

## Chapter 11

### **Casting the Role of Trygaeus in Aristophanes' *Peace***

#### **A Gift for an Actor**

Few indeed are the surviving ancient Greek dramas where the name of the leading actor who first realised the protagonist's role is known to us. The earliest example is almost certainly that of Apollodorus, the comic actor who in 421 BC first played Trygaeus, the leading part in Aristophanes' *Peace*. This is recorded, along with the information that the play was beaten into second place by Eupolis' *Flatterer* (*Kolax*), in a single transmitted source: the third of the four ancient hypotheses to *Peace* which have been preserved in the learned codex Venetus Marcianus 474 (line 441). Some might not regard the information either as one hundred per cent reliable or as remotely important.<sup>1</sup> But provisionally bestowing the name Apollodorus on the actor who first played Trygaeus might encourage us to reconstruct concretely the way the splendid role was brought to life. Vinegrower and lunatic, saviour and trickster, beetle rider, aerial adventurer, cosmic diplomat, and bridegroom – Trygaeus is all of these. He is also a substitute for Nicias and a congener of Dionysus. This chapter argues that his role *represents* the art of socially useful comedy; as such it includes, within the comic role, a fascinating range not only of theatrical roles (including Bellerophon and Silenus), but of poetic genres, forms, metres, quotations and styles of vocal delivery. This certainly would have been a fitting role for an actor whose name meant 'gift of Apollo', gift of the divine president of Helicon.

Although 'pacifist' is an unhelpful term in discussing Aristophanes, if

only because it arose in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century in order to designate a political principle incomprehensible to the fifth-century mindset,<sup>2</sup> Trygaeus is undoubtedly an advocate of peace. He is an example of ancient pagan creativity in response to the need for *positive* cultural expressions of that desirable circumstance. This contrasts with the dearth of pacific imagery in the western post-Renaissance cultural encyclopaedia, lamented, for example, by Marina Warner in reaction to the American bombing of Libya in 1986: with the exception of the Old Testament's symbolic iconography of the dove and the olive twig, most western monuments to peace, like the Cenotaph in London, only define it passively and negatively. The idea of peace 'seems difficult to seize without referring to the absence of war, and thus making war present as a standard'.<sup>3</sup> But from as early as the pastoral imagery in Homeric similes,<sup>4</sup> the town at peace on Achilles' shield in the *Iliad*, and the depiction of peasant farming in Hesiod's *Works and Days*, the Greeks enjoyed a rich repertoire of images for the activities of peace-time.<sup>5</sup> A favoured theme of choral lyric, in a paean by Bacchylides (fr. 4.61-80 Snell-Maehler) Peace was described as bringing wealth, songs, festivals, and sacrifices; in tragedy, Euripides had made the chorus of his *Cresphontes* praise Peace, who brings in her train wealth, songs, and revelry ((39) Eur. fr. 453 *TgrF*).

Comedy took up the theme enthusiastically. In Aristophanes' *Farmers of 424 BC*, the activities of peace-time included a bath, a good meal, and drinking of the new vintage.<sup>6</sup> In the subsequent version of his *Peace*, Aristophanes presented his audience with a dialogue between Eirene and Georgia, the personification of agriculture (fr. 294 K-A).<sup>7</sup> In the surviving version, the core symbol of peace is viticulture, as inherently Dionysiac as theatre itself: an Attic red-figure kalyx-krater which may well have been

influenced by the play, and which dates from the decade following it, depicts a blissful nocturnal scene with Dionysus attended by Himeros, a satyr named 'Sweet-Wine' or 'Wine-Enjoyer' (*Hēduinos*), and maenads including *Opōra*, Dione, and a recumbent Eirene, torch and drinking horn in hand.<sup>8</sup> But in *Peace* the battle for peace is more verbally sophisticated than its equation with grape-harvesting might imply; it is formulated as a battle between literary genres, with heroic epic identified as the enemy. Even Ionian *iambos* and Aesopic fable are, within the opening sequence, enrolled in the service of Trygaeus' mission.<sup>9</sup> If art is to be understood as a product of a particular society at a particular time, criticism must involve 'illuminating some of the ways in which various forms, genres, and styles...come to have value ascribed to them by certain groups in particular contexts'.<sup>10</sup>

Perhaps it is a modern failure to understand the idea of peace as *an activity* which led to *Peace* suffering worse twentieth-century scholarly neglect than most of Aristophanes' works,<sup>11</sup> for other times and other places had estimated it differently. After the Renaissance rediscovery of Greek drama, *Peace* was spectacularly performed at Trinity College, Cambridge, as early as 1546.<sup>12</sup> The play probably lies behind the figure of Irene, borne aloft in the procession at the coronation of James I, 'her attire white, semined with stares, her hair loose', even though she also carried the Judaeo-Christian dove and olive wreath.<sup>13</sup> A recent study by Michelakis has shown how *Peace* was staged at painfully appropriate moments in twentieth-century history; in Greece in 1919, Switzerland in 1945, and in a Parisian adaptation during the Algerian war (1961).<sup>14</sup> It was influentially directed by Peter Hacks in East Berlin to denounce the Cold War (1962), a production subsequently revived more than once in that tense city: the final scene featured Trygaeus teaching a

*Friedenslied* to a young neo-fascist paramilitary.<sup>15</sup> Trygaeus has also enjoyed a certain popularity in France, where he has traditionally been called ‘Lavendange’, and has been identified as the ancestor of famous French roles including Molière’s con-man Scapin, and valet Sganarelle in *Don Juan*; Aristophanes has been seen as a forerunner of indigenous French writers – Rabelais, Voltaire, and Giradoux – in having advocated peace in a comic medium.<sup>16</sup> In academic circles, until very recently, Trygaeus was nevertheless sidelined in comparison with most heroes of Old Comedy.

Yet his opening stunt, in which he rises into the air on the back of a giant dung-beetle, is the most fantastic in Aristophanes.<sup>17</sup> His mount is truly ‘carnavalesque’, a riotous combination of the tragic with the scatological.<sup>18</sup> The stunt is more extended and arduous than many scholars have appreciated. Trygaeus appears, rising on the beetle, at approximately lines 80-1 (*meteōros airetai*), and plunges into an agitated anapaestic sequence, which implies that the beetle is either resisting being steered, or that the actor tried to convey that impression. What a challenge this presented to Apollodorus can only be appreciated by an imaginative exercise. Without even considering the fact that Trygaeus is involved in an elaborate parody of tragic diction, music, and acting style, he is swaying around astride ‘a counter-weighted beam balanced on a pole slightly higher than the central portion of the skene’, a beam which probably required a crew of several men to move it vertically or pivot it around its fulcrum.<sup>19</sup> Moreover, the text implies that Trygaeus actually remains suspended in mid-air throughout the entire sequence 82-179, which makes it by far the longest crane scene in fifth-century drama.<sup>20</sup> Even if he alights at 102, and delivers the paratragic iambic dialogue with his slave and his daughters from the roof, he must remount his malodorous steed once again at

154, and resume his hazardous ascent reciting anapaests derived from Euripides' *Bellerophon*.<sup>21</sup> And hazardous it is: not only does he become distracted, pointing out an individual in a latrine far away in the Piraeus (164-5), but something goes wrong with the operation of the crane. The beetle starts nose-diving at 158, and Trygaeus is rocked so hard that his body becomes bent double at 173-5, requiring the actor to break all dramatic illusion and tell the crane operator to pay better attention.<sup>22</sup> Apollodorus must have been relieved when he discovered that his descent to earth did not require him to remount (725-6).

### **Peasant and Saviour**

Trygaeus shares with other Aristophanic heroes his Athenian citizenship. Yet he is less urban and more exclusively associated with the countryside even than his nearest parallel, Dicaeopolis. As he informs Hermes, he is a peasant from Athmonon, a skilled vine-grower, and a man who usually avoids conflict (190-1). His extra-mural deme, which lay far north-east from the city centre at the foot of Mount Pentelikon, was no doubt chosen because of its excellent vines;<sup>23</sup> it may also already have housed the cult of Aphrodite Ourania that was reputed, in Pausanias' day, to have been of extreme antiquity (1.14.7),<sup>24</sup> and the play associates peace with renewed erotic opportunities (884-908).<sup>25</sup> Trygaeus knows and loves the farming business: he is well-versed in the prices of honey (253-4). His own raven fig-tree cut down by Spartans marauding in Attica (628-9), cutting short his rural idyll (569-81). But he is a householder with responsibilities, just prosperous enough to own two slaves (181). He has hungry daughters (115-53), but must be a single parent; his freedom to marry *Opōra* at the end of the play suggests that he is a widower.

As an opponent of war Trygaeus resembles Dicaeopolis and Lysistrata.<sup>26</sup> After the successful recovery of Peace, he is hailed as a paradigmatic good citizen (*politēs*, 911-14), and even in the language of encomia as ‘saviour’ (914, see also 1035-6, an epithet primarily of Zeus).<sup>27</sup> But he is exceptional amongst Aristophanic heroes in that he represents the whole of the assembled city, inviting identification with virtually all Athenians present. He is humane, altruistic, and self-sacrificial (364-75); he is only self-interested insofar as his self-interest coincides with that of his fellow Athenians and Greeks.<sup>28</sup> For he is also the most Panhellenic of all Aristophanes’ heroes,<sup>29</sup> leading a chorus consisting of members of numerous Greek states in the retrieval of Peace.<sup>30</sup> Trygaeus enacts in the realm of comic fiction the events of the past few months preceding the play, the present in which his audience found themselves, and even their immediate future under the Peace of Nicias, shortly to be ratified.

