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ARISTOPHANES: MAKER OF SERIOUS HYMNIC POETRY?*

Summary: For pious hymns one would perhaps not in the first place look in Aristophanes' comedies. Actually, almost all of them contain hymns: poems which – even because they are more detached from the dramatic action than hymns in tragedy – reveal to us precious features of the poetical tradition in Greek worship. This is shown by a reading of four hymns in *Thesmophoriazousai*: 103–129 (addressed to Apollo & Artemis), 312–331 (to all gods), 947–1000 (to Apollo & Artemis, Hera, Hermes & Pan & Nymphs, Dionysos) and 1136–1159 (to Athena, Demeter & Kore).

Key words: Aristophanes, hymn, *Thesmophoriazousai*.

My theme of today is in some way related to our deceased friend and colleague. When he had invited me for the first time (in 1995) to come and teach at the ELTE for one full week, it was to lecture about *Greek hymnic poetry*. He was present at these lectures and showed a strong personal interest in this subject-matter. Since that time William Furley and I have continued our work on Greek Hymns; today I present to you some results from this work-in-progress,[1] deeply regretting that István is no longer among us to join in the discussion.

An average classicist, if asked to give the names of some Greek poets who had composed cult songs to the gods, hymns of real religiosity and poetic power, she or he might mention Pindar, Aeschylus, Callimachus; perhaps he would also think of

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[1] Previous papers which show partial results of our research in which prepares Greek Hymns, an edition of Greek cultic poetry, are the following:

J. M. BREMER, Greek Hymns. In: *Faith, Hope and Worship*. Ed. by H. VERSNEL. Leiden 1981, 193–215;

W. D. FURLEY, Types of Greek Hymns: *Eos* 81 (1993), 21–41;

J. M. BREMER, Menander Rhetor on Hymns. In: *Greek Literary Theory after Aristotle*. Ed. by J. ABBENES, S. R. SLINGS and I. SLUITER. Amsterdam 1995, 259–275;

W. D. FURLEY, Praise and Persuasion in Greek Hymns. *JHS* 115 (1995), 29–46;

J. M. BREMER, The Reciprocity of Giving and Thanksgiving in Greek Worship. In: *Reciprocity in Ancient Greece*. Ed. by C. GILL e.a. Oxford 1998, 127–137;

J. M. BREMER, Greek Cultic Poetry, some ideas behind a forthcoming edition. *Mnemosyne* 51 (1998), 513–524.

A longer version of the paper presented here will appear as chapter 11 of *Greek Hymns*, Mohr Siebeck, Tübingen 2001.

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Cleanthes with his impressive Zeus-hymn. Aristophanes would certainly not be his first choice. Don't we all know that Aristophanes is a comic poet, famous for his outspoken critical and irreverent attitude? In his comedies he pokes fun at powerful politicians like Perikles or Kleon, and in the same way he seems to show little or no reverence for the gods: does he not present in his *Frogs* the god Dionysos as a coward, even to such a degree that when the Doorkeeper of the Underworld appears at the door and addresses him severely, Aristophanes makes the god actually shit in his pants, and admit it (ἐγκέχοδα 479)? In the *Birds*, the comic hero Peisetairos tells the birds that it is in their power to prevent the gods from walking through the countryside with their divine erections (διὰ τὰς χώρας τῆς ὑμετέρας ἐστυκόσι μὴ διαφοιτᾶν 557) and from seducing mortal women like Alkmene, Alope and Semele. If they manage to break through the blockade, the birds are advised to arrest them and to seal their genital organs in order to prevent them from any more indulging in further intercourse (ἐπιβάλλειν σφραγῖδ' αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τὴν ψωλήν, ἵνα μὴ βινῶσ' ἔτ' ἐκείνας 560). If this is not irreverence towards the gods, what is?

