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THE FORMULAIC END OF THE MENANDREAN PLAYS

The stereotyped end of the Menandrean plays, which has been observed but not adequately discussed by scholars, could be better illuminated and appreciated if examined in its relation to both tragic and comic tradition. This is what we undertake to do here.

From Menander we now have five endings of five respective plays, which are almost identical. Four passages in iambic metre have the last two lines the same:

ή δ' εὐπάτειρα φιλόγελως τε παρθένος
Νίκη μεθ' ἡμῶν εὐμενής ἐποιτ' ἀεὶ.3

The fifth, in trochaic metre, differs slightly:

ή δὲ καλλίστων αγώνων πάρεδρος θεά
εὐμενής ἐποιτό Νίκη τοῖς ἐμοῖς ἀεὶ χοροῖς.

In the lines preceding this ending there are also several common points, as we can see from the examples that follow:

Samia 733 ff παῖδες καλοί,
μειράκια, γέροντες, ἄνδρες, πάντες εὐρώστως ἀμα5
πέμψατ' εὐνοίας προφήτην Βακχίω φίλον κρότον.


2. Dysk. 968-9, Sikyon 422-3, Misoum. 465-6, and a fragment which is attributed to the Epitrepontes by Wilamowitz (fr. 10), but which could be ascribed to any play.

3. Comic poets after Menander appear to have employed the same ending; in l'oseidippos' Apodeiome, for example, we read (Heid. Pap. 183): [ὕμεις δὲ] λοιπὸν, ὦ ἄνδρες οἱ συνηγμένοι, [κροτήσα]θ' ἡμᾶς' [ἡ] δὲ φιλόγελως θεᾶ [Νίκη] με]0' ἡμῶν εὐμενής ἐποιτ' ἀεὶ.


5. Cf. Plato, fr. 206 (Edmonds), and Antiphanes' Anthropogonia (P. Oxy. 427).
Dysk. 965 ff εἰς εὐν. συνεσθέντες κατηγωνισμένοις ἠμίν τὸν ἐργώδη γέροντα, φιλοφρόνως μειράκια, παιδία, ἄνδρες, ἐπικροτήσατε.

Sik. 420 ff μειράκια, ἄνδρες, παιδία, πρωτάνατε ἐπικροτήσατε, ἐπικροτήσατε.

Misoum. 464 άνδρες πρεπόντως πάντες ἐπικροτήσατε.

The above passages are direct address to the audience, and this is more obvious in the Samia 737, where Demeas speaks on behalf of the poet. They include three common elements: (i) the spectators are called either by the generalistic “all of you” (πάντες) or by their classification in age groups as children, boys, men, and old men (παιδες, μειράκια, ἄνδρες, γυναίκες, γέροντες); (ii) an adverb qualifying the call for applaud, “strongly, kindly, or suitably” (εὔρωστως, φιλοφρόνως, πρεπόντως); (iii) a call to applaud expressed with the verb ἐπικροτήσατε or the phrase πέμψατε φίλον κρότον. Then it follows the two-line formula spoken by an actor, in which a wish for victory in the dramatic contest is expressed.

The plays of Plautus and Terence finish likewise. All six plays of Terence end with the cantor’s2 “plaudite”3 or “vos valete et plaudite”4. In Plautus, however, the final address to the audience in usually both longer and more varied, and is spoken either by a character

1. Cf. also P. Oxy. 1239, v. 19 ἐπικροτήσατε followed in v. 20 by the known ending ἢ 8’ εὐπάθειας φιλόγελως [το παρθένος / Νίκη μεθ’ ἡμῶν εὔπαθέιας ἐπικροτήσατε (Schröder, NCF, fr. 17, vv. 20-1; see Handley, BiCS 12, 1965, 62 n. 22); Himerius, Or. 19.3: Νίκη χρυσαπτέρυγα, Νίκη Διὸς τοῦ μεγάλου παί, εὐπαθέια καὶ φιλόγελῳ (τούτους γὰρ τοῖς ὄνομασιν ἄγαλλει ἡ ποίησις) ἔλεως εὖς (see also C. Corbato, Studi Menandrei, 1965, p. 94 ff). Cf. also Menander’s fr. 771 Κό ήξειράντες ἐπικροτήσατε (for ήξειράντες and not ήξάραντες see Gomme-Sandbach, comment. on Dyskolos, 967).

