

ΤΡΑΓΩΔΙΑ – ΚΩΜΩΔΙΑ

FROM PRIVATE FEAST TO PUBLIC FESTIVAL*



ABSTRACT: The author attempts a combined investigation of the first components of the fellow terms *κωμ-ωδός* and *τραγ-ωδός*. The ancient testimonies concerning the origins of drama come generally from the context of private *δειπνον*, in whose second half the guests used to combine wine-drinking with singing in unison (*-ωδός*, the common second component of both terms). When the drinking grew heavier, the young intoxicated diners used to sing cheerful songs, rise from their tables, and dance outdoors. This stage is called *κῶμος*, forming, as we know, the first component of *κωμωδός*. However, as long as the drinking was restrained, the mature diners remained seated and sang serious songs. This stage of the *δειπνον* is named, after the items served, *τραγήματα* (verb *τραγῶω* – *τραγεῖν*), and may well form the first component of *τραγωδός*. The distinction corresponds to the modern dichotomy between table-songs and dance-songs in the folklife of most peoples (e.g., Mod. Greek *τραγούδια τῆς τάβλας* – *τραγούδια τοῦ χοροῦ*). The terms *τραγωδοί* and *τραγικοί χοροί* were subsequently used for choruses of solemn songs about gods or heroes in local festivals, mainly in the northeast part of the Doric Peloponnese. The festivities passed from there to Dionysiac festivals in Attic Icaria together with the *τραγ-* term, which in the meantime had been folk-etymologized from *τράγος*, a derivation that prevailed throughout antiquity and is still predominant among scholars. The he-goat was established as prize in the contests of Thespis' invention, i.e., dithyrambic choruses with chorus-leader solo interventions. – In parallel, the author explores some new readings in the *Marmor Parium* Susarion and Thespis entries and criticizes M. L. West's theory about the early chronology of Attic tragedy.

THE ETYMOLOGY

THE ORIGIN OF TRAGEDY has been one of the essential problems that occupied since antiquity most branches of *Alttertumswissenschaft*, philolo-

* I am grateful to my colleagues G. M. Sifakis and †D. Jakob for their deft criticism and friendly encouragement already since the conception of the present article. I am also greatly indebted to Professors S. Tsitsiridis and I. M. Konstantakos who, serving as readers of *Logeion*, not only saved me from numerous blunders but also offered fruitful advice for a deeper insight into the problem. I acknowledge that I often differed from them, this disagreement being perhaps the reason for any faults and imperfections that remained in this study, and for which I am solely responsible.

gy, history, literary history, cultural history, archaeology, philosophy, history of religion, sociology, ethnology, anthropology, and even more disciplines.¹ A less tormenting problem, which usually keeps company with the first, is the origin of the word *τραγωδία*. I do not propose, for the time being, to discuss meticulously the numerous proposals, some of them made by most respected figures of the classical scholarship. Only in order to show the age-old interest in the problem, I cite the relevant article of the *Etymologicum Magnum* (whose second part is devoted to *κωμωδία*), an article that assembles material from numerous older sources, and remind that most of the proposals contained therein are still today more or less discussed by scholars:

EM 764.1 τραγωδία: ἔστι βίων τε καὶ λόγων ἠρωϊκῶν μίμησις. κέκληται δὲ τραγωδία, ὅτι τράγος τῆ ᾠδῆ ἄθλον ἐτίθετο· ᾠδὴ γὰρ ἡ τραγωδία. ἢ ὅτι τρύγα ἄθλον ἐλάμβανον οἱ νικῶντες· τρύγα γὰρ ἐκάλουν οἱ παλαιοὶ τὸν νέον οἶνον. ἢ ὅτι τετράγωνον εἶχον οἱ χοροὶ σχῆμα· ἢ ὅτι τὰ πολλὰ οἱ χοροὶ ἐκ σατύρων συνίσταντο· οὐδὲ ἐκάλουν τράγους σκώπτοντες ἢ διὰ τὴν τοῦ σώματος δασύτητα ἢ διὰ τὴν περὶ τὰ ἀφροδίσια σπουδήν· τοιοῦτον γὰρ τὸ ζῶον. ἢ ὅτι οἱ χορευταὶ τὰς κόμας ἀνέπλεκον, σχῆμα τράγων μιμούμενοι. ἢ ἀπὸ τῆς τρυγῆς τρυγωδία. ἦν δὲ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦτο κοινὸν καὶ πρὸς τὴν κωμωδίαν· ἐπεὶ οὐπω διεκέκριτο τὰ τῆς ποιήσεως ἑκατέρας· ἀλλ' εἰς αὐτὴν ἔν ἦν τὸ ἄθλον, ἢ τρυξ· ὕστερον δὲ τὸ μὲν κοινὸν ὄνομα ἔσχεν ἡ τραγωδία. ἢ δὲ κωμωδία ὠνόμασται, ἐπειδὴ πρότερον κατὰ κόμας ἔλεγον αὐτὰ ἐν ταῖς ἐορταῖς τοῦ Διονύσου καὶ τῆς Δήμητρος· ἢ παρὰ τὸ κωμάζειν· <ἢ> ἢ ἐπὶ τῷ κόματι ᾠδή· ἐπειδὴ ἐπὶ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦ ὕπνου τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐφευρέθη· ἢ ἢ τῶν κωμητῶν ᾠδή· κῶμαι γὰρ λέγονται οἱ μελίζονες ἀγροί. βλαπτόμενοι γὰρ τινες γεωργοὶ παρὰ τῶν ἐν Ἀθήνησι πολιτῶν, κατήρσαν περὶ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦ ὕπνου καὶ περιουόντες τὰς ἀγνιάς ἔλεγον ἀνωνυμὶ τὰς βλάβας ἃς ἔπασχον ὑπ' αὐτῶν· οἶον, ἐνταῦθα μένει τις τὰ καὶ τὰ ποιῶν· καὶ ἐκ τούτου ἀνοχὴ τῶν ἀδικιῶν ἐγίγνετο.

To start with, I believe that it would misdirect our reasoning, if we disjoined the etymologies of the two terms that constitute the basic pair of the dramatic genre: *τραγωδός* and *κωμωδός*. No matter when each term was officially established or when each genre was first performed, in Attica or elsewhere, the naming of tragedy and comedy, whether directly or transferred from other social and linguistic areas, cannot have been made separately. Whoever decided to name the members of the comic chorus

1. For saving space, I do not name the authors of many of the generally accepted views on the development of the dramatic genres. I also consciously avoided referring to the ample archaeological research, primarily on early vase-paintings depicting Dionysiac celebration themes, as I feel unqualified for such an investigation. I only hope that it will not fully demolish my views.

κωμωδοί, should have taken account of the fact that the brother chorus was named τραγωδοί — or the other way around. Admittedly, in the area of folklife and, particularly, of popular religion, things are not always so rational. Yet, in scholarly investigation, it would be more prudent to use up every rational possibility before proceeding to options that postulate irrationality a priori. At any rate, the second component of the two words, -ωδός or -ωδία, is common and self-evident, leading us unquestionably to singers and singing.

As regards κωμωδός, where things are much clearer, the first component is most likely κῶμος, ‘revel, carousal, merry-making’ or ‘band of revelers’ or ‘the ode sung at one of these festive processions’, according to LSJ.² But the comedy and the comic chorus known to us have different traits. No doubt the amusing and playful character is retained, being placed, however, in a structured poetic and dramatic framework, with a plot, characters, roles, and naturally a chorus, in which the riotous and boisterous festivity implied by κῶμος is mostly preserved, sometimes in a contrived manner without being required by the comedy’s story, as if for justifying the etymology of the genre’s name. When later, in the fourth century BCE, the importance attached to the comedy fully shifted to the story’s course, the κῶμος, together with the chorus, was isolated from the rest of the comedy and was transferred to separate entr’actes. Further, whereas the κῶμος might accompany just any private drinking-party regardless of the date in a year, the comedy is strictly positioned in the programme of Dionysiac festivals. Thus, although the translation of κωμωδοί as ‘singers on occasion of the κῶμος’ is absolutely correct,³ the occasion of the κῶμος differs significantly from the occasion of the comedy.

Unlike κωμωδός, the first component of τραγωδός (τράγος) does not define any social event or activity, in the frame of which a song was to be sung. We cannot claim that τράγος is used synecdochically for ‘sacrifice of a he-goat’ and that τραγωδοί are ‘singers on occasion of the sacrifice of a he-goat’ or ‘singers on occasion of the awarding of a he-goat to be sacrificed’, because whatever singing occurred, it was made precisely for winning the award of the he-goat, naturally before the awarding and the sacrifice. To prevent the

2. The accurate meaning of κῶμος as a term in the City Dionysia festival is contested: the whole festival, chorus, dithyrambic chorus, men’s dithyrambic chorus. The question will be discussed below.

3. The wording employed in W. Burkert’s pivotal paper, ‘Greek Tragedy and Sacrificial Ritual’, *GRBS* 7 (1966) 87-121 = W. Burkert, *Kleine Schriften VII: Tragica et historica*, Göttingen 2007, 1-36.

blame of over-rationalizing, I hasten to explain that, in my view, the only definition that might be argued in this direction is the one proposed by the ancients: ‘singers on occasion of the competition for a he-goat *ἱερεῖον*’. Thus, however, we have a derivation entirely different from that of *κωμωδός*. And, in spite of Burkert’s strenuous disagreement, I would persist with the view of Wilamowitz that the inquiry into fabricated aitia with the use of ancient etymological constructions must be faced reluctantly.⁴ It is another story that Wilamowitz himself restored an old, extremely dubious assumption made by Welcker, which, as he believed, confirmed the validity of the Aristotelian concept of the genesis of tragedy.⁵ It was based on *Et. M.* 764.5 ἢ ὅτι τὰ πολλὰ οἱ χοροὶ ἐκ σατύρων συνίσταντο· οὗς ἐκάλουν τράγους σκόπτοντες ἢ διὰ τὴν τοῦ σώματος δασύτητα ἢ διὰ τὴν περὶ τὰ ἀφροδίσια σπουδήν· τοιοῦτον γὰρ τὸ ζῶον.⁶ Be that as it may, Aristotle (*Po.* 1449a 20) speaking of the origin of tragedy refers to a satyric form (*ἐκ σατυρικοῦ*) with brief stories and laughable diction (*ἐκ μικρῶν μύθων καὶ λέξεως γελοίας*) but says nothing about he-goats. There is nothing to suggest the idea that Aristotle identified satyrs and he-goats.

On the other hand, the resemblance of the term *τραγωδία* with *τράγος* is so conspicuous, that it would be absolutely expected to have sundry ancient etymologies that not only associate the he-goat with the tragedy, but also connect the animal with the myths around the Dionysus ritual. It is wholly insignificant whether these contrivances are Alexandrian, Peripatetic, or much older, since their historical evidence is by no means proven. We are certainly destined to depend on doubtful speculations. Let these speculations, at least, not be oblivious of the fact that what we are investigating goes back to the primary origins of a genre, which obtained its definitive *οἰκεία φύσις* much later. Since this type of investigation was followed in the case of comedy, it might prove helpful to continue on the same track. Parallelism within the twin dramatic genre is, in my view, indispensable. It is a misfortune that Aristotle, though explicitly declaring that comedy’s early history, unlike that of tragedy, has been forgotten, yet discusses the etymological origins of comedy in reply to the Doric claims on the genre’s origin, but not of tragedy.⁷

4. *Einleitung in die griechische Tragödie*, Berlin 1895, 63.

5. F. G. Welcker, *Nachtrag zu der Schrift über die Aeschylische Trilogie nebst einer Abhandlung über das Satyrspiel*, Frankfurt 1826, 240.

6. A comprehensive survey of the relevant literature till 1966, solely on the two derivations, the satyrs = goats theory and the he-goat prize one, is to be found in Burkert (note 3) n. 2.

7. The claim that the derivation from *τράγος* was so obvious that Aristotle did not bother elaborating on it seems out of character with the philosopher’s practice.

Of the several meanings of *κῶμος* mentioned above (‘revel, carousal, merry-making’ or ‘band of revellers’ or ‘the ode sung at one of these festive processions’), the basic one is, of course, the first, while the others project from it. This revel or merry-making is part of human life’s social functions. More precisely, it reflects one of the two basic sides of leisure activities in human life: the cheerful one. Usually, the *κῶμος* follows a symposion, after which the inebriated young revellers enjoy themselves, mostly out in the streets, singing, dancing, and, occasionally, with more violent manifestations of drunken behaviour. Pratinas, *PMG* 708.8 f. (= *TrGF* 4 F 3.7 f.), refers pejoratively to the aulos with the verses *κῶμῳι μόνον θυραμάχοις τε πνυμαχίαισι νέων θέλοι παροίωνων | ἔμμεναι στρατηλάτας* — though an alternative, no doubt invented, name of the poet’s father is transmitted as *Ἐγκῶμιος*. We shall return to Pratinas later on in this paper. At any rate, the necessary components of *κῶμος* are the company of young friends, the intoxication, the group singing of joyful songs in joyful music, and the dancing of lively dances, all mainly performed outdoors. The element of dancing is less highlighted in the descriptions of the *κῶμος*, but Hesychius κ 4840 defines *κῶμος* as *εἶδος ὀρχήσεως ἢ μέλους τινός*, Photius κ 1313 as *εἶδος ὀρχήσεως*, *Synagoge* (Ba 286.20, Photius κ 1312, *Suda* κ 2272, al.) gives *κῶμοι· ᾠδαί· ἢ ὀρχησις μετὰ μέθης*, *Etymologicum Magnum* 550.50 (and other *Etymologica*) *κωμάζειν· τὸ ποιῶς ὀρχεῖσθαι· ἐξ οὗ καὶ κῶμος εἶδος ὀρχήσεως· οἱ δὲ μέλους*. The same element is conspicuous in derived words, e.g. Hsch. τ 626 *τετράκωμος· μέλος τι σὺν ὀρχήσει πεποιημένον εἰς Ἡρακλέα ἐπινίκιον*.

Corresponding manifestations are met with in the folklife of most societies, regardless of region or era, unless other factors, religious or political, enforce their restriction. It seems then that this popular unorganized social activity was modulated into a structured poetic and dramatic genre, the comedy, which maintained in its structure almost every element of its source except actual drinking. Naturally, this modulation did not affect the original folklife activity, which continued its social function, with some cultural or religious adjustments, till our days.

