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SOSITHEUS AND HIS 'NEW' SATYR PLAY*

Active in Alexandria during the second half of the third century, Dioscorides is the author of some forty epigrams preserved in the *Anthologia Palatina*. Five of these epigrams are concerned with Greek playwrights: three dramatists of the archaic and classical periods, Thespis, Aeschylus and Sophocles, and two contemporary ones, Sositheus and Machon.[1] Dioscorides conceived four epigrams as two pairs (Thespis and Aeschylus, Sophocles and Sositheus) clearly marked by verbal connections, and celebrates each playwright for his original contribution to the history of Greek drama. Thespis boasts to have discovered tragedy; Aeschylus to have elevated it. The twin epigrams devoted to Sophocles and Sositheus present Sophocles as refining the satyrs and Sositheus as making them, once again, primitive. Finally, Machon is singled out for his comedies as 'worthy remnants of ancient art (τέχνης … ἀρχαίης)'. Dioscorides' miniature history of Greek drama, which is interesting both for its debts to the ancient tradition surrounding classical playwrights and for the light it sheds on contemporary drama, clearly smacks of archaizing sympathies. They drive Dioscorides' selection of authors and his treatment of contemporary dramatists: both Sositheus and Machon are praised for consciously looking back to the masters of the past. My focus is on Sositheus and his 'new' satyr-play. After discussing the relationship that Dioscorides establishes between Sophocles' and Sositheus' satyrs, and reviewing scholarly interpretations of Sositheus' innovations, I will argue that Dioscorides speaks the language of New Music. His epigram celebrates Sositheus as rejecting New Music and its trends, and as composing satyr plays that were musically old fashioned and therefore reactionary.

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[1] *Anth. Pal.* 7.410, 411, 37, 707, 708; nos. 20–4 in the edition by A.S. Gow and D.L. Page, *The Greek Anthology: Hellenistic Epigrams* (Cambridge, 1965). Dioscorides' epigrams are also available in the edition by G. Galán Vioque (Huelva, 2001). Dioscorides' career is dated on the basis of his epitaph for Machon, a playwright approximately contemporary with Callimachus; according to Athenaeus (6.241f), Dioscorides' lines were inscribed on Machon's tomb. Dioscorides is also listed among the poets to whom Meleager dedicates his anthology (*Anth. Pal.* 4.1, 1 GP). On the epigrams that Dioscorides devotes to Greek drama, see M. Fantuzzi, 'Dioscoride e la storia del teatro', in R. Pretagostini et al. (edd.), *La cultura letteraria ellenistica* (Rome, 2007), 105–23, further elaborated in M. Fantuzzi, 'Epigram and the theater', in P. Bing and J.S. Bruss (edd.), *Brill's Companion to Hellenistic Epigram* (Leiden and Boston, 2011), 477–95, at 487–95. All dates are B.C. unless otherwise stated.

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SOPHOCLES AND SOSITHEUS

Conceived as epitaphs, the two epigrams that Dioscorides writes for Sophocles and Sositheus are voiced by two satyrs, two brothers standing by their respective tomb. Here are their texts:[2]

- τύμβος ὅδ' ἔστ', ὤνθρωπε, Σοφοκλέος, ὃν παρὰ Μουσῶν
ἱρὴν παρθεσίην ἱερὸς ὢν ἔλαχον·
ὅς με τὸν ἐκ Φλιοῦντος ἔτι τρίβολον πατέοντα
πρίνινον ἐς χρύσεον σχῆμα μεθηρμόσατο
καὶ λεπτὴν ἐνέδυσεν ἁλουργίδα. τοῦ δὲ θανόντος
εὔθετον ὀρχηστὴν τῇδ' ἀνέπαυσα πόδα.
- ὄλβιος, ὡς ἀγαθὴν ἔλαχες στάσιν. ἡ δ' ἐνὶ χερσί
κούριμος, ἐκ ποίης ἥδε διδασκαλίης;
- εἴτε σοὶ Ἀντιγόνην εἰπεῖν φίλον, οὐκ ἂν ἁμάρτοις,
εἴτε καὶ Ἠλέκτραν· ἀμφότεραι γὰρ ἄκρον.

κἠγὼ Σωσιθέου κομέω νέκυν, ὅσσον ἐν ἄστει
ἄλλος ἀπ' αὐθαίμων ἡμετέρων Σοφοκλῆν,
Σκίρτος ὁ πυρρογένειος· ἐκισσοφόρησε γὰρ ὠνήρ
ἄξια Φλιασίων, ναὶ μὰ χορούς, Σατύρων
κἠμὲ τὸν ἐν καινοῖς τεθραμμένον ἤθεσιν ἤδη
ἤγαγεν εἰς μνήμην πατρίδ' ἀναρχαΐσας,
καὶ πάλιν εἰσώρμησα τὸν ἄρσενα Δωρίδι Μούσῃ
ῥυθμόν, πρός τ' αὐδὴν ἑλκόμενος μεγάλην
†ἑπτά δέ μοι ἐρσων τύπος οὐχερὶ† καινοτομηθεὶς
τῇ φιλοκινδύνῳ φροντίδι Σωσιθέου.

'O man, this is the tomb of Sophocles, which I, a holy servant, received as a holy trust from the Muses. He brought me from Phlius, when I was still tramping the threshing board, turned me, who had been wooden, into a golden figure, and clothed me in a fine purple cloak. When he died, I arrested my nimbly dancing foot here.' 'Lucky you to have gotten such an excellent post! But from which play does the mask of a mourning maiden in your hands come?' 'Whether it pleases you to say Antigone or Electra, you would not be mistaken, for both are supreme.'