2. In the mss the speaker is indicated by the letter ω, which is thought to signify the cantor (after Hor. Ars Poetica 155 donec cantor ‘vos plaudite’ dicat). On this much disputed point see C. O. Brink, Horace Ars Poetica, Cambridge 1971, comment. on 155 (with more references), and G. P. Shipp, Terenti Andria, Oxford 1939, comment. on 981.


4. Ph. 1055, Heaut. 1067, Eun. 1095. See, however, the humorous play on the dramatic illusion in a direct address to the audience (Andria 980-1), and Parmeno’s final words, just before the salute to the audience, which sound like a comment on the previous action (Hec. 879 f).
of the play, both by a character of the play and the company of actors (Persa 858), or by the company of the actors. In three plays it is a single "plaudite", and in one "spectatores, plaudite" (Curculio); in other plays it extends from one to twelve lines. Usually it includes the vocative "spectatores", the adverb "clare" qualifying the request of applause, and a farewell "valete" or "bene valete" or the like. The request for applause is expressed either by the "plaudite", "plausum date" or something similar. There are also other remarks connected in some way with the previous action. Thus in the Amphitruo the spectators are asked to applaud "Iovis summi causa", Zeus being one of the main characters in the play; in the Asinaria there is a generalization of the individual case leading to a moral conclusion, not unlike the ones we have in Euripides:

Hic senex se quid clam uxorem suo anino fecit volup,
neque novom neque mirum fecit nec secus quam alii solent;
nec quisquam est tam ingenio duro nec tam firme pectore
quin ubi quidque occasionis sit sibi faciat bene.
nunc si voltis deprecari huic seni ne vapulet,
remur impetrari posse, plausum si clarum datis.

Likewise in the Bacchides, first there is a direct reference to the two fathers and their guilt, and then a comparison with temporary ethics:

Hi senes nisi fuissent nihil ab ab adolescentia,
non hodie hoc tantum flagitium facerent canis capitis;
neque adeo haec faceremus, in antehac vissemus fieri,
ut apud lenones rivales filiis fierent patres.
spectatores, vos valere volumus et clare adplaudere.

In the Captivi the company refers to the content of the play noting the "pudicos mores" and the fact that there is not in it any intrigue, love affair, supposititious child, getting money by deceit, or young man

1. Amph. 1146, Cas. 1012 ff, Curc. 729, Men. 1162, Merc. 1015 ff, Miles 1437, Mostel. 1181, Pseud. 1331 ff, Rudens 1418 ff, Stichus 775, and Truculentus 966 ff.
4. Amph. 1146, Curc. 729, Men. 1162, Mostel. 1181, Persa 857, Stichus 772, Truc. 967 f, Cas. 1012.
5. Amph. 1146, Asin. 946 f, Bacch. 1211, Cas. 1017, Men. 1162, Merc. 1025.
6. Bacch. 1211, Epid. 782 f, Men. 1162, Merc. 1025 ff, Trucul. 968, Persa 858.
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liberating an hetaera without his father knowing it. It also marks the rarity of such plays, and ends with the "nunc vos, si vobis placet / et si placuimus neque odio fuimus, signum hoc mittite: / qui pudicitiae esse voltis praemium, plausum date".

In the *Casina* there is a reference of what is supposed to happen inside with the dramatic situation¹, and then an appeal to the audience to "manibus meritis meritam mercedem dare", adding jokingly — and connecting it with the previous action — that the one who does so shall always deceive his wife and have the mistress he wants; and the one who will not "manibus clare, quantum poterit, plauserit" instead of a mistress he will have a "hircus unctus nautea".

As in the *Casina*, similarly in the *Cistellaria*, the audience is advised not to wait for the actors' re-entrance; it refers then to the actors changing their costumes, and to the reward or punishment of the successful or unsuccessful acting, and ends up with an appeal "more maiorum date plausum".