### **Nicias’ Shadow**

*Peace* does not develop any explicit identification of Trygaeus with Nicias, probably on account of the unflattering nature of the established comic image of this politician -- Nicias had been portrayed as a slavish attendant of Cleon in *Knights*, and handicapped by unusually timid gait in a play by Phrynichus (fr. 62 K-A). Yet *Peace* is tied more closely than any other Aristophanic work to its immediate historical situation. Trygaeus’ achievement, unlike Dionysus’ recovery of Aeschylus in *Frogs*, or the reconciliation between Athens and Sparta effected by Lysistrata, is uniquely no fantasy: it is a direct comic analogue of what was being enacted in reality.<sup>31</sup> Nicias, moreover, is the only contemporary politician of any significance, dead or alive, never satirised in

the play, which must be connected with his advocacy of peace in the months leading up to its production.

When Apollodorus donned the mask of Trygaeus at the Dionysia in 421 BCE, the Peloponnesian War was a decade old. The previous summer had seen the Athenians defeated in the terrible battle of Amphipolis. But Cleon and Brasidas, the generals on both sides, had died as a result of this confrontation, leaving the way at last open for peace negotiations between Athens and Sparta (Thuc. 5.16.1). These continued throughout the winter (Thuc. 5.17.2). By the time of the Dionysia, in the month of Elaphebolion, the terms of a treaty had been agreed. Two aspects of this diplomatic procedure are central to *Peace*. First, the treaty was ratified, according to Thucydides, ‘immediately after the City Dionysia’ (*ek Dionusiōn euthus tōn astikōn*, 5.20.1), which probably means that the festival ended on the 13th of the month, and the Athenian assembly met on the 14th to elect the delegation which would go to Sparta, where the truce was ratified a few days later (Thuc. 5.18-19). *Peace* was therefore performed just days before peace was inaugurated in reality, and in front of an audience from numerous Greek cities profoundly interested in the collective ceasefire. Secondly, the first clause of the Peace of Nicias was itself concerned with the right of all individuals to attend sanctuaries, oracles, and *festivals*:

With regard to the sanctuaries held in common, everyone who so wishes shall be able, according to the customs of his country, to sacrifice in them and visit them and consult oracles in them and attend the festivals in them (*theōrein*) in safety (Thuc. 5.18.1).

The mute character *Theōria*, whom Trygaeus bestows upon the Athenian prutaneis (887-91), is thus simultaneously a reference to the vastly increased right to enjoy attending festivals to be assured by the imminent treaty, and a self-conscious comment on the occasion at which the play is performed. It is in keeping with the emphasis on *theōria* that the joys of peace, when eventually they begin to become a reality in the play, not only include the festivals which Trygaeus promises to transfer to Hermes (418-20, see below), but trips to the Brauron festival and the Isthmian games (874, 879); the metaphorical equivalence of sex and athletics is subsequently elaborated at length (894-904).

### **Naming Trygaeus**

Trygaeus' name is suggestive of a well-known proverb, *erēmas trugan*, 'to strip unwatched vines', used of one who is bold where there is nothing to fear – an opportunist: Aristophanes was aware of the saying, for it appears both in *Wasps* (634, see Σ ad loc.), which preceded *Peace*, and later in *Ecclesiazousae* (886). Trygaeus' opportunistic ruse, when he discovers that the gods have migrated, leaving Olympus without a ruler (207-9), is to bribe its last remaining guardian, Hermes. He promises that in future it will be in Hermes' exclusive honour that the Athenians will hold their festivals of the Panathenaea, the Mysteries, the Dipolieia and the Adonia (416-20); all the States will worship him in cult (421-2). Trygaeus caps this promise with a gift of a gold libation-bowl (424). Trygaeus is certainly clever; while tricking the god of trickery himself, he plays in an Odyssean manner with the name *miarōtatos* (184-8, see *Knights* 336-7), and orchestrates the chorus' piteous entreaties (384-401).<sup>32</sup>

His identity as a vine-grower is also expressed in Trygaeus' name. The verb *trugaō* meant 'I gather in a crop', including a crop of grapes. Trygaeus himself uses the verb after handing *Theōria* to the chairman of the prytaneis: the citizens will know what a hero he is when they 'gather in the crop' (*hotan trugat'*, 909-12). Here the verb may have what Taplin calls the 'fescennine' metaphorical sense which it clearly bears in the closing wedding song:<sup>33</sup> there the chorus sing that they will *trugan* Peace the bride (1339-40). They are clearly thinking of a male sexual action, whether the dominant image is plucking grapes, prodding them, or squeezing them in a basket.<sup>34</sup>

Trygaeus' name also almost certainly associates him with satyrs in the Athenian imagination. The noun *trux* means 'unfermented wine' (Ar. *Clouds* 50), 'must', 'lees' or dregs' (Ar. *Plut.* 1085); a fragment of Aristophanes' *Farmers* (*Georgoi*), which was performed before *Peace* **either in 424 or at the 421 Lenaea**, praises doing things with *trux* as a peactime pleasure (fr. 111 K-A). A *trugoipos* was a wine-making apparatus in which grapes were trodden, consisting of a basket set in a further container, sometimes a spouted trough (Ar. *Plut.* 1087). The *trugoipos* is mentioned in *Peace* (535). But in fifth-century vase-paintings, when such activities as squashing grapes in a *trugoipos* were depicted, the agents are conventionally satyrs.<sup>35</sup> Trygaeus' name probably had associations with a cult title of the satyrs' divine master, Dionysus, whose festivals are conspicuously omitted from those offered by Trygaeus to Hermes. The term *protrugaios* is later found as an epithet of Dionysus, meaning 'presiding over the vintage' (Achilles Tatius 2.2, see also Ael. *VH* 3.41); Hesychius glosses *protrugaia* as 'a festival of Dionysus and Poseidon'; *theoi protrugaioi* are mentioned by Pollux (1.24). Bowie's discussion, informed by ritual **structuralism**, suggests that the term already

had Dionysiac connotations in fifth-century Athens, perhaps audible in Trygaeus' name; there are also 'many possible echoes' of the Athenian Anthesteria in the play.<sup>36</sup> Trygaeus' marriage to *Opōra* perhaps finds a plausible parallel in the *hieros gamos* of Dionysus enacted at that festival.<sup>37</sup>

If not quite Dionysus' surrogate, Trygaeus is certainly his disciple. As a vine-grower his craft-deity is of course Dionysus, by whom he swears oaths (443); in one instance the vocative suggests that he turns to face the statue of Dionysus Eleuthereus, brought into the theatre earlier in the festival (267).<sup>38</sup> A Dionysiac picture is also suggested by Trygaeus' epiphany from behind the *skēnē*, accompanied by *Opōra* and *Theōria* (819),<sup>39</sup> he is leading an entourage similar to the scene on the Attic red-figure vase discussed above. Yet Trygaeus' name is more than generally Dionysiac, since it bears specifically *theatrical* overtones. The names of Aristophanes' dominant citizen characters, whether Just-City, Sausage-seller, Cleon-Lover, Cleon-Hater, Companion-Persuader, Optimist, Army-Dissolver, Fair Victory, or Speech-Act, make direct reference to their owners' roles. Trygaeus' name is undoubtedly related to the poetic genre in which its owner is a hero: namely, *trugedy*, 'wine-song'. This term was used as early as *Acharnians* to mean 'comedy' (499), just as *trugōidoi* in *Wasps* denotes comic poets (650, 1537). *Trugedy* is a type of comedy taking its name from a pun on *tragōidia*; to the word for 'song' (*ōidē*) was prefixed the root common to *trugaō* (gather in a crop of grapes), *trux* (unfermented wine), and *trugē* (vintage).<sup>40</sup>

Ancient commentators tried to explain how comedy came to find such a nickname as *trugedy*. Guesses included the notion that actors smeared their faces with wine lees, that new wine was given as a prize, and that comedy was performed at the season of the vintage.<sup>41</sup> It is more likely that, as Taplin

suggests, the term is an invention of comedy itself, perhaps even coined for the purposes of *Acharnians* in 425 BCE, when its earliest certain use is documented.<sup>42</sup> Aristophanes created a neologistic pun on in *Clouds*, where he forms *trugodaimōn*, meaning ‘comic poet’, by fusing *kakodaimōn* and *trugōidos* (296). The familiarity of the term by 421 is thus certain, regardless of the date of the lost play in which Aristophanes first coined the dazzling composite term ‘tragedic-poetic-musical’ (*trugōidopoiomousikē* [*technē*], fr. 333 K-A), or of his *Gerytades*, in which he sent poets of tragedy, tragedy, and cyclic hymns to the underworld in order to find Poetry.<sup>43</sup>

The audience of *Peace* had previously been entertained by a variety of self-conscious discussions, within drama, of poetry and its functions. Indeed, they were by now well versed in comedy’s conventions of self-analysis. In the dialogue with Hermes, it transpires that Cratinus has recently died, unable to cope with the sight of a wine-jar being smashed (702-3). This joke can not have failed to have reminded the audience of Cratinus’ *Putinē*, victorious at the Dionysia in 423, in which *Kōmōidia* herself had appeared. She was the wife of Cratinus, but had left him because of his addiction to alcohol, in particular to his wine-flask, personified as the ‘other woman’. In this play Cratinus had been unable to write comedy any more because of an excess of wine.<sup>44</sup> In the notion of tragedy, conversely, **Aristophanic** comedy’s relationship with wine is seen as constructive and generative.