And I guard the body of Sositheus, just as in the city another of my brothers guards that of Sophocles, I, Scirtus the red-bearded. For he won the ivy worthy of the satyrs of Phlius, I swear by the dancing-circles! I had already been reared in newfangled ways, but he led me back to my ancestors' memory by bringing me back to old ways. And once again I imposed the masculine rhythm upon the Dorian Muse, drawn to his great voice […….] new creation of Sositheus' adventurous mind.

Dioscorides reduces the history of Greek satyr play to three figures, Pratinas, Sophocles and Sositheus. Pratinas lurks behind the mention of his hometown, Phlius, from which Sophocles reportedly took the satyrs and to which Sositheus reportedly brought them back. The satyr standing by Sophocles' tomb claims that Sophocles 'changed me, who had been wooden, into a golden figure, and clothed me in a fine purple cloak (λεπτὴν … ἁλουργίδα, 5)'. These lines have often been taken at face value, as recording that Sophocles introduced, or was supposed to have introduced, 'a fine purple cloak' as a satyric costume. The supporting evidence, however, is weak. According to the biographic tradition, Sophocles did not introduce new costumes but two accessories, the

[2] *Anth. Pal.* 7.37, 707. I am following the edition by Galán Vioque (n. 1).

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'crooked staff' and the 'white boots'. Nothing associates Sophocles with either the silens wearing a purple or scarlet cloak during the Great Procession in Alexandria described by Callixeinus, or with the 'purple mantle' mentioned by Pollux when describing satyric costume.[3] That Sophocles' satyrs stood out for their sophisticated dance-steps—the satyr's foot is 'nimbly dancing' (εὔθετον ὀρχηστὴν … πόδα, 6)—is just as debatable. The best-known satyr play by Sophocles, *Ichneutai*, which circulated in Hellenistic Alexandria before being preserved, at least in part, by three papyri found in Oxyrhynchus, has one or possibly all the satyrs 'double squatting'. Pollux associates this kind of dance with the *kômos* and qualifies it as 'lewd'. Another fragment from this play features another technical term related to dance, ῥικνοῦσθαι (F 316). Its preserving source, Photius, glosses it as 'to bend over, become crooked by bending one's hip in intercourse or dancing'; according to Pollux, this dance figure consists in a 'vulgar rotation of the hips'.[4]

Dioscorides' picture of Sophocles' refined satyr is indebted to the critical tradition surrounding Sophocles and his tragedies. The satyr, who holds two tragic masks in his hands, Electra and Antigone, speaks like Aristotle. Frozen on his spot, he arrested his foot after Sophocles' death just like, in Aristotle's view of dramatic history, 'after undergoing many changes, tragedy stopped evolving (ἐπαύσατο)', a claim that Aristotle makes right before detailing Aeschylus' and Sophocles' innovations.[5] That Sophocles' *Antigone* and *Electra* are 'supreme' (ἄκρον, 10) also recalls ancient judgements on Sophocles' playwriting that are ultimately based on Sophocles' competitive record in classical Athens.[6] The grammarian Carystius took care to point out that Sophocles 'never came last' (*Vit. Soph.* 8), and other funerary epigrams devoted to Sophocles duly broadcast his extraordinary success. Simias writes that Sophocles was 'often (πολλάκις) crowned by the winding Acharnian ivy, in the orchestra and on the stage'; Erycius urges the 'ivy of the theatre (σκηνίτης … κισσός)' to cover 'forever' Sophocles' tomb as to provide a perpetual wreath for his head.[7] In the epigram reportedly inscribed on Sophocles' tomb, Lobon celebrates Sophocles' entire career as 'taking first prize in the tragic art' (πρωτεῖα λαβόντα | τῇ τραγικῇ τέχνῃ). Note also that Lobon addresses Sophocles as a 'most holy figure' (σχῆμα τὸ σεμνότατον), which recalls the 'golden figure' (χρύσεον σχῆμα, 4) of Dioscorides' satyr.[8]

[3] S. Fortuna, 'Sofocle, Sositeo, il dramma satiresco (Dioscoride, AP VII 37 e 707)', *Aevum(ant)* 6 (1993), 237–49, at 243–4 citing *Vit. Soph.* 6 (where Satyrus and Ister are named as sources), Callixeinus, *FGrHist* 627 F 2 (on which, see also below) and Poll. *Onom.* 4.118. See also Fantuzzi (n. 1 [2007]), especially 117; *contra*, G. Martino, 'Sofocle, gli abiti di porpora, il drama satiresco', *SIFC* 16 (1998), 8–16. On the 'fine' cloak worn by Sophocles' satyr, see also below.

[4] Soph. *Ichneutai* 96 and F 316 with Poll. *Onom.* 4.99; on both passages, see B. Seidensticker, 'Sophocles and satyr drama', in A. Markantonatos (ed.), *Brill's Companion to Sophocles* (Leiden and Boston, 2012), 211–41, at 233. One of the papyri preserving this play, *P.Oxy.* 1174 (late second century A.D.), contains glosses or variant readings attributed mostly to Theon, who is generally identified as the Alexandrian scholar of the first century.

[5] Arist. *Poet*. 1449a14–15. See Fantuzzi (n. 1 [2007]), 112.

[6] Literary sources variously credit Sophocles with a total of 24, 20 or 18 victories, and the epigraphic record attests that he scored 18 victories at the Great Dionysia in Athens. See Suda σ 815, *Vit. Soph.* 8, Diod. Sic. 13.103.4, *IG* II^2 2325.5; Soph. *TrGF* T 2.10, 1.33, 85, DID A 3a 15. On Sophocles' competitive record as a leitmotiv in the ancient tradition, see further S. Nervegna, 'Sophocles the *kōmōidoumenos*: two forgotten comic fragments', *CQ* 66 (2016), 32–45, at 42 with n. 55.

[7] Simias, *Anth. Pal.* 7.21; Erycius, *Anth. Pal.* 7.37. See also the other epigram that Simias writes for Sophocles, *Anth. Pal.* 7.22: here too, the poet invites the ivy to cover Sophocles' tomb.