Even so, it is important to realize that the poet Aristophanes shared the traditional religious feelings of his fellow-Athenians. His eleven comedies contain no less than sixteen songs which can be qualified as hymns, serious cult songs. They are the following:

Acharn.	263–279 to Phales
Knights	551–564 to Poseidon
	582–594 to Athena
Clouds	563–574 to Zeus, Poseidon, Aither, Helios
	595–606 to Apollo, Artemis, Athena, Dionysos
Peace	974–998 to Eirene
Birds	737–751 & 769–784 to the Muse
Lysistr.	1246–1272 & 1279–1290 to Artemis Agrotera
Thesmo.	103–129 to Apollo, Artemis, Leto
	312–331 to Zeus, Apollo & Artemis, Athena & Poseidon, Nereids & Nymphs
	947–1000 to Apollo & Artemis, to Hera, Hermes & Pan & Nymphs, Dionysos
	1136–1159 to Athena, Demeter and Kore
Frogs	323–353 to Iakchos
	372–382 to Kore (?)
	385–393 to Demeter
	397–413 to Iakchos again.

His two last plays (*Eccles., Wealth)* do not contain any hymns at all; but then in these plays choral song has already been reduced to almost nothing.[2] I shall first

[2] Nor is there any hymnic song in the *Wasps.* I venture to suggest that this is because this comedy has no concern with the polis as a whole, but presents a domestic battle, a generation conflict between an utterly reactionary father and his much more sensible, 'progressive' son (of course within the framework of the Athenian judiciary). In all other plays the interest or even the survival of the community is at stake,

point at some general features of Aristophanes' hymns, then focus on the play with the greatest concentration of hymns, *Thesmophoriazousai,* and look in some detail at two of them.

I. Eduard Fraenkel, one of the great experts on Greek poetry, was the first to give systematic attention to the hymnic songs in Aristophanes.[3] Concentrating on the specifically metrical and musical qualities of these songs, he observes that in the earliest comedies like the *Knights* and *Clouds* they are found in the *parabaseis*, after the so-called '*anapaistoi*': a couple of two songs separated by a trochaic epirrhema and followed by one. Fraenkel suggests that this way may go back to the period before Aristophanes when Attic comedy started with a *parabasis* (self-presentation of the poet and his chorus), followed by official hymns to the gods.[4] He is convinced that precisely in their relative simplicity they reveal to us what must have been the quality of archaic hymns in Athens.[5] As far as the hymns are concerned, the same position is taken in a more recent study of the *parabasis* by Sifakis.[6] He, too, discusses "the invocation hymns by which the chorus (…) celebrates its own festive activities and asks the gods to join in with them. They seem to be a relic of genuine *Kultlyrik*".

So there is every reason for scholars who work on Greek hymnic poetry to take a very close look at Aristophanes, as one has here a means of getting an idea of what hymnic poetry must have been in the archaic period, a period from which most, if not all, is lost.[7] It seems we have a fair chance of finding samples of authentic Greek religiosity in the hymns contained in his comedies.

Does this necessarily mean that each and every hymnic song we find in Aristophanes is top level poetry? No, it does not. In a recent contribution Michael Silk has undertaken to discuss the status of Aristophanes as a lyric poet.[8] On the whole his conclusions are fairly negative: according to Silk, Aristophanes' lyrics are often the worse for "triteness, inflation and pervasive lack of point" (107). With his reproach of 'triteness' Silk means that the writing of these poems is in many cases conven-

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one way or another; and therefore the gods are invoked by the chorus whose function it is to represent that community or a substantial part of it.

[3] *Beobachtungen zu Aristophanes*. Roma 1962, 191–215; reprinted in: *Aristophanes und die Alte Komödie*. Ed. by H.-J. NEWIGER (= Wege der Forschung cclv), Darmstadt 1975, 30–55.

[4] Speaking about *Eq.* 551–564 and 582–494, FRAENKEL observes: "Gebete wie diese machen es uns leicht, uns in die beträchtlich vor der Epoche des Aristophanes liegende Zeit zu versetzen, in der solche Gebetlieder am Anfang des komischen Spiels standen, von wo die Parabase erst verdrängt wurde als die Komödie von der Tragödie den exponierenden Prolog übernommen hatte." (195 = *WdF* 34).

[5] Fraenkel refers to an observation made half a century earlier by Otto CRUSIUS (in his book of 1894 about the newly found Delphic hymns): "Die Gebethymnen in den aristophanischen Parabasen – offenbar treue Nachbildungen der uns verlorenen attischen Kultlyrik." (p. 194 = *WdF* 33).