What sort of social event is reflected in the second basic side of leisure activities in folklife, the serious one? An event that might be modulated from popular unorganized social activity into the corresponding structured dramatic genre, the tragedy? In modern folklife, the traditional events are also roughly divided between these two sides. For instance, Modern Greek folk songs are broadly sorted out into these two categories: joyful and serious. The particular social activities, where folk songs are sung, are no doubt numerous, but, in the main, the songs are distinguished into two large categories:

dance songs and table songs (*τραγούδια τοῦ χοροῦ* – *τραγούδια τῆς τάβλας*). The first are usually cheerful, the second usually serious, and, as their names imply, the first are habitually danced, the second sung by singers seated at table and only exceptionally danced. If, as we did above with the *κῶμος*, we were to define the necessary components of the modern table songs, we shall find here the company of grown-up friends, the moderate drinking, the singing of serious songs in serious music, and, in a few cases, the solemn dance. Naturally, this type of folk songs is not limited to the Greek popular tradition (*τραγούδια τῆς τάβλας*, *τραγῶδ' τραπεζιτό* at Mariupolis, al.). Comparable 'table songs' are the Russian *zastol'nye pesni*, the Georgian *súpra* songs, the Jewish *z'mirot* in contrast to the *klezmer* dance songs, and many more, speaking about which I feel entirely unqualified. This category, at least in Modern Greek folklore, usually comprises narrative, historical, heroic, and gnostic songs, exceptionally even dirges (*παραλογές, ακριτικά, κλέφτικα, μοιρολόγια*), unlike the dance songs which have usually cheerful love themes. Understandably, it is not always easy to define strict boundaries when classifying folk songs depending on thematic considerations. As regards musical aspects, table songs present, generally speaking, a slow, stately melody, with free, unsteady rhythm, in contrast to the dance songs, which usually present lively, varied melody and strict rhythm.⁸

Is there anything comparable to these song categories in ancient Greek folklife that might evolve into tragedy, both socially and generically? The necessary elements described above lead us to the ancient *δόρπον* or *δαίς*, or, in the words prevailing later, *δειπνον* and *συμπόσιον*. An interesting piece of information about the prehistory of tragedy, before its official establishment, comes from Plutarch, *Sol.* 29.6:

*ἀρχομένων δὲ τῶν περὶ Θέσπιν ἤδη τὴν τραγωδίαν κινεῖν, καὶ διὰ τὴν καινότητα τοὺς πολλοὺς ἄγοντος τοῦ πράγματος, οὐπω δ' εἰς ἄμιλλαν ἐναγόνιον ἐξηγμένον, φύσει φιλήκοος ὢν καὶ φιλομαθῆς ὁ Σόλων, ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐν γήρα σχολῇ καὶ παιδιᾷ καὶ νῆ Δία πότοις καὶ μουσικῇ παραπέμπων ἑαυτόν, ἐθεᾶτο τὸν Θέσπιν αὐτὸν ὑποκρινόμενον (*TrGF*² 1 [Thespis] T 17), ὥσπερ ἔθος ἦν τοῖς παλαιοῖς. μετὰ δὲ τὴν θεᾶν προσαγορεύσας αὐτὸν ἠρώτησεν, εἰ τοσούτων ἐναντίον οὐκ αἰσχύνεται τηλικαῦτα ψευδόμενος. φήσαντος δὲ τοῦ Θέσπιδος μὴ δεινὸν εἶναι τὸ μετὰ παιδιᾷς λέγειν τὰ τοιαῦτα καὶ πράσσειν, σφόδρα*

8. G. M. Sifakis' valuable comments, by specifying particular songs and dances of several regions in Greece where my remarks were not or were occasionally applicable, helped me to tone down some of my initial over-confident assertions. I would also like to thank my colleague Chrysoula Hatzitaki-Kapsomenou for her decisive advice in the area of Modern Greek folk songs.

τῆ βακτηρία τὴν γῆν ὁ Σόλων πατάξας ‘ταχὸ μέντοι τὴν παιδιάν’ ἔφη ‘ταύτην ἐπαινοῦντες οὕτω καὶ τιμῶντες εὐρῆσομεν ἐν τοῖς σπουδαίοις’.

No doubt, the account is purely anecdotal. But the important thing is not the truthfulness or the accuracy of what Solon and Thespis are reported to have said or done in the specific occasion, but what the anecdote incidentally bears witness to. Namely, where and in what circumstances *τραγωδοί* were expected to perform, before tragic performances were initiated. The circumstances were *σχολῆ καὶ παιδιᾶ καὶ [...] πότοις καὶ μουσικῆ*. This is obviously the context of *δεῖπνον*.

Another piece of information is offered by Pollux 4.123 (*TrGF*² 1 [Thespis] T 16), a statement widely discussed in the debate on the origins of tragedy: *ἐλεός δ’ ἦν τράπεζα ἀρχαία, ἐφ’ ἣν πρὸ Θέσπιδος εἷς τις ἀναβάς τοῖς χορευταῖς ἀπεκρίνετο* (Charitonides; *ἀπεκρίνατο* Poll. codd.). *ἐλεός* is well defined by LSJ as ‘kitchen table, dresser’, but better described in *Il.* 9.215, where, in the meal prepared for the Achaean kings who beseeched Achilles to abandon his wrath, the hero shares out the barbecued pieces of meat that were scattered *εἰν ἐλεοῖσιν*; and similarly in *Od.* 14.432 the swineherds put the barbecued joints *εἰν ἐλεοῖσιν*, before Eumaeus carved them. In *Ar. Eq.* 152 and possibly elsewhere too (Poll. 6.90 *παρὰ τοῖς πάλαι*), the neuter *ἐλεόν* means ‘chopping-block’. But both in Pollux 4.123, where the translation is merely *τράπεζα*, and in the Homeric passages, where the plural makes the literal meaning ‘chopping-blocks’ difficult (one is enough even in modern large butcher shops), the question seems to be about ordinary tables. A similar statement occurs in Orion θ 72.8 St. (cf. *Et. Gen.*, *EM* 458.30) *θυμέλη· παρὰ τὸ ἐπ’ αὐτῆς τίθεσθαι τὰ θνόμενα ἱερεῖα. τράπεζα δὲ ἦν πρὸ τούτου, ἐφ’ ἧς ἐστῶτες ἐν τοῖς ἀγροῖς ἦδον, μήπω τάξιν λαβούσης τῆς τραγωδίας* (cf. *TrGF*² 3 [Phrynichus] F 23). The etymologist is interested in the origin of *θυμέλη* and in the way it came to be used in the theatre, but incidentally offers useful information about the origin of tragedy before it was regularly established. Combining the accounts given by Pollux and Orion we conclude that in the course of a meal, after the portions shared out had been consumed and the tables cleaned, the participants used to sing in unison (we need not imagine a formal chorus), while one of them standing on a table, apparently the free table on which the meat had been carved, sang in response to the other singers. The occasion might be just any unofficial feast or a private sacrifice, the usual opportunity for common people to entertain themselves. The events must have taken place mostly out of doors, as both Homeric passages indicate, while the *θυμέλη* was placed *ἐν τοῖς ἀγροῖς*. The two statements,

apart from adding valuable details to our knowledge about the prehistory of tragedy, may also help in detecting the etymology of *τραγωδία*. For the time being, we may observe that no he-goats are expressly involved, whether as sacrificial victims or as prizes or as ritual masquerade, but only a group of singing companions at table, during or rather after the meal.

More specifically, it was not the first part of the dinner, the main course, that was fit for such presentations, but the second course, when fruits, desert, and wine were served, and the diners were in such a state of mind that facilitated and encouraged more spiritual activities, such as debate, repartee, singing. The famous descriptions of dinners, e.g. Plato's and Xenophon's *Συμπόσιον*, Plutarch's *Συμποσιακά Προβλήματα* and *Συμπόσιον τῶν ἑπτὰ σοφῶν*, Lucian's *Συμπόσιον ἢ Λαπίθαι*, Athenaeus' *Δειπνοσοφισταί*, may possibly misdirect us, as they refer to memorable dinners, real or fictional, occasionally combined with *θεάματα καὶ ἀκροάματα*, buffoonery, acrobatics, juggling, dancing, flute and lyre playing, singing, although mainly with debates on highly sophisticated subjects. We are not so much interested in such advanced shows as in their rudiments. How did simple, unpretentious Greeks use to entertain themselves in the second course of their dinners, during the early sixth century BCE or still earlier, when apparently the term *τραγωδός* was established? Plutarch's anecdote about Solon suggests music and acting. Numerous references already since Homer indicate song and dance: E.g., *Od.* 1.152

μολπή τ' ὄρχηστές τε· τὰ γάρ τ' ἀναθήματα ('delights') δαιτός.

As regards the themes of the songs sung by the *αἰιδός*, in the same passage and in the context of the same dinner, it is said: *Od.* 1.337-8

*Φήμε, πολλὰ γὰρ ἄλλα βροτῶν θελκτήρια οἶδας,
ἔργ' ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε, τά τε κλείουσιν αἰδοί,*

sacred, that is, and heroic themes. Lastly, regarding how traditional or novel these songs were, it is also said in the same passage: *Od.* 1.351-2

*τὴν γὰρ αἰοιδὴν μᾶλλον ἐπικλείουσ' ἀνθρωποί,
ἢ τις ἀκούοντεςσι νεωτάτη ἀμφιπέληται.*

Anyhow, there is no question for the time being whether the songs mentioned are epic or melic, whether they are composed, that is, in dactylic hexameters or in lyric metres, a distinction that would have differentiated the mode of performance. What we are investigating for the time being is the

origin of the term *τραγωδός*, not the origins of tragedy. In the epic, the singer at the dinner, is named simply *αοιδός*, not *τραγωδός*; neither is there any *κωμωδός* mentioned. Obviously, the naming of both is later.

It is not clearly perceptible why Plato repeatedly names Homer ‘tragedian’ and his poetry ‘tragedy’: *Theaet.* 152e τῶν ποιητῶν οἱ ἄκροι τῆς ποιήσεως ἐκατέρας, κωμωδίας μὲν Ἐπίχαρμος, τραγωδίας δὲ Ὅμηρος; *Rep.* 595c ἔοικε μὲν γὰρ τῶν καλῶν ἀπάντων τούτων τῶν τραγικῶν πρῶτος διδάσκαλός τε καὶ ἡγεμὼν γενέσθαι (sc. Ὅμηρος); *Rep.* 598d μετὰ τοῦτο ἐπισκεπτέον τὴν τε τραγωδίαν καὶ τὸν ἡγεμόνα αὐτῆς Ὅμηρον; *Rep.* 605c ἀκροώμενοι Ὀμήρου ἢ ἄλλον τινὸς τῶν τραγωδοποιῶν; *Rep.* 607a Ὀμηρον ποιητικώτατον εἶναι καὶ πρῶτον τῶν τραγωδοποιῶν. In all these passages, Plato seems to speak literally, never figuratively. He does not even speak of an earlier form of the tragic art, but explicitly of Homer as ‘the first tragedian’. He certainly does not refer to style similarities between the two genres, whether ‘epic’ narrative in tragedy or ‘dramatic’ scenes in the epic, a question he discusses in *Rep.* 394c ff. In any case, it is clear that he takes *τραγωδία* for ‘serious poetry’, *τραγωδοποιός* for ‘poet of serious poetry’, and, accordingly, *τραγωδός* for ‘singer of serious songs’. Does then Plato observe some older, perhaps unknown to us, teachings on the generic classification of poetry, that divide simply into the fundamental categories of amusing and serious poetry? Aristotle, who leads the discussion into greater depth, explores in chapters 3 and 4 of the *Poetics* the element of mimesis, and, investigating the remote origins of comedy and tragedy, ends up (*Po.* 1449a 2) in iambic and epic poetry: παραφανείσης δὲ τῆς τραγωδίας καὶ κωμωδίας οἱ ἐφ’ ἐκατέραν τὴν ποίησιν δομῶντες κατὰ τὴν οἰκειάν φύσιν οἱ μὲν ἀντὶ τῶν ἰάμβων κωμωδοποιοὶ ἐγένοντο, οἱ δὲ ἀντὶ τῶν ἐπῶν τραγωδοδιδάσκαλοι, διὰ τὸ μείζω καὶ ἐντιμότερα τὰ σχήματα εἶναι ταῦτα ἐκείνων. Before that, however, he follows a distinction between ‘serious, τὰ σπονδαῖα’ and ‘amusing, τὸ γελοῖον’, naming Homer as the precursor of both, in *Iliad* and *Odyssey* of tragedy, in *Margites* of comedy: 1448b 34 ὥσπερ δὲ καὶ τὰ σπονδαῖα μάλιστα ποιητῆς Ὅμηρος ἦν (μόνος γὰρ οὐχ ὅτι εἷ ἀλλὰ καὶ μιμήσεις δραματικὰς ἐποίησεν), οὕτως καὶ τὸ τῆς κωμωδίας σχῆμα πρῶτος ὑπέδειξεν, οὐ φόγον ἀλλὰ τὸ γελοῖον δραματοποιήσας.

The ancestors of the tragedians and the comedians Aristotle speaks about are easily recognizable, but if we try to trace such ancestors whether previous to Homer and Archilochus or rather in the domain of folk production, things are not as easy, not only for lack of palpable evidence but also because the distinction of genres and subgenres is unclear. For instance, Xenocritus, the seventh century poet from Epizephyrian Locri, according to Pseudo-Plutarch, *De musica*, 1134e, ἀμφισβητεῖται εἰ παιάνων ποιητῆς γέγονεν ἠρωϊκῶν

γὰρ ὑποθέσεων πράγματα ἔχουσῶν ποιητὴν γεγονέναι φασὶν αὐτόν· διὸ καὶ τινὰς διθυράμβους καλεῖν αὐτοῦ τὰς ὑποθέσεις. What is most interesting in the account is that the themes of Xenocritus' genre 'involved action' (this is also the meaning in Aristotle of Homer's *μιμήσεις δραματικὰς ἐποίησεν* and *δραματοποιήσας*), and that a heroic — and sacred, I presume — song involving action was called 'dithyramb'. As we have already seen, it is not easy to classify songs in a strict way, traditional and folk songs especially. Such is, for instance, the case with religious or hymnic songs, which undoubtedly formed an important portion of what we called 'serious' songs (*ἔργ' ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε*). Could it be that Plato is referring to Homer as *πρῶτον τῶν τραγωδοποιῶν*, less as the first narrator of feats of men, but more as the first and foremost poet of hymns? Yet, the full passage of *Rep.* 607a we quoted above seems to disprove this, since it dissociates the Homeric work from the hymns and encomia to be admitted in the state: *καὶ συγχωρεῖν Ὅμηρον ποιητικώτατον εἶναι καὶ πρῶτον τῶν τραγωδοποιῶν, εἰδέναι δὲ ὅτι ὅσον μόνον ὕμνους θεοῖς καὶ ἐγκώμια τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ποιήσεως παραδεκτόν εἰς πόλιν*.

At any rate, the general impression is that, with the exception of *τράγος*, no other Greek word can function as first component of *τραγωδός*. *τρυνγωδία*, though widely discussed, is obviously a comic coinage for *κωμωδία* (*Ar. Ach.* 499 f.) playing on *τραγωδία*, and cannot serve as etymology of any one of the dramatic genres, on the one hand because the Dionysiac contests do not seem to be associated with vintage (*τρύγη*) or new wine (*τρώξι*), and on the other because the phonetic change (*v > a*) is unaccountable. Still more fanciful, from every point of view, is the derivation from *τετραγώνον*, because of the supposedly square formation of the choruses.⁹

9. The Scholia to Dionysius Thrax, *GG* I 3.18, add *τραγωδία, ἢ τραχεῖα ᾠδή· τραχύτερον γὰρ καὶ φενκτέον καὶ δύσβατον τὸ τῶν θρήνων εἶδος τοῦ γελωτοποιεῖν*. From the numerous modern derivations, I single out J. E. Harrison's etymology (*Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion*, 1903, 421-6) from *τράγος* = 'spelt', because a beer-like drink was produced from the fermentation of spelt, *τραγωδοί* then meaning something like 'beer singers' or, as Harrison renders it, 'beanfeast-singers'; V. Pisani's (*Paideia* 8, 1953, 197-8) from the Illyrian root **trgo* = 'market, marketplace', *τραγωδοί* then meaning 'chorus of the market, i.e. of the city' in contrast to *κωμωδοί* from *κώμη* = 'chorus of the village, i.e. of peasantry'; H. Kronasser's (*Kratylos* 7, 1962, 162) from I.-E. **trg-* = 'stave, baton', compared with *θύρσος*, *τραγωιδοί* then meaning the bearers of staves, like the rhapsodes; O. Szemerényi's ('The Origins of Roman Drama and Greek Tragedy', *Hermes* 103, 1975, 300-332) from Hitt. *tarkuwa(i)* = 'dance', *τραγωιδοί* then meaning 'dancers' and the folk-etymology including both *τράγος* and *-ωιδός*; J. J. Winkler's ('The Ephebes' Song: *Tragōidia* and Polis', *Representations* 11, 1985, 26-62) from *τράγος* = 'the age when change of voice and other signs of puberty appear' and *τραγίζω, τραγάω* = '(of boys' voices)

The only other Greek word that I know to have a root with similar phonetic features is the verb *τρώνω*, with weak grade stem *τρᾶγ-* (aor. 2 *ἔτρᾶγον*). But *τρώνω* means ‘gnaw, crunch, munch, nibble’, is used especially of herbivorous animals (*τράγος* also derives from the same root), and it would be odd if *τραγωδός* designated the singer who gnaws, crunches, munches or nibbles with his song. And none of these notions seems, at first sight, to be parallel, complementary, or opposite to *κῶμος* as first component of the twin term *κωμωδός*.

