The Circle and the Tragic Chorus

J. F. Davidson

THE CIRCLE AND THE TRAGIC CHORUS

By J. F. DAVIDSON

I

It is a well-known and often lamented fact that we know very little about the actual staging of plays in the theatre of Dionysus in the Fifth Century B.C. What snippets of information we do have date from later centuries and may reflect contemporary conditions of per-, formance, or may be mere inference based on fifth-century texts.[1] Even though we can derive considerable comfort from Oliver Taplin's dictum that 'the Greek tragedians signalled all their significant stage directions in the words',[2] much that would enhance our knowledge of a fifth-century production remains a mystery.

One of the most intriguing aspects of the question concerns the tragic chorus. We possess the texts of the songs they sang but we know virtually nothing definite about the dancing[3] or music which accompanied these songs. Vase paintings provide some possible clues about the general appearance of the chorus, but attempts to work out details of choreography or movements in the orchestra are hazardous.[4]

Clear evidence is also lacking about what the chorus did when they were *not* performing their songs, which normally accounts for the greater part of the performance time. Opinion is divided on the point and depends largely on the value placed on the scholia (on Aristophanes, *Clouds* 1352 and *Frogs* 896) which perhaps suggest mimed or danced accompaniment to the words of the actors. Majority opinion seems to find a statuesque or unobtrusive chorus[5] more appealing than an actively mimetic chorus[6] possibly distracting attention from the main action. This viewpoint, however, while perhaps finding support in the generally accepted unreliability of scholia[7] allied with the demonstrable fifth-century trend towards a declining contact between 'stage' and orchestra,[8] is necessarily based in the end on preconceived ideas about the Greek theatre's aesthetic principles.

This paper is concerned with one minor aspect of the chorus' role during epeisodia. It does not address itself to the activity versus inactivity debate, but tentatively explores the broader question of how the chorus may have been arranged in the orchestra in certain circumstances. The evidence, such as it is, is sought in the texts of the plays themselves which remain by far our most extensive and

reliable, if at times extremely frustrating, source of information. The main point will be approached by way of a brief investigation of choral dance in general and a more specific study of the idea of circular formation.

II

It is reasonable to assume that all choral songs were accompanied by dance.[9] In a variety of contexts, however, in both comedy and tragedy, specific reference is made by the chorus themselves (or by the chorus leader as spokesperson) to their own dancing. Thus at Aeschylus, *Eumenides* 307, for example, we find an invitation to join in the dance to ensnare Orestes: ἄγε δὴ καὶ χορὸν ἄψωμεν.[10] A welcome turn of events or the delivery of good news often acts as a spur for choral dance. At Euripides, *Hercules Furens* 761 the chorus respond to the silence after Lycus' death screams with πρὸς χορούς τραπώμεθα. The messenger's account of Pentheus' death evokes a similar response at *Bacchae* 1153: ἀναχορεύσωμεν βάκχιον, as does news of the murder of Aegisthus at *Electra* 864–5: ἀλλ' ὑπάειδε/καλλίνικον ᾠδὰν ἐμῷ χορῷ. In Sophocles' *Ajax* the chorus of Salaminian sailors, celebrating their leader's apparent change of mood, invite Pan to appear and lead them in dance: νῦν γὰρ ἐμοὶ μέλει χορεῦσαι (701). Similarly at *Trachiniae* 216–20 the chorus respond joyfully to the news of Heracles' imminent arrival: ἀείρομ' οὐδ' ἀπώσομαι/τὸν αὐλόν, ὦ τύραννε τᾶς ἐμᾶς φρενός./ ἰδού μ' ἀναταράσσει,/ εὐοῖ μ' ὁ κισσὸς ἄρτι βακχίαν/ ἐπιστρέφων ἄμιλλαν.

There are also more oblique references by the chorus themselves to the dance which is accompanying their song. At *Hercules Furens* 673–5 and 685–6 the Theban elders sing that despite their old age they will still celebrate Heracles' victories and serve the Muses: οὐ παύσομαι τὰς Χάριτας/ ταῖς Μούσαισν συγκαταμει-/ γνύς ἡδίσταν συζυγίαν[11] ... οὔπω καταπαύσομεν/ Μούσας αἵ μ' ἐχόρευσαν. At Sophocles, *O.T.* 896 they ask, if it is the case that impious deeds are honoured, τί δεῖ με χορεύειν; This example in particular draws attention also to the double function of any chorus as firstly a group of elders, sailors, furies, or whatever, and secondly as a chorus *qua* chorus performing in the orchestra of the theatre of Dionysus.

