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What melos for Troy? Blending of Lyric Genres in the First *Stasimon* of Euripides' *Trojan Women*

1 Introduction

The first *stasimon* of *Trojan Women* is a narrative account of the last day of Troy, a melic *Iliou Persis* consisting of a single triadic system and depicting the Trojans' welcoming of the Wooden Horse into the city, their rejoicing in choral dancing at night, and their violent ruin at the hand of the Achaeans. Labelled by Kranz as one of Euripides' 'dithyrambic' *stasima*,[1] the song has been seen by scholars as representative of the pictorial style that characterizes late Euripidean choral odes.[2] More recently, certain recognizable patterns informing Euripides' 'dithyrambic' and pictorial lyric have been reassessed by Eric Csapo and positioned within the wider picture of the dramatist's engagement with New Musical verse.[3] By calling attention to the growing amount of musical imagery of a Dionysiac stamp in the sung sections of Euripides' plays from ca. 420 BC onwards, Csapo defines a significant trait of poetics that locates the playwright at the fore-

1 For structural features of these choral odes, defined as 'self-contained ballad-like narratives' ('völlig absolut stehende balladeske Erzählung') see Kranz 1933, 254, and in general 228–65, see 253, 258 f. in particular on Eur. *Tro.* 511–67. Panagl 1971 offers a detailed analysis of the style, *lexis* and syntax of Euripides' 'dithyrambic' *stasima* (pp. 42–78 on our ode).
2 See Barlow 2008, 28–31, who rightly emphasizes the dramatic quality of Euripides' pictorial style in the choral songs of *Trojan Women:* '[D]escriptive imagery of place becomes dramatic imagery also in the *Troades*'. Di Benedetto 1971, 243–7 discusses at length the pictorial qualities of *stasima* and monodies in *Trojan Women*.
3 For a recent discussion of pictorial and musical language in the first *stasimon* of Euripides' *Electra* in relation to the category of 'dithyrambic' style, see Csapo 2009, who proposes for late Euripidean lyric the definition of New Musical verse, one that 'appeals directly to the senses, the subconscious, and the emotions' (p. 108).

front of the musical innovations introduced by the New Musicians in the theatrical genres of *nomos*, dithyramb and drama.[4] In a number of late Euripidean choral songs, descriptions and dramatizations of archetypal Dionysiac *choreia* through the device of choral projection[5] serve the purpose to archaize specific features of contemporary *mousikē* by tracing them back to primal choral formations and thus providing them with an *ad hoc* aetiology.[6]

Trojan Women, staged in 415 BC, is indeed the earliest tragedy of Euripides to contain marked references to music and dance in the actors' monodies:[7] these in turn present remarkable choral traits, exhibit a sustained 'dithyrambic' style and diction, and develop a metamusical motif – the nostalgic evocation of past Trojan *mousikē* – that is integrated in the narrative frame of first *stasimon* of the play through the device of choral projection. An important study by Luigi Battezzato has demonstrated that musical imagery in *Trojan Women* acts as the metaphorical vehicle through which Euripides dramatizes the interruption of a Trojan/Phrygian tradition of *choreia* and its violent incor-

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4 Csapo 1999–2000, esp. 417–26. See Power 2013, 240 on metamusical imagery in extant dithyramb, which is 'persistent enough to be seen as a generic trait, but it is generally turned inward. Dithyramb likes to sing about itself, to determine proleptically the terms of its reception by refashioning its sociomusical origins'.

5 On this choral convention see especially Henrichs 1996, 49 'Choral projection occurs when Sophoklean and Euripidean choruses locate their dancing in the past or the future, in contrast to the here and now of their immediate performance, or when choruses project their collective identity onto groups of dancers distant from the concrete space of the orchestra and dancing in the allusive realm of the dramatic imagination'. An earlier attempt at pointing out the mechanism of choral projection in tragedy is represented by Davidson 1986, who (p. 40) mentions Eur. *Tro.* 542–4. Csapo 1999–2000, 417 traces back choral projection (especially its Dionysiac associations) to traditional dithyramb, in particular Pindar's: 'but whether authentically traditional or not, choral projection became a hallmark of New Musical style'. In fact, however, the device is shown by Henrichs 1996 to occur in several Euripidean plays (among which the early *Heraclidae*) as a complex pattern heightening dramatic tension. On choral projection and dithyrambic poetics in Pindar fr. 70b S-M see Calame 2013b, 339. On the question of the derivation of tragic choral projection from choral lyric conventions cf. Henrichs 1996, 49 with n. 4, who points to Alcman and Pindar's *partheneia*; Hutchinson 2001, 434 with n. 12 provides further references to Bacchylides and Pindar's instances of choral projection. On choral projection in Pindar and Bacchylides' *epinikia* see Power 2000, 67–71, who aptly remarks the distinctiveness of the device in tragedy, where 'the relation between projected and projecting choruses is often fraught with tension' (p. 70).

6 Steiner 2011 is a fine reading of a 'dithyrambic' *stasimon* (*Hel.* 1451–511) from the point of view of the imagery of archetypal and Dionysiac *choreia*.

7 This fact depends on the relative chronology *Trojan Women – Ion:* cf. Csapo 1999–2000, 423 (figure 3b).

poration into the new *mousikē* of the Greek invaders.[8] Battezzato recognizes in this move a pattern of cultural appropriation of foreign music on the part of the Greeks, which he locates within the cultural discourse and poetics of the New Music: in the first *stasimon* of *Trojan Women*, and in particular through the epic/citharodic opening of the song, he sees the dramatic enactment of such a musical 'colonization'.[9]

This paper chooses a different interpretative angle, and offers a reading of the first *stasimon* of *Trojan Women* from the standpoint of generic interplay. In tragedy's complex appropriation and refashioning of the tradition of non-dramatic *melos*, references to particular song-types in choral odes may function as a literary device arousing generic expectations and/or pointing to specific melic hypotexts.[10] Set against this dynamics of osmotic interaction of genres, *Tro.* 511–67 can be seen as an instance of Euripides' later lyric's inclination for mixing melic sub-genres, alluding to previous poetry, and locating itself within the discourse of contemporary music; in addition to that, it will be argued, the blending of song-types which takes place in the ode is key to an appreciation of the specific poetics of *Trojan Women*. In particular, this paper focuses on three different aspects of the *stasimon:* a) the threnodic flavour of the ode, b) its 'dithyrambic' character and c) its emphasis on *choreia*. While the aspects in question may be (and have been) considered to figure among Euripides' most pronounced New Musical traits,[11] they have seldom been regarded as distinctive areas of generic interaction, nor have they been treated consistently within the poetics of a single play.

The first aspect regards a pervasive thematic motif in *Trojan Women*, one that surfaces in the opening of the *stasimon* and characterizes the song as a

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8 Battezzato 2005b, a contribution we shall often refer to throughout this paper.

9 Battezzato 2005b detects a similar pattern of 'appropriation and erasure' (p. 74) of non-Greek music at work in Sophocles' *Thamyras* and in Telestes' treatment of the myth of Marsyas in *PMG* 805 (pp. 96–101). On Melanippides' *Marsyas* see Power 2013, 241 f.

10 For tragedy's evocation of the cultural and moral assumptions of several sub-types of choral lyric see Swift 2010, *passim*. With a shift of focus, Rodighiero 2012 explores the range of generic fluidity in a selection of Sophoclean choral songs. For intertextual allusions to lyric poetry in tragedy see Garner 1990 and the systematic study of Bagordo 2003. For important methodological remarks, and terminological tools, on how to deal with tragedy's reception of lyric genres, with a special focus on *paian*, see Rutherford 1994–1995, 118–21 and *id.* 2001, 108–15. For the continuities between non-dramatic and tragic lyric at the level of the chorus' ritual utterances see Calame 1994–1995 and Henrichs 1994–1995.

11 Cf. again Csapo 1999–2000, whose purpose is to show the breadth, internal consistence, and diachronic development of the phenomenon, rather than discuss the particular function of New Musical features in the (dramatic, thematic) context of individual plays.

blending of genres: the theme of ritual lament and threnodic music as the only available for both the Chorus and the characters to express the loss of their city, culture and *mousikē*. The generic mixture of citharodic *nomos* and *thrēnos* that the *incipit* of the first *stasimon* announces grounds the claim of poetic novelty on the part of the Chorus. In turn, the 'mourning ode of new songs' (καινῶν ὕμνων … ᾠδὰν ἐπικήδειον, 513–4) which the Muse is requested to sing in the proemial lines of the ode sublimates the range of musical imagery grounded on the recurrent figure of the '*mousa*/music of the *thrēnos*/ritual lament' that punctuates the play.

