

NOTES

Aristophanes *Lysistrata* 637

At *Lysistrata* 614-705, after the actors have left the acting area, the two half-choruses, instead of addressing the audience directly in a parabasis as we expect, engage in a debate which displays some of the features of a regular parabasis.¹ The male half-chorus after removing their outer garments (615) perform a lyric stanza followed by an epirrhema, whereupon the women likewise prepare to sing by disencumbering themselves (637): ἀλλὰ θώμεσθ' ὃ φίλαι γράες ταδί πρῶτον χαμαί', 'but, old dears, let's first put these things on the ground'. The two most recent commentators both suppose, as scholars have long assumed, that the women at this stage remove their outer garments.² I wish to suggest an alternative possibility, that the female half-chorus remove only one garment, at 686, and that at 637 they merely put down their pitchers in preparation for their first lyric stanza. This is not a new suggestion, but it has never been adequately discussed.³

It is as well to admit at the outset that the commonly accepted view has much to recommend it. Firstly, this like other exchanges between the two half-choruses shows a careful balance of form, content and action. The second half of the debate has each half-chorus disrobe in preparation (662,686). It is clear that the men at that stage remove their inner garments, leaving themselves (theatrically) naked, since the women later (1019-21) allude to the nakedness of the men and help them on with their inner garment (the *exomis*). There is some sense in supposing that the balance between the half-choruses extends to this detail; that is, the women like the men strip to their theatrical 'skin' in two stages during the course of the quasi-parabasis. Secondly, it was evidently common for the chorus to remove outer garments before beginning a parabasis, as at *Ach.* 627 and *Lys.* 615. There was of course nothing to prevent Aristophanes from using τίθεσθαι χαμαί of the act of undressing to mean '(take off and) put on the ground'. The normal way to indicate the act of undressing in Aristophanes is to use the verb ἀποδύομαι, less commonly ἐκδύομαι.⁴ However, at *Nu.* 497 we have

¹ Specific parabolic features in *Lys.* 614 ff. are: i. the use of exactly balancing epirrhemata in trochaic tetrameters; ii. the fact that both choruses disencumber themselves; iii. the admonitory tone of the women's first speech and antode; iv. the address to the audience in the first antode. The quasi-parabasis lacks the valediction to the actors (κομμάτιον) and anapaests, while the pattern of ode/epirrhema/antode/antepirrhema is doubled.

² See J. Henderson, *Aristophanes' Lysistrata* (Oxford 1987) 154 f., A.H. Sommerstein, *Aristophanes: Lysistrata* (Warminster 1990) 190 (on v.662), 192 (on v.686). Cf. e.g. B.B. Rogers, *The Lysistrata of Aristophanes* (London 1911) 79, U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, *Aristophanes Lysistrata* (Berlin 1927) 162, R. Cantarella, *Aristofane: le commedie IV* (Milan 1956) 325, G.A. Sifakis, *Parabasis and animal choruses* (London 1971) 104, J.H. Turner, *Aristophanes' Lysistrata* (Bryn Mawr 1982) 76.

³ See J.J.C. Donner, *Die Komödien des Aristophanes* (Naunhof/Leipzig 1938), III 56: 'Aber setzt, ihr lieber Frauen, die Eimer erst zur Erde hin'.

⁴ Cf. *Ach.* 627, *Ve.* 1122, *Av.* 934, 947, *Lys.* 615, 663, 686, 1173, *Thes.* 214, 636, 637, 656, 731, 939, 641, *Eccl.* 536.

ἴθι νυν κατάθου θοιμάτιον. At *Peace* 886 it is likely that the command ἔγε δὴ σὺ κατάθου πρῶτα τὴν σκεύην χαμαί is an instruction to Theoria to remove her clothing in order to display her body to the Boule.⁵ We may also compare *Thesm.* 214 f.:

– ἀπόδουθι τουτὶ θοιμάτιον.

– καὶ δὴ χαμαί.

'Put down' as 'take off' makes sense with reference to outer garments which are simply wrapped around the body.