A reference to the last point of action in the *Epidicus* is given in the first line by the company: "Hic est homo est qui libertatem mali­tia invent suam", followed by the "plaudite et valete" and a playful addition "lumbos porgite atque exsurgite".

Eutychus in the *Mercator* sets a law for the old men, that they should not prevent their sons from having love affairs and mistresses, for in this case they shall loose more money. This law very neatly is related to the content of the play, in which everything is centred upon the young Charinus' love affairs. After the "bene valete", he addresses directly the young men saying that if they like this law, they should "clare plaudere".

In the *Mostellaria* Theopropides asks the spectators to applaud, saying that the play is over. Toxilus in the *Persa* says farewell to the spectators, adding that the pimp has perished. The company then closes with the "plaudite".

"Quin vocas spectatores simul?", asks Simo in the *Pseudolus*, and Pseudolus answers that he will not, as he is never invited to dinner by them. But soon he adds that if they give their applause to the company and the play, he will invite them to... next day's performance.

¹. These references to dramatic action in the *Casina* and *Cistellaria* are in support of the view that Plautus has shortened the closing section of his Greek originals (see *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Röm. Welt*, I. ii, ed. by Temporini, 1972, p. 1067 f).
Similarly Daemones in the *Rudens*, a few lines after he had invited to dinner the pimp, addressing the spectators says that he should invite them to dinner too, but in fact he is not giving any, has nothing at home, and assumes that they have already dinner invitations. And he adds immediately after, like in the *Pseudolus*, that if they give "plausum clarum" to this play, he invites them to join him for dinner after...sixteen years. Then he asks Labrax and Gripus do dine with him, and then once again he asks for the audience’s applause (cf. Arist., *Peace* 1335 ff; Ter. *Phor.* 1053 f).

Stichus, in the play with the same title, after he and Sangarinus had danced on stage, addressing the audience asks them to applaud, and then go home and have a party.

Finally in the *Truculentus* Phronesium ends her address to the audience asking them to applaud "Veneris causa", for, as she adds, this play is in her charge. And she finishes with the "spectatores, bene valete, plaudite atque exurgite".

Roman tragedy also ended, as far as we know, with an appeal to the audience for applause. Quintilian1 says that old tragedies and comedies ("veteres tragoediae comoediaeque") ended with "plodite". This statement is further supported by a fragment of a tragedy: "plaudite". We also have two cases from older Roman comedy, both from the *fabula palliata*; the first comes from Naevius3 and refers to the applause in the theatre:

Quae ego in theatro hic meis probari plausibus,
ea non audere quemquam regem rumpere:
Quanto libertatem hanc hic superat servitus!

The second4 seems to be the last line of a comedy:

[Satis] est: revoca fratrem [eodem stirpe gnatum:] plaudite!

All these cases in tragedy and comedy enable us to understand the meaning of the end of the *Cistellaria* "more maiorum date plausum".

It is highly probable that the formula "plaudite" or "plausum date" and the like is indebted to the Greek originals, and correspond

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1. *Inst. Or.* VI. i. 52.
4. Fab. inc. LXXXV (Ribbeck, *Comic. Fragm.*).
to the ἐπικροτήσατε and πέμψατε φίλον κρότον of the Menandrian plays; But the form "valete" and the like is absent from the end of the Menandrian plays; we find, however, the same address, although not at the end of a play, but at the end of a prologue speech in the Perikeiromene, 170: ἐφρωθε. This word or the word χαίρετε might have been used at the end of Menander's plays too, but so far we do not have any evidence in support of this view. In regard to the two-line formulaic reference to Nike, we see that it is absent from the Latin adaptations, and this is due to the altered conditions of Roman theatre

Another element recurrently found in the Menandrian plays and which seems to be as stereotyped as those we discussed above, is the reference to garlands and torches. These are visible symbols of revelry and are preserved by New Comedy out of the "komos procession with torches blazing, which was one of the characteristic methods of producing a memorable exodos" in the Old Comedy.