The second aspect deals with the 'dithyrambic' character of the ode in terms of its structural and stylistic features. Recent scholarship on the nature and performance context of Bacchylides' dithyrambs, and on the language and poetics of the New Music, invites further scrutiny on aspects of *lexis*, imagery and structure of lyric narrative in 'dithyrambic' *stasima*.[12] The first *stasimon* of *Trojan Women* has indeed a marked narrative shape: the single triadic structure, the opening citharodic *prooimion*, the *Iliou Persis* theme are all features of traditional narrative poetry that could be traced back to as far as Stesichorus in the history of the genre.[13] When it comes to diction, syntax and style, however, the ode presents us with a series of characteristics that seem to position Euripides at the intersection between Bacchylidean narrative dithyramb and Timotheus' experimentalism in mimetic and figurative language. Late Euripidean lyric has been convincingly demonstrated to represent a favourite hypotext and source material for Timotheus' lyric:[14] in inviting comparison with the dithyrambographer's style, the use of periphrastic compound adjectives in the first *stasimon* of *Trojan*

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12 See Fearn 2007, 163–99; Fearn 2013 on Bacchylides 17; Fearn forthcoming on the continuities and differences between Bacchylides' dithyrambs and Timotheus' *Persae* on the ground of narrative style. Hadjimichael 2014b explores Aristophanes' peculiar reception of Bacchylides' poetics in his parody of the 'new dithyrambic' style of Kinesias in *Av.* 1373–409: it emerges the significant role of Bacchylides in effecting the transition between 'traditional' and 'new' dithyrambic poetry in regards to stylistic, structural and musical/performative features. LeVen 2014, in particular 150–88 is a thorough and refreshing study of the style and diction of the New Music; Budelmann / LeVen 2014 tackle Timotheus' figurative language through the cognitive theory of blending.

13 On the beginning lines of Stesichorus' *Iliou Persis* see Finglass 2013a. See Ercoles 2013, 533–6 on Stesichorus as the πρῶτος εὑρετής of the triadic system (strophe, antistrophe, epode) in the ancient paremiographic tradition.

14 See Firinu 2009 on the intertextual dialogue between the first 'dithyrambic' *stasimon* of *Iphigenia among the Taurians* and Timotheus' *Persae* (with the latter alluding to, re-working, and often complicating Euripidean phrases, compounds, and periphrases).

Women points rather to the role played by Euripides in the transition to a 'new dithyrambic' narrative.

The third aspect encompasses a trait of late Euripidean poetics that is prominent in *Trojan Women:* the sustained strategy of musical imagery and the focus on the mechanisms of *choreia*, with the implications these might have had in performance. The motif of the nostalgic evocation of the exuberant Phrygian *mousikē* of the past, contrasted with the pervasive threnodic tone of the present *molpē* is first exploited by Hecuba in her monody through choral self-referentiality; at the level of style and imagery, the song displays New Musical features typical of many Euripidean 'dithyrambic' odes. In this respect, the case of the first *stasimon* is pretty different: we have here a strongly marked narrative frame which subsumes the episode of choral projection, and the Chorus of prisoners sing of events they have been personally involved in. At the level of imagery, the emphasis on the Phrygian connotation of Trojan *mousikē* has invited thoughts on the possibility (indeed attracting, though hard to support with evidence) that Phrygian *harmonia* (suited to both dithyramb and *thrēnos*) could accompany the Chorus' re-enactment of past Trojan *choreia* in the instance of choral projection around which the *stasimon* is built (where Λίβυς λωτός and Φρύγια μέλεα are mentioned).[15]

2 'A Mourning Ode of New Songs': A Citharodic Thrēnos?

Concluding her *rhēsis* at the end of the first episode of *Trojan Women* (a scene dramatically dominated by Cassandra's arresting performance),[16] Hecuba expresses to the women of the Chorus her desire to be placed down on her pallet on the ground and to her stony mattress, 'so that I may fall upon it and die, worn down with weeping (δακρύοις καταξανθεῖσα). Consider no prosperous man

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15 Battezzato 2005b, 88 has proposed this hypothesis.
16 The prophetess delivers a monodic *hymenaios* (308–40), a rhetorically sustained *rhēsis* in iambic trimeters demonstrating Troy's blessedness (353–405), and a final speech where she announces Odysseus' fate (iambic trimeters, 426–43) and, possessed by prophetic frenzy (marked by a shift to catalectic trochaic tetrameters, 444–61), she envisages her 'marriage to death' with Agamemnon and throws away her sacred emblems of Apollonian priestess. Biehl 1989, 223, 225 and Hose 1990, 307 argue that the first *stasimon* of *Trojan Women* is to be read and understood against the background of Cassandra's first *rhēsis*. Especially significant is the motif of the deported Trojan women as 'victory crown' for the Greeks in the final lines of the *stasimon* (565), which is proleptically reversed by Cassandra's ironic claims at 353–64.

blessed until he passes away' (508–10).[17] The choral song that follows the queen's gnome on the instability of human fortune picks up both this motif and the element of tears emerging from the preceding lines: the Chorus of captive Trojan women implicitly apply the apophthegm to their own experience and present the *stasimon* as a lament for Troy, 'a mourning ode of new songs accompanied with tears':[18]

> Χο. ἀμφί μοι Ἴλιον, ὦ   [στρ.
> Μοῦσα, καινῶν ὕμνων
> ᾆσον σὺν δακρύοις ᾠδὰν ἐπικήδειον·
> νῦν γὰρ μέλος ἐς Τροίαν ἰαχήσω   (515)
>
> Sing for me about Ilium,
> O Muse, a mourning ode of new songs accompanied with tears.
> For now I shall rise a *melos* for Troy

What marks the first *stasimon* of *Trojan Women* as especially distinctive is the Chorus' appeal to the Muse at the opening of the ode, something unique in tragedy. Furthermore, the invocation of the Muse, embedded in the structure of a recognizable citharodic prelude, is associated with novelty and with threnodic content (511–3).

According to the social and aesthetic norm of the 'appropriateness' that binds archaic poetics to the rightness of the correspondence between song-types and their performance and ritual context,[19] the association between *thrēnos* and the Muses (or their bards, the μουσοπόλοι) is especially ἀπρεπής ('inappropriate'): Sappho is explicit on this point in fr. 150 Voigt οὐ γὰρ θέμις ἐν μοισοπόλων <δόμῳ> / θρῆνον ἔμμεν' < . . . . > οὔκ' ἄμμι πρέποι τάδε, 'For it is not right that there should be lamentation in the house of those who serve the Muses (...) that would not befit us'.[20] The archaic antithesis between

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17 The *gnome* τῶν δ' εὐδαιμόνων / μηδένα νομίζετ' εὐτυχεῖν, πρὶν ἂν θάνῃ is one common in tragedy: cf. e.g. Aesch. *Ag.* 928–9; Soph. *OT* 1524–30; Eur. *Andr.* 100–2.
18 That the song is meant to be a *thrēnos* for the city is understood by the scholiast *ad l.* (Σ Eur. *Tr.* 511 Schwartz II p. 361 περὶ τῆς Ἰλίου ποίησόν με θρηνῆσαι). Cf. Suter 2003 for a comprehensive discussion of the lament features of *Trojan Women* and their significance as both a thematic motif and a structural principle in the play.
19 Though, as Carey 2009a, 22 aptly remarks, the actual scenario of literary genres and song-types in archaic and early classical times was rather one characterized by generic fluidity and flexibility: '[T]he boundaries are not fixed but elastic, porous, negotiable and provisional.'
20 On the category of archaic appropriateness see Ford 2002, 13–17 who discusses as well Alcm. *PMGF* 98 and Stes. 271 Finglass = *PMGF* 232: on these two fragments see also Fantuzzi 2007, 174 f., who points out the meta-poetic dimension of such statements of poetics.

the festive *paian* and the mournful *thrēnos*, when we look for it in tragedy,[21] is projected into the rhetorical figure of 'negated song': Euripides, more than Aeschylus and Sophocles, explores the problematic and paradoxical nature of the μοῦσα θρήνων, namely, a Muse who is the source of inspiration for ritual lament.[22]

The image of the *mousa thrēnōn* is given in *Trojan Women* a prominent poetic and thematic role: of the five occurrences of the term μοῦσα in the play,[23] three are worth a quick look since they work as gnomic corollaries to the appearance of the epic Muse at the beginning of the first *stasimon*.

1) Cassandra's aposiopesis at 384–85, 'better to say nothing of disgraceful things: may my muse not be a singer who sings disaster',[24] is curiously close to the Sapphic norm (fr. 150 V. above), and stands as an ironic counterpart to the opening of the first *stasimon*, where the epic Muse is asked to sing an 'ode of mourning accompanied by tears'.

2) The gnome at 608–9 'how sweet for those in misfortune are tears, the lamentations of *thrēnoi*, and the muse (μοῦσα) that has sorrow for its theme!',[25] is pronounced by the Chorus. Besides resonating with the Homeric motif of the *terpsis* of the lament,[26] these lines have an immediate musical and ritual

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21 In Aeschylus, the Erinyes' song is described as a *paian* (*Ag.* 644–5) and as a *hymnos* (*Sept.* 866–70, *Eum.* 328–33); Euripides exploits this field of imagery at full scale: see e.g. the threnodic *paian* in *Alc.* 422–3.

