Show Business: Deixis in Fifth-Century Athenian Drama

by

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Abstract

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In my dissertation I examine the use of deixis in fifth-century Athenian drama to show how a playwright’s lexical choices shape an audience’s engagement with and investment in a dramatic work. The study combines modern performance theories concerning the relationship between actor and audience with a detailed examination of the demonstratives ὅς and ὅτος in a representative sample of tragedy (and satyr play) and in the full Aristophanic corpus, and reaches conclusions that aid and expand our understanding of both tragedy and comedy. In addition to exploring and interpreting a number of particular scenes for their inter-actor dynamics and staging, I argue overall that tragedy’s predilection for ὅς, a word which by definition conveys a strong spatio-temporal presence (“this <one> here / now”), pointedly draws the spectators into the dramatic fiction. The comic poet’s preference for ὅτος (“that <one> just mentioned” / “that <one> there”), on the other hand, coupled with his tendency to directly acknowledge the audience individually and in the aggregate, disengages the spectators from the immediacy of the tragic tetralogies and reengages them with the normal, everyday world to which they will return at the close of the festival.

I begin Chapter 1 with an overview of previous scholarship on the subject of deixis, from the ancient grammarian Apollonius Dyscolus’ study on the syntax of pronouns, to the German psychologist Karl Bühler’s seminal book Sprachtheorie (1934), which posits that all deictic expressions refer to a field of reference at whose center (the Origo) are the words “here,” “now,” and “I,” to more recent work on the subject both in the fields of modern socio-linguistics and performance studies. To establish the differences and similarities in linguistic (and performative) usage between playwrights and genres I distinguish between eight types of deixis: first person, second person, spatial, person / object, anaphora, cataphora, situational, and temporal. The four most common types (spatial, person / object, anaphora, cataphora) are discussed in Chapters 2-4.

In Chapter 2, I examine the language of spatial reference in terms of “macro space,” the larger spatial setting of a drama (city, region, country), and “micro space,” whatever the stage building is declared to represent. While tragedy and satyr play frequently refer to the imagined location of the dramatic action, and thus seek to create a space which includes the audience, in comedy not only are demonstratives seldom employed to
acknowledge where the characters are, but when they are used they usually serve to unify the dramatic space and time with the larger civic space of real-life Athens. In addition to these larger generic issues, I examine the phrase “this house” over the course of Aeschylus’ Oresteia, showing that the intense focus on the skene as the epicenter of murder in Agamemnon and Choephoroi necessarily disappears in Eumenides, for it is only by functionally removing the House (and Apollo’s temple), deemphasizing it as an important, meaningful space, and replacing it with a larger, civic space (Athens) and institution (the Areopagite council) that discord can be resolved without further violence and competing social interests can be effectively reintegrated and harmonized.

I study “person deixis” and “object deixis” in Chapter 3. In drama, the proximal demonstrative ὅς is used almost by default to refer to people and to objects. When ὅς is used of a prop, in each case the demonstrative either reflects the speaker’s distance from the object or is markedly second person (“that of yours”). I also examine the performative dimension of the vocative ὅς, used to hail one whose attention is turned elsewhere. The consistency of this usage permits us a clearer understanding of the staging and meaning of several scenes, for example Helen 1627ff., where Theonoe’s Attendant can plausibly be eliminated as an actor onstage. In comedy, where this usage is most prevalent, I challenge the notion that ὅς is normally pejorative, arguing instead that word order and the larger constructions in which this vocative occurs lend the word its various shades of meaning. Speaking more generally, I also show that tragedy uses demonstrative reference selectively to highlight particular people and objects within a play, making them focal points of the dramatic action and plot (e.g., Agamemnon’s corpse, Orestes’ lock of hair, Medea’s children), whereas comedy flits more indiscriminately from one object or person to the next, and that this difference in focus is generic and speaks to the type of audience engagement of each genre.

In Chapter 4, I address anaphoric and cataphoric reference. The normal way to refer back in the discourse (i.e., “anaphorically”) in Greek is, of course, with ὅς; ὅς regularly looks forward (= “cataphora”). As grammar books have long noted, when ὅς is used anaphorically it indicates a speaker’s elevated emotional state. I begin by discussing cataphora in tragedy and satyr play—anaphora is treated in Chapter 5—before offering a detailed analysis of these two types of reference in Aristophanes. A cross-genre comparison reveals that while ὅς is used more often than ὅς in tragedy and satyr play, particularly in anaphoric reference, Aristophanes rarely uses ὅς to refer backward. When he does, it is always either paratragic or in a scene of intense excitement. Based on the types of uses found in Aristophanes we are thus afforded a clear view of the rhetorical and emotional effects of “normal” tragic diction; the relative infrequency of ὅς in Aristophanes appears, then, to confirm at the linguistic level the observation that comedy is less emotionally engaging than tragedy or satyr play. Or, to put it another way, the exceptional frequency of ὅς in tragedy and satyr play (much the highest rate for any Greek literary genre) creates an intensity and immediacy that necessarily draws the audience strongly into the fictional world of these plays.

I begin Chapter 5 by providing a systematic analysis of anaphoric uses of the proximal demonstrative, and then step back to consider the audience’s overall experience in
witnessing dramatic performances in the Great Dionysia (and Lenaia). I suggest that this experience is analogous to the act of “sacred pilgrimage” (*theoria*), wherein a member of the community would journey abroad, witness something, and return home with an expanded world-view to share with his city. That is, the theater audience progresses from a sense of inclusion in the manifold worlds of the tragic tetralogies, brought about in large part by spatial and anaphoric uses of ὕδε, toward a subsequent disengagement from these other times and places achieved by the comic performances through, amongst other things, a less intense spatial focus, more direct audience address, and colloquial diction. Athens and her citizens thus reap the political, social, and psychological benefits of *theoria* by traveling to the other places (and times) imaginatively experienced at the dramatic festivals, and all without ever leaving the theater.

Following my final chapter are appendices, organized by author and play (A. *Oresteia*; S. *Ant.*. *OT*, *Phil.*; E. *Med.*, *Hipp.*, *Or.*, *Cyc.*; all of Aristophanes), that list every instance of ὕδε and οὐτος in these works. Each entry contains the line number, the word, the type of deixis, and to what it refers. Next to the word I have indicated whether it is a proximal demonstrative or a medial demonstrative by using the letters “p” and “m,” respectively. When these words are suffixed with –ί I have underlined the letter.
Dedication

In memory of Corinne Sinclair Crawford
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INTRODUCTION

I can think of no worse way to enjoy an ancient Greek play than to read it silently to oneself, alone and indoors. And while this is, of course, what we do day in and day out for many obvious reasons, our engagement with these plays, filtered as it is through the bland, lifeless remains of what was millennia ago an engaging, socially and politically relevant performance is obfuscated by the myriad hindrances that impede our access to the original which our texts preserve in the barest of senses. This is not to say that we should forsake reading the plays of Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, Aristophanes, or any other ancient playwright. Far from it. What I advocate instead is that we attempt to follow the clues furnished by the texts themselves, for the words on the page are virtually all that remain to help us recapture some whisper of the vibrancy and spirit of the original.¹

In many respects, my approach is (intentionally) quite myopic, focusing primarily as it does on the semantic, and thus performative, difference between two demonstrative pronouns. The audience, unable to gauge emotion from the actors’ facial expressions because of the convention of masked performance, had to rely, at least in part, on the words they heard.² Whether the audience is hearing a single line or an entire play, particles, diction, and to a lesser degree word order certainly contribute to the prevailing tone and emotion, but on occasion marked uses of demonstratives lend feeling to the drama and help guide the spectators in understanding and engaging with the action unfolding before their eyes and ears.