From the extant plays of Menander we possess several cases with reference to garlands and torches:

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Text</th>
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<tr>
<td>Dysk. 963f³</td>
<td>έιω, ἐκδότω</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sikyon. 418f</td>
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<td>Samia 731f</td>
<td>δέυρο δ’ ἠμΐν ἐκδότω τις δάξδα καὶ στεφάνους, ἵνα συμπροπέμπομεν</td>
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<td>Perikeir. 999f</td>
<td>μᾶλλον δὲ κάγῳ. στέφανον ἀπὸ βωμοῦ ἀφελῶν ἐπιθέσθαι βούλομαι.</td>
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<tr>
<td>P. Oxy. 1239 (Schröder, NCF fr. 17, v. 13)</td>
<td>δεῦρο τις στεφάνους ταχὺ</td>
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<tr>
<td>Terence, Adelphoe 906f: missa haec face, / hymenaeum turbas lampadas tibicinas.</td>
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For the πέμψατε φίλον κρότον or ἐπικροτήσατε of Menander, we

1. Gomme-Sandbach, comment. on Dyskolos, 967.
2. Peace 1317, Frogs 1525, Eccles. 1150, Clouds 1490; see also Birds 1274 f.
References to torches and garlands are also quite common in Middle Comedy, e.g. Lysippus, fab. inc. III, Antiphanes Skythai or Tauroi, and fab. inc. XXIX, Nicostratos, Tokistes, Apollodorus (from Karystos), Grammateidiopoioi, v. 20 f, Mnesimachus, Philippos, v. 3 and, v. 9, Philyllius, fab. inc. VII (Meineke), etc.
get something similar in the comic tradition; e.g. Aristophanes, in his Frogs 330f, says: \( \overline{\text{θρασεΐ}} \ \overline{\text{έγκατακρούων}} \ \overline{\text{ποδί τάν}} \ \overline{\text{άκλαστον}} \ \overline{\text{φιλο-}} \\
\overline{\text{παίγμονα}} \ \overline{\text{τιμάν}} \); and in his Knights 546-7 (in the parabasis): \( \overline{\text{αίρεσθ'}} \\
\overline{\text{αὐτῷ}} \ \overline{\text{πολὺ τὸ}} \ \overline{\text{ῥόθιον}}, \ \overline{\text{παραπέμψυσε}}' \ \overline{\text{ἔφ'}} \ \overline{\text{ἐνδεκα}} \ \overline{\text{κόπαις}} \ \overline{\text{χρήστον}} \ \overline{\text{ληνάτην}} \) (see Gomme - Sandbach, Commentary, on Sik. 421). Cratinus addresses the audience in a three-line passage which could come either from the parabasis or from the end of a play in these words:

\[
\text{Χαίρ', ώ μεγ' ἁχρειόγελως διμλε, ταῖς ἐπίβδαις,} \\
\text{τῆς ἡμετέρας σοφίας κριτῆς ἄριστε πάντων,} \\
\text{εὐδαιμον' ἔτικτε σε μήτηρ} \\
\text{Σικ. 421).}
\]

And in a fragment of an unknown play and author\(^2\), which must have come from the end of a play, he says the following:

\[
eι \ \deltaὲ \ \piὰν \ \εξεῖ καλῶς, \ \tauὸ \ \piαγνίῳ \\
\deltaότε ιπότον καὶ πάντες ὑπείς μετὰ χαρᾶς κτυπήσατε.
\]

The audience’s dislike of a play is expressed in a different manner. This we learn from Antiphanes’ Poiesis where he says that

\[
\text{αν ἐν τι τοιτῶν παραλίπῃ} \\
\text{Χρέμης τις ή Φείδων τις} \\
\text{Πηλεί δὲ ταύτ' ἐξεστὶ καὶ Τεθήρῳ ποιεῖν.}
\]