In ch. 6 above it was seen that it was not only in Cratinus’ *Putinē* that Old Comedy reflected upon poetic abstractions by staging them. Aristophanes could have followed Cratinus’ practice and introduced a female personification of comedy: if Cratinus could give a role to *Kōmōidia*, Aristophanes could have staged *Trugōidia*. He certainly introduced a personification of Poetry in his

*Poiēsis*.<sup>45</sup> Trygaeus is somewhat different. His name delicately associates him with his genre, of which he seems to be rather some kind of practitioner or agent than a personification. Yet although Trygaeus is characterised occasionally as something approximating to a dramatic actor (see below), the name Trygaeus is still less concrete than would have been suggested by the actual name *Trugōidos*: that would have had to mean ‘trugedian’ -- that is, either ‘trugic poet’ or ‘trugic actor’.

Evidence that when Athenians heard the name *Trygaeus* they would have been prompted to think of *tragedy* can be invoked from the formation of their proper names. Aristophanes could have called his hero by the attested proper names Trugias or Trugēs, from the same root; but he did not.<sup>46</sup> He chose to use a form which suggested that the name was *an abbreviated compound*. For Greek names fell into three basic categories: they were names taken from adjectives or ordinary nouns (*Pyrrhos*, *Leōn*), or they were compounds (*Patrokleēs*), or abbreviations of compounds (*Patroklos*).<sup>47</sup> Abbreviations of compounds were frequent and important; when Athenian men had sons, they often used an abbreviated form of their father’s compound names, or of their own; everyone knew this and would automatically connect the abbreviated name of the child with the full compound.

One of the suffixes used in Attica in the creation of abbreviated compounds was *-aios* (as in *Trugaios*). According to the reverse index of the *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names* vol. ii (Attica), in the fifth century one Aristaios is the father of Aristōnumos, in the fourth an Aristaios is the father of Aristomachos, and in the third one Agathaios is the son of Agatharchos. In the following century a Charitaios appears as the son of a Chariklēs.<sup>48</sup> This evidence is sufficient to support the argument that an Athenian audience

would assume that *Trygaeus* was an abbreviated form of a compound with *trug-*; on consulting Professor Anna Davies, she wrote that the evidence from other names is ‘sufficient to guarantee that an Athenian public would be capable of linking a name Trygaeus with a supposed name Trugōidos’, although of course this does not mean that they *certainly* made the connection.<sup>49</sup> There are very few known compounds with *trug-* that *Trygaeus* could have been ‘short for’, especially as early as the fifth century, besides the *trugoipos* mentioned in the play itself. By far the most likely candidate, especially in the context of recent comedy, would have to be *Trugōidos* (‘Trugedian’).

### **Trygaeus the Trugedian**

If Trygaeus is in some sense the offspring of ‘Trugedian’, this illuminates his special expertise and distinctive manner of achieving his goals -- primarily through his knowledge of dramatic poetry and skill at performing it. The term *trugedy*, formed on analogy with the word *tragedy*, makes a strong link between the comic and tragic genres. One possibility is that *trugedy* meant a type of comedy which played extensively with tragedy; this entailed not only quoting tragedy and creatively using tragic archetypes, as Dicaeopolis does with Euripides’ *Telephus* in *Acharnians*, and Lysistrata with his **Melanippe**,<sup>50</sup> but being distinctively *paratragic*. There is evidence that prior to *Acharnians* it was epic, rather than tragedy, which had been the mainstay of parody in Old Comedy (for example, recently, in Cratinus’ *Dionysalexandros*, which seems to have offered a major parody of the Trojan war); Michael Silk argues that Aristophanes’ almost exclusive interest in tragedy was a significant innovation.<sup>51</sup> *Trugedy* might then mean comedy which *utilised* tragedy, and

this could describe *Peace*, with its stunning stunt drawn from *Bellerophon*. Trygaeus' name would then be saying something about tragedy's *assimilation* of tragedy to the comic genre.<sup>52</sup>

But there is another possibility. Taplin has argued that in *Acharnians* tragedy may refer, more ambitiously, to comedy with a serious purpose and a claim to the role of civic teacher, as at *Acharnians* 499-500;<sup>53</sup> in this case, by calling his hero *Trygaeus*, Aristophanes was proposing an embodiment or practitioner of his own socially useful comedy. Trygaeus may not theorise about tragedy, but that may be because at no point is he identified with the authorial persona of his poet. When Dicaeopolis talks about tragedy in *Acharnians*, it is as Aristophanes, speaking as 'who in fact I am' (441): Edmunds is probably correct in arguing that it would have been much more difficult for Dicaeopolis 'to make assertions about the nature of comic poetry' when speaking in character.<sup>54</sup>

Trygaeus is not only emblematic of a certain type of theatre: he is also a versatile theatrical actor. His project, to use tragedy and satyr play to win Peace for Greece, is initiated under the influence of a form of inspired madness denoted by the term *mania* (54, 65), a Dionysiac condition. It may be connected with the melancholic surfeit of bile which seems to have affected the psyche of Euripides' *Bellerophon*;<sup>55</sup> it is not dissimilar to Philocleon's madness, discussed in *Wasps* (114, 1496). Yet, unlike these forms of mental illness, Trygaeus' *mania* is beneficial to both himself and his society.<sup>56</sup> Trygaeus characterises his own project as a *tolmēma neon* (94), a 'daring new feat'. It is an unprecedented act of daring that takes Trygaeus to Olympus in order to remonstrate with frightening divinities, but the 'new feat' has also been interpreted as the bold project of reinstating the utopian age enjoyed by

Hesiod's golden race of men -- a godlike existence, free from care, delighting in festivals, *hēsuchia*, and food which grew spontaneously (*Erg.* 109-119). This motif had certainly become popular in contemporary Old Comedy, for example in Eupolis' *Chrusoun Genos* and Teleclides' *Amphictyones* (fr. 1 K-A).<sup>57</sup> But Trygaeus' 'new feat' could equally be a programmatic and self-referential notion. Perhaps it is connected to the identity of actors; just possibly Apollodorus had been lead actor in *Acharnians*, whose peace-loving hero Dicaeopolis had dared a previous *tolmēma*.<sup>58</sup> Or perhaps the feat is simply that in *Peace* Aristophanes is introducing a new hero who fights mostly through *poetry*.

During much of the play Trygaeus is creatively engaged with tragedy, satyr play, and epic (see further below). Dicaeopolis may conduct a rural Dionysia within the frame of a comedy played at the Dionysiac festival of the Lenaea, and thus make the dramatic performance in which he figures, as Edmunds has put it, 'itself a metaphor for the process it describes'; the audience of *Acharnians* is 're-educated in the metaphors that underlie the Dionysiac festival in which they are now participating as spectators'.<sup>59</sup> But this applies also to Trygaeus, who orchestrates his own and the other characters' negotiations with competitive displays of poetry. It is Trygaeus who takes all the initiatives in shifting dramatic registers. There is not a genre of dramatic poetry in which he is not proficient in the leading role: as Bellerophon, as Silenus in a satyr play, and as the supreme Dionysiac comic hero Trygaeus, vine-grower of the deme of Athmonon, who, in a scene-type typical of Old Comedy,<sup>60</sup> sees off the variety of **alazon**-type personages representing impediments to his plan.<sup>61</sup>

## **Spectator Integration and Metafestival**

This tragedic context can illuminate the play's exceptional number of cases of 'audience participation'.<sup>62</sup> The prominence of audience 'integration' has been given a political interpretation by Cassio, who maintains that there is a tendency to pick on the Ionian allies present, which reinforces the propaganda that figured Athens as their mother-city.<sup>63</sup> It is indeed likely that there was a more *international* Greek audience present at the 421 Dionysia than for several years, almost certainly including Spartans as well as Ionians. But there has never been much stress on the insistency with which the play's strong interest in the boundary between play and audience is focussed on its *hero*.<sup>64</sup>

Slater has argued that theatrical self-consciousness in *Peace* differs from that in Aristophanes' three preceding plays (*Acharnians*, *Knights* and *Wasps*), which shifted the audience's attention to the notion of performance in other venues, such as the Assembly and the courts of law. In *Peace*, the self-reflexivity is emphatically related to the here and now of the theatre of Dionysus, and what Trygaeus is doing in this context.<sup>65</sup> This apprehension fits the notion that Trygaeus is a hero who effects his aims not through politics nor rhetoric but through poetic performance of diverse kinds. Trygaeus is certainly aware to an unusual degree of the mechanics of the theatre, admonishing the crane operator in the vocative to be careful as he rises to Olympus (*mechanopoie*, 174). When he hands over the mute character *Theōria* to the Councillors sitting in the front row (881-908), he strikingly crosses the physical boundary between actors and audience. There is also a consistently high level of direct address of, or reference to, the audience by the actors, especially by Trygaeus himself (e.g. 50-61, 64-78, probably 263 and

286, 292-300).<sup>66</sup> These phenomena include jokes resulting from the problem of suggesting within the limited illusionist capacities of a theatre the physical journey between Olympus and Athens (725-6, 819-20). There is castigation of thieves who lurk near the stage-building (*skēnē*, 730-1), and references to the stewards whose job was to keep order in the theatre (*rhabdouchoi*, 734). Characters speculate about what individual members of the audience (*theatai*) are thinking and saying (43-8, 543-4, 545-51). Eirene herself refuses to address the *theatai* or anyone else at all except (silently) Hermes -- prompting the 'interpretation' scene (658-83); during this she turns her head from the audience, but it does later become apparent that the very first question she asked was connected with drama -- that is, how Sophocles was faring (695). Other passages in *Peace* which integrate the spectators into the action include the sequence where they are pelted with grain at the sacrifice (962-5), Trygaeus' generous offer not actually to sacrifice the sheep in order to save the (unidentified) *chorēgos* some money (1022), and subsequently the hero's invitation to the spectators to share the offals with him and his slave (*age dē, theatai, deuro susplanchneuete / meta nōin*, 1114-1116). So Trygaeus has some unusually overt and self-conscious negotiations -- even by the standards of Old Comedy -- with his tragedic play's theatrical status.