In all of the above-mentioned passages and others like them, the chorus are drawing attention to their own dancing which they are in the process of performing,[12] dancing which no doubt reflected the mood of the song being sung. In other passages, however, the chorus refer to dancing which is happening or which has already happened[13] in off-stage contexts performed either by themselves or, more often, by others. It is by no means an unreasonable assumption that in the original performance the actual dancing of the chorus which

accompanied their song brought the other dancing sung about directly before the eyes of the audience.

From time to time, of course, it has been suggested that it was normal procedure for the tragic chorus to 'act out' or 'mime' the subject(s) of their song. George R. Kernodle,[14] for example, imagines the chorus in the course of a song enacting an off-stage event such as Phaedra's self-hanging (Eur. *Hipp.* 765ff.) or an incident in the past like the sacrifice of Iphigenia (Aesch. *Ag.* 228ff.). He argues in particular that such enactment by the chorus would have greatly enhanced their exploration in song of symbolic parallels to specific off-stage situations or of the mythical dimension underlying them.

There are undoubted difficulties with the idea as a regularly applied principle. Taplin,[15] while finding it attractive, rightly points out that many of the allusions in choral songs are too fleeting to be acted out and some could well be grotesque. His other objections include lack of corroborative evidence (which, however, hovers as a shadow over virtually any idea concerned with the staging of Greek drama), loss of the chorus' corporate identity, and loss of strophic responsion. In the latter case, however, the discrepancy of theme and tone between strophe and antistrophe in some contexts leads even A. M. Dale to accept the likelihood that there were exceptions to what she believed to be a normal strophic correspondence in dance movement.[16] Taplin's final and major objection that 'the contrast of the songs with the action – their removal in time and space, diction, and particularity – would be destroyed' does not seem lethal, and we are left perhaps with the idea as a distinct possibility within sensible limits.

Returning to dance contexts as such, even if we reject the Kernodle theory out of hand it would be perverse in the extreme to argue that, where, in an extended passage, the chorus sing of *dancing* somewhere else or on a former occasion, their own dance movements while they sang did not bring this other dancing before the eyes of the audience. Examples in this category include Euripides, *I.A.* 1036ff. in which the chorus sing of the festivities associated with the wedding of Peleus and Thetis, and *Trojan Women* 542ff. where they visualize the celebrations in Troy when the wooden horse was brought within the walls of the city. At *Bacchae* 862ff. the chorus evoke the ecstatic dance that they have enjoyed in the past while at *Ion* 1074ff. they visualize the Eleusinian ritual dances which they believe the presence of Ion would shamefully pollute.[17]

In addition, there are occasions when one of the actors may refer to off-stage dancing which is then mirrored, as it were, in the subsequent dancing of the chorus. A good example of this is found at the end of the *Bacchae* prologue. The disguised Dionysus announces

that he is going off to Mount Cithaeron to join in the dances of his female followers. Immediately upon his departure, the chorus of devotees who have followed him from Asia perform their entry song, and it is reasonable to assume that their own dancing in a sense brings before the audience the rhythms and movements which are to be imagined as simultaneously taking place on Mount Cithaeron.

To recapitulate, we have isolated three specific types of dance context: 1. The chorus refer to their own dancing while they execute it; 2. The chorus refer to off-stage dancing while in their own dancing evoking at least in general terms that other dancing; 3. The chorus execute dancing which mirrors off-stage dancing previously referred to by one of the *dramatis personae*.

We cannot with confidence, of course, work out the actual dance steps or even the general movements of the chorus in these cases, though they would obviously have been appropriate to the mood of the context in terms of fifth-century B.C. Greek aesthetic perception. What we *can* do, however, with reference to 2 and 3 at least is to establish a principle that the movements and disposition of the chorus in any given song *could* reflect dancing imagined as taking place beyond the sphere of the actual stage action.