However, only at first sight. Because *τρώνω* is the verb typically used of diners and their snacks in the second part of the dinner, which is exactly what we concern ourselves with in the present discussion. During the first and main part of the dinner, the guests *ἔδον* or Att. *ἤσθιον*, but, when they finished eating and wiped their hands, they passed to the second course, in which they used *πίνειν* and *τρώνειν*. What was served to accompany the drinking, is extensively discussed in Athenaeus, especially at 14.640 ff.: dried figs, walnuts, chestnuts, almonds, chickpeas, Egyptian beans, *ἴτρια* (cakes made of sesame seeds and honey), *μελίπηκτα* (honey-cakes). Pl. *Rep.* 372c adds myrtle berries and acorns. They were collectively named *τραγήματα*.¹⁰ Aristotle, fr. 675 Gigon (104 Rose; cf. also fr. 674, 1017 Gigon), from the lost treatise *Περὶ μέθης*, elucidates the matter better (Athen. 14.641d):

Ἀριστοτέλης δὲ ἐν τῷ *Περὶ μέθης παραπλησίως ἡμῖν δευτέρας τραπέζας προσαγορεύει διὰ τούτων· τὸ μὲν οὖν ὅλον διαφέρειν τραγήμα βρώματος νομιστέον ὅσον ἔδεσμα τρωγάλιον. τοῦτο γὰρ πάτριον τοῖνομα τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν, ἐπεὶ ἐπὶ βρώμασι τὰ τραγήματα παρατίθενται. διόπερ οὐ κακῶς ἔοικεν εἰπεῖν ὁ πρῶτος δευτέραν προσαγορεύσας τράπεζαν· ὄντως γὰρ ἐπιδορπισμός τις ὁ τραγηματισμός ἐστι, καὶ δεῖπνον ἕτερον παρατίθεται <τὰ> τραγήματα’.*

προσαγορεύει Kaibel : ἀπαγορεύει codd. || ὅσον ἐδέσματος τρωγάλιον Schweighauser || ἐπὶ βρώμασι τὰ τραγήματα Gigon : ἐν τραγήμασι τὰ βρώματα codd.; τὰ βρώματα del. Kaibel (tum fort. παρατίθεται) || ἐπιδορπισμός τις ὁ τραγηματισμός ἐστι : ὁ ἐπιδ. τραγηματισμός τ. ἔ. Α; ὁ τραγηματισμός ἐπιδ. τ. ἔ. C; ὁ τραγισμός ἐπιδ. τ. ἔ. E || <τὰ> add. Kaibel

The etymological relation of *τρωγάλιον* to *τρώνειν* is more transparent than that of the much commoner *τραγήμα*, and this is why Aristotle accounts for its use by calling it a traditional word among the Greeks. *τοῦτο γὰρ*

break, grow rough and hoarse’ (LSJ), *τραγωδοί* then meaning ‘chorus of adolescents’.

10. On the late history of the word see J. Kramer, *APF* 54 (2008) 113–131 (= *Von der Papyrologie zur Romanistik*, Berlin/New York 2011, 319–339). It is interesting that the corresponding Latin words are *bellaria* and *pulchralia*. The Mod. Gr. equivalent is *καλούδια* and the Engl. ‘goodies’.

πάτριον τοῦνομα τοῖς Ἑλλησιν is obviously parenthetic, elucidating the previous word *τρογαλίον*.¹¹ Write: *ὅσον ἔδεσμα τρογαλίον (τοῦτο γὰρ πάτριον τοῦνομα τοῖς Ἑλλησιν), ἐπεὶ κτλ.* The text transmitted next (*ἐπεὶ ἐν τραγήμασι τὰ βρώματα παρατίθενται*) is not clear. *τὰ βρώματα* cannot be used in the broad sense ‘whatever is consumed’, since in the previous sentence it is used as the term opposed to *τραγήματα*. Kaibel bracketing out the clearly corrupt *τὰ βρώματα* does not help. The drastic emendation published by Gigon gives a smoothing out sense (*ἐπεὶ ἐπὶ βρώμασι τὰ τραγήματα παρατίθενται*), but the causal clause does not explain the statements preceding. I propose *ἐπεὶ ἐν τραγήμασι τὰ τρογάγια παρατίθενται*, ‘because in the course of *τραγήματα* Greeks use to serve the *τρογάγια*’. *ΤΡΩΓΑΛΙΑ* might easily be corrupted into *ΒΡΩΜΑΤΑ*, the term mentioned right before, in Aristotle’s argument. So, the entire first course is named *βρώματα*, the second course *τραγήματα* (*ἐν τραγήμασι – καὶ δεῖπνον ἕτερον παρατίθεται τραγήματα*: Kaibel’s <τὰ> *τραγήματα*, adopted by Gigon, ruins the meaning). The items served in the first course of a *δεῖπνον*, i.e. in the *βρώματα*, are called *ἐδέσματα* — the regular verb is *ἐσθίειν* —, those served in the second, i.e. in the *τραγήματα*, are called *τρογάγια* — the regular verb is *τρώγειν*. The second course is also called *δευτέρα τράπεζα* or *δεύτεραι τράπεζαι*. As for *τραγηματισμός*, just like *ἐπιδορπισμός*, it is Aristotle’s attempt to form an abstract term from *ἐπιδορπίσματα*; cf. Poll. 6.79 *τὰ δ’ ἐπιδορπίσματα Ἀριστοφάνης* (PCG fr. 819) *μὲν ἐπιφορήματα καλεῖ, ὥστε εἴη ἂν καὶ τὸ ἐπιδορπίζεσθαι ἐπιφορεῖσθαι, ἦν δὲ τρογάγια, κάρνα, μυρτίδες, μέσπιλα, ἃ καὶ ὅα καλεῖται*; Hsch. ε 5390 *ἐπιφορήματα· τραγήματα μετὰ τὸ δεῖπνον*. I doubt that the reading of Athenaeus’ *Epitome* (*τραγισμός*), though tempting, might be adopted. I would then publish the whole Aristotle fragment as follows:

τὸ μὲν οὖν ὅλον διαφέρειν τράγημα βρώματος νομιστέον ὅσον ἔδεσμα τρογαλίον (τοῦτο γὰρ πάτριον τοῦνομα τοῖς Ἑλλησιν), ἐπεὶ ἐν τραγήμασι τὰ τρογάγια παρατίθενται. διόπερ οὐ κακῶς ἔοικεν εἰπεῖν ὁ πρῶτος δευτέραν προσαγορεύσας τράπεζαν· ὄντως γὰρ ἐπιδορπισμός τις ὁ τραγηματισμός ἐστι, καὶ δεῖπνον ἕτερον παρατίθεται τραγήματα.

τραγήματα are also connected with wine-drinking, obviously the most Dionysiac of the *δεῖπνον* activities. Apart from the numerous fragments of

11. The word survived, through the intermediate of *τρογάλιον* (Theognost. *Can.* 125), only with narrowed sense, in Mod. Gr. *στραγάλια*, ‘roasted chickpeas’, folk-etymologically modified from *ἀστράγαλος*. *στραγάγια* are, even today in Greek traditional communities, a usual titbit served in cafés and tavernas for accompanying drinking, especially of distilled beverages (ouzo, tsipouro).

comedy quoted in Athenaeus, we should notice not only that Aristotle's fragment comes from *Περὶ μέθης*, but also Arist. *Probl.* 930b 12, *διὰ τί τὰ τραγήματα ἐδεστέον; ἢ ἔνεκα τοῦ πιεῖν ἰκανόν; οὐ γὰρ μόνον ποτέον τῆς δίψης χάριν τῆς ἐπὶ τοῖς σιτίοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ μετὰ τὸ σιτίον;* and Gal. 6.550, *ὀνομάζω δὲ δηλονότι τραγήματα τὰ παρὰ τὸ δεῖπνον ἐσθιόμενα τῆς ἐπὶ τῷ πίνειν ἡδονῆς ἔνεκα*. Other terms used for 'second course' is *ἐπιφορήματα* or *ἐπιτραπεζώματα* or *ἐπιδορπίσματα* or *ἐπιδειπνια* or dialectally *ἐπάικλα* / *ἐπαῖκλεια* or verbal forms like *ἐπιδορπίζεσθαι*, *ἐπιδειπνεῖν*, and *ἐπιφορεῖσθαι*. It is interesting, however, that Athenaeus mentions the *ἐπι-* compounds as synonyms of a basic headword, supposedly not needing any clarification: 14.640f *καὶ ἐπιδορπίσασθαι δ' ἔλεγον τὸ ἐντραγεῖν καὶ ἐπιδειπνήσαι*, which must be translated with mild hyperbaton 'they used to employ for *ἐντραγεῖν* the verbs *ἐπιδορπίσασθαι* and *ἐπιδειπνήσαι*'. Now, as pointed out in LSJ, *ἐντραγεῖν*, though properly the aorist 2 of *ἐντρῶγω*, is regularly used as aorist 2 of *τρώγω*, in the sense 'to eat dessert'.

Let us then return to our etymology. A typical *δεῖπνον* (first and second course) could end up in two different ways. If the band consisted of young men heavily drunk, the sequel might be boisterous, involving merry singing and brisk dancing often out in the streets. The event is called *κῶμος*, and the singer singing *ἐπὶ τῷ κώμῳ* is called *κωμοφῶδης*. If the group, usually consisting of grown-ups, stayed at the table after the second course (the *τραγήματα*) was served, and continued restrainedly drinking and eating finger-food and dessert, solemnly singing and, occasionally, slowly dancing, there was no distinct event to need a special name other than the second course itself. Thus, the singer singing *ἐπὶ τῷ (ἐν)τραγεῖν* or *ἐπὶ τῷ τραγήματι/τοῖς τραγήμασι* might well be called *τραγωφῶδης*. The two correspond to the basic modern distinction of folk songs referred to above: dance songs (Mod. Gr. *τραγούδια τοῦ χοροῦ*) and table songs (Mod. Gr. *τραγούδια τῆς τάβλας*).¹² 'Table songs' remind also of the terms *τράπεζα* and *δευτέρα τράπεζα* for 'meal' and 'dessert', but the similarity proves nothing, since singing during or after the meal was never doubted, in antiquity or today.

A similar etymology was proposed in an endnote of a book on tragedy, remaining there enshrouded for more than half a century. I mean the book of Carlo Del Grande, *ΤΡΑΓΩΔΙΑΙΑ*, which was first published in 1952, and

12. It is an ironic turn of literary history that the Medieval and Modern Greek *τραγονδῶ*, derived from *τραγωδῶ*, 'act a tragedy, tell or sing in tragic tone', means simply 'sing', thus returning to its original semantic roots. From *τραγονδῶ* derives *τραγούδι(ν)*, 'song'. I do not dare attempt, depending on the investigation made in the present article, to overturn the accepted derivation and propound *τραγωδέω* in the sense 'sing' as original.

appeared in second edition (Milan and Naples) in 1962. The note is found on pages 356–8 of the second edition and consists of three paragraphs included in a long addendum placed within brackets.¹³ To be sure, the only common element in Del Grande’s etymology and the one proposed here is the lexical root of the proposed etymon (*τραγεῖν*), but the social and literary interpretation of the proposals is entirely different. Del Grande does not refer to *κῶμος* or to comedy, neither to the procedure of the *δεῖπνον*. He assumes that the origins of tragedy are found in Dionysiac ceremonies, in which the worshippers sang in choir the god’s passions, while munching and crunching dried fruit, nuts, and sweets, which they bought from itinerant vendors, much like what happens nowadays in village religious fairs. Evidently, this is not a plausible reason for naming the choristers of a religious ceremony *τραγωδοί*, something the Italian scholar realized, and therefore opened the discussion by stating about the etymology ‘non la propongo, ma dubitosamente la espongo qui’, and closed his argumentation by declaring that all this was said ‘a titolo di curiosità’.

Yet, there seems to exist a parallel to *τραγωδός*, which possibly invalidates the proposals made above. It is the term *ἄρνωδός*, which denotes the singer who competes for the prize of a lamb. The only reference to the term to be found in Greek literature comes from Schol. Pind. *N.* 2.1 (all other references stem either directly from the Scholia or from the same source: Eust. 6.25, *EM* 146.55, Hsch. *a* 7355, Phot. s.v. *ῥαψωδοί*): [*Ὅθεν περ καὶ Ὀμηρίδαι*] οἱ δὲ (φασὶν) ὅτι κατὰ μέρη πρότερον τῆς ποιήσεως διαδιδομένης, τῶν ἀγωνιστῶν ἕκαστος ὃ τι βούλοιτο μέρος ἦδε· τοῦ δὲ ἄθλου τοῖς νικῶσιν ἄρνος ἀποδεδειγμένου, προσαγορευθῆναι τότε μὲν ἄρνωδός, αὔθις δὲ ἑκατέρας τῆς ποιήσεως εἰσενεχθείσης, τοὺς ἀγωνιστὰς οἷον ἀκουμένους πρὸς ἄλληλα τὰ μέρη καὶ τὴν σύμπασαν ποιήσιν ἐπιόντας ῥαψωδὸς προσαγορευθῆναι. ταῦτά φησι Διονύσιος ὁ Ἀργεῖος (*FGrHist* 308 F 2). I do not know what historical validity may be assigned to the account of the otherwise unknown Dionysius of Argos. Jacoby dates him entirely speculatively in the fourth or third century BCE, and is not even certain that he is a local historian and not a grammarian. The only other fragment of his (F 1) dates the fall of Troy on the twelfth of Thargelion, in the eighteenth year of Agamemnon’s reign or the first year of Demophon’s reign in Athens. Welcker¹⁴ attempted an emendation of *ἄρνωδός*, but Burkert (note 3) 93 n. 13, vindicated the truth

13. In his first edition (*non vidi*) he claimed that *τράγος* must be a mournful ritual song like *λίγος*, only homophonous with *τράγος*, ‘goat’.

14. (Note 5 above) 241 n. 179; and later, *Der epische Cyclus*, vol. I, ²1865, 338, 379.

of the account by referring to the Lex sacra of Coresos in Ceos (*IG* xii. 5, 647; early third century BCE) where it is stated (35-36) that the rhapsode is assigned *κρεῶν μερίδα*. The Lex sacra mentions, however, a public sacrifice followed by an also public *ἐστίασις*, where a portion of meat from the sacrifice is offered to all tax-paying citizens, metics, and freedmen. It also mentions athletic games on the same occasion, in which the boys winning in archery and javelin throw were assigned a prize of *κρεῶν μερίς*. Finally, a *κρεῶν μερίς* was offered to the rhapsode, who apparently was not needed to be a citizen of Coresos. The rhapsode participates in the feast, but not in the games, and the *κρεῶν μερίς* is offered not as prize but as payment, possibly a bonus, for his participation. I very much doubt that the account of the distribution of a piece of meat to all the citizens of a town and some more might be taken as parallel for the naming of a single winner in a contest.