[8] *Vit. Soph.* 16. Fantuzzi (n. 1 [2007]), 113 rightly notes that the parallel between Lobon and Dioscorides also rules out taking Dioscorides' σχῆμα as 'costume'.

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Dioscorides' familiarity with the critical tradition surrounding classical tragedians is otherwise evident from the epigram that he writes for Aeschylus. A series of parallels indicates that Dioscorides celebrates Aeschylus by resorting to Aristophanes' *Frogs*. Dioscorides claims that Aeschylus 'elevated' (ἐξύψωσεν) tragedy; Aristophanes' chorus calls him 'the first among the Greeks to have built lofty words (πυργώσας ῥήματα σεμνά)'. Behind Dioscorides' Aeschylus as the poet 'who carved letters not finely chiselled' (ὁ μὴ σμιλευτὰ χαράξας γράμματα) lies Aristophanes' Euripides and his polished expressions, 'the shavings from the chisel' (σμιλεύματα). Dioscorides addresses Aeschylus as 'the cleverest mouth' (στόμα πάντων | δεξιόν): he is 'clever' like the poet for whom Dionysus is looking in *Frogs*.[9]

Drawing on the tradition that makes Sophocles embody tragic perfection, Dioscorides gives him a 'golden' satyr that he juxtaposes to Sositheus' satyr. To this effect, he also sets Sophocles' tomb 'in the city' (ἐν ἄστει) (1), that is, in Athens, although for an author active in Egypt 'the city' par excellence is Alexandria.[10] The location of Sophocles' tomb, which is put in the mouth of the satyr standing by Sositheus' tomb, suggests that Sositheus is buried in the country. Note also that the former has a 'nimbly dancing foot' (6), while the latter is called Scirtus, the 'one who leaps' (3).[11] Sophocles' satyr speaks of a 'fine purple cloak' (5), Sositheus' mentions a 'masculine rhythm' (8). The contrast between the two denies the conclusion that Sositheus 'is praised as an imitator of Sophocles'.[12] Rather, both poets are singled out as having brought onto the genre two radically opposite innovations: Sophocles polished the satyrs, Sositheus reversed the process. Sophocles' satyr is as urban as Sositheus' is rustic.

SOSITHEUS AND HIS INNOVATIONS

Despite the little that survives of his works, Sositheus was important enough to receive his own entry in the Suda. His native hometown was a matter of contention—the Suda names three cities, Syracuse, Athens or 'most probably' Alexandria Troas—but he was clearly active in Alexandria. Along with Alexander Aetolus and Lycophron of Chalcis, among others, Sositheus belonged to the Pleiad, the circle of tragedians active at the court of Ptolemy Philadelphus II, king of Egypt from 283 to 246. Only one of his plays can be reasonably reconstructed at least in its major lines, *Daphnis* or *Lityerses*,

[9] *Anth. Pal.* 7.410.3, 3–4, 5–6; Ar. *Ran*. 1004, 819, 68; see also Fantuzzi (n. 1 [2007]), 109 and further below. Dioscorides' final address to Aeschylus as 'one of the ancient heroes' may also look back to Aristophanes' comparison of Aeschylus to legendary figures such as Orpheus and Musaeus (*Ran.* 1021–2).

[10] *Vit. Soph.* 15 records that Sophocles was buried 'in the paternal tomb that lies along the road to Decelea', adding that the burial monument was decorated with a siren or a bronze swallow.

[11] Scirtus is variously attested as indicating a category of members of Dionysus' entourage (Cornutus, *ND* 30, 59.8 Lang) and as a proper name (Nonnus, *Dion*. 14.111). Note also the epigram inscribed on the statue of a satyr called Scirtus who claims his connection with Pratinas, first published by H. Müller, 'Ein neues hellenistisches Weihepigramm aus Pergamon', *Chiron* 19 (1989), 499–553. On this epigram, dated to 250–220, see further P. Cipolla, 'Due testimonia relative a Pratina di Fliunte (Dioscorides, *Anth. Pal*. 7.707; Pap. Petrie 2.49 (B) 20–24)', in P. Mureddu et al. (edd.), *Tragico e comico nel dramma attico e oltre* (Amsterdam, 2009), 51–75, at 58.

[12] J. Klooster, *Poetry as Window and Mirror: Positioning the Poet in Hellenistic Poetry* (Leiden and Boston, 2011), 152.

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which is generally considered to be a satyr play rather than a tragedy.[13] The scholiast to Theocritus' *Idylls* records that Sositheus dealt with the love-story between Daphnis and a nymph, Thalia, and other sources provide what are likely to be the details of the play. Daphnis' sweetheart was held captive at the court of the Phrygian king Lityerses, who forced all strangers into a reaping contest only to defeat and eventually kill them. In a twist of fortunes comparable to that of Euripides' *Alcestis*, Heracles came around, defeated Lityerses and restored the nymph to Daphnis.[14] We hear of two additional plays by Sositheus: *Crotus*, from which Stobaeus cites a few, unrevealing lines, and the so-called Cleanthes-drama mentioned by Diogenes Laertius in his biography of Cleanthes, the head of the Stoic school from 263 to 232. Diogenes Laertius relates Cleanthes' reaction to this play as it was being staged in the theatre: 'when Sositheus uttered the line, "those whom Cleanthes' folly drives off like oxen", Cleanthes remained unmoved.' The audience drove Sositheus off the stage and applauded the philosopher, who later accepted Sositheus' apology 'for his insult' (ἐπὶ τῇ λοιδορίᾳ, Diog. Laert. 7.173). As featuring personal abuse, Sositheus' Cleanthes-drama is rightly considered alongside two later satyr plays including similar attacks, Python's *Agen*, which mocked Alexander's treasurer Harpalus, and Lycophron's *Menedemus*, which made fun of the philosopher that names the play.[15]