My aim in the ensuing pages is to explore (and hopefully to understand better) the dynamic relationship between performers and spectators during Greek dramatic performances through a study of deixis, defined by John Lyons as:

> the location and identification of person, objects, events, processes and activities being talked about, or referred to, in relation to the spatiotemporal context created and sustained by the act of utterance and the participation in it, typically, of a single speaker and at least one addressee.³

In particular, my study focuses on the demonstratives ὅδε ("this, here, now") and ὅτος ("that, there") in a selection of dramatic works: Aeschylus’ *Oresteia*, Sophocles’ *Antigone*, *Oedipus Tyrannus*, and *Philoctetes*, Euripides’ *Medea*, *Hippolytus*, *Orestes*, *Cyclops*, and the entire corpus of Aristophanes. I approach the material first and foremost as a philologist, but in order to develop a more thorough grasp of how these words operate both intra- and inter-dramatically, of how they generate or convey meaning within a single play and across plays over the course of the festivals at which

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¹ In addition to the texts themselves we have visual representations and anecdotal evidence of various dates and provenances (although the latter is truer for tragedy than for comedy).
² Of course, as anyone who has witnessed masked dramatic or dance performances can attest, gesture and comportment contributed greatly to the communication of emotion.
³ Lyons 1977: 637.
they were performed.\textsuperscript{4} I necessarily draw on both pragmatic linguistics and modern theories of performance that explore the complex relationship between actors and spectators. I shall begin by looking at the Greek system of demonstratives, and demonstrative usage more generally, before moving on to discuss how this type of language can contribute to meaning in the theater.\textsuperscript{5}

Classical Greek employed a triad of demonstratives to express relative proximity to the mental or physical space of a speaker.\textsuperscript{6} These are, appropriately enough, referred to as proximal, medial, and distal, and coordinate nicely with the Latin triad of demonstratives:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Proximal</th>
<th>Medial</th>
<th>Distal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ὅδε</td>
<td>οὗτος</td>
<td>ἐκεῖνος</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hic</td>
<td>iste</td>
<td>ille</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This division is also maintained in the adverbs:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Proximal</th>
<th>Medial</th>
<th>Distal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ἐνθάδε</td>
<td>ἐνταῦθα</td>
<td>ἐκεῖ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ἐνθένδε</td>
<td>ἐντεύθεν</td>
<td>ἐκεῖσε</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>δεύρο</td>
<td>———</td>
<td>ἐκεῖθεν</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>τῇδε</td>
<td>ταῦτη</td>
<td>ἐκεῖνη</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ὦδε</td>
<td>οὕτως</td>
<td>ἐκεῖνως \textsuperscript{7}</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

What is nearest or most present or vivid is signaled with ὅδε, what is not as close or what is less vivid is marked with οὗτος; ἐκεῖνος typically refers to what is not within the immediate physical or mental space of the speaker.\textsuperscript{8} The perceptual difference between

\textsuperscript{4} Throughout this work I use the City Dionysia as my focal point, though what I argue can, and should, be read onto the Lenaia as well. Moreover, although most of the comedies of Aristophanes we have were performed at the Lenaia, I use them as evidence for the genre as a whole and apply my reading(s) of the comic poet’s entire work to the overarching program of the City Dionysia. I should also state here, at the outset, that I am using Aristophanic comedy as synonymous for Greek comedy more generally. And while there are potential issues with this, as recent scholarship has brought to our attention (see, e.g., Storey 2003, Bakola 2010), I have not found that the other comic poets display markedly different linguistic preferences that work against my readings of demonstrative usage.

\textsuperscript{5} Dover 1966: 2.


\textsuperscript{7} This form does not occur in Greek drama with the sole exception of the fourth-century comic playwright Antiphanes fr. 29.2.

\textsuperscript{8} See Rijksbaron 2007: 163. Matino (1998: 109) nicely explains the distinction between demonstratives thus: “La prossimità o l’allontanamento del primo dal secondo dipendono naturalmente dalla considerazione soggettiva del parlante; per questo l’uso dell’uno e dell’altro pronome può non rispecchiare, fatta eccezione dell’impiego deittico, la realtà, ma esprimere una situazione reale solo nella mente del parlante. Ne derivano conseguenze psicologistiche non dettate dalle leggi sintattiche. Soprattutto nei drammi, l’impiego dei pronomi dimostrativi ha origine dalle particolari intenzioni espressive e/o emotive che l’autore intende perseguire.” (italics mine).
the proximal ὅδε and the medial ὀὗτος is readily apparent when the two are set against each other; here ὅδε refers to what is more important.9

Karl Brugmann, in his seminal study on the Indo-European demonstrative pronoun, classified these demonstratives as Ich-Deixis (ὅδε), Du-Deixis (ὀὗτος), and Jener-Deixis (ἐκεῖνος), terms which underscore only their close relationship to person.10 Jacob Wackernagel first pointed out that this terminological emphasis does not accurately reflect the full function of the demonstratives. He suggested as a corrective that Brugmann’s Ich, Du, and Jener schema be replaced with the Latin triad of proximal, medial, and distal pronouns hic, iste, and ille, respectively, which better encapsulate the range of meaning for the Greek demonstratives.11

Apollonius Dyscolus, the great grammarian of the second century CE, wrote in his treatise on pronouns that “every pronoun is either deictic or anaphoric” (πᾶσα ἀντώνυμία ἢ δεικτικὴ ἐστιν ἢ ἀναφορική, Pron. 2.11).12 For Apollonius, whenever third person pronouns13 do not point at what is visually present (τὰ ὑπ’ ἰδίαν), they are anaphoric and thus point at what is mentally present (ἐπὶ τὸν νοῦν) (Pron. 2.12): 14

9 Each of the demonstratives has what we may consider a normal or “unmarked” usage, and to some degree the primary sense of each is apparent in its etymology. The proximal demonstrative ὅδε is formed by adding the particle –δε to the definite article ὁ (< *so), itself originally a demonstrative pronoun as we can still see in Homer (Sihler 1995: 389; Rix 1992: 184; Buck 1933: 224). We find parallel forms, but with different particles, in other dialects (see Schwyzer and Debrunner 1966: 208; Sihler 1995: 389). With the addition of the –δε suffix, the demonstrative denotes what is in close proximity to a speaker’s mental, temporal, and physical space (Biraud 1983: 42). In fact, in post-classical Greek, when ὅδε had all but drifted into disuse, it remains in fixed, cataphoric expressions such as τάδε λέγει (“s/he says the following”) (Manolessou 2001: 120; Martín López 1994: 28; Wackernagel 2009: 531; Blass 1896: 166; Moulton 1908: 44). The precise etymology of ὀὗτος is unclear. It has traditionally been understood to be derived from the combination of the pronominal stem ὁ + the particle *u + the stem –το (e.g., Buck 1933: 224; Chantryne 1961: 125-6, 1968: 840-1; Frisk 1970: 450; Rix 1992: 184; Klein 1996: 35). As Klein and others have argued, the strong second person deictic value of ὀὗτος (clearly visible in its various uses in Greek drama, as we shall see), is doubly manifest in its etymology from *so-to- pronoun is represented at the beginning and at the end of the word (Klein 1996: 35; see too Humbert 1954: 31-2; Schwyzer and Debrunner 1966: 208 on the second person deictic value of ὀὗτος).