References to Victory are also common in the comic tradition. Thus, the Acharnians, 1227 ff, and the Birds, 1763 ff, end with the triumphal salute τὴνελλα καλλίνικος, which undoubtedly refers to the victory in the dramatic contest; the Ecclesiazousae and the Lysistrate end with exclamations of triumph and a reference to victory:\(^3\)

\[
\text{Eccl. 1180 ff} \ \overline{\text{αίρεσθ'}} \ \overline{\text{ἀνω}}, \ \overline{\text{ἰαὶ}} \ \overline{\text{εὔαι}}. \\
\text{Lys. 1292 ff} \ \overline{\text{ἀίρεσθ'}} \ \overline{\text{ἀνω}}, \ \overline{\text{ἰαὶ}}. \\
\text{δειπνήσομεν, εὖδοι εὔαι,} \\
\text{ως ἔπι νίκη, ἕαὶ.} \\
\text{εὔαι, ὡς ἔπι νίκη' εὔοϊ εὔοι, εὔαι, εὔαι.}
\]

In the Frogs, 1528 ff, the gods are asked to give εὔοδίαν ἀγαθὴν to the departing poet, and in the Thesmophoriazousae, 1227 ff, the θεσμοφόρῳ are asked to reward the women of the chorus with ἀγαθὴν χάριν.

Direct references to victory in the dramatic contest we get in many more cases in Aristophanes, most of them coming from the parabasis, e.g. Clouds 520, Knights, 507 ff, Peace 767 ff, Frogs 391 ff; an

1. Fab. inc. Li (Meineke).
2. Fr. CCCLVII (Meineke).
interesting passage referring to the dramatic victory is also found in the *Knights* 581 ff:

{o} πολιούχε Παλλάς, {o}  
  δεύρ' ἄριστον λαβοῦσα τὴν  
  ἐν στρατιάζεις τε καὶ μάχαις  
  ἥμετέραν ξυνεργόν  
  Νίκην, ἡ χορικῶν ἑστιν ἑταῖρα  
  τοῖς τ' ἐχθροῖσι μεθ' ἡμῶν στασιάζει.  
  νῦν οὖν δεύρο φάνηθι' δεῖ  
  γὰρ τοῖς ἀνδράσι τούσδε πά-  
  σῆ τέχνη πορίσαι σε νί-  
  κην εἴπερ ποτὲ καὶ νῦν.  

In the *Lysistrate*, 317-8, the chorus of men make an appeal to the goddess Nike to give them victory:

δέσποινα Νίκη ἐξογγελεῖ τῶν τ' ἐν πόλει γυναικῶν  
  τοῦ νῦν παρεστῶτος θράσους θέσθαι τροπαίον ἡμᾶς.

An appeal to Ares and Nike we also find in Apollodorus’ *Sphattomene*, but we are not in a position to say whether this appeal to Nike and the phrase ἐπ' ἐξόδοις ἐμάσι refers to the victory in the dramatic contest and the end of the play respectively.

A salute to the audience we find also in the end of Aeschylus’ *Eumenides* and Euripides’ *Electra*.

As to the formulaic prayer to Nike, Handley observes that its habitual use suggests that Menander had invented it¹. But the inspiration and the source must be seen in Euripides; the formula which closes the *Orestes*, *Phoënissae*, and *IT*, and its variation in the *Rhesus*, is the same in regard to the content to the Menandrean formula.

Let us now see what is the situation in tragedy. Aeschylus ends his plays in three ways, (i) by choral song (*Suppl.*, *Pers.*, *Sev. Theb.*, *Choe.*, *Eum.*), (ii) dialogue (*Agam.*), or (iii) monologue (*Prometheus*). The end of the *Choephoroe* (1068-76) in a way is a recapitulation of the