Why exactly did Sositheus' satyr play stand out as to deserve Dioscorides' praise? The interpretation that has gained most favour has Sositheus react to the 'evolution' of the satyr play, and specifically to its assimilation of the motifs typical of Old Comedy. It downplays the evidence provided by the Cleanthes-drama by claiming that Sositheus 'was actually much more famous for a different kind of drama', and therefore assumes that Dioscorides chose to celebrate only a specific portion of Sositheus' production.[16] This line of argument is also often combined with what we know about Sositheus' *Daphnis* or *Lityerses* and its rural setting, which is assumedly in contrast with the 'urbanized' satyrs of later satyr play. It is unclear to me whether post-classical satyr drama distinctively moved away from the wilderness of its earlier counterpart, but it is misleading to draw into this picture the silens dressed in purple or scarlet cloaks that follow the satyrs during the Great Procession in honour of Dionysus at the festival of the Ptolemaia in Alexandria. Since they are taking part in a procession and not in a theatrical performance, they have nothing to tell us about contemporary satyr play or satyr play in general.[17]

[13] Sositheus, *Daphnis* or *Lityerses*, *TrGF* F 1a–3. The fragments of Sositheus' *Daphnis* or *Lityerses* are included in all major works on the satyr play: R. Krumeich, N. Pechstein and B. Seidensticker, *Das griechische Satyrspiel* (Darmstadt, 1999), 602–13; P. Cipolla, *Poeti minori del dramma satiresco, testo critico, traduzione e commento* (Amsterdam, 2003), 398–406; and P. O'Sullivan and C. Collard, *Euripides:* Cyclops *and Major Fragments of Greek Satyric Drama* (Oxford, 2013), 458–61. For *Daphnis* or *Lityerses* as a tragedy, see G. Xanthakis-Karamanos, 'The *Daphnis* or *Lityerses* of Sositheus', *AC* 63 (1994), 237–50.

[14] Schol. Theoc. *Id.* 8 Arg. b and 93 a Wendel; the sources likely relating the play are Serv. *ad* Verg. *Ecl.* 8.68 and schol. Theoc. *Id.* 10.41e.

[15] Python *TrGF* F 1 and Lycophron *TrGF* F 2–4. On both plays, see most recently O'Sullivan and Collard (n. 13), 448–55 and 462–7.

[16] C.A. Shaw, *Satyric Play: The Evolution of Greek Comedy and Satyr Drama* (Oxford, 2014), 139–40. See also A.T. Cozzoli, 'Sositeo e il nuovo dramma satiresco', in A. Martina (ed.), *Teatro greco postclassico e teatro latino: teorie e prassi drammatica* (Rome, 2003), 265–91, at 290, who speaks of 'two different strands' in Sositheus' production, and T. Günther in Krumeich et al. (n. 13), 616, who suggests that Sositheus' Cleanthes-drama belongs to the earlier stage of Sositheus' dramatic activity.

[17] Callixeinus, *FGrHist* 627 F 2, cited by Cozzoli (n. 16), 290. On Callixeinus' description of this procession and its historical context, see further E.E. Rice, *The Grand Procession of Ptolemy Philadelphus* (Oxford, 1983), who dates it to between 279 and 275.

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The obvious starting point to reconstruct Sositheus' 'new' satyr play is Dioscorides' text. Despite the regrettable loss of the beginning of the second last line,[18] the satyr who stands by Sositheus' tomb makes two key points. First, he claims that, by the time of Sositheus, he 'had already been reared in newfangled ways (ἐν καινοῖς … ἤθεσιν)' (5). Then, he tells us how Sositheus 'brought [him] back to old ways (ἀναρχαΐσας)': 'once again (πάλιν), I imposed the masculine rhythm (τὸν ἄρσενα ῥυθμόν) upon the Doric Muse' (6–8). The 'masculine rhythm' reacts against the 'newfangled ways' that, according to the satyr, mark earlier satyr plays, and both of them open a window on the musical trends of later satyr play in general and of Sositheus' satyr play in particular. Webster already noted that Dioscorides is here referring to the musical element of Sositheus' satyr plays,[19] but these lines have never been read against what we know about the so-called New Music, a style of musical performance that came to the forefront between 430 and 380. New Music was characterized, among other things, by the rejection of traditional metres and rhythmic patterns such as strophic responsion: it experimented with rhythms and melodies, paralleled the growth of technical specialization and was key to the rise of aulos-players as star performers.[20] Associated with figures such as Timotheus, Melanippides, Euripides and Agathon, New Music found its earliest expressions in the dithyramb and left traces in extant tragedy and comedy. Popular with audiences and rejected by generations of ancient critics, it was consistently singled out as both novel and feminine.

DIOSCORIDES AND THE LANGUAGE OF NEW MUSIC

New Music is a modern but not inappropriate name for a trend that made 'new' one of its buzzwords.[21] The practitioners of New Music repeatedly styled themselves as innovators, self-consciously advertised their innovations and defiantly paraded their songs as unconventional. In his most famous work, *Persians*, Timotheus confronts his detractors, the Spartan critics, and uses their attacks to proclaim his poetics: the Spartans reproach Timotheus for dishonouring 'the Old Muse' with his 'new hymns' (νέοις ὕμνοις). Elsewhere, he gives us the most radical manifesto for New Musicians' claims to novelty: 'I do not sing the ancient songs for my newfangled ones (καινὰ … ἀμά) are better […] Let the Muse of old go away!'[22] Note here Timotheus' use of the adjective καινός to qualify his song: unlike νέος, which generally implies 'newness in time', καινός stands for 'newness in kind'.[23] Timotheus styles his

[18] For a possible reconstruction of the corrupted text, see Cipolla (n. 11), 56–9.