22 A distinctive means of tragic self-reflection on the paradoxical nature of the μοῦσα θρήνων is the kind of 'aporetic rhetoric question' of the type we find in Eur. *Phoen.* 1498–501, 1515–8, *Hyps.* fr. 752 h, 5–9 *TrGF*⁵·².: the trope is discussed in Fantuzzi 2007, 178 f. For the 'rhetorical figure of negated song ("unmusic singing", "lyreless Muse", "unchorused dance", or the like) to express these paradoxical relations between art, beauty, ritual and tragic suffering' see Segal 1993, 16; on *alyros* as 'a central term of tragedy's own internal discourse of *mousikē*' see the remarks in Wilson 1999–2000, 433. For a survey of the occurrences and functions of the Muse/ muse in tragedy see Saïd 2007.

23 *Tro.* 120–1; 384–5; 511–5; 608–9; 1242–5. On the distinctive features of Euripides' reshaping of the epic *Mousai* into his tragic *mousa* see Fantuzzi 2007, 175, who aptly observes how the dramatist confers to his *mousa* (as source of poetic inspiration) 'un ruolo indiretto, minore, quasi in incognito [...] una dimensione da iniziale minuscola'. In the three Euripidean passages quoted below in the text, the translation of μοῦσα with 'muse' encompasses different but complementary concepts such as 'poetic inspiration', 'music' and 'song', all encompassed by the semantics of the term.

24 σιγᾶν ἄμεινον τἀσχρά, μηδὲ μοῦσά μοι / γένοιτ᾽ ἀοιδὸς ἥτις ὑμνήσει κακά. The lines are athetized in Diggle's and Kovacs' editions, who follow Reichenberger. Biehl 1989 *ad l.* argues convincingly for the authenticity of the passage, also given the continuity with the *praeteritio* at 361.

25 ὡς ἡδὺ δάκρυα τοῖς κακῶς πεπραγόσιν / θρήνων τ᾽ ὀδυρμοὶ μοῦσά θ᾽ ἣ λύπας ἔχει.

26 Cf. Hom. *Il.* 23.10 = 98, 24.513, *Od.* 4.102, 11.212, 19.213, 251, 513, 21.57. We find a slight variation of the *iunctura* θρήνων τ᾽ ὀδυρμοὶ in Timoth. *Pers.* 103 Hord. = *PMG* 791.103 θρηνῴδει ... ὀδυρμῷ.

referent in the antistrophic lyric exchange between Hecuba and Andromache (577–607), which in turn is structured as a *thrēnos*.

3) The gnomic closure 'this too is muse (μοῦσα) for those in misfortune: to shout aloud their danceless troubles' (120–1),[27] frames the first section of Hecuba's monody (98–121). The adjective ἀχόρευτος stands here both for the absence of the Chorus (Hecuba is performing a monody) and for the impossibility, for the Trojan queen lying on the ground, to accompany her words with dance. It is tempting to consider the couplet as a generalizing anticipation of the opening of the first *stasimon* (511–3), where the Μοῦσα is invoked and requested to sing a ᾠδὰ ἐπικήδειος 'mourning ode' of new songs (καινῶν ὕμνων) accompanied by tears (σὺν δακρύοις): the *thrēnos* is thus presented as the genre setting the tone of the ode – and eventually determining the claim of poetic novelty (καινότης).

Turning to matters of generic interaction in the opening lines of our *stasimon*, the typical *incipit* 'ἀμφί + object of the song (in accusative)',[28] together with the metrical texture of dactylo-epitrite sequences, evokes citharodic *prooimia* on the model of Terpander fr. 2 Gostoli = *PMG* 697 Ἀμφί μοι αὖτις ἄναχθ' ἑκαταβόλον / ἀειδέτω φρήν ('Sing to me once again about the far-shooting lord, my heart'), the *prooimion* to the *nomos Orthios*.[29] In association with the Muse, the ἀμφί-prelude is productive as well in rhapsodic context in the *exordium* of several Homeric Hymns (*h.Bacch.* (7), *h.Pan.* (19), *h.Poseid.* (22), *h.Diosc.* (33)).[30]

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27 μοῦσα δὲ χαύτη τοῖς δυστήνοις / ἄτας κελαδεῖν ἀχορεύτους. Other markers of the threnodic tone of this part of Hecuba's monody are the refrain αἰαῖ αἰαῖ (105), the rhetorical question τί δὲ θρηνῆσαι; (111), the woman's description of her physical prostration (112–9).

28 A structural feature shared by both dithyramb and *kitharoidia* according to *Suda* (*s.v.* ἀμφιανακτίζειν, A 1700 I p. 152.26 Adler). See Franklin 2013, 221 f.

29 Translation mine. On the semantics of *prooimion*, a term which could refer to both autonomous introductory poems and to the introductory address to a larger poem (just as the ἀρχή/*exordium*), see Gostoli 1990, xxix-xxxiv, 128–129 on Terpander *PMG* 697, which she believes is the *exordium* of the *nomos Orthios*, relying on the testimony of Hesychius (*s.v.* ἀμφὶ ἄνακτα· ἀρχή τίς ἐστι νόμου κιθαρῳδικοῦ, A 3944 Latte). As Gostoli notes (p. 130), the proto-citharodic performance of the bard Demodocos in *Od.* 8.266–7 is introduced by a citharodic *prooimion* (αὐτὰρ ὁ φορμίζων ἀνεβάλλετο καλὸν ἀείδειν / ἀμφ' Ἄρεος φιλότητος ἐϋστεφάνου τ' Ἀφροδίτης 'he struck up on the *phorminx* an *anabolē* to a beautiful song about the love of Ares and Aphrodite of the fair crown' [trad. Power 2010, 209]). On the stylistic and structural features of the opening lines of the *stasimon* see Rodighiero forthcoming: I thank Andrea Rodighiero for sending me his refreshing and thorough analysis of the song's *incipit:* I am relieved to see that he too has focused on the ode as an instance of narrative lyric.

30 See Power 2010, 194 'probably on the model of the citharodic practice'. See Gostoli 1990, XXIX on Ps. Plut. *De Mus.* 6.1133c = test. 34.7–9 Gostoli: 'it is thus evident that (*sc.* Terpander's

As for adesp. *PMG* 938e Μοῖσά μοι ἀμφὶ Σκάμανδρον ἐύρροον ἄρχομ᾽ ἀείδειν, the famous hexametric line from the Douris cup, it has been now demonstrated that the verse is probably the juxtaposition of two different hexametric *incipitia*.[31] Within the diverse phenomenology and performance context of archaic *prooimia*, it has been proposed that the *prooimion* was performed monodically by the lyre player to introduce a choral *melos:*[32] Power has shown that this was not always the case, and that the performative sequence *prooimion*–song was realized in different ways through different genres.[33] Suffice here to mention a fragment of Alcman (14a *PMGF* = 4 Calame) in which poetic novelty, invocation of the Muse and performance of a *melos* are associated in the context of a choral *prooimion:* Μῶσ᾽ ἄγε, Μῶσα λίγηα πολυμμελὲς / αἰὲν ἀοιδὲ μέλος / νεοχμὸν ἄρχε παρσένοις ἀείδην ('Come Muse, clear-voiced Muse of many songs, singer always, begin a new song for girls to sing'). The claim of novelty in song, καινῶν ὕμνων (512), in the opening of the first *stasimon* of *Trojan Women* can be further compared with a couple of pronouncements by Timotheus which show the citharode's self-presentations waving between 'rhetoric of innovation' and traditionalism.[34] An instance of the former attitude which comes quite close, at least formally, to the opening of our *stasimon* is *PMG* 796, an open claim of *kainotomia* on the part of Timotheus: οὐκ ἀείδω τὰ παλαιά, / καινὰ γὰρ ἀμὰ κρείσσω· / νέος ὁ Ζεὺς βασιλεύει, / τὸ πάλαι δ᾽ἦν Κρόνος ἄρχων· / ἀπίτω Μοῦσα παλαιά ('I do not sing the ancient songs, for my new ones are better. The young Zeus rules, while it was in ancient times that Cronus had the power. Let the ancient Muse depart').[35]

If we read the καινότης advocated by the Chorus of *Trojan Women* as a metaliterary claim on the part of Euripides,[36] the novelty of the *stasimon* could rely

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cithardic *prooimia*) must have been compositions entirely analogous to the *Homeric Hymns*' (my translation).

31 See Palumbo Stracca 1994, Sider 2010.

32 This is the hypothesis of Koller 1956.

33 Power 2010, 185–215 is an exhaustive account of citharodic *prooimion*, its morphology and history. See especially pp. 201–10 for the hypothesis of a choral origin of *citharōidia*, and 202 on Pindar's proemial introductions and mirror descriptions of archetypal choral performances introduced by a *prooimion*.