Horrocks, however, has suggested that ὀὗτος may be formed by combining the demonstrative pronoun ὁ with the anaphoric pronoun ὰὗτος (Manolessou 2001: 135, citing a talk delivered by Geoffrey Horrocks in 1997 at Cambridge), whose own etymology is speculative beyond the particle *u (Sihler 1995: 389-90). Manolessou (2001: 143 n. 25) does correctly note that this etymology “contravenes standard phonological rules of contraction in AG.” The morpheme ἐκεῖ- (“in that place”), whence the distal demonstrative ἐκεῖνος, denotes distance away from the place and speaker of the utterance (Sihler 1995: 390). If Horrocks is correct, then we may see all three demonstratives displaying their etymologies in their normal uses.

10 Brugmann 1904.

11 Wackernagel 2009: 529-30. He also suggests that Brugmann’s Der-Deixis be replaced with τό-Deixis. Bühler (1934: 90) agrees with Wackernagel’s assessment.

12 Cf. Anonymi Grammatici Gramm. Fr. grammaticum (Trypho?) 1.11: τοῦτων δὲ τῶν ἀντώνυμων εἰσὶν τινες οἳ τοῦ πρῶτου προσώπου δεικτικῶς λέγομεναι, οἳ δὲ ἀναφορικῶς. Apollonius, like the rest of the Greek grammarians and scholiasts, uses the adjective ἀναφορικός (“anaphoric”) to refer without distinction to both backward-looking and forward-looking references (a definition maintained by some modern linguists, e.g., Lyons 1977: 659; Ruijgh 2006: 154 n. 5), while δεικτικός is used of words which point.

13 Apollonius makes this statement about ὀὗτος and ἐκεῖνος, but it applies equally to ὅδε.

14 Eustathius’ comment on Od. 6.177 (οἷς τίνι δόλιν καὶ γαῖαν ἔχουσι) is emblematic of the literal reading that a deictic pronoun must actually point to an object: ἐν δὲ τῷ, οἳ τίνι δόλιν ἔχουσιν, οἳ
Whenever ἐκείνος and οὗτος do not point to what is actually visible, but refer back, one must bear in mind that their pointing is at something in the mind; so some deixis is visual, and some is mental.\textsuperscript{15}

In making this distinction between “visual deixis” and “mental deixis” Apollonius Dyscolus presages an important element of Karl Bühler’s work on deixis. Bühler’s \textit{Sprachtheorie} (1934) is without question the most substantial contribution to the study of deixis. In that book he proposes that all deictic expressions refer to a “deictic field” (Zeigfeld), which he illustrates with the following diagram:\textsuperscript{16}

\begin{itemize}
\item In this coordinate system the zero point, what Bühler terms the \textit{Origo}, is the circle into which the words “here,” “now,” and “I” must be placed. The place of utterance, time of utterance, and speaker of utterance set the coordinate system and all deictic expressions are relative to the \textit{Origo}.\textsuperscript{17}
\item As a means of conceptualizing the range of meanings inherent in the Greek demonstratives I prefer to Bühler’s diagram of the \textit{Origo} a series of three concentric circles in which the innermost circle = ὁδε, the middle circle = οὗτος, and the outermost circle = ἐκείνος (Fig. 1.2). In this schema we may expand our conception of ὁδε to reflect an inclusive group (speaker and interlocutor) and οὗτος to denote those who are not an immediate part of that group, even though the interlocutor will still be referenced with οὗτος.
\end{itemize}

\textsuperscript{15} Trans. Householder 1981: 90. I have substituted Greek forms for his transliterated ones and removed the parenthetical translations of those words.

\textsuperscript{16} Bühler 1934: 102.

\textsuperscript{17} Bühler elaborates on this idea on pp. 103-15.
Bühler goes on to subdivide deixis broadly speaking into three categories: anaphora, *Deixis am Phantasma* (“imagination-oriented deixis”), and *demonstratio ad oculos* (“pointing at what is visually present”). He takes up the term *Anaphora* (< Gr. ἄναφερειν), used since antiquity to refer to the process of pointing back in the discourse (or text). Deictic words (Zeigwörter) which are used anaphorically presuppose that both the sender and the receiver have before them the flow of speech as a whole and can both access previously mentioned topics or ideas. The language of discourse is thus essentially spatial. Drawing from the language of ancient Greek scholars who thought of a text as linear and thus employed ἀνω to refer back (lit. “up”) in a passage, Bühler by analogy coins the term *cataphora* (*Kataphora*) (from κάτω “forward,” lit. “down”) to describe forward-looking reference. For the sake of clarity I have maintained throughout this work the distinction between anaphoric (backward-looking) and cataphoric (forward-looking) reference.

*Deixis am Phantasma* is the use of pointing words, deictics, to construct an alternative space. In Bühler’s words, this occurs “when the narrator leads the hearer into the realm of what is absent and can be remembered or into the realm of constructive imagination and treats him to the same deictic words as before so that he may see and hear what can be seen and heard there (and touch, of course, and perhaps even smell and...
It is precisely this ability of language to generate a viable “other space” that not only enables travel narratives and other genres to transport their audience, but allows actors to create fictional places which an audience can then interpret as a viable and believable mimesis of something absent.

Demonstratio ad oculos is a simpler concept as it refers to what is visually present. In Greek drama props of all sorts, actors, and the skene are indicated as such. Comedy, freer in its conception of the limits of dramatic space, incorporates visual elements not formally contained within the limits of the playing space and points at individual audience members, the assemblage of spectators, and the present-day city of Athens and her architectural features. Because the dramatic action of a tragedy occurs within a particular time and place (changes of both being formally marked, as discussed in Chapter 2), neither of which have any pretensions of being the present, there exists a formal, or at least a generic, but still observable, boundary which separates the dramatic fiction and all that is visually present within it from audience space. And while this does not show that there is anything like the so-called “fourth wall,” it does mean that people and things indicated with proximal demonstratives as “here,” i.e. demonstratio ad oculos, do not include the audience or the “real” world outside of the fictional(ized) construct of the performance, at least not formally.