There are however a number of factors which tell against the standard interpretation. It does not matter that we are given no indication precisely when the women put their own inner garments on again⁶ (as they must if they are to take pity on the men because of their nakedness at 1019 ff.), for Aristophanes is less explicit than the tragedians on many details of stage action. It does matter however that there is no parallel in comedy for the spectacle of decent women stripping naked in public. The implications of nakedness for the two sexes are quite different in Athenian society. Whereas public nudity was commonplace for men in the context of athletics, it was, as Sommerstein notes, something 'unheard-of for a respectable Athenian matron'.⁷ This is comic drama, of course, not real life. But for all its subversion of norms Aristophanic comedy retains some important inhibitions from the outside world where the depiction of women is concerned. Thus as Sommerstein notes,⁸ comedy is as sensitive as oratory to the convention that a man should not refer by name to a decent living woman in public. The paucity of scatological humour in relation to women in Aristophanes may reflect another area of inhibition. Although the plot of *Lysistrata* is based on the subversion of normal female behaviour, Aristophanes is careful to present the women as adhering in principle, and as far as possible in practice, to the Athenian ideal of female submissiveness.⁹ They are not revolutionaries either in political or in social terms, unlike the women in *Ekklesiazousai*. They desire only to restore the city to a state of peace; that done, for themselves they envisage only a return to the traditional female role.¹⁰ Their methods for sorting out the political situation are themselves based on the normal domestic function of the woman.¹¹ This is an important aspect of the rhetoric of the play. The sympathy for the women's cause elicited from the audience arises in no small measure from the play's fundamentally normative treatment of women. To have the old women strip completely would be to risk confusing the audience response to them.

The suspicion that the women do not disrobe in 637 is reinforced by two details of language. Firstly,

⁵ The MSS have τὰ σκεύη; see however R. Seager, *CQ* 31 (1981) 244 f.

⁶ Henderson 188 suggests simply 'sometime after the songs at 781 ff.'). Sommerstein 192 suggests 889-951 'when the audience's attention is concentrated on Cinesias and Myrrhine'.

⁷ Sommerstein 192.

⁸ Sommerstein 210 (on v. 1086) and *QSt* 11 (1980) 393 ff.

⁹ Cf. especially 471-5, 507-528.

¹⁰ Cf. Henderson xxxii and *YCS* 26 (1980) 186.

¹¹ Cf. J. Vaio, *GRBS* 14 (1973) 373 f.

although the men use ἐπαποδύομαι in 615 and ἐκδύομαι in 662 and the women ἐκδύομαι in 686, there is no cognate term used in 637. The difference in terminology suggests (no more) that the action in 637 is different in kind from those in 615, 662, 686. Secondly, when the women disrobe at 686 in direct response to the men's act of undressing in 662, they say ἄλλὰ χῆμαις, ὦ γυναῖκες, θάπτον ἐκδύομεθα.¹² In contrast, there is no καὶ ἡμεῖς at 637 to point up the parallelism.

That the terminology used in 637 can be used of someone putting down a burden, as I suppose, is indicated by the similar language used at 358 (θώμεσθα δὴ τὰς κάλπιδας χῆμαις χαμαῖζε), of the women's pitchers. We may also compare *Ach.* 341-2:

– τοὺς λίθους νῦν μοι χαμαῖζε πρῶτον ἐξ-εράσατε.

– οὐτοί σοι χαμαί· καὶ σὺ κατάθου πάλιν τὸ ξίφος,

and *Knights* 155 ἄγε δὴ σὺ κατάθου πρῶτα τὰ σκευὴ χαμαί. Moreover, it is as appropriate for the chorus to rid itself of inconvenient objects before beginning a parabasis (or as here quasi-parabasis) as it is for the chorus to strip, as *Pax* 729 f. indicates. If this is what happens at 637, we must suppose that at some point after 547 the women pick up their pitchers, which they abandoned at 539.

The issue of the precise action taken by the female half-chorus at 637 is of some importance. Although in the parodos the female half-chorus get the better of their male counterparts, both verbally and physically, and in the process show themselves capable of violence of language and action, they are consistently shown as more restrained,¹³ in that they resort to abuse, threats or violence only when provoked, like the women in the acting area.¹⁴ The men are always the source of aggression. If my interpretation of the verse in question is correct, these consistent and contrasting aspects of the two sexes are visually represented for the audience for over one quarter of the play, as the men, carried away by their unreflecting hostility to the women, strip themselves naked, while the women retain their inner garments. The women are visibly more restrained, and visibly at an advantage, because they retain a degree of dignity; this advantage reaches a climax and a resolution when the women clothe the men in 1019 ff.