34 See Power 2010, 534–8 (quote from p. 534) on Timotheus' 'eunomian strategies'.

35 Inspired by a different poetic agenda are the claims of the citharode in the *sphragis* of the *Persians*, where he reverses the terms of the polemics new-old by lamenting Spartan hostility to him (*PMG* 791.211–2 ὅτι παλαιοτέραν νέοις / ὕμνοις Μοῦσαν ἀτιμῶ 'on the ground that I dishonour the older Muse with my new songs') and positioning his own musical innovation 'within the validating "paternal" Aeolic tradition of Pierian Orpheus and Lesbian Terpander': Power 2010, 535.

36 With 'metaliterary' it is meant here 'referring self-reflexively to the nature and literary dimension of the actual poem/song'.

on the juxtaposition of citharodic *nomos* – indeed a fitting genre, *qua* lyric narrative, for an account of the sack of Troy (as Stesichorus' *Iliou Persis* seems to confirm)[37] – and the melic genre of *thrēnos*, within the structure of a narrative dithyramb. The audacity of this generic fusion might have been in place in the context of the struggle for innovation in the genres of *nomos* and dithyramb taking place in the lively New Musical scene of late fifth century Athens.[38] If, on the other hand, the proemial claim of 'new songs' should be explained entirely within the logic and events of the play, we could see in the opening of the ode an archaeology of the genre of women's lament, the *thrēnos*,[39] to which *aulos* music and Phrygian *harmonia* were at time associated by ancient sources.[40]

37 A reconstruction *exempli gratia* of the first triad of Stesichorus' *Iliou Persis* is attempted by Finglass 2013a, 14. See Power 2010, 267–71 on the citharodic *Little Iliad* by Lesches. Di Benedetto in Di Benedetto / Cerbo 1998, 178 f. (*ad loc.*) proposes as a possible model for the opening of the *stasimon* the *incipit* of the Cyclic *Little Iliad* (fr. 28 Bernabè Ἴλιον ἀείδω καὶ Δαρδανίην ἐύπωλον).
38 D'Angour 2011, 184–206, has recently pointed out how the contest for poetic novelty is part of a traditional discourse among Greek poets (for pre-classical lyric he focuses on Pindar *Ol.* 3.4–6, *Nem.* 8.20–1, and Bacchylides fr. 5 M), and a reinvigoration of this aspect accompanied the raise of the New Music; in this regard, see 72–3 on the conceptual associations and semantics of καινός. In the case of Eur. *Tro.* 511–5, D'Angour observes that '[G]iven the reference to *melos*, we may speculate that melic novelty was also an issue' (p. 194). See also Power 2013 *passim* (also on the intersections *nomos*-dithyramb-drama) and 2010, 272–3.
39 In proposing the equipollence ritual lament = *thrēnos* in tragedy (while this was not the case in archaic poetry) I follow Swift 2010, 303.
40 The Phrygians are described as μάλιστα θρηνητικοί ('especially inclined to express mournful emotions through the *thrēnos*') in Σ Aesch. *Pers.* 1055 [pp. 268 f. Dähnhardt]. In an opposite direction Pindar 128c S-M, where the poet theorizes the opposition between *paian* and dithyramb on one hand (as song-types celebrating the gods), and *thrēnos* on the other. An interesting source dealing with appropriateness in the use of *harmoniai* in relation to dithyramb and *thrēnos* is P. Vindob. 19996a, fragment a I, which is now discussed in Battezzato 2013, 99–102: according to Battezzato's reconstruction, in the papyrus' theoretical discussion on what is πρέπον to dithyramb, it seems to be debated the fact that the dithyrambic genre (and thus Phrygian *harmonia*) is inappropriate to express the *pathos* of lamentation. On the Asian origin of lament in Euripides see *Hyps.* fr. 752 g.9–10 *TrGF*[5.2].; *Erecht.* fr. 369d *TrGF*[5.1].; *IT* 178–85; *Phoen.* 1302–3. In Pind. *Pyth.* 12 the invention of aulodic music originates from the primordial dirge of the Gorgons (θρῆνος 8, γόος 22), which Athena transforms into a πάμφωνον μέλος (19): see Steiner 2013 for a reading of the poem which accounts for Pindar's active participation in the experimentalism in aulodic music of his time.

3 Metaliterary *Kainotēs*

The nature of the καινότης claimed by the Chorus for this song has been much debated among scholars. In fact, following the citharodic *prooimion*, a first-person self-referential utterance on the part of the Chorus announces their performance as a *melos* for Troy (νῦν γὰρ μέλος ἐς Τροίαν ἰαχήσω 515), thus adding a further layer to be harmonized within this composite poetic opening. Two particular aspects of *Tro.* 511–67, related to generic expectations and gender of the singers respectively, have been seen as factors at odds with the epic/citharodic characterization of the opening lines of the *stasimon* and with the theme of the ode, and as such have been singled out as bearing the novelty of the song: a) the mournful content of this song, with its threnodic take on the *Iliou Persis* myth, and b) the fact that the events are narrated and interpreted through the eyes of the Chorus of captive Trojan women.[41] A different approach to the metaliterary stance of καινότης has been proposed (independently, and grounded on different interpretations of the ode) by Battezzato and Sansone: the Trojan Women of the Chorus assert the birth of tragedy as a new literary genre which is 'the successor to, even the supplanter of, epic poetry',[42] and which 'not only incorporates earlier genres of Greek poetry, but can also include the narrative about their origin'.[43]

A first reading of the *stasimon* opening lines as a statement of poetics on the part of Euripides was offered by Kranz in 1933 and became classic; since it associated the poetic novelty claimed by the Chorus with Euripides' embracing the 'dithyrambic' lyric style, it provides a fitting starting point to ground a discussion on the 'dithyrambic' features of *Tro.* 511–67. In Kranz's interpretation, the open-

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41 Lee 1976, 164 proposes two layers of meaning for making sense of the καινότης of the *stasimon:* while for the Chorus the καινοὶ ὕμνοι denote the present song of woe, different from the joyous *mousikē* enjoyed by the Trojans in times of peace and depicted in the *stasimon*, the novelty embraces an extra-dramatic aspect, i.e. 'the present song is 'new' when compared to the well-known epic treatment of the subject'. Barlow 1986, 184 and Croally 1994, 245 correlate the novelty of the ode with the female perspective on the events narrated. Quijada 2006 provides a survey of the scholarly debate on the *stasimon*.

42 Sansone 2009, 194. Sansone sees in the threnodic tonality of the *stasimon* a reference to the contents of *Iliad* 24, and in a fine intertextual reading of the ode he is able to show Euripides' indebtedness to Homer at both the level of situational allusion and in the reuse of specific terms. Torrance 2013, 219–45 argues for a different Homeric hypotext for our *stasimon*, namely the *hymnos* performed by Demodocus in *Odyssey* 8.426–534, itself a narrative *Iliou Persis*.

43 Battezzato 2005b, 90.

ing of the ode[44] represented the programmatic manifesto of a new phase of Euripides' lyric, inaugurated in 415 BC and largely documented in the last decade of the dramatist's production. Within this chronological frame, Kranz argues that as many as eleven choral odes present a character of narrative self-containment – in lacking any direct reference to the events on stage – and certain structural features typical of the narrative lyric of Bacchylides' dithyrambs.[45] As for the charge of dramatic irrelevance, the first *stasimon* of *Trojan Women* has been long redeemed, and the very category of 'dithyrambic *stasima*', together with Kranz's chronology, questioned and reassessed by Eric Csapo's influential work on the New Musical traits of late Euripidean tragedy.[46] More recently, David Fearn's studies have repositioned Bacchylides' dithyrambs within a tradition of archaic narrative lyric and in the performance context of fifth century festivals, shedding new light on the nature and performance of κύκλοι χοροί.[47] This allows him to

44 Which he quotes in the epigraph of his chapter 'Das neue Lied' as ἀμφί μοι Ἴλιον, ὦ Μοῦσα, καινῶν ὕμνων ἄεισον, thus omitting the funereal connotation conveyed by the terms qualifying the ᾠδά, i.e. the adjective ἐπικήδειος and the instrumental σὺν δακρύοις. This is pointed out, among others, by Sansone 2009, 193f., who argues that Kranz's omission of the tears and of the sorrowful nature of the song is due to the fact that these elements 'are antithetical to the character of dithyramb'. At 513 ἆσον σὺν δακρύοις is Burges' conjecture (printed by Diggle) on the manuscripts' (VPQ) ἄεισον ἐν δακρύοις: for a defense of the manuscripts' reading see Panagl 1971, 43 and Di Benedetto in Di Benedetto and Cerbo 1998, 178f. n. 139.