The play is obsessively interested in festivals,<sup>67</sup> and especially in the City Dionysia. Most importantly, there occurs on one occasion a total confusion, unique in Old Comedy,<sup>68</sup> of what scholars used to call the art-life boundary. This is in the chorus' invitation to the audience at 815-18 'to thrust aside wars and dance with me your friend...and celebrate the festival along with me' (*met' emou sumpaize tēn heortēn*). It is not possible to be sure here whether the chorus mean the festival within the play (celebrating the

reinstatement of Peace), or the City Dionysia extraneous to the play (the prelude to the ratification of peace), so it is legitimate to assume that they mean both. Secondly, when *Theōria* – ‘the right of spectating at public festivals’ -- is first sniffed by Trygaeus (529-35), he smells ‘harvest-time (*opōra*), entertaining, Dionysia festivals, *auloi*, tragedies, songs by Sophocles, Euripidean diction,..ivy and the wine-strainer.’ The ‘Peace of Trygaeus’ brings with it the Dionysia, tragedy, Dionysus’ plant, and the wine-making equipment which resonates so audibly with Trygaeus’ own proper name. The play’s assimilation of tragedy and satyr play, and explicit discussion of tragedy and dithyramb, could thus be seen as part of its own implicit salute to the role of the theatre in establishing Peace in Athens. It is even possible that there is also a structural shape assimilated from the festival of the City Dionysia. The play’s structure could be designed to reflect that of the drama competition itself -- that is, of the shape taken by a day at the Dionysiac competition during that period of the war. It seems that the tragedies and satyr drama of one poet were staged in the morning, followed by comedy in the afternoon. Although Luppe and others have questioned this structure, it would nevertheless be broadly reduplicated in the shape taken by Trygaeus’ discovery, rescue, and implementation of Peace.<sup>69</sup> This play could be seen as a fictive compression, played out within the autonomous comedic world constituted by the alternative, even virtual city portrayed in Old Comedy -- ‘Para-Athens’, as it is sometimes labelled -- of the experience of a day at the Dionysia.

### **Tragedy and Satyr Play**

In the sequence between the satyric and the comic movements Trygaeus tells of the dithyrambic poets he met on his way down to earth (829-31), and we do not know how the dithyrambic choral competitions fitted into the festival's daily drama programme at this time. But this does not affect the possibility that one of the deep structures underlying the drama is the ordering of activities at the Dionysia: Aristophanes could be lending to history, as it takes place, a shape informed by the triadic sequence tragedy-satyr-play-comedy.<sup>70</sup> The opening movement sees Trygaeus, the hero of the play, flying to heaven on a dung-beetle in a powerful parody of Euripides' *Bellerophon* in which the hero flew on the winged horse Pegasus. This conception is similar to Dicaeopolis' use of the Euripidean role of Telephus in *Acharnians*. Rau points out that Bellerophon had *finished* with the chimaera in Euripides' play, just as Trygaeus, as we are told on more than one occasion (e.g. 313-14), including the parabasis (751-9), has already disposed of the Cleon-monster, long since dead.<sup>71</sup> Trygaeus tells us, as he ascends, that his intention is to question Zeus, and an interrogation of Zeus is not an improbable motive for Bellerophon in the tragedy.<sup>72</sup> The whole sequence is opened by explicit commentary on what is going on by one of Trygaeus' slaves. He tells the other slave that he is going to explain the plot to 'the children and the youths and the men and the important men and even these 'men beyond men' here (*huperēnoreousin* (53) -- see further below); his master is mad (*mainetai*) in a new way (*kainon tropon*), for all day long he looks at the heavens, and with his mouth agape 'like this' he upbraids Zeus (50-60).

The slave must here imitate tragic acting style, perhaps representing the effect of the angle taken by the mouth hole in a tragic actor's mask during an imprecation of heaven.<sup>73</sup> He also points out the rows of people sitting in

the theatre, their status increasing with their proximity to the orchestra, climaxing with those of such high status that they enjoyed the right to sit on the very front row (*prohedria*).<sup>74</sup> This direct description of the audience implies a striking flourish of gesture and / or posture. The range of skills that would be expected of a leading *tragōidos* is certainly displayed by Trygaeus. Like (for example) Medea, Trygaeus is first heard booming out from indoors, while the slave asks the audience, in the plural, whether they can *hear* (*akouete*) the kind of mania from which Trygaeus is suffering (65).<sup>75</sup> Like Medea (for example), Trygaeus has access to the theatrical *mechanē*. Trygaeus' daughter suggests that he should have ridden on Pegasus rather than the beetle, 'so as to appear more like a tragic hero in the eyes of gods' (*tragikōteros*, 134), and warns him not to fall off, thus becoming lame and providing Euripides with a plot for tragedy (*kai tragōidia genēi* (148, see above, ch. 2, pp. 000). The children's appeal to their departing father also makes use of Euripides' *Aeolus*.<sup>76</sup> Trygaeus then rebukes the crane operator (*mēchanopoie*) in an absurd clash of registers (172-6), demanding that the audience to see through the identities of both Bellerophon and Trygaeus to the actor, communicating with another theatre worker.<sup>77</sup> At the house of Zeus, an opposition between tragedy and epic is implied in the altercation with Polemos, the personification of war, as well as the dialogue with Hermes. In response to the Iliadic diction of their Olympian opponents (see below and e.g. Hermes' poetic term *amaldunthēsomai*, 'I will be made soft'; cf. *Iliad* 7.463), the chorus and Trygaeus use other phrases and indeed quotations from tragedies, probably including *Heracles* (976-7) and the Aeschylean *Prometheus* (319-20).<sup>78</sup> Such has been tragedy's contribution to the peace process.

In the scene where Peace is rescued, the play closely resembles a satyr-drama, the type of play which routinely followed tragedies at the fifth-century Dionysia (see above, ch. 5, pp. 000), and which had previously informed some famous comedies, including Cratinus' *Dionysalexandros*, which had featured a chorus of satyrs.<sup>79</sup> The hauling of a cult object from hiding, inherited from much earlier ritual precedents, was a familiar satyric theme.<sup>80</sup> Aeschylus' *Sisyphus*, which staged Sisyphus pushing up his stone from the underworld, explicitly likened him to a dung-beetle rolling a ball of dung (fr. 223 *TgrF*, actually quoted by Σ *Peace* 73b).<sup>81</sup> In Aeschylus' *Dictyulci*, satyrs hauled the chest containing Danae out of the sea, and the hauling scene in *Peace* is certainly partially modelled on that satyric prototype. The parodos of *Peace* is instigated by Trygaeus' summons (296-8), 'You peasants and merchants and carpenters and craftsmen and immigrants and foreigners and islanders come hither, all you people, as quickly as you can...'. This is modelled on the invitation in *Dictyulci* to 'all peasants, vine-diggers....and shepherds', and probably other groups, to aid in the hauling of the chest.<sup>82</sup> Trygaeus has thus virtually turned into Silenus, the satyr-choreographer who directed the hauling scene in the episode's Aeschylean prototype.<sup>83</sup> The chorusmen spontaneously burst into dance steps, a malady which has been diagnosed as satyric 'auto-orchestrism' (322-36), also manifested in the satyrs of Sophocles' *Trackers* (fr. 314.229-30 *TgrF*) and implied in *Cyclops*.<sup>84</sup> Moreover, Trygaeus needs to order the chorus to keep their noise down, lest **the** waken Cleon in Hades (318-19); the chorus of *Trackers* are rebuked for their din by the nymph Cyllene, lest they waken Hermes.<sup>85</sup> The chorus of Aristophanes' *Peace* are thus temporarily assuming the role of satyrs, and Trygaeus, like Silenus, simultaneously encourages and disciplines them.

