέρας βλέφαρον* (Soph. *Ant.*100-4); *διὰ τῶν ὠτων ὥσπερ διὰ χώνης* (Pl. *Res.* 411a.6).

are going and Euripides replying ‘you don’t need to hear what you shall see soon’ (4-6) instead of ‘we are going to Agathon’, which is not revealed until 29. And then Euripides digresses into his para-philosophy. So his initial call for taciturnity and simplicity in fact leads to abundant chatter, perpetrated indeed by the admonisher himself.

Frogs

With Dionysus’s and Hercules’s descent to the underworld as background stories,¹¹¹ with the figures of these two gods plus Charon, Aeacus, and Pluto as *dramatis personae*, with the chorus of Iacchus’ initiates,¹¹² with the weighing of the tragic verses that resembles a *psychostasia* (*Il.* 22.208-13; Aesch. fr. 279-280a), with references to Theseus (142), to Empusa (288-96), to Oedipus (1188-94) and other mythic / tragic figures, this play is fundamentally linked to mythology, no less than *Birds*. In *Birds*, however, appropriated mythology performs a more dynamic function, given that the hoopoe’s past as Tereus justifies his role as a mediator, and the avian cosmogony becomes the catalyst for the realization of Peisetairos’s plan. Here mythology, though omnipresent, is dramaturgically in the background; it offers a setting, but not the plot. There is no doubt that the first half of the play is entirely a Dionysian drama, but this is a common comic theme (cf. Cratinus’s *Dionysalexandros* and Eupolis’s *Taxiarchoi*), not an interplay with mythology *per se*. Nor can we perceive the merge of opposite identities into Dionysus’s persona (male-female, beast-human-god, Herculean-Dionysian, primitive-civilized, cheerful-painful etc.) as a comic paradox, because this is precisely what Dionysus was in religion, vase painting, and tragic theatre as well: ‘a personified *Oxymoron*’.¹¹³ What comedy does is merely stretch these known qualities. In Riu’s most suitable words:

Dionysus favours the change of social roles, inversion, reversal: in comedy he walks and the slave rides. [...] Is he not the god of laughter, who can make his foe up as a woman to expose him to the laughter of the people? Now he is a buffoon accoutred in such an outlandish way that Heracles cannot stop laughing. [...] And if he has an effeminate look, comedy connects him in a series of equivocations with Clesthenes (48-9, 57). [...] Dionysus’ comic figure is, then, based on his serious figure, where what we might call the “comic reasoning” is applied.¹¹⁴

Even the scene of the alternate thrashing of Dionysus and Xanthias, conducted so that the real god is revealed (635 f.), can be seen as a comic *σπαραγμός*.¹¹⁵ In the same way,

¹¹¹ For the myth of Dionysus’s descent to save Semele, known in Aristophanes’s time, see Whitman (1964) 233-4. Both Dover (1993: 40) and Sommerstein (1996: 9 n44) note that an allusion to that myth would spoil the plot, i.e. Dionysus’s supposed ignorance of the underworld. For Dionysus and Hercules in comedy and satyr play, in general, see Casolari (2003) 112-26 and 249-92 respectively.

¹¹² Scholars have noticed that, but poorly explained why, Dionysus does not recognize himself as Iacchus, despite the fact that the two divinities were identified with each other in Aristophanes’s time (*Soph. Ant.* 1120-54; *Eur. Bacch.* 725) and the fact that Dionysus here accepts the chorus’ invitation, addressed to Iacchus, to join them (404-19). Dover (1993) 40; Sommerstein (1996) 184; Whitman (1964) 234. A very simple explanation is that Dionysus still tries to pass for Hercules, hence does not confirm that *he* is Iacchus.

¹¹³ Stanford (1958) xxix. See Lada-Richards (1999) 17-44, esp. 33, 43.

¹¹⁴ Riu (1999) 116-8.