[6] G. M. SIFAKIS, *Parabasis and Animal Choruses*. London 1971. He presents arguments for viewing the 'parabasis proper' (the usuallly anapaestic parts in which the chorus speaks on behalf of the poet) as a relatively late invention by fifth-century poets, but then he goes on to recognize the archaic tone of the hymns themselves as quoted in the text above (the quotation is found on p. 69).

[7] U. VON WILAMOWITZ, *Griechische Verskunst*: "Die gottesdienstliche Poesie der alten Zeit ist verloren" (242).

[8] Aristophanes as a lyric poet: *Yale Classical Studies* 26, 1980, 99–151.

tional, repetitive and unimpressive (106), with 'inflation' he means that Aristophanes uses words from a more elevated level of poetry while he does not make them bearers of any specific message, and with 'lack of point' that simple themes are distended to fill up many verses without wit or invention, let alone intellectual point (102).

Silk has taken great care to analyze in details a good number of lyrical passages in Aristophanes.[9] He points indeed at quite a few weak spots in them and shows that earlier scholars have all too easily pronounced generalizing statements like: "Aristophanes is a master of lyric poetry in every vein" (Bowra). For Silk, Aristophanes' originality is found only there where he combines attention for the particular and trivial with fantastic extravaganza. Two examples: in *Frogs* (209–223) the poet allows 'shrieking frogs' to sing a hymn for Dionysos; in *Peace* 595 the farmers greet the goddess Peace with rapture: τοῖς ἀγροίκοισιν γὰρ ἦσθα χῖδρα καὶ σωτηρία; "to us, farmers, you were groats and salvation": groats, perfectly ordinary things, go hand in hand with 'salvation', which is a sublime word in every context.

This critical evaluation is sensitive and sensible, though perhaps slightly severe. Silk measures Aristophanes by the wrong yardstick when he states that Aristophanes' lyrics do not show 'universality' or 'metaphysical seriousness'. In comedy one should not look for something equivalent to the profundity – or, if you like, sublimity – found in Homer, Pindar, Aeschylus. A poet can be serious without being sublime, and therefore I part company with Silk when he states emphatically: "I can see every reason to applaud Aristophanes' mastery of what Dover calls 'humorous lyric'. What I do *not* see is that the claim for Aristophanes as a master of 'serious lyric' is in any way justified".[10] In my view there are two powerful arguments for taking Aristophanes' hymns as perfectly 'serious' cult songs:

a) As far as content is concerned, they are quite distinct from those parts of his comedies in which the comic action is presented; the action is interrupted and forgotten during these choral interludes; nor do we find here boisterous obscenities or critical jabs at persons in the audience.

b) It is precisely what Silk calls the 'triteness' and traditionality of these poems, their lack of sophistication and metaphysical sublimity, which warrant their authenticity *qua* cult songs; by 'authenticity' I mean that these hymns are traditional, and therefore can help us to realize and to visualize how Athenians of the 5th century B. C. addressed their gods on festive occasions.[11]

II. It is time to pass from generalities to more specific realities. As I have observed already, in the *Thesmophoriazousai* we find no less than four hymns. The first one is a text sung by Agathon. In this play Euripides – who is scared that the

[9] SILK is well placed for such a job: already in his first publication: *Interaction in Poetic Imagery, with special reference to Early Greek Poetry*. Cambridge 1974, he had shown his fine gift for analyzing Greek poetry, especially Pindar and Aeschylus.

[10] *Art. cit.* 100.

[11] There is a good explanation for the different views taken by Silk and by me. In his paper he operates as a literary critic, while my first interest is in the field of the history of Greek religion, for which Aristophanes is such a splendid source. Silk himself agrees that: "the ultimate affiliations of Aristophanic lyric are, for better or for worse, with popular culture." (125)

women of Athens congregated in the celebration of the Thesmophoria might condemn him to exile or worse – visits Agathon, his junior fellow poet, hoping that he might smuggle himself into the congregation of females and stand up for his senior colleague. Agathon is not prepared to do anything of the sort. But even before his conversation with Euripides he sings a song (101–130) to Apollo, Artemis and Leto. It is a song in ionics and anacreontics, which adresses the Delian trinity in a traditional manner: Apollo as god of music-making and bow-shooting, Artemis as the virgin goddess of the mountains, and Leto as the mother of these two; it is she who has caused a divine light to shine over mortals. There is nothing parodical or comical in the text itself which is simple and traditional. For the audience there will certainly have been a comical contrast between the song (of which Agathon himself announces it is a song to be performed by maidens) and the male singer (who is a man with the make-up and the outfit of a lady)[12] – of course the poet wants his audience to laugh at Agathon, but this he does in the long preparation (27–100) for the actual hymn. Within the limits of this paper I shall not deal with any details of the text of this hymn.