A similar custom is, however, described by Philochorus (*FGrHist* 328 F 216). At their meals, the Spartans used to sing pieces of Tyrtæus by turns (Athen. 14.630e-f): *Φιλόχορος δέ φησιν κρατήσαντας Λακεδαιμονίους Μεσσηνίων διὰ τὴν Τυρταίου στρατηγίαν ἐν ταῖς στρατείαις ἔθος ποιήσασθαι, ἂν δειπνοποιήσωνται καὶ παιωνίσωσιν, ἕδειν καθ' ἓνα <τὰ> Τυρταίου κρίνειν δὲ τὸν πολέμαρχον καὶ ἄθλον δίδόναι τῷ νικῶντι κρέας*. The Spartan *ἔθος* is no doubt closer to the custom mentioned by Dionysius, since it mentions a winner and a prize, but even this is placed in the frame of a communal meal, and not a rhapsodic contest.

As for *ἄρρωδος*, it is, in all likelihood, a term coined secondarily as parallel to *τραγωδός*. If, for some reason or other, it was easier for the community officials to be provided with sheep rather than goats in the rhapsodic contests, the contestants would naturally (and somehow playfully) be named *ἄρρωδοί*. Needless to say, such a coinage or joke must have taken place after the prevalent in antiquity etymology of *τραγωδός* from the he-goat prize had been established. The satyr = he-goat etymology cannot be applied, unless we posit a satyr = sheep etymology too. On the other hand, it is possible that the term might have or be thought to have as its first component *ἄρρωμαι* = 'win, gain, esp. of honour or reward, [...] often with additional idea of striving' (LSJ), so that the compound might refer to the competing singers, as mentioned twice in Dionysius' fragment (*τῶν ἀγωνιστῶν ἕκαστος - τοὺς ἀγωνιστὰς οἷον ἀκουμένους*). In other words, *ἄρρωδοί* would be the singers who competed for a prize. Cf. *Il.* 22.160 *ἐπεὶ οὐχ ἱερόϊον οὐδὲ βοεῖην | ἄρνύσθην* (imperfect, third person dual), *ἃ τε ποσσὶν ἀέθλια γίγνεται ἀνδρῶν, | ἀλλὰ περὶ ψυχῆς θεῶν Ἐκτορος ἵπποδάμοιο*. Schol. rec. ad loc.: <δι>' *ἀγῶνος ἐσπούδαζον λαβεῖν*. Also, Hsch. a 7350 † *ἄρρωθεν· ἠγωνίζοντο*,

ἐνήργων, where, most probably, the lemma was originally the Homeric verse's *ἀρνύσθηγ*, but was altered, under the influence of the plural interpretation, into third person plural passive of a non-attested aorist form, by a grammarian who did not recognize the dual imperfect form. The fact that the nasal consonant of the *-νν-* suffix is retained in the derivative attests to the late date of its formation, as is the case with the late compounds *μισθαρνέω* and *μίσθαργος*.

I tried above to reject pragmatically some of the variations of the he-goat prize etymology (*τραγωδοί* = 'singers on occasion of the sacrifice of a he-goat' or 'singers on occasion of the awarding of a he-goat to be sacrificed'). Linguistically, the verdict was harsher. O. Szemerényi noted that 'there are insurmountable obstacles in the way of interpreting *τραγωδοί* as "those who sing for a goat as a prize" or "those who sing at the sacrifice of a goat"'. In neither case would the linguistic pattern, here the case-relationship of the two members, be able to suggest the sort of connection demanded by the drama expert.¹⁵

The second etymology, depending on the satyr = he-goat theory, formerly widely followed, seems to yield nowadays to the he-goat prize theory. Given that the image of the satyr is illustrated in a countless number of artworks, it cannot be accidental that the follower of Dionysus practically always appears, at least before the Hellenistic period, with horse tail and ears, unlike Pan (or the Roman Faunus), who is really depicted as he-goat.¹⁶ Further, linguistically, it is anomalous to have a determinative compound where the second part modifies or determines the first (*τράγος ἄδων*); the opposite would be normal. A copulative compound (*τράγος* and *ἰατρόμαντις*, like *ιατρόμαντις*) would be curious and formed not only unlike *κωμωδός*, but unlike all *-ωδός* compounds. A comparative compound (*ὡς τράγος ἄδων*) would hardly describe the image required.

The indirect association of satyrs with he-goats that appears two or three times in satyr-plays has been widely exploited as evidence of this etymology. Basis for the argument has been the verse *τράγος γένειον ἄρα πενθήσεις σύ γε*, plausibly ascribed to Aeschylus' *Προμηθεὺς πυρκαεὺς* (*TrGF* III Aesch. fr. **207). The words, spoken by Prometheus, are addressed to a Satyr, who is ready to embrace and kiss the fire, the new gift of the Titan to mankind. *τράγος* was interpreted as a nominative for vocative, already by Epiphanius (4th cent. CE) and Eustathius. It has been, however, cogently shown that it is no more than a comparative remark, typically made with

15. Above note 9, p. 323.

16. Burkert's account (note 3) 89-91 is clear, logical, and convincing.

reference to animals, often with an allusion to an animal myth or proverb: P. Shorey¹⁷ and R. Kassel,¹⁸ who provided numerous parallels from animal fables. Here, no animal fable has survived, and the poet may simply trade on the proverbial natural curiosity of goats. I copy from Wikipedia (art. Goat): ‘Goats have an intensely inquisitive and intelligent nature: they will explore anything new or unfamiliar in their surroundings. They do so primarily with their prehensile upper lip and tongue. This is why they investigate items such as buttons, camera cases or clothing (and many other things besides) by nibbling at them, occasionally even eating them.’ The Satyr behaves similarly at the sight of fire, an item new and unfamiliar to him, and by embracing and kissing the flame, runs the risk of burning himself ‘just like a goat’ or ‘just like the goat in the story, who burnt its beard’.¹⁹ The he-goat appears also in Soph. *Ichn.* (*TrGF* IV, fr. 314) 366-7 ἀ[λλ’] αἰὲν εἶ σὺ παῖς· νέος γὰρ ὢν ἀνήρ / π[όγ]ωνι θάλλων ὡς τράγος κνήκωι χλιδαῖς. The sense is not fully clear, but ὡς τράγος is obviously used comparatively, and one who prides himself like a τράγος is not a τράγος. Also, Eur. *Cycl.* 78-80 ἐγὼ δ’ ὁ σὸς πρόπολος | Κύκλωπι θητεύω | τῶι μονοδέρκται δοῦλος ἀλαίνων | σὸν τᾶιδε τράγον χλαίνοι μελέαι, must refer complainingly to the shepherds’ goat-skin the Satyrs were forced to wear instead of the proper fawn or leopard skin of Bacchus’ companions: Seaford ad loc. Be that as it may, these references, though not equating satyrs with he-goats, given that the etymology existed in antiquity, may perhaps latently allude to it.

In any case, though it is claimed that both etymologies are wrong, it cannot be denied that they existed already in antiquity. The only way out is, of course, resorting to folk-etymology, which, in my view, was effectuated quite early. And, as is usual with numerous religious aitia, the he-goat passed into various manifestations of the Dionysus ritual, when the serious singing activity was included in the Dionysiac festivals. Thus, I fully agree with the proposals regarding both the relation of tragedy with sacrificial ritual and the relation of the goat with Dionysus. I only believe that this relation is temporally secondary and that the primary formation of the twin terms κωμωδός and τραγωδός must be located in the singing and dancing manifestations of folklife.²⁰

17. ‘Aeschylus fr. 207 and the Satyr Chorus’, *CPh* 4 (1909) 433-436.

18. ‘Kritische und exegetische Kleinigkeiten IV’, *RhM* 116 (1973) 97-112, esp. 109-112.

19. The motif of Stith Thompson, *Motif-Index of Folk-Literature*, 4, Copenhagen 1957, 60 (J 834), to which Radt refers in the apparatus of fr. 207, is an edifying commonplace that has nothing to do with goats. Much closer seems to be the English proverb ‘Curiosity killed the cat’.

20. Later is also, I believe, the extension of the etymology to τίτρος, the satyr’s equivalent.

THE EVIDENCE – THE *MARMOR PARIUM* – EARLY DATES

The first reference to the practice is mentioned in Eusebius' Chronicle: in the Latin translation of Jerome (Ol. 47.2, 100b^d Helm): *his temporibus certantibus in agone tragus id est hircus in praemiis dabatur, unde aiunt tragoedos nuncupatos*; and in Georgius Syncellus' Greek (286.11 Moss-hammer): *τοῖς ἀγωνιζομένοις παρ' Ἑλλησι τράγος ἐδίδοτο, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ τραγικοὶ ἐκλήθησαν*. I do not know which noun is implied in *τραγικοί*, whether *ἀγωνισταί* or *χοροί*, or whether Jerome's *tragoedos* is more authentic than Syncellus' *τραγικοί*. The date (591 BCE) need not be rejected. If we limit ourselves to Athenian events, we see that the date falls within Solon's career. It may then well refer to Arion's activity in Corinth (thus, e.g., Snell in *TrGF* vol. 1, DID D 3), which was mentioned in Solon's elegies (*IEG* Solon fr. 30a). In accordance with the distinction we made above, the contestants mentioned by Eusebius must be singers of serious choral songs (*τραγωδοί*), possibly dithyrambs, paeans, prosodia, and other odes with sacred or heroic themes. The involvement of Solon in Thespis' activities (Plut. *Sol.* 29.6-7, the anecdote mentioned above; Diog. Laert. 1.59), if true, must have taken place at a later date.

591 BCE falls, however, also within the rule of Cleisthenes, the tyrant of Sicyon. And Eusebius, significantly, speaks of Greeks, not specifically of Athenians. Hdt. 5.67 is elucidative: *τά τε δὴ ἄλλα οἱ Σικωνῖοι ἐτίμων τὸν Ἄδρηστον καὶ δὴ πρὸς τὰ πάθεα αὐτοῦ τραγικοῖσι χοροῖσι ἐγέραιρον, τὸν μὲν Διόνυσον οὐ τιμῶντες, τὸν δὲ Ἄδρηστον. Κλεισθένης δὲ χοροὺς μὲν τῷ Διονύσῳ ἀπέδωκε, τὴν δὲ ἄλλην θυσίην Μελανίπῳ*. It is evident that *τραγικοὶ χοροί* (which possibly reinforces Syncellus' *τραγικοί*) have nothing to do with tragedy, but only with choral songs sung in honour of gods and/or heroes. Thus, the reference to Epigenes of Sicyon in the Thespis article of *Suda* as Thespis' predecessor, mentioning him either as first *τραγωδιοποιός* or as first *τραγικός*, but also Themist. *or.* 27.337b *καὶ τραγωδίας εὐρεταὶ μὲν Σικωνῖοι, τελεσιουργοὶ δὲ Ἀττικοὶ ποιηταὶ* and the article *οὐδὲν πρὸς τὸν Διόνυσον* of Photius and *Suda* that mentions Epigenes as having composed a tragedy about Dionysus yet irrelevant to the god (i.e., without the customary revelry) must have mistaken a poet who competed with 'tragic' choral songs *εἰς θεούς* for a tragedian.

Schol. vet. Theocr. 3.2c [*καὶ ὁ Τίτυρος*] *τοὺς τράγους τίτύρους λέγουσι· νῦν δὲ ὄνομά ἐστιν αἰπόλου κατὰ ἐμφέρεϊαν τοῦ χαρακτήρος*. Phot. Lex., s.v. *τιτυρίδες καὶ τίτυροι*: *τράγον εἶδος*. Contrariwise, Serv. in Verg. *Buc.* 1.1 *Laconum lingua tityrus dicitur aries maior* (i.e., *κρίος*).

We may then surmise that, whereas the ‘tragic’ choruses to Adrastus were serious (*πάθεια*), the ones to Dionysus prior to Epigenes were cheerful and phallic/satyrical, as witnessed by the Photius and *Suda* article: τὸ πρόσθεν εἰς τὸν Διόνυσον γράφοντες τούτοις ἡγωνίζοντο, ἅπερ καὶ σατυρικά ἐλέγετο. So, we might well distinguish between ‘tragic’ choruses and komoi. The choruses to Dionysus are not qualified as ‘tragic’ by Herodotus, while ‘the rest of the festival’ (τὴν δὲ ἄλλην θυσίην) was pertinent to Cleisthenes’ anti-Argive policy, since it was dedicated to the Theban hero Melanippus, whose feats against the Argive warlords in the Seven against Thebes war, were famous.

However, *θυσίη* implies naturally sacrifices. Can this be where the he-goat prize enters into the question? Cleisthenes’ reforms were, of course, not applicable in Periander’s Corinth, but some features could have been common in the neighbouring cities. The piece of information included in Eusebius’ Chronicle may well refer to the first occurrence of the term *τραγικός* (*χορός*) in contests, while the mention of the he-goat may be no more than a purely hypothetical interpretation of the chronicler, who was familiar with the later etymology. Because the oldest source, Pindar *Ol.* 13.18 f., from the 464 BCE epinician ode for Xenophon of Corinth, does not mention he-goats:

ταὶ Διονύσου πόθεν ἐξέφανε
σὺν βοηλάτῃ χάριτες διθυράμβῳ;

This is interpreted in the *Scholias vetera* in the following way: σὺν βοηλάτῃ· βοηλάτῃ τὸν διθυράμβον προσαγορεύει, ἦτοι διὰ τὸ βοῦν εἶναι τῷ νικῆσαντι ἐπαθλον· ἱερὸς γὰρ τοῦ Διονύσου· ἢ διὰ τὸ ἐλαύνεσθαι αὐτὸν διὰ βοῆς καὶ λέγεσθαι. Also, in the next item, Χάριτες διθυράμβῳ· οὕτως ἀκουστέον· αἱ τοῦ Διονύσου διθυράμβων ἐν Κορίνθῳ ἐφάνησαν χάριτες, τούτεστι τὸ σπουδαιότατον τῶν Διονύσου διθυράμβων ἐν Κορίνθῳ πρῶτον ἐφάνη· ἐκεῖ γὰρ ὠράθη ὁ χορὸς ὀρχούμενος· ἔστησε δὲ αὐτὸν πρῶτος Ἀρίων ὁ Μηθυμναῖος, εἶτα Λάσος ὁ Ἐρμιονεύς. The alternative derivation of *βοηλάτῃ* from *βοή* is surely wrong. Burkert, (note 3) 98, discusses the Pindaric verses as a general reference to the Greek custom of awarding a bull as a prize, but does not focus on the context of the origination of dithyrambs in Corinth by Arion. Can Pindar’s verses witness also a dyad of Dionysiac events similar to the ones in Sicyon? Pindar seems to distinguish *ταὶ Διονύσου χάριτες*, ‘the delights of Dionysus’, from *σὺν βοηλάτῃ διθυράμβῳ*, ‘in addition to the bull driving dithyramb’. The delights of Dionysus may well refer to komos events like the well known ones of the padded dancers that are illustrated on sixth century Corinthian vases or to those mentioned in *Suda* α 3886, 1. Ἀρίων, (λέγεται) καὶ Σατύρους εἰσενεγκεῖν ἔμμετρα λέγοντας. The ‘bull

driving dithyramb', however, may denote a parallel event: formal choruses singing serious songs of individual poetry (*διθύραμβον ... ποιήσαντα*) with themes from the Dionysus mythology (*[διθ.] ὀνομάσαντα*) and participating in a contest (*[διθ.] διδάξαντα*), to remind the terms used by Herodotus 1.23.

We may then conclude that what Arion instituted in Corinth were *τραγικοί χοροί* (*Suda* loc. cit.: *λέγεται καὶ τραγικοῦ τρόπον εὐρετῆς γενέσθαι καὶ πρώτος χορὸν στήσαι*) who sang his own entitled dithyrambs (*διθύραμβον ἄσαι καὶ ὀνομάσαι τὸ ἄδόμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ χοροῦ*) and danced the circular dances (whence his father's invented name *Κυκλεύς*), yet not with a he-goat prize but a bull one. Where does then *τραγικός* derive from in this case, if not from a root implying serious singing, as proposed above? The folk-etymology must not have been conceived yet.