¹¹⁵ A more obvious occasion is Aeacus’s threats (470-477: *διασπαράξει, διασπάσσονται*) but this remains on a verbal level. See Lada-Richards (1999) 94-7. *Σπαραγμός* was inflicted not only on

the assumption that Hercules, during his own descent to fetch Cerberus (467), had encountered ‘harbours, bakeries, brothels, rest areas, turnings, springs, streets, cities, restaurants, hostels with the fewest bedbugs’ (112-5) and had mistreated two innkeepers, eating all their stock without paying the bill (549-67), are perfectly in line with the stereotypical gluttony of Hercules,¹¹⁶ his libido,¹¹⁷ and intimidating behaviour.¹¹⁸

The limited paradoxicality in the usage of myth in the first half of the play is also seen in some passing references. Hercules informs Dionysus that he will have to pay a two-obol fee to get into Charon’s boat, and Dionysus, amazed at how ‘money makes the (under)world go round’, asks him how had money reach there. *Θησεὺς ἤγαγεν*, says Hercules (140-2), which alludes either to the *θεωρικόν* (the charge for admission to the theatre) or the *διωβελία* (a state subsidy for the poor).¹¹⁹ As for the trivial question why two-obols instead of one, which was the standard to put into corpses’ mouths,¹²⁰ Dover (*ad loc.*) writes that ‘to imagine that Hercules takes account of Xanthias as well as Dionysus [...] is to spoil the point of the joke’. However, in the light of the Theseus (and Peirithous) intertext, Dover’s rejected case seems the most legitimate interpretation.¹²¹ What is more important for our discussion here is that we have an adaptation rather than appropriation of the myth. Theseus had descended to the underworld with his best friend Peirithous in order to abduct Persephone, whom Peirithous wanted as a wife. Dionysus is also about to descend accompanied by someone else, Xanthias, in order to bring someone he feels *πόθος* about (53, 66). Therefore, even though the myth is *prima facie* evoked in order to explain the two-obol fee in a paradoxical way, its occurrence is contextually something fairly expected.

This is not to argue that *Frogs* is not paradoxical.¹²² But as far as myth is concerned, the exploitation of paradox seems to be limited to the second half of the play,

animals and Dionysus’s opponents (Lysurgus, Actaeon) and initiands (Pentheus), but also on Dionysus himself according to Orphism (e.g. Kern 34, 35, 210, 211, 214); Aristophanes’s familiarity with Orphism is also evident in *Birds*’ cosmogony.

¹¹⁶ Cf. *Ra* 63; *Ves.* 60; *Pax* 741; *Av.* 1583 f. For discussion, and examples from more comic poets, see Ath. 9.80-10.2; Wilkins (2000) 90-97; Hill (2011) 82-90.

¹¹⁷ ‘He was twice married, and for three years played the gigolo to Queen Omphale of Lydia. He consorted with Echidna [...] and sired the warlike Scythians. [...] Hercules was the guest of King Thesipus [who granted him] the right to sleep with all fifty of his daughters, a different daughter every night for fifty nights [(Diod. Sic. 4.29.2-3; Ath. 13.4; Apollod. 2.4.10)] or, in one version [(Paus. 9.27.7)], all fifty in one night.’ Austin (1990) 114.

¹¹⁸ See, for instance, Hercules’s ghost gripping his bow and horrifying the dead around (*Od.* 11.604-8); shooting his arrows against Helios (Pherecyd. *FGrH* 3 fr.18a; Apollod. 2.5.10); holding the Erymantian boar over King Eurystheus’s head and making him hide into a *pithos* (in sculpture and vase painting since 6th century; Diod. 4.12.2; Mitchel (2009) 121-3).

¹¹⁹ See Roselli (2009) 24-6. The only attested association of Theseus with money is his donation of a sum to the locals in Cyprus, in order to sacrifice and set two statues in honour of the dead Ariadne (Plut. *Thes.* 20.4).

¹²⁰ *AP* 7.67.6; 11.168.6; Luc. *Luct.* 10; *Dial. Mort.* 2.1. See Stevens (1991).