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action of the precedent two plays and at the same time a psychological preparation for the third. The end of the *Eumenides* is interesting for our investigation, the important elements being the following: first, the habitual address of the Athenian citizens; second, the salute χαίρετε which is addressed to the audience several times in the end of the play both by the chorus and Athena: 996 ff χαίρετε, χαίρετ' ἐν ἀληθείᾳ πλούτου, | χαίρετ' ἀστικὸς λεώς... , and 1014 ff χαίρετε, χαίρετε δ' αὖθις, ἐπανδιπλοίζω, | πάντες οἱ κατὰ πτύλων | διὰμοινές τε καὶ βροτοὶ | Πολλάδος πόλιν νέμοντες (both by the chorus), and 1003 ff χαίρετε χύμεϊς... (by Athena); third, the phrase τὸ δὲ κεραλέον πέμπειν πόλεως ἐπὶ νίκη (1009) which could have some ambiguity concerning the victory in the dramatic contest; fourth, the call to cry aloud (ὁλολύζατε νῦν ἐπὶ μολπαίς) twice repeated as an ephymnion (1043, 1047); and fifth, the procession with music and lighted torches (πυρεῖδαταρ ἀλματία: τερπόμεναι καθ' ὀδόν, 1041 f) which concludes the play.

Five of the seven extant plays of Sophocles end with a short passage spoken by the chorus as they leave the orchestra (*OC*, *Phil.*, *Ant.*, *El.*, *Aj.*); the *Trachiniae* ends with a passage spoken by Hyllos (1264-78), and the *OT* with a passage attributed to the chorus (1524-30). In these endings there is none of the elements which we find in Aeschylus. The only important point we should like to make is the short choral passages at the end of the plays, which we quote:

*OC* 1777-9 ἀλλ' ἀποπαύετε μηδ' ἐπὶ πλεῖον
θρήνον ἐγέρσετε
πάντως γὰρ ἔχει τάδε κύρος.

*Phil.* 1469-71 χωρῶμεν δὴ πάντες ἄολλες,
Νύμφαις ἀλίαισιν ἐπευξάμενοι
νόστου σωτήρας ἰκέσθαι.

*El.* 1508-10 ὅ στέρμι' Ἀτρέως, δὸς πολλὰ παθόν
δὲ ἐλευθερίας μόλις ἔξηλθες
τῇ νῦν ὄρμῃ τελεωθέν.

*Aj.* 1418-20 ἣ πολλὰ βροτοῖς ἐστίν ἱδούσιν
γνώναι: πρὶν ἰδεῖν δ' οὔθεὶς μάντις
tῶν μελλόντων ὁ δ' τι πράξει.

*Ant.* 1347-53 πολλῷ τὸ φρονεῖν εὐθαμοινάς
πρῶτον ὑπάρχει: χρὴ δὲ τὰ γ' ἐς θεοὺς

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1. Pearson in his edition of Sophocles (Oxford texts) secludes this passage, suspecting it as written by actors; instead he believes that the play ended with "anapaestorum clausula".
Whereas the meaning in the first three passages is directly connected with the previous action, in the last two passages it could have a more general application and is only indirectly related to the action, and in a way it is a moral conclusion drawn from the previous action. Without any difficulty these passages could be used at the end of any other play.

Euripides always concludes his plays with a short choral passage. His plays could be classified, if we take as criterion this choral passage, into two groups: (i) those which end with a stereotyped formula, and (ii) those with non-stereotyped end.

In the first group we have two formulas:

1. πολλαὶ μορφαὶ τῶν δαίμονιῶν,
polla δ' ἄελπτως κραίνουσι θεοὶ,
καὶ τὰ δοκηθέντ' οὐκ ἐτελέσθη,
tῶν δ' ἀδοκήτων πόρον εὑρε θεός.
τοιόνδ' ἀπέβη τόδε πράγμα.

This passage is repeated at the end of four plays, the Bacchae, 1388-92, the Helen, 1688-92, the Andromache, 1284-88, and the Alcestis, 1159-63. The same passage with the first line replaced by the πολλών ταμίας Ζεύς ἐν Ὀλύμπῳ concludes Medea, 1415-9.

2. ὁ μέγα σεμνὴ Νίκη,
toio σεμνὴ Νίκη,
βίοτόν κατέχοις
ktos σεμνὴ Νίκη,
καὶ μὴ λήγοις στεφανοῦσα.

This second formula is at the end of three plays, the Orestes, 1691-3, the Phoenissae, 1764-6, and the IT, 1497-9. The end of the Rhesus, 995 ff, is a variation of this passage:

πειθοῦ βασιλεί- στείχωμεν δπλοὶς
κοσμημάτωι καὶ ξυμμαχία
táde φράξωμεν' τάχα δ' ἀν νίκην
doi' διάμων ὁ μεθ' ἡμῶν.

All Euripidean plays with non stereotyped ending conclude with a short choral passage, which is almost always anapaestic\(^1\), and the

\(^{1}\) The only exception is Ion 1619-22, which is trochaic. Cf. also Soph. OT. See A. S. Owen, Euripides Ion, Oxford 1939, commen. on v. 1622.
content of which is usually closely referred to the previous action1. In three cases2 the chorus moves from the individual case demonstrated in the play to draw general conclusions; thus in the Hippolytus the chorus say: τῶν γὰρ μεγάλων ἀξιοπενθείς | φήμαι μέλλον κατέχουσιν; in the Electra: χαίρειν δ’ ὅσις δύναται | καὶ ἐξουσία μὴ τινὶ κάμνει | θνητῶν, εὐδαίμονα πράσσει; in the Ion: ὃτῳ δ’ ἐλαύνεται | συμφοραῖς οἶκος, σέβοντα δαίμονας θαρσεὸν χρεών | ἐς τέλος γὰρ οἱ μὲν ἐσθολοὶ τυγχάνουσιν ἐξίων, | οἱ κακοὶ δ’, ὥσπερ πεφύκασ’, ὦποτ’ εὖ πράξειαν ἁν.

Another element which we find at the closing section of some plays is the salute to the city or the citizens; thus Electra as she departs at the end of the play says to the audience: ὥ χαίρε, πόλις-χαίρετε | δ’ ὑμεῖς πολλὰ, πολίτες (Ε Ι. 1334 f); and a similar farewell is also spoken by the chorus in their exit-song: χαίρετε χαίρειν | δ’ ὅσις δύναται καί ἐξουσία μὴ τινὶ κάμνει θνητῶν, εὐδαίμονα πράσσει (1357-9). In other cases, as in the IA, 1627 ff, and Ion, 1619 ff, the salute is not directed to the audience, but to the departing Agamemnon and the god Apollo respectively.

A question which must be answered is whether these passages are genuine or not. Barrett3, for instance, brings under general suspicion all these "tail-pieces", resting his suspicions on the following grounds: (i) the actors could provide these passages "to cater for a public addicted to commonplaces"; (ii) the inappropriateness of thought and language; (iii) the two cases of repetition of formulae; and (iv) the chorus "are capable of locomotion in silence".

Relying on these criteria he regards as spurious the "tail-pieces" which are repeated in eight plays, the IT, Orestes, Phoenissae, Andromache, Helen, Bacchae, Medea, and Alcestis. He says that the ending in the Alcestis might be genuine, for only here he finds that the passage is really appropriate4, while in the Andromache, Helen, and the Bacchae it is no more than tolerable, and grossly out of place in the Medea. For the repetition he observes that "it would be extra-ordinary that he (i.e. Euripides) should content himself in almost one play in three

4. Nevertheless, he says that if in the other four plays it is spurious, it may be spurious in the Alcestis too.
with a repetition of the same undistinguished platitude". Barret also suspects the ending of the *Hippolytus*, which he regards spurious, and the endings of the other plays (excluding *IA*). He says that the endings in the *Heraclidae*, *Hecuba*, *Suppliants*, and *Heracles* are not obviously genuine or obviously suspect. But he finds genuine the passages in the *Cyclops*, *Troades*, and *Ion*.

We do not deny that actors could write such passages, but Barret's "argument" is not convincing for many reasons: (i) the repetition is not a strong argument against the genuineness of these passages, if one has in mind that especially Euripides is characterized by it, having employed it for various reasons; (ii) the thought expressed in the passage πολλαί μορφαὶ τῶν δαιμονίων etc. is not as inappropriate to the plays it concludes as Barret thinks; (iii) the arguments for suspecting the prayer for victory, which is found at the end of *IT*, *Orestes*, and *Phoenissae*, as spurious are not convincing; (iv) the tendency to close the play with a short, usually anapaestic choral passage, is found not only in Euripides, but also in at least five plays of Sophocles (*OC*, *Antigone*, *Philoctetes*, *Electra*, *Ajax*); (v) the thought carried by the passage πολλαί μορφαὶ τῶν δαιμονίων etc. is similar to the one in the *Ajax* of Sophocles; (vi) if the passage, which is at the end of the *Alcestis* and other plays, was a popular commonplace in the later centuries, this does not prove that its existence in Euripides is indebted to these centuries; it could be, and this seems more probable, the reverse; (vii) the chorus can get out of the orchestra in silence, but why to doubt or reject the opposite case, that it could depart with an exit song, which seems to be the usual practice, as we see from the extant plays of Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides (cf. also Aristophanes' *Acharnians*, *Birds*, *Ecclesiazousae*, *Frogs*).

Before I finish my investigation, I would like to draw attention to another point. Handley rightly observes that the word κατηγωγισμένοις in the *Dyskolos*, 965, has a double significance, for it does not only have the meaning "triumphed over the troublesome old man", but it also means "performed the *Dyskolos* to the end"; and he compares it to the word-play with the title *Knights* in Aristophanes' *Achar-“

1. Cf. the formulaic end which is habitually found in many Menandrian plays. Its repetition is not a serious argument against its genuineness.
The formulaic end of the Menandrean plays

nians, 300 f. We get similar cases in the Clouds and the Thesmophoriazousae, this time at the end of the plays: in lines 1510f of the former the chorus says ἤγεῖσθ' ἔξω· κεχάρευται γάρ μετρίως τό γε τήμερον ἡμῖν, and in 1227 of the latter πέπαισται μετρίως ἡμῖν.

A similar play with the ambiguity of the meaning we have in Euripides too: The ἥξια δ' ἡμῖν προμεμοχθήκασι σέβεσθαι (the last lines of the Suppliants), the κεκαρτέρηται τάµα (the tenth line from the end in the Hippolytus), and the τάχα δ' ἂν νίκην δοίη δαιμὸν δ μεθ' ἡμῶν (last lines of the Rhesus), carry the same ambiguity as the κατηγωγισμένοι in the Dyskolos.

Conclusions:

a) The reference to torches and garlands in Menander is always connected with weddings, which take place at the end of many plays. They are characteristic of the komos procession. The numerous references in the Middle and Old Comedy proves beyond any doubt that this is a traditional comic element.

b) The request for applause at the end of the play (πέμψατε φίλον κρότον or ἐπικροτήσατε) is also a traditional comic element, which we find e.g. in a fragment from Cratinus (ὑμίων ψόφησις) and another fragment from an unknown play and author (δότε κρότον ... μετὰ χαρῆς κυτοπήσατε). The “plaudite” or “plausum date” of Plautus and Terence are therefore indebted to the Greek comedians, but they are in the tradition of ancient Roman tragedy and comedy as well.

c) The salute to the spectators (“bene valete” or simply “valete”) at the end of the Roman comedies is equivalent to the Menandrean έρρωσθε, which we find in the end of the prologue in the Perikeiromene. However, we do not find something similar at the end of the Menandrean plays so far. In tragedy and Old comedy we have in some plays (Aesch. Eumenides and Eur. Electra; Arist. Peace) a farewell to the audience (χαίρετε).

d) As to the formulaic prayer to Nike, Handley may be right to observe that its habitual use suggests that Menander had invented it. But Menander must have got his inspiration from the Euripidean formula with a similar content and reference to Nike, which closes the Orestes, Phoenissae, IT, and the Rhesus. In addition, the frequent reference to victory in the dramatic contest in the Aristophanean plays, both in the parabasis and the end of some of his plays, may have also exerted

a significant influence on Menander. Moreover, the short choral passages, in which a general moral conclusion is drawn, with which Soplocles and Euripides end their plays, is also an important influencing factor towards the Menandrean formula.

Noticeable is the fact that in Latin comedy, Plautus, contrary to Terence, ends many of his plays with such passages, which although different from play to play, have a common element: they draw a moral conclusion, which usually is connected with the action of the play just produced.