Naturally, dithyrambs must have been originally folk songs addressed to Dionysus sung by inebriated revellers, members of a *komos*. This must have been the case with Archilochus fr. *IEG* 120:²¹

*ὡς Διωνύσου ἄνακτος καλὸν ἐξάρξαι μέλος
οἶδα διθύραμβον οἴνωι συγκεραυνωθεὶς φρένας.*

No doubt the reference is not to Archilochus' poetic products, but to his involvement in religious social events. I have elsewhere located this fragment together with 121 in the context of the war described in fr. 93a and 94 as Archilochus' proud answers to a Parian/Thasian archon's (most likely Amphitimus') insulting mockeries against Archilochus' poetic and musical engagement.²² The *μέλος* that Archilochus prides himself he knows how to lead when his wits are thunder-stricken with wine must be no more than a panhellenic folk song to Dionysus sung by a carousing party.²³ Then, the weight attached to the references to Arion's invention may have to shift

21. Similar must have been the case with paeans addressed to Apollon, only sung by sober singers 'in thanksgiving for deliverance from evil' (LSJ). Paeon is witnessed already in the epic (*Il.* 1.472–3 *μολπῇ θεὸν ἰλάσκοντο | καλὸν ἀείδοντες παιήονα κοῦροι Ἀχαιῶν*) and in Archilochus (fr. *IEG* 121 *αὐτὸς ἐξάρχων πρὸς αὐλὸν Λέσβιον παιήονα*).

22. 'Archilochus Fighting in Thasos', in *Ὁ Ἀρχίλοχος καὶ ἡ ἐποχὴ του – Archilochos and his Age*, Proceedings of the Second International Conference on the Archaeology of Paros and the Cyclades, Paroikia, Paros, 7–9 October 2005, edd. D. Katsonopoulou, I. Petropoulos and St. Katsarou, Athens 2008, pp. 163–180.

23. In addition to the Archilochus quotation, we may mention the Lesbian origin of Arion, who may have imported the rudimentary dithyramb from his homeland, and the dithyramb's alternative places of origin mentioned by Pindar: *Schol.* Pind. Ol. 13.18 (Thebes, fr. 71, Naxos, fr. 115).

somehow: Herodotus' *πρῶτον ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν* may imply the first eponymous individual poet; *Schol. Pind. Ol. 13.26b τὸ σπονδαιότατον τῶν Διονύσου διθυράμβων ἐν Κορίνθῳ πρῶτον ἐφάνη* may imply not the dithyramb as a whole but the most important of its sort.

If, to this choral activity in Corinth and Sicyon, we add the references to Megarian comedy,²⁴ in combination with the contested origin of Susarion from Megara, we can easily imagine an early sixth century choral activity, with songs both serious and amusing, in the north-east edge of the Doric region (Sicyon, Corinth, Megara) that borders Attica, being therefore likely to influence its religious institutions and customs.

If we recall Aristotle's assertion that tragedy was formed ἀπὸ τῶν ἐξαρχόντων τὸν διθύραμβον having been adapted ἐκ σατυρικοῦ, not ἐκ σατυρικοῦ δράματος but from an indefinite satyric form ('satyr-ish performing style'), it is natural to add to these early stages the hyporcheme of Pratinas (*PMG* 708 = *TrGF* 4 F 3; from Ath. 14.617) no doubt a quite later sample of the genre. It is unclear what genre this hyporcheme belongs to, but, given that Aristoxenus (*TrGF* 4 T 4; fr. 76 Wehrli; from [Plut.] *De mus.* 31.1142b) mentions Pratinas among the oldest lyric poets and that the satyr chorus addresses Dionysus as (15) θριαμβοδιθύραμβε, it is natural to consider it a dithyramb. Add the διθυραμβώδεις compound words in verses 11-12 ὀλοσιαλοπάλαγον²⁵ λαλοβαρόπα παραμελορθημοβάταν and, of course, θριαμβοδιθύραμβε.²⁶ Not only does Pratinas mention τὰν ἐμὰν Δώριον χορείαν, but his origin from Doric Phlius, a Peloponnesian town close to Sicyon and Corinth, is

24. I. M. Konstantakos, "'My kids for sale': The Megarian's Scene in Aristophanes' *Acharnians* (729–835) and Megarian Comedy', *Logeion* 4 (2014), 121–166. Admittedly, no choral activity is witnessed among the scarce information provided with regard to Megarian comedy, but I cannot imagine a subgenre named *κωμῳδία* already in the early 5th century (Euphrantides com. fr. 3) but lacking a *κῶμος* and an *ᾠδή*.

25. ὀλοσιαλοπάλαμον Athenaei AC, ὀλεσια κάλαμον E; editores alii alia; emendavi e Hsch. σ 558 σιαλοπάλλαγος· ὁ παράληρος καὶ ἀνόητος. Wind instruments played outdoors are usually filled with liquefied steam from the players' blowing. The liquid produced is usually called catachrestically 'saliva', and the aulos thus wholly sprinkled may well be ὀλος σιάλω πεπαλαγμένος or ὀλοσιαλοπάλαγος. As for the Hesychius interpretation, it is also a universal concept that connects salivation with nonsense; cf., e.g., Engl. 'drivel - dribble', 'driveller'.

26. On Pratinas as διθυραμβοποιός see Wilamowitz, *Sappho und Simonides*, Berlin 1913, 132-134; T.B.L. Webster in Pickard-Cambridge, *Dithyramb, Tragedy, Comedy*, Oxford 1962, 20; B. Zimmermann, *Dithyrambos. Geschichte einer Gattung*, Göttingen 1992, 125; M. Napolitano, 'Note all'iporchema di Pratinas (*PMG* 708 = *TrGF* 1 4 F 3)', in *Synaulia: Cultura Musicale in Grecia e Contatti Mediterranei*, edd. A.C. Cassio, D. Musti, L.E. Rossi, Napoli 2000, 111-155.

well known. Most likely he performed such dithyrambic choruses there before moving to Athens, and it must be from them that he formulated the dramatic subgenre of the satyr-play, which he introduced into the Attic Dionysia. Apparently, he followed Lasus of Hermione, another Doric town in Argolis of Northeast Peloponnese, who introduced the dithyramb into the programme of the Attic Dionysia during the rule of the Peisistratids. As a matter of fact, being an inventor of satyr-play means no more than adapting Thespis' invention to the dithyrambic satyr chorus. In the frame of the present investigation, the fully formulated satyr-play concerns us less than its prehistory and the unknown ancestors of Pratinas in this province of Peloponnese. As regards the etymology of *κωμωδία* versus *τραγωδία* proposed here, it is important to clarify that, in Pratinas' hyporcheme, the opposition conveyed is not with the official *κῶμοι*, which might well be equated with Pratinas' dithyrambic/satyric projects, but with the employment of aulos in the ceremonial dithyrambic performances, which should be distinguished from the everyday revels of drunken youths (8–9 *κῶμοι μόνον θυραμάχοις τε πυγμαχίαισι νέων θέλοι παροίωνων | ἔμμεναι στρατηλάτας*), where the aulos would be suitable. His personal relation with *κῶμος* choruses is possibly responsible for *Ἐγκώμιος*, the alternative name of his father. As for his attempt to banish the aulos, I do not know how successful it has been.

Criticizing Del Grande's suggestion that *τραγωδός* has nothing to do with *τράγος*, Burkert (note 3), 92 n. 12, remarks: 'If, however, a goat was sacrificed at the Dionysia in the time of Thespis, it is difficult to believe that the Athenians would keep *τραγωδοί* and *τράγος* apart.' This would be surely so, but only if we were to accept as correctly published the entry about Thespis in the *Marmor Parium*, which is dated to epoch 43 of the Chronicle (roughly between 538–528), and also if the event in question, i.e. Thespis' first performance and the establishment of the he-goat award, took place at the City Dionysia (*ἐν ἄστει*). However, the *Marmor Parium* inscription in the Ashmolean Museum was already since the 17th century, in very bad condition, and it is in still worse today, so that no certain text can be easily established.²⁷ This is how the *Marmor Parium* text of the Thespis entry runs in one of the

27. On the desperate condition of the fragment of the *Marmor Parium* at the Ashmolean Museum see W. R. Connor, 'City Dionysia and Athenian Democracy', *Classica & Mediaevalia* 40 (1989) 7–32, esp. 26–27 with n. 6. I recently found out in the Web that The Institute for Digital Archaeology, Oxford and Cambridge, MA, has applied reflectance transformation imaging (RTI) on the *Marmor Parium*, 'revealing significant, previously illegible text'. I am eagerly looking forward to the publication of their findings.

commonest versions, the edition of Hiller von Gaertringen (1903) at *IG* xii. 5, 444 (ep. 43.58b):

ἀφ' οὗ Θεόσπις ὁ ποιητῆς [ὕπεκρίνα]το πρῶτος, ὃς ἐδίδαξε [δρ]ᾶ[μα ἐν ᾗ]-
στ[ει, καὶ ἐ]τέθη ὁ [τ]ράγος [ᾄθλον], ἔτη *HH^Π* – , ἄρχοντος Ἀθ[ήνη] | [σι
. . .]ναίου τοῦ προτέρου.

Another common version, the text published by F. Jacoby, *Das Marmor Parium*, Berlin 1904, p. 14 (and *FGrHist* 239), only transposes ᾄθλον in the gap before ἐ]τέθη (καὶ ᾄθλον ἐ]τέθη) and specifies the date as *HH^Π*[ΔΔ.]. The same text was published by Snell in *TrGF*² (1971, 1986[+Kannicht]) 1, DID D 1 [Marmor Parium] (p. 49), who only dotted some elsewhere invisible letters: δρᾶμα[α ἐν ᾗ]στει. A few pages later (p. 61), in the Thespis Testimonia 2, δρᾶμα ἐν ᾗσσει appears unbracketed as a certain reading. These versions depend, however, in the main on the text restored by Boeckh (1843) in *CIG* ii. 2374:

ἀφ' οὗ Θεόσπις ὁ ποιητῆς [ἐφάνη], πρῶτος ὃς ἐδίδαξε [δρ]ᾶ[μα ἐν ᾗ]στ[ει,
καὶ ἐ]τέθη ὁ [τ]ράγος [ᾄθλον], ἔτη *HH^Π* [ΔΔ] --, ἄρχοντος Ἀθ[ήνησι] | [....]
ναίου τοῦ προτέρου.

Several editors have stressed the uncertainty of the reading (e.g. Hiller and Jacoby themselves), though they too end up with Boeckh's text.

Lately, W. R. Connor reexamined the old editions and provided a more reliable text:²⁸

ἀφ' οὗ Θεόσπις ὁ ποιητῆς [ὕπεκρίνα]το πρῶτος, ὃς ἐδίδαξε *NAA* - *ΣΤΙΝ* [καὶ
ᾄθλον ἐ]τέθη ὁ τράγος ἔτη *HH^Π* - ἄρχοντος Ἀθή[νησι -]ναίου τοῦ προτέρου.

Even this text was challenged by Scott Scullion, who gave 'a clearer and slightly more cautious one':²⁹

ἀφ' οὗ Θεόσπις ὁ ποιητῆς - c. 5-8 - πρῶτος [ὃς?] ἐδίδαξε *NAA* - c. 3 - *ΣΤΙΝ*
[καὶ ᾄθλον ἐ]τέθη ὁ τράγος ἔτη *HH^Π* - 3 - ἄρχοντος Ἀθή[νησι - c. 3 -]ναίου
τοῦ προτέρου.

28. Note 27 above, p. 32. His Appendix II, 'The evidence of the Marmor Parium', 26-32, offers a most illuminating history of the stone's fortunes and a comprehensive description of the successive after 1628 attempts to restore the Thespis entry of the *Marmor Parium* (ep. 43). My presentation selects in the main from this description venturing to build on it.

29. 'Tragic Dates', *CQ* 52 (2002) 81-101, esp. 81 n. 4.

The capitalized letters were supplemented by the first editor (Ioannes Selden, *Marmora Arundelliana*, London 1628) as Ἀλκηστων.³⁰ Significantly, the lacuna between ΑΛ and ΣΤΙΝ is noted with three dots in Selden's majuscule text, but with two in his minuscule one, where however he publishes with capital initial Ἀλ..στων, anticipating his final proposal that appears in the Latin translation *Alcestin*. In 1699, the supplement was censured by Richard Bentley,³¹ first because, according to the testimony of the Rev. Dr. John Mill who examined the stone for Bentley, ΑΛ...ΣΤΙΝ could not be seen and the first letter seemed to be O rather than A; second because the *Marmor Parium* does not mention titles of tragedies in the entries about first victories of the other tragedians; third because, as *Suda* states, it was Phrynichus who first introduced female characters in tragedy (*TrGF*² 3 [Phrynichus] T 1); and finally because one should not expect the chronicler to know of any title of a Thespian tragedy, since all titles transmitted belong to late forgeries (*TrGF*² 1 [Thespis] T 24).

I do not propose to discuss Bentley's mostly sound arguments. Based, however, on Selden's note printed in his *Errata*, that no gap exists between τράγος and ἔτη, I tested, upon the *IG* drawing made by M. Luebke for Hiller to a great extent hypothetically on the basis of Selden's text, in order to assess whether ἄθλον could be accommodated or not. Luebke, not taking account of the *Errata*, reproduced Selden's erroneous text in his drawing (.ΠΑΓΟΣ.....X...ΕΤΗ). By shifting the whole phrase καὶ ἐ]τέθη ὁ τράγος to the right, so that τράγος and ἔτη might meet together, we really gain enough space to accommodate καὶ ἄθλον ἐ]. There is however a second option, namely to shift the end of the line from ἔτη on to the left. This option is the reasonable thing to do, because, whenever we discover that a scribe or an engraver has inserted by error a gap in a text, we do not move the text preceding to the right, thus filling the gap but, at the same time, creating a new one or enlarging a previous gap; on the contrary, we shift the text following to the left in order to fill the erroneous gap. In this way, the end of the line (ἔτη ΗΗ[Ⓜ]... ἄρχοντος Ἀθ[ήνησι(ν)]), which Luebke was forced to squeeze in a short area, might now be written in regular size and space.³² In

30. Selden's majuscule text: 58 --- ΑΦΟΥΘΕΣΠΙΣΟΠΟΙΗΤΗΣ.....ΑΧΙ...ΟΣΕ-ΛΙΑΑΞΕΝΑΑ...ΣΤΙΝ.....ΤΕΘΗΟ..ΠΑΓΟΣ.....Χ...ΕΤΗΗΗ[Ⓜ]...ΑΡΧΟΝ-ΤΟΣΑΘ..... | 59ΝΑΙΟΥΤΟΥΠΡΟΤΕΡΟΥ

31. *Dissertation on the Epistles of Phalaris*, London, 239 ff.