[19] T.B.L. Webster, 'Alexandrian epigrams and the theatre', in *Miscellanea di studi alessandrini in memoria di Augusto Rostagni* (Turin, 1963), 531–43, at 535: 'the reference must be to song, dance and music of the chorus in Sositheus' satyr plays'. See also Fortuna (n. 3), 241.

[20] New Music has been the subject of much recent work. See in particular E. Csapo, 'Later Euripidean music', *ICS* 24 (1999–2000), 399–426 and 'The politics of the New Music', in P. Murray and P.J. Wilson (edd.), *Music and the Muses: The Culture of Mousikê in the Classical Athenian City* (Oxford, 2004), 207–48; A. D'Angour, 'The "New Music": so what's new?', in S. Goldhill and R. Osborne (edd.), *Rethinking Revolutions through Ancient Greece* (Cambridge, 2006), 264–83 and *The Greeks and the New: Novelty in Ancient Greek Imagination and Experience* (Cambridge, 2011), especially ch. 8; P.A. LeVen, *Many-Headed Muse* (Cambridge, 2014).

[21] For the way in which the ancients referred to New Music, see further below.

[22] Timoth. *PMG* 791.211–13 (see also 202–3), 796. See further LeVen (n. 20), especially 93–4, 89.

[23] See D' Angour (n. 20 [2011]), especially 23.

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songs not as 'the latest' but as 'newfangled'. Euripides, who pioneered rather than simply embraced New Music, provides another example. Calling upon the Muse, which is in itself unparalleled in tragedy, the chorus of *Trojan Women* solicits 'a funeral dirge of newfangled hymns (καινῶν ὕμνων)', a rare example of a metapoetic statement in tragedy.[24] Aristophanes, who adopted New Musical practices while making fun of its practitioners, brings onto the stage Cinesias singing highfaluting verses and barely gives him the time to announce why he is visiting the new city of 'Cloudcuckooland': 'with fearless mind and body, in pursuit of a new path (νέαν ἐφέπων) …'. Although constantly interrupted by an impatient Peisetaerus, Cinesias sings about being a bird, soaring high and fetching 'newfangled preludes' (καινὰς … ἀναβολάς).[25]

What made New Musicians' compositions innovative was, among other things, their variegated, complex and intricate quality—*poikilia*, in a word. This is the term that New Musicians use, or refer to, when describing their poetic activities: the lyre played by Orpheus, whom Timotheus proclaims to be his ancestor, is 'of dappled music' (ποικιλόμουσον); for Telestes, the art of aulos-playing is 'quick-fluttering' (αἰολοπτέρυγον) and 'of quick-moving forms' (αἰολομόρφοις). Drawn from the world of nature and craft, the word *poikilia* 'was always mutable, used to describe whatever aspect of his artificiality a poet (or his critic) wished to call attention to, be it diction, metre, melody, or accompaniment'.[26] Like novelty, *poikilia* was a 'critical term' that New Musicians provided to their own critics: drawing from New Musicians' self-presentation, generations of ancient writers turned their own words against them.[27] Pseudo-Plutarch's *On Music*, a work that systematically draws on earlier authors, probably best exemplifies this point (1135C): 'Crexus, Timotheus and Philoxenus, and other poets of the same period, displayed more vulgarity and a thirst for novelty (φορτικώτεροι καὶ φιλόκαινοι), and pursued the popular and what is now called the "commercial" style. The result was that music limited to a few strings, simple and dignified in character (ὀλιγοχορδίαν τε καὶ τὴν ἁπλότητα καὶ σεμνότητα), went quite out of fashion.' Pseudo-Plutarch and his sources belong to the well-established tradition that presents New Music as a regrettable break in the 'good old music' and the ultimate responsible for the demise of music in general. Aristotle talks of a musical revolution brought about by the 'base spectator', and, before him, Plato elaborated on the good music of bygone times. In what is the *locus classicus* for the decline of music in the classical period, Plato speaks of a time when music was divided into classes and styles, with fixed and distinct genres all properly classified and used. It was only later that ignorant poets started mixing them, catering to the taste of equally ignorant audiences.[28]

[24] Eur. *Tro.* 511–13, on which see L. Battezzato, 'The New Music of the *Trojan Women*', *Lexis* 23 (2005), 73–104 and D. Sansone, 'Euripides' new song: the first stasimon of *Trojan Women*', in J.C.R. Cousland and J. Hume (edd.), *The Play of Texts and Fragments* (Leiden and Boston, 2009), 193–204. For Euripides as a pioneer of New Music, see Csapo (n. 20 [1999–2000]).

[25] Ar. *Av.* 1376, 1384–5. On comedy and New Music, see in general B. Zimmermann, 'Comedy's criticism of music', in N.W. Slater and B. Zimmermann (edd.), *Intertextualität in der griechisch-römischen Komödie* (Stuttgart, 1993), 39–50.

[26] Timoth. *PMG* 791.221, Telestes *PMG* 805c.2, 806.3. The quotation is from J.C. Franklin, 'Songbenders of circular choruses', in P.J. Wilson and B. Kowalzig (edd.), *Dithyramb in Context* (Oxford, 2013), 213–36, at 216. On *poikilia*, see also LeVen (n. 20), 101–5.

[27] LeVen (n. 20), 102.

[28] Arist. *Pol.* 1341b; Pl. *Leg.* 700a–701a. Plato mingles musical and legal terminology, and this practice was also echoed by later sources; see E. Rocconi, 'The music of the laws and the laws of music', *Greek and Roman Musical Studies* 4 (2016), 71–89.