## Trygaeus and Lyric

Yet in the **continuously** shifting refraction of the traditions of poetry through the comic prism of *Peace*, it is choral lyric that comes to the fore in the predominantly dactylo-epitrite metre of the strophic pair concluding the parabasis (775-96 = 797-818). The appropriation of such lyric to the cause of peace extends to sustained allusion to Stesichorus' *Oresteia* (775-80, see Stesichorus fr. 33 *PMG*). The Stesichorean material in the strophe is an address to the Muse on the topic of the joys of peace – weddings of gods, banquets of men, and the festivities of the blessed, 'for these have been your chosen themes from the start' (775-80); in the antistrophe Stesichorus' authority is invoked to confirm that it is peaceable songs that the wise man is obligated to sing (797-800). Stesichorus, of course, was traditionally credited with having issued warnings against violence and tyranny, advocating peace, and, moreover, being the son of Hesiod, who later becomes a significant ancestral figure in Trygaeus' mission (see below).<sup>86</sup>

The lyric theme is continued into the ensuing dialogue between Trygaeus and his slave; Trygaeus reports that on his way down he encountered the souls of dithyrambic composers, 'flitting about collecting ideas for some preludes of the air-haunting-swiftly-soaring kind';<sup>87</sup> the language here recalls two separate Pindaric images of the poet: as a bird who sings winged songs (*Nem.* 3.80-3; see also Bacchylides 3.96-8), and as a bee who flits between flowers collecting the honey of the Muses (*Pyth.* 10.53-4). This accumulation of lyric metre, quotation and imagery reaches a climax with Trygaeus' claim that he actually encountered the katasterised Ion of Chios; he has been renamed for his own famous dithyramb, 'Dawnstar' (835-7),<sup>88</sup> whose opening

line sang of the star that 'heralded the sun' (fr. 6 *PMG*) -- a suitable allusion for a hero about to inaugurate a new golden age, and indeed to get married. For in a splendid climax to the parabasis, Trygaeus re-emerges triumphantly with his new female attendants, and announces his imminent marriage to *Opōra*; here the metres in which the chorus responds to him are telesilleans and reizianums, which in Sappho fr. 141.1 were clearly associated with weddings (856-67 = 909-21).

The two key images of Peace in the cultural encyclopaedia of archaic and classical Greece were farming and weddings; it seems almost inevitable that the farmer Trygaeus should also be a bridegroom. The remainder of the play consists of an extended wedding preparation, but continues its serial examination of poetic genres and their **respective** relationships to war and peace. Trygaeus may temporarily have acted the parts of Bellerophon in a tragedy and Silenus in a satyr drama, but is fundamentally a comic – or rather, a *tragedic* -- hero, and the play's finale re-establishes the primacy of that genre. Tragedy identified the problem, satyr play solved it, choral lyric has provided a collective transition into the joyous new world where Peace reigns; now Trygaeus interacts with his slave throughout the scene in which the cult of peace is installed (819-1126). The motifs in this episode are predominantly comic -- play around the sacrifice, foolery with food,<sup>89</sup> discussion of somatic functions, audience participation, extended sexual innuendo (984-904), and the intrusion of the oracle-monger Hierocles. There follow the arms-dealer and the two little boys who are guests at Trygaeus' wedding. The poetic struggle filtered through the comic lens now becomes Hesiodic *versus* heroic martial epic and its associated symbols, especially the shield.

This confrontation of Hesiodic and Homeric poetics is also the comedy's most agonistic feature. Trygaeus is physically violent only once (against Hierocles, 1119); unlike the oratorical Dicaeopolis and Sausage-Seller he is not rhetorically argumentative. His part requires the performance of no rhetorical agon, no sophisticated monologue, no speech to perform in a civic arena.<sup>90</sup> This might be a theatrical response to the suspension of public business during the Dionysia (Dem. *Against Meidias* 10).<sup>91</sup> Trygaeus' festive world is not concerned with the law courts: as he tells Hermes, he brings no malicious accusations and is no busybody (191). While the play's 'toning down of the agonistic element' has been noted, the dimension that has always been said to replace it has been an unusually intense engagement with choral lyric.<sup>92</sup> But even the central, Stesichorean panel of the play transmutes into a denunciation of theatrical practitioners -- Carcinus, Morsimus and Melanthius -- whose mediocrity excludes them from Trygaeus' banquet (781-95, 802-14). Thus to focus exclusively on the play's response to the lyric tradition, at the expense of the rich use of hexameter as well as theatrical verse, is to miss Trygaeus' far-reaching vocal and poetical point.<sup>93</sup>

### **Trygaeus and Hexameter Poetry**

In the second half of the play the actor playing Trygaeus needed to demonstrate an altogether different type of virtuosity. Trygaeus can also fight bellicosity through epic: epic becomes ammunition for advocates of both war and peace. Choice of diction has even much earlier in the play insinuated an association between martial epic and the opponents of peace: the term Trygaeus' slave used for the 'arrogant supermen' in the theatre (53) was the Homeric *hyperēnoreousin* (see e.g. *Iliad* 4.176), and Trygaeus applied to

Polemos the resonantly epic epithet *talaurinos*, 'wearing a huge leather shield' (241).<sup>94</sup> In the play's negotiation with hexameter poetry, there are important resonances in terms of other comedies that are unfortunately almost inaudible today. The fragments of other poets of old comedy show that comic burlesques of passages of Hesiod and Homeric catalogues were a recognised, if not particularly common element in comedy's repertoire: Pherecrates' *Cheiron*, a play with a strong interest in poetics, included a thirteen-line hexameter parody of Hesiod (fr. 162 K-A), while Hermippus spoofed the catalogue convention with a hexameter list of remarkable wines and their provenances (fr. 63 K-A).<sup>95</sup> Moreover, Cratinus' *Archilochoi*, an earlier play than *Peace*, had discussed the relationship between the poetry of Archilochus and Homeric epic, included at least one imposing hexameter (fr. 7 K-A), and probably staged an opposition between advocates of Homer and of Hesiod respectively.<sup>96</sup> A similar opposition comes to inform the second half of *Peace*. In three separate encounters Trygaeus is presented as the adversary of martial epic, but in slightly different ways.

At 1063 Hierocles embarks on hexameters, in which he utters dire oracular warnings against the making of peace. But in this metre Trygaeus, it appears, can give as good as he gets. Here the notion of the battle between peace and war begins to be formulated in terms of Homeric epic and its martial emphasis.<sup>97</sup> When Hierocles asks what oracle has given him the authorisation to make this sacrifice, Trygaeus answers in a patchwork of phrases from both the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* (1090-4), with one exception: there is an entirely novel line (1091). In order to explain what worshipping Peace might entail, Trygaeus has to extemporise, to become a rhapsodic innovator. He manipulates the tradition of martial epic to allow it to express a

more Hesiodic sentiment: 'They chose Peace for themselves, and installed her with a sacrifice' (*Eirēnēn heilonto kai hidrusanth' hierēiōi*).

To a dominantly ancient Athenian audience, the idea of creative elaboration in hexameters, in a competition against another performer, will have suggested the panhellenic festivals to which the Peace of Nicias would renew access, including the Pythian games, at which poetic *agōnes* had long been held.<sup>98</sup> But musical competitions had become extremely popular in Attica in the mid-fifth century;<sup>99</sup> the rhapsodic confrontation in *Peace* will also have brought to mind the Panathenaea, where rhapsodes competed in the performance of epic; indeed, according to the rules for the competition attributed to Hipparchus, they officially performed, like Hierocles and Trygaeus, 'by exchange and by cue' (*ex hupolēpseōs ephexēs*, [Plato], *Hipparchus* 228b-c). It has recently been argued that this allowed for a far greater degree of improvisation by individual rhapsodes, up until the moment of the pre-arranged 'cue' for handover, than has often been allowed.<sup>100</sup>

The confrontation of Hesiod and Homer is one of several oppositions with which the play reinforces the fundamental Peace / War antithesis. A sensory example is the olfactory contrast between the malodorous dung balls fed to the beetle, while War is still in the ascendant, and the delicious fragrance wafting from the recovered Eirene's statue.<sup>101</sup> Gendered symbolism also play a role, since Peace is represented by pacific females: **Tryaeus'** daughters, *Theōria* and *Opōra*, and the Hesiodic entourages of Graces (41, 797-800), Seasons (456-7), and Muses. War, on the other hand, is represented by pairs of bellicose males with epic associations: Polemos and Kudoimos, the sons of Lamachus and Cleonymus, and Ares and Enyalios (456-7). Polemos is not himself named in Homer, but rather in Pindar (fr. 78.1 S-M, as the father

of the personified war-cry), Heraclitus (22 B 53 D-K), and in Aristophanes' own *Acharnians* (978-87). But in *Peace* he uses blatantly Homeric language, such as 'abject' in his opening line (*polutlēmones*, 236; see *Il.* 7.152).<sup>102</sup> Kudoimos is indeed an Homeric figure, an associate of Ares (*Iliad* 5.593).

Peter Green has described Aristophanes' project in *Peace* as a celebration of the 'precarious' treaty 'cobbled up' in 421, by composing 'a topical play lambasting Athenian arms-profiteers.'<sup>103</sup> The second male arrival to prove an impediment to Peace, the arms dealer (accompanied by a mute helmet-maker and spear-maker), is furious because the advent of peace in Greece will ruin his business (1212-13).<sup>104</sup> There ensues a comic perversion of a Homeric arming scene. But the items of armour are not fitted on the hero. Instead, each weapon the arms dealer and his colleagues offer for sale is itemised, described, becomes the butt of Trygaeus' humour and is ultimately rejected. One of the items is a cuirass, which Trygaeus sets down on the floor and attempts to use as a chamber-pot (1224-36). The joke is considerably extended and may require that the spectators recall a heroic painting, dependent on a cyclic epic about the Trojan war at Delphi. The scene may have been designed to bring to mind Polygnotus' famous painting of the Sack of Troy (a scene derived from the epic of that name), which adorned the Cnidian *Lesche* at Delphi.<sup>105</sup> In the picture, according to Pausanias, the child Glaucus (son of Theano and Antenor) sat on a hollow breastplate (10.27.1). It helps here to envisage the flared and hollow form of the cuirass, which from the front, at least, bore distinct similarities to a child's potty (*amis, ouranē*).<sup>106</sup> When Trygaeus takes his seat on the corselet, he may therefore spoof the tradition of heroic mural painting and thus of heroic martial epic. Davies' theory is lent support by the other jokes requiring familiarity with famous

artists and works of visual art in the play. These include a discussion of Pheidias intended to call to mind his statue of Athena in the Parthenon (615-18),<sup>107</sup> and a reference to the statue of Pandion, one of the eponymous heroes (1183).