III

With this principle in mind, let us turn to the notion of κύκλος. Late sources state that the chorus of Greek Tragedy was arranged in ranks and files,[18] as opposed to the fifty strong dithyrambic chorus whose formation was circular.[19] But given the circular shape of the orchestra,[20] it is difficult to accept that, if the evidence has any validity at all, the tragic chorus was straitjacketed into rectangular formation throughout every song in every tragedy for the entire duration of the fifth century. One compromise suggestion has been that the rectangular formation applied specifically to the marching entry or exit of a chorus,[21] but Siegfried Melchinger[22] demonstrates the absurdity of the rigid application even of this idea.

It is clear from the texts themselves that round dances were used in appropriate places in comedy. For example, at Aristophanes, *Thesmophoriazusae* 953ff. the chorus leader invites the chorus to form a circle for a dance: ὅρμα χώρει· / κοῦφα ποσὶν ἄγ᾽ ἐς κύκλον . . . Such passages are not, of course, evidence for tragic practice where, in any case, the number of choreutae was fewer. However, they may justifiably be borne in mind as supportive data when we consider hints of circular formation in certain tragic songs.

Pickard-Cambridge[23] rightly criticizes S. Ferri[24] for overstating the

case for this. It is dangerous to assume, for example, that any magical or invocational dance, especially an invocation of Apollo, *must* have been cyclic. On the other hand, the feeling that the binding dance at *Eumenides* 307ff. was circular is hard to resist. And if it was, then it would be unrealistic to suppose that it was an isolated example even for the relatively small number of extant tragedies. As it is, the words of Iphigenia's monody at *I.A.* 1475ff. also strongly suggest that the accompanying choral dance was in circular formation.[25]

Quite apart from these specific dances, there are hints of circularity in many of the choral songs of tragedy. T. J. Sienkewicz[26] suggests that the impact of Aeschylus, *Agamemnon* 997 τελεσφόροις δίναις κυκλούμενον κέαρ may have been reinforced by appropriate choreography. The same may be said of passages like ἀλλ' ἐπὶ πῆμα καὶ χαρὰ/ πᾶσι κυκλοῦσιν, οἷον ἄρ-/ κτου στροφάδες κέλευθοι (Soph. *Trach.* 129–31), or στὰς δ' ὑπὲρ μελάθρων φονώ-/ σαισιν ἀμφιχανὼν κύκλῳ/ λόγχαις ἑπτάπυλον στόμα (Soph. *Ant.* 117–9) where the chorus are describing the investment of Thebes by the Argive army. Such allusions are brief and we are not suggesting that a chorus would hurriedly form a circle for one or two lines. If they were already *in* circular formation, however, such lines would be greatly enhanced.

With regard to more extended passages like Euripides, *I.T.* 1143ff. (in which the chorus recall dances in which they participated in happier days) and *Hercules Furens* 687ff. (where reference is made to Delian ritual dance), Pickard-Cambridge[27] sternly points out that the cyclic dance perhaps referred to is in any case *not* the dance in which the chorus itself is engaged. However, we have suggested with regard to dance in general that, where the chorus refer to dancing elsewhere, it is only natural to assume that their own dancing in the orchestra would reflect that other dancing. If the dancing to which reference is made happens to be cyclic, then surely the chances are that the chorus' own dancing would be cyclic rather than something else. Other possibly relevant passages in this context include Euripides, *Helen* 1301ff. (especially 1312–4) in which the chorus sing the story of Demeter and Kore, and in particular the already mentioned *I.A.* 1036ff. in which the evocation of the marriage of Peleus and Thetis is climaxed by a reference to the dancing Nereids: παρὰ δὲ λευκοφαῆ ψάμαθον/ εἱλισσόμεναι κύκλια/ πεντήκοντα κόραι γάμους/ Νηρέως ἐχόρευσαν (1054–7).

IV

It is often the fate of the chorus to be largely ignored by the actors except where their co-operation in some issue is required. As a

consequence, there are few indications from the 'stage' as to the disposition of the chorus in the orchestra. Euripides' *Supplices*, however, begins with Aethra, mother of Theseus, encircled by the chorus of suppliant Argive mothers. This is made clear by Aethra's remark to Theseus when he arrives: ἱκεσίοις δὲ σὺν κλάδοις/ φρουροῦσί μ᾽, ὡς δέδορκας, ἐν κύκλῳ, τέκνον (102–3).