As soon as the women are congregated in the precinct of Demeter and Kore and the priestess has opened the ceremony with a prayer in prose (295–311), the chorus sings a song which is the second hymn of this play. One would expect the women to address the Mother and Daughter who are at the centre of the Thesmophoria festival, but the song is actually of a more general impact. The women implore Zeus, Apollo and Artemis, Athena and Poseidon, and finally the Nereids and Nymphs to come. There is only one imperative in the text, directly addressed to Athena, but by extension it is valid for the entire group of gods; it is: "come here", ἔλθε δεῦρο (319). We have here a so-called ὕμνος κλητικός, an invitation and urgent appeal that the gods may come and join this group of worshippers. From the introductory words it is clear that actually the collective of gods is meant: δεχόμεθα, καὶ θεῶν γένος / λιτόμεθα ταῖσδ' ἐπ' εὐχαῖς / χαρέντας ἐπιφανῆναι. "We say amen (i.e. to the preceding prayer in prose said by the priestess) and we beseech / all the divine race to take pleasure / in these our prayers and to manifest themselves" (312–314). The diction of the hymn is simple and traditional, and the grouping of the gods is easy for everyone to follow; first Zeus, famous and supreme Father, then Apollo and Artemis, Athena and Poseidon who are the two traditional protectors of Athens, Poseidon being escorted by the Nereids, and finally the Nymphs. It is only natural that this congregation of women has a predilection for these two groups of female deities. As in the case of the first hymn, I shall not discuss the text of this hymn in detail.

The third hymn is a long one (947–1000). It expresses in a most lively and lovely way the mood of Athenians who enjoy themselves while celebrating the gods. I shall present it in my own translation:[13]

[12] Cp. F. MUECKE, Portrait of the Artist as a Young Woman, *Thesmo* 101–130. *CQ* 32, 1982, 41–55. In his recent commentary on *Thesmo.* (Aris & Phillips, Warminster 1994), A. H. SOMMERSTEIN points out that Aristophanes exploits the comic effect of gender-inversion throughout this play; see his introduction, p. 8, and *passim.*

[13] This translation is based upon a detailed study of the text in the course of which I have been greatly helped by personal correspondence with Prof. Colin Austin, by Sommerstein's commentary (see previous note), and by O. THOMSEN, Some notes on *Thesmo.* 947–1000, published in: *Classica et Me-*

"Come on, let's dance as we, women, are accustomed to do here,
whenever we keep the holy ritual for the Two Goddesses at the sacred season…

Get started, get moving,
form nimbly with your feet a circle,
join hand with hand.
Let everyone quicken the beat of the dance,
step with swift feet, and, looking left and right,
keep an eye on our choral formation.

And as you do so, sing and celebrate with your voice
the family of the Olympian gods,
everyone of you, in ecstatic dance.
If someone expects that I, a woman,
am going to slander men here in this holy precinct,
then he is out of his mind.

But now I must get on with a new task
and stay this pretty circular dancing step.

Step forward with your foot,
singing in honour of the master of the Lyre
and of her who sports bow and arrows,
the chaste Lady Artemis.
Hail, you who hit the mark from afar,
grant us victory!
Let's sing in honour of Hera, goddess of marriage,
as is proper for us to do, for she shares the joys of all our dancing
and keeps the keys of marriage.

I address my prayers to Hermes, god of flocks,
also to Pan and his beloved Nymphs:
may they laugh, applaud our dances,
and take delight in them.
Yes, let's rouse enthusiastically
the double delight of the dance.
Let's dance, women, as custom allows us:
we are fasting anyway.