Let us move now to a review of some approaches to the study of demonstratives made by linguists whose work focuses on how the context(s) of a linguistic utterance determines its meaning, i.e. pragmatic linguistics. Holger Diessel schematizes the pragmatic uses of demonstratives with the following diagram:

Fig. 1.3: pragmatic uses of demonstratives (Diessel 1999: 6, Fig. 1)

All demonstratives are either exophoric or endophoric. Exophoric demonstratives refer to non-linguistic entities locatable within the surrounding speech situation (i.e., people, objects, locations); they are used to orient the hearer. Endophoric demonstratives, on the other hand, refer to everything else and can be subdivided into three categories: anaphora, discourse deixis, and recognitional deixis. Diessel defines anaphoric

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20 Bühler 1934: 124-5, trans. Goodwin 1990: 141. See Ruffy 2004 for a study of Deixis am Phantasma in Aeschylus’ Persians. Deixis am Phantasma is particularly effective in allowing past events to come vividly to the fore by recreating an imaginary space; cf., e.g., Oedipus’ narrative of his fateful encounter with Laius (ΟΤ 798 τούσδε τοὺς χώρους; 801 κελεύθου τήσε).  
21 Bühler 1934: 126; see too Bühler 1933: 44-52.  
demonstratives as “coreferential with a noun phrase in the preceding discourse” and discourse deictic demonstratives as referring “to a chunk of the surrounding discourse; they express an overt link between two propositions.” Recognitional demonstratives, a category introduced by Nikolaus Himmelmann, refer to demonstratives which indicate that the speaker and the hearer are familiar with the referent without it being previously expressed.

In Chapters 2 and 3 of this thesis, I focus on exophoric demonstratives; in Chapter 4 (and somewhat in 5) I deal with endophoric demonstratives, though I do not use these terms. I also have grouped anaphora, discourse deixis, and recognitional deixis together, referring to all three types as anaphoric uses of the demonstratives. I have done this because the chief concern of the present study (as will be plain shortly) is how different types of deictic uses affect performance and the audience’s relationship with the dramatic action, not on linguistic specificities and subdivisions. This is not to say that such a study is not necessary—indeed, our understanding of drama would surely be enriched by this endeavor—but simply that this has not been my overarching concern. We must also note that the tidy categories of demonstrative usage presented by Diessel and others, while certainly allowing us a deeper understanding of language, do not themselves always remain as neat and orderly as we may like or expect in practice (as the authors of these studies nearly always note) and there is a necessary bivalence in many deictic uses, especially in the theater. By the time a spectator took his (or her?) seat in the theater he had already entered into an agreement to abide by the conventions of witnessing theatrical performances. Knowledge of these conventions, or “rules,” does not happen by chance and can only be achieved through experience. As Keir Elam frames the discussion, “In the absence of any explicit contract stipulating the respective roles of actor and audience or the various ontological distinctions in play (‘actual’ versus ‘imaginary’, etc.), the spectator is bound to master the organizational principles of the performance inductively, that is, by experiencing the different texts and inferring the common rules.” He goes on to elaborate that “initiation into the mysteries of the dramatic representation” begins at an early age, enabling most people to be able to experience a play “without experiencing framing difficulties.” Entering a theater, often by first purchasing a ticket, thus has the function of creating a contract between spectator and performer; each participant must play their appropriate roles. Part of this contract is an understanding on the spectator’s part that s/he knows the “rules of the game.” Accordingly, those in attendance would

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23 Diessel 1999: 6, 113.
24 Himmelmann 1996: 230-9, esp. 233; “Recognitional use of demonstratives...draws on specific, ‘personalized’ knowledge that is assumed to be shared by the communicating parties due to a common interactional history or to supposedly shared experiences.”
25 Perdicoyianni-Paleologou (2005, 2006) has provided a useful beginning to just such a study. While I agree with her analysis, most of the time, the sample set is too limited to be of any great use. One eagerly awaits her book La deixis dans le théâtre grec antique.
27 Kauffman (1985: 359-60) has suggested that the high price of admission is part of the thrill of attending the (modern) theater. For ticket price as a factor in audience demographics in the Theater of Dionysus in the fifth century see Sommerstein 2010, esp. 121-32.
already know and anticipate the generic idiosyncrasies of tragedy and comedy. The horizons of expectation for each performance, therefore, what the audience could or should expect to experience, was established prior to the start of any individual play.\textsuperscript{29}

Much of the following discussion centers on the differentiation of and interaction between the spaces at play during a theatrical performance. As such, efforts have been made to avoid the “terminological minefield” that has in recent decades inundated the landscape of performance studies.\textsuperscript{30} Each of the following terms indicates a distinct space and/or interaction between two spaces. Athenian drama—although this is true of any performance—took place within a particular environment. In one sense, a play was performed before the audience on or near the stage building, in the orchestra, or from the crane; in another, however, the play took place in a much larger setting that encompassed all the spaces that participated in facilitating the theatrical presentation: the dressing rooms, the seats, the roads to the theater, etc. In other words, it included \textit{everything} that enabled the actors to act and the spectators to watch. This is what Richard Schechner calls the “performance environment.”\textsuperscript{31} For plays performed in the Theater of Dionysus, the performance environment encompassed all of the ritual activities preceding and following the dramas, as well as the architectural structures that the audience would encounter on their way to, from, and during the performance itself, including, but not limited to, the Street of the Tripods, the Odeum of Pericles, the entire sanctuary of Dionysus (from the altar to the shrine to the \textit{eisodoi} leading into the theater proper), and the Acropolis.\textsuperscript{32}

Once within the theater in his/her seat, or bench as the case may be, a spectator was located within “audience space.”\textsuperscript{33} This includes the theater seats, audience members, and their entire field of vision. It is, in its simplest formulation, everything sensorially present and accessible to the spectators during a given performance, e.g. the sights and sounds of one’s fellow spectators, the views afforded of the city, and any and all noises and smells, intra- and extradiegetic alike,\textsuperscript{34} excluding, of course the physical space in which a drama is acted (\textit{eisodoi}, orchestra, stage, skene, crane), which constitutes “stage space.”

\textsuperscript{29} See Bennett 1990, esp. 121, 148-51. Euripides’ production of \textit{Alcestis} as the fourth play of his tetralogy, the spot normally held by a satyr play, could be seen as dashing expectations with the arrival of the chorus, obviously not clad in furry, phallus-adorned briefs and satyr masks. At the same time, though the visual, and to a much lesser extent the linguistic generic features were different than those of satyr play, many elements within the play may be, and have been, defined as “pro-satyric.” On these issues see Parker 2007: xix-xxiv; Mastronarde 2010: 56-7. The consistency across performances of the final play of a tetralogy offering a “happy ending” of sorts, though itself not alien to tragedy, esp. Euripidean (e.g., \textit{Orestes, Helen}), may be seen as the generic link between \textit{Alcestis} and other fourth plays of tetralogies.

\textsuperscript{30} The phrase is from McAuley 1999: 17. For her discussion of the various terms employed, as well as her own contributions, see 17-35. See too Issacharoff’s (1981) important study which divides the theater into “theater space,” the architectural construct in which a play is performed, “stage space,” the stage and the set, and “dramatic space,” the spatial setting as created mimetically and diegetically.

\textsuperscript{31} Schechner 1994: x.

\textsuperscript{32} For discussions of these different spaces see Revermann 2006a: 113-129; Wiles 1997: 23-62.

\textsuperscript{33} McAuley (1999: 25) uses the phrase “audience space” to denote what I consider a subset of Schechner’s “performance environment.”