The final threat to Peace comes in the form of the two little boys, sons of bellicose generals, who have come to be guests at Trygaeus' wedding, and want to practise their songs. At this wedding, there is to be held a musical *agōn* more suggestive of a panhellenic festival than a private party.<sup>108</sup> The first boy launches straight into the opening hexameter of the cyclic *Epigoni*, 'The deeds of younger arms I sing' (1270), and ignores Trygaeus' furious interruption. He doggedly continues with a quotation consisting of lines from the *Iliad*, 'And when, advancing against each other, they were at close quarters, they dashed together their bucklers and their centre-bossed shields' (1273-4). Trygaeus asks him to stop going on about shields, but he continues with another Iliadic line, 'and then together rose men's cries of pain and triumph' (1276). Again Trygaeus interrupts, this time swearing by his favourite god, Dionysus, with a joke, once again involving shields, about 'centre-bossed' cries of pain (1277). When the boy expresses confusion about what exactly he *should* be singing about, Trygaeus decides to *compete* with him by improvising two lines parodying epic metre and style (1281-2), 'Thus they feasted on oxen (and this sort of thing): They had breakfast set before them, and whatever is most pleasant to taste'. Finally, the boy responds (1283-4) with a couplet only very slightly adapted from one delivered by Homer in the *Contest of Homer and Hesiod* (107-8), a contest which Hesiod wins.

The surviving manuscript text of the *Contest* stems from a fourth-century work, the *Mouseion* of Alcidamas, a pupil of Gorgias. The contest

does not encompass the entire poem, but, rather, lines 62-214; this episode, and the fundamental idea of an *agōn* between verses of Homer and verses of Hesiod, are both certainly of earlier origin.<sup>109</sup> The agenda underlying the text of the *Contest* is complicated; although Hesiod wins because his poetry is wiser and more socially useful, the poetry of Homer is given a surprisingly positive presentation, despite his ultimate defeat.<sup>110</sup> In a subtle essay, Rosen has recently shown that such an *agōn* is an indisputable undertext of the competition in poetry -- and wisdom -- between Aeschylus and Euripides staged in Aristophanes' *Frogs*.<sup>111</sup> Richardson, who believes that the *Contest* dates to the sixth century, saw that the situation at the end of *Peace* also replicates the situation in the *Contest*: in both texts a bellicose advocate of Homeric epic is vanquished in rhapsodic competition against a man whose hexameters advocate peace and husbandry.<sup>112</sup>

Another critic of Homer, Xenophanes, had decades earlier objected to the singing of songs about battles and *stasis* at symposia (fr. 1 *IEG*); Anacreon had also rejected poems about conflict and tearful war on such occasions (fr. 2 *PMG*). But the boy will not desist from uttering martial Iliadic verses; Trygaeus dismisses him, only to have to dispense, more quickly, with Cleonymus' son. His choice of sympotic song is Archilochus' famous elegy about throwing away his shield in the war against the Saians (1295-1301) -- shields again. This plan is rejected by Trygaeus in language tinged with epic formulae, probably a direct parody of Alcaeus (fr. 6 *PLF*).<sup>113</sup> Archilochean martial elegy has no place in his plan.<sup>113</sup> Trygaeus has trumped the oracle-monger's bellicose hexameters with peacable ones, made fun of visual arts painting martial epic, shown himself able to improvise hexameters in combat with the *Iliad*, in a sequence almost certainly intended to remind the audience

of the content (and conclusion) of the *Contest of Homer and Hesiod*, and located himself in the tradition of those who proscribed martial themes at symposia by his exclusion of Archilochean elegy. Is Aristophanes laying claim to following in Hesiod's footsteps rather than Homer's, and representing in Trygaeus the advocacy of peace and symbolic representation of the peasantry previously associated with the author of *Works and Days*? Is Aristophanes saying that his new socially concerned and peace-oriented parody of more serious drama was effectively the new rival of Homer?

### **The Sign of the Shield**

The Hesiodic divinity Peace is represented in the comedy by a beautiful statue of a maiden, a *korē*, passive femininity in aestheticised form.<sup>114</sup> Trygaeus's longing for peace is an erotic impulse, the impulse lovely statues of females could elicit in their viewer (see above, ch. 4, pp. 000).<sup>115</sup> Peace is addressed by Hermes as the 'most shield-band-hating' of females (662, *ō gunaikōn misoporpakistatē*), a suggestive neologism which supports the view that the primary symbol throughout the play of Peace's adversary, War, is the shield. Shields provide by far the most numerous puns in *Peace* (at least seventeen instances), and the speed at which they occur accelerates. In the second version of *Peace*, the list of armour in the scene with the arms-dealer was supplemented by a shield (fr. 306 K-A): this may have been added because of the plethora of shield jokes in the rest of the play.

Shields were topical. After the Athenian victory at Pylos in 425 BCE, Cleon had brought 298 Peloponnesian hostages (including 120 Spartans) to Athens in triumphal procession (Thuc. 4.21.2). There are comments in Aristophanes' *Farmers*, *Clouds*, and *Knights* about these unfortunate

captives.<sup>116</sup> Cleon had also ordered Spartan shields to be hammered to the walls of the Stoa Poikile, inscribed with the words, ‘Athenians, from the Lakedaimonians, [taken] from Pylos’. Pausanias commented upon them (1.15.5): one has turned up.<sup>117</sup> It has been argued recently that Cleon also had Pylian shields displayed on the bastion of the Nike temple, transforming it ‘into a gleaming tower of bronze -- a spectacular trophy indeed’, in the very sightline of spectators in the theatre of Dionysus, and visible all the way from the Piraeus to the Kerameikos.<sup>118</sup> These tokens of victory illuminate Aristophanes’ choice of the shield as the material symbol of the aggressive imperialism he associated with Cleon and his supporters. Shields are also used to attack the generals and politicians who forced peasants to fight, but turned out themselves to be cowardly shield-droppers (1186). The notorious *rhipsaspis* Cleonymus is attacked three times, the last instance during the stage appearance of his own son (446, 673-5, 1298-9 = Archil. fr. 5 *IEG*). The shield, therefore, operates as a key sign in the symbolic code by which the audience identifies the ‘anti-peace’ politicians at Athens. The delights of returning to peace are also imagined in terms of shields. In the hauling scene, the chorus cry, ‘I’m glad, I’m happy, I fart, I laugh, *at having escaped from my shield*’ (335-6). They pray that every man who helps in the tug-of-peace ‘*may never again take up a shield*’ (438), and that pro-war shield retailers be attacked by brigands (447-8).

The shield brought with it a telling symbolic heritage. It is not just that in *Acharnians* Dicaeopolis had Lamachus’ shield inverted so that he could vomit into it (585-6). The shield was the most privileged bearer of *ekphraseis* in epic, and Achilles’ shield portrays two contrasting communities, one at war and one at peace. The marriage feast of Trygaeus and *Opōra* at the play’s

conclusion draws on one of the peace scenes in speaking of a banquet, of the hymenaion, of torches and of dancing (1316-59). But Trygaeus and the chorus of peasant-farmers are also the animate, theatrical descendants of the vine-growers portrayed in the community at peace. Indeed, the verb *trugaō* makes its sole appearance in the *Iliad* during this description (18.561-6):

And on it he also put a vineyard heavily laden with clusters, a fair one made of gold. The grapes were black, and throughout the vines were set up on silver poles. And he drove around it a trench of cyanus, and around that a trench of tin. One single path led to it, by which the vintagers visited it, whenever they gathered the vintage (*hote trugoōien alōēn*).<sup>119</sup>

Aristophanes' dramatisation of Dionysiac amity, with its bridegroom hero Trygaeus and its key image of the shield, thus owes a powerful associative debt to the towns at peace in epic ecphrases.

## **Conclusion**

The role of Trygaeus is politically uncompromising, thematically complex, poetically resonant, and histrionically demanding. The actor Apollodorus had theatrically to shadow Nicias, and to continue the work of Dicaeopolis. Trygaeus is a comic representative of the vine-**gowers** of Attica and of Greek peasants everywhere.<sup>120</sup> He is a trickster and opportunist, perhaps personifying a figure in a popular proverb. He shares features with Dionysus, the god of vines and of drama, and with the *archōn* who played the part of Dionysus at the Anthesteria. His name suggests penetrative heterosexual sex

from a male perspective, an activity for which Peace will increase opportunities. He is connected with the satyrs who trample the grapes in the *trugoipos* with which he also shares part of his name. He is also closely related to Tragedy, a term by which poets in the late 420s often described comedy. If not quite a personification, he certainly an offshoot and *agent* of tragedy, a practitioner of the tragic art.

Trygaeus is a theatrical performer, sometimes overtly conflated with the actor beneath his own mask: he can recite tragic anapaests (82-101, 154-72), sing lyric dactyls (119-23), and knows his Euripides intimately. He can also play the part of Silenus in a satyr play, orchestrating a chorus of quasi-satyric dancers; he knows about dithyrambs and lyric. He can see off enemies in true comic style, perhaps even demonstrating **acknowledge** of poetry's visual counterpart, painting. In the second half he metamorphoses into a rhapsode, who can extemporise from hexameter cues, and gives better than he gets in parody of martial epic in dactylic hexameters. He is also configured in this scene as Hesiod, fighting against Homer in the traditional contest between them. Finally, his name and its association ultimately make him the literary descendant of the very vine-growers on epic shields, the primary representatives of towns at peace in pre-theatrical poetry.