¹²¹ Other proposed explanations are a wartime inflation or a return ticket.

¹²² In fact, *Frogs* is inherently paradoxical: *κρίνας παρὰ προσδοκίαν ὁ Διώνυσος τὸν Αἰσχύλον νικᾶν, [...] ἀνέρχεται* (hypothesis 1); *παρὰ προσδοκίαν τοῦτον λαβὼν ἀλλ’ οὐκ Εὐριπίδην, αὐθις ἐς τοὺς ζῶντας ἀνέρχεται* (hypothesis 4). Apart from Dionysus’s final decision, the contest itself has some surprising features; see Dover (1993) 7. Moreover, ‘the whole quest is paradoxical – to journey into death to find a life-giving poet, and to find the vivifying cultural principle in a voice which had been silent for fifty years’ Whitman (1964) 257. Regarding the scatology in the play, one cannot omit ‘the evident paradox that Aristophanes’s own play (half-) exploits the routines which Xanthias suggests are typical of inferior playwrights (13f.)’ Halliwell (2014) 191.

where *tragic* myth enters the debate (literally). The most striking example is Aeschylus's lament over a lost rooster (1331-64), which he credits to, or better blames on Euripides. We cannot tell whether this is an *ad hoc* invention of a paratragic myth, an appropriation of a Euripidean scene from a lost play,¹²³ or a borrowing directly from a comedy. We can only appreciate the use of tragic language and emotional exaggeration for *οἰκεῖα πράγματα* (959). Cf. *ὦ θύμ' ἄνευ σκάνδικος ἐμπορευτέα*, also in para-Euripidean context (*Ach.* 480). More importantly, we can appreciate that a supposedly 'tragic myth' is here used meta-theatrically, i.e. for a quality of comic theatre. We do not listen to Euripides singing his own supposed monody, but we watch Aeschylus performing the paratragic character of the figure who lost her cock. It is Aeschylus who appropriates Euripides's supposed monody or, better, it is Aristophanes who appropriates Aeschylus's persona who appropriates Euripides's supposed monody. Is this not the paradox of meta-paratragedy?

Ecclesiazusae

Only one mythical reference occurs in this play, which is a paradox in itself from a poetological perspective. What could have led Aristophanes to such a decision – should it be a conscious decision at all – is something we can hardly speculate about, since we do not know the year and festival of performance,¹²⁴ hence we do not know the rival plays and the previous year's titles which would help to argue that Aristophanes either followed a trend or differentiated himself from a trend followed by others. We also do not know the result of the contest but *Ecclesiazusae*, it is certain, has won very little favour since. It is seldom referred to in antiquity, and only three manuscripts transmit the text in full. Scholars and critics are, with few exceptions, hostile'.¹²⁵ This negative reception can be attributed to the general alteration of Aristophanes's previous well attested, and much praised poetic idiolect. The absence of mythology here (but not in *Wealth* and definitely not in fourth century comedy altogether)¹²⁶ can be seen as an aspect of this 'deterioration' which nonetheless proves that the old Aristophanes was poetically young enough to experiment. A justification of this attitude can be found in the text (578-80):

δεῖται γὰρ τοί γε σοφοῦ τινος ἐξευρήματος ἢ πόλις ἡμῶν.
 ἀλλὰ πέρανε μόνον
 μήτε δεδραμένα μήτ' εἰρημένα πω πρότερον.
 μισοῦσι γὰρ ἦν τὰ παλαιὰ πολλάκις θεῶνται.

Apart from the contextual meaning (the demand to overcome inequality, patriarchy, and corruption), it would be tempting from a poetological perspective to read *τὰ παλαιά* as 'the old stories', i.e. mythology, which would have no place in modern comedy. However

¹²³ The nearest parallel in extant Euripides is *Orestes* 1368-1502, as Sommerstein (1996 *ad loc*) points out, but he is wrong in that the parody contains no verbal reminiscences of it. Aristophanes parodies the obtrusive doubling words in the Phrygian's monody; Dover (1993) 358; Stanford (1958) 185. *Hec.* 68-72 is also parodied in the first lines.