\textsuperscript{34} The open environment of the Theater of Dionysus would have likely prohibited the entire audience from enjoying the smells of incense that were used as part of the festivities and as props within the play. See Revermann 2006a: 33.
The space in which a play is performed embraces far more than all spatial and temporal shifts within the play; it envelopes actors and spectators alike, intimately joining them in a single event. When stage space and audience space come together through the act of performance their union produces, via the energy engendered through the encounter between actors and spectators, “performance space.” This is a space that is spatially and temporally constituted and reconstituted (sometimes repeatedly) at the beginning of (and often during) each performance, creating an obvious space-time incongruity between a play’s illusory setting, what we shall call “dramatic space,” and the real world that exists both inside and outside the architectural confines of the theater, i.e. “theatrical space.” In open-air theaters, like the Theater of Dionysus in Athens, however, the lack of any space-time correlation with exterior realities, of the sort highlighted by performances staged in dark, physically and visually segregating auditoria, is a vital dimension of the performance itself. No play, be it a tragedy, satyr-play, or comedy, could ever be performed without the audience’s acute awareness of the performance environment. Both stage space and audience space are located within theatrical space and performance space.

Given the larger context of the City Dionysia, we must also consider performance space as synonymous or coextensive with ritual space—the space in which a ritual is performed. Accordingly, ritual-performance space is divided into two parts, what I have above called “stage space” and “audience space.” These designations, however, imply too rigid a barrier, what may (deceptively and inappropriately) be referred to as the “fourth wall.” Rather, the ritual event—the performances themselves—necessitates a space which is relatively distinct from that of the spectators (who themselves are necessary participants in the ritual) and can, through the conventions of the genre and the ritual, refer to itself as a (relatively) distinct space. But the two spaces (audience and stage) coexist within the larger frame of ritual space, fused by the very act of performance. As part of the performance-ritual, actors are free to indicate and describe the space of the dramatic world, diegetically creating and delimiting it through certain turns of phrase. Once this space is brought into existence, however, it does not create any kind of wall which ostensibly removed the audience from this space; its existence is and is not distinct from audience space. Actors and the spectators work in concert to create

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35 See Thom 1993: 191-211 on the audience’s role in the creation of a performance. McAuley (1999: 26) defines “performance space” as the space in which performers and audience come together to create the performance experience. Scolnicov’s “theatrical space” (1994: 2) resembles this idea of performance space, but explicitly disregards the full experience of audience space. See too McAuley 1999: 245-46 on performer/spectator energy. I have, perhaps obviously enough, found Rehm’s (2002: 20-5) five categories of space (theatrical, scenic, extrascenic, distanced, reflexive) less productive to think with than those I have set forth. For a critique of Rehm, including his “scenic space,” see Edmunds 2003.

36 Scolnicov’s (1994: 2) characterization of what she terms “theatrical space” is comparable to the term “performance space” employed herein. Although her definition is, in my opinion, overly influenced by modern theater architecture and its inherent visual restrictions relative to open-air theaters, her thoughts are worth repeating: “Every performance defines its own boundaries in relation to its own space-time structure. It is only within these circumscribed limits that its inner logic can function…. Theatrical space is an autonomous space which does not have to submit to natural laws. Liberated from the universal coordinates, the theatrical space stands apart from the everyday space that surrounds it and in which the spectators and even the architectural space of the theatre itself belong. The theatrical space is an organized space, qualitatively different from everyday space, much in the same way that the sacred space…is qualitatively different and cut off from profane space.”
the full ritual-theatrical experience. For, after all, everyone in the Theater of Dionysus, whether there to watch or to perform, was assembled for the express purpose of honoring the god of theater; absolutely everyone present participated simultaneously in the same ritual event, located within the same ritual space.\footnote{See, e.g., Walcott 1976: 4-5; Easterling 1988: 87-91; Wiles 2000: 32-3; Rehm 2002: 31; Revermann 2006a: 27-31. Against the idea that tragedy is a ritual event see Vickers 1973: 33, 41-2; Taplin 1978: 161-2.}

In terms of the dramatic fiction, dramatic space is a world spatially and temporally distinct from the real world which exists outside of the ritual environment, outside the agreed-upon reality of the world which is contained, more or less, in stage space. On the other hand, this dramatic world is not wholly separate from audience space which, as an equally important part of the larger ritual frame, exists simultaneously. The interaction between dramatic space and audience space is to a large extent determined by generic convention, but the rigid distinction between tragedy, on the hand, which is said never to address the audience directly, and comedy, on the other hand, which is generically marked by its frequent direct references to the spectators and its general air of metatheatricality, is unnecessarily dogmatic.\footnote{The bibliography on “dramatic illusion” and its ruptures in Aristophanes is vast. See, e.g., Crahay and Delcourt 1952; Sifakis 1973; Muecke 1977; Wilson 1978-9; McLeish 1980: 79-92; Chapman 1983; Theric 1986, esp. 139-49, 1987; Slater 1993; Dedoussi 1995.} In order to move beyond (or at least broaden) this approach, it is worth (re)considering some of the ways the audience of the tragic tetralogies was brought into the dramatic fold.

Although this should go without saying, every utterance in the theater is directed to the audience.\footnote{E.g., Segre 1980: 40; Serpieri et al. 1981: 168, 191-9} This statement bears repeating for all too often the multiple lines of communication between all the participants in a play—actors, spectators, playwright—are ignored. Cesare Segre offers the following simple schematic on theatrical communication:

\textbf{Fig. 1.4: theatrical communication, all-encompassing (Segre 1980: 41)}

```
\begin{center}
\begin{tikzpicture}
  \node [align=center] (iwriter) at (0,0) {I-writer};
  \node [align=center] (icharacter) at (0,-1) {I-character speaking};
  \node [align=center] (narrated) at (0,-2) {narrated-HE};
  \node [align=center] (you) at (0,-3) {YOU-receiver};

  \draw [->] (iwriter) -- (icharacter);
  \draw [->] (icharacter) -- (narrated);
  \draw [->] (narrated) -- (you);
\end{tikzpicture}
\end{center}
```
In this diagram of sender-receiver communication, the Ur-Sender is the Ego, the “I” who is ultimately responsible for everything (that is supposed to be) said on stage. These (scripted) utterances are thus sent from the I-sender to the YOU-receiver through the mediating force of the actor(s) on stage, who, through what is in the diagram horizontal communication, enables the vertical communication initiated by the I-writer and intended for the YOU-receiver to occur. Whatever utterance the audience hears from the stage is explicitly written for and spoken to be heard by them. The utterance, and therefore the entire communicative act of the performance, rests on the audience’s role as receiver.⁴⁰

In the Theater of Dionysus certain types of words and phrases, especially vocatives, second person plural imperatives, and forms of the proximal demonstrative, even when directed at a group within the dramatic frame, had the capacity to hail the spectators.⁴¹ We may visualize such multi-referential communication with the following diagrams, both of which express the same phenomenon, wherein we see that a single utterance (represented by an arrow) may reach the YOU-character within the dramatic frame and still continue on, reaching the YOU-spectator as well.⁴²

Fig. 1.5: theatrical communication, actors / audience

![Diagram of theatrical communication, actors / audience](image)