45 See *infra* n. 1. See Kranz 1933, 253–4 on the ballad-like features of Bacchylides' dithyrambs (odes 16, 17, 19 and 20): in particular, Kranz points out the similarities in structural patterns (antistrophe responding to a question/point raised at the end of strophe) between Soph. *Trach.* 504 and Bacchyl. 19.15 (where Kranz p. 155 reads the papyrus ΤΙΗΝ as τί ἦν 'how was it..', thus making the clause an interrogative one), and between Eur. *Hel.* 1317–9 and Bacchyl. 17.89 (and respective antistrophes).

46 Lee 1976, 168, Biehl 1989, 223–5, Di Benedetto / Cerbo 1998, 178f. and Hose 1991, 302–8 all offer convincing explanations of the ways by which the ode, through explicit references to the role of Athena in the fall of Troy – the goddess is the addressee (536) of the wooden horse, δόλιος ἄτη (530) for the Trojans – links the *stasimon* to the prologue (10 μηχαναῖσι Παλλάδος) and to the core religious issues of the play. For criticism of Kranz's argument in relation to the alleged dramatic irrelevance of this *stasimon* see already Neitzel 1967, 42–68. Csapo 1999–2000, 407–9 revises at length Kranz's categorization against the background of a systematic reconstruction of late Euripidean production in terms of musical innovations – thus offering evidence for Euripides' engagement with New Music. On the socio-politic conditions for the rise of the New Music, and on the musical and stylistic innovation of the 'New Musicians' (and Euripides among them) see Csapo 2004. A recent and highly innovative study of late classical Greek lyric is LeVen 2014: the poetics, style and language of the New Musical verse is exhaustively treated; the lyric of late classical tragedy is not dealt with, though LeVen's approach invites application to the language and style of late Euripidean tragic odes.

47 Fearn 2007, 163–99, esp. 188–92 on the relation between dithyramb and New Music.

argue against Csapo's claim of a Dionysiac revival in New Musical dithyramb (as a move toward the re-appropriation of genuine dithyrambic traits), and against his perplexity over Kranz's concept of 'dithyrambic *stasima*' as self-contained narratives, a trait, according to Fearn, which seems in fact to characterize narrative lyric in both dithyrambs and late (or New Musical) Euripidean lyric.'[48] The following discussion takes its start from a re-consideration of the 'dithyrambic' features that Kranz (and Panagl for matters of style) attributed to the first *stasimon* of *Trojan Women*.

4 Structural and Stylistic Features of a 'Dithyrambic' *Stasimon*

The formal structure of the *stasimon* presents a single triadic antistrophic system: as in Aesch. *Ag.* 104–59 and Soph. *Tr.* 497–530, similarly consisting of a single triad, the chorus as lyric narrator adopts here an authoritative poetic stance by means of the appeal to the Muse embedded into a citharodic *prooimion*.[49] Such a formally sustained attack of the song, which announces the theme of the piece and makes it a self-contained ballad, detaching it from the dramatic reality of the play, is what characterizes 'dithyrambic' *stasima* in Kranz's view.[50] The shift from the proemial invocation to first-person choral self-referentiality at 515 (νῦν γὰρ μέλος ἐς Τροίαν ἰαχήσω) reinforces the impression of solemnity of this opening and declares the subject of the song, Troy. The two following subordinate clauses further specify the content of the *melos* (516–21):

48 Cf. Fearn forthcoming.

49 Cf. Hutchinson 2001, 436 n. 16. Kranz 1933, 256 pairs the opening of our *stasimon* and Soph. *Trach.* 497–502 on the ground of their rhetorically elaborate openings. See Rodighiero forthcoming on Aesch. *Ag.* 104–7, and Coward in this volume on Aesch. *Ag.* 105–59.

50 Further structural features of these odes happen to be shared by *Tro.* 511–67. Suffice here to mention just a couple of them: i) the gnomic statement of a turn of events at the closing of a strofe, which the beginning of antistrophe will pick up and develop, as in Bacchylides 17.89 (μοῖρα δ' ἑτέραν ἐπόρσυν' ὁδόν 'but Fate was preparing another course'): see Eur. *Tro.* 529–30 κεκαρμένοι δ' ἀοιδαῖς / δόλιον ἔσχον ἄταν ('rejoicing in song they took for themselves ruin in disguise'); ii) the 'return' to the first-person singular, and thus to a more intimate and domestic dimension of the song, at the opening of the epode (and in a iambic ambience) after a tighter narrative in the strophic pair (often a mix of dactylo-epitrite and iambics): this, Kranz 1933, 258 argues, is shared by *Trojan Women* (551) and *Trachiniae* (517). See Bacchylides 19.37, matching only partially the pattern. On the pattern of the 'return to the I' in *Trachiniae* 517–530 see Rodighiero 2012, 89–95.

νῦν γὰρ μέλος ἐς Τροίαν ἰαχήσω, (515)
τετραβάμονος ὡς ὑπ᾽ ἀπήνας
Ἀργείων ὀλόμαν τάλαινα δοριάλωτος,
ὅτ᾽ ἔλιπον ἵππον οὐράνια
βρέμοντα χρυσεοφάλαρον ἔνο- (520)
    πλον ἐν πύλαις Ἀχαιοί·

For now I shall rise a *melos* for Troy,
how that Argive four-feet conveyance
wrougth my destruction and cause my enslavement,
when the horse, reaching high heaven
with its clatter, decked with gold cheekpieces,
full of arms within, was left at the gates by the Achaeans.

The formal structure of 516–7 is noteworthy. Firstly, we have here a *kephalaion*, a poetic device typical of ring structures and particularly dear to Pindar and Bacchylides,[51] by which in the first sentence of a ring the course of the events is anticipated by the mention of 'the extreme temporal points of the action recounted'.[52] In the case of this ode, the introduction of the Trojan Horse in the city (519–21) and the enslavement of the women (565–6) represent the first and the last event in a temporal perspective. Secondly, the word pattern within the *kephalaion* shows symmetry of design: two five-syllable words, τετραβάμονος (516) and δοριάλωτος (517), frame a structure with three trisyllabic words that in turn circumscribe the main verb (ὀλόμαν), with ἀπήνας and τάλαινα forming a further frame and Ἀργείων functioning as a ἀπὸ κοινοῦ.[53]

    The following temporal clause shows a sequence of three pairs of words (ἔλιπον ἵππον – οὐράνια βρέμοντα – χρυσεοφάλαρον ἔνοπλον, 519–21) characterized by a conspicuous use of sound figures (homoteleuton and assonance), but it is the accumulation of compound epithets, *hapax legomena* and periphrases referred to the Horse that seems to point to 'new-dithyrambic' features in this colon (515–21). The periphrasis τετραβάμων ἀπήνη 'conveyance with four feet' is an apt starting point for exploring Euripides' use of riddling expressions in this *stasimon*. In a recent discussion of τετραβάμων in Eur. *El.* 476, where the adjective is referred to horses,[54] Csapo illustrates the history of the word (literally 'moving with four'), which 'is probably a Euripidean coinage' and which shares with other compound adjectives ending in –βάμων the characteristic to be am-

51 Pindar: Illig 1932, 20; Bacchylides: Cairns 2010, 104 and n. 6, with further bibliography.
52 Pelliccia 1989, 100 n. 45.
53 I am drawing here and in the next paragraph on Panagl 1971, 44–6.
54 Csapo 2009, 107 f.

biguous 'about who is doing the walking and how'.[55] Being attached to ἀπήνη ('conveyance', 'wagon') but referring to the Wooden Horse, τετραβάμων becomes especially ambiguous: a 'wagon moving with four feet/legs'. Panagl notes that the periphrasis generates an 'alienating effect', and that the position at the opening of the *kephalaion* adds to the ambiguity of the Horse, pointing at the divergence between its outer appearance and its real nature.[56] In describing Euripidean periphrases as the accumulation of a series of adjectives which modify the 'natural' relationship with the noun they qualify by means of unexpected associations, Panagl comes closer to LeVen's innovative treatment of the effect generated by dithyrambic periphrasis and compounds in terms of 'defamiliarizing' the relationship between language and things.[57] One further interesting trait of New Musical poetics that LeVen has convincingly brought to light and systematically verified in the case of Timotheus' *Persians* regards the ways dithyrambic compounds activate a poetic memory through reworking Homeric formulae, *hapax* or compound adjectives into novel words.[58] It would be tempting to read the periphrasis τετραβάμων ἀπήνη in *Tro.* 516 as Euripides' variation on the Homeric τετράκυκλον ἀπήνην (*Il.* 24.324): the dramatist reworks a rare Homeric compound to create his ambivalent and 'defamiliarizing' image of a 'conveyance with four feet'.[59] Timotheus' intertextual use, blending, and reshaping of Euripidean periphrases into more complex (if obscure) expressions and riddling metaphors has been demonstrated by Firinu in the case of the relation be-

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[55] In the Euripidean occurrences τετραβάμων is referred to Callisto transformed into a bear (*Hel.* 376), the Sphinx (*Phoen.* 808) and to chariots drawn by winged horses (*Phoen.* 793): see Csapo 2009, 107.

[56] Panagl 1971, 46.