¹²⁴ For an account of the proposals, ranging from 393 to 389 BC, see Sommerstein (1998) 1, 7.

¹²⁵ Ussher (1973) xiii.

¹²⁶ On the flourishing mythological burlesques, see Konstantakos (2014); Nesselrath (1995).

we should not attach weight to this, because evoking innovation is a comic commonplace (another poetologic paradox).¹²⁷

In the single mythic reference, the youngster Epigenes describes the consequences of Praxagora's sexual communism as: *ὥστ' εἰ καταστήσεσθε τοῦτον τὸν νόμον, | τὴν γῆν ἅπασαν Οἰδιπόδων ἐμπλήσετε* (1041-2). Of course, Praxagora has only suggested that children will not know who their father is and vice versa (635-9) whereas nothing alike is said for mothers (which is the case in Plato *Rep.* 460b-d). But this can be fairly assumed through analogy or the mythical exemplum can be taken as a metaphor for gerontophilia rather than for incest. Not to mention that the reverse case, i.e. young women having to copulate with elder men (which falls within the declaration of 628-9), could lead them to copulate with their fathers. What is poetologically interesting, and a paradox, is that the comic dystopia is described in terms of tragic myth: if the communistic scenario (i.e. the comic idea) happens, then comedy would become tragedy. In fact, it would become 'more of a tragedy' than a tragedy itself, since Oedipus is an exceptional case in tragedy but here everyone will be an Oedipus – note the pleonasm *ἅπασαν, ἐμπλήσετε*.¹²⁸ However this scenario, even though it has been voted and is about to be put into effect, is not realized within the play; it is only kept for after the exodus. Comedy remains comedy.

Wealth

Through appropriated myths, however, comedy competes not only with tragedy but with all genres that interlope its territory, as we have noticed with regard to the Aesopic fables in *Peace*. Here the case is dithyramb, which provides a highly significant instance of competition with comedy, since the two genres often shared the same stage.¹²⁹ The inclusion of a para-dithyramb in *Wealth* cannot itself shed light on whether the comedy was produced in the Dionysia or the Lenaea, because Aristophanes's point could either be to mock the genre staged in the same festival (thus Dionysia) or to offer the audience a comic substitute for the absent genre (thus Lenaea). As the scholia let us know, the dithyramb concerned is the famous *Cyclops* or *Galatea*,¹³⁰ a poem by the contemporary poet Philoxenus, which Carion parodies in collaboration with the chorus, despite the two parties being hostile to each other in the course of the parody. The former pretends to be the Cyclops assigning to the chorus the role of his docile sheep, and the chorus responds that they will play the role of Odysseus's fellows instead, and will blind him (290-301). It

¹²⁷ Cf. *Nub.* 546-8; *Ves.* 1044, 1053, 1536; *Pherecr.* fr. 84; *Cratin.* fr. 153; *Metag.* fr. 15; *Eup.* fr. 60. See Wright (2012) 77-8.

¹²⁸ The only other attested comic use of Oedipus's myth is Eubulus's *Oedipus* (fr. 72), in which 'Oedipus would have been portrayed as a comic parasite, going about in search of free meals and invitations from generous hosts—a humorous distortion of the mythical hero who wandered destitute in exile after his fall and expulsion from Thebes', Konstantakos (2014) 172. Plato *Com. Lais* (fr. 65-8) must also have had references to Oedipus.

¹²⁹ Dithyramb contests in Athens, with ten men's choruses and ten boys' choruses of fifty members each, date from Pindar and Bacchylides's time to A.D. 200; Pickard-Cambridge (1988) 74-5. In City Dionysia, the dithyrambs were performed either all together on a separate day (Csapo and Slater 1995: 106-108) or on two out of the five days when comedies were performed (Pickard-Cambridge 1988: 66). For the absence of dithyramb from the Lenaea see Haigh (1907) 25 n4.