The communicative act between an I and each of these YOUs is, of course, simultaneous. Although the primary or intended receiver of an utterance may be on stage, the utterance itself is also heard by the spectators and may call upon them in addition.⁴³ This deictic ambiguity—a term which designates indexical markers that may have a primary referent (located within the dramatic frame/discourse) and a secondary referent (located outside the dramatic frame/discourse)—invites the audience to hear themselves included in the drama and draws them further into the fictional elsewhere(s) of each play.⁴⁴

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⁴⁰ On the complexities of the communicative process from writer to audience, with particular emphasis on scriptor and character, see Ubersfeld 1999: 160-9.
⁴¹ The term “hail” (and later, “interpellate”) is, perhaps obviously enough, that of Althusser 1971. In a sense, my whole project aims to try to find a way to get from Althusser’s macro-theory of how ideology works—how it interpellates subjects—to a micro-analysis of how that actually works on the ground, via something as specific as the lexical semantics of deictics in Greek drama. On Althusser and Greek tragedy see Wohl 1998: xxx-xxxiii.
⁴² Based on Segre 1980: 46. I have eliminated the “I-author” vertical (dotted) line of communication to the YOU-spectator and altered the directionality of the arrows to reflect the “standard” bird’s-eye view of the Greek theater. Cf. the diagrams of theatrical communication in Serpieri et al. 1981: 195-9.
⁴³ Indeed, as Serpieri et al. (1981: 192) suggest, the audience is “the constant deictee.” When addressed directly, the audience become a “double deictee” (193).
⁴⁴ Cf. the work of Herman 1994.
understanding that indexical markers uttered during a performance can have this special, bivalent quality, we may better grasp the larger performance possibilities and, at the same time, gain insight into the different linguistic tools at the disposal of the Athenian dramatists.

I would go even further and claim that within the ritual space of the theater there was the possibility of real audience identification triggered by linguistic phenomena. To prove this type of audience participation did, in fact, occur, I want to pause and look at other kinds of lexical semantics (besides the different types of deixis discussed in Chapters 2-4) that can achieve these effects. While tragedy by convention never expressly addresses the audience, it does at times employ words and phrases which have the capacity to include the spectators as secondary referents. Being drawn into the ambit of the dramatic world could be unsettling, no doubt; the spectators may suddenly feel a sense of disquietude as they are forced to question and reevaluate where (and who) they are supposed to be.

These unsettling moments are, on occasion, achieved through the use of second person plural verbs which have the added effect of channeling or controlling the audience’s point of view and their sympathies. An excellent example of this manipulation is found in Euripides’ *Orestes* 128-9, where Electra uses a second person plural verb to call attention to Helen’s meager offering:

> ἵδετε παρ’ ἄκρας ὡς ἀπέθρισεν τρίχας,
> σωζοῦσα κάλλος· ἐστι δ’ ἢ πάλαι γυνή.

Look how she cut just the tips of her hair, conserving her beauty! She’s the same woman she’s always been.45

As only Electra and Orestes occupy the stage at this moment, the plural form here demands a larger audience.46 Leo suggested that we should understand the plural as directed toward “imaginary listeners” who, in comedy, would be the audience.47 But this distinction between an “imaginary” and a “real” listener is predicated on the idea that tragedy cannot simply address the spectators directly. I prefer to imagine that the audience, who had come to the theater to see and to hear, may have readily fancied themselves as the addressees of Electra’s words, even if she is not permitted by convention to acknowledge their presence.

Vocatives are also employed to grant the audience more direct participation in the events unfolding before them. At the opening of Aeschylus’ *Seven Against Thebes*, Eteocles marches forth and proclaims (1-3):

> Κάδμου πολίται, χρή λέγειν τά καίρια
> ὡστ’ οὐκάκα νωμῶν, βλέφαρα μὴ κοιμῶν ὑπερω.

45 All translations are my own unless otherwise noted.
47 Leo 1908: 31-2.
Citizens of Cadmus, one ought to say what is appropriate, anyone who guards the affairs of the polis, (sitting) on the stern of the ship (of state) steering the rudder, not resting his eyelids with sleep.

In the staging of this opening scene, Eteocles would have delivered his lines before a crowd, be it composed of silent supernumeraries, spectators, or both. The opening words Κάδμου πολίται, even if one postulates the presence of a stage crowd, can nevertheless call upon the audience as Thebans. Significantly, however, the members of the audience are not citizens of their own polis, Athens, but for the duration of the play take on the role of citizens of Thebes. The opening verses tie the spectators to the fate of the city, making them participants in the tragedy unfolding before their eyes.

We see this same phenomenon in Euripides’ Bacchae when Agave returns from Mt. Cithaeron carrying in her arms the decapitated head of her son and is asked by the Chorus to display the fruits of her labor to the city (1200-4):

Χο. δείξον νυν, ὦ τάλαινα, σήν νικηφόρον ἀστοίσιν ἄγραν ἣν φέρουσ’ ἑλήλυθας.
Ἀγ. ὦ καλλιτυργοῦν ἀστυ Θηβαίας χθονὸς ναίοντες, ἑλθεθ’ ὡς ἱδίτε τίμια' ἄγραν Κάδμου θυγατέρες θηρός ἣν ἱγρεύσαμεν

Cho. Show the citizens, poor woman, your trophy of the hunt which you have brought back with you.
Ag. You who inhabit the beautifully-towered city of this Theban land, come and see this catch of a beast which we, Cadmus’ daughters, hunted down.

During this exchange the stage is bare save for the Chorus and Agave until line 1216 when Cadmus and his attendants enter. Since the vocative address ὦ … ναίοντες (1202-3) traditionally invokes men or gods, and as there is no male group onstage at this moment, Agave must respond to the Chorus’ request to display her trophy to the citizens by turning toward the audience and speaking directly to them as she raises her son’s bloody head in the air for all to see (1203 τίμια’ ἄγραν) and reveals the details of the hunt (1204-10). And while spectators could certainly choose to distance themselves from the dramatic action (and lessen the full emotional impact of the play) by envisioning Agave as speaking to an imagined, offstage group of Theban citizens, given that Agave stands before them and speaks to them, they could, and perhaps were intended to, hear...

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48 See, e.g., McCulloch and Cameron 1980; Zuntz 1981: 83; Arnott 1989: 21; Wiles 1997: 213-14. Against this position see Taplin 1977: 129-30; Bain 1987: 6-7. Cf. Soph. OT 1-3 which many (e.g., Calder 1959; Arnott 1989: 22; Wiles 1997: 213-14) believe directly addresses the audience. Chaston (2010: 75) makes the suggestion that in Seven Against Thebes “the phenomenon of a fortified city, with its emphasis on inside and outside, may be experienced by the spectators by virtue of the very space they occupy in the Theatre of Dionysos. Despite appeals to Athenian sentiment through their goddess, the spectators may occupy a space both within and without the imaginary walls of Thebes.”

49 It is interesting to note that Dionysus’ rejection of Aeschylus’ claim to have made the spectators of his Seven Against Thebes more warlike is, in fact, a rejection of tragedy’s ability to recast the Athenian spectators as members of the community in which the dramatic action takes place (Ra. 1021-4).