32. Luebke's 24 or 25 characters following the gap in line 58 (from ΕΤΗ to the end of the line) have the same length as 14, 19, 18, 16, and 15 characters respectively printed in the same space of lines 63–67 (the first five legible lines after line 58). If one believes

this test, it became clear that the space available between ΣΤΙΝ and ΤΕΘΗ cannot accommodate [καὶ ἄθλον ἐ], but only [καὶ .. ἐ] or [.. καὶ ἐ]. The use of τίθημι in the sense ‘set up, of the prizes in games’, without the predicative ἄθλον, is recorded with numerous examples in LSJ. The fact that in ep. 39.54b, concerning Susarion, we find καὶ ἄθλον ἐτέθη is not compelling for the present case, and what prompted the addition of the explanatory ἄθλον there may well be the oddity of the prize (ἰσχάδων ἄρσιχος καὶ οἶνον μετρητής). Since J. A. R. Munro³³, examining the stone itself, asserts that Boeckh’s [ἐφάνη] ‘would only fit half the space between ποιητής and πρώτος’³⁴ and since he also claims that ‘the vestiges give a slight preference to a word ending -το or perhaps -ατο’ (irrespective if, according to Hiller von Gaertringen, ‘M[unro] ...το nunc [1903] addubitavit’), Keil’s [ὑπεκρίνα]το seemed perfect. ὑπεκρίνατο πρώτος would mean ‘was the first to perform as ὑποκριτής’; cf. *TrGF*² 1 [Thespis] T 7 ὕστερον δὲ Θέσπις ἕνα ὑποκριτὴν ἐξεῦρεν ὑπὲρ τοῦ διαναπαύεσθαι τὸν χορὸν, combined with T 17 τὸν Θέσπιν αὐτὸν ὑποκρινόμενον, ὡσπερ ἔθος ἦν τοῖς παλαιοῖς.

If, however, Thespis was the ‘inventor’ of tragic acting and the specific year marked the first acting of the first actor, what purpose would setting up the he-goat prize serve? Did Thespis compete with himself to claim a preset prize? In any case, the *Marmor Parium* entry does not say that Thespis won the prize for acting or, what is more, that he won the first-ever prize for acting. Even in the well regulated fifth-century Dionysia contest, no prize for actors seems to have existed before the middle of the century. With [ὑπεκρίνα]-το πρώτος the situation would be completely different from the establishment of the comic chorus (ep. 39.54b), which must have been a contest from the start (see below). After Keil’s proposal ([ὑπεκρίνα]το) prevailed, the syntax of the chronicle’s entry changed. The relative clause δὲ ἐδίδαξεν κτλ., which in Boeckh’s text was attached to πρώτος (πρώτος δὲ ἐδίδαξεν), was now attached

Selden, even lines 65 and 66 had no more than 14 characters each in the same space. So, in order to save space for accommodating these 24 or 25 letters, Luebke was forced not only to squeeze the letters, but also to print ΕΤΗΗΗ^Π for ΕΤΗΗΗ^Π, and to represent the gap of ΑΘ[ΗΝΗΣΙ(Ν)] at the close of the line with five dots, in an area where three characters could hardly be accommodated, so that several editors published ΑΘ[ήνη]σι, which is impossible.

33. ‘Notes on the Text of the Parian Marble, II’, *CR* 15 (1901), 355–361, esp. 357.

34. Boeckh was apparently misled by Bentley (246) who asserted that the text visible ran: Αφ’ οὗ Θέσπις ὁ ποιητής . . . πρώτος δὲ καὶ ἐδίδαξεν . . . τέθη ὁ .. ράγος. It seems that, depending on Dr. Mill’s information, Bentley not only disregarded the exact size of the gaps but also added a superfluous καί. On the other hand, Dr. Mill’s reading πρώτος δὲ instead of Selden’s ΑΧΙ . . . ΟΣ was confirmed by Munro 357.

to the subject (*Θέσπις ὁ ποιητής ... , ὃς ἐδίδαξεν*). The reason for the change was no doubt the verb: Boeckh's *ἐφάνη* would require *πρῶτον*, as adverb, while Keil's [*ὑπεκρίνα*]το would match the syntax of the following readable words: *πρῶτος ὃς ἐδίδαξε*. Then, I would rather propose a different verb and a different occasion for the Thespis entry: *ἀφ' οὗ Θέσπις ὁ ποιητής [ἡγωνίσ]ατο πρῶτος, ὃς ἐδίδαξεν κτλ.*³⁵ The verb is still roughly double in size than *ἐφάνη*, as Munro suggested, and slightly larger than Scott Scullion's 'c. 5–8'. No longer is there reference to the first acting or the first acting prize.

I believe that what the entry of ep. 43 deals with is the first contest of 'serious' dithyrambic choruses, the occasion parallel to the comic choruses of ep. 39. The winner, who was awarded the first-ever he-goat prize, was Thespis, poet of the victorious dithyramb and leader of the victorious chorus, acting also as intervening exarchon. None of these assertions is explicitly mentioned, but they are only natural. If the he-goat prize was intended for the victorious chorus, it is very likely that the first official Thespis performance was not in a separate tragic play but in a choral ode, and so it would claim the prize for choruses. After all, it is a common truth that the older the tragedy, the stronger the choral element is. So, whether we speak of tragedy with the choral song in the lead or of choral song with the chorus-leader (*ἐξάρχων*) intervening occasionally, it is one and the same thing. What Thespis initially 'taught' must have been choral singing, almost certainly dithyrambs to be performed in the Dionysus festival at Icaria, naturally on Dionysiac themes. These choral odes should have possessed not simply a narrative line but principally an action or a plot perhaps after the old example of Xenocritus, the seventh century poet who came from Epizephyrian Locri but was active in Sparta, and whose paeans or dithyrambs 'involved action', according to Pseudo-Plutarch *De musica*, as we have already seen. It was this action that accounted for the chorus-leader's interventions. We have also seen that Dionysiac and other choral odes were performed in the early sixth century in the Doric provinces bordering Attica. And, as it seems, the choruses contesting in these festivals were named *τραγικοί*. Possibly, what Ioannes Diaconus (Rabe, *Rh. Mus.* 63, 1908, 150) means by *τῆς δὲ τραγωδίας πρῶτον δρᾶμα Ἀρίων ὁ Μηθυμναῖος εἰσήγαγεν*, ascribing the information to Solon's elegies (*IEG* Solon fr. 30a), is such choral odes or dithyrambs enriched with an elementary plot. We do not know Solon's wording, but if

35. Whether *ὑπεκρίν]ατο* or *ἡγωνίσ]ατο*, the alpha seems to be certain, because, apart from Munro's suspicion, it appears also in Selden's reading *AXI...ΟΣΕΛΙΑΑΞΕΝ*, where the number of dots preceding alpha fits exactly *ἡγωνίσ-*. It is difficult to guess where XI has arisen from.

τραγωδία or an adjectival form stood for sacred or heroic choral ode, *δραμα* adds the element of action or plot.³⁶ The chorus prize was set up in Icaria sometime after the establishment of the comic chorus prize, verifying Iohannes Diaconus' piece of information: *τῆς οὖν κωμωδίας οὕτως εὐρεθείσης, ἵνα μὴ πάντῃ διάχυσις γένηται, τὴν τραγωδίαν εὐρήκασι, τὸ συνωφρομένον καὶ κατηφές ἐκ ταύτης εἰσφέροντες.*

It is obvious that setting up a prize presupposes many contestants. And since the object of the contest was new and unfamiliar, it should be taught to the contestants ahead of the contest. However, singing a choral ode cannot be described as a new and unfamiliar event. What was novel in the occasion and needed separate training was no doubt the intervening or responding (*ὑποκρινόμενος*) *exarchon*. It must have been this sort of training that Thespis undertook. This surmise revives Bergk's proposal, *ὃς ἐδίδαξεν ἄλλ[λου]ς τιν[ας καὶ ἐ]τέθη ὁ τράγος.*³⁷ If we add to Bergk's proposal the objection of the Rev. Dr. Mill, that he read not *A* but *O*, one might think of: *ὃς ἐδίδαξε πολ[λού]ς τιν[ας καὶ ἐ]τέθη ὁ τράγος. Π* might easily be confused with *N* in the heavily worn away stone. I would much prefer *ὃς ἐδίδαξε χο[ρο]ύς τιν[ας καὶ ἐ]τέθη ὁ τράγος*, especially if compared with ep. 46 (see below), but epigraphically it seems less likely. If we disregard Eusebius' testimony, as we did above, this must be the first mention of the he-goat prize — and the first actual application of the folk-etymology of *τραγωδία*. The anecdote about Solon and Thespis, if true, shows that Thespis had started his activity in Solon's old age, before the year of this first official performance, but in the stage of 'teaching others' or 'teaching many ones' or, simply, 'teaching some choruses'. Obviously, *ἐδίδαξε* should not be taken in the well-known technical theatrical sense 'produced a play', but in the usual sense 'taught, trained' or particularly 'served as *χορο-διδάσκαλος*'. Perhaps this is what Plutarch, *Sol.* 29.6 (*TrGF*² 1 [Thespis] T 17) implies by *διὰ τὴν καινότητα τοὺς πολλοὺς ἄγοντος τοῦ πράγματος*, "the activity enticing the public, because of its novelty". Ath. 1.22a, ultimately from Aristoxenus, explains the nature of this private 'training', that was unconnected with the contests: *φασὶ δὲ καὶ ὅτι οἱ ἀρχαῖοι ποιηταί, Θέσπις, Πρατίνας, {Κρατῖνος,} Φρόνιχος, ὄρχησται ἐκαλοῦντο διὰ τὸ μὴ μόνον τὰ ἐαντῶν δράματα ἀναφέρειν εἰς ὄρχησιν τοῦ χοροῦ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἕξω τῶν ἰδίων ποιημάτων διδάσκειν τοὺς βουλομένους ὄρχεῖσθαι.* In other words,

36. *πρῶτος ἄεισεν Ἀρίων* may be a clipping of Solon's hexameter, but *χορικὸν* (or *τραγικὸν*) *δραμα* (or in different cases, *-ικοῦ*, *-ικῶν*, *-ικοῖς* | *-ματος*, *-ματι*, *-μασι*) can be accommodated only in the pentameter.

37. *Griechische Literaturgeschichte* III, Berlin 1884, 256 n. 15. Bergk's other supplements cannot stand either epigraphically or philologically.

Thespis did not restrict himself to displaying his personal skill but was interested in creating an artistic tradition, eventually establishing himself as the inventor of tragedy.

I would then suggest for ep. 43:

ἀφ' οὗ Θέσπις ὁ ποιητῆς [ἡγωνί]στο πρώτος, ὃς ἐδίδαξεν ἄλ[λου]ς τιν[ὰς
(or ὃς ἐδίδαξε πολ[λού]ς τιν[ὰς or ὃς ἐδίδαξε χο[ροῦ]ς τιν[ὰς) καὶ ἐτέθη ὁ
τράγος, ἔτη ΗΗΠ[* * *],³⁸ ἄρχοντος Ἀθ[ῆνησι(ν) | ...]ναίου τοῦ προτέρου.³⁹

The relative clause ὃς ἐδίδαξε(ν) κτλ. seems to be unparalleled in the *Marmor Parium*, but ep. 46 is an interesting analogue both in phrasing and in subject: 46.61 ἀφ' οὗ χοροὶ πρώτων ἡγωνίσαντο ἀνδρῶν, ὃν διδάξας Ὑπό[δι]-κος ὁ Χαλκιδεν[ς] ἐνίκ[α], ἔτη ΗΗΔΔΔΔΠΙ, ἄρχοντος Ἀθήνησιν Λυσσαγόρου. Regardless of the syntactical incongruity (obviously, ἀφ' οὗ χορὸν πρώτων ἡγωνίσαντο ἀνδρῶν, where χορὸς ἀνδρῶν is the objective of the competition), the relative clause is comparable with the one of the Thespis entry. The dithyrambic choruses in question are usually placed in the introductory year of the City Dionysia, though the date of the chronicle (510/09 or 509/08) does not seem to correspond with the reconstructed first column of the *Fasti*.

The reliability of the *Marmor Parium* as regards the date of the Thespis event has been questioned.⁴⁰ West noticed that the entries in the *Suda* for the three tragedians who antedate the contest of Pratinas, Aeschylus, and Choerilus in the 70th Olympiad (499/6) are positioned at intervals of three Olympiads: Phrynichus Ol. 67 (511/08), Choerilus Ol. 64 (523/0), Thespis Ol. 61 (535/2). The observation was really impressive, and led West to consider the dating (p. 251) 'very much like a schematic construction designed to place the three known seniors of Aeschylus and Pratinas in their right order at suitable intervals'. Scott Scullion fully accepted West's conclusion calling it 'irresistible'. The most likely culprit was suggested to be Eratosthenes, who, as Scullion puts it (p. 81), 'simply manufactured a chronological schema for the known early tragedians'. And he continues: 'The *Suda*'s date for

38. The asterisks denote letter-spaces, not necessarily number of letters, since an I is necessarily narrower than, say, Δ or Π. Cf. M. L. West, 'The Early Chronology of Attic Tragedy', *CQ* 39 (1989) 251-254, esp. 253 n. 13. In any case, Selden notes three dots not only in his majuscule text, but also in the lowercase text and the Latin translation.

39. Φρυν[αίου] has been proposed, and has even been established in some Athenian archon lists. By shifting the text of the end of the line to the left, there is even room for writing Ἀθ[ῆνησιν], which would allow Ἀθη[ναίου] in the next line. Still, neither Φρυν[αῖος] nor Ἀθη[ναῖος] or any other -ναῖος ὁ ἕσπερος is recorded.

40. West (note 38); Scullion (note 29).

Thespis, 535–532, is roughly comparable with that of the *Marmor Parium*, sometime between 538 and 528, but West concludes that both are guesswork. Thus vanish — or ought to vanish — what have always been regarded as our only firm dates for early Athenian tragedy, and utter chronological darkness falls over the history of tragedy before c. 500’.

Be that as it may, isn’t it too hasty to promote an argument from reasonable suspicion to firm certitude? Things are not so clear. For instance, one wonders why the fabricator of the chronological schema should also invent different occasions to correspond to each fake date: Thespis and Choerilus ‘produced a play’, but Phrynichus ‘won a victory’. The 33-year generation period presumed by West as employed by Eratosthenes in ‘the conversion-formula “33 years before = the ninth Olympiad before”’ may really lead us by a blind reckoning from Ol. 70 back to Ol. 61. However, as West notes (in his n. 15), if the reckoning started from Ol. 70.2 (498), which is the independently known exact date of the Pratinas-Aeschylus-Choerilus contest, it would only have reached back to Ol. 62.1 (531). Still, even without taking Ol. 70.2 as the starting date, the back reckoning would be valid only for the period from Ol. 70.1 (499) to Ol. 61.4 (532), and, as the latter date is excluded (see below), so is also the whole Ol. 61 (535/2), i.e. the date mentioned in the *Suda*. Finally, the 33-year generation unit that is usually employed for father-son or teacher-pupil successions, is not used, to the best of my knowledge, for the span of three or four successive poets. Even accepting the falsehood, the most practicable way to place four unknown points in a regular order would not be to multiply an arbitrary unit by three and reach blindly a random starting point, but to start from two firm ends and divide the intervening period by three. The firm ends here should be Ol. 70 and Ol. 61, the first falling within the period recorded in the *Fasti*, the second a prominent date marking not only Thespis’ *première* but mainly what was considered the official commencement of dramatic performances in Greece and therefore likely to have been recorded in any conceivable source. The end result would be the same as the one produced by the *Suda* dates, but at least we would be trustful of two dates, not merely one. Whether the dates for Choerilus and Phrynichus are then arbitrary or not, I do not know, but the fact that a different occasion is attached to each date rather speaks for their authenticity. Most surprising is, however, the attribution of these highly imprecise calculations and fabricated reckonings to Eratosthenes, a scholar not only given to attaining accuracy in resolving much more difficult problems, such as the measurement of the Earth’s circumference and of its axial tilt, but also endeavouring to achieve time precision, for instance, by inventing the leap day.