In Plato's *Republic* Socrates argues that a dramatist cannot be proficient at writing both tragedy and comedy. Nor can the same performers be simultaneously rhapsodes and actors. Even more specifically, Socrates then suggests that the same actors are not capable of performing in both tragedy and comedy (3.395 a2-b1). Yet Socrates might have been given food for thought by both Trygaeus and Apollodorus, at least for the hectic hour or two it took to discharge the role. Trygaeus is a comic hero who can perform

tragedy and satyr drama, and can improvise epic hexameters into the bargain. The primary weapon which Trygaeus deploys in his war on war is not violence or rhetoric or verbal abuse, but poetry; this agent of tragedy and tragicomic performer is not only the happiest of Aristophanes' heroes, as one of his few previous admirers called him,<sup>121</sup> but the only one whose peculiarly pacific heroism is fundamentally grounded in his association with Apollo's gift, the art of poetry.

- 1 See e.g. Olson (1998), 65-6. An exception is Russo (1994), 146: 'the Apollodorus named by the Argument...was the first actor of *Peace*'.
- 2 See Durvye (2002), 83.
- 3 Warner (1986).
- 4 See Duchemin (1960).
- 5 On the importance of Hesiod to the ancient conceptualisation of the peace-war antithesis, see Zampaglione (1973), 26-7.
- 6 Fr. 109 K-A. On such lyrical scenes in the Greek poets, see Harriott (1986), 126-7.
- 7 See Stafford (2000), 187-8.
- 8 Vienna 1024 = ARV<sup>2</sup> 1152.8; no. 11 in Simon (1986); fig. 25 *a* and *b* in Stafford (2000), who discusses this and other late fifth-century Athenian visual images of Eirene *ibid.* p. 188
- 9 See Rosen (1984).
- 10 Wolff (1981), 7.
- 11 The publication of Olson's substantial edition in 1998 has already done much to encourage *Peace* studies.
- 12 Boas (1914), 17; Michelakis (2002*b*), 115.

- 13 She was flanked by Plutus and Esychia, with Enyalios beneath her feet.  
See Herford, Simpson and Simpson (1941), 97.
- 14 Michelakis (2002*b*).
- 15 Riedel (1984), 145.
- 16 See the essays by Revel-Mouroz (2002), 102 and Durvyne (2002), 85.
- 17 See Casari (2002), 43. It was still familiar to several late antique rhetors: see see Olson (1998), 84.
- 18 Francesco de Buti, the author of a 14th-century commentary on Dante, argued that the goat had symbolised tragedy because its regal appearance from the front, crowned with horns, had a counterpart in its naked, filthy backside. See Eagleton (2003), 13; Casari (2002), 45.
- 19 Mastronarde (1990), 268-72, 290-4; Olson (1998), 83.
- 20 See Mastronarde (1990), 293, with the remarks of Olson (1998), 88.
- 21 Frr. 307-8 *TgrF*. See Rau (1967), 89-97; Collard in Collard, Cropp and Lee (1995), 119.
- 22 Slater (2002), 116-19 is one of the few scholars to have appreciated exactly what the scene entailed in acting terms.
- 23 On the fertility of Athmonon and its excellent vines see Frazer (1913), 413-14; for Trygaeus' relationship with the countryside and what it represented ideologically see especially N.F. Jones (2004), 203-6.
- 24 On Aphrodite Ourania at Athens see Halperin (1990), 260 and n. 6; according to Xen. *Symp.* 8.9-10 there were two separate altars for Aphrodite, and the one for Ourania is the venue for particularly important rituals. According to a late source (Artemidorus 2.37), Aphrodite Ourania is propitious for marriages, partnerships, and the birth of children; she also indicates good luck for farmers.

- 25 Whitehead (1986), 207; see also the interpretation of Vilardo (1976). Perhaps Athmonon had a reputation for public-mindedness and encouraging particularly attentive practice of ritual in its demesmen: a fourth-century inscription (from the year 325/4) reports that six named individuals holding the office of *merarchos* were praised and crowned by the deme for their zeal and efficiency in supervising sacrifices and discharging other public duties (*IG II<sup>2</sup> 1203*; see Whitehead (1986), 140, 376.
- 26 Thiery (1986), 207.
- 27 See also the term *zēlōtos* (1038); on these epithets see Zimmermann (1985), 180-1.
- 28 See Moulton (1981), 864; Casari (2002), 45.
- 29 See 59, 93 ('I fly on behalf of all Greeks'), and 105; on Trygaeus' Panhellenism see also Thiery (1986), 210-11; Harriott (1986), 122.
- 30 On the problem of the chorus's unusually fluid identity, which is at times more Athenian and at others more Panhellenic in emphasis, see especially Sifakis (1971*b*), 32 and Hubbard (1991), 241-2; McGlew (2001) offers a different approach.
- 31 Thiery (1986), 207; Newiger (1980), 233-4. I am mystified by the connection drawn by McGlew (2002), 76 (see also McGlew (2001)) between 'the Athenian general Trygaeus' and Lamachus.
- 32 On Trygaeus' assimilation of Hermes' role as trickster, especially as portrayed in the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes*, see Bowie (1993), 140-1.
- 33 Taplin (1983), 333. The reading of the *exodus* of *Peace* by Calame (2004), 173, implies that an important resonance of Trygaeus' name is 'young bridegroom'.

- 34 On the sexual connotations of Trygaeus' name see Thiery (1986), 208, and Ioannidi (1973). On the sexual promise inherent in the hope of peace, cf. *Ach.* 263, 277-8 and Edmunds (1980), 6.
- 35 See e.g. the representation of satyrs involved in wine-making on a mid-fifth century red-figured column krater (*ARV*<sup>2</sup> 569, no. 39), with the remarks of Sparkes (1975), 135; in Athenian black-figure depictions of cropping and treading grapes, the figures are also almost invariably satyrs rather than humans: see especially Carpenter (1986), 91-3.
- 36 Bowie (1993), 148 and n. 87; at 138 Bowie tentatively proposes that 'his name, derived from *truge*, points to the grape-harvest and perhaps also comedy's comic name for itself, *trugoidia*.'
- 37 Bowie (1993), 146-50; Edmunds (1980), 20-1), who also refers to the parallel of Demeter's union with the hero Iasion (Homer, *Od.* 5.125-8; Hesiod, *Theog.* 969-74). For other attempts to explain features of the play by appealing to ritual structures, see Thiery (1986), 307-10, who argues that when Trygaeus returns to earth he has undergone a rejuvenation analogous to those experienced by initiates into Mysteries.
- 38 Sharpley (1905), 82.
- 39 On whom see Newiger (1957), 108-11.
- 40 See Ghiron-Bistagne (1973).
- 41 See Σ *Ar. Ach.* 499-500, *Athen.* 2. 2.40b, and *LSJ* s.v. *trugōidia*.
- 42 Taplin (1983), 331.
- 43 See above, ch. 5, pp. 000.
- 44 See the excellent study by Rosen (2000).

- 45 In Pherecrates' *Cheiron*, similarly, the character *Mousikē* described the chorus the succession of wrongs which she had received at the hands of a succession of poets. See above, pp. 000.
- 46 See the references in Sommerstein (1985), 138.
- 47 It was also possible to lose the second element entirely and add (or even not add) another suffix, as in Aleximachos becoming Alexis or Alexeus.
- 48 Osborne and Byrne (1994).
- 49 Personal letter from Professor Anna Morpurgo Davies, January 1997.
- 50 Foley (1988), especially 47. Corbato (1975) suggests that *Peace* may draw on the treatment of peace in Aeschylus' *Aitnaiai*.
- 51 See Silk (1993); on *Dionysalexandros* and the Trojan war, Luppe (1966).
- 52 At least one tragedian was supposed to have shared Trygaeus' occupation, at least in his youth: Aeschylus was said to have decided to become a tragedian after he had fallen asleep when looking after a vineyard, and been given this career direction by Dionysus, who visited him in a dream (Paus. 1.21.3)
- 53 Taplin (1983), 333.
- 54 Edmunds (1980), 11. Some scholars have speculated that Aristophanes himself played Dicaeopolis: for discussion and bibliography see Slater (1989), 78-80.
- 55 Σ *Iliad* 6.202a; see Riedweg (1990), 49-50; Olson (1998), 81.
- 56 Bowie (1993), 138.
- 57 Moulton (1981), 103-5, exploring a suggestive remark about Trygaeus' homecoming as marking the return of the golden age in Frye (1957), 177. On utopianism in Old Comedy see Manuel and Manuel (1972);