Come on, leap! wheel about, tapping your feet in time,
intone your song loud and clear.
Come here and lead our dance,
o Bacchic master, crowned with ivy,

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diaevalia Fr. Blatt septuagenario oblata. Ed. by O. S. DUE, H. FRIIS JOHANSEN, B. D. LARSEN. Gyldendal 1973. This volume is Supplement Diss. IX to the periodical *Classica et Mediaevalia*.

then I shall sing to you
in revels which you love so much.

Lord of ecstasy, son of Zeus you are, 990
Roarer, and Semele's also.
You take delight in the Nymphs' dancing
supported by their lovely hymns,
o Lord of ecstasy, hey-ho,
dancing < all night long? > yourself.

Around you reverberates 995
the echo of Mount Kithairon:
a deep roar permeates
the dark mountain forests
and the rocky glens.
Ivy blooms all over you
with its tendrils and fair leaves." 1000

About this hymn two observations. In the first place that – like the second hymn of this play (312–331) – it is addressed to all the gods, "the family of the Olympian gods" (959–961). First come (969–976) Apollo, Artemis and Hera; then (977–984) Hermes, Pan and the Nymphs, divinities who are closely related to their present business of dancing; the final part of their hymn (985–1000) is addressed to Dionysos, leader and lord of their dance (987–988). This sequence of gods has everything to do with what is my second observation: in the entire corpus of hymnic texts assembled by Furley and me there is no other one with so many explicit observations about the technique and the pleasures of dancing. TECHNIQUE: the entire stanza 953–958 is an instruction by the chorus-leader: she orders the dancers to take up their position in a circular formation (953), to link hands and to step nimbly (954); she wants everyone of them to pick up the rhythm (955–956), to follow the accelerando while keeping that formation intact (957–958), in 968 they are commanded to stop the circular dancing and to step forward as it were to face gods; but this does not exclude a kind of swirling choreography (985) when Dionysos becomes the centre of attention (987–1000). PLEASURES: in the first place, several times (947, 975, 983) the verb παίζω is used for dancing, with a connotation of playfulness and fun. Crucial is the passage 979–983 which ends on the concept of the reciprocity of the pleasure: the 'double delight' refers to the delight taken in the dance by the gods in whose honour it is performed, even to the point of their coming and joining the dance, but also to the pleasure experienced by the dancing worshippers themselves.[14]

[14] For learned comment on 'double delight' cp. BIERL, A.: Doppeltanz oder doppelte Freude: *Drama* 7, 1998, 27–47. The atmosphere of religious joy and euphoria expressed by this hymn in *Thesmo.* is the object of a fascinating philosophical observation (of Poseidonios?) recorded by Strabo X 467–468: κοινὸν δὴ τοῦτο καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων ἐστί, τὸ τὰς ἱεροποιίας μετὰ ἀνέσεως ἑορταστικῆς ποιεῖσθαι, τὰς μὲν σὺν ἐνθουσιασμῷ, τὰς δὲ χωρίς, καὶ τὰς μὲν μετὰ μουσικῆς, τὰς δὲ μή (…) καὶ τοῦθ' ἡ φύσις οὕτως ὑπαγορεύει· ἥ τε γὰρ ἄνεσις τὸν νοῦν, ἀπάγουσα ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων ἀσχολημάτων αὐτὸν, δεόντως τρέπει πρὸς τὸ θεῖον· ὅ τε ἐνθουσιασμὸς ἐπίπνευσίν τινα θείαν ἔχειν δοκεῖ καὶ τῷ μαντικῷ γένει πλησιάζειν. ἥ τε μουσικὴ περί τε ὄρχησιν οὖσα καὶ ῥυθμὸν καὶ μέλος, ἡδονῇ τε ἅμα καὶ καλλιτεχνίᾳ πρὸς

As time advances quickly, I pass now on to the fourth and last hymn composed by Aristophanes for performance in the frame of this same comedy. Again I give first a translation:

"Custom calls me now to call on Pallas
to come and join me in the dance
the virgin, untouched maiden.
She alone controls our city's life
with obvious power; to her alone
we give the name 'key-holder'.
Appear, you who hate tyrants, as is right!
We, the people, call upon you, we women
come and bring us
peace, friend to celebration!