Furthermore, why should the supposedly fabricated Olympiad date of the *Suda* for Thespis affect the *Marmor Parium* date? The comparable dates (*Suda* 535–532 ~ *Marmor Parium* 514/3 + ***, but between entries of 541/0 and 520/19 or, as scholars calculate, between 538 and 528) recorded in two completely independent sources should normally validate each other's authenticity. And since the *Suda* date fully survives, I do not see why we should exceed the limits of this date by exploiting the various possibilities the worn down area of the stone offers. In any case, Ol. 61.4 (= 533/2) is excluded, because the archon name is different (Θηρικλῆς, not -ναιος ὁ πρότερος; D.H. 4.41.2; cf. D.S. 10.3.1). Besides, if the three letter-spaces in the *Marmor* gap are certain, Ol. 61.4 should be anyway excluded, since the figures needed to supplement the surviving HH^Π would be either two, ΔΔ, or six, ΔΓΙΙΙΙ. In strict reckoning, the figures needed to fill the three letter-spaces should be either ΔΔΙ or ΔΔΙΙ, i.e. either 535/4 or 534/3.

The entry about Thespis (ep. 43) is to some extent coupled with the one about comic chorus and Susarion (ep. 39.54b):

ἀφ' οὗ ἐν Ἀθ[ήν]αις κωμω[ιδῶν] χο[ο]ρ[ὸς] ἐτ[έ]θη, [στη]σάν|[των πρώ]των
 Ἰκαριέων, εὐρόντος Σουσαρίωνος, καὶ ἄθλον ἐτέθη πρώτον ἰσχάδω[ν] ἄρσι-
 χο[ς] καὶ οἶνον με[τ]ρητής, [ἔτη HH***, ἄρχοντ]ος [Ἀθήνησιν | --.⁴¹

Initially, the formulation ἀφ' οὗ ... χορὸς ἐτέθη, ..., καὶ ἄθλον ἐτέθη is, to say the least, worrying. I also observe in Luebke's drawing, which here follows Selden's majuscule text, that the lacuna between χο[ο]ρ[ὸς] and ἐτ[έ]θη is shorter than what is required for the supplement accepted, whereas the lacuna between ἐτ[έ]θη and [στη]σάν|[των] is distinctly longer than the supplement. Keeping to J. A. R. Munro's warning in *CR* 19 (1905) 268, against counting Selden's dots, 'at all events [not] beyond three or four', I venture a different proposal, in which Selden's dots are almost steadily one dot more than what the size of the gaps allows:

ἀφ' οὗ ἐν Ἀθ[ήν]αις κώμω[ν] χο[ο]ρ[ὸν] ἔθη[καν αἰ]σάν|[των πρώ]των Ἰκαρι-
 έων, εὐρόντος Σουσαρίωνος, καὶ ἄθλον ἐτέθη πρώτον ἰσχάδω[ν] ἄρσιχο[ς]
 καὶ οἶνον με[τ]ρητής, [ἔτη HH***, ἄρχοντ]ος [Ἀθήνησιν | --.⁴²

41. Ἀθ[ήν]αις Selden, quamquam idem [...]; κωμω[ιδῶν] χο[ο]ρ[ὸς] Boeckh, quamquam Selden [...]; [ὸς ἐτ]έθη Palmer, quamquam Selden [...]; [στη]σάν| Munro, quamquam Selden [...]; |[των πρώ]των Munro.

42. Selden's text: (54) ΑΦΟΥΕΝΑΘ... ΑΙΣΚΩΜΩ... Ρ... ΕΘΗ... ΣΑΝΙ|(55)... ΤΩ-ΝΙΚΑΡΙΕΩΝΗΥΡΟΝΤΟΣΣΟΥΣΑΡΙΩΝΟΣΚΑΙΔΟΛΟΝ.. ΤΕΘ.. ΠΠΩΤΟΝΙΣ-ΧΑΔ..... ΑΡΣΙΧΟ..... ΝΟΙΝΟΥ... ΕΡ... ΟΣ...|(56).. Some portions of the

Here, ἐν Ἀθ[ήν]αις should not mislead us into believing that the City Dionysia are meant. We are still at the Athenian deme of Icaria. The entry, dated between 581/0 and 562/1, does not refer to the establishment of Athenian comedy but only of contests of komos choruses who sang and danced without actor, an event introduced by Susarion and first tested in Icaria, a well-known centre of Dionysiac ritual, where Thespis will also be the first to perform as acting exarchon of the dithyrambic chorus. That Susarion's komoi were cheerful and amusing is inferred from the unanimous testimony of later sources. We can add that the komoi must not differ much from what we saw in Corinth and Sicyon.

So far as the prize is considered to be the derivation root of the genre name — as is the case with the he-goat prize —, wine and figs, the Susarion prizes, are, as we have seen, the principal constituents of the komos and the τραγήματα, in other words of the second course of a deipnon, irrespective of how boisterous or restrained it is. Komos presupposes young people drunk, whereas, in the words of Arist. *Probl.* and Galen quoted above, the τραγήματα are the pretext for drinking wine, and we have seen that dried figs are one of the main items of the τραγήματα. However, whereas figs and wine are the prize for komos chorus contests, τραγήματα are the derivation root for τραγικοί χοροί. There is no contradiction whatsoever if we stop considering 591 BCE the date fixed in Eusebius' Chronicle for the introduction of the he-goat prize and designate it as the date of establishment of the 'tragic' choruses contests. καὶ ἐτέθη ὁ τράγος in the Thespis entry of the *Marmor Parium* marks, as proposed above, the first actual application of the folk-etymology, but the folk-etymology itself might predate its application by Thespis.

The events in Icaria being related to Dionysus, therefore initially satyric and cheerful, were named κῶμοι. Thus, κῶμος was established as the traditional term for the choruses (naturally of men, since choruses of boys were instituted later), but also for the entire Dionysiac festival, which at the time comprised these choruses and nothing more — hence, the common κῶμος and τραγήματα prizes. This is why even the non-satyric Dionysiac dithyrambs seem to have been included in the κῶμος. The mutilated heading of the *Fasti* (IG ii². 2318) may probably refer to this naming: [πρῶ]τον κῶμοι ἦσαν τ[ῶι Διονύσ]ωι τραγωιδοὶ δ[. So is also the law of Euegorus: Dem. 21 (*Mid.*).10 Εὐγόρου εἶπεν· ὅταν ἡ πομπὴ ἢ τῶ Διονύσῳ ... καὶ τοῖς ἐν ἄστει Διονυσίοις ἢ πομπῇ καὶ οἱ παῖδες καὶ ὁ κῶμος καὶ οἱ κωμοφοδοὶ καὶ οἱ τραγωδοί,

text are visible with difficulty in the photograph of the stone. Filling the gaps in the last portion of the entry, after ἰσχάδω[ρ], is still somewhat problematic.

... μὴ ἐξεῖναι μῆτε ἐνεχυράσαι μῆτε λαμβάνειν ἕτερον ἕτερον κτλ. Possibly, the metaphorical use of κῶμος for the triumph procession and song in Pindar (*Ol.* 4.9, *Pyth.* 5.100, al.), which has been compared, is transferred from the Dionysiac κῶμος. I suppose that Aristotle, when speaking of the origin of tragedy from a satyric form with brief stories and laughable diction (*Po.* 1449a 20), refers to this pre-Thespian phase of κῶμος, principally in Icaria.

I do not know whether the supplements in the Parian chronicle proposed here and the speculations made in accordance with these supplements add to the confusion assumed by J. Rusten⁴³ or not, but they fully agree with his conclusion that '[o]ur only independent source for Susarion is the Parian marble, which [...] deserves to be considered independently because of its age, its use of fifth- and fourth-century sources, and the character of its other entries on literary history'. Accordingly, we should expect that the Parian marble makes use of the original terms found in its sources, so that κῶμων χορός need not contradict κωμοιδία, which is found in almost every subsequent source (Susario test. 2–10).

As for the name of Σουσαρίων, also widely discussed, I believe that it is a generic name for a type of performer, as was, of course, also the name of his tragic peer, Θέσπις — a well-known practice of professional nicknaming resulting into naming both in the mythical and the historic world; e.g. Δαίδαλος, Φήμιος, Τέρπανδρος, Στησίχορος, Θεόφραστος; also Κνκλεύς, Μινύρας, and Ἐγκώμιος, supposed father names of Arion, Phrynichus, and Pratinas. Σουσαρίων must be a jocular formation after the manner of diminutives, but not itself a diminutive. The name (or nickname) is formed much like Σαννορίων, name of a fifth century comic poet, or Βουταλίων, proverbial name of an idiot. The first must derive from the contracted form of σεύομαι, σου- or σουσ-, 'run, rush'. No original form Σούσαρος has to be looked for nor has Ἀρίων anything to do with the name.⁴⁴ The second name must derive from σάννας, 'idiot, buffoon'. The third derives from βούτης, 'herdsman, boorish, ἄγροικος': Ἄγροικος ἢ Βουταλίων, title of a Middle comedy play by Antiphanes.⁴⁵ All refer to stereotypical funny features, later typified into comic stock characters: (*servus*) *currens*, (*servus*) *stultus*, *sannio*, *parasitus*. Naturally, the pre-comedy Σουσαρίων is only a lively comast/dancer, but the fifth and fourth century Σαννορίων and Βουταλίων are comic characters. I

43. 'Who "invented" comedy? The ancient candidates for the origins of comedy and the visual evidence', *AJP* 127 (2006), 37–66, esp. 60.

44. J. Rusten (note 43) 42 f.

45. I. M. Konstantakos, 'Antiphanes' Agroikos-Plays: An Examination of the Ancient Evidence and Fragments', *RCCM* 46 (2004), esp. 17–19.

believe *Σαννυρίων* to have been a comic poet and actor, whose principal role name, apparently a character *σαννυρίζων*, ‘stupidly flattering’, i.e. parasite, prevailed over his real name, a tradition practiced even today: e.g., Bébé (Fr. ‘sexually attractive girl’) for Brigitte Bardot, Totò (It. baby-word for ‘blow, smack’, i.e. a figurative ‘punching bag’) for Antonio de Curtis, etc.⁴⁶

Be that as it may, the *Marmor Parium* mentions an opinion widely accepted in antiquity, and it would be of little importance to date precisely the he-goat prize or the derivation from a he-goat prize. Popular customs and religious dromena deriving from folk-etymologies and concomitant mythical aitia cannot be limited temporally or locally, much more cannot be arranged in a neat historical order. An already established term *τραγωιδός* for the singer of table songs might at any time be folk-etymologized from *τράγος*, the he-goat prize might at any time derive from the folk-etymology, and the he-goat might at any time after the folk-etymology make its way into the Dionysus mythology.

Eratosthenes’ verse, *Coll. Alex.* fr. 22,

Ἰκαριοῖ, τόθι πρῶτα περὶ τράγον ὠρχήσαντο,

from Hygin. *Astr.* 2.4.2.1, transmits the long established in the 3rd century BCE piece of information, though the aition expounded by Hyginus associates the etymology with the custom of *ἄσκολιασμός*. Herod. 8 (*Ἐνύπνιον*) also of the 3rd century describes an imaginary *ἄσκολιασμός* associating it with a Dionysiac poetic event, though not a traditional dramatic contest but rather one in choliambic mime.

Dioscorides’ mock epitaph on Thespis (*AP* 7.410), also of the 3rd century BCE, seems to follow an evolution approach not much dissimilar from the Parian chronicle.

*Θέσπιδε δὲ, τραγικὴν δὲ ἀνέπλασα πρῶτος ἀοιδὴν
κωμῆταις νεαρᾶς καινοτομῶν χάριτας,
† Βάκχος ὅτε τριτθὴν κατάγοι χορὸν ἄνι τράγος ἄθλων
χῶπτικὸς ἦν σύκων ἄρριχος ἄθλος ἔτι. †
5 εἰ δὲ μεταπλάσσοι νεοὶ τάδε, μῦθος αἰῶν
πολλὰ προσεῖρησει χᾶτερα· τὰμὰ δ’ ἐμά.*

1 ἀνέπλασα Salmasius, -σε P
5 εἰ δὲ Desrousseaux, οἱ δὲ P
λα P (τ’ ἄλλα corr.)

3 τριτθὴν (alt. τ supra ι corrector) P

4 ἄθλος P, -ον Heinsius

6 προσεῖρησει Reiske, πρὸ σεῦ φήσει P | τὰμὰ Meineke, τάλ-

46. Cf. W. Croenert, *Kolotes und Menedemos*, 1906, 25 f.

Dioscorides considers both the *τράγος* and the *σύκων ἄρριχος* as pre-Thespian (ἔτε – ἔτι) prizes for an unclear Bacchic chorus. The incomprehensible *ἔτε τριτθὸν κατάγοι χορὸν ὧι τράγος ἄθλων* is still puzzling scholars. If *τριθόν* or *τριτύν* was corrupted from *βῆιθόν* (Tucker), ‘weighty, grave, severe’, it would exclude amusing songs, for which the basket of figs should have been intended; if from *τριπτόν/τρισσόν* (Bentley), referring to the triple Dionysus festival, i.e. City, Rural, Lenaea, it would antedate the whole festival structure before Thespis; if from *τριέτη* (Wil.), it would move the question to a different Dionysiac cult context than the one expected in the Thespis milieu. *τρυγικόν* (Jacobs) would be acceptable, given that an identical expression occurs in Ar. *Ach.* 628 and that the particular etymology (Ath. 2.40b) was established among several in the 3rd century BCE, had it not been so remote from the transmitted *τριθόν*. Confidently enough, I propose

4 *Βάκχος ἔτε τριπτὸν κατάγοι χοροῦ ὧι τράγος †ἄθλων*
χῶπτικὸς ἦν σύκων ἄρριχος ἄθλος ἔτι,

“when Bacchus used to engage in contest a triad of chorus, for which the prize was still a wretched⁴⁷ he-goat and the Attic basket of figs”.⁴⁸ The triad of dithyrambic, comic, and tragic chorus obviously follows the later pro-

47. What is required is a pejorative description of the he-goat. Cf. Hor. *AP* 220 *carmine qui tragico vilem certavit ob hircum*. Is *ἄθλων* (-ωνος) an unrecorded adjective from *ἄθλος* in the sense ‘toil, ordeal’ = *ἄθλιος, vilis*, ‘wretched’, here playing on next verse’s *ἄθλος*? Words in -ων, ‘referring to qualities that meet with disapproval’ (Buck-Petersen, *A Reverse Index of Greek Nouns and Adjectives*, 247), often comic coinages, are numerous: e.g., *γάστρον*, ‘pot-bellied’, *γνύπων*, ‘feeble, faint-hearted’, *δούλων*, ‘former slave’, *εἴρων*, ‘dissembler’, *κέντρον*, ‘tortured rogue’, *κοτύλων*, ‘drunkard’, *πέδων*, ‘slave in fetters’, *πόσθων*, ‘one with a large *πόσθη*’, *στράβων*, ‘squinter’, *τριβων*, ‘rogue’, *φάγων*, ‘glutton’.

48. *χῶπτικὸς ... σύκων ἄρριχος*: the article is involved in the hypallage: *καὶ ὁ Ἄττικὸς ... ἄρριχος σύκων = καὶ ἄρριχος τῶν ἀττικῶν σύκων*. What the poet intends by the definite article (by no means out of place, as claimed in Gow-Page) is to stress the autochthonous nature of the prize and, hence, of the contest and the genre contesting. Apart from the significance of fig-trees and figs for the Athenians (*RE* art. ‘Feige’, vol. 6.2, 1909, col. 2100-2151, *passim*) and the fact that a variety of figs was named *Ἄττικὰ* (now named *βασιλικὰ σῶκα Ἄττικῆς*), fig-trees are believed to originate from the *ἱερά σνκῆ* that Demeter donated to Phytalos and was planted close to Eleusis (Paus. 1.37.2, Plut. 703c), a tree that signalled the start of civilized life (Ath. 3.74d). On the other hand, Peloponnesians had discovered a closer relationship, since the Lacedaemonians attributed the finding of the fig-tree to Dionysus and worshipped *Συκίτης Διόνυσος* (Ath. 3.78c, Sosib. *FGrHist* 595 F 10). Paus. 4.20.2 mentions that Messenians named the fig-tree (*ἔρινεός, ὀλύνθη*) *τράγος*.

gramme of the City Dionysia, after comedy and tragedy had obtained their autonomy, often alien to the Dionysiac concept of the festival, and so the clearly Dionysiac dithyrambic chorus had to sustain the whole burden for the consistency with the festival. However, the disagreement of the triad of choruses with the dyad of prizes must be a reminiscence of the original structure. In the schema followed by Dioscorides the triad was prior to Thespis' first performance. Sometime in the past, the three choruses led by Bacchus entered the contest, in other words, were introduced in connection with Bacchic activities, the last two, however, not in the sense of dramatic performances, but of cheerful and serious choral singing of Dionysiac odes.