This direct reference by an actor to the basically circular formation of the chorus is unique in tragedy.[28] We have argued with regard to choral songs, however, that circularity in an off-stage context sung about by the chorus may well have been mirrored by the actual formation of the chorus in the orchestra. As it happens, there is a recurrent context which *may* provide a parallel for this during epeisodia.

At Sophocles, *Ajax* 723–4 a messenger relates to the chorus how the Greeks crowded around Teucer on his return to camp and abused him: αὐτὸν ἐν κύκλῳ/ μαθόντες ἀμφέστησαν. Though the chorus are obviously not behaving in a threatening way to the messenger, their very arrangement in circular or partially circular formation could serve as a tableau to mirror the reported off-stage situation[29] even though the *precise* relationship between individual and group would probably not be reproduced.[30] Shortly afterwards, in the same messenger scene, the movement of Calchas in relation to the other Greek leaders is described: ἐκ γὰρ συνέδρου καὶ τυραννικοῦ κύκλου/ Κάλχας μεταστὰς (749–50) with the same opportunity for tableau mirror effect.

At *Trachiniae* 194–5 an old man tells Deianeira and the chorus that Lichas has arrived with news of Heracles' triumph but has been unable to reach the house because the Malian people are thronging round him with questions: κύκλῳ γὰρ αὐτὸν Μηλιεὺς ἅπας λεώς/ κρίνει παραστάς. At *Philoctetes* 356–7 Neoptolemus tells his story to the marooned hero about the Greeks' initial reception of him at Troy: καὶ μ᾽ εὐθὺς ἐν κύκλῳ στρατός/ ἐκβάντα πᾶς ἠσπάζετ᾽. The same equivalent formation of the chorus suggests itself in these examples as also in Fr. 373 (Radt) which appears to come from a messenger speech relating Aeneas' actions at the sack of Troy: κύκλῳ δὲ πᾶσαν οἰκετῶν παμπληθίαν.

Of course, there are many obvious objections to the idea. For a start, no connection between the (ἐν) κύκλῳ formula and the chorus can be proved. Secondly, the use of κύκλος and related words is only natural in a context of encirclement and in fact occurs frequently in passages similar to the Sophoclean ones from Homer onwards. Thus we find περὶ δ᾽ αὐτὸν ἀγηγέραθ᾽ ὅσσοι ἄριστοι/ κυκλόσ᾽ (Homer, *Il.* 4.211–2) of the Greeks around the wounded Menelaus, or ὅππότε μιν δόλιον

περὶ κύκλον ἄγωσι (*Od.* 4. 792) of the circle which hunters draw round their quarry. Numerous examples from other authors include περι-στάντες αὐτὸ κύκλῳ ἐσηκόντιζον (Hdt. 1. 43) of hunters surrounding a boar and ἐκέλευσε κύκλῳ τοῦ στρατοπέδου κρυπτεύειν (Xen. *Cyr.* 4.5.5) of the encirclement of a camp. There is no doubt, therefore, that the Sophoclean examples could have been used without any secondary reference to the chorus whatsoever, and if there happened to be further examples from Sophoclean *prologues*, this would not be in any way surprising. Thirdly, similar expressions are found in tragedy in places where a reference to the chorus is clearly inappropriate. For this we need look no further than Euripides, *Bacchae* 463 where Pentheus tells Dionysus that he has heard of Mount Tmolus ὃς τὸ Σάρδεων ἄστυ περιβάλλει κύκλῳ. Fourthly, the (ἐν) κύκλῳ formula is often used in the vaguer sense of 'round about' or 'all around' with applicability to virtually any grouping arrangement.[31] Fifthly, it is clear that there are any number of other types of scenes related in messenger speeches in particular which cannot be mirrored in such a grouping of chorus vis-à-vis actors. Formidable though these objections may be, however, they do not necessarily invalidate the idea altogether.

Relevant passages are not confined to Sophocles. In Aeschylus' *Persians* the messenger relates Xerxes' orders for the disposition of certain Persian ships: ἄλλας δὲ κύκλῳ νῆσον Αἴαντος πέριξ (368). He later describes the Greek fleet's attack: κύκλῳ πέριξ ἔθεινον (418), and the encirclement of Psyttaleia: ἀμφὶ δὲ/ κυκλοῦντο πᾶσαν νῆσον (457–8). These examples are not especially appropriate although the idea of 'hemming in' could be reproduced in a general way by having the chorus 'crowding round' the messenger.