[57] LeVen 2014, 161 f., 167–72. See in part. 161: '[D]ithyrambic compounds offer a way to describe the world in an unfamiliar way that gives listeners fresh access to things'. Panagl (p. 49) considers periphrastic compounds as part of Euripides' narrative technique in 'dithyrambic' *stasima*; he is skeptical though about the narrative functionality of Timotheus' periphrases.

[58] LeVen 2014, 178–87. Budelmann / LeVen 2014. On the formal features and poetics of the 'new dithyramb'-New Musical style see Ford 2013 with further bibliography; for a valuable survey of generic traits of dithyramb and *nomos* and their use in Timotheus see Hordern 2002, 33–43; on the dithyrambic *lexis*, especially concerning compounds, see Napolitano 2000, 132–6.

[59] The compound adjective τετράκυκλος occurs only twice in Homer (*Il.* 24.324 and *Od.* 9.242). For a discussion of ἀπήνη in *Tro.* 516 as an allusion to *Il.* 24.324 (where the word refers to the wagon bringing the ransom for Hector's body) see Sansone 2009, 198 f. On ἀπήνη as metatextual vehicle of the relation between the periphrases ναΐα ἀπήνη 'marine cart' (Eur. *Med.* 1122–3) and πλωταὶ ἀπῆναι 'sailing carts' (*PMG* 1027(*f*)), grounded on the metaphorical relation between cart and ship, see Firinu 2009, 117 f.

tween the first *stasimon* of *Iphigenia among the Taurians* and the *Persians*.[60] When we look at the first *stasimon* of *Trojan Women*, the only metatextual segment that seems to point to a direct relation with Timotheus' *Persians* is the periphrasis πεύκα οὔρειος 'mountain pinewood' (534): this is a metonym referring to the Wooden Horse and introducing the motif of the analogy between the Trojan Horse and a ship, further developed in the comparison at 537–8 κλωστοῦ δ' ἀμφιβόλοις λίνοιο, ναὸς ὡσεὶ / σκάφος κελαινόν ('with nooses of spun flax they brought it, like the dark hull of a ship').[61] In the *Persians* we encounter the periphrasis πεῦκαι ὀρίγονοι 'mountain-born pines' (78–9) referred to ships (or, as commonly in Timotheus, to oars) in the context of a sustained texture of figurative images expressing the idea of the blurring of 'the boundaries between maritime and land elements':[62] νῦν δὲ σ' ἀναταράξει / ἐμὸς ἄναξ ἐμὸς πεύ- / καισιν ὀριγόνοισιν, ἐγ- / κλήσει δὲ πεδία πλόιμα νομάσι ναύταις (75–8 'and now my lord, yes mine, will stir you up with his mountain-born pines and enclose your navigable plains with his roaming seamen').[63] The amount and concentration of periphrastic compounds in *Persians* is an essential trait of Timotheus' dithyrambic style: Euripides' exploitation of the potential of defamiliarizing periphrases and compound adjectives in his 'dithyrambic' odes might have contributed to the development of the device. In the first *stasimon* of *Trojan Women* it is the Wooden Horse that generates and attracts most periphrastic and metaphoric

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60 Firinu 2009, who includes in her analysis similarities of metrical patterns. The passages discussed are: *IT* 407–12 ~ *PMG* 791.4–6, 7–13; *PMG* 1027(*f*) ~ *IT* 410, *Med*. 1122–3; *IT* 422–6 ~ *PMG* 791.79–81, 35–9; *IT* 439–46 ~ *PMG* 791.126–31.

61 A further possible instance of the association of πεύκα with the Wooden Horse in the context of a fragment of lyric narrative which shows remarkable New Musical stylistic traits and (especially in diction) seems to point to Euripides is P.Mich. inv. 3498 + 3250b verso and 3250c verso, which has recently benefited by a new edition and a rich commentary Sampson in Borges/Sampson 2012, 36–129. The text, which is likely to presuppose a Trojan setting (among other topographical references pointing to this, a specific mention of the wood of Mt. Ida is found in fr. 1, col. II.5 Ἰδαί[ων] ... δενδρέων), has been convincingly located by Sampson (in terms of its mythical plot) within the context of the Achaean construction of the Wooden Horse (Borges / Sampson 2012, 62–75). It would thus be tempting to speculate on the occurrence of πεύκα (fr. 1 col. II.2) as a reference to the Wooden Horse, like in *Tro*. 534. Even more interesting is the fact that on narrative, stylistic, and linguistic ground this fragmentary piece of lyric narrative is ascribable to either Euripides' New Musical verse or (as Sampson proposes) 'to a poet of New Musical dithyramb or citharodic *nomos* from the late fifth of fourth century who is herein imitating Euripides. Timotheus is the likeliest alternative candidate' (Borges/Sampson 2012, 75). I would like to thank Thomas Coward for drawing this papyrus to my attention.

62 LeVen 2014, 181 f.

63 LeVen 2014, 182 notes that in this passage ὀριγόνοισι seems to replace πλωσίμους, which we find referred to πεῦκαι at 12.

expressions: its function of vehicle containing humans and weapons, its exterior shape of wooden offering for Athena, and its analogy with a ship all contribute to define the ambiguous nature of the structure.

Going back to the strophe and to the paratactic series of three adjectives (plus the adverb οὐράνια) at 519–21 (οὐράνια / βρέμοντα χρυσεοφάλαρον ἔνο- / πλον 'reaching high-heaven with its clatter, decked with gold cheek-pieces, having arms within'), we can see how each term evokes a sense, in coherence with a broader pattern of this ode:[64] οὐράνια βρέμοντα (lit. 'producing a sound which reached to high heaven') appeals to sound, the *hapax* χρυσεοφάλαρος evokes sight, and ἔνοπλος (normally 'armed', but here 'arms within') brings to mind the real nature and function of the Horse. The sequence of periphrases at 534–5 πεύκαν οὐρείαν, ξεστὸν λόχον Ἀργείων / καὶ Δαρδανίας ἄταν, θεᾷ δώσων ('to give this mountain-borne pinewood, Greek polished ambush, this ruin for Dardanus' land, to the goddess') features 'an example of bold hypallage'[65] in ξεστόν, which should logically go with πεύκαν (in the sense of 'polished pinewood') but is grammatically attached to the abstract λόχος: the metonymy ξεστός λόχος may in turn be a reworking of the Homeric κοῖλον λόχον (*Od*. 4.277, 8.515).[66] The most remarkable series of complex periphrases in the *stasimon* is left to the epode (562–7):

> σφαγαὶ δ' ἀμφιβώμιοι
> Φρυγῶν ἔν τε δεμνίοις
> καράτομος ἐρημία
> νεανίδων στέφανον ἔφερεν   (565)
> Ἑλλάδι κουροτρόφον,
> Φρυγῶν δὲ πατρίδι πένθος.

> The slaughtering of Phrygians about the altars
> and, in our beds, beheaded desolation
> brought a victory garland of young women
> to Greece to bear them children,
> but grief to the land of Phrygians.

The passage presents a predominance of nominal constructs, with only one verbal form (ἔφερεν, 565) in the six lines. The progress of the narrative is provided

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64 Barlow 1986, 183 explains that the reality of past Troy in the ode 'is built up by the dramatist in a series of images suggesting sight, sound and texture'. See as well Barlow 2008, 30.

65 Lee 1976, 167.

66 See Di Benedetto and Cerbo 1998, 181. On the aetiological association of the concept of λόχος (of which the Trojan Horse offers a paradigmatic instance) with pyrrich dance see Ceccarelli 1998, 202–206.

by two condensed periphrases: σφαγαὶ δ᾽ ἀμφιβώμιοι Φρυγῶν, which contains the *hapax* ἀμφιβώμιοι, points back to Priam's death as described by Poseidon in the prologue (16–7); καρατόμος ἐρημία νεανίδων is a further convoluted riddling phrase where a rare compound adjective is attached to a noun in an unfamiliar way.[67]

When considering Euripides' 'dithyrambic' use of defamiliarizing expressions in his *stasima* with an eye to the style and *lexis* of Timotheus – and his sustained use of periphrastic compounds to produce poetic and narrative texture – it is tempting to think of the dramatist as an innovator in the genre of dithyrambic narrative lyric, and of Timotheus and the new dithyrambographers and *kitharodes* as building on the playwright's New Musical experimentations.