50 Roux 1972: 602.
themselves hailed as citizens of Thebes at what has to be considered the worst possible
time to enjoy that status.\textsuperscript{51}

The most commonly discussed and indeed most salient examples of the processes
described above whereby the audience is incorporated into the dramatic action come from
the last half of Aeschylus’ \textit{Eumenides}. At 566-73 Athena in a single act summons the
Areopagus council to session and brings it into existence:

\begin{quote}
κήρυσσε, κήρυξ, καὶ στρατὸν κατειργαθοῦ,
eἰς οὐρανὸν δὲ διάτορος Τυρσηνική
σάλπιγξ βροτείου πνεύματος πληρουμένη
ὺπέρτονον γῆρυμα φανέτω στρατῷ.
πληρουμένου γὰρ τοῦδε βουλευτηρίου
σιγὰν ἄρηγει καὶ μαθεῖν θεσµοῖς ἐμοῖς
πόλιν τε πάσαν εἰς τὸν αἰανῆ χρόνον
καὶ τούσδ’, ὅπως ἄν εὖ καταγνωσθῇ δίκη.
\end{quote}

Convene the people, herald, and call them to order; let the Etruscan trumpet,
piercing to heaven, as it is filled with mortal breath, make a blaring voice ring
clear to the people. For now that this council is being filled up it is proper both
for the entire city into time eternal and these people here to be silent and learn my
ordinances so that this case may be decided well.

But to whom do \textit{στρατὸν} (566) and \textit{στρατῷ} (569) refer? For the spectators these
words most immediately refer to the group that enters the orchestra at Athena’s behest
and for whom it is proper to be silent as they learn the ordinances she is setting down; it
is the same group indicated by the deictic pronoun \textit{τούσδε} (573). But this indexical
marker is ambiguous since it is capable of referring simultaneously to two distinct
groups. Here, although \textit{τούσδε} explicitly points to the jury on stage, it also verbally
gestures toward the audience, who have already been recast as jurors at 570 in the
genitive absolute which spatially transformed the orchestra into the \textit{bouleuterion} and, by
default, also recast the spectators as council members or citizens who closely observe the
council-session’s vote.\textsuperscript{52} This blending of the Areopagite jury with the audience has been
noted by Alan Sommerstein who remarks:

perhaps the Athenian people are represented, not by a stage-crowd, but by the
audience – who, after all, are the Athenian people \textit{of the future} whom Athena
thrice says she is addressing (572, 683, 707-8). This need not be regarded as a
breach of the convention…; the characters are not stepping partly out of the world
of the play, rather the audience is being invited to step partly into it.\textsuperscript{53}

\textsuperscript{51} Wiles (1997: 214 n. 29) acknowledges that Agave’s words call upon the spectators as Thebans but does
not comment further. Perhaps Agave is granted the license of explicit direct address because she is so
clearly under the spell of the god of theater. See, of course, Zeitlin 1991, esp. 131, 144.

\textsuperscript{52} Dobrov (2001: 5) suggests we may think of the type of address in which a group onstage represents a
subset of the audience as “direct address by synecdoche.”

\textsuperscript{53} Sommerstein 1989: 186 (italics original).
The idea that the audience can “step partly into” the play is quite attractive and significantly improves upon other models of performance which maintain that the audience is never explicitly addressed.\textsuperscript{54}

There are two basic staging possibilities: (1) the jury sits before the skene facing the audience; (2) they are seated in alignment with the front row of spectators facing the stage building.\textsuperscript{55} The difference between these two arrangements, as we shall see, has no substantial effect on the way the audience engages with the dramatic action.

With the jury located near the skene, facing the audience, and with Athena standing or sitting in their midst, were the goddess to make a gesture as she uttered τούσδε it would be no more than an outward extension of her arms to indicate the men seated beside her; her gesture would not extend to any significant portion of the audience, unless, that is, she were located behind the jury, in which case a forward, sweeping gesture could include the spectators. If we envision her stepping forward to speak, delivering her lines from a more central position in the orchestra, perhaps midway between the Furies and Orestes, any gesture would necessarily be directed behind her and thus clearly identify “these men here” as the jurors and only the jurors.\textsuperscript{56} One potential problem with this staging is that the actors would be required to turn their backs on the audience to directly address the jurors, but this difficulty is easily overcome by having the actors deliver their lines facing the audience, thereby making the spectators the direct addressees of the court proceedings.\textsuperscript{57}

If the jury take their seats nearer to the first row of the spectators and, as proper jurors, face the two opposing parties (and Athena), then they quite manifestly become a secondary audience, sharing, e.g., Athenian citizenship, direction of gaze, reception of adversarial speeches, and, ultimately, a split verdict. Were Athena to make a forward gesture when saying τούσδε, it would have the added benefit of including the audience secondarily. In this way the jurors would physically bridge the temporal rift between performance and reality.

We must also consider the possibility that regardless of where the jury was located Athena made no gesture. Were this the case, the full spatial and temporal force of the proximal demonstrative pronoun would be felt and τούσδε would refer to “these men here now with whom my thoughts are preoccupied.” It would allow at best an informal invitation to the spectators to choose to hear themselves referred to by the deictic pronoun, but would not so directly encourage them to hear the word as an invitation to step into the dramatic frame.\textsuperscript{58}

\textsuperscript{54} Bain 1975; Taplin 1977:129-34, 395. Both authors later revisited these positions: Bain 1987; Taplin 1986.

\textsuperscript{55} Wiles (1997: 210-12) discusses many of the same passages of Eumenides with very similar conclusions.

\textsuperscript{56} See Wiles 1997: 211. Professor Wiles has suggested to me that with a circular orchestra the jurors’ benches near the skene would complete the circle to allow the jury to be seen by the audience as an extension of themselves. I find this idea quite intriguing, especially as it would visually perform the “chronotopic convergence” which occurs in this play. We may note, however, that this same phenomenon could occur even if the orchestra were rectilinear or trapezoidal: seated in a row, the jurors would enclose the space in a similar manner and still be allowed to be seen as an extension of the audience.

\textsuperscript{57} It is worth noting that Amy Cohen’s work on creating masks for “original practices” productions has suggested that they did, in fact, project sound backwards. The notion that an actor cannot turn his back to the audience, a nearly inviolate rule in modern theater, may not have applied, at least as rigidly, to Athenian drama. See Cohen 2007.

\textsuperscript{58} See also Griffith 1995: 77-8.
As the trial scene continues, the audience is repeatedly called upon indirectly. At 681-2, Athena addresses the people of Attica:

Aθ. κλύοιτ’ ἄν ἡδη θεσμόν, Ἄττικός λεώς,
πρῶτας δίκας κρίνοντες αἷματος χυτοῦ.

Ath. Please hear now my ordinance, people of Attica, as you judge the first trial of bloodshed.