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¹² Cf. 358, where χῆμαις links the women's act of depositing their burden with that of the men (312 θώμεσθα δὴ τὸ φόρτιον).

¹³ Contrast 350 f. with 360 ff.; cf. also 634 f. with 636, 656 f., 681 f. with 704 f., 799 f. with 823 f.

¹⁴ Cf. 428-62.

The Olympieion and the Hadrianeion at Ephesos

Ephesos was one of the great cities of the ancient world; in the period of the Roman empire, it was the capital of the province of Asia, and on one celebrated occasion its religious life came into sharp conflict with early Christianity (*Acts* xix 23-41). From the earliest days of methodical excavation in Turkey, Ephesos has provided a magnet to travellers and archaeologists. Hence a problem that involves the cults and the topography of imperial Ephesos can claim more than an antiquarian interest.

The present note concerns an apparent conflict between ancient texts about Ephesos and modern discoveries. The current view is that the Olympieion, the sanctuary of Zeus Olympios, is identical with the sanctuary of the emperor Hadrian, which it is convenient to call the Hadrianeion even if the term is not attested for Ephesos; a large structure currently under excavation in the northern part of the Roman city is held to be this dual-purpose building. As for the Olympieion, such a view conflicts with the only ancient testimony, that of the traveller Pausanias, and on inspection the arguments for identifying Olympieion and Hadrianeion melt away.¹

Pausanias is the only source to mention the Olympieion. Discussing the city's legendary founder, Androklos, he observes that Androklos' tomb was still to be seen in his own day 'near the road leading from the sanctuary past the Olympieion to the Magnesian Gates (κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ παρὰ τὸ Ὀλυμπιεῖον καὶ ἐπὶ πύλας τὰς Μαγνητίδας'; 'the sanctuary' must be the chief one of Ephesos, the Artemision.² The same road is mentioned by Philostratos describing the benefactions of the sophist Damianus of Ephesos: 'he connected the sanctuary to Ephesos by extending the approach through the Magnesian Gates in its direction. This is a portico entirely of stone one stade long, and the purpose of the building is to ensure that the sanctuary should not lack worshippers in case of rain' (συνήψε δὲ καὶ τὸ ἱερόν τῇ Ἐφέσῳ κατατείνας ἐς αὐτὸ τὴν διὰ τῶν Μαγνητικῶν κάθοδον. ἔστι δὲ αὐτῆ στοὰ ἐπὶ στάδιον λίθου πᾶσα, νοῦς δὲ τοῦ οἰκοδομήματος μὴ ἀπείναι τοῦ ἱεροῦ τοὺς θεραπεύοντας ὅποτε ὕει, *VS* ii 23, 605). There is nothing *a priori* implaus-

¹ I am grateful to G.W. Bowersock and Hans Taeuber for their comments, and to the Trustees of the British Museum for supplying Plates I and II and granting permission to reproduce them. I have used the following special abbreviations: *Aufstieg und Niedergang* = *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*, ed. W. Haase and H. Temporini (Berlin and New York); Bowie, 'Temple of Hadrian' = E.L. Bowie, 'The "Temple of Hadrian" at Ephesos', *ZPE* viii (1971) 137-41; Metcalf, *Cistophori* = William E. Metcalf, *The Cistophori of Hadrian*, *Numismatic Studies* xv (New York 1980); Price, *Rituals* = S. R. F. Price, *Rituals and power* (Cambridge 1984); Robert, *OMS* = L. Robert, *Opera Minora Selecta* i-vii (Amsterdam 1969-1990); Rogers, *Sacred identity* = Guy M. Rogers, *The sacred identity of Ephesos* (London and New York 1991); Wood, *Discoveries* = J.T. Wood, *Discoveries at Ephesos* (London 1877). For excellent sketch-maps of imperial Ephesos, Rogers, *Sacred identity* 195-97.

² Paus. vii 2. 9. St. Karwiese, *RE* suppl. xii (1970) 334, cites Pausanias for the statement that 'Hadrian had an Olympieion built outside the city', but the text does not mention Hadrian.