You, too, come benevolently, kindly,
mistresses, to this your grove,
where men are not permitted to spy
upon our sacred rituals, where with torches
you grant us to behold an immortal vision.

Come here, we repeat, we beseech you,
high-powered goddesses of Thesmophoria:
if ever before in answer to prayers
you did come – come now, we entreat you,
here, now to us, too."

This text has nothing to do with the uproarious fun of the preceding scene in which Euripides had entered dressed up as Perseus and had tried in vain to liberate his relative, an elderly man who had been fettered to a board, acting the part of maiden Andromeda. In that scene (instead of a dragon which threatened Andromeda's life!) an illiterate Scythian policeman had scared Euripides out of his wits. There is not even a faint echo of all this in this hymn which expresses a deeply religious trust in Pallas Athena, patron of the liberty of Athens, and an equally religious need that the Mother and Daughter of the Thesmophoria may come and preside over the sacred rituals. These women are convinced that the torches carried by these goddesses reveal a vision of immortality: λαμπάσι φαίνετον ἄμβροτον ὄψιν (1151). I would like to end my paper with a few thoughts about these words.

As we all know, the Eleusinian mysteries were not a matter of a doctrine exposed in poetry or preached in a discourse, but a matter of actions performed and objects shown: δρώμενα, φαινόμενα. These actions and objects had to do with death

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τὸ θείον ἡμᾶς συνάπτει κατὰ τοιαύτην αἰτίαν· εὖ μὲν γὰρ εἴρηται καὶ τοῦτο, τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τότε μάλιστα μιμεῖσθαι τοὺς θεοὺς ὅταν εὐεργετῶσιν, ἄμεινον δ' ἂν λέγοι τις ὅταν εὐδαιμονῶσιν. τοιοῦτον δὲ καὶ τὸ χαίρειν καὶ τὸ ἑορτάζειν καὶ μουσικῆς ἅπτεσθαι. (…) οὕτω δὲ καὶ αἱ Μοῦσαι θεαὶ καὶ Ἀπόλλων Μουσηγέτης καὶ ἡ ποιητικὴ πᾶσα ὑμνητικὴ καλὴ οὖσα. See my remarks in *Mnemosyne* 51, 1998, 521–524.

and birth, with life and new life, and with afterlife. Now in his *Greek Religion* (p. 289) Walter Burkert observes: "It is remarkable that the concept of *immortality* (my italics, JMB) is never mentioned in connection with Eleusis". But here the hymn-singers address Demeter and Kore with these very terms: "you grant us an immortal vision, a vision of immortality". If it were the case that my preceding observations about the seriousness of Aristophanes' hymns and hence their importance for the study of Greek religion had not yet convinced you, then perhaps these few words of Aristophanes can: **φαίνετον ἄμβροτον ὄψιν.** These words approach as closely as possible to the heart of Greek religion, and perhaps of any religion. It is also where I end my paper, having touched upon the theme of immortality.[15] This conference, and the publication of the papers in a book, will confer upon our common friend István Kapitánffy at least the sort of fame and immortality scholars can hope for.

***Thesmo.* 947–1000**

ἄγε νυν ἡμεῖς παίσωμεν ἅπερ νόμος ἐνθάδε ταῖσι γυναιξίν,
ὅταν ὄργια σεμνὰ θεαῖν ἱεραῖς ὥραις ἀνέχωμεν (…) 948

ὅρμα χώρει,
κοῦφα ποσὶν ἄγ' εἰς κύκλον,
χειρὶ σύναπτε χεῖρα, ῥυθ- 955
μὸν χορείας ἔπαγε πᾶσα.
βαῖνε καρπαλίμοιν ποδοῖν.
ἐπισκοπεῖν δὲ πανταχῆι
κυκλοῦσαν ὄμμα χρὴ χοροῦ κατάστασιν.

ἅμα δὲ καὶ
γένος 'Ολυμπίων θεῶν 960
μέλπε καὶ γέραιρε φωνῆι πᾶσα χορομανεῖ τρόπωι.

εἰ δέ τις antistr. = 959–61
προσδοκᾶι κακῶς ἐρεῖν
ἐν ἱερῶι γυναῖκα μ' οὖσαν ἄνδρας, οὐκ ὀρθῶς φρονεῖ.