Although spoken toward the jurors, these verses can also include the audience who, as they witness the court proceedings, would have been forming their own judgments about Orestes’ guilt. Oliver Taplin balks at the idea that κλύοιτ’ ἄν and Ἄττικός λεώς have the power to call upon the spectators on the grounds that the reference to the “first trial” in the following line clearly indicates the jurors, not the audience, yet this objection ignores the force such opening addresses can have in creating a sense of inclusion for the audience. The interpellative power of lines 681-2 relies on the temporal confusion of the mythological past being (en)acted onstage and the real world of the spectators who like their ancestral counterparts are also and at the same time adjudicating Orestes’ trial. Similarly, the Chorus’ use of second-person plural verbs in their preceding remarks (679-80) has the capacity to include the audience:

Χο. ἰκούσατ' ὡν ἰκούσατ’, ἐν δὲ καρδίᾳ
ψήφον φέροντες ὀρκον αἰδεῖσθε, ξένοι.

Ch. You heard what you heard; as you cast your votes in your hearts be respectful of your oath, strangers.

Here too we may understand the audience as implicit addressees, for they, just like the jury, have “heard what they have heard.”

As Athena concludes her speech the spectators are indirectly addressed once more (707-10):

ταύτην μὲν ἐξέτειν’ ἐμοὶς παραίνειν
ἀστοίνις ἐς τὸ λοιπὸν ὀρθούσθαι δὲ χρή
καὶ ψήφον αἴρειν καὶ διαγνώσαι δίκην
αἰδουμένους τὸν ὀρκον. εἰρηται λόγος.

60 The interpellative force of this line-end vocative would be strengthened by a pause before the deliverance of the next line, thereby allowing the speaker to garner the attention of his addressees.
62 Editors are divided on whether the Chorus or Apollo speaks 679-80. See Sommerstein 1989: 212; Conacher 1987: 186-7. On the use of second person singular verbs used to bring the audience into the play at Eum. 526-8 and 538-41 see Chiasson 1999-2000: 146-7; Sommerstein 1989: 177.
63 The prepositional phrase ἐν … καρδίᾳ, although properly taken with αἰδεῖσθε, may further contribute to this ambiguity as the voting, until we get the phrase ὀρκον αἰδεῖσθε, sounds as if it is to take place in an interior, personal space. We may also note that verbs of hearing (and seeing) are always highly charged in the theater as they call attention to the very activity the audience is already engaging in.
I have spoken at length this exhortation to my citizens for the future. And they
should act rightly and vote and determine the case, respecting their oath. My
speech is spoken.

As before, the temporal distinction between the jurors on stage and the spectators in the
audience is unsettled as the latter group is encouraged to see themselves in the former.64
Another type of deictic ambiguity occurs at 834 where the phrase χώρας τήσδε
(“this land”) fuses the space of the dramatic world with the play’s actual location (834-6):

πολλής δὲ χώρας τήσδε τάκροθινια,
θυὴ πρὸ παιδῶν καὶ γαμηλίου τέλους,
ἔχουσ’ ἐς αἰεὶ τόνδ’ ἐπαινέσεις λόγου.

Having this mighty land’s first fruits as sacrifices on behalf of children and
marriage in perpetuity will you praise this speech.

While the combination of the proximal demonstrative ὅδε + a word for land or city is
often employed to call the audience’s attention to the spectacle itself so as to markedly
differentiate the dramatic space from the theatrical space,65 in Eumenides, because the
last half of the play is set in Athens, the phrase “this land” creates spatial and temporal
confusion, highlighting the “spatial simultaneity” of the dramatic and the actual worlds.
Second person plural imperatives are employed at the close of Eumenides as
another powerful means of interpellating the audience. The Chorus begin the third
strophe of their final song singing (966-1002):

<χαίρετε,> χαίρετ’ ἐν αἰσιμίαισι πλοῦτο
χαίρετ’ ἀστικὸς λεώς,
ἲκταρ ἤμενοι Διός,
παρθένου φίλας φίλοι
σωμφρονοῦντες ἐν χρόνῳ.
Παλλάδος δ’ ύπὸ πτεροῖς
ὀντας ἄξεται πατήρ.

Rejoice! Rejoice and farewell in the wealth assigned by fate. Rejoice, people of
the city, sitting near Zeus, dear to the dear Maiden, in due time being wise; the
Father stands in awe of you who are under Pallas’ wings.

and echo these words in the antistrope (1014-20):

χαίρετε, χαίρετε δ’ αὐθίς, ἐπανδἰπλοῖξω,
πάντες οἱ κατὰ πτόλιν,

64 Whether or not Athena actually differentiated between audience and juror by addressing ταύτων μὲν…
ἐς τὸ λοιπὸν directly to the audience and then turning to the jury for ὀρθοῦσθαι δὲ χρῆ κτλ. is impossible
to know for sure, although such staging would make the point quite clearly. See Sommerstein 1989: 220-1.
Rejoice! Rejoice and farewell once more, I repeat, all you in the city, gods and mortals; inhabiting Pallas’ city and reverencing my foreign residence you will not find fault with the circumstances of life.

The second person plural imperatives, particularly with the all-encompassing vocatives ἄστικός λεῶς and πάντες οἱ κατὰ πτόλιν, can be seen as moving swiftly beyond the supposed imaginary confines of the dramatic space and hailing everyone watching the play. The audience’s involvement climaxes at the play’s conclusion as a chorus of Athena’s cult-personnel issue the second person plural imperative to “refrain from inauspicious speech” and “raise the olologue cry” (1032-47):  

Go home, you mighty rejoicers in worship, you childless children of Night, in a kindly procession; refrain from inauspicious speech, inhabitants! Beneath the primeval depths of the earth may you be much-revered with honors and sacrifices. Refrain from inauspicious speech, everyone!

Propitious and well-disposed to the land, come here, Revered Goddesses, delighting in the flame-eaten torch along the way. Now raise the cry of joy for our songs. May there be an eternal, torch-lit treaty for Pallas’ citizens. All-seeing Zeus, and Fate have come down to aid. Now raise the cry of joy for our songs.

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Indeed, χωρίται and πανδαμεί seem to demand a much larger group than the jury could provide and have prompted some to posit the presence of a stage crowd. And although the imperative in the final verse of the play may be issued by the female chorus to themselves, by no means can we exclude the very real possibility, particularly given the festive atmosphere that has at long last emerged, that this imperative was in fact picked up by the audience who then cried out the ritual cry of celebration *with the actors*.  

It is clear from the preceding discussion that tragedians had various means of creating a dynamic, engaging dramatic world, one which, like that of all good Greek poetry, could enchant and captivate its audience, drawing them deeper and deeper into the alternative space and time. One of these spellbinding apparatuses employed by the tragedians was the frequent use of proximal demonstratives. Robin Lakoff’s remarks on “this” in English as a demonstrative that has the capacity to create an engaging, vivid environment provide a useful framework with which to approach the study of deixis, proximal demonstratives in particular, in Greek drama:

Since emotional closeness often creates in the hearer a sense of participation, these forms are frequently described as used for ‘vividness.’ And since expressing emotion is...a means of achieving camaraderie, very often these forms will be colloquial as well. This is used for several reasons, all linked to the achievement of ‘closeness,’ like spatio-temporal this, in a rather extended sense... Thus, the emotional-deictic uses of this seem to reflect their relationship to the simpler spatial uses: closeness creates vividness, and ‘closeness’ of subject matter...  

Because the spectators are, as we have seen above, present within the dramatic world, at least to some extent, the emotional effect of the