¹³⁰ *PMG* 814-24. See Holzinger (1940) 109-11; Sutton (1983); Horden (1999); Sommerstein (2001) 156; Casolari (2003) 127-34; Rosen (2007) 55-9; Farmer (2017) 213-9.

is certain that Philoxenus's dithyramb itself included comic elements,¹³¹ and in all probability it also had a satirical intention, against the Sicilian tyrant Dionysius I (represented as Polyphemus) who had condemned Philoxenus (as Odysseus) for having seduced his mistress (as Galatea).¹³² Thus 'Aristophanes has singled the *Cyclops* out of parody in part because Philoxenus was beginning to blur the boundary between dithyramb and drama'.¹³³ Even though one need be cautious with the scholia that attribute some lines to the original *Cyclops*, at least two comic interventions can be named: *θηρεττανελὸ* (290; cf. *Ran* 1285-6) which seems to parody the sound of the *kithara* that Philoxenus had invented for Polyphemus, and the circumcised chorus (*ἀπεψωλημένοι*, 295) which comes in sharp contrast to the dithyrambic choruses' solemn clothing.¹³⁴

Aristophanes, however, does not only compete with the comic effect of the rival genres (through parody) but also with the very *process* of constructing paradox. If Philoxenus appropriated mythology in order to mock Dionysius about his mistress, Aristophanes – accepting the challenge, one might say – also appropriates mythology, from the very same epic, to mock another contemporary for his mistress. Now (302-15) Carion becomes Cirke the potion-maker, calling the chorus to follow 'her' as swines, in the same way Polyphemus manipulated his flock before. But instead of Cirke from Aeaea manipulating Odysseus's fellows, we read Cirke from Corinth manipulating Philonides's friends. The mockery targets Philonides, a nasty but wealthy man who could afford the services of the (in)famous Corinthian courtesan Nais.¹³⁵ So, if the dithyramb was suggestive in its satire, comedy is straightforward. And if the dithyramb innovated in exploiting comic elements, here comedy 'raises the bar', flaunting its very own theme, scatophagy (305, 313).¹³⁶ Finally, in the peak of paradox, the chorus once again deny their role as swines; they become Odysseus's fellows (in their human version) and threat to hang Cirke / Nais from 'her'.... balls, thus bringing the illusion to an end.

Now we can better appreciate the much underestimated coherence of the two sketches, which goes beyond their metrical and structural similarity (Carion distributing roles and the chorus redistributing them). From a poetological perspective, the parody of *Cyclops* as the first sketch, comes to deride the rival genre of dithyramb; the second part, Cirke's allegory, comes to give the superior – in terms of more paradox – version of comedy.¹³⁷ Therefore, we can include this pair to the group of 'antiphonal' paradox

¹³¹ Arist. *Poet.* 2.1448a9-18 mentions that it depicted characters worse than actual people, which he accounts a characteristic of comedy.

¹³² Ath. 1.6e-7a (a tale credited to Phaenias of Eresus) = *PMG* 816.

¹³³ Farmer (2017) 215.

¹³⁴ Demosthenes, as a dithyrambic choregos in 358, dressed his chorus in golden-embroidered robes and golden crowns (*Dem.* 21.14-8). Cf. *ἰμάτια χρυσᾶ παρασχὼν τῷ χορῷ*, *Antiph.* fr. 201. For the Greeks' negative attitude on exposure of the glans, see Hodges (2001), esp. 392-4.

¹³⁵ *οἱ ἀμφὶ Φιλωνίδη* is merely a periphrasis for Philonides himself; Rogers (1907) *ad loc.* For his affair with Nais, cf. scholia *ad loc.*; 179; *Lys.* fr 82. The scholia name the mistress Lais, the other famous Corinthian hetaira, but given the similarity of the two names, we can assume an early corruption of the text; Sommerstein (2001)148.