ἀλλὰ χρῆ <μ'> 966
ὡς πρὸς ἔργον αὖ τι καινὸν
πρῶτον εὐκύκλου χορείας εὐφυᾶ στῆσαι βάσιν.

προβαίνε ποσὶ τὸν Εὐλύραν str.
μέλπουσα καὶ τὴν τοξοφόρον 970
Ἄρτεμιν, ἄνασσαν ἀγνήν.
χαῖρ', ὦ 'Εκάεργε,
ὄπαζε δὲ νίκην.
Ἥραν τε τὴν τελείαν

[15] Actually, a few years ago I contributed a paper 'Death and Immortality in some Greek Poems' to a volume: *Hidden Futures*. Ed. by J. M. BREMER, TH. VAN DEN HOUT and R. PETERS. Amsterdam 1994, 109–124.

μέλψωμεν ὥσπερ εἶκος,
ἥ πᾶσι τοῖς χοροῖσιν ἐμπαίζει τε καὶ
κλῆιδας γάμου φυλάττει.

‘Ερμῆν τε νόμιον ἄντομαι
καὶ Πᾶνα καὶ Νύμφας φίλας
ἐπιγελάσαι προθύμως
ταῖς ἡμετέραισι
χαρέντα χορείαις.
ἔξαιρε δὴ προθύμως
διπλῆν χάριν χορείας.
παίσωμεν, ὦ γυναῖκες, οἷαπερ νόμος·
νηστεύομεν δὲ πάντως.

ἀλλ’ εἶα πάλλ’ ἀνάστρεφ’ εὐρύθμωι ποδί·
τόρευε πᾶσαν ὠιδήν.
ἡγοῦ δέ γ’ ὦδ’ αὐτὸς σύ,
κισσοφόρε Βακχεῖε
δέσποτ’· ἐγὼ δὲ κώμοις
σὲ φιλοχόροισι μέλψω.

Εὔιε, ὦ Διὸς σὺ
Βρόμιε καὶ Σεμέλας παῖ,
χοροῖς τερπόμενος
κατ’ ὄρεα Νυμ-
φᾶν ἐρατοῖς ἐν ὕμνοις,
ὦ Εὔι’, Εὔι’, εὐοῖ
< – ⏑⏑ ⏑ > ἀναχορεύων.

ἀμφὶ δὲ σοὶ κτυπεῖται
Κιθαιρώνιος ἠχώ
μελάμφυλλά τ’ ὄρη
δάσκια πετρώ-
δεις τε νάπαι βρέμονται·
κύκλωι δὲ περὶ σὲ κίσσος
εὐπέταλος ἕλικι θάλλει.

974

antistr. = 969–76

980

984

986

990 str.

995 antistr. = 990–94

1000

Thesmo. 1137–1160

Παλλάδα τὴν φιλόχορον ἐμοὶ
δεῦρο καλεῖν νόμος ἐς χορόν,
παρθένον ἄζυγα κούρην,

1139

ἣ πόλιν ἡμετέραν ἔχει
καὶ κράτος φανερὸν μόνη
κληιδοῦχός τε καλεῖται.

στρ. α

φάνηθ', ὦ τυράννους στυγοῦσ' ὥσπερ εἰκὸς. 1143/4

δῆμός τοί σε καλεῖ γυναι- ἀντ. α
κῶν· ἔχουσα δέ μοι μόλοις
εἰρήνην φιλέορτον.

ἥκετε < τ' > εὔφρονες ἵλαοι, στρ. β
πότνιαι, ἄλσος ἐς ὑμέτερον,
ἄνδρας ἵν' οὐ θέμις εἰσορᾶν 1150
ὄργια σέμν', ἵνα λαμπάσι
φαίνετον ἄμβροτον ὄψιν.

μόλετον ἔλθετον, ἀντόμεθ' ὦ ἀντ. β
Θεσμοφόρω πολυποτνία, 1156
εἰ πρότερόν ποτ' ἐπηκόω
ἦλθετε, νῦν ἀφίκεσθ', ἱκε-
τεύομεν, ἐνθάδε χἠμῖν.

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