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New Music's novelty, or otherness, was also expressed in gendered terms. The best example is Aristophanes' Agathon in *Thesmophoriazusae*. Agathon walks onto the stage with a white beardless mask, dressed in women's clothes and with no visible stage phallus. Aristophanes has Agathon explain his effeminate appearances, which are mocked by In-law, in apparently contradictory terms: first, he dwells on the kind of poetry that he is composing and later he mentions a direct link between poetry and a poet's character.[29] Agathon's languid body is a visible and tangible expression of his topic and style, and his 'softness', which was grist to the mill of comedy, became a staple in the way in which later authors describe him.[30] Ancient sources agree in labelling New Music 'of effeminate character' or 'of more effeminate character'; Aristoxenus wished to reverse the process by 'trying to make masculine (ἀναρρωννύναι) the female music (θηλυνομένην … τὴν μουσικήν)' of his day.[31] New Music's gendered connotations have a firm ideological basis in what is generally called the 'ethos theory of music' and is often attached to the name of Damon, one of Pericles' advisers. According to this theory, music impacts and shapes the character of its listeners: having different characters, virtues and vices, different modes variously influence the human soul. This belief also led to the development of theoretical principles explaining the psychagogic and therefore educational and civic power of music.[32]

In Damon's view, the gender of modes is determined by the gender of the notes that they contain, male or female, that is lower or higher. Ancient sources name several different modes, but repeatedly brand only one as manly, the Dorian.[33] For Plato, this is 'the only Greek mode', appropriate for 'a brave man' facing the battlefield and all kinds of hardships. Plato is quick to reject a number of modes, 'the dirge-like modes', as 'useless even to respectable women, let alone men'. Aristotle gives us what was the current opinion on the Dorian mode, 'all agree that the Dorian mode is the most steadfast and that it has an especially manly character (ἦθος ἀνδρεῖον)'.[34] Heraclides Ponticus, who comments on both the 'manliness (τὸ ἀνδρῶδες) and magnificence' of this mode, adds that it is 'neither elaborate nor complex' (οὔτε δὲ ποικίλον οὔτε πολύτροπον). Another critic of New Music, Aristoxenus, favourably lists Pindar and Bacchylides, among others, as practitioners of the old style of Dorian music.[35]

[29] Ar. *Thesm*. 191, 136–8, 142 (Agathon's costume); 97–8, 134–45 (In-law's mockery); 149–56, 159–67 (Agathon's explanations of his dressing style and behaviour). See further G. Compton-Engle, *Costume in the Comedies of Aristophanes* (Cambridge, 2015), 95–6 on Agathon's costume and G. Paduano, 'Lo stile e l'uomo: Aristofane e Aristotele', *SCO* 46 (1996), 93–101, at 97, on Agathon's elaborations on poetry and poets.

[30] Several ancient sources gloss Ar. *Gerytades* F 178, 'Agathonian piping' (Ἀγαθώνειον αὔλησιν), as an accusation of μαλακία made against Agathon in the play. For Agathon as a byword for effeminacy in later works, see Lucian, *Rhetorum Praeceptor* 11.

[31] *On Tragedy* §5, p. 28.39 Perusino, *Suda* τ 620, Aristox. F 70 W.

[32] On Damon's role in the conception and promotion of the ethos theory of music, see most recently R.W. Wallace, *Reconstructing Damon: Music, Wisdom Teaching, and Politics in Perikles' Athens* (Oxford, 2015). The ethos theory of music was very popular yet not uncontroversial. Aristotle suggests the existence of opposite views, and a diatribe partially preserved on a papyrus attacks its core beliefs (Arist. *Pol.* 1339a41–2, 1340a5–6, *P.Hibeh* 13, probably fourth century).

[33] Aristid. Quint. *De Musica* 2.14 (pp. 80–1, 25–33 Winnington-Ingram) with M.L. West, *Ancient Greek Music* (Oxford, 1992), 247 with n. 81. For musical modes and their categorization in antiquity, see West (this note), 177–89.

[34] Pl. *La*.188d; *Resp*. 399a, 398d; Arist. *Pol*. 1342b.

[35] Ath. *Deipn.* 14.624c, Aristox. F 82 W, on which see D. Fearn, *Bacchylides. Politics, Performance, Poetic Tradition* (Oxford, 2007), 194.

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Associated with manliness and simplicity, this mode contrasts with New Musical practice.

A reference to this mode probably lies behind Dioscorides' 'Dorian Muse'. Rather than simply standing for 'drama' or 'satyr play' more specifically, this expression may be musically and ideologically charged. It serves to paint Sositheus' musical reform in strong terms. The 'Dorian Muse' to whom Sositheus' satyr injects 'once again a masculine rhythm' is already the domain of manliness. In a process that smacks of both eagerness and force (the rare verb εἰσορμάω conveys both senses), Sositheus' satyr seems to achieve the impossible. Scholarly discussions of Dioscorides' epigram routinely note that Dioscorides' 'Dorian Muse' finds a parallel in the Pratinas fragment preserved by Athenaeus. Athenaeus, who defines this text a *hyporchēma*, records it after three fragments by Melanippides and Telestes, and dates it to 'when hireling aulos-players and choruses were taking over the dancing-places'.[36] This composition is a virulent attack delivered by a chorus who vindicates the priority of their song, 'the tune dapple-winged (ποικιλόπτερον μέλος) like a swan', over the aulos and the aulos player, 'the one who blows likes a dappled toad (φρυνεοῦ ποικίλου)'. The chorus reclaims Dionysus for themselves and gets ready to perform: 'listen to my Dorian sung-dance (Δώριον χορείαν)!' Dioscorides may be celebrating Sositheus as a Hellenistic Pratinas by recalling a line by Pratinas, or, most likely, a line that he thought to be by Pratinas. The author, date and even the genre of this fragment are all controversial, but what is relevant to my argument about Sositheus' musical innovations is that Pratinas' fragment, too, has been placed within the debate surrounding New Music. The metrical and linguistic features of this song, along with its subject-matter, point to the late fifth century and make this text a pastiche of conservative views on musical practices.[37]