¹³⁶ Of course, the theme is as old as *Il.*23.777 (Ajax falling into a pile of dung face forward) but that brings disgust, whereas in comedy it is often a voluntary act of pleasure (cf. 706; *Pax* 48), sometimes of sexual pleasure (*Pax* 11; *Lys.* 1174; and *ad loc.*). See Henderson (1991) 192-4.

¹³⁷ Another symbolic interpretation is Bowie (1993) 287-8, that both *Cyclops* and Cirke symbolize the lifestyle which Penia suggests and which the chorus denounces. A more prosaic explanation would be that both these Homeric episodes were treated in Philoxenus's dithyramb, and therefore pass into Aristophanes's parody of it. The superficial explanation by the scholia that in *Odyssey*

myths. Last but not least, if it is right that dithyrambic choruses did not wear masks,¹³⁸ then Aristophanes through these passages also declares that comedy, compared to dithyramb, knows no restrictions due to its use of masks. In fact, it is comedy and not dithyramb that allows multilevel role changes (actor / Carion / Polyphemus / Cirke; and dancers / chorus / flock / Odysseus's fellows / swines / Odysseus's fellows again), despite the masks.

The central allegory of the play, the blindness of Wealth, his mistreatment of righteous people, and the enrichment of the wicked occurs already in Hipponax.¹³⁹ The attribution of the god's misfortune to Zeus's envy however (87-92), and his eventual healing (635) must have been Aristophanes's innovations.¹⁴⁰ It is hard to call these aspects paradoxical, because they are merely addenda; the background and the development of the myth, respectively, and do not concern the appropriation of the myth itself.

Conclusion: the intra-dramatic functions of appropriated myths¹⁴¹

The paper has so far offered a close reading of the paradoxical appropriation of each myth in each of the eleven extant comedies of Aristophanes, with special emphasis on its poetological intention, which is to claim the superiority of comedy over other genres. Either suggestively or openly, all of the appropriated myths point to such a reading. In this final section, considering together all the passages discussed above, the paper examines their intra-dramatic function, i.e. how they operate within the plot. We have already mentioned some adapted (and not appropriated) myths, whose functions range from offering the background of the plot (e.g. Dionysus's ambivalence in *Frogs* or Wealth's blindness in *Wealth*), to supporting an argument (e.g. Helen's breasts for the power of sex, in *Lysistrata*) or a joke (e.g. Theseus and Peirithous's descent for the two-obol fee, in *Frogs*). Naturally, there are some myths that are neither appropriated nor adapted, but merely mentioned with no creative intention at all (e.g. *Av.* 651-3 ~ Aesop fr.1 Perry).

Appropriated myths, which are our subject, can be grouped into five categories according to their intra-dramatic function. (1) 'Persuasive myths' are those used by a character in order to make an argument. (2) 'Aetiological myths' are those used in order to explain a statement. (3) 'Responsive' or 'antiphonal' myths are those juxtaposing two ideas. (4) 'Abusive myths' are those used to mock someone. Finally, (5) 'structural myths' are those used to form the plot. Functions might overlap; e.g. Hyperbolus's mythicisation (*Nub.* 1065-6) is 'antiphonal' towards the virtuous exemplum of Peleus that precedes, but is also an 'abusive' myth in itself. Of more interest is to clarify the distinction between

Cirke's episode comes after the Cyclops, ignores the intervening episodes of Aeolus's windbag and the Laestrygonians.

¹³⁸ Pickard-Cambridge (1962) 34.

¹³⁹ Hipponax fr.36. C.f. Eur. Fr. 776; Timocreon PMG 731; Pl. *Leg.* 631c; Antiphanes fr. 259; Men. fr. 74; Theocr. *Id.* 10.19.

¹⁴⁰ Sommerstein (2001) 8. The most famous punitive blindings, Phineus's and Teiresias's, were a result of their affronting the gods (Ap. Rhod. 2.178; Callim. *Hymn* 5.75-82). Here, Zeus envies human beings a priori, and indeed only the virtuous ones.