After the 'poetic' opening, the narrative develops in a series of descriptive and pictorial canvases: the syntax is paratactic and plain, and the lyric burden is borne by images and words (in particular adjectives) related to visual, aural and more properly musical experience, often in association with the Wooden Horse. Intruding in the sequence of beautiful descriptions, sinister associations, ambiguous images and anticipations of future ruin punctuate the *stasimon*.[68] Besides being traits of Euripidean tragic lyric, certain stylistic features of the *stasimon* seem to come close to Bacchylides' narrative style: the predilection for descriptive epithets and compounds,[69] chosen in order to emphasize the contrast between the beauty of an image and its sinister effect;[70] the increasing tension in the narration progressing to its dramatic climax;[71] and the 'elliptical' narrative strategy where just a few trait of the story are given, leaving the audience to fill in the rest.[72] In a forthcoming contribution on the continuity of stylistic and structural features linking Bacchylides and Timotheus' dithyrambs – features that are applied to an intertextual reading of some passages of the *Persians* as alluding to Bacchylides 17 – David Fearn argues for a substantial similarity of narrative style of the two poets, grounded on the juxtaposition of plain syntax

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67 See Lee 1976, 173 who adds that this is 'a somewhat violent hypallage for ἐρημία καρατόμων ἀνδρῶν'.

68 E.g. the oxymoron μέλαιναν αἴγλαν closing the antistrophe (549). See also Mastronarde 1994, 331 (*ad* Eur. *Phoen.* 638–89) on 'the paradoxical wedding of beautiful language and sensuous description to violent content' which characterizes Euripides' 'dithyrambic' style.

69 Colour: χρυσεοφάλαρον 520; divine prerogatives: ἀμβροτοπώλου 536; aspect: τετραβάμωνος 516; status: δοριάλωτος 517; feelings: ἐπικήδειον 514.

70 χρυσεοφάλαρον 520; κουροτρόφον 566.

71 551–61.

72 555–7. For these features of Bacchylidean poetry see Maehler 2004, 19–21; cf. now Hadjimichael 2014a on Bacch. 60 M., a discussion of the fragment's narrative style against the background of Bacchylides' dithyrambs.

and richness of visual texture (effected by the pictorial character of epithets) in large narrative sequences.[73] I submit that Euripides' narrative lyric, in turn, can be positioned within this same tradition of dithyrambic narrative. Differences between Euripides' narrative lyric style, and his New Musical verse can be appreciated by looking at Hecuba's monody in *Trojan Women*.

5 New Musical Features in Hecuba's Monody

The second part of Hecuba's astrophic monody (122–52), in lyric anapaests, while reinforcing the threnodic tonality of the song through features such as ritual refrains and invocations,[74] offers a remarkable instance of Euripides' New Musical style in *Trojan Women* and introduces the motif of the interruption of the normalcy of Phrygian *choreia*. The opening of this section of the monody develops the rhetorical motif of the *arkhē kakōn* ('the origin of woes') through the evocation of the arrival of the Greek fleet to Troy (122–8). The pervasive use of parataxis, with relative clauses and appositions linking together pictorial descriptions of single images, the boldness of riddling periphrases (πλεκτὰν Αἰγύπτου / παιδείαν ἐξηρτήσασθε 'you hung down the interlaced culture of Egypt' 128–9, referring to the ropes fabricated with papyrus fibres), the reference to music (with the juxtaposition of the 'hateful *paian* of the *auloi*' and 'the voice of tuneful σύριγγες' 126–7), the blending of Homeric quotations in the opening lines[75] – all produce a picture where the sensual and musical texture of the images seems to obliterate the pathos of the situation.[76] As has been recently pointed out,[77] Hecuba can be described as a 'displaced chorus leader' in her self-ref-

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73 Cf. Fearn forthcoming.

74 Refrains: αἰαῖ 130, ὤμοι 138. Invocation: ὦ τῶν χαλκεγχέων Τρώων / ἄλοχοι μέλεαι, / καὶ κοῦραι δύσνυμφοι, / τύφεται Ἴλιον, αἰάζωμεν 'o unhappy wives of the Trojans swords of bronze, girls unblest in your husbands, Ilium is burning: let us cry aloud!' 142–5. At 144 I print Musurus' conjecture, which gives a catalectic anapaestic dimeter.

75 Battezzato 2005b, 83 points out that Hecuba's opening lines are 'a pastiche of Homeric phrases'; in particular, the expressions describing the sea and the harbours (ἄλα πορφυροειδῆ at 124, λιμένας … εὐόρμους at 125) echo and rework Homeric verses, in a way that can at least be compared with the refined use of Homeric *formulae* and *hapax* to produce novel compounds exploited by poets like Timotheus and Telestes, and demonstrated by Le Ven 2014, 150–88.

76 On the style and features of Euripides' 'new lyric' see Di Benedetto 1971, 239–72.

77 Murnaghan 2013, 160 f.

erential address to her role of ἔξαρχος of the ritual Phrygian dance (146–52) in the past.

> μάτηρ δ' ὡσεί τις πτανοῖς,
> κλαγγὰν ἐξάρξω 'γὼ μολπάν,
> οὐ τὰν αὐτὰν οἵαν ποτὲ δὴ
> σκήπτρῳ Πριάμου διερειδομένου   (150)
> ποδὸς ἀρχεχόρου πλαγαῖς Φρυγίαις
> εὐκόμποις ἐξῆρχον θεούς.[78]

> Like a mother bird to her winged brood,
> I shall lead off the cry of lamentation, a song,
> not at all the same song
> that I led off, as Priam leaned upon his sceptre,
> with the confident Phrygian beats
> of the foot leader of the dance
> in praise of the gods.

The double occurrence of the verb ἐξάρχω at 147 and 152 stresses the distance between the joyful Trojan *choreia* of the past (ἐξῆρχον) with its distinctive Phrygian *mousikē*,[79] and the present disruption where ritual ἐξαρχία can only allow for a song of lamentation (κλαγγὰν ἐξάρξω 'γὼ μολπάν, 147), which the 'performative' future ἐξάρξω suggests being executed by Hecuba through her monody. Hecuba's reference to the rhythmical stamping of the dancers' feet in Phrygian ritual dance (ποδὸς ἀρχεχόρου πλαγαῖς Φρυγίαις / εὐκόμποις, 151–2) represents an anticipation of, and a strong link to, the mimetic description of that same trait of Φρύγια μέλεα in the first *stasimon* (545–7): what in Hecuba's monody is the nostalgic evocation of choral (*qua* ritual) normalcy, will become in the first *stasimon* (through choral projection) the re-enactment of past Trojan *choreia*, and the dramatization of its violent end.

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78 I give for lines 146–148 Kovacs' text. Following Battezzato 2005b, 83f., at 151 I diverge from Kovacs (and Diggle) in conserving the codices' reading Φρυγίαις, which qualifies the rhythm of the ritual dance as 'Phrygian', coherently with a major motif of the play.

79 The 'Phrygian beat' (πλαγαῖς Φρυγίαις, 152) recalls Φρύγια ... μέλεα in the first *stasimon* (545).

6 Choral Projection within Narration: Phrygian *Choreia*

Within the narrative frame of the first *stasimon*, the chorus of Trojan prisoners project themselves in the past, when as a choral formation of *parthenoi* they performed ritual dance for Artemis at the climax of the Trojans' euphoric celebrations taking place around the Wooden Horse.[80] This in turn activates a peculiar declension of the 'joy before disaster' pattern, subsumed into a narrative structure and realized through the abrupt shift of tone following the syntactic pause after χοροῖσι at 555.[81]

> ἐπὶ δὲ πόνῳ καί χαρᾷ
> νύχιον ἐπεὶ κνέφας παρῆν,
> Λίβυς τε λωτὸς ἐκτύπει
> Φρύγιά τε μέλεα, παρθένοι δ᾽   (545)
> ἀέριον ἅμα κρότον ποδῶν
> βοάν τ᾽ ἔμελπον εὔφρον᾽, ἐν
> δόμοις δὲ παμφαὲς σέλας
> πυρὸς μέλαιναν αἴγλαν
> †ἔδωκεν ὕπνῳ†.   (550)
> ἐγὼ δὲ τὰν ὀρεστέραν   [ἐπῳδ.
> τότ᾽ ἀμφὶ μέλαθρα παρθένον
> Διὸς κόραν ἐμελπόμαν
> χοροῖσι· φοινία δ᾽ ἀνὰ   (555)
> πτόλιν βοὰ κατέσχε Περ-
>   γάμον ἕδρας·

> And when their labour and joy
> the night's blackness overtook,
> the Libyan pipe sounded
> and Phrygian songs were played, and young girls
> stamping and lifting their feet in the dance

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80 A further layer, this time of generic interaction, enriches the episode of choral projection. As pointed out by Swift 2010, 191, parthenaic imagery aptly functions here as a metaphorical foil to the violent (and perverted) transition of the Trojan women to their future condition of concubines of the Achaeans

81 For the 'joy before disaster' choral odes – a characteristic dramatic device in Sophocles (e.g. *Aj.* 693–705, *Trach.* 205–21, *Ant.* 1142–52; cf. Gardiner 1987, 66f.) where premature choral rejoicing and Dionysiac exuberance on the part of the chorus prelude to tragic reversal – as a matrix for choral self-referentiality and choral projection see Henrichs (1994–1995, 73–85, on Sophocles; Henrichs 1996, 52f. on Eur. *Heracl.* 892–927, 60 on *HF* 761–821). See also Andújar's discussion of such odes in connection to the *hyporchēma* in this volume.