Line 4 ἔτι shows that the award of the he-goat and the basket of figs was discontinued, we do not know when. Plut. 527d (*De cupiditate divitiarum*) includes in the Dionysia procession the prizes for tragedy and comedy together with other Dionysus attributes, but though he mentions ἡ πάτριος τῶν Διονυσίων ἑορτὴ τὸ παλαιόν, he does not specify how old the procession described was: ἡ πάτριος τῶν Διονυσίων ἑορτὴ τὸ παλαιόν ἐπέμπετο δημοτικῶς καὶ ἰλαρῶς· ἀμφορέες οἴνου καὶ κληματίς, εἶτα τράγον τις εἶλκεν, ἄλλος ἰσχάδων ἄρριχον ἠκολούθει κομίζων, ἐπὶ πᾶσι δ' ὁ φαλλός. ἀλλὰ νῦν ταῦτα παρεώραται καὶ ἠφάνισται χροσωμάτων παραφερομένων καὶ ἱματίων πολυτελῶν καὶ ζευγῶν ἔλαννομένων καὶ προσωπειῶν. The *Marmor Parium* entry about Susarion locates the officialization of the komos/cheerful choruses, and I propose that the same development took place sometime later for the tragic/serious choruses. In any case, it is this vulgar entertainment with low-grade prizes, a wretched he-goat and a basket of dried figs, that, according to Dioscorides, Thespis found and upgraded by his remodelling of τραγικὴ αἰοιδή. Even he, however, did not manage to promote his ἀνάπλασις to a civic activity. What Aeschylus inherited from Thespis, according to Dioscorides' next epigram (*AP* 7.411), were ἀγροιοῦτων ἀν' ὕλαν παίγνια καὶ κόμους, which Aeschylus elevated to a lofty dramatic genre at the city festivals of Dionysus. The same tone is found in Horace, *A.P.* 275: *ignotum tragicæ genus invenisse Camenæ | dicitur ... Thespis*, I guess with *ignotum* in the sense 'lowborn' and 'vulgar' rather than 'unknown', as in the accepted interpretation.

In any case, though our sources on the dramatic festivals in Athens are numerous, thorough, and extensive, no historical piece of evidence whatsoever has reached us about a he-goat prize in the tragic contests of the Dionysia. Not that any argument regarding the etymology would need to change, if such a piece of evidence happened to be discovered, but the fact is that it is not. The supposedly detailed evidence of the Latin grammarians (Dionysius, *Gramm. Lat.* I 487 = Suetonius p. 16 ff. Reifferscheid; Evanthius

in Donatus, *Commentum Terenti* I 13 Wessner), regardless of their possible sources,⁴⁹ being no more than somewhat graphic accounts of the he-goat prize etymology, are by no means historical evidence.

To sum up with a rough outline, I believe that the terms *κωμωδός* and *τραγωδός* were originally coined, possibly in the second half of the seventh century, in the context of *δειπνον*, for the *αοιδός ἐπὶ τῷ κωμῶν* and *ἐπὶ τῷ (ἐν)-τραγεῖν* respectively. Not much later, in the turn of the century, originally perhaps outside Attica (Corinth, Sicyon), *τραγωδός* must have been employed for the participant in contests of choruses (*τραγικὸὶ χοροὶ*) singing odes for gods and local heroes, usually paeans and/or dithyrambs involving action, the prize being a bull to be sacrificed. In Attic Icaria, during festivals of Dionysus, phallic satyr choruses are instituted singing vulgar songs with brief stories and ludicrous diction. Sometime in the 70s or 60s of the sixth century in the same place, Susarion organized a contest of such choruses, setting up a prize of wine and figs. In 535–533, also in Icaria during festivals of Dionysus, Thespis, a poet of dithyrambs, instituted non-satyr choral contests, himself serving as an intervening solo *ἐξάρχων* of the chorus, thus initiating drama performance in Greece. Following the folk-etymology of *τραγικός* from *τράγος*, the he-goat was introduced into the Dionysus ritual in Attic Icaria as prize of chorus performances and sacrificial victim, as well as into the Dionysus mythology.

Be that as it may, it would verge on hubris to claim that the mist covering the early history of drama has now cleared. On the contrary, things may have become more obscured because of the fluid character of the terminology, at the time when private choral song, public choral song, choral song with elementary plot, choral song with elementary plot and chorus-leader solo interventions, and tragedy proper, were still in constant and unstable development. It is also uncertain which stages of the drama development took place in Icaria and which in Athens. To assume that archives existed at so old ages is certainly insecure, and the seeming paradox that the genres of both comedy and tragedy were born in the same insignificant village gives rise to reasonable doubts.⁵⁰ However, before yielding to these doubts, it would be better to see whether this insignificant village was already in the sixth century a centre of the Dionysus worship in Attica and whether the festivals connected with this worship might account for the production of a religious literature, which later developed into the established genres of comedy and tragedy, although not

49. Burkert (note 3) p. 93 n. 14; p. 97 n. 21.

50. West, *Studies in Greek Elegy and Iambus*, 183–184.

all stages of this development were necessarily carried out at the same place. For instance, two more Attic demes, also religious centres, Eleusis in Western Attica and Phlya in Eastern Attica, the first being centre of the mystery cult of the two goddesses, the second of more deities, were also centres of religious literature, the so-called Orphic poetry. As for the archives question, we know that seventh- or sixth-century historically important events were dated by synchronization with other dated events, but we also know that several Panhellenic hiera were archived, especially when, in parallel to the cult, they held contests. Was the Icaria cult and contest of Panhellenic character? The question is unanswerable, though Hipponax, sometime in the second half of the sixth century BCE, satirizes an Ephesian itinerant *μητραγύρτης* and *βωμολόχος* (Cicon?), who, among his visits to other hiera, sails to Kantharos, the harbour of the not yet founded port of Piraeus, in the month when the Dionysus feast was celebrated (Hipp. *IEG* fr. 78.12)—but in Icaria or in Athens?⁵¹

ARISTOTLE UNIVERSITY OF THESSALONIKI
kyrtsan@gmail.com

51. K. Tsantsanoglou, 'Hipponactea', *Eikasmos* 21 (2010) 15-28. The month was probably Ion. *Ἀγριών* = Att. *Ἐλαφηβολιών*, when the Dionysiac festival *Ἀγριώνια* vel sim. were celebrated in several places, and *Διονύσια τὰ μεγάλα* in Athens.

MARMOR PARIUM

Epoch 39: Sousarion, κωμφοδοί

FR. HILLER VON GAERTRINGEN, *IG* xii. 5, 444 (1903):

54b ἀφ' οὗ ἐν Ἀθ[ήν]αις κωμω[ιδῶν χο]ρ[ὸ]ς ἐτ[έ]θη, [στη]σάν⁵⁵[των πρώ]των Ἰκαριέων, εὐρόντος Σουσαριώνος, καὶ ἄθλον ἐτέθη πρώτον ἰσχάδω[ν] ἄρσιχο[ς] καὶ οἶνου με[τ]ρητής, [ἔτη HH*** ἄρχοντος Ἀθήνησιν] ⁵⁶[- -].

K. TSANTSANOGLOU, *Logeion* 5 (2015):

54b ἀφ' οὗ ἐν Ἀθ[ήν]αις κώμω[ν χο]ρ[ὸν] ἔθη[καν ἀ]σάν⁵⁵[των πρώ]των Ἰκαριέων, εὐρόντος Σουσαριώνος, καὶ ἄθλον ἐτέθη πρώτον ἰσχάδω[ν] ἄρσιχο[ς] καὶ οἶνου με[τ]ρητής, [ἔτη HH***, ἄρχοντ]ος [Ἀθήνησιν] ⁵⁶[- -].

Epoch 43: Thespis and goats

J. SELDEN, *Marmora Arundelliana* (1628):

58b ΑΦΟΥΘΕΣΠΙΣΟΠΟΙΗΤΗΣ.....ΑΧΙ...ΟΣΕΛΙΑΔΑΞΕΝΑΛ...
ΣΤΙΝ.....ΤΕΘΗΟ..ΡΑΓΟΣ.....Χ...ΕΤΗΗΗ^Α...ΑΡΧΟΝΤΟΣΑΘ.....⁵⁹....
ΝΑΙΟΥΤΟΥΠΡΟΤΕΡΟΥ
(*Typorum Errata*, p. 207): ΡΑΓΟΣ ΕΤΗ.

H. PRIDEAUX, *Marmora Oxoniensia* (1676):

58b ἀφ' οὗ Θέσπις ὁ ποιητής ἐξ ἀμάξης πρώτος ἐδίδαξεν Ἀλκιστιν, καὶ ἐτέθη ὁ τράγος ἄθλον νενικηκότι, ἔτη ΗΗ^ΑΔΔΙΙ, ἄρχοντος Ἀθήνησιν Ἀλκαίου τοῦ προτέρου.

R. CHANDLER, *Marmora Oxoniensia* (1763):

58b ἀφ' οὗ Θέσπις ὁ ποιητής [ἐφάνη, πρώτος ὃς καὶ] ἐδίδαξε [τραγωδίαν, ἧς ἄθλον ἐ]τέθη ὁ [τ]ράγος, ἔτη ΗΗ^Α[ΔΔΙΙ,] ἄρχοντος Ἀθ[ήνησιν] ⁵⁹ Ἀλκ]αίου τοῦ προτέρου.

A. BOECKH, *CIG* ii. 2374 (1843):

58b ἀφ' οὗ Θέσπις ὁ ποιητής [ἐφάνη], πρώτος ὃς ἐδίδαξε [δρ]ᾶ[μα ἐν ἄ]στ[ει, καὶ ἐ]τέθη ὁ [τ]ράγος [ἄθλον], ἔτη ΗΗ^Α[ΔΔ]-- , ἄρχοντος Ἀθ[ήνησιν] ⁵⁹ . . .]ναίου τοῦ προτέρου.

FR. HILLER VON GAERTRINGEN, *IG* xii. 5, 444 (1903):

58b ἀφ' οὗ Θέσπις ὁ ποιητής [ὑπεκρίνα]το πρώτος, ὃς ἐδίδαξε [δρ]ᾶ[μα ἐν ἄ]στ[ει, καὶ ἐ]τέθη ὁ [τ]ράγος [ἄθλον], ἔτη ΗΗ^Α-- , ἄρχοντος Ἀθ[ήνη] ⁵⁹ [σι . . .]ναίου τοῦ προτέρου.

F. JACOBY, *Das Marmor Parium*, (1904), p. 14, and *FGrHist* 239:

58b ἀφ' οὗ Θέσπις ὁ ποιητής [ὑπεκρίνα]το πρώτος, ὃς ἐδίδαξε [δρ]ᾶ[μα ἐν ἄ]στ[ει,

καὶ ἄθλον ἐ]τέθη ὁ [τ]ράγος, ἔτη *HH^Π*[ΔΔ.], ἄρχοντος Ἀθ[ήνη] |⁵⁹ [σι . . .]ναίου τοῦ προτέρου.

B. SNELL, *TrGF*² (1971, 21986 [+Kannicht]) 1, DID D 1 [*Marmor Parium*]:
58b ἀφ' οὗ Θεσπιδος ὁ ποιητῆς [ὑπεκρίνα]το πρῶτος, ὃς ἐδίδαξε δραῖμα ἐν ἄστει, [καὶ ἄθλον
ἐ]τέθη ὁ [τ]ράγος, ἔτη *HH^Π*[ΔΔ.], ἄρχοντος Ἀθ[ήνησι . . .]ναίου τοῦ προτέρου.

W. R. CONNOR, 'City Dionysia and Athenian Democracy', *Classica et Mediaevalia* 40 (1989), 7-32:

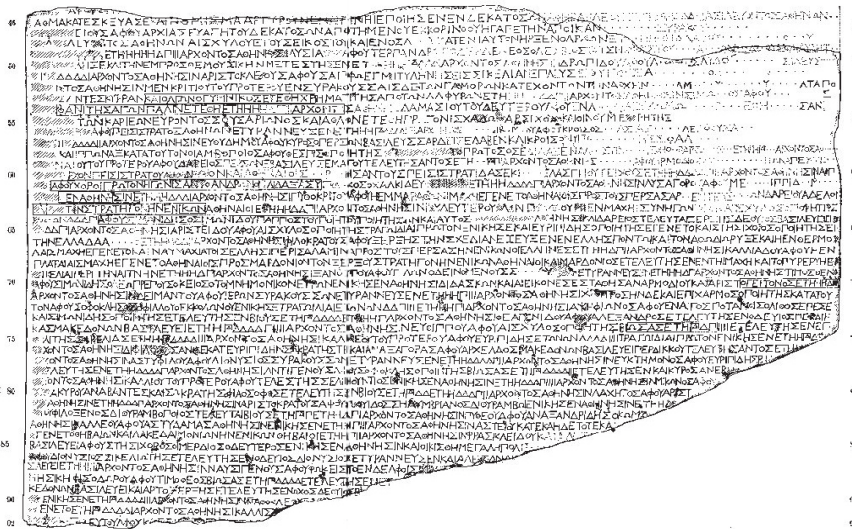
58b ἀφ' οὗ Θεσπιδος ὁ ποιητῆς [ὑπεκρίνα]το πρῶτος, ὃς ἐδίδαξε *NAA* - *ΣΤΙΝ* [καὶ
ἄθλον ἐ]τέθη ὁ τράγος ἔτη *HH^Π* - ἄρχοντος Ἀθ[ήνησι -]ναίου τοῦ προτέρου.

S. SCULLION, 'Tragic Dates', *CQ* 52 (2002) 81 n. 4:

58 b ἀφ' οὗ Θεσπιδος ὁ ποιητῆς - c. 5-8 - πρῶτος [ὃς?] ἐδίδαξε *NAA* - c. 3 - *ΣΤΙΝ* [καὶ
ἄθλον ἐ]τέθη ὁ τράγος ἔτη *HH^Π* - 3 - ἄρχοντος Ἀθ[ήνησι - c. 3 -]ναίου τοῦ προτέρου.

K. TSANTSANOGLOU, *Logeion* 5 (2015):

ἀφ' οὗ Θεσπιδος ὁ ποιητῆς [ἠγωνίσ]ατο πρῶτος, ὃς ἐδίδαξεν ἄλλ[λου]ς τιν[άς] (vel ὃς
ἐδίδαξε πολ[λου]ς τιν[ας] vel ὃς ἐδίδαξε χο[ροῦ]ς τιν[ας] καὶ ἐ]τέθη ὁ τράγος, ἔτη
HH^Π [***], ἄρχοντος Ἀθ[ήνησι(ν)] |⁵⁹ ...]ναίου τοῦ προτέρου.



M. Luebke's 1903 drawing of the middle section of the Marmor Parium kept in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, (the upper part has been destroyed, the lower part is kept in Paros), published in *IG* xii. 5, 444. The designer was based on the existing stone, but depended on J. Selden's 1628 text wherever the words on the stone were illegible. The entry on Susarion (epocha 39) can be seen in lines 54b-56, the one on Thespis (ep. 43) in lines 58b-59. The present desperate condition of the stone is visible in the next photograph.