- Farioli (2001), 274-5; on Eupolis' play, Storey (2003), 266-77.
- 58 Cassio (1985), 105-18. On the level of pure speculation, Apollodorus could even have been the son of the leading actor in *Acharnians*.
- 59 Edmunds (1980), 36.
- 60 Moulton (1981), 83.
- 61 Plutarch, *Life of Cimon* 13.5 reports that an altar of Eirene had been erected after the Peace of Callias; but Deubner (1959), 37-8 doubts whether there was ever an official cult of Eirene earlier than by 374. For a detailed recent discussion of the evidence for Athenian worship of Eirene, see Stafford (2000), 173-7. Cartledge (1990), 60, suggests that Eirene is cleverly linked by Aristophanes to the cult of Athena, by being given momentarily the label *lusimachē*, which happened to be the name of the priestess of Athena Polias at the time.
- 62 Dover (1972), 134.
- 63 Cassio (1985). See also Thiery (1986), 142-3.
- 64 It does not significantly progress understanding simply to label 'metatheatrical' anything which has to do with such a fundamental social dimension of a particular form of theatre as the nature of its relationship with, and involvement of, the spectators and therefore the wider community. See further above, ch. 4, pp. 000. On the relationship between actors and community in, Medieval Mystery and subsequently Morality plays, which involved extensive audience address and integration, see e.g. Righter (1962), 13-42.
- 65 Slater (2002), ch. 6, especially 130-1.
- 66 Kassel (1983) discusses the *topos* of the voiceless statue, and suggests that it was Alexandrian taste that most approved of presentations of

- dialogues with statues; there may, however, have been a talking statue of Hermes in a comedy by Plato Comicus (see fr. 204 K-A).
- 67 More recent interpreters of the play have seen that self-consciousness about the notion of festivals -- *metafestival* -- is one of its central focuses. See e.g. the extended discussion of *Theōria* in the two chapters of Reckford (1987) devoted to *Peace*, especially p. 15: ‘How can we understand Aristophanes’ plays adequately when we ourselves disregard holidays?’
- 68 Dover (1992), 59.
- 69 Luppe (1972); but see the responses of Mastromarco (1975) and the remarks of Slater (1999), with bibliography in 351 n. 1; Csapo and Slater (1995), 107.
- 70 See below for the presence in the final, comedic section, of two sequences of hexameter feuding, between Trygaeus and the oracle-monger Hierocles (1063-1114) and Trygaeus and Lamachus’ little son (1270-83, 1286-9, 1292-3).
- 71 Rau (1967), 406.
- 72 Sommerstein (1985), 139.
- 73 See Paley (1873), 11, who compares Aeschylus, *Septem 422, thnētos ōn eis ouranon*, etc.
- 74 See Paley (1873), 11; Olson (1998), 78.
- 75 On the parallels with *Medea* see Rau (1967), 91, and Harriott (1986), 121.
- 76 Rau (1967), 92; Harriott (1986), 122. On *Aeolus* see also above, ch. 3, pp. 000.
- 77 See Thiery (1986), 141.

- 78 See Olson (1998), 127.
- 79 T i.42 K-A = *POxy* 663, col ii, 42. The satyrs somehow helped Dionysus-Paris (i.e. Pericles) to escape arrest: see recently McGlew (2002), 46-56.
- 80 On the ritual antecedents of the hauling scene, with fascinating vase images, see Adrados (1972).
- 81 Harriott (1986), 124.
- 82 Sommerstein (1985), 147. On *Dictyulci*, see further above, ch. 5, pp. 000.
- 83 On the representation of Silenus in satyr drama generally, see now Krumeich, Pechstein and Seidensticker (1999), 164-5 with references.
- 84 See Zimmermann (1996); cf. *Birds* 305-6, *Frogs* 386-9, and especially *Plutus* 288-9; Seaford (1984), 193-4.
- 85 On satyric prancing and dancing generally, see above, ch. 5, n. 000.
- 86 See Aristotle, *Rhet.* 2.1393b8, 2.1394b15-a1; Conon *FgrH* 26 F 1.42, and further references in M.L. West (1971), especially 303 n. 1. Hesiod was said to be the father of Stesichorus in Aristotle's *Constitution of Ochomenus*, quoted in Tzetzes, *Life of Hesiod* p. 39 ed. Colonna (1983); also by Proclus on Hesiod, *Erg.* 271, and in the *Suda*, s.v. Stesichorus. Thanks to Peter Wilson for help with these valuable references.
- 87 Translation by Sommerstein (1985), 830-1.
- 88 See Leurini's edition of *Ion of Chios* (1992), 111-12 fr. 84.
- 89 For a recent discussion of the importance of food and feasting in *Peace*, see Compton-Engle (1999).

- 90 Blistein (1980), 222-3; Thiery (1986), 208; Moulton (1981), 84-5;  
Murphy (1938); Slater (1989), 82.
- 91 See Csapo and Slater (1995), 105-6, 112.
- 92 Moulton (1981), 84; see also Harriott (1986), 127.
- 93 There are no equivalents in the surviving Aristophanic plays of the  
heroic (as opposed to oracular, melic or recitative) hexameters in  
*Peace*: see John Williams White (1912), 149; Pretagostini (1995), 166-  
70. Thanks to Eric Handley for help on this question.
- 94 In the *Iliad* the epithet *talaurinos* is used (e.g. 5.289) of Ares  
exclusively; it was applied to Lamachus in *Acharnians* (964).
- 95 See also Cratinus' *Seriphioi* fr. 222-4 K-A.
- 96 See especially the remarks of Diogenes Laertius 1.12, who quotes  
*Archilochoi* fr. 2 K-A, and Bizzaro (1999), 13-26. The comedy was  
probably produced in about 430 BC. See also Teleclides' comedy  
*Hesiodoi* (fragments 15-24 K-A).
- 97 See the excellent discussion of Collins (2001), especially 22-3.
- 98 See Rutherford (2004), 74.
- 99 It has recently been stressed that the building of the Periclean Odeion  
in Athens had been a response to the need to accommodate 'the musical  
contests burgeoning across Attica' (P. Wilson (2004), 285).
- 100 On the poetic struggle battle between different types of hexameter --  
oracular and epic -- see e.g. Blistein (1980), 96.
- 101 See Assoun (2002), 109.
- 102 Homeric diction in the course of play's heteroglot manipulation of  
different styles of poetic diction in the service of social causes is also  
used by the Peace lobby to *derogate* bellicose leaders: men in power

- act like 'lions' at home, however cowardly in battle, sing the chorus at 1189.
- 103 P. Green (2004), 86.
- 104 P. Green (2004), 86 n. 13, points out that theme of arms supply creates an opportunity for a joke at the expense of Sophocles' father, who owned a shield factory, and is now said to be desperate for cash (698-99).
- 105 Mark I. Davies (1980). For a surviving example of a fifth-century bronze muscle cuirass, from Ruvo in southern Italy (British Museum GR 1856.12-26.614), see Everson (2004), p. 141 fig. 51. Thanks to Rosie Wyles for this reference.
- 106 See e.g. the large sixth-century child's potty found in the agora area, with its rounded upper section and flared base, which originally encased the receptacle, in Lang and Eliot (1976), 240-1 fig. 125.
- 107 This joke is connected with Pheidias's supposed indictment for embezzling precious materials used in the construction of the statue of Athena Parthenos: see Plutarch's *Life of Pericles* 31-2, and Frost (1964).
- 108 See the excellent discussion of the fusion in the exodos of *Peace* of traditional *hymenaion* form with Dionysiac elements in Calame (2004), 172-6; Zimmermann (1985), 185-88 stresses the importance of the theme of the return to the fields in the hymeneal lyric elements.
- 109 O'Sullivan (1992), 85.
- 110 See Rosen (1997b), 473-6.
- 111 Rosen (2004), 297-314; previous scholars who have noted the likelihood of the Homer-Hesiod *agōn* as a prototype for *Frogs* include O'Sullivan (1992), 87 n. 143; Cavalli (1999), 105.

- 112 Richardson (1981), 2. For this dating see also Schadewaldt (1942), 64-6; Hess (1961), 7-26. The presence of the *Contest* behind the competition in *Peace* can be accepted even on the more cautious chronology of Graziosi (2001), 62-9, who argues that the *Contest* fits well with fifth-century literary concerns; she assembles cogent arguments from enjambment, phrasing, and punctuation in the hexameter quotations in *Peace* for seeing the whole exchange there as using and subverting lines that were not only already familiar, but which had already been linked to Homer and Hesiod respectively.
- 113 Bonanno (1973-4) discusses the epic/Alcaic resonances of Trygaeus' response. Harriott (1986), 127, argues that the Archilochus is rejected because the poem is 'escapist' in tone.
- 114 The decision to portray her as a statue won derision from other comic playwrights: see Eupolis fr. 62 K-A and Plato Comicus fr. 86 K-A. For a discussion of her likely appearance -- she may have resembled the nubile personifications of the Meidias painter -- see Stafford (2000), 187 and n. 68; an alternative view -- that she required little more than a peplos draped round a pole with a mask affixed -- is expressed by Slater (2002), 123.
- 115 For a psychoanalytical reading of the comedy which stresses the importance of desire – erotic and otherwise – to its scenography, see Assoun (2002), especially 107-8.
- 116 See Panagopoulos (1985), 51-4.
- 117 See Lang and Eliot (1976), 255-6 with fig. 134, and the photograph in Witschel (2002), 8, fig. 6.
- 118 Schultz (2003), 49, 51.

- 119 See also the pseudo-Hesiodic *Aspis* (which is probably of later date than Aristophanes, but drew on traditional material and formulae): the root *trug-* occurs twice within three lines in the description of Heracles' shield (291-5): 'Some were holding reaping hooks and were gathering in the vintage (*hoi d' etrugōn oinas*), while others were taking from the reapers (*hupo trugētērōn*) white and black clusters off the long rows of vines which were heavy with leaves and silver tendrils.'
- 120 On the 'universal' dimension of Trygaeus' status as countryman, see Moulton (1981), 110-1.
- 121 Thiery (1986), 215 'C'est le héros le plus heureux de tout le théâtre d'Aristophane'.