> sang a song of joy,
> while within the doors the radiant blaze
> of fire gave forth its sinister gleam
> to banish sleep.[82]
> In that hour in honour of her of the wilds,
> Zeus's *parthenos* daughter,
> I was performing choral dancing around the temple,
> when a murderous cry throughout the city
> possessed the seats of Pergamon.

Especially interesting for the purpose of this paper is the reference to circular choral dance provided by the mention of the temple (μέλαθρα 553) around which (ἀμφί) the chorus of *parthenoi* perform their dance (ἐμελπόμαν 554).[83] The identity between this projected chorus and the dramatic Chorus of captive Trojan women singing and dancing the *stasimon* strengthens the impression that a mimetic realization of the circular choral dance described in these lines could have taken place in performance – the Chorus, having abandoned their usual rectangular formation, arrange themselves in circular shape around the orchestral altar.[84] A further feature of Phrygian *choreia* that the Chorus is likely to have executed while performing the *stasimon* occurs some lines earlier, in the antistrophe (545–7): the dancing and singing of the *parthenoi* is described mimetically by the two objects of the verb ἔμελπον, κρότος ('beat, thud of dancing feet', here qualified by the adjective ἀέριος) and βοή ('song').[85] The description of the music and dance performed at Troy during the last night before the fall of the city provides the mention of the Libyan pipe (544) and the Phrygian songs (545). On the ground of the association between the Phrygian *harmonia* and

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82 The translation of 550 (Kovacs) presupposes accepting Tyrrell's emendation ἀντέδωκεν ὕπνου.

83 Cf. Calame 1997b, 36; see as well 86f. on the semantics of μέλπω (as both song and choral dancing) and its use in Bacchylides and Pindar.

84 Cf. Calame 1997b, 35f. for references to circular choral formations in Euripides and for the semantics of 'centrality' as expressed by the adjective μέσος accompanied by a preposition. An instance of a similar use (Soph. *Trach.* 514–5 οἳ τότ' ἀόλλεις / ἴσαν ἐς μέσον) is discussed at length in Rodighiero 2012, 79–89, who surveys ancient testimonia and modern scholarship on tragic and epinician choral dance and proposes for the first *stasimon* of *Trachiniae* a movement toward the centre of the orchestra of two rows of *choreutai*.

85 We find a similar image, again in the context of choral projection associated with parthenaic choral dancing, in the third *stasimon* of *Heraclidae*, where the Chorus mentions 'on the windswept hill loud shouts of gladness resound to the beat of maiden dance steps (ὑπὸ παρθένων ἰαχεῖ ποδῶν κρότοισιν) all night long' (782–3). On choral self-referentiality and choral projection in *Heraclidae* see Henrichs 1996, 50–4.

the dithyramb, which seems in fact to be a cultural construct of the 'archaizing' musical discourse of the New Music,[86] it has been proposed by Battezzato that the Phrygian mode may have been used at this point in the *stasimon* to accompany the Chorus' description of Phrygian songs.[87]

The motif of the refashioning of Phrygian music on the part of the Achaeans is reflected at the level of text through the ambivalent semantics of the term βοά, whose associations with the *aulos* and with joyful music acquire a sinister tone in the *stasimon*:[88] the shout of joy of the Trojans at the sight of the wooden horse (522), indeed an expression of ritual jubilation (544–7), becomes the musical medium of the Greek violent appropriation of the Phrygian *choreia* in the murderous shout of the Achaeans at the moment of their attack (555–6 φοινία δ' ἀνὰ / πτόλιν βοὰ κατέσχε Περ- / γάμων ἕδρας·). The architecture of 555 is especially noteworthy, with the rhetorically marked and emotionally arresting juxtaposition of χοροῖσι and φοινία (separated by syntactic and metrical pause) amplifying the sense of impending catastrophe.

When examined from the point of view of chorality, the first *stasimon* of *Trojan Women* is characterized by the 'poetic' posture of the Chorus in the opening invocation, followed by the self-referential 'performative' future ἰαχήσω (515) which expresses the immediacy of choral singing. The description of parthenaic dance is vivid and detailed (545–7), and the return to the first person at the beginning of the epode (ἐγὼ δὲ ... ἐμελπόμαν, 551–4, a typical feature of non-dramatic choral lyric) gives further strength to the duplicating effect of choral pro-

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86 See, among other passages, Arist. *Pol.* 8.1342b; of opposite advice (peaceful character of the Phrygian *harmonia*) Plato (*Resp.* 3.399a-c). Prauscello 2013, 91 observes that 'it is with the New Musical developments that dithyramb and the Phrygian mode become virtually indistinguishable'. On the motif of the opposition of musical modes in the New Music see Csapo 2004, 233 f. and the cautionary remarks by Fearn 2007, 176 f. Two attestations of Φρύγιον μέλος in archaic lyric (Alcm. 126 *PMGF* Φρύγιον αὔλησε μέλος τὸ Κερβήσιον and Stes. 173.2 Finglass = *PMGF* 212.2 ὑμνεῖν Φρύγιον μέλον †ἐξευρόντα†) are certainly not references to dithyramb.

87 See Battezzato 2005b, 88: this is certainly an attractive hypothesis, though not easy to demonstrate on the basis of just verbal references and metre. In similarly speculative terms, a further moment in the *stasimon* for which a shift of musical modes could be proposed is the rhythmical change from dactylo-epitrite to iambic sequences at the beginning of strophe and antistrophe, with the shift occurring at 517–37 (*hemiepes* + iambic dimeter). A possible dithyrambic parallel for such a rhythmic and harmonic shift is represented by Lasos of Hermione's *Hymn to Demeter* (*PMG* 702) where a shift from a dactylo-epitrite start to a different pattern of iambic/aeolic cola is explicitly referred to in the text with the mention of the Aeolian *harmonia,* as recently pointed out by Prauscello 2013, 89–92 and 2012, 69.

88 I draw here on Battezzato 2005b, 76 f., 88 n. 66 who offers a rich discussion of βοή in the stasimon, and of the term's association with Phrygian music and the sound of the *aulos*.

jection. Constantly taking place in a markedly ritualized ambience,[89] choral projection is here under the realm of Artemis.[90]

7 Conclusions

To conclude, the first *stasimon* of *Trojan Women* presents an interesting case of generic mixture, one in which each lyric/melic component – citharodic, threnodic, dithyrambic – is chosen to evoke different stylistic features and, thus, various expectations in the audience. The opening citharodic *prooimion*, solemn as it sounds, features a claim of poetic καινότης associated with threnodic content, and this unusual combination could have brought to the spectators' mind the experimentations and melodramatizations of coeval *nomos* and dithyramb.

Notwithstanding the fundamental fact that the first *stasimon* of *Trojan Women* is a tragic ode and, as such, deeply linked to its dramatic context, in terms of poetic form the very definition and nature of 'dithyrambic' *stasima* is capable of conveying more than just one poetic reality. The tradition of fifth century narrative lyric (in particular Bacchylides' dithyrambs) reveals itself in the structural architecture of the *stasimon*, in the disposition of the narrative sequence and in the paratactic texture of the narration. In turn, certain stylistic traits in the ode seem to reveal a predilection for periphrastic compound adjectives, a remarkable 'density' of nominal constructs and sound figures: these are some of the characteristics which Timotheus was bringing to a new level of (hyper)expressiveness in those same years, and the first *stasimon* of *Trojan Women* might attest to Euripides' role in the transition to a 'new dithyrambic' narrative. As evident in Hecuba's monody, Euripides' New Musical style was (in terms of both motifs and *lexis*) already fully developed at the time of the composition of *Trojan Women:* the dramatist's choice is rather to offer in the first *stasimon* of the play, in coherence with the mythical material, a melic *Iliou Persis* in

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89 See Henrichs 1996, *passim.*

90 The association between a group of παρθένοι, Artemis and the sound of the pipe is also productive in Soph. *Tr.* 205–15, though there the ritual and religious ambience is paianic and Apollinean: see Henrichs 1994–1995, 81. Furthermore, the pattern of the abduction of a group of *parthenoi* performing circular choruses in honour of Artemis seems to be a characteristic feature in Spartan myth, thus making a case for dithyrambs performed by women in a Spartan context, a combination apparently matching Bacchylides 20, as D'Alessio 2013b, 124–5 has recently pointed out. For an exhaustive account of the cults of Artemis in a Spartan context as connected to myth of rape and abduction of *parthenoi* celebrating the goddess see Calame 1997b, 143 f. (Artemis *Limnatis*); 151 f. (Artemis *Karyatis*).

the footstep of traditional narrative lyric,[91] punctuating it with features of his New Musical verse and exploiting at full scale the dramatic and mimetic effects of choral projection 'within narration'.

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91 See Prodi in this volume on the choral odes of Euripides' *Phoenician Women* as a melic *Thebais.*