

THE FORMULAIC END OF THE MENANDREAN PLAYS

The stereotyped end of the Menandrian plays, which has been observed but not adequately discussed by scholars¹, 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 metre² have the last two lines the same :

ἡ δ' εὐπάτειρα φιλόγελως τε παρθένος
Νίκη μεθ' ἡμῶν εὐμενῆς ἔποιτ' ἀεὶ³.

The fifth⁴, in trochaic metre, differs slightly :

ἡ δὲ καλ]λίστων ἀγώνων πάρεδρος ἀφθιτος θεὰ
εὐμεν]ῆς ἔποιτο Νίκη τοῖς ἑμοῖς 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 ἅμα⁵
πέμψατ' εὐνοίας προφήτην Βακχίω φίλον κρότον.

1. See U. von Wilamowitz, *Menanders Das Schiedsgericht*, Berlin 1925, p. 116; E. W. Handley, *The Dyskolos*, London 1965, p. 304 f., comment. on vv. 965-9; E. Vogt, Ein stereotyper Dramenschluss der Νέα, *Rh. M.* 102 (1959) 192, and 108 (1965) 292; and P. Maas, *Glotta* 35 (1956) 301.

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 *Ῥοσειδίππου*' *Apocleiomene*, for example, we read (Heid. Pap. 183) : [ὕμεῖς δὲ] λοιπόν, ὦ ἄνδρες οἱ συνηγμένοι, [κροτήσα]θ' ἡμᾶς· [ἡ] δὲ φιλόγελως θεὰ [Νίκη με]θ' ἡμῶν εὐμενῆς ἔποιτ' ἀεὶ.

4. *Samia*, 736-7.

5. Cf. Plato, fr. 206 (Edmonds), and Antiphanes' *Anthropogonia* (P. Oxy. 427).

- Dysk.* 965 ff εἶεν· συνησθέντες κατηγωνισμένοι
 ἡμῖν τὸν ἐργώδη γέροντα, φιλοφρόνως
 μειράκια, παῖδες, ἄνδρες, ἐπικροτήσατε.
- Sik.* 420 ff μειράκ[ι], ἄνδρες, παιδία,
 πρῶρασατ' ἐκτείναντες, ἐπ[ικροτήσατε.
- Misoum.* 464 f ἄνδρες πρεπόντως πά[ντες ἐπικροτήσατε¹.

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 (παῖδες, μειράκια, ἄνδρες, γυναικίκες, γέροντες); (ii) an adverb qualifying the call for applaud, "strongly, kindly, or suitably" (εὐρώστως, 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 valet et plaudite"⁴. In Plautus, however, the final address to the audience is usually both longer and more varied, and is spoken either by a character

1. Cf. also P. Oxy. 1239, v. 19 ἐπικρ[ο]τήσατε followed in v. 20 by the known ending ἡ δ' εὐπάτετρα φιλόγε]λωσ [τε παρθένος / Νίκη μεθ' ἡμῶν εὐμ]ενή[ς] ἔποιτ' ἀεὶ (Schröder, *NCF*, fr. 17, vv. 20-1; see Handley, *BICS* 12, 1965, 62 n. 22); Himerius, Or. 19.3: Νίκη χρυσοπτέρυγε, Νίκη Διὸς τοῦ μεγάλου παῖ, εὐπατέρεια καὶ φιλόγελωσ (τούτοις γὰρ τοῖς ὀνόμασιν ἀγάλλει ἡ ποίησις) ἕλωσ εἴης (see also C. Corbato, *Studi Menandrei*, 1965, p. 94 ff). Cf. also Menander's fr. 771 Kō ἐξείραντες ἐπικροτήσατε (for ἐξείραντες and not ἐξάραντες 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.

3. *Hec.* 881, *Ad.* 997, *An.* 981, cf. Horace, *Ars Poet.* 154 f, Cic. *de sen.* 70.

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 play¹, both by a character of the play and the company of actors (*Persa* 858), or by the company of the actors². In three plays it is a single "plaudite"³, and in one "spectatores, plaudite" (*Curculio*); in other plays it extends from one to twelve lines. Usually it includes the vocative "spectatores"⁴, the adverb "clare" qualifying the request of applause⁵, and a farewell "valete" or "bene valete" or the like⁶. 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 firmo 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 nihili inde ab adolescentia,
non hodie hoc tantum flagitium facerent canis capitibus;
neque adeo haec faceremus, in antehac vidissemus 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.