NEW MUSIC, HELLENISTIC POETS AND THE SATYRS

Dioscorides' epigrams engage with both contemporary views on poetry and contemporary theatrical practice. As noted above, Dioscorides celebrates Aeschylus and his grandeur by borrowing lines and images from Aristophanes' *Frogs*. His literary landscape makes no room for Euripides, yet Dioscorides describes Sophocles by recalling, once again, Aristophanes' *Frogs* and specifically Aristophanes' treatment of Euripides. Sophocles' satyr wears a 'purple cloak' which is 'fine' (λεπτὴν … ἁλουργίδα, 5). This is the same term that Aristophanes applies to Euripides in *Frogs*: the chorus

[36] Ath. *Deipn.* 14.616e–617f, citing Melanippides *PMG* 758, Telestes *PMG* 805a–c, 806 and Pratinas *PMG* 708. For Pratinas' fragment in scholarly discussions of Dioscorides' lines, see Cipolla (n. 13), 61 and (n. 11), 54–5; Fantuzzi (n. 1 [2007]), 115.

[37] See especially B. Zimmermann, 'Überlegungen zum sogenannten Pratinasfragment', *MH* 43 (1986), 145–54 and 'Gattungsmischung, Manierismus, Archaismus. Tendenzen des griechischen Dramas und Dithyrambos am Ende des 5. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.', *Lexis* 13 (1989), 25–36, at 29–30; Csapo (n. 20 [2004]), 243; Franklin (n. 26), 216. See also G.B. D'Alessio, 'ἦν ἰδού: ecce satyri (Pratina, 708 *PMG* = 4 F 3 *TrGF*)', in F. Perusino and M. Colantonio (edd.), *Dalla lirica corale alla poesia drammatica* (Pisa, 2007), 95–128, at 118 and n. 53, who suggests that *PMG* 708 might be a late fifth-century pseudepigraphic piece ascribed to the sixth-century Pratinas. For an earlier dating of this fragment, see R. Seaford, 'The 'hyporchema' of Pratinas', *Maia* 29–30 (1977–8), 81–99; Cipolla (n. 13) and P.A. LeVen, 'New Music and its myths: Athenaeus' reading of the aulos revolution', *JHS* 140 (2010), 35–47.

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foresees that Euripides 'will refine away by talk' (καταλεπτολογήσει) Aeschylus' poetry, and Euripides boasts to have put tragedy on a diet.[38] Aristophanes' dichotomy between 'fat' and 'thin' was to play a significant role in Hellenistic poetic and rhetorical theory; to the Alexandrians, λεπτός was a 'word of programmatic significance'.[39] In the *Aetia* prologue, Callimachus has Apollo instruct the incipient poet to 'keep the Muse slender (λεπταλέην)': Aristophanes decided for the old-fashioned Aeschylus, but Callimachus goes for the modern by aligning himself with Euripides (whom Aristophanes does treat as a New Musician).[40] Callimachus gestures again to Euripides later on: his wish for a rejuvenating process for both himself and his poetry recalls the second stasimon of Euripides' *Heracles*, an ode that reconciles Apollo and Dionysus. Prauscello places this passage within a larger discussion of Callimachus' reception of New Music; Acosta-Hughes and Stephens further explore the points of contact between Callimachus' poetry and New Musical features emphasizing, above all, *polyeideia* and mimetic practice.[41] Lycophron's *Alexandra*, too, offers interesting material for the survival of New Music in Hellenistic poetry: the practice of 'blending' disparate images that marks New Musical compositions accounts for much of Lycophron's complex and sophisticated imagery.[42] By celebrating a poet who rejects New Music, Dioscorides runs counter to the favourable reception of New Music that I have been tracing. By selecting Sositheus as worthy of praise and by celebrating the grandeur of Aeschylus' poetry, Dioscorides sets himself against Callimachus' view on poetry.

Dioscorides' epigram for Sositheus is not an isolated source for the reception of New Music in the satyr play. What modern scholars call New Music was known as 'theatre music' (σκηνική or θεατρική) in antiquity; it affected all theatrical genres.[43] The two best-preserved satyr plays by Sophocles, *Inachus* and *Ichneutai*, can be read as variously responding to New Music and its trends. *Inachus* apparently staged a contest between a singing Argus and Hermes who played the syrinx, or most likely just pretended to play the syrinx while a virtuoso aulos-player provided the sound. In *Ichneutai*, Hermes discovers the lyre and plays it for the first time, captivating and confounding the satyrs. The modern musical style, the new *kitharôidia* and its virtuoso performers that fascinated contemporary audiences may all provide the subtext of this scene.[44] The

[38] Ar. *Ran*. 828–9, 940–2; see also 1108, 1111 with S. Halliwell, *Between Ecstasy and Truth: Interpretations of Greek Poetics from Homer to Longinus* (Oxford, 2011), 132.

[39] N. O'Sullivan, *Alcidamas, Aristophanes, and the Beginnings of Greek Stylistic Theory* (Stuttgart, 1992), 137.

[40] Callim. *Aet.* F 1.24 Harder. On Aristophanes and Callimachus, see further A. Cameron, *Callimachus and his Critics* (Princeton, 1995), 330–1.

[41] Callim. *Aet.* F 1.35–8 Pf., Eur. *HF* 636–700. See L. Prauscello, 'Digging up the musical past: Callimachus and the New Music', in B. Acosta-Hughes, L. Lehnus and S. Stephens (edd.), *Brill's Companion to Callimachus* (Leiden and Boston, 2011), 287–305, at 303–5; B. Acosta-Hughes and S.A. Stephens, *Callimachus in Context: from Plato to the Augustan Poets* (Cambridge, 2012), especially 98. But see also Callim. fr. 604 Pf. (νόθαι δ' ἤνθησαν οἰδαί), which Fearn (n. 35), 212 links to New Musical dithyrambs.