There is more promising material in Euripides. At *Andromache* 1136–7 the messenger announces to Peleus and the chorus the cornering of Neoptolemus by the Delphians: ὡς δέ νιν περισταδὸν/ κύκλῳ κατεῖχον.[32] *Bacchae* 1106–7 contains a report to the chorus of Bacchae of Agave's orders to the Theban Bacchae to surround Pentheus' tree: ἔλεξ' Ἀγαύη· Φέρε, περιστᾶσαι κύκλῳ/ πτόρθου λάβεσθε. At *I.T.* 331 a herdsman tells Iphigenia and the chorus how his comrades finally got the better of Orestes and Pylades: κύκλῳ δὲ περιβαλόντες ἐξεκόψαμεν/ πέτροισι χειρῶν φάσγαν'. A slightly different context is provided by *Orestes* 444 as the 'hero' outlines his predicament to Menelaus: κύκλῳ γὰρ εἱλισσόμεθα παγχάλκοις ὅπλοις. The most intriguing example of all, however, occurs at *Hercules Furens* 925–7. In recounting Heracles' purification ritual before the onset of his madness, the messenger uses the circle formula in a context not appropriate for the chorus: ἐν κύκλῳ δ'ἤδη κανοῦν/εἵλικτο βωμοῦ. *Immediately before this,* however, the messenger has described the family audience: χορὸς δὲ

καλλίμορφος εἰστήκει τέκνων/ πατήρ τε Μεγάρα τ'. An indirect reference here to the chorus listening in the orchestra would be most apt, and the chorus would no doubt be flattered by the epithet used!

V

Let us repeat that we are not in any way arguing that whenever the word κύκλος was used in a Greek tragedy (even in cases where it refers, as it often does, to phenomena such as the eyes or the sun or the cycle of the seasons) that the chorus rushed to form a circle in the orchestra! We are simply suggesting that if the chorus happened to be arranged in a basically circular formation then an extra visual dimension would be available to enhance certain descriptive sequences in particular which themselves may contain the very hint of the circular formation adopted.

Of course, the argument itself is circular, and even if the idea could actually be proved, it would hardly revolutionize our appreciation of Greek drama. After all, it is a reasonable guess, given the shape of the orchestra, that circular formation of the onlooking chorus in epeisodia was at least a not infrequent occurrence. In that case, the use of the κύκλος formula might be a happy coincidence, or it might represent a deliberate exploitation of the convention by the dramatists.

In the final analysis, it may be not so much the particular suggestion as the general approach which proves important. Attempts to clarify fifth-century staging have concentrated on obvious targets such as words for 'house' or 'palace' used in tragedy and their possible connection with the stage building in the theatre. It may well be, in fact, that further investigation along the lines taken here may reveal that tragic texts contain even more hidden stage directions than have hitherto been realized.

NOTES

1. It may even be that many or all of the few generally accepted 'facts' recorded by later writers about the fifth-century tragic theatre may stem ultimately from sources such as Aristophanes. See Mary R. Lefkowitz, *Hermes* 112 (1984), 143–53.

2. O. Taplin, *PCPhS* 23 (1977), 129. Cf. his *Greek Tragedy in Action* (London, 1978), p. 175. See also P. Arnott, *Greek Scenic Conventions* (Oxford, 1962), pp. 21–22.

3. For informative discussions of Greek dance, see Lillian B. Lawler, *The Dance of the Ancient Greek Theatre* (Iowa City, 19654), *passim*; A. W. Pickard-Cambridge, *The Dramatic Festivals of Athens* (Oxford, 2nd ed. 1968 [from now on cited as *P.C.F.²*]), pp. 246ff.; J. W. Fitton, *CQ* 23 (1973), 254–74.

4. See e.g. the sensible criticism by T. B. L. Webster, *The Greek Chorus* (London, 1970), p. xi of the approach taken by G. Prudhommeau, *La Danse Grecque Antique* (Paris, 1965).

5. Taplin, *Greek Tragedy in Action*, pp. 12–13 states bluntly, 'Between their songs the chorus will have stood (or knelt or sat) as still and inconspicuous as possible: their role was to dance and sing, not to be a naturalistic stage crowd.' This (admittedly generalizing) formula

does not sound quite right, however, for a chorus such as that of Sophocles' *Philoctetes*, nor does it take into account the important role of the coryphaeus.

6. Advocates of this view include Lawler, op. cit., p. 28, and J. M. Walton, *Greek Theatre Practice* (Westport and London, 1980), pp. 54–56. H. C. Baldry, *The Greek Tragic Theatre* (London, 1971), pp. 64–67, also inclines to this view, albeit somewhat cautiously.

7. *P.C.F.²*, p. 252, is sceptical about the 'evidence' of the scholia. A. M. Dale, *The Lyric Metres of Greek Drama²* (Cambridge, 1968), p. 213, rejects the idea out of hand.

8. See e.g. D. J. Mastronarde, *Contact and Discontinuity* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1979), pp. 32–34.

9. See Dale, *Collected Papers* (ed. T. B. L. Webster and E. G. Turner, Cambridge, 1969), pp. 34–40, for the disposal of the theory that 'stasimon' meant a choral song not accompanied by dancing.

10. Quotations from ancient authors are from the relevant *OCT* unless otherwise noted.

11. One application of this word in the context may be to the chorus' dancing position. Cf. Bond, ad loc.

12. Cf. e.g. Pindar's use of χορεύων at *I.* 1.8.

13. Or sometimes even dancing which they anticipate *will* happen, e.g. Soph. *O.T.* 1090ff.

14. *CJ* 53 (1957–8), 1–7.

15. *The Stagecraft of Aeschylus* (Oxford, 1977), p. 20 n. 1.

16. *The Lyric Metres of Greek Drama*, pp. 213–4. Cf. *P.C.F.²*, p. 252.

17. Cf. Pindar's evocation of the Muses' choral performance for the sons of Aeacus at *N.* 5.22ff.

18. See *P.C.F.²*, pp. 239ff.

19. The dithyrambic chorus was in fact called κύκλιος χορός. For discussion, see Pickard-Cambridge, *Dithyramb, Tragedy and Comedy* (Oxford, 2nd ed. 1962), pp. 1ff., and Lawler, op. cit., pp. 1ff.

20. An altar in the centre of the orchestra would make a natural focal point around which to dance, as is usually assumed anyway for dithyramb. See Lawler, op. cit., p. 11.

21. See Webster, op. cit., p. 112. Lawler, op. cit., p. 26, also envisages considerable freedom for the choreographer within the course of any given tragedy.

22. *Das Theater der Tragödie* (Munich, 1974), pp. 69–70.

23. *P.C.F.²*, p. 239 n. 2.

24. *Dioniso* 3 (1931–33), 336–45.

25. *P.C.F.²*, p. 239 n. 2, grudgingly accepts this as a possibility.

26. *Eranos* 78 (1980), 133–42 (in particular 135–6).

27. *P.C.F.²*, p. 239 n. 2.

28. At Aesch. *Choeph.* 983 Orestes is addressing his attendants, though the chorus may also respond appropriately. Circular formation is also strongly implied in contexts such as Eur. *H.F.* 525–8 (τέκν' ὁρῶ πρὸ δωμάτων/ στολμοῖσι νεκρῶν κρᾶτας ἐξεστεμμένα/ ὄχλῳ τ' ἐν ἀνδρῶν τὴν ἐμὴν ξυνάορον/ πατέρα τε δακρύοντα) in which Heracles describes the suppliant position taken by Megara, Amphitryon, and the children vis-à-vis the chorus.

29. The chorus cannot, of course, act crowd-scenes realistically, which is one of the reasons for messenger speeches in the first place. See e.g. J. M. Bremer, 'Why Messenger-Speeches?', *Miscellanea Tragica in Honorem J. C. Kamerbeek* (Amsterdam, 1976), pp. 29–48 (in particular, p. 34).

30. Much depends on whether the messenger was actually in the orchestra or on a 'stage', and if there was a 'stage', whether this was raised or still at orchestra level.

31. For that matter, it may even designate 'all over', as perhaps at Aristoph. *Wasps* 432 (οἱ δὲ τὠφθαλμὼ κύκλῳ κεντεῖτε καὶ τοὺς δακτύλους). Cf. MacDowell, ad loc.

32. Cf. also *Andr.* 1088–9 where it is reported by the messenger how little groups of suspicious Delphians kept forming: εἰς δὲ συστάσεις/ κύκλους τ' ἐχώρει λαὸς οἰκήτωρ θεοῦ.