¹⁴¹ For other conclusions, Moessner (1907) should be consulted (154-5 for myth in general and 111 for tragic myth specifically).

‘persuasive’ and ‘aetiological’ myths, since they seem similar to each other. *Birds* offers the most suitable examples for this distinction; both the avian genealogy (466-521) and the cosmogony (688-702) explain more or less the same thing, the birds’ seniority. But the former is used as an argument by Peisetairos in order to persuade the birds to follow his plans, whereas the latter only affirms / extends what has already been established. ‘Persuasive’ myths promote the plot, or aspire to promote the plot without success (e.g. *Eccl.* 1141-2), whereas ‘aetiological’ ones are static. The only paradoxical myth that does not fit in this proposed schema, and which retains only a poetological function, is ‘comedy as Electra’ (*Nub.* 534-44), but it definitely belongs to the revised version of the play, which was never performed.¹⁴²

From the allocation of all the appropriated myths into these five groups (see **Appendix**), it is evident that Aristophanes did not have a preferred method; the balance among the five functions is striking. As for the sources of the appropriated myths (literary treatments in other genres or the broader oral tradition), one can only assume a preference for tragedy and satyr drama with regards to ‘structural’ myths.

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¹⁴² See hypothesis VI [=I Dover, VII Coulon, VI Hall-Geldart]; Dover (1968) lxxx-xcviii; Tarrant (1991).

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Appendix: The intra-dramatic functions of appropriated myths

Play	Persuasive Myths (to argue for...)	Aetiological Myths (to explain why...)	Antiphonal Myths (to juxtapose...)	Abusive Myths (to mock...)	Structural Myths (to provide the...)
<i>Ach.</i>		524-9: 'Vendetta' for whores (the Peloponnesian War begun)			325-51: <i>Thelephus</i> (Assembly's attention to Dikaiopolis)
<i>Eq.</i>	197-201: Omen of the eagle and the snake (the forthcoming overthrowing of Paphlagon)				
<i>Nub.</i>			1061-70: Peleus's knife & marriage with Thetis (virtue is rewarded) vs Thetis's abandoning him & Hyperbolus (virtue is for losers)	1065-6: Peleus's knife (Hyperbolus as profiteer)	
<i>Ves.</i>				15-9: Omen of the eagle and the snake (Cleonymus as <i>ρίψασπις</i>); 1030-5: Cerberus (Cleon as a filth)	169-91: Odysseus beneath the donkey (Philocleon's escape; unsuccessful)
<i>Pax</i>		128-34: The fable of the beetle and the eagle (Trygaeus has chosen a beetle to go to Zeus)		752-8 ≈ <i>Ves.</i> 1030-5	71 ff: <i>Bellerophon</i> (a vehicle to Olympus)
<i>Av.</i>	466-521: Avian genealogy (birds' ancient origin and reign)	688-702: Avian cosmogony (birds appeared before the gods)			Tereus (mediator between humans & birds; helper in Greimas's terms)
<i>Lys.</i>	551-4: Eros & Aphrodite's power (the potential of the sex strike)		563-4, 691-5: Tereus (men's violence) vs beetle (women's violence); 785-820: Melanion (hating women) vs Timon (hating men)		
<i>Thesm.</i>		13-18: Separation of senses of sight and hearing (the In-law should not ask to hear what he is about to see)			687 ff: <i>Telephus</i> , <i>Palamedes</i> , <i>Helen</i> , <i>Andromeda</i> (In-law's escape; unsuccessful). 1200 ff: <i>Cyclops</i> (successful escape)
<i>Ran.</i>	1331-64: Lament over a lost cock (Euripides's ridiculous monodies)				
<i>Eccl.</i>	1141-2: Many Oedipuses (the dangers of the sexual communism)				
<i>Pl.</i>			290-315: Cyclops & Cirke (Penia's lifestyle) vs the resisting chorus (Wealth's lifestyle). [Bowie 1993]	302-5: Cirke (Philonides as Nais's swine)	