[42] C. McNelis and A. Sens, *The* Alexandra *of Lycophron: A Literary Study* (Oxford, 2016), especially 16–17; for New Music and 'blending', see F. Budelmann and P.A. LeVen, 'Timotheus' poetics of blending: a cognitive approach to the language of the New Music', *CPh* 109 (2014), 191–210.

[43] See, for instance, Arist. *Pol*. 1342a18 and Plut. [*De Mus.*] 1140D–F, 1142D. See further Csapo (n. 20 [2004]), 207–8.

[44] Soph. *Inachus* F 281a (singing Argus), F 269c.7 ('I hear the syrinx', see also F 269c.21); *Ichneutai* 243–337. For both plays as engaging with contemporary musical novelties, see T. Power, 'The power of music: the lyric Sophocles', in Markantonatos (n. 4), 283–304, at 297–8, 300–3.

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satyr play adopted, evoked and even debated New Musical trends. This is suggested by a fragment that Athenaeus cites as belonging to the satyr play *Heracles* (ἐν Ἡρακλεῖ σατυρικῷ) by one of the stars of fourth-century theatre, Astydamas:[45]

> ἀλλ' ὥσπερ δείπνου γλαφυροῦ ποικίλην εὐωχίαν
> τὸν ποιητὴν δεῖ παρέχειν τοῖς θεαταῖς τὸν σοφόν,
> ἵν' ἀπίῃ τις τοῦτο φαγὼν καὶ πιών, ὅπερ λαβὼν
> χαίρει <τις>, καὶ σκευασία μὴ μί' ᾖ τῆς μουσικῆς.

A clever poet should provide his audience with a variegated feast that resembles an elegant dinner, so everyone eats and drinks whatever he likes before he leaves, and the musical dressing is not a single one.

Written in a metre typically found in the parabasis of Old Comedy, the Eupolidean, these lines are routinely quoted as an example of metatheatricality in the satyr play and as evidence for the inclusion of comic elements in the later satyr play.[46] That this fragment is specifically about music, however, is rarely noted.[47] The speaking character, which the metre suggests to be the chorus, comments on the musical features marking the work of a 'clever poet': rather than being monotonous, they should be as complex as a 'variegated feast' (ποικίλην εὐωχίαν). By favouring *poikilia* in musical matters, Astydamas' satyrs are taking a position in the debate surrounding New Music. Here too, Plato provides an apt response, which is, of course, a conservative one: in a passage that mingles food and music, he rejects variety in both of them. After likening foods—the 'Syracusan table', the 'Sicilian variety of relish' and 'Attic pastries'—to 'music made in the panharmonic mode and in all kinds of rhythms (ἐν τῷ παναρμονίῳ καὶ ἐν πᾶσι ῥυθμοῖς)', Plato's Socrates blames *poikilia* for corrupting souls by engendering licentiousness and for ruining bodies by engendering disease.[48]

New Music and the works of its classical pioneers continued to entertain audiences well after the heyday of the New Musical revolution. In a fragment dated to the late fourth or early third century, Aristoxenus refers to New Music as 'popular', blaming it on the barbarization of theatre.[49] Polybius, who writes in the second century, claims that his compatriots learned by heart the *nomoi* of both Timotheus and Philoxenus during their childhood. In 170, Cretan cities honoured a foreign ambassador who, to the delight of his hosts, performed Timotheus in the theatre, 'as befits a cultivated man'.[50] Finally, at least some of the Euripidean tragedies most heavily characterized by New Musical trends can also be traced on later stages; *Orestes* and *Trojan*

[45] Ath. *Deipn.* 10.411a; Astydamas II *TrGF* F 4.

[46] See, among others, S. Kauppinen, M. Kaimio et al., 'Metatheatricality in the Greek satyr-play', *Arctos* 35 (2001), 35–78, at 59–60; Shaw (n. 16), 133–4; and P. Cipolla, 'Sugli anapesti di Trag. Adesp. F 646a Sn.–K.', *Lexis* 29 (2011), 131–72, at 154–6.

[47] A. Barbieri, 'In margine ad Astydam. fr. 4 Sn.–K.', *Eikasmos* 13 (2002), 121–32 is a noteworthy exception; see also Cipolla (n. 46), 156. As Barbieri (this note), 132 observes, modern translations of this passage misleadingly render the 'music' of the Greek text with 'entertainment' or 'spectacle'.

[48] Pl. *Resp.* 404d–e (see especially 404e3–4: ἐκεῖ μὲν ἀκολασίαν ἡ ποικιλία ἐνέτικτεν, ἐνταῦθα δὲ νόσον) cited by Barbieri (n. 47), 131.

[49] Aristox. F 124 W (ἡ πάνδημος … μουσική) with A. Meriani, 'La festa greca dei Poseidoniati e la nuova musica, Aristox. fr. 124 Wehrli', *Seminari Romani di Cultura Greca* 3 (2000), 143–63 for its context and date.

[50] Polyb. 4.20, 8–12; *I.Cret*. I 66, no. 11, lines 10–11. See E. Csapo and P.J. Wilson, 'Timotheus the New Musician', in F. Budelmann (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Greek Lyric* (Cambridge, 2009), 277–93, at 279.

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Women, for instance, provided virtuoso actors with attractive roles that continued to draw public audiences.[51] New Music's continued appeal across time and place may explain why Dioscorides refers to 'Sositheus' risk-taking (φιλοκινδύνῳ) mind'. Sositheus' newly refashioned satyr play ran against what was still a very popular trend.

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[51] *IG* II^2 2318, 201–3; Hypoth. Eur. *Or.* II 42 (*Orestes*); Plut. *Pel.* 29.5 (*Trojan Women*). For theatrical re-performances of Euripides' plays in the Hellenistic period, see further S. Nervegna, 'Performing classics: the tragic canon in the fourth century and beyond', in E. Csapo et al. (edd.), *Greek Theatre in the Fourth Century B.C.* (Berlin, 2014), 157–87, especially 161–3, 177–8.

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