2. *Asin.* 942 ff, *Bacch.* 1208 ff, *Capt.* 1029 ff, *Cistel.* 782 ff, *Epid.* 732 ff, *Poen.* 1422, *Trinum.* 1190.

3. *Mil.* 1437, *Trin.* 1189, *Poen.* 1422.

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.

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 vultis 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, plausurit" 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 is homo est qui libertatem malitia invenit sua", followed by the "plaudite et valete" and a playful addition "lumbos porgite atque exsurgite".

Eutyclus 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 lose 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 "plaudite". This statement is further supported by a fragment of a tragedy: "plaudite"². 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

1. *Inst. Or.* VI. i. 52.

2. O. Ribbeck, *Scaenicae Romanorum Fragmenta*, vol. I: Tragicorum Fragmenta, fab. inc. CLV.

3. *Tarentilla*, fr. I (Ribbeck, *Comicorum Fragmenta* vol. II).

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: ἔρρωσθε. 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 theatre¹.

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 Comedy².

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

Dysk. 963f³ ἰώ, ἐκδότω | στεφάνους τις ἡμῖν, δᾶδα

Sikyon. 418f δᾶδα[| ..καί στεφαν[

Samia 731f δεῦρο δ’ ἡμῖν ἐκδότω τις δᾶδα καὶ στεφάνους, ἵνα
συμπροπέμπωμεν

Misoum. 459f ἄψας δᾶ[δα | στεφάνους τ’ ἔχοντες

fr. 239 Kō (*Kekryphalos*)

εἴτ’ εὐθύς οὕτω τὰς τραπέζας αἵρετε,
μύρα, στεφάνους ἐτοίμασον, σπονδᾶς ποίει.

Perikeir. 999f μᾶλλον δὲ ἀγάω. στέφανον ἀπὸ βωμοῦ
ἀφελῶν ἐπιθέσθαι βούλομαι.

P. Oxy. 1239 (Schröder, *NCF* fr. 17, v. 13)

δεῦ]ρο τις στεφάνους ταχὺ

Terence, *Adelphoe* 906f : missa haec face, / hymenaeum turbas lampadas tibicinas.

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*), *Grammateidiopoi*, v. 20 f, *Mnesimachus*, *Philippus*, v. 3 and, v. 9, *Philyllius*, fab. inc. VII (Meineke), etc.

3. W. G. Arnott, op. cit., p. 254 f. Cf. also *Antiphanes*, fr. 199, 272 (Edmonds).

get something similar in the comic tradition; e.g. Aristophanes, in his *Frogs* 330f, says: θρασεῖ δ' ἐγκατακρούων ποδὶ τὰν ἀκδλαστον φιλοπαίγμονα τιμάν; and in his *Knights* 546-7 (in the parabasis): αἴρεσθ' αὐτῶ πολὺ τὸ ρόθιον, παραπέμψατ' ἐφ' ἔνδεκα κώπαις θόρυβον χρηστὸν ληναίτην (see Gomme - Sandbach, Commentary, on *Sik.* 421). Cratinus¹ 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:

Χαῖρ', ὦ μεγ' ἀχρειόγελως ὅμιλε, ταῖς ἐπίβδαις,
τῆς ἡμετέρας σοφίας κριτῆς ἄριστε πάντων,
εὐδαίμον' ἔτικτέ σε μῆτηρ ἰκρίων ψόφῆσις.

And in a fragment of an unknown play and author², which must have come from the end of a play, he says the following:

εἰ δὲ πᾶν ἔχει καλῶς, τῷ παιγνίῳ
δότε κρότον καὶ πάντες ὑμεῖς 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

ἂν ἔν τι τούτων παραλίπη
Χρέμης τις ἢ Φείδων τις ἐκσυρίττεται
Πηλεῖ δὲ ταῦτ' ἔξεστι καὶ Τεῦκρω 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 τῆνελλα 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

Eccl. 1180 ff αἴρεσθ' ἄνω, ἰαὶ εὐαί. *Lys.* 1292 ff αἴρεσθ' ἄνω, ἰαί,
δειπνήσομεν, εὐοῖ εὐαί, ὡς ἐπὶ νίκη, ἰαί.
εὐαί, ὡς ἐπὶ νίκη· εὐοῖ εὐοῖ, εὐαί, εὐαί.
εὐαί, εὐαί, εὐαί, εὐαί.

In the *Frogs*, 1528 ff, the gods are asked to give εὐοδίαν ἀγαθὴν to the departing poet, and in the *Thesmophoriazousae*, 1227 ff, the θεσμοφόρω 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).

3. Cf. L. B. Lawler, *Orchosis Kallinikos*, *TAPA* 79 (1948) 256 ff.

interesting passage referring to the dramatic victory is also found in the *Knights* 581 ff :

ὦ πολιοῦχε Παλλάς, ὦ
 . . .
 δεῦρ' ἀφικοῦ λαβοῦσα τὴν
 ἐν στρατιαῖς τε καὶ μάχαις
 ἡμετέραν ζυνεργὸν
 Νίκην, ἣ χορικῶν ἐστὶν ἐταίρα
 τοῖς τ' ἐχθροῖσι μεθ' ἡμῶν στασιάζει.
 νῦν οὖν δεῦρο φάνηθι· δεῖ
 γὰρ τοῖς ἀνδράσι τοῖσδε πά-
 ση τέχνη πορίσαι σε νί-
 κην εἴπερ ποτὲ καὶ νῦν.

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

δέσποια Νίκη ζυγγενοῦ τῶν τ' ἐν πόλει γυναικῶν
 τοῦ νῦν παρεστῶτος θράσους θέσθαι τροπαῖον 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 ἐμαῖς refers to the victory in the dramatic contest and the end of the play respectively.

A salute to the audience we find in the closing lines of Aristophanes' *Peace* 1335 ff :

ὦ χαίρετε, χαίρετ' ἄν-
 δρες, κἂν ζυνέπησθέ μοι,
 πλακοῦντας ἔδεσθε.

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*, *Phoenissae*, and *IT*, and its variation in the *Rhesus*, is the same in regard to the content to the Menandrian 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

1. Handley, *The Dyskolos*, p. 305.

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 αἰσιμίαισι πλούτου, | χαίρετ' ἀστικὸς λεῶς...*, and 1014 ff *χαίρετε, χαίρετε δ' αὔθις, ἐπανδιπλοῦζω, | πάντες οἱ κατὰ πτόλιν | δαίμονές τε καὶ βροτοὶ | Παλλάδος πόλιν νέμοντες* (both by the chorus), and 1003 f *χαίρετε χύμεϊς...* (by Athena); third, the phrase τὸ δὲ κερδαλέον πέμπειν πόλεως ἐπὶ νίκη (1009) which could have some ambiguity concerning the victory in the dramatic contest; fourth, the call to cry aloud (ὄλοῦξατε νῦν ἐπὶ μολπαῖς) twice repeated as an ephymnion (1043, 1047); and fifth, the procession with music and lighted torches (πυριδάπτω λαμπάδι τερπόμεναι καθ' ὁδόν, 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)¹. 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 πλείω
 θρῆνον ἐγείρετε·
 πάντως γὰρ ἔχει τᾶδε κύρος.
- Phil.* 1469-71 χωρῶμεν δὴ πάντες ἄολλεῖς,
 Νύμφαις ἀλίαισιν ἐπευξάμενοι
 νόστου σωτήρας ἰκέσθαι.
- El.* 1508-10 ὦ σπέρμ' Ἀτρέως, ὡς πολλὰ παθὼν
 δι' ἐλευθερίας μόλις ἐξῆλθες
 τῆ νῦν ὀρμῆ τελεωθέν.
- Aj.* 1418-20 ἦ πολλὰ βροτοῖς ἐστὶν ἰδοῦσιν
 γῶναι· πρὶν ἰδεῖν δ' οὐδεὶς μάντις
 τῶν μελλόντων ὅ τι πράξει
- Ant.* 1347-53 πολλῶ τὸ φρονεῖν εὐδαιμονίας
 πρῶτον ὑπάρχει· χρῆ δὲ τὰ γ' ἐς θεοῦς

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".

μηδὲν ἀσεπτεῖν· μεγάλοι δὲ λόγοι
 μέγας πληγὰς τῶν ὑπεράυχων
 ἀποτείσαντες
 γήρᾳ τὸ φρονεῖν ἐδίδαξαν.

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. πολλὰ μορφαὶ τῶν δαιμονίων,
 πολλὰ δ' ἀέλπτως κραίνουσι θεοί·
 καὶ τὰ δοκηθέντ' οὐκ ἐτελέσθη,
 τῶν δ' ἀδοκῆτων πόρον εὔρε θεός.
 τοιόνδ' ἀπέβη τόδε πρᾶγμα.

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 πολλῶν ταμίας Ζεὺς ἐν Ὀλύμπῳ concludes *Medea*, 1415-9.

2. ὦ μέγα σεμνὴ Νίκη, τὸν ἐμὸν
 βίσιον κατέχοις
 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:

πεῖθου βασιλεῖ· στείχωμεν ὄπλοις
 κοσμησάμενοι καὶ ξυμμαχία
 τάδε φράζωμεν· τάχα δ' ἂν νίκην
 δότῃ δαίμων ὁ μεθ' ἡμῶν.

All Euripidean plays with non stereotyped ending conclude with a short choral passage, which is almost always anapaestic¹, 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 ἀξιοπενθεῖς | φῆμαι μᾶλλον κατέχουσιν; in the *Electra*: χαίρειν δ' ὅστις δύναται | καὶ ξυντυχία μή τι κἀμνει | θνητῶν, εὐδαίμονα πράσσει; in the *Ion*: ὅτω δ' ἐλαύνεται | συμφοραῖς οἶκος, σέβοντα δαίμονας θαρσεῖν χρεῶν· | ἐς τέλος γὰρ οἱ μὲν ἐσθλοὶ τυγχάνουσιν ἀξίων, | οἱ κακοὶ δ', ὥσπερ πεφύκασ', οὔποτ' εὐπράξειαν ἔν.

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: ὦ χαῖρε, πόλις· χαίρετε δ' ὑμεῖς πολλά, πολίτιδες (*El.* 1334 f); and a similar farewell is also spoken by the chorus in their exit-song: χαίρετε· χαίρειν δ' ὅστις δύναται καὶ ξυντυχία μή τι κἀμνει 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

1. *Suppl.* 1232-4, *Hec.* 1293-5, *Heraclid.* 1053-5, *IA* 1627-8, *Her.* 1427-8, *Troa.* 1331-2.

2. *Ion* 1619-22, *El.* 1357-9, *Hippol.* 1462-6.

3. *Euripides Hippolytos*, Oxford 1964, comment, on vv. 1462-6.

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". Barrett 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 Barrett'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 reasons¹; (ii) the thought expressed in the passage *πολλὰ μορφαὶ τῶν δαιμονίων* etc. is not as inappropriate to the plays it concludes as Barrett 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 *πολλὰ 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*)².

Before I finish my investigation, I would like to draw attention to another point. Handley³ rightly observes that the word *κατηγωνισμένοις* 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.

2. Cf. W. M. Calder's criticism of Barrett's views in *CP* 60 (1965) 281.

3. *The Dyskolos*, p. 304, comment. on vv. 965-9.

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 ἡγεῖσθ' ἔξω· κεχόρευται γὰρ 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 ἄξια δ' ἡμῖν προμεμοχθήκασι σέβεσθαι (the last lines of the *Suppliants*), the κεκαρτέρηται τὰμὰ (the tenth line from the end in the *Hippolytus*), and the τάχα δ' ἂν νίκην δόιη δαίμων ὁ μεθ' ἡμῶν (last lines of the *Rhesus*), carry the same ambiguity as the κατηγωνισμένοις in the *Dyskolos*¹.

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 (ἰκρίων ψόφησις) and another fragment from an unknown play and author (δότε κρότον ... μετὰ χαρᾶς κτυπήσατε). 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 Menandrian ἔρωσθε, which we find in the end of the prologue in the *Perikeiromene*. However, we do not find something similar at the end of the Menandrian 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

1. Cf. also Soph. *Ajax* 1402 f: ἄλις ἤδη γὰρ πολὺς ἐκτέταται χρόνος.

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