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The Ephebes' Song: *Tragōidia* and *Polis*

THE QUESTION of tragedy's early days has for quite some time been stuck at an impasse, with the same few bits of ancient information being constantly and inconclusively recycled. Comedy seems, if anything, in worse condition: with less anecdotal evidence and scripts later by half a century, its early days and development are even more of a mystery and equally the object (or victim) of speculation about ritual, myth, and the seasons. The average skeptic (and I count myself one) might rightly doubt that anything new—much less true—could be said on such subjects. Nevertheless, the present essay does try to offer an original approach to the old questions of where tragic choruses came from, or as I prefer to put it, what they were doing in the life of the city. Part of this essay's difference is the feature exemplified by this entire collection: that it considers Athenian drama in terms of the social context of its original performance at the festivals of Dionysos (the Rural Dionysia, the Lenaia, and the City Dionysia) and tries to notice the untranslatable cultural differences between the Athenian theater and ours.

The present essay suggests that, in a large sense, those festivals were the occasion for elaborate symbolic play on themes of proper and improper civic behavior, in which the principal component of proper male citizenship was military. Such play at festivals, just as at private symposiums, occurred in both serious and facetious formats, for both tragedy and comedy were built on representations of behavior (and physique) in terms of the taut and the slack. (The application of this idea to comedy must await another occasion.) A central reference point for these repre-

 An earlier version of this essay appeared in *Representations* 11 (1985): 26–62. For readers familiar with that version the changes here consist principally of a new preface, which X-rays the argument; a fuller discussion of the ephebate in section I; the omission of the sections on ephebic themes in tragic scripts, on Peisistratos, and on satyr-plays; and somewhat fuller notes throughout. That earlier version now seems to me much too focused on the old question of tragic "origins" rather than on the recoverable social meanings of the festival, and to contain too relentless and univocal an emphasis on the isolated figure of the ephebe. An expanded study will try to remedy those defects by putting the figure of the ephebe, defined more in terms of status than of birthdays, into the larger web of social meanings and practices concerning Mediterranean *andragathiē*, manly excellence. It will deal also with comedy, costume, military dancing, quasi-dramatic performances at private symposiums, courtroom trials, melodrama, and Aristotle's *Poetics*. (Forthcoming from Princeton University under the title *Rehearsals of Manhood: Athenian Drama and the Poetics of Manhood*, The Martin Classical Lectures at Oberlin [September 1988].)

sentations—the notional learners of its lessons (*paideia*) about the trials of manhood (*andreia*)—were the young men of the city, and they were also the choral performers at least of tragedy, and perhaps also of comedy.

If I may be allowed just one small attempt to elicit the skeptical reader's benevolence: I hereby acknowledge that each of the items here assembled could, taken separately, be construed in another way than I have construed it. Some are late, some are incomplete, most are relatively small and either ambiguous or inconclusive; most have to do with performance and social context rather than with the dramas themselves. Indeed, it is because of these very features in the evidence, especially our fetishizing of the "dramas themselves" and the Text, that no one has noticed the coherence that I am about to trace. To reach the fuller cultural understanding of Athenian drama mentioned above requires as thick a description as possible, and (to speak frankly) the overall persuasiveness of the present argument rests not on any one irresistible fact but on the ensemble of many details. My ideal reader, therefore, will be of two minds: on one level, he or she will check the weight and accuracy of each fact or interpretation to see how far it contributes to a reasonable and believable version of what was once a living practice, and on this level the final judgment may have to be "Not Proven"; but on another level, I expect the serious reader not to be content with a merely skeptical attitude but to take responsibility for explaining what the aggregate of evidence here assembled does mean. To make these readerly activities possible I have laid out some of the significant evidence about Athenian fighting, dance training, and citizenship, topics usually slighted in accounts of Athenian drama.

The subject here treated would traditionally be labelled "the origin of Greek tragedy," but the word "origin" seems to me to claim too much, suggesting as it does something primal—whether seminal or oval—before which there was nothing. Founding events do, of course, occur, but the more usual social operation is not to create but to adapt whatever is at hand. In the hope of avoiding the mystification that often attends discussions of origins, I would rather say that the hypothesis advanced here is about the early character of Attic tragedy (and comedy) rather than about their absolute beginning.

Since the evidence that follows is arranged in ascending and then descending order of importance, circling from the merely suggestive at the periphery of the subject (sections I, II, IV) to the relatively solid in the center (section III), it might be well to indicate at the outset what I take to be the hard outline of the data. Like the individual poles which form a tepee, no one of these data can stand alone, but their coincidence forms a structure which is far stronger than its simple components. The essential

framework of my tepee consists of three crucial facts about performances in the theater of Dionysos.

1. The chorus members for tragedy are represented on the Pronomos Vase (plate 1) as young men with fully grown bodies and curls of sideburn creeping down their cheeks, but no beards. They are, iconographically speaking, ephebes—young adult (or late adolescent) males represented in their athletic prime. Their portrayal is in systematic opposition to that of the three actors on the same vase who are represented as older men with beards.

2. The distinctive and regular formation of the chorus for tragic dancing was rectangular, by rank and file. This stands in systematic contrast to the circular dancing of dithyrambs at the same festival (performed by the age groups above and below the ephebes—men and boys).

3. The eighteen- to twenty-year-old male citizens, who underwent military and civic training in the ephebate, as the institution is known from the fourth century B.C.E., displayed at the beginning of their second year their hoplite military maneuvers and close-order drill in front of the assembled citizen body. They did so not on exercise fields outside the city but in the orchestra of the theater of Dionysos ([Aristotle], *Ath. Pol.* 42.4).

Together these three facts suggest that one might perceive the role and movement of the tragic chorus as an esthetically elevated version of close-order drill. The very persons (or rather a representative selection of them)[1] who marched in rectangular rank and file in the orchestra as second-year cadets, performing for the assembled citizenry, also marched and danced in rectangular formation at the City Dionysia, but did so wearing masks and costumes.

Supporting this perception, but in second rank (section II), is the audience's character as a civic assembly—not a fortuitous gathering of "theatergoers" but a quasi-official gathering of citizens. They were seated in tribal order, one tribe per wedge, which was evidently the seating arrangement for the Athenian Assembly (Ekklēsia) when it met in the Pnyx. The more prominent citizens sat toward the front, with a special section for the Council (Boulē). The layout of the auditorium thus dis-

[1] The average year-class of ephebes recorded on inscriptions (334 to 327/6 B.C.E.) was about 450 to 500 strong, based on individual tribes having a recorded complement between 37? and 62. O. W. Reinmuth, *The Ephebic Inscriptions of the Fourth Century B.C.* (*Mnemosyne*, supp. 14, 1971). The entire two years therefore contained upward of a thousand. The number of tragic dancers annually at the Dionysia was 36 (3 × 12) or, after the chorus was enlarged, 45 (3 × 15).

played the organization of the body politic in terms both of tribal equality and of social hierarchy. Further, the entire festival had a civic-military aura, suggesting that *polis* and *tragōidia* in Athens were not so distant from each other as the modern understandings of "politics" and "tragedy" would imply.

The least "hard" items of evidence, though in some ways the most suggestive, are those with which the following essay actually begins and ends, namely, the etymology of *tragōidoi*, "billy goat singers" (section IV), and the symbolism of the black-caped Dionysos and the relation of the Apatouria and the Dionysia (section I). Section I serves simply as an occasion to inform the general reader about some basic facts of the military and festive aspects of Athenian citizenship.

Absent from this dossier of evidence are the scripts. From the early days of tragedy to its later and more fully represented period, the character of its scripts changed in marked ways. That is an esthetic history which has been told on its own terms, but such a history, if it is to avoid being a Rorschach fantasy of the modern interpreter, needs to be founded on a concrete knowledge of the performance—particularly on the shared and usually unspoken presuppositions of the composers, performers, and audience. This essay, therefore, does not aim at a general interpretation of tragedy *based on* the surviving scripts, but rather tries to reconstruct from the facts of festival performance the framework of understanding which the audience originally brought to its viewing of the plays. What we may learn from such a study is, as it were, how to light and hang the tragic pictures so that we are viewing them from the right angle and thus can better estimate what the original audience was intended to notice.

I. A Duel on the Border: The Trick of the Black Goatskin

A story will focus the issue. In the old days of the kings, a dispute arose between Attika and Boiotia over the control of a village in the hill country which forms the natural boundary between them. Border squabbles, of course, were endemic in a culture which is aptly described as not only face-to-face but scowling, and it is not surprising to find disagreement too over the name of the hamlet, which is variously given as Melainai, Oinoē, Panakton, or Eleutherai.[2] An agreement was reached to settle the issue by single combat between Xanthos, king of Boiotia, and Melan-

[2] Melainai and Oinoē are demes, Panakton a fort, Eleutherai a village; L. Chandler, "The North-West Frontier of Attica," *JHS* 46 (1926): 1–21. The history of actual fighting over these settlements on both sides of Mount Kithairon is surveyed by Angelo Brelich, *Guerre, Agoni e Culti nella Grecia Arcaica*, Antiquitas, ser. 1 (Bonn, 1961), 7:53–59. On border-fighting in general, Aristotle, *Politics* 7.10:1330a14–25.

thos, who had been promised the kingship of Attika if he won the fight. As Melanthos strode forward, he either saw or claimed to see behind Xanthos an apparition of a beardless man wearing a black goatskin over his shoulders. He shouted out to Xanthos that it was unfair for him to bring a helper to fight what was agreed to be a single combat; as Xanthos turned to look behind him, Melanthos struck with his spear and killed Xanthos.[3]

There is a curious fact about the use of this story, which will set up the parameters of my hypothesis. In the cycle of Athenian festivals, the tale of Melanthos' trick or deception (*apatē*) served as the etiology for the Apatouria, a very old kinship celebration in the fourth month of the Attic year (called Pyanopsiōn, roughly September-October).[4] On the three days of this festival, the phratries (clans) recognized boys and girls born in the preceding year with sacrifices to Zeus Phratrios and Athena Phratria, and also acknowledged the coming manhood (*hēbē*) of sixteen-year-old boys with a sacrifice called the *koureion* (on the day Koureōtis). The latter words were etymologized either by reference to *kouros*, youth/young man, or to *kourā*, cutting the hair, which was then dedicated to Artemis,[5] who was one of the several goddesses known as Kourotrophos because she watched over the nurturance and successful growth (*troph-*) of youngsters to adulthood.

The Apatouria was thus a clan festival at which birth and adolescence were acknowledged, but it seems also to have been overlaid with themes pertaining to slightly older males, *kouroi* in a different sense. *Kouroi* in Homer are young warriors, not sixteen-year-olds. The later word for *kouroi*, young men in the prime of life on the threshold of adulthood, was "ephebes" (*ephēboi*), literally those at (*ep'*) their youthful prime (*hēbē*). In

[3] A similar Butch Cassidy trick in a territory dispute between two kings is recorded by Plutarch, *Quaestiones Graecae* 13 (294b–c). Hyperokhos, king of the Inakhians, advancing to the field, was accompanied by his dog; his opponent Phemios, king of the Ainianians, objected to the dog as a second combatant; while Hyperokhos was shooing his dog away and had his back turned, Phemios hit him with a stone and killed him, thus winning for his people possession of the country. A less violent trick solved another border dispute between Athens and Boiotia over the region called Sida. Epaminōndas during the debate reached out and plucked a pomegranate, a plant growing profusely in that area, and asked the Athenians what they called it. "*Rhoa*," they said. "But we call this a *sida*," he replied, thus winning the day (Agatharakhides, *Eurōpiaka* = Athenaios, 650f–651a = *FGrHist* 86F8).

[4] Ludwig Deubner, *Attische Feste* (Berlin, 1932), 232–34; Herbert W. Parke, *Festivals of the Athenians* (Ithaca, 1977), 88–92.

[5] Scholiast to Aristophanes, *Akharnians* 146; Hesykhios, s.v. "Koureōtis." The young men having their locks cut also honored Herakles (whose divine consort was Hēbē) by a special libation and shared cup; Hesykhios, s.v. "Oinistēria"; Pamphilos quoted in Athenaios, *Deipnosophists* 11.494f. Eustathios (582.20) accepted the derivation of *kouros* from *keirō*; in such a discussion, into which I will not enter, perhaps it should be emphasized that *keir-* is not simply "cut a lock" or "trim" but "crop closely."

addition to denoting the ideal youth at the first flowering of his adult vigor (a flexible usage not bound to birthdays), "ephebe" also came to be the specific designation in the fourth century for the eighteen- to twenty-year-old citizens in training to be heavily armed soldiers (hoplites), learning to fight in a phalanx against the hoplites of other cities.[6] This training began, after their enrollment as eighteen-year-olds in the register of tribe and deme, in the third month of the Attic year (Boēdromiōn), the month before Pyanopsiōn.

The Apatourian phratry induction at sixteen had natural analogies to the *polis* induction at eighteen, at which civic-military duties were paramount.[7] The sixteen-year-old is registered with and celebrated by his clan as one able to succeed his father, to maintain the line of the *oikos* (household) by begetting his own children; the eighteen-year-old is registered with and acknowledged by the *polis* as one able to start taking his place in the closed ranks of adult male citizens, who collectively administer the commonwealth and defend its territory and its *oikoi* by force of arms. The slide between the two may be illustrated by the mythic-historic figure who is represented as a young warrior cutting his hair—that is, both as a *kouros/ephēbos* ready for battle and as one who cuts his hair like a sixteen-year-old at the Apatouria. He is Parthenopaios, one of the seven against Thebes, portrayed on seven Attic vases (all dated to about 500–470 B.C.E.). On some he is a beardless warrior, on others bearded.[8] Aiskhylos chooses to describe him in terms of age- and beard-class as an ephebe: "a man-boy man [*andropais anēr*], the down is just now creeping along his cheeks as his youthful beauty grows and the hair there thickens" (*Seven against Thebes*, 533–35). A reason for the association of the tale of Melanthos with the Apatouria has been discerned by Pierre Vidal-Naquet, using the young warrior as its focus.

But before looking at what he has dubbed the "black hunter," we must briefly dip our toes in the swirling waters of controversy. Concern for the registry and training of young citizen-soldiers must have been as old as the quasi-democratic city and the hoplite phalanx. The seventh-century B.C.E. revolution in military tactics in which the older heroic soloists and horsemen were replaced by shield-to-shield masses of heavily armed infantry is connected by most analysts as cause, effect, or both, of the social revolution in which citizen rights in the *polis* were extended to

[6] P. Krentz, "The Nature of Hoplite Battle," *ClAnt* 4 (1985): 50–62.

[7] On the relation of the phratry's enrollment at age sixteen (*hēbē* proper) to the deme's enrollment at age eighteen (technically described as *epi dietes hēbēsai*, "having reached one's *hēbē* for two years"), see Jacques Labarbe, "L'âge correspondant au sacrifice du *koureion* et les données historiques du sixième discours d'Isée," *Bulletin de la Classe des Lettres de l'Académie Royale de Belgique*, 5th ser., no. 39 (1953): 358–94; Chrysis Pélékidis, *Histoire de l'éphébie attique* (Paris, 1962), 52–70; Mark Golden, "Demosthenes and the Age of Majority at Athens," *Phoenix* 33 (1979): 25–38.

[8] Norbert Kunisch, "Parthenopaios," *AK* 17 (1974): 39–41, pl. 8.

a larger landowning but not aristocratic class.[9] Not all eligible citizens need have been so trained, just enough to man the ranks, but membership in the interdependent fighting team must have been regulated with regard both to eligibility and to capability. One cannot send untrained and unknown men to fight in the close array of a hoplite phalanx: one would not trust one's own battle safety to men in the same line who might be untrained fools or Thebans.

Yet plentiful and solid testimony to the existence of military training in Athens which is both city-wide and compulsory does not exist before the 330s B.C.E. The inscriptions which begin to appear from that time are usually related to a *nomos peri tōn ephēbōn* said to have been proposed by one Epikrates.[10] Since the earliest certainly dated inscription concerning an ephebic class is from the year 334/3,[11] Epikrates' proposal must have been passed in 335/4 at the latest. The move can be plausibly related to the Athenian defeat at Khaironeia (338 B.C.E.) as an attempt to bolster the city's military strength and confidence, as well as to the wider Lykourgan program of renewing the physical and cultural institutions of Athens. How plausible is it, therefore, to relate the training of young citizen-soldiers, as known mainly from chapter 42 of [Aristotle]'s *Constitution of the Athenians* (*Ath. Pol.*), to the performance of tragedy in the sixth and fifth centuries? Three positions have been taken, spanning the field of possibilities: the Lykourgan ephebate was a wholly new creation,[12] a codification of existing practices,[13] or (as Pélékidis maintains)

[9] Marcel Detienne, "La phalange: Problèmes et controverses," in *Problèmes de la guerre en Grèce ancienne*, ed. Jean-Pierre Vernant (Paris, 1968), 119–42; Anthony Snodgrass, "The Hoplite Reform and History," *JHS* 85 (1965): 110–22; P.A.L. Greenhalgh, *Early Greek Warfare: Horsemen and Chariots in the Homeric and Archaic Ages* (Cambridge, Eng., 1973), esp. chaps. 4 and 7; Paul Cartledge, "Hoplites and Heresies: Sparta's Contribution to the Technique of Ancient Warfare," *JHS* 97 (1977): 11–27, esp. 21–24; J. Salmon, "Political Hoplites?" *JHS* 97 (1977): 84–101. Joachim Latacz, *Kampfparänese, Kampfdarstellung und Kampfwirklichkeit in der Ilias, bei Kallinos und Tyrtaios*, *Zetemata* no. 66 (Munich, 1977), gives an excellent analysis of the phalanx formation in Homer, which sometimes assumed a close and quasi-hoplitic order for defensive purposes (esp. 55–65).

[10] "There is another Epikrates whom Lykourgos mentions in his speech *On the Financial Administration*, saying that a bronze statue of him was erected on account of his enactment concerning the ephebes; they say he possessed an estate of six hundred talents." Harpokration, s.v. *Epikratēs*; John K. Davies, *Athenian Propertied Families* (Oxford, 1971), 490; see n. 13 of S. C. Humphries, "Lycurgus of Butadae: An Athenian Aristocrat," in *The Craft of the Ancient Historian: Essays in Honor of Chester G. Starr*, ed. John W. Eadie and Josiah Ober (Latham, Md., 1985), 199–252.

[11] Reinmuth, *Ephebic Inscriptions*, claimed to have found an earlier inscription, but its dating has been challenged by D. M. Lewis in his review of Reinmuth (*CR*, n.s. 23 [1973]: 254–55), and by F. W. Mitchel ("The So-called Earliest Ephebic Inscription," *ZPE* 19 [1975]: 233–43).

[12] The existence of an earlier ephebate was denied briefly but with his customary authority by U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Aristoteles und Athen*, 1:193–94. His objection is answered by Nicole Loraux, *The Invention of Athens*, trans. A. Sheridan (Cambridge, Mass., 1986); also by Arthur A. Bryant, "Boyhood and Youth in the Days of Aristophanes," *HSCP* 18 (1907): 73–122. (On the authority of Wilamowitz, see S. Nimis, "Fussnoten: Das Fundament der Wissenschaft," *Arethusa* 17 [1984]: 105–34.)

[13] F. W. Mitchel, "Derkylos of Hagnous and the Date of *IG* II² 1187," *Hesperia* 33 (1964): 337–51, esp. n. 34: "Aristotle's description contains many elements which were already ancient. . . . In fact the ephebeia, as it is known from Aristotle and the contemporary inscriptions, is but a temporary phase in an institution which had ancient precedents and one which later, beginning with the oligarchic revolution of 322/1, underwent many further changes." Mitchel suggests that it was organized by tribes, as were most things military. Other defenders of an earlier ephebate in some form are John O. Lofberg, "The Date of the Athenian *Ephebeia*," *CP* 20 (1925): 330–35; H. W. Pleket, *Mnemosyne*, ser. 4, vol. 18 (1965): 441–46; Philippe Gauthier, *Un commentaire historique des "Poroi" de Xénophon* (Geneva, 1976), 190–95. H. Y. McCulloch and H. D. Cameron see a reference to soldiers of ephebic age in the prologue of Aiskhylos' *Seven against Thebes*: "Septem 12–13 and the Athenian Ephēbia," *ICS* 5 (1980): 1–14.

nothing new at all, having existed virtually unchanged since before the fifth century.[14]

Let us introduce some distinctions to sort out this issue. First, we should distinguish the linguistic development of such age-designating words as *kouros* and *hēbē* from the institutional development leading from archaic warrior training to the fourth-century ephebate. Just as the noun *ephēbos* is a later coinage[15] than *kouros*, so the organization of the Athenian ephebate as known in the fourth century was undoubtedly different from whatever earlier measures were taken to train future hoplite-citizens. Both of these fields show changes, more recoverable for the words than for the practices, and those changes may be interrelated. Second, we should mark off, apart from the shifts either of vocabulary or of social organization, the cluster of themes and propositions that underlies both of them. These themes show much less variation over the years and should be regarded as the framework of social concern within which the developments of language and practice took place. Principal among those themes are the son's ability to defend himself and his father's *oikos* against challenges, his ability to continue the line by begetting his own children, and (symbolic of both those things) the growth of his beard.

[14] "If the ephebate is attested before 336–335, one has no right to suppose that it is a different ephebate from the one we know." "The ephebate before the fifth century—a period in which it must have had a form more or less close to that which we know for the fourth century" (Pélékidis, *Histoire*, 9, 52).

[15] First in Xenophon, *Kyropaidia*. 1.2.4, describing the Persian disposition of soldier-citizens into four distinct groups: boys, ephebes, grown men, and those beyond the years of campaigning. The ephebes alone sleep away from their homes in common quarters (except for those who are married) and are commanded by twelve leaders since the citizen body is divided into twelve tribes. The Persian ephebate begins at the age of sixteen or seventeen and lasts ten years. During that time the ephebes often serve as the King's guard when he goes hunting, "which they consider the truest practice of skills needed for warfare" (1.2.10), and also for manning the guard posts (*phrourēsai*), pursuing wrongdoers, and intercepting bandits.

Already in the fifth century, the verb *ephēbaō* was one of the vocables in use to articulate those concerns. "Argos was bereft of men to such an extent that their slaves ruled and managed all affairs, until the children [*paides*] of the slain men reached manhood [*epēbēsan*]" (Herodotos, 6.83.1). Eteokles of Polyneikes: "Justice has never watched over him or deemed him worthy, not when he first fled the darkness of his mother's womb nor in his nurtured years [*en trophaisin*] nor when he reached his prime [*ephēbēsanta*] nor in the dense collection of his chin's hair" (Aiskhylos, *Seven* 664–67). But the issues or themes are as old as Telemakhos, the first "ephebe" *avant la lettre* in Greek literature, whose just-appearing beard precipitates not only his own tentatively bold moves to confront the despoilers of his father's stores but his mother's readiness to consider taking a new husband, as Odysseus had advised her years before: "When you see our son's beard growing, then marry whom you will."[16]

Greek culture generally displays a strong sense of age-classes[17] and a particular fascination with the downy advent of manhood on the cheek.[18] But these and the undeniable need for some measure of hoplite training do not establish the existence of the Aristotelian ephebate. My argument about *tragōidoi* depends on there having been some recognizable training of some young warriors in Athens in the sixth and fifth centuries, but it need not have been (and I do not believe it was) citywide or compulsory. The evidence suggests rather that hoplite or cavalry service was not so much a duty as an arena for voluntary excellence, an opportunity to acquire and display honor (*timē*), motivated by personal ambition (*philotimia*), within a controlling matrix of patriotic necessity. As Xenophon says, pointedly I think, of cities without the Persian system of public training, "Most *poleis* leave it to individual fathers to educate their children as they wish" (*Kyropaidia*. 1.2.2).[19] Xenophon, as Philippe Gauthier has discerned, had specific recommendations to make about the state organization and financing of the fourth-century practices that were equivalent to the Aristotelian ephebate.

[16] Homer, *Odyssey* 18.269–70; "now that he is big and has reached the measure of *hēbē*" (19.532); "for now your son has reached that age: you always prayed the gods to see him grow his beard" (18.175–76); "for he is already a man [*ēdē gar anēr*]" (19.160).

[17] Pierre Roussel, *Etude sur le principe de l'ancienneté dans le monde hellénique*, Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres, Extrait des Mémoires de l'Académie, vol. 43, pt. 2 (Paris, 1942), a book very difficult to obtain; H. J. Mette, "Von der Jugend," *Hermes* 110 (1982): 257–68.

[18] "Like to a princely youth with his first under-beard, whose *hēbē* is the most gratifying," Homer, *Iliad* 4.347f.; Solon, frag. 27 West on the ten heptads of a man's life (the child up to seven without *hēbē*, the boy up to fourteen who starts to show the signs of *hēbē*, the growing youth whose chin gets downy, and so on), seconded by Aristotle, *Politics* 1336b37; Plato, *Protagoras* 309a–b; Xenophon, *Symposion* 4.23, *Anabasis* 2.6.28; *passim* in Greek culture. I do not know why, in a representation of the Dioskouroi reported by Pausanias (5.19.2, the chest of Kypselos in the Heraion at Olympia), one is bearded, the other not. Are they two sides of the same ephebic figure, one a boy, the other a man?

[19] In the discussion of training for warfare in Plato's *Lakhes*, it is up to the individual fathers to ensure their sons' skill and readiness by sending them to specialist instructors.

Those practices, known as early as Eupolis and Thoukydides, segregated the youngest soldiers into a distinct group (the *neōtatoi*) and assigned to them guard duty on the frontier fortresses, in which capacity they were known as *peripoloi*.[20] Aiskhines twice mentions his service in that corps at that age and refers to himself and his fellow-*peripoloi* as *synephēboi* (co-ephebes): "When I left the ranks of childhood I became a *peripolos* of this territory for two years, and as witnesses of this I shall offer you my *synephēboi* and our commanders" (2.167); "Misgolas in fact is my age-mate [*hēlikiōtēs*] and *synephēbos* and this is our forty-fifth year" (1.49). From the latter passage it is clear that Aiskhines (born in 390) served as *peripolos* in 372. Even if his use of the term *synephēbos* were anachronistic (and it does not seem so), it still antedates Epikrates' legislation by some ten years (the speech against Timarkhos was delivered in 346–345) and presents us with a picture of a two-year service on the frontier organized in 372 under commanders and manned by those who have just "left the boys."[21]

Further, Demosthenes specifically refers to Aiskhines' taking the ephebic oath (*ton en tōi tēs Aglaurou tōn ephēbōn horkon*, 19.303, delivered in 343 B.C.E.), an apparently ancient formula which applies to the duties of hoplite warriors in their phalanx: "I will not disgrace these sacred weapons [*hopla*] and I will not desert the comrade beside me [*parastatēn*] wherever I shall be stationed in a battle line."[22] The language of the ephebic oath not only has the patina of antiquity but also seems to resonate, at least faintly, in fifth-century literature. Moreau found a reference to the oath in Aristophanes' *Hōrai* (produced ca. 420): "You have corrupted our oath."[23] Pélékidis[24] detects it twice more in Aristophanes. "But I will

[20] Pélékidis, *Histoire*, 35–41.

[21] If Aiskhines' birth is placed as early as 399/8 (a possibility set out by D. M. Lewis, *CR*, n.s. 8 [1958]: 108), his "ephebate" will have been in 381.

[22] G. Daux, "Le serment des éphèbes athéniens," *REG* 84 (1971): 370–83. The reliance of a hoplite on his comrades is emphasized at Euripides' *Herakles* 190–94: "A hoplite is the slave of his weaponry; when he breaks his spear he has no way to defend his body from death, it is his one defense; and if those stationed in line with him are not good men he dies through the cowardice of his neighbors."

[23] Frag. 579 *PCG* (= frag. 568 Kock); Jacques Moreau, "Sur les *Saisons* d'Aristophane," *La Nouvelle Clio* 6 (1954): 327–44 (341).

[24] P. 76, n. 2. He rightly remarks (72) that later authors such as Plutarch (*Alkibiades* 15.4) cannot be taken as decisive when they assume the existence of the oath in the fifth century, though the fact that they can do so is of some weight. Similar references to the ephebate occur in the *Letters of Themistokles* 8 (ed. Rudolph Hercher, *Epistolographi Graeci* [Paris, 1873], 747) and the Athenian decree honoring Hippokrates (Hercher, *Epistolographi Graeci*, 311; Hippokrates, *Opera Omnia* 9:402, ed. Littré; Pélékidis *Histoire*, 187).

never ever disgrace the fatherland," says the First Creditor at *Clouds* 1220, meaning "but I must do my duty." Since it intrudes oddly into his speech it could well be intended to be recognized as a fixed phrase known to the audience. His second instance is slightly less compelling: "I will not disgrace my clan," says the Sykophant at *Birds* 1451, "my grampa was a sykophant and so am I." This again could be a reference to a known phrase, given a twisted application.[25] Siewert and Loraux find further echoes of the oath in fifth-century texts.[26]

The text which comes nearest to being decisive on the issue of a pre-Lykourgan ephebic training is Xenophon's *Poroi* 4.52, which is his specific recommendation concerning the corps to which Aiskhines belonged: "If my advice concerning revenues is enacted I claim not only that the city will be wealthier but also more obedient, more disciplined and better for battle, for those who are assigned to exercise would do so much more attentively if they received an allowance in the gymnasiums greater than those being trained for the torch-races; similarly those assigned to guard-duty in the guard-posts and those assigned to light-armed duty and to patrolling [*peripolein*] the countryside—they would do all these duties better if an allowance is granted to each of these jobs." Though the passage had been briefly noticed by others,[27] it was Gauthier who first drew the conclusion that Xenophon is essentially recommending (in 355/4) that the several forms of young men's military training should be funded by the state.[28] This implies both that the state-funded ephebate did not yet exist and also that several "ephebic" duties—training in the gymnasiums, frontier duty, and country patrol—were at least informally recognized, just waiting (as it were) to be organized. Gauthier makes the further interesting suggestion that Xenophon's rather clumsy circumlocutions ("those who are assigned to . . . ") are due to his sense that "ephebe" is still too ambiguous a term, mainly referring to an age-class but not to everyone in that class. It is the functions performed by certain of those young men which need to be organized and paid for from the public purse.[29]

[25] The skeptical side of us, however, might wonder whether what was later called the ephebic oath was in the fifth century taken by ephebes. The answer must be that it is a hoplite soldier's oath and would certainly be taken by all citizen-soldiers from the first time they served, ordinarily in their youthful prime. The open question is whether training for phalanx warfare was conducted as a corporate two-year exercise for all eligible eighteen-year-olds in the fifth century.

[26] Peter Siewert, "The Ephebic Oath in Fifth-century Athens," *JHS* 97 (1977): 102–11 (citing Aiskhylos, *Persai* 956–62, Sophokles, *Antigone* 663–71, and Thoukydides, 1.144.4, 2.37.3); Loraux, *Invention*, 305 (citing Aristophanes, *Peace* 596–98; cf. *Akharnians* 995–99).

[27] Lofberg, "Date"; O. W. Reinmuth, "The Genesis of the Athenian Ephebeia," *TAPA* 83 (1952): 34–50 (37).

[28] Gauthier, *Commentaire*, 190–95.

This range of evidence supports the moderate or centrist position of the three possibilities: that young men's military training before 335/4 existed in a form similar to but not identical with that described in *Ath. Pol.* 42. We do not know whether these young men displayed their close-order drill to the citizen body, or to the Boulē, and if so where the performance took place. If it was in the orchestra of Dionysos, the analogy between tragic choral dancing and phalanx movement would have been visibly confirmed each year, as it certainly was after 335/4. It is also possible that the ephebic display in the theater was an innovation, but if so it was one that seemed appropriate to its devisers because it mirrored the significance expressed by the rectangular formation of masked young *tragōidoi*.

In what follows I will continue to use the term "ephebe," meaning thereby young citizen-warriors in their years of military training, older than boys but not yet men, and probably well-off rather than poor. Readers who cannot dissociate the term "ephebe" from the controversy over *Ath. Pol.* 42 might simply substitute the phrase "young warrior" for it (as I sometimes do). For my hypothesis about tragic performance to work, the minimum requirement is that some visible segment of the young male population of Athens underwent hoplite training of some sort on some days of the year—no more. (It is even possible that the *tragōidoi* were actually recent graduates of such training, rather than eighteen- to twenty-year-olds proper.)

If pre-Lykourgan ephebic training was not publicly financed, then it was, like other forms of education in Athens,[30] privately undertaken—not a universal requirement for *polis* membership but an ambition of those families who could afford it. This corresponds to the picture of the Persian *ephēboi* described (or invented?) by Xenophon in his *Kyropaidia*. They do not comprise all Persian youth of the right age (though all are eligible), but only those whose fathers can afford to support them. Sons who must work are not enrolled (*Kyr.* 1.2.15). In Athens, class and wealth seem similarly to have interfered with the universality of conscription and service. It certainly does not offend our common sense about ancient life to imagine that corporate and individual exercises may

[29] Plato also experiments with an organizational plan for the military training of young men (25–30) as border guards, *Laws* 760b–763c; Pélékidis, *Histoire*, 25–31.

[30] K. J. Dover, in his edition of Aristophanes' *Clouds*, lx–lxi, cites [Lysias], 20.11; Demosthenes, 18.265; Xenophon, *Memorabilia* 2.2.6; and Plato, *Protagoras* 326c on education as a private endeavor, heavily dependent on wealth. Cf. also Plato, *Protagoras* 327d on the competitive pressure to strive for excellence. Loraux (*Invention*, 150–53) has signally clarified the ideological slant which shapes the self-image of Athenian "nonprofessionalism"; it casts a filtered and flattering light on citizen-soldiers so that they look like aristocratic warriors, whose nature alone (not any training) is a sufficient explanation of their valor.

have been more pursued by the wealthier and more ambitious families than by those in straitened circumstances. Oarsmen presumably did not need hoplite training; unarmored fighters (*psiloi*) were the poor.[31] "The hoplites" is sometimes virtually a synonym for those citizens who are noble, rich, and good ([Xenophon], *Ath. Pol.* 1.2: *gennaioi*, *plousioi*, *khrēstoi*). Of course in all these matters we should not underestimate the messiness of actual arrangements—one citizen volunteers to put up the mess-money for two fellow-demesmen who find themselves short of cash (Lysias, 16.14); sailors are conscripted from the deme catalogues for service on a trireme but "only a few showed up and those were feeble, so I sent them all away" and hired the best available sailors (Demasthenes, 50.6–7).

Not only was ephebic and hoplite status the prerogative of Athens' better citizens before Lykourgos, but even the apparent universality of ephebic training in *Ath. Pol.* 42 has been seriously doubted.[32] This is a text, after all, whose editorial opinion is that Athens was best organized when citizenship rights were invested exclusively in a hoplite property-class of five thousand (33.2; cf. 23.2). That view was shared by others who put their opinions on record, such as Thoukydides (8.97.2), and corresponds to a general tendency to see the best men as the truest representatives of the community: "the hoplites and cavalry, who are evidently preeminent among the citizens in fine human qualities [*kalokagathia*]" (Xenophon, *Memorabilia* 3.5.19). How curious it would be if ephebic training passed from being the informal province of relatively well-to-do citizens before ca. 335/4 to universal conscription in the brief period from ca. 335/4 to 323/2 and thereafter to an elite school under the aristocratic constitutions of Antipatros and subsequent leaders.[33]

The issue of class ranking in military organization also suggests important issues (which cannot be entered into here) about the class structure of Athenian drama, whose early history, more clearly for comedy than for tragedy, seems to have been one of privately sponsored performances incorporated into the system of publicly financed festivals. The Dionysian dances were socially and economically structured as a gift from the wealthy few to the self-sustaining many—a gift that expressed and mediated the privileged position of nobler families, putative descendants of tragedy's old heroes, within the democratic city.

[31] Thoukydides, 4.94.1; Plutarch, *Phokion* 12.3; Arrian, *Tactics* 2.1; A. W. Gomme, *A Historical Commentary on Thucydides* (Oxford, 1945–1946), 1:15.

[32] Peter J. Rhodes, *A Commentary on the Aristotelian "Athenaion Politeia"* (Oxford, 1981), 503; "Ephebi, Bouleutae, and the Population of Athens," *ZPE* 38 (1980): 191–97, arguing on population figures against Ruschenbusch "Epheben, Buleuten, und die Bürgerzahl von Athen im 330 v. Chr.," *ZPE* 35 (1979): 173–76, who replied in *ZPE* 41 (1981): 103–5.

[33] Pélékidis, *Histoire*, 155ff. Mitchel, "Derkylos," shows that in the oligarchy of Phokion (322 to 319–318) the ephebate was either seriously diminished or abolished altogether.

Now back to the so-called black hunter.[34] In developing this theme we must allow for (and watch out for) not only a certain play between the looser and stricter senses of "ephebe" and between the older phratry organization and the newer deme-and-tribe organization of the *polis*, but also the even more important ambiguity inherent in the institution of the ephebate itself. Ephebic training is not only a practical induction into the techniques of infantry fighting; it is also a passage between two distinct social identities.[35] "The Spartiates call ephebes 'sideuneis'; they separate them at *hēbē*, that is when they are about fifteen or sixteen years old, from the younger boys and in isolation they practice becoming men [*kath' heautous ēskoun androusthai*]" (Photios, s.v. *sunephēbos*). The ephebate therefore contains not only training in military discipline and in civic responsibility, but also rites and fictions which dramatize the difference between what the ephebes were (boys) and what they will be (men). The myth of Melanthos told at the Apatouria expresses the character and status of the new soldiers as in-betweeners, mixing the categories, specifically by an implied contrast between that disciplined and honorable phalanx-fighting on the plains which was the duty of every citizen-soldier, and Melanthos' tricky, deceitful, solo fighting in the mountains.

To appreciate how shocking was Melanthos' trick, one must read chapters 7 to 9 of W. K. Pritchett's *The Greek State at War: Part 2*:[36] warfare between Greek *poleis* was governed by rules of honor comparable to those for dueling.[37] Enemy armies might camp quite close to each other without fear of surprise attack; battles took place in response to a formal challenge, which might be declined for several days in succession; ambuscades and night attacks were serious violations of honor, at least between Greeks.[38]

There is some indication that the exercises of the Athenian ephebate

[34] Pierre Vidal-Naquet, "The Black Hunter and the Origin of the Athenian Ephebeia," in *Myth, Religion, and Society*, ed. Raymond L. Gordon (Cambridge, Eng., 1981), 147–62, and in his collection *The Black Hunter: Forms of Thought and Forms of Society in the Greek World*, trans. A. Szegedy-Maszak (Baltimore, 1986), 106–28. In "The Black Hunter Revisited," *PCPS*, n.s. 32 (1986): 126–44, Vidal-Naquet raises some objections to my argument about tragedy.

[35] Thus Artemidoros (*Oneirokritika* 1.54) sees a dream of being an ephebe as symbolic of transitions—for the unmarried, marriage; for an old man, death.

[36] W. K. Pritchett, *The Greek State at War: Part 2* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London, 1974).

[37] "No one who is a man and courageous [*anēr eupsykhos*] thinks it right to kill his enemy secretly, but advances to meet him face to face" (Euripides, *Rhesos* 510–11).

[38] Zeus exiled Herakles for killing Iphitos *dolōi*, by a trick, when Iphitos' eye was one way and his mind another, looking for his strayed mares: Sophokles, *Trakhiniai* 270–80.

contained a literal acting-out of Melanthos' role, though it may have been symbolic and conventional, rather than the literal program described by Vidal-Naquet. Like all things military and most things archaic, the discipline of the young is best attested for Sparta, where the sons of citizens were segregated in "herds" (*agelai*) according to a carefully regulated system of age-classes. The training of Spartan youth is known to have included distinctly non-hoplitic exercises—unarmed forays in the hills, feeding off the wild land instead of in a company mess, stealthy night-fighting. Such exercises do contain a component of the practical, insofar as they promote ruggedness and self-reliance, but on the whole they are quite useless for Greek intercity fighting since they do not develop that corporate discipline and well-drilled obedience which was the essence of infantry maneuvers.[39]

The Attic evidence is much more sparse but contains some significant parallels. Specifically, the ephebes in Aristotle's account of military training were sundered from all citizen duties or claims at law and were taken out of the city to the series of forts on the perimeter of Attika.[40] It is not necessarily the case that the youngest Athenian soldiers in this period were much exercised in mountain foraging and ambuscades, as Vidal-Naquet concludes from the Spartan parallel.[41] The discussion of border patrol (*phylakē*) at Xenophon, *Memorabilia* 3.6.9–11, is quite straightforward and practical, implying that the point of the young soldiers' duty there (Glaukon is not yet twenty, 3.6.1) is mainly to prevent raiding parties of Boiotians from stealing Attic sheep and such.[42] Insofar as the goal of the ephebate is to produce hoplites who would not break ranks, lone

[39] Henri Jeanmaire, "La cryptie Lacédémonienne," *REG* 26 (1913): 121–50. However, one must be more reserved than Jeanmaire and Vidal-Naquet about the simple identification of the Spartan *krypteia* as an *ephēbeia*.

[40] [Aristotle], *Ath. Pol.* 42.3–4; *peripolousi tēn khōrān*, "they patrol the countryside." Such guard duty was typical service for young warriors in other cities too: "[For watching prisoners,] use should be made, where the system of ephebes or guards exists, of the young men" (Aristotle, *Politics* 6.8:1322a27–28). A specific instance was Sikyon, where a fourth-century historian (perhaps Ephoros) described the career of the seventh-century tyrant Orthagoras as follows: "When he moved out of the age-class of boys and became one of the *peripoloi* guarding the countryside. . . ." (*Oxyrhynchus Papyri* 1365.22–28 = *FGrHist* 105.2).

[41] A more cautious formulation is found in his "Recipes for Greek Adolescence": "What was true of the Athenian ephebe *at the level of myth* is true of the Spartan *kryptos in practice*: the *kryptos* appears in every respect to be an anti-hoplite" (Vidal-Naquet, *Black Hunter*, 147).

[42] The passes are steep and narrow and therefore do not require, indeed hardly allow, full hoplite armor and tactics to defend them: Xenophon, *Memorabilia* 3.5.25–28. On modern sheep-stealing, see M. Herzfeld, *The Poetics of Manhood: Contest and Identity in a Cretan Mountain Village* (Oxford, 1986).

wolf training must form only a very limited and subordinate part of the program; the point that such training serves is more symbolic than practical.

We should rather say that in the ephebes' time of novitiate, when they were segregated from the regular community and waiting for entry into the ranks of full citizen-soldiers, the Melanthos tale becomes theirs for its border setting, its patriotism, its unproven hero, and above all because Melanthos is one who has not yet learned the honorable conventions of phalanx battle. Because the ephebate is a period of practical military training and contains rituals of passage by segregation and inversion, a tale of a fighting trick set on the border captures the very character of the ephebic ideal (or anti-ideal). This is strikingly confirmed when we observe that the mysterious apparition is both beardless (the iconographic sign for ephebes) and black-caped, for Athenian ephebes wore a distinctive black cape.[43]

But, granting all that, there remains a problem. The black-caped apparition is Dionysos, explicitly named in some versions of the story, and well-known by that title (Melanaigis) elsewhere.[44] Dionysos, as far as we know, has no particular connection with the Apatouria;[45] in fact the association is distinctly odd.[46] The place-names Oinoē and Eleutherai fall

[43] Pollux, 10.164: "The ephebes' uniform is a *petasos* [broad-brimmed felt hat] and a *khlamys* [cloak]," citing Philēmōn's *Door-keeper* (frag. 34 Kock). Artemidoros (*Oneirokritika* 1.54) knows three colors of ephebic cloak—white, black, and crimson (later second century C.E.). The substitution of white for black cloaks at the Eleusinian procession was a beneficence of Herodes Attikos about 176 C.E., known both from Philostratos' *Lives of the Sophists* 2.550 and a contemporary inscription (*IG* II,² 3606). Pierre Roussel, "Les chlamydes noires des éphèbes athéniens," *REA* 43 (1941): 163–65; P. G. Maxwell-Stuart, "Remarks on the Black Coats of the Ephebes," *PCPS* 196, n.s. 16 (1970): 113–16. The inscription relates the change from white to black with Theseus' failure to change his black sails to white when he returned from Krete. It is just possible, therefore, that Simonides' reference to the fatal sails not as black but as crimson has some bearing on the color of ephebic cloaks (*PMG*, 550). Aristotle, *Rhetoric* 3.2.9, speaking of appropriateness, says that the *phoinikis* (a bright red or purplish military cloak) is right for a young man but not for an old man. The cloaks worn by pyrrhic dancers on a black-figure vase in Australia have been painted red, but the significance of this is perhaps diminished by the fact that the artist has also painted each figure's hair, the borders of other cloaks, and alternate palmette leaves red: illustration in J. R. Green, *Antiquities: A Description of the Classics Department Museum in the Australian National University, Canberra* (Canberra, 1981), 31.

[44] For instance at Hermion, where there were annual contests in music, swimming, and boat racing in his honor (Pausanias, *Description of Greece* 2.35.1).

[45] None, that is, except this story, whence the rare report that the Apatouria was celebrated in honor of Dionysos—*Etymologicum Magnum* 118.55.

[46] Dionysos does not figure in the list of gods in the ephebic oath; neither does Apollo Lykeios, a principal patron of their accomplished initiation; Michael H. Jameson, "Apollo Lykeios in Athens," *Archaiognosia* 1 (1980): 213–35. In addition to the gods mentioned above, Hephaistos was honored at the Apatouria by men dressed in fine robes who lit torches from the hearth and sang a hymn to him; Harpokration, s.v. "Lampas."

within his sphere of influence, the former suggesting *oinos* (wine), the latter the title Eleuthereus under which he was worshipped at the City Dionysia, the five-day dramatic festival each spring. The title Melanaigis is explained in the Souda by the story that the daughters of Eleuthēr (eponymous hero of Eleutherai) saw an apparition of Dionysos wearing a black goatskin and, because they mocked it, went mad; to cure their insanity their father followed the advice of an oracle to institute the cult of Dionysos Melanaigis. This type of tale is fairly common. Its most significant instance for our investigation is the foundation myth of the City Dionysia: a certain Pegasos *of Eleutherai* brought the statue of Dionysos to Attika but the Athenians did not receive it with honor. The angry god then sent an incurable affliction on the genitals of the men, which could only be cured (said an oracle) by paying every honor to the god, which they proceeded to do by fashioning phalluses for use in his worship as a memorial to their suffering.[47]

Most telling for present purposes is the fact that the entry of Dionysos into Athens was reenacted each year by the ephebes. They inaugurated the festival by bringing the cult statue in procession from the Academy (just outside the city boundaries on the road to Eleutherai) back to its temple and theater precinct on the southeast slope of the Akropolis. This reenactment of the origin of Dionysos Melanaigis by the ephebes for the city seems to mirror (with the normal cloudiness and unevenness of ancient metal mirrors, rather than with the sharpness of our silvered glass ones) those ceremonies of induction and that myth of apprenticeship located at the opposite end of the year.

One might, of course, try either to expunge Dionysos from the tale of the warrior's trick or to sever the tale from the Apatouria.[48] An older style of analysis, well exemplified by W. R. Halliday, excelled in the use of text-editorial methods to detect inconsistencies and to delete intrusive elements in the myth.[49] Like restorers of old paintings, such scholars

[47] Scholiast on Aristophanes, *Akharnians* 243. Athenian colonies were evidently required to send a phallus to the mother city for the Dionysia; we have a record of one such from Brea: *IG* I³ 47.12. On the practice of sending offerings from colony to father-city, see Thoukydides 1.25.4; and A. J. Graham, *Colony and Mother City in Ancient Greece* (Manchester, 1964), chap. 8. See also *IG* II² 673, and the proliferation of phallic *veneranda* associated with Dionysos on Delos: Ernst Buschor, "Ein choregisches Denkmal," *MDAI(A)* 53 (1928): 96–108; Gregory M. Sifakis, *Studies in the History of Hellenistic Drama* (London, 1967), 7–10. (A fragment of a Megarian bowl found in a Dionysian context on Delos shows a phallus with goat legs: *BCH* 31 [1907]: 500–501.)

[48] At least one ancient scholar understood that *Apatouria* was not derived from *apatē*, "trick," but referred rather to the old community of clans: Scholiast to Aristophanes, *Akharnians* 146; O. Szemerényi derives the word from *ha-patro-woroi*, "watchers, worshippers of the same father"; *Gnomon* 43 (1971): 656.

[49] "The proximity to Eleutherai, the name Oinoē and the name Melanthos may all have played a part in bringing Dionysos Melanaigis into the story"; R. Halliday, "Xanthos and Melanthos and the Origin of Tragedy," *CR* 40 (1926): 179–81 (179). Halliday argues against the theory that the combat of Melanthos/Xanthos, understood as Black Man/Fair Man and Winter/Spring, served as a ritual background for the development of classical tragedy. *DTC*, 120–21.

aimed to uncover the authentic original from centuries of grime and inexpert retouching. The current understanding of such myths, however, recognizes that logical gaps and overlay are sometimes not the unfortunate accretions of time but signs of a social process, of an ongoing negotiation among various groups or points of view. Our story seems caught in some sort of force-field between the Apatouria and the City Dionysia: I propose that a specific feature of these two festivals make it seem to belong to both, and that the city's youngest warriors are the link.

There are in fact numerous indications—all of them a matter of record but not hitherto assembled in this way—that the City Dionysia was a social event focused on those young warriors. By "focused" I mean that in the complex and ever-changing organization of the City Dionysia, the newest generation of male citizens was both physically and analytically a center of attention—often (as we will see) a still center. This conclusion is based not on a reading of the extant scripts of Attic tragedy (though they are rich enough in ephebic themes), but rather on a study of the conditions of performance: namely, the political nature of the assembled audience (section II) and, even more, the identity and movement of the chorus (section III). That investigation, which forms the bulk of this essay, leads to the possibility of a new etymology for *tragōidoi*[50] (section IV).

II. Audience

The opening event of the City Dionysia was the ephebes' reenactment of the advent of Dionysos, which included a sacrifice at a hearth-altar (*eskharā*) near the Academy, a torchlight procession with the cult statue, and (perhaps on the next day, as part of the general barbecue) their sacrifice of a bull on behalf of the entire city.[51] The daylight parade was a lavish spectacle—red-robed metics (resident aliens), phalluses and other precious religious objects carried by priests and honored citizens, twenty dithyrambic choruses (ten of fifty boys each and ten of fifty men each) in

[50] *Tragōidia*, "tragedy," is a secondary formation, derived from *tragōidoi*, plural and naming the group of *tragos*-singers themselves. *Tragōidoi* rather than *tragōidia* is the term used in inscriptions and in ordinary speech in the fifth and fourth centuries; *DFA*, 127–32; W. Burkert, "Greek Tragedy and Sacrificial Ritual," *GRBS* 7 (1966): 92.

[51] Many cattle were killed on this occasion. William S. Ferguson uses inscriptional evidence for an estimate of 240 slaughtered animals in 333 B.C.E.; "Demetrius Poliorcetes and the Hellenic League," *Hesperia* 17 (1948): 134.

their elaborate and expensive costumes. In the center of all this, the ephebes stood as the god's immediate acolytes.[52]

They also had a special block of seats in the theater. Aristophanes refers explicitly to the *bouleutikon*, the section of the auditorium where the members of the Boulē sat—fifty councillors from each of the ten tribes.[53] The scholiast thereon, seconded by Pollux and Hesykhios, informs us that the ephebes too were so honored.[54] The parallelism between the dithyrambic choruses (ten groups of fifty in competition) and the Boulē (fifty councillors from each of the ten tribes) is not accidental.[55] The City Dionysia, like the Panathenaia, was an occasion for marking the structure as well as the magnificence of democratic Athens, that is, the specific structure given to the democracy by the constitutional reforms of Kleisthenes (509/8 B.C.E.).[56] At the Great Panathenaia the money paid out to citizens to attend the festival was distributed by deme and was tied to registration on the deme census lists (Demosthenes, 44.37); the same was presumably true of the Dionysia. The prominent elements of the Kleisthenic structure were carefully displayed in the arrangement of the audience—the ten tribes; the governing Council; and the newest generation of citizens, the ephebes. The layout of the auditorium formed (at least

[52] *DFA*, 59–67. "The dates of the ephebic inscriptions which are the authority for these statements all fall between 127 and 106 B.C., and the *eisagōgē* [advent procession] disappears from later texts; but the re-enactment of the god's advent does not look like an afterthought and probably goes back to the earliest days of the festival when, after his first cold welcome, it was desired to make amends by doing him special honor" (60).

[53] One inscribed stone from the late-fifth-century theater, "subsequently built upside down into the outer western wall of the auditorium (where it may now be seen) bears the inscription *bolēs ypēreton* [servants of the Council]." *TDA*, 20, where the stone is illustrated.

[54] Aristophanes, *Birds* 794 and scholion (= Souda, s.v. "Bouleutikos"); Pollux, *Lexicon* 4.122; Hesykhios, s.v. "Bouleutikon"; Trugaios at Aristophanes, *Peace* 887 addresses the Boulē and *prytaneis* directly as audience members; the scholiast on *Peace* 882 confirms the seating arrangement.

[55] Note too that the number of ephebes per year seems, at least in the later fourth century, to have been in the neighborhood of five hundred (see n.1).

[56] E. Capps argues that the new Kleisthenic organization of ten-tribe competitions did not begin until 502/1. B.C.E.; "The Introduction of Comedy into the City Dionysia," *The Decennial Publications of the University of Chicago*, 1st ser., vol. 6 (1904): 261–88; "A New Fragment of the List of Victors at the City Dionysia," *Hesperia* 12 (1943): 1–11. See *DFA*, 71–72, 102–3; Rhodes, *Commentary*, 263, on 22.*ii*. Capps assumes, in reconstructing *IG* II² 2318, that the boys' dithyramb was present from the beginning, requiring eight lines for each year-entry (one for the *arkhōn*, two for the boys' dithyramb, two for the men's dithyramb, three for tragedy). But if the boys' dithyramb was, like comedy, a later addition, there would be room on the stone for more year-entries, perhaps allowing the record to go back as far as the first men's dithyrambic victory reported by the Marmor Parium for the year 510/9 or 509/8.

ideally) a kind of map of the civic corporation, with all its tensions and balances.

The fundamental contrast was that between the internal competition of tribe against tribe (mirrored on other levels of Athenian society by the always-vigorous competition of individuals and households) and the equally strong determination to honor and obey legitimate authority, so that the *polis* as a whole would display a united front against its enemies. These two vectors of civic manliness cross at a balance point which is a locus of no little anxiety, particularly since the unit of intra-Athenian competition, the tribe, is also the unit of military organization.[57] In describing the concerns that were written into the physical organization of the audience we will at the same time be characterizing the expectations of that audience, its readiness to perceive certain messages eliciting its sympathy and anxiety (in the language of Aristotle's *Poetics*, *eleos* and *phobos*). This in turn will explain why the city's youngest warriors were placed precisely at the cross hairs of those powerful forces.

Consider first the seating of the ten tribes. Three statue bases found at the foot of the thirteen seating sections (*kerkides*, wedges) correspond to the traditional order of the ten tribes, assuming that the central wedge was that of the Boulē and ephebes and the two outermost wedges were assigned to noncitizens, perhaps to citizen-wives.[58] The statue bases are of Hadrianic date and are located at the foot of the first, sixth, and eighth wedges (as one looks from the orchestra to the audience). Of course, the number of tribes did not remain constant over the years, and this fact too may be read in the light of theater and assembly seating. The traditional order of Kleisthenes' ten tribes is Erekhtheis, Aigeis, Pandionis, Leontis,

[57] R. T. Ridley, "The Hoplite as Citizen: Athenian Military Institutions in Their Social Context," *AC* 48 (1979): 508–48.

[58] Seating: *DFA*, 270. Tribal seating in the theater was first suggested by Pickard-Cambridge in his revision of A. E. Haigh, *The Attic Theater*, 3d ed. (Oxford, 1907), 337 and n. 5. Of the two theaters at Peiraieus the one still visible, at Zea, also has thirteen wedges: P. E. Arias, "Alcune osservazioni sul teatro del Pireo in Attica e su quello di Tera," *Dioniso* 4 (1934): 93–99. On citizen-wives in general, see C. Patterson, "*Hai Attikai*: The Other Athenians," in *Rescuing Creusa: New Methodological Approaches to Women in Antiquity*, ed. Marilyn Skinner (special issue of *Helios*, n.s. 13/2 [1987]): 49–67. The most interesting feature of the question, "Did women attend the dramatic festivals?" is that it is so hard to answer. I believe they did, on the basis of Aristophanes' *Skēnas Katalambanousai* (if it means *Women Occupying the Stage*, a thoroughly Aristophanic conception), because a fragment of that play represents a woman speaking of her *syntheatria*, fellow-spectatrix. The audience is always addressed, by Aristophanes and Menander, as composed of men in various age-classes, which means that the notional or proper audience is one of men. I imagine that women, aside from the priestesses in the front row of thrones, may have sat in the outer two wedges and even more likely in the higher regions, where there were fewer than thirteen seating wedges. (It is only in the lower auditorium that the seating sections numbered a full thirteen; hence only in that portion was the political structure of the city mapped.)

Akamantis, Oineis, Kekropis, Hippothontis, Aiantis, and Antiokhis. Changes were made in 307/6 B.C.E. (addition of two tribes, Antigonas and Demetrias), 224 B.C.E. (addition of one tribe, Ptolemais), 201/200 B.C.E. (omission of Antigonas and Demetrias, addition of Attalis), and 126/7 C.E. (addition of Hadrianis). An interesting feature of these rearrangements is that the added tribes are placed sometimes at the beginning of the list (Antigonas and Demetrias), sometimes at the end (Attalis), and twice in the very center (Ptolemais, Hadrianis).

One can understand the conservatism lying behind additions to the beginning or end, which keeps the previous order internally untouched, but why on two occasions did the Athenian body politic rearrange itself with a new unit in the center? On both occasions it was an increase from twelve tribes to thirteen, and the additional tribe is located at number seven on the list. It is worth proposing that the rationale for placing the new tribe in this position was that though it was a greater disturbance of the operations governed by tribal order, it was the minimal disturbance to the seating plan in a thirteen-wedge theater, assuming that the central wedge in the ten- or twelve-tribe system had been occupied by the Boulē and perhaps the ephebes. (I do not want to insist that everyone always sat where he was supposed to, only that provisions existed for each tribe to have its wedge.) A similar seating arrangement into ten wedges for the ten tribes may have existed for the Pnyx, in which the full citizen Assembly met four times a month.[59] (Some Assembly meetings were also held in the theater.)[60]

Much earlier evidence pertinent to seating exists in the form of lead theater tickets, whose spelling conventions and letter forms put them at least in the early part of the fourth century B.C.E., if not earlier. These tickets are marked with tribal names.[61] If the citizens were seated (at least *grosso modo*) by tribal affiliation, these ten tribal blocks would inevitably

[59] W. A. McDonald, *The Political Meeting Places of the Greeks* (Baltimore, 1943), 71–75; E. S. Stavely, *Greek and Roman Voting and Elections* (London, 1972), 81–82; F. Kolb, *Agora und Theater, Volks- und Festversammlung* (Berlin, 1981), 93. *Contra*, M. H. Hansen, "How Did the Athenian *Ecclesia* Vote?" *GRBS* 18 (1977): 135–36 (but citing Aiskhines, 2.64–68, where two members of tribes contiguous in the official order are seated adjacent to each other) and "The Athenian *Ecclesia* and the Pnyx," *GRBS* 23 (1982): 244–49. My argument does not require that all citizens always sat in the wedge assigned to their tribe, either in the Pnyx or in the theater; only that the number of wedges in both cases was notionally related to the configuration of the citizen body into ten tribes. The argument for tribal (and *trittys*) seating has recently been extended to include Pnyx I and II by G. R. Stanton and P. J. Bicknell, "Voting in Tribal Groups in the Athenian Assembly," *GRBS* 28 (1987): 51–92, who notice other tribally seated theaters at 86–87.

[60] The second of two theaters at Peiraieus (see n. 58), that at Mounikhia, now entirely covered by modern buildings, could be used for Assemblies: Thoukydides, 8.93.1, 3; Lysias, 13.32, 55; cf. Xenophon, *Hellenika* 2.4.32.

[61] On tickets, see *DFA*, 270–72.

have taken on the character of cheering sections during the dithyrambic competition, which, unlike comedy and tragedy, was a competition among the tribes. The panel of ten judges for all events was composed of one selected from each tribe, and as a matter of course the judges were carefully sworn not to show favoritism. Of the ten ballots, five were selected randomly to count for the voting while five were discarded. The recorded instances of bribery and cheating show that the oath and other such safeguards were necessary.

The lateral spread of the auditorium thus formed an axis of competition among the ten citizen groups, with the Boulē as its representatives and mediators at the center. The vertical axes up and down the blocks displayed relative prestige. *Prohedria*, front-row seating, was one of the highest honors that could be paid to benefactors and special friends of the city, attested to in numerous decrees and in one funny story about Demosthenes.[62] Since this festival took place just when the winter storms had ceased and travel became tolerable,[63] its splendor attracted a large audience of sightseers, guests, and other noncitizens. Athens used the opportunity to score propaganda points. Before the musical events, ceremonies were held in the orchestra: golden crowns were bestowed on favored friends of the city, the tribute paid by the allies was carried in and displayed (fifth century), and boys whose fathers had died in war and who had been supported by the city until they reached *hēbē* were paraded in suits of hoplite armor supplied to them by the city, now that they were ready to enter the ranks of the ephebes.[64]

If the tribute and the presence of the city's friends represent its active military alliances, the war orphans who are ready to become soldiers in their fathers' places inevitably bring to mind the city's battles, both past and future.[65] This description may sound like an account of a West Point

[62] The inscriptional evidence is surveyed in chap. 4 of Michael Maass, *Die Prohedrie des Dionysostheaters in Athen* (Munich, 1972). See also E. Pöhlmann, "Die Proedrie des Dionysostheaters im 5. Jahrhundert und das Bühnenspiel der Klassik," *MH* 38 (1981): 129–46. The Demosthenes anecdote can be found in Aiskhines, *Against Ktesiphon* 76. When the Athenians took over control of Delos in the mid-second century B.C.E., they transferred the announcement of civic honors from the Apollonia to the Dionysia; Sifakis, *Studies*, 14.

[63] Aristophanes, *Akharnians* 502–8; Theophrastos, *Characters* 3: the chatterer mentions a string of banal items, including that the sea is sailable from the time of the Dionysia.

[64] Ronald S. Stroud, "Greek Inscriptions: Theozotides and the Athenian Orphans," *Hesperia* 40 (1971): 280–301, esp. 288–89.

[65] The city's military preparedness was also advertised by the ten generals (one per tribe) who offered a ceremonial libation at the beginning of the performances. Plutarch attests this for an early date (468 B.C.E.) in a story about competition so fierce that the *arkhōn* refused to select judges by the usual lot but instead persuaded the generals, who were present for their customary libation, to act as the panel; *Life of Kimon* 8.7–9. On the generals' *prohedriā* in the theater, see Aristophanes, *Knights* 573–77, 702–4; Aristophanes, *Thesmophoriazousai* 832–35; Theophrastos, *Characters* 5.7; *IG* ^{2} 500.32–35.

graduation ceremony, but it is important to underscore the fact that the *toto caelo* difference we experience between the military realm and the theatrical, between marching to war and going to a play, did not apply to the City Dionysia. To cite a caricature whose degree of truth will later become apparent, Aristophanes presents Aiskhylos in the *Frogs* defending his tragedies as a form of martial art: his *Seven against Thebes* made every man in the audience lust for battle (1022).

On the map of the body politic formed by the theater seating, the lateral axis of intracity competition among tribes is crossed in the center by a vertical axis containing the Boulē and ephebes. Like the Boulē, the ephebes are organized by tribe. That central axis thus contains two kinds of tribal representative—citizen-governors and citizens-in-training—whose competition is muted by their function as administrators and defenders of the *polis* as a whole. Since the vertical axes in all the wedges are used to symbolize rank (*prohedria*), the presence of councillors and ephebes on the central axis highlights the relationship between the citizens most fully identified with the *polis*' interests and the citizen-initiates. (My conjecture that the ephebes were seated in the central wedge is not the only conceivable arrangement. They might, for instance, have sat according to tribe but in the same row or rows of each wedge. Putting them in the center simply accords well with the social map of the auditorium, making them separate, central, and subordinate to the Boulē.)

In sum, then, the entire audience is organized in a way which demonstrates its corporate manliness as a *polis* to be reckoned with, comprising individuals who are both vigilant to assert excellence against other members of the city (tribe versus tribe) and ready to follow legitimate authority against external threats (cadet soldiers and Council).

III. Performance

The habits of modern play-reading and play-going make it all too easy for us to scant the chorus when reading Greek tragedy. Note for instance that we always refer to such a performance as a "tragedy," whereas the fifth-century designation was not *tragōidia* but *tragōidoi*, "tragic choristers" or, literally, "billy goat singers."[66] As a convention, not only is the chorus foreign to our dramatic sense, but there is even evidence that in the fifth century it was already coming to seem an archaic institution. When we do try to give full weight to the role of the chorus our attention is usually drawn to the beauty and power of some of the choral odes. But few will declare themselves partisans of the chorus' (actually the chorus

[66] See n. 50. Athenaios, relying perhaps on Aristokles' monograph *On Choruses* (630b), asserts that "in ancient times satyric poetry consisted entirely of choruses, just like the tragedy of that time, so it had no actors" (630c).

leader's) standard trimeter comments of praise and warning. My account, however, emphasizes that the events and characters portrayed in tragedy are meant to be contemplated as lessons by young citizens (or better, by the entire *polis* from the vantage point of the young citizen), and therefore it makes the watchful scrutiny of the chorus structurally important as a still center from which the tragic turbulence is surveyed and evaluated.

Consider now the relation of role to performer, first for actors and then for chorus members. While the actors portray those (young men and maidens, older men and women) who carry or support the responsibility of correct social action, the chorus usually performs in the guise of persons who do not bear such responsibility—slave women, prisoners of war, old men—who will certainly be implicated in the effects of unwise, headstrong, or ignorant action on the part of their principals. On the level of roles, then, there is a vector of attention from the watchful (though not personally responsible) chorus to the actors. This seems to be balanced by an inversion on the level of performers, for several kinds of evidence conspire to suggest that the three actors for each tragedy were *men*, but the twelve (or, after Sophokles, fifteen)[67] chorus members were *ephebes*.

There are many vase paintings based on tragic plays from which we can cautiously deduce information about plots, scenery, and costumes,[68] but there is only one unbroken representation of the complete (or nearly complete) cast for a tragic competition. It is a late fifth- or early fourth-century Attic volute-krater now in the Naples Museum[69] (plate 1), whose obverse depicts the three actors, each dressed for one of the parts of a play (Herakles, Pappasilenos, and probably Laomedon) and holding the mask for that role; eleven chorus members in costume and holding their masks (one has donned his mask and is practicing a kick step); the poet-trainer Demetrios watching to ensure that a chorus member gets his

[67] Anonymous, *Life of Sophokles* 4, in A. C. Pearson, *Sophoclis Fabulae* (Oxford, 1961), xix.

[68] Listed in Thomas B. L. Webster, *Monuments Illustrating Tragedy and Satyr Play*, London University, Institute of Classical Studies Bulletin, supp. 14 (London, 1962). There is a fine collection of photos in *IGD*, mainly on play subjects rather than on theatrical equipment; see also *DFA*, chap. 4.

[69] Museo Nazionale Archeologico, 3240; Paolo E. Arias, *A History of Greek Vase Painting*, trans. and rev. Brian B. Shefton (London, 1962), 377–80, with bibliography, pl. 218–19; F. Brommer, "Zum Deutung der Pronomosvase," *AA* (1964): 109–14; E. Simon, "The 'Omphale' of Demetrios," *AA* (1971): 199–206. The names, invisible on most photographs, are included in the drawing of the vase in Margarete Bieber, *The History of the Greek and Roman Theater*, 2d ed. (Princeton, 1961), fig. 32 (reproduced, in plate 1), and much more visibly in the huge reproductions of Adolf Furtwängler and Karl Reichhold, *Griechische Vasenmalerei* (Munich, 1904–1932).

pose right; the aulos-player Pronomos (from whose prominence in the composition the krater is nicknamed the Pronomos Vase) in full costume and playing his double aulos; an auxiliary lyre-player; the god Dionysos and his consort (perhaps Ariadne); and another figure seated on the divine couch whose sex, identity, and function in this context are debated. It appears to be the victory dedication of a successful ensemble, who have chosen to be portrayed in the equipment of their final and more hilarious satyr-play rather than in that of one of their three tragedies. (The personnel is of course identical for all four plays.)

I take it to be significant that the three actors are represented as full-grown men with beards, while the chorus members have full-grown bodies but are beardless; they are, iconographically speaking, ephebes. (In what sense they are ephebes—merely in terms of age or also with reference to their role as the city's young warriors—remains to be seen.) The number of persons involved is obviously too large for the distinction to be due to coincidence, and if it is not coincidence it must represent some sort of rule or principle, at least for this group of actors and *tragōidoi*. Now if it is a rule for this particular group of competitive performers, given the careful regulation of who was allowed to perform in various contests, it is virtually certain that it was a rule for other performing groups in the same competition of the same year. We cannot with quite the same confidence assert that the rule (however we may formulate it) must have been operative for tragic competitions in some or all years previous to this one; but, since innovations in festival procedures were well-deliberated and far from casual, there would seem to be every likelihood that such was the case. Thus, although sufficient ingenuity could of course devise other explanations of this visible rule distinguishing actors from chorus members on the Pronomos Vase, the prima facie interpretation is that in the late fifth century and for some time prior to that, Attic tragedy was performed by choruses of young men.[70]

Though the chorus' contribution to the whole performance was probably being overshadowed more and more in the course of the fifth century by that of the actors, the Pronomos Vase is witness both to the continued importance of chorus membership and to the segregation of actors from chorus. Note that the honor of the upper register is given to

[70] Unfortunately the krater fragments from Taranto, now in Würzburg, which evidently showed a complete tragic cast with a chorus in female dress, very close in style and date to the Pronomos Vase, are severely broken. Not a single face of an actor or chorister survives (*DFA*, 187–88 with pl. 50a, b, c; *ARV*² 1338). Vidal-Naquet, "Black Hunter Revisited" (137), opines that the Pronomos Vase is too exceptional to support the weight of my argument, but aside from the fact that the Taranto fragments show it not to have been unique, surely its scale and detail do not compromise its information. On the contrary, the inscribed names of its chorus members anchor it more firmly in social reality than any other partial representation of chorus or actors.

the divine figures and the heroic roles, but it is the musical and dancing performers who are dignified with their personal names: the two musicians, the poet-trainer, and nine of the eleven members represented from the chorus have their names inscribed; the actors do not (though the role played by one is labeled Herakles).[71] The names are all attested as those of Athenian citizens, many of them found in the wealthiest families (as recorded in J. K. Davies' *Athenian Propertied Families*). Several details on this vase are of uncertain interpretation,[72] but the matters of controversy do not touch on the distinction between the two groups of performers—fully mature, bearded men (actors) and young men who have yet to grow beards (chorus members).[73]

[71] *IGD*, 29, aptly cites Plato, *Symposium* 173a: the symposium took place on the day after Agathon, and his chorus members celebrated their victory sacrifice—no mention is made of actors. An inscription published by M. Mitsos, *Archaiologikē Ephēmeris* (1965), 163, lists Sokrates as producer (*khorēgos*, probably Sokrates [II] of Anagyrous, the ancient deme located at Varikasa where the stone was found); Davies, *Athenian Propertied Families*, 13103), lists Euripides as poet-trainer (*didaskalos*), and fourteen *tragōidoi*—no actors; Paulette Ghiron-Bistagne, *Recherches sur les acteurs dans la Grèce antique* (Paris, 1976), 119–21; see n. 72 on the number of performers.

[72] The feminine-looking couch-sitter seems to be holding the mask and wearing the costume of a fourth *role* in the play. Since one of the three actors already pictured in other roles would have acted this part, he is not drawn a second time. Some have tried to identify the figure—as Paideia (Bulle) or Tragedy (Curtius) or Paidia (Fröning). Why eleven chorus members? The poet-trainer Demetrios himself could have performed as the twelfth person in the chorus, presumably the chorus leader, a practice attested for the earliest days of tragedy; but all other evidence points to fifteen as the expected number for this time (see n. 71). Since even inscriptional lists of Boulē members sometimes record only forty-nine names, we should not be too surprised at a vase painter's inexactitude. It is also possible that the vase could be taken as evidence for a reduction of the chorus during the Peloponnesian War from fifteen members to twelve, by analogy with the reduction of comedies in that period from five to three (*DFA*, 83). The wartime reduction of comedies, however, has been challenged by W. Luppe, "Die Zahl der Konkurrenten an den komischen Agonen zur Zeit des Peloponnesischen Krieges," *Philologus* 116 (1972): 53–75. One might speculate that satyr-plays retained the older convention of a twelve-man chorus even when that of tragedy increased to fifteen; that is, only twelve of the fifteen performed in all four plays. But that would leave other questions: if the vase is a victory dedication for the entire chorus, would the three who performed only in the tragedies be omitted? And why are only nine personal names inscribed? Another possibility is that the tragic choruses were reduced *after* the Peloponnesian War as a small retribution against the pro-oligarchic elite. The variation in costume is of some interest. Could the chorus member in fancy dress already have changed his clothes for the victory celebration? Why does one chorus member alone wear star-embroidered pants (found on other vases showing satyr-chorusmen or female athletes) rather than the shaggy drawers of the rest? Did they serve as the undercostume for the hairy pelt?

[73] Even on Ernst Buschor's hypothesis that the roles are taken not by human actors but by the heroes themselves, the contrast is still evident; see Buschor in Furtwängler and Reichhold, *Griechische Vasenmalerei*, 3:132–50. Pickard-Cambridge (*DFA*, 187) sees a certain "melting" between the faces of the actors and their masks; I should say rather that the actors look very like each other and not particularly like their masks. At some point Pron-

The other monuments known to me are consistent with this distinction. Among them I would single out the lovely polychrome fragment in Würzburg (plate 2) showing an actor with a commoner's face holding the mask of a noble-visaged king; the man has salt-and-pepper hair, which is thinning and receding, and a three-days' growth of stubble on his cheeks and chin.[74] Several vases show two or three chorus members in different stages of dress: a "maenad" holds the costume for a young man who is hurriedly pulling on his *kothornoi*[75] (plate 3); a "maenad," whose face is clearly a mask, does a dance step while a beardless youth wearing the same loose-sleeved dress and holding a woman's (?) mask looks on;[76] two ephebes in furry drawers hold satyr masks while a third has donned his mask and is practicing a hip thrust[77] (plate 4). There are some other fragments which might, if they had remained whole, have been informative on this subject.[78]

The sharp rule formulated above may have to be qualified in one respect. A famous dedicatory relief found in Peiraieus (Athens *NM* 1500, plate 5) shows Dionysos on a couch approached by three persons in costume, two of whom are holding their masks. They are often taken to be the three actors of a successful production, though the similarity of their costumes might suggest that they are chorus members. The differentiation of the masks would be decisive, but unfortunately, of the two masks still somewhat visible, that held by the right-hand figure is very worn. The left-hand figure was evidently wearing his mask, and his entire head has been obliterated. Though the whole surface is in poor condition,

omos' own beard or beardlessness became an issue. "Agyrrhios was an effeminate general who held a command in Lesbos; he reduced the payment of the poets. . . . Pronomos was an aulos-player who had a big beard, Agyrrhios was sexually submissive to men: so he borrowed Pronomos' beard and no one noticed that he was a woman" (Scholiast on Aristophanes, *Ekklesiazousai* 102). This sounds like a joke from Old or Middle Comedy: either in later life Pronomos was famous for having a big beard or for having a false one which could be lent out to other effeminate men.

74 Würzburg 832, from Taranto, around 340 B.C.E.; color reproduction in Ghiron-Bistagne, *Recherches*, frontispiece, and also in Paolino Mingazzini, *Greek Pottery Painting* (London, 1969), fig. 57; see also Bieber, *History*, fig. 306a–b, and *DFA*, fig. 54a. Erika Simon interprets the role as Tereus: "Tereus," *Festschrift des Kronberg-Gymnasiums* (Aschaffenburg, 1968), 155ff.

75 On a red-figured Attic pelike by the Phiale Painter (Boston 98.883), see *ARV*² 1017; Thomas B. L. Webster, *The Greek Chorus* (London, 1970), pl. 8; *DFA*, fig. 34; Bieber, *History*, fig. 90.

76 Red-figure bell-krater, about 460–450 B.C.E. (Ferrara T 173C); *DFA*, fig. 33, where the mask is said to be certainly that of a young man—it seems to me too poorly drawn to be certain.

77 Apulian bell-krater by the Tarporley Painter, 400–380 B.C.E. (Sydney 47.05); *IGD* II.2; Frank Brommer, *Satyrspiele*, 2d ed. (Berlin, 1959), fig. 7.

78 See n. 70.

there is no real doubt that the two surviving faces of the three standing figures are those of young men.

Though the Peiraieus relief *may* show chorus members, consistent with the strong distinction on the Pronomos Vase, they may also be actors, and this leads to an important qualification. On the Pronomos Vase not only the chorus but the poet, lyre-player, and aulos-player (and the god) are young. Though some poets such as Aiskhylos, Sophokles, and Euripides lived to be senior citizens and were portrayed by tradition with the dignity of their mature look, dramatic performances were clearly an arena where young men could excel. Tradition puts Aiskhylos and Sophokles somewhere in their mid-twenties when they first exhibited their own plays, Euripides closer to thirty. Aristophanes claims to have been a shy young man at the time of his first production, Menander was only twenty, and Ameinias was officially an ephebe when his comedy *The Fainting Woman* (*Apoleipousa*) took third prize in 312–311 (*IG* II² 2323a46–47). *Mousikē* (poetry, dance, music) is not learned overnight, and we must assume that all these dramatists were active in stagecraft for some years before they took responsibility for mounting a full production of their own. It should not be surprising, therefore, that Demetrios, the poet on the Pronomos Vase, is a young man and that his company of musical personnel is so youthful. Nor would it be surprising if younger men sometimes served in the less musical and less athletic function of *hupokritēs*, which may be the sense of the Peiraieus relief. What would be of interest, and does not seem to exist, would be evidence of mature, bearded men as chorus members of tragedy.

The Pronomos Vase is the principal *positive* evidence for the hypothesis that tragic-satyric choruses were composed of young men who were just reaching their *hēbē*. Other literary evidence is consistent with that hypothesis. Direct testimony about the constitution of choruses is extremely meager. Aristotle (*Politics* 3.3 [1276b4–6]) remarks that the same persons (*anthrōpoi*, not *andres*) may perform in a comic and in a tragic chorus.[79] A scholiast on Aristophanes (*Ploutos* 953) says that noncitizens could not perform in the choruses of the City Dionysia, though they could perform (and metics could produce) at the Lenaia, a Dionysian festival held two months before the City Dionysia.[80] To which choruses

79 Cf. the bell-krater, 390–370 B.C.E. (Heidelberg B 134), showing two comic chorus members impersonating women, one with his mask thrown back to reveal a beardless young face; Thomas B. L. Webster, *Greek Theater Production* (London, 1956), pl. 15a; Bieber, *History*, fig. 208.

80 The rule is stated by the scholiast on Aristophanes, *Ploutos* 953: "it was not allowed for a noncitizen [*xenos*] to dance in a City chorus . . . but in the Lēnaia it was allowed, since metics too sponsored choruses." A recently discovered example is found in Colin N. Edmondson, "Onesippos' Herm," *Hesperia*, supp. 19, *Studies in Attic Epigraphy, History, and Topography Presented to Eugene Vanderpool* (1982): 48–50.

did that law apply? [Andokides] 4.20 recounts a fistfight between two *khorēgoi*, Alkibiades and Taureas, over the disputed citizenship of a boy dithyrambist; Plutarch (*Phokion* 30.6) gives an example of a *khorēgos* who allowed some noncitizens to perform in his dithyramb. For tragedy and comedy we cannot claim to be so sure, though the entire tendency of my argument would suggest that it was properly an affair of citizens.

One occasionally encounters a statement in modern writers to the effect that chorus members had a special exemption from military service, which would imply that they were men rather than ephebes, but this half-truth merely serves to reveal our own collective (I do not exempt myself) insensitivity to age-classes and festivals. There was a military exemption during their year of office for members of the Boulē (Lykourgos, *Leōkrates* 37) and for customs officers ([Demosthenes], 59.27). Twice Demosthenes mentions such an exemption for choral performers, but we must then ask in what kind of chorus—comedy, tragedy, men's dithyramb (boys' dithyramb is obviously out of the question)—and at what festival? One of them certainly refers to a men's dithyrambic chorus at the City Dionysia (21.15 and scholion); the other is apparently also at the City Dionysia, but what chorus is not clear (39.16).[81]

On the surface this meager evidence about military exemption does not tell against the ephebic-choral hypothesis; on a deeper level it speaks for it. The question to ask is: why should there have been an exemption from marching and fighting for the five hundred men each year who danced the dithyramb in honor of Dionysos? Part of the answer may be sheerly practical—a feeling that in the winter and early spring a busy citizen could be expected to spend about the same amount of time either practicing drill with his (tribal) company and getting in shape for the coming summer's battles or rehearsing the (tribal) dance, but not both. Was there in addition any deeper, symbolic equivalence between these two civic duties which made sense of the exemption? In what framework does a dance for Dionysos equal a season of campaigning?[82] The relation is one of contrast and of similarity. Aristophanes, for instance, shows us

[81] At 21.58–61, Demosthenes refers to two persons who had been convicted of *astrateia* and yet had later directed or performed in choruses. The point is that they were such exceptionally skilled individuals that no citizen who observed them wanted to take the responsibility of enforcing the legal ban on their participation. Presumably the year in which they had been convicted of *astrateia* was not a year in which they had been dancing for Dionysos.

[82] Note that in the second case cited from Demosthenes, the speaker contrasts military service not only with choral dancing at the City Dionysia but with the celebration of the Dionysian Anthesteria a month earlier. (At the back of my mind in this argument is the role of army musicians today—"privates on parade"; behind the ideology of the citizen-soldier must lie the practical recognition that not all men are suited to that role.) It must be admitted that it is unclear whether the exemption covered the entire year or only the period of training for the festival.

the opposition in a diptych contrasting the general Lamakhos called up to service against midwinter bandits in Boiotia while Dikaiopolis, the man who refuses to fight, celebrates the Anthesteria with the priest of Dionysos (*Akharnians* 1071–end).[83] The similarity, on the other hand, can be seen in the military tone of some dithyrambs and other choral performances,[84] and in the fact that they were performed, at least for a time, in the region of the agora that was also the location of war monuments.[85] But such mimeto-militarism is actually best seen not in the dithyrambs but in the oldest component of the City Dionysia, the dances of the *tragōidoi*. It is this component of the performance that will justify my reading of the young men on the Pronomos Vase as ephebes in the stricter sense of the word—young citizen-soldiers in training.

One must recall that the history of performances at the City Dionysia is marked by three stages: *tragōidoi* first perform for city-sponsored prizes under the direction of Thespis in about 534 B.C.E. during the long tyranny of Peisistratos (*Marmor Parium*, *FGrHist* 239A43); prizes for men's (and boys'?) dithyrambs are added at the time of the constitutional reforms of Kleisthenes, 509/8 B.C.E.[86] (or perhaps 502/1; see note 56); *kōmōidoi* are introduced as a prize category in 486 B.C.E.[87] (Of course, at least dithyrambic and comic choruses are much older than these particular festival arrangements, which simply give a new financial and competitive structure to old traditions.) There are two contrasts in the structure of this set of performances which are "ephebically" significant. The first is that the dithyrambs are designated as belonging to two age-classes, men and boys. "Men's chorus" and "boys' chorus" are the

[83] Conversely, Eupolis' *Taxiarkhoi* portrayed Dionysos living the hard life of a soldier and learning about military life from the famous general Phormion (frag. 274 *PCG*).

[84] Especially the mysterious piece Bakkhylides 18, which is a fully dramatized encounter between King Aigeus of Athens and a chorus of young citizen-warriors (13–14) about the advance of an apparent enemy toward the city: he is the ephebe (*paida . . . prōthēbon*, 56–57) Theseus, wearing the young warrior's cloak (*khlamyd'*, 54). Merkelbach goes too far in reconstructing the details of its ephebic ceremonial referents ("Der Theseus des Bakkhilides," *ZPE* 12 [1973]: 56–62), but the general relevance of the poem both to choral drama and to mythic-military subjects is undoubtable. Without arguing that this piece was a dithyramb, much less that it was necessarily performed at the City Dionysia, I would observe that early fifth-century dithyrambs were, like this piece, antistrophic ([Aristotle], *Problems* 19.15:918b19–20. See also A. P. Burnett, *The Art of Bacchylides* (Cambridge, Mass., 1985), 117–23.

[85] Peter Siewert, *Die Trittyen Attikas und die Heeresreform des Kleisthenes*, Vestigia, no. 33 (Munich, 1982), 150–53. N.G.L. Hammond stresses that early tragic performances were also in the agora: "The Conditions of Dramatic Production to the Death of Aeschylus," *GRBS* 13 (1972): 387–450.

[86] Hammond, "Conditions," 62–67. The Marmor Parium records the first men's dithyrambic victory at the City Dionysia in that year; the winning composer was Hypodikos of Khalkis (*FGrHist* 239A46).

[87] *Souda*, s.v. Chiōnidēs; Capps, "Introduction"; *DFA*, 82.

terms, both official and popular, for these dances at all times for which we have records. This is at least consistent with the hypothesis that *tragōidoi* specifically designated ephebes. When the dithyrambs officially became a competitive event in the City Dionysia, they were composed of and named for the two nonephebic age groups—men and boys.

The second contrast is that men's and boys' dithyrambic dances were circular dances, while *tragōidoi* moved in a rectangular formation. Reasonably detailed information survives about this "square" dancing.[88] The chorus members processed in three files and four or five ranks (depending on whether there were twelve or, from sometime in the second quarter of the fifth century, fifteen persons marching). Since they entered the orchestra three abreast and the left-hand file was nearest the spectators, the best performers were stationed in the leftmost file. When that file contained five members, the *koryphaios* occupied the central position. The orchestra in later times was a circular space, but there is no evidence that tragic choruses ever took up a circular formation;[89] on the contrary, the name *kyklios khoros*, which is used as a general term for all dithyrambs, seems to guarantee that *tragōidoi* characteristically performed in rank and file.[90]

We often and quite casually use the term "marching" when the chorus' entrance song is in anapestic meter without really thinking about its implications. Rectangular formation above all requires that the dancers move with precision, since they are ordered along two sight lines. Circular dancing, by comparison, especially in masses of fifty, can be impressive while admitting a certain degree of, not sloppiness, but looseness. The usual reconstruction of tragic choral movement imagines that the dancers sometimes occupied the center of the orchestra, sometimes split into two groups, at times facing the actors and at other times facing the audience. The performance of such maneuvers would have exercised the same precision skills that were required for hoplite marching,[91] and though I do not imagine that the *koryphaios* actually barked

[88] *DFA*, 239–54; L. B. Lawler, *The Dance of the Ancient Greek Theatre* (Iowa City, 1964). Timaios speaks of "the so-called Lakōnistai who sang in tetragonal choruses" (Athenaios, 181c = *FGrHist* 566F140), but the context and referent are wholly unknown. The rectangular formation of tragic dancing is ignored by H.D.F. Kitto, "The Dance in Greek Tragedy," *JHS* 75 (1955): 36–41.

[89] *DFA*, 239 n. 2.

[90] Lysias, *Oration* 21.3; *DFA*, 239; "Alkman referred to the maidens dancing in order [*en taksei*] as 'in the same file' [*homostoikhous*]," *PMG*, 33. (*Zygon* and *stoikhos* are the technical terms for rank and file in tragic dancing: *DFA*, 239.)

[91] "There is an enormous difference between an ordered army and a disordered one," Xenophon, *Memorabilia* 3.1.7; Aristotle too notes that the essence of hoplite fighting is coordination (*syntaxis*). Before men discovered *taxis* and so made heavily armored infantry useful, cavalry was supreme; *Politics* 4.13:1297b18–22.

sotto voce "Right face," "Company halt," and so forth to his squadron of ephebes, such commands were implicit in its well-regulated motion.[92] Members of any chorus must focus their attention very carefully on the leader, as Xenophon implies when describing the similar attention rowers give to their boatswain (*Mem.* 3.5.6).

Not only our phrase "rank and file" but a number of traditional Greek choral terms point to a homology between the movement of *tragōidoi* and of hoplites: *parastatēs* and other compounds of *-statēs*, *psileis* ("unprotected") of the persons with an exposed side in the formation, *hēgemōn* of the chorus leader.[93] Sometimes the comparison is explicit, as in this very significant fragment of Khamaileon:

> [The older dances were dignified and manly;] therefore Aristophanes or Plato in his *Gear*, as Chamaileon writes, spoke as follows: "So that when anyone danced well it was a real spectacle, but now they do nothing; they just stand in one place as if paralyzed by a stroke and they howl." For the form of dancing in choruses then was well-ordered [*euskhēmon*] and impressive and as it were imitative of movements in full armor [*kinēseis en tois hoplois*]; whence Sokrates says in his poems that the finest choral dancers are best in war; I quote, "Those who most beautifully honor the gods in choruses are best in war." For choral dancing was practically like a troop review [or maneuver in arms, *exhoplisia*] and a display not only of precision marching [*eutaxia*] in general but more particularly of physical preparedness.[94]

Teachers of each discipline are even found giving the same advice to put the best soldiers or dancers in the front and rear ranks, the less good ones in the middle.[95] At other times a contrast between the two activities

[92] Command words are listed by Asklepiodotos, *Tactics*, chap. 12; chaps. 10–11 describe the various troop formations for marching and turning; text and translation in the Loeb Classical Library along with military texts by Aeneas Tacticus and Onasander (London, 1923). For the sixth and fifth centuries our positive knowledge of military training is almost zero; Pritchett, *Greek State*, chaps. 11–12; John K. Anderson, *Military Theory and Practice in the Age of Xenophon* (Berkeley, 1970), chaps. 5–6.

[93] *DFA*, 241.

[94] Khamaileon, frag. 42 (ed. Fritz Wehrli) = Athenaios *Deipnosophists* 14.268e–f. (This may be two quotations, one from Khamaileon, one from Sokrates.) It is important to note that Khamaileon gets his information, and his authority, principally from Old Comedy, which he cites not only in this instance but to back up many of his surviving opinions about early tragedy (frags. 40–42 Wehrli). This relocation of their authority at once makes such pronouncements both earlier and more oblique: they remain important evidence even if they were originally the grouchy exaggerations of a curmudgeon on the comic stage.

[95] "In battle the best soldiers should be placed first and last, the worst in the middle, so that they may be led by the ones in front and pushed by the ones in back," Xenophon, *Memorabilia* 3.1.8, cf. *Kyropaidia* 7.5.5; "The three middle files not visible in some pas-

reveals that they are assumed to be comparable in ways that would not spring readily to our minds. "The best in the chorus are stationed on the left . . . since in choruses the left side is more honorable, in battles the right."[96] Mention *eutaxia* and the conversation will turn as readily to precision movement in a dancing corps as to gymnastics or the timed stroke of oars (Xenophon, *Mem.* 3.5.18), even implying that dancing is more disciplined than generalship since war maneuvers are often improvised (Xenophon, *Mem.* 3.5.21). The grandest such comparison is surely the elaborate comparison of polyphonic choral singing, where all the various voices await the leader's signal, and the coordinated responses of soldiers to a general's command ([Aristotle], *De mundo* 399a15–b10).

The homology extends to the accompanying music (Dorian in large part) and the instrument (aulos).[97] The presence of an aulos-player is one way of identifying the earliest representations of hoplite fighters on seventh-century vases.[98] The Spartans took this so seriously that they employed numerous aulos players in unison (*pollōn homou*, Thoukydides 5.70, who does not, *pace* Lorimer and others, say that the Spartans *alone* marched to the flute; they may have invented the technique or may have been best known for it, as Aristotle [quoted by Aulus Gellius, *Attic Nights* 1.11.17–19] alleged, but they did not patent it). Thoukydides also makes clear that the point of the music is not to raise spirits but to ensure rhythmic stepping and so to maintain *taxis*. The aulos-player who served on Athenian triremes evidently had the same function (*IG* II² 1951.100).

We may have a depiction of such precision dancing on a red-figure column-krater in the Mannerist style, ca. 500–490 B.C.E. (plate 6).[99] Six performers arranged in three pairs move with identical steps and upraised arms toward or past a tomb, behind which a cloaked figure stands. His open mouth indicates that he is not the trainer or the *khorēgos* or the god

sages are called *laurostatai*; the worse performers are stationed in the middle, the principal ones are placed first and last," Hesykhios, s.v. *Laurostatai*; "the underlap of the chorus: the valueless positions of the choral station," Hesykhios, s.v. *Hyokolpion tou chorou*, cited at *DFA*, 241 n. 1.

[96] Scholiast on Aristeides (3.535, ed. Dindorf), cited in *DFA*, 241 n. 1.

[97] On the Dorian mode and the occasional use of other modes for special effect in tragedy, see *DFA*, 258–60.

[98] Hilda L. Lorimer, "The Hoplite Phalanx," *BSA* 42 (1947): 76–138. "It must be conceded, however, that experiments in the handling of massed infantry had been undertaken before [the mid-seventh century]: an observant critic has recently drawn attention to the presence, in a battle-scene on a Corinthian vase of about 675, of a piper [i.e., *aulētēs*]—an indispensable participant in the later Spartan phalanx where his music kept the men in step, and therefore perhaps a sign of incipient phalanx tactics, although the morale-boosting effect of military pipers, as modern parallels show, is not confined to those operating in close formation."

[99] Antikenmuseum Basel, Inv. BS 415: Margot Schmidt, "Dionysien," *AK* 19 (1967): 70–81.

Dionysos but a performer, most likely a ghost emerging from the tomb. Invisible on the photograph, letters at the dancers' open mouths indicate their choral song, though no aulos-player is shown. At that period the tragic chorus consisted of twelve persons, so this group is half a chorus; perhaps we are to imagine the other half approaching the tomb from the other side.

M. Schmidt, who first published this vase, was inclined to believe that they were dancing a dithyramb, but their rectangular formation and their costumes argue for tragedy rather than dithyramb.[100] Dithyrambists could perform in splendid array,[101] but not in mask or character costume. The attempt to see a satyr chorus on a red-figure krater by Polion of about 425 B.C.E. as dithyrambic performers in costume misreads that vase entirely.[102] The label *OIDOI PANATHENAIA*, "Singers at the Panathenaia," above three aged Pappasilenoi does not mean that actual dithyrambic choruses at the Panathenaia did or could dress up as satyrs (nor even that there were comic turns at the Panathenaia.)[103] The aulos-player facing them holds his pipes down at his sides, in consternation not only at these singers' lyres[104] but at their identity.[105] These are not regulation contestants but wild men who, monkeylike, imitate forms of civilized behavior.[106]

It seems likely from the chin line that the six choristers are indeed wearing masks, in which case they would be, in my interpretation, ephebes dressed as a chorus of ephebes, as in Aiskhylos' *Neaniskoi* or

[100] Heide Fröning, *Dithyrambos und Vasenmalerei in Athen*, Beiträge zur Archäologie 2 (Würzburg, 1971), 23–24; Erika Simon, *The Ancient Theatre*, trans. C. E. Vafopoulou-Richardson (London, 1982), 8–9.

[101] Demosthenes sponsored a men's dithyrambic chorus in 351–350 which wore gold crowns (21.16).

[102] New York 25.78.66; Bieber, *History*, fig. 17; *DTC*, 20, 34, pl. 1.

[103] J. D. Beazley, "Hydria-Fragments in Corinth," *Hesperia* 24 (1955): 305–19 (314–15). Bieber, *History*, 6 (fig. 17) relates it to a comedy, Kratinos' *Satyroi* (424 B.C.E.), without commenting on the label *PANATHENAIA*.

[104] "It would be very remarkable for participants in a dithyrambic chorus each to play his own instrumental accompaniment." Fröning, *Dithyrambos*, 25.

[105] "The aulos-player stands there thunderstruck like a tavern-keeper who one day sees three of his best customers, now converted soldiers in the Salvation Army, march into his saloon with Bible and hymnbook in hand rather than their usual bottle and drinking-mug." Ervin Roos, *Die tragische Orchestik im Zerrbild der altattischen Komödie* (Lund, 1951), 228. Roos sees the scene as a comic takeoff on Perikles' reorganization of musical contests at the Panathenaia and suggests a relationship with three lyre-playing satyrs on a black-figure amphora of the late sixth century (227–30, figs. 32–33). Fröning, *Dithyrambos*, 25–26 suggests that it represents a satyr-play on the subject of the founding of the Panathenaia, comparable to Aiskhylos' *Isthmiastai*.

[106] Elsewhere satyrs pretend to be honest citizens by wearing cloaks (*ARV*² 175, no. 16) and carrying staffs instead of *thyrsoi* (*ARV*² 785, no. 11).

Thespis' *Eitheoi*. More importantly for the correct interpretation of this vase, dithyrambists formed a circle, not a rectangle. For contrast consider the dithyrambic men's chorus represented on an Attic red-figure bell-krater in Copenhagen, ca. 425 B.C.E.[107] Five bearded (not masked) men in single file, the central one facing forward, are dressed in fancy chitons and wraparound cloaks (not as characters), and they are singing to the accompaniment of an aulos-player. While five unmasked and uncostumed men in a ring may represent fifty dithyrambists, six masked and costumed performers in rectangular formation cannot be dithyrambists but must represent a semichorus of early fifth century tragedy—or something very like it.

In presenting the Pronomos Vase, I left it open whether its chorus members are to be thought of as ephebes in the loose sense of boys-who-are-almost-men or in the stricter sense of young Athenian citizens in military training. The evidence of choral dancing in tragedy seems to me an irresistible argument for the relevance of the specifically military aspect of their young manhood, however their training in those skills may have been organized by and for the *polis*.

At Athens our information converges from two directions and just misses meeting at a description of ephebic military dancing in the theater of Dionysos. On the one hand, we know of athletic-esthetic training for young males which both prepared them for war and led to the Theater of Dionysos (Aristoxenos, middle or later fourth century B.C.E. (Athenaios, 631c). On the other hand, the late fourth-century ephebes performed—not in disguise but as themselves—in the same theater. These two lines of information, which I will now trace, approach each other asymptotically; the ephebic hypothesis closes the gap.

Several forms of young men's proto-military training are known which resembled the martial arts in their combination of graceful, rhythmic movement with the physical and spiritual training of a warrior. Recommending an esthetics of restraint, Athenaios praises classical, specifically pre-Hellenistic, culture as a period when the postures of statues and the styles of dancing were equally dignified (14.629b–c). "They transferred the poses [of sculpted figures] to the choruses." Images of effete pseudo-classical dancing may spring to the mind's eye at this point, but he goes on: "and from the choruses to the wrestling mats" (629b). The governing idea behind this language of dignity in posture and movement is the athletic body, disciplined to a state of tough grace. "In their music and in the care of their bodies they aimed at masculinity [*andreia*,

[107] *ARV*² 1145; *DTC*, pl. 1b; K. Friis Johansen, "Eine Dithyrambosaufführung," *Arkaeologisk-kunsthistoriske Meddelelser udgivet af Det Kongelige Danske Videnshabernes Selskab*, Bind 4, no. 2 (Copenhagen, 1959).

down-translated as 'courage'], and to be able to move in heavy armor they prepared themselves with song: that is the origin of the so-called pyrrhics and all such styles of dancing" (629c).

The two most prominent versions of this martial art for male adolescents, both always described as dances, are *gymnopaidikē* and *pyrrhikhē*. The former was a gentler exercise which imitated wrestling and *pankration*: "The *gymnopaidikē* is similar to the dance called *anapalē* in the old days. All the boys dance it naked, performing various rhythmic movements and various figures with their arms in a gentle manner, and thus depict scenes from the wrestling school and the *pankration*, moving their feet in rhythm."[108] Two etymologies of the older term *anapalē* seem to be contained in Athenaios' (or his source's) description of the *gymnopaidikē*, one from "gentle" (*hapalos*) and another from "wrestling" (*palē*). The latter seems considerably more likely,[109] but both designate the dance as a preparatory stage for the less gentle, partly weaponed *pyrrhikhē*, a fast, warlike dance performed by *enhoploi paides*, older boys in partial armor.[110]

Both *gymnopaidikē* and *pyrrhikhē* are simply the Athenian versions of what must have been a universal practice in all Greek cities. In other cities, besides the dances described by Xenophon for the Thracians, Thessalians (Ainianians, Magnesians), Mysians, and Arkadians (*Anabasis* 6.1.5–13), we hear of dances in armor with the names *telesias*, *orsitēs*, and *epikrēdios*.[111] Ephoros (fourth century B.C.E.) described the training of

[108] Athenaios, 631b–c (trans. Andrew Barker, *Greek Musical Writings*, [Cambridge, Eng., 1984] 1:290–91). Note also "the *gymnopaidikē* is comparable to the tragic dance called *emmeleia*: weightiness and solemnity may be observed in each." Athenaios, 630e (trans. Barker, 289).

[109] "A transference of a technique, and the description of it, from wrestling to hoplite fighting is scarcely surprising when one remembers how firmly the Greeks believed that the former was an important and essential training for the latter, so that one might become *brithus hoplitopalas, daios antipaloisi* (Aiskhylos, fr. 700 Mette) ['a weighty hoplite-wrestler, ferocious to one's antagonists,' in which Aiskhylos underlines the faded metaphor of wrestling implied in *antipalos*]." E. K. Borthwick, "Two Scenes of Combat in Euripides," *JHS* 90 (1970): 15–21 (18).

[110] "The pyrrhic is like the satyric, since both are speedy; it seems to be warlike since boys in armor dance it; speed is necessary in battle both for pursuit and for the losers to flee" (Athenaios, 630d). W.E.D. Downes, "The Offensive Weapon in the Pyrrhic," *CR* 18 (1904): 101–6; J.-C. Poursat, "Les représentations de danse armée dans la céramique attique," *BCH* 92 (1968): 550–615; Paolo Scarpi, "La pyrrichē o le armi della persuasione," *DArch*, n.s. 1 (1979): 78–97. That the pyrrhicists were somewhat older than the gymnopaidicists is indicated not only by the fact that they needed greater strength to carry the metal equipment but by such phrases as "beardless pyrrhicists" (Lysias, 21.4), indicating that the dancers were man-size boys.

[111] "That is the origin of the so-called pyrrhics and all such styles of [proto-military] dancing; numerous in fact are their names, e.g., the Kretans' *orsitēs* and *epikrēdios*" (629c); "There is also the dance called the *telesias*—a military dance taking its name from a certain

Kretan boys, who from an early age were trained to use army gear (*hopla*), to harden themselves to blows in the gymnasium and in battle formation, and specifically to dance in armor. "In order that courage [*andreia*], not cowardice, might prevail, the lawgiver commanded that from boyhood they should be raised with armor [*hopla*] and hard labor, so as to scorn heat, cold, rugged and steep roads, and blows received in gymnasiums or phalanx [*kata suntagma*] battles; and that they should practice both archery and armored dancing [*enhopliōi orkhēsei*], which was first displayed by the Kourētes and later by him who organized [*suntaksanta*] the pyrrhic, named after himself, so that not even their boyish play should be without something useful for warfare . . . and that armor [*hopla*] should be the most valued gift given to them" (Strabo, 10.4.16).

The younger boys' dances were evidently meant to develop their poise, strength, and stamina as future citizen-soldiers. The dancing of the *tragōidoi* was a still harder exercise in the same qualities: just think of the sheer physical endurance required to perform all the singing and dancing of three tragedies and one satyr-play consecutively. Performing in a tragic chorus must have been an athletic feat as exacting and grueling as any of the Olympic competitions. Indeed, this is a strong reason for accepting the youth of such choruses as an across-the-board rule, not just a peculiarity of the chorus depicted on the Pronomos Vase. Certainly, the older the man, the less all-around vigor he usually has, especially for sustained, energetic dancing, as Teiresias and Kadmos agree in Euripides' *Bakkhai* 175–209.

Aristoxenos connects the two boys' dances as phases of a regular sequence: "Aristoxenos says that the ancients first practiced *gymnopaidikē*, then progressed to *pyrrhikhē* before they entered into the theater" (Athenaios, 631c). From this we know that, in the view of this prominent fourth-century music historian, himself the author of *On Choruses* and *On Tragic Dancing*, Dionysos' theater was and had been since archaic times the final stage where boys well-trained in military dancing would perform. To what might this refer? The boys' dithyramb is a possibility, though nothing suggests that it had the quasi-military features of tragic choral dancing. Did the rectangular pyrrhic choruses perform in the theater? I propose that the athletic-cultural *cursus* described by Aristoxenos moves from the younger boys' unarmed wrestling dance to the older boys' armed solo dance and culminates "in the theater" with the ephebes' tragic marching, a small corps display of virtuoso dancing that was, in coordination and in refinement, one grade higher than the vigorous, paramilitary dancing of boy soloists.

man Telesias who first danced it in full armor [*meth' hoplōn*]" (630a = Hippagoras, *FGrHist* 743F1).

From the other side we have one secure witness to the institutionalize ephebes actually performing in a body in the presence of Dionysos an the people, though what they perform is a regular drill of the whole clas rather than a virtuoso display by three top squads of fifteen each: "I their second year, before an Assembly convened *in the theater*, th ephebes made a display to the populace of all that pertained to *taxeis* [or derly formations]" ([Aristotle], *Ath. Pol.* 42.4). Though some translator have fudged the word *taxeis* with vague renderings such "their militar skill" (Fritz and Kapp) or "their knowledge of warfare" (Moore), "th reference here should be to their skill at maneuvering in formation."[112]

The early fifth-century vase showing six young men doing a precisior dance in three pairs fits neatly here as an image of that toward which both wings of our evidence converge.[113] Altogether, the evidence is richly suggestive of the cultural framework within which my hypothesis operates, though it falls short of converting that hypothesis into an ironclad surety.

In sum, then, our evidence about tragic performance contains reasonably strong indications that the chorus members were young men in (or viewed in relation to) military training. If true, this would allow us to sense a complex and finely controlled tension between role and role-player, for the ephebes are cast in the most "disciplined" part of the tragedy—disciplined in the exacting demands of unison movement, subordinated to the more prominent actors, and characterized as social dependents (women, slaves, old men)—while the actors, who are no longer ephebes, perform a tale showing the risks, the misfortunes, and sometimes the glory of ephebic experience. Occasionally in performance there may be a tentative allusion to the reality under the costume, as when the senior citizens of Aiskhylos' *Agamemnon*, too old to serve in the expedition to Troy ("our strength is like a boy's . . . there's no War in us," 72–78), declare that old men are "ephebic" in their willingness to learn (*hēbāi tois gerousin*, 584) and at the climax make an attempt to resist Aigisthos' takeover as if they were an armed squadron (*lokhitai*, 1650).[114]

What most makes the tension come alive is the scrutiny of the watchful audience, the body politic of Athens arranged in seating which confirms both their individual competitive spirit and their precarious, hard-won civic unity. These social tensions in the audience are focused on the cru-

[112] Rhodes, *Commentary*, 508, aptly citing Plato, *Lakhes* 182a7–b7 and Xenophon, *Kyropaidia* 2.2.6–7. "In later centuries the *apodeixis* was made not to the assembly but to the boule (first in *Hesp.* vii 20, 17–18, of 258/7)," Rhodes, *Commentary*, 508.

[113] Antikenmuseum Basel, Inv. BS 415: Schmidt, "Dionysien."

[114] E. Fraenkel follows Stanley in assigning *Agamemnon* 1650 to Aigisthos, holding that the *philoi lokhitai* are his bodyguards.

cial and central transition-figures of the youngest warriors, who are (as it were) the growth point, the bud and flower of the city. Tragedy is the city's nurturance of that precious youth by a public ritual of discipline, enacting tales (more often than not) of its blight.

IV. A Conjecture

Tragōidoi seems obviously to mean "billy goat-singers"—not just "goat-singers." Connections between Dionysos and generic goats, such as the famous antipathy between the goat and the grapevine,[115] should not be relevant to the specifically masculine term *tragōidoi*.[116] The etymology is as patent as its significance is obscure.[117] Given the habits of sophistic playfulness,[118] and the reluctance of ancient scholars ever to doubt that the path of least resistance to an explanation was correct, it would be amazing if someone had not conjectured that a billy goat was the prize for the winning tragic chorus. This conjecture is indeed found in a document of the third century B.C.E.—a chronology of famous events in Greek history with a special emphasis on data of literary interest.[119] The notion became dogma and was repeated numerous times by later ancient writers, though other possibilities long continued to be entertained. It may even be true, but it can hardly be anything else than a good guess. The exhaustive inquiry of W. Burkert[120] finds goats from earliest times in the pictorial and literary entourage of Dionysos but no explicit evidence of a goat-prize or (what would be in this context the same thing) a goat-sacrifice. Burkert nevertheless believes that a goat was sacrificed to Dionysos and that *tragōidoi* were named from this.[121]

[115] Pausanias, 2.13.6.

[116] The paradoxical term *tragaina*, "female billy goat," is used by Aristotle of a hermaphrodite goat, *Generation of Animals* 770b35.

[117] For fun one may cite J. E. Harrison, "Is Tragedy the Goat-Song?" *CR* 16 (1902): 331–32, who proposes, by emending Stephanos, s.v. *tragos*, that tragedy is a beer-song.

[118] Plato, *Kratylos* 408c–d is the earliest association of tragedy with goats—because of their rough (*trakh-*) hides.

[119] A long marble inscription found on the island of Paros, hence known as the Marmor Parium; *FGrHist* 239.

[120] Burkert, "Greek Tragedy."

[121] My reservations about Burkert's magisterial treatment have to do not with the existence of a goat prize but with the elaboration of a cultural performance on sacrificial themes (his interpretation of tragedy) at the one festival for which a sacrificial prize is least attested. If tragedy as such is viewed as mainly and originally about issues of sacrifice, it might as well have developed at any of the numerous animal slaughters of ancient Greece. Further, that it should have grown from the sacrifice of a goat rather than, say, a bull seems to me faintly ludicrous: can we imagine Aiskhylos saying of great Agamemnon that he was cut down like a goat at the manger? In reply, however, it might be possible to hold that it was precisely because there was *not* a literal enactment of an animal sacrifice (or only a slightly ludicrous one) that a choral meditation on sacrifice developed at the Dionysia. A billy goat is sacrificed for a city foundation in Aristophanes, *Birds* (902, 959, 1056–57), but that, of course, may be some sort of joke.

As it happens, there is a hitherto-unnoticed billy goat sacrifice on Elaphebolion 10, the first day of the City Dionysia, not in Athens proper but in the Marathonian Tetrapolis—*IG* II² 1358b17–18. Surely this could be regarded as the smoking gun to confirm Burkert's theory. But no sooner does the evidence for it once appear propitious than it confounds us with its generosity, for on that sacred calendar the billy goat victim is specified as one that is all black (*pammelas*). This is just as surely a confirmation of the ephebic symbolism of the Dionysian black goatskin seen by Vidal-Naquet. Were *tragōidoi* so called because they sang at the sacrifice of a billy goat, or was an all-black billy goat sacrificed in a northern region of Attika in solidarity with the ephebic celebration going on in Athens at the Dionysia? The ephebic hypothesis makes another interpretation of the name itself possible, one which does not entail the denial of a goat-prize/sacrifice, but may stand independently beside it.

It goes like this. In dealing with the social institution of the Athenian ephebate we should try to give equal weight to the practical discipline which exercises young men in doing what men are to do (march in file and be honorable and prudent) and to the symbolic inversions that variously informed that liminal period. Such inversions also have their practical side. For instance, just as it still happens in modern military training, the young men are degraded in order to be upgraded: that is, they are insulted as sissies, girls, and crybabies in order to promote their decisive rejection of all boyishness. The army, as we say, turns boys into men: "and they were not allowed to return to the city until they had become men."[122] Here we must briefly allude to the well-known distinction between physical puberty and social puberty.[123] A rite of passage to manhood is symbolically a puberty rite which may take place years after a boy's body has begun to undergo the physical changes of adolescence.

With this in mind I will simply mention that, among the meanings of *tragos*, only one has any prima facie connection to the human voice or to singing (*-ōidos*). Aristotle, once in a discussion of puberty and again in a discussion of voice-pitch,[124] uses the word *tragizein* to mean the breaking or changing in voice which adolescent boys experience. Aristotle attaches "what they call" (*ho kalousi*) to *tragizein*, indicating that adolescent

[122] Justin, 3.3 on the Spartan *krypteia*.

[123] Arnold van Gennep, *The Rites of Passage*, trans. M. B. Vizedom and G. L. Caffee (Chicago, 1960), chap. 6.

[124] Aristotle, *History of Animals* 7.1; *Generation of Animals* 5.7.787b32–788a2. The words continue in use; see Porphyry on Ptolemy's *Harmony* 253a; Alexander of Aphrodisias *Problemata* 1.125.

voice-change is not the primary referent of the root *trag-* but one that is in use in some special circumstance which his reader might need reminding of. An analogy would be our use of "frog" in the phrase "a frog in one's throat": the word "frog" alone does not make one think of a person with a hoarse voice. The usage also occurs in [Aristotle], *De audibilibus* 804a17, and in later writers.[125] The term at Hippokrates, *Epidemics* 6.3.14 may refer to voice-breaking or it may be a general expression for those undergoing puberty: *epēn aphrodisiazein arxōntai ē tragizein*, "whenever they begin to be sexually active or to *tragizein*."

I propose that *tragōidoi* began as a slightly jocular designation of ephebic singers, not because their voices were breaking (that was long past, and anyway no one can sing well whose voice is breaking) but because they were identified as those undergoing social puberty.[126] More accurately, they were *representative* of those undergoing social puberty: only a select group of the best ephebic singer-dancers could actually perform.[127] Given the low repute of goats, not to mention goatherds, the name must be regarded—perhaps paradoxically to us—as a somewhat comic formation.[128]

Other derived senses of the *tragos* word-family can be related to the actual being of goats—rank smell, indiscriminate lust; like ephebes, goats are noticeably wayward and must be controlled.[129] On one level, *tragizein* used of the boy's voice may simply mean "bleat," but the implications are probably wider. It may in the Greek folk-system also be a way of saying that a boy's change of voice is a warning sign of the onset of other goatlike qualities. *Tragizein* (and *tragān*) might best be translated "to go through puberty," "to show the signs of adolescence," of which voice-change is only one. The noun *tragos* indicates another such change in its occurrence in a cryptic Hippokratic saying at *Epidemics* 6.4.21 about the swelling of a boy's testicles at puberty: *tragos, hokoteros an phanēi exō orkhis, dexios, arsen, euōnumos, thēlu*, "billy goat, whichever testicle appears outside, right-side male, left-side female,"[130] on which Galen commented.[131] Martial, 3.24, associates the billy goat's foul smell specifically with its testicles, which are cut off at the moment of sacrifice. Burkert deduces from this that "the procedure was the same at every he-goat sacrifice."[132] Aristotle's explanation of the connection between testicular and vocal change is in terms of mechanics: the increased tension caused by heavier testes on the channels that lead from the scrotum through the heart to the vocal chords causes the voice to drop lower; he compares the effect to that of loom weights.[133] Two activities affect this natural process—sexual activity accelerates it; the voice exercises of boys who take frequent part in choruses retards it.[134] We seem to have in the *tragos* word-group a coherent and rather interesting view of puberty as a complex of new smells, attitudes, and bodily changes summed up in the emblem of the goat.[135]

[125] Porphyry on Ptolemy's *Harmony*, 253a; Alexander of Aphrodisias, *Problemata* 1.125; Hesykhios, s.v. *tragizein*.

[126] There may be a more literal aspect which reinforced this metaphorical designation of their singing. David S. Margoliouth, *The Poetics of Aristotle* (London, 1911), 61–62, brought adolescent voice-breaking into connection with tragedy on the basis of the mournful and *uneven* nature of the singing, as described by [Aristotle], *Problems* 19.6: "for in great misfortune or grief the uneven [*anōmales*] is expressive [*pathētikon*], while the even is less mournful." The same language is found in Aristotle's discussion of voice-change during puberty, *History of Animals* 7.1 (*anōmalesteron, homalē*, 581a18–19) and *Generation of Animals* 5.7 (*anōmalos*, 788a1). The goat's voice is also related to the thin, bleating voices of epileptics; Plutarch, *Quaestiones Romanae* 111 (290a), Hippokrates, *Sacred Disease* 4.21.

[127] Because of this, I have not stressed what will seem to many the most obvious connection between *rites de passage* and the ephebes' tragic chorus—their sometimes dressing as women. The ephebes as a group have just as important a role to play in the festival by being in the audience as their representative best dancers and singers do by being in the orchestra. Further, the key ephebic issues are family and political authority, responsibility to the gods and the dead, and a young man's maximizing of personal *timē* without insulting his peers or betters. Gender is a key item in the system, but it is a dependent rather than an independent variable. Finally, they did not always dress as women; sometimes they even dressed as ephebes.

[128] As was held by the ancient scholar reported in the *Etymologicum Magnum*, who said that tragedy is so called "because the choruses were mainly composed of satyrs, whom they jokingly [*skōptontes*] called billy goats."

[129] Plutarch remarks that dogs and billy goats exemplify lack of self-control and proneness to pleasure; *Conjugalia Praecepta* 139b, cf. *Quaestiones Romanae* 111 (290a); Ailianos, *De natura animalium* 7.19; Adamantios Judaeus, *Physiognomika* 2.2.14; on the malodor of billy goats, Herodotos, 3.112 (*dusodmatatōi*); Horace, *Satires* 1.2.27; Seneca, *Epistulae* 86.13; *tragion* is the name of a plant which stinks like a billy goat in the fall; Dioskorides, 4.50. E. Eyben, "Antiquity's View of Puberty," *Latomus* 31 (1972): 678–97, esp. 688–91 on the voice and smell of teenage boys.

[130] Cf. *Epidemics* 2.5.1. Latin has an analogous usage of *hirquitallus* from *hircus*, "goat," for boys becoming men: *hirquitalli pueri primum ad uirilitatem accedentes: a libidine* [sc. *hircorum*] *dicti*; Paulus, *Festus* 101M; 105M. Censorinus brings this Latin expression into conjunction with the Greek and mentions the connection with voice rather than lust: *in secunda hebdomade, uel incipiente tertia, uocem crassiorem et inaequabilem fieri quod appellat [tragizein], antiqui nostri hirquitallire*; Censorinus, *De die natali* 5.

[131] *De usu partium* 14.7 (4.172–74. Kühn) and Galen's commentary on *Epidemics* 6 (17b211ff. Kühn). See also *De semine* 2.5 (4.633 Kühn).

[132] *Homo Necans: The Anthropology of Ancient Greek Sacrificial Ritual and Myth* (Berkeley, 1983), 68.

[133] *Generation of Animals* 787b20–788a7.

[134] *History of Animals* 581a21–27.

[135] Professor Evelyn B. Harrison drew my attention to Plutarch's account that Theseus, just before he set sail to Krete (the last and greatest of his ephebic exploits), was sacrificing a she-goat by the seaside and it suddenly turned into a he-goat; *Theseus* 18. This story illustrates not only the dramatic change of state that ephebes were thought to go through but the complex involvement of several divinities and social classes: Theseus' sacrifice is di-

This last line of argument about boys' breaking voices is very speculative indeed. Even without it, the hypothesis I have offered remains, I think, a stable construction, one whose interest lies in its suggestive recentering of the field of Attic tragedy as a very specific form of social and religious ritual, a hypothesis whose power is drawn from its new integration of discrete realms of information. The surviving scripts, of course, are highly elaborated compositions, built on this framework of social concerns as some clay statues are built on a wire core: the core supports and is concealed by the visible exterior of the statue. The complete picture is bound to be more complex and detailed than I have sketched, but I propose that, as a ground-plan for the City Dionysia, these features of the original presentation and social occasion show us that the audience's experience of tragedy was built on a profoundly political core, and that Athens' youngest citizen-soldiers occupied a central (though in various ways masked) role in this festival of self-representation.

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rected to Aphrodite, and the story is tied to a procession of Athenian maidens to the temple of Apollo Delphinios on Mounykhion.

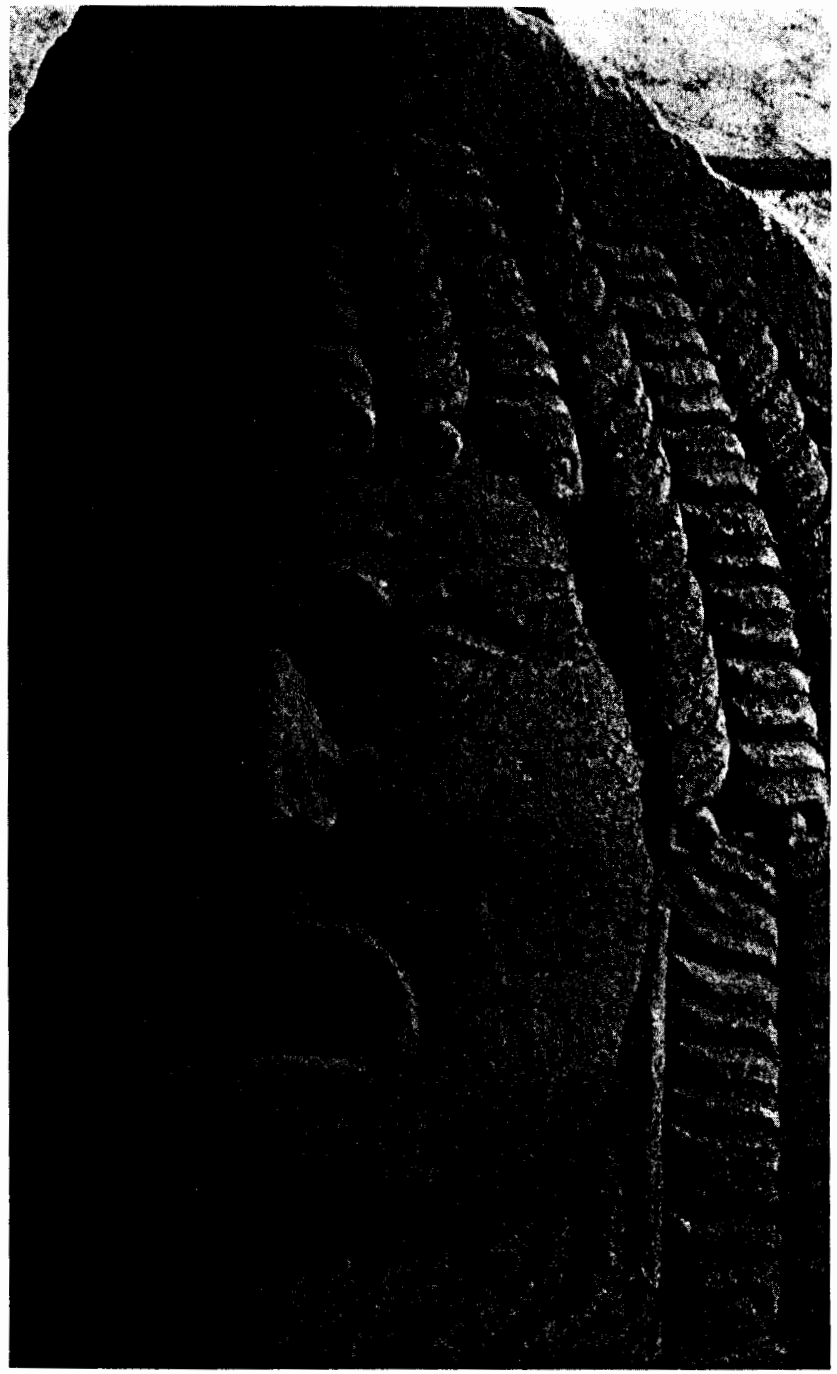
FROMA I. ZEITLIN

Playing the Other: Theater, Theatricality, and the Feminine in Greek Drama

FOR A SPECIMEN of sheer theatrical power, it would be difficult to match the climactic scene of Euripides' *Bakkhai* (788–861) where Pentheus at last comes under the spell of his adversary, the god Dionysos, and acknowledges his secret desire to spy on the women of Thebes who have left the city to go as maenads to the mountain. His violent antagonism toward the women who, in abandoning their homes, children, and domestic tasks, have challenged the civic, masculine authority of the king, gives way to a sudden softening of will—a yielding to the cunning wiles of the god disguised onstage as the Asiatic stranger, the leader of his own troops of maenads. This first surrender is followed by another. In giving up his original intention to marshal his forces for an open combat of men against women, Pentheus gives up his stubborn claim to an unequivocal masculine identity. To see what the women are doing without himself being seen, Pentheus must trade his hoplite military tactics for an undercover operation, which involves adopting a devious stratagem and assuming a remarkable disguise. He must let the god take him inside the palace and dress him as a woman in a flowing wig and headdress, a long pleated robe and belt, to which he adds the typical insignia of the maenads—the dappled fawnskin and ritual thyrsus. When the god completes this elaborate toilette, Pentheus will also resemble Dionysos himself, whose effeminate appearance the king had earlier mocked.[1] But as much

Note: This essay was originally published (with some small differences) in *Representations* 11 (1985): 63–94, and is reprinted here through their kind permission. An earlier, reduced version of this paper was presented at a conference, "After the Second Sex," held at the University of Pennsylvania, and at a symposium honoring Professor Helen Bacon at Barnard College in New York, both in April 1984. I wish to thank the commentators on these two occasions, Carolyn Heilbrun and Marylin Arthur, respectively, as well as others who participated in the discussion. Thanks also to the members of the Women's Studies Colloquium at Princeton University, who offered acute and thoughtful comments at the presentation of this paper; in particular, Natalie Davis, Suzanne Keller, and Elaine Showalter. Jean Rudhardt and Philippe Borgeaud also made useful remarks at the University of Geneva, as did Claude Calame at the University of Lausanne. I am especially grateful to Jack Winkler, Simon Goldhill, and Jean-Pierre Vernant, who read the manuscript and from whose incisive and valuable criticism I have, as always, greatly profited. Finally, I gratefully acknowledge the assistance of a fellowship from the Guggenheim Foundation in 1984–1985, under whose auspices this work was completed.

[1] E.g., *Bakkhai* 451–59; Dionysos is called *thēlymorphos*, 351 (cf. Pentheus' description as *gynaikomorphos* [his costume as imitating a woman's, *gynaikomimoi*; 981]).



Nothing to Do with Dionysos'

Athenian Drama in Its Social Context

JOHN J. WINKLER AND FROMA I. ZEITLIN, EDITOR

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY PRESS PRINCETON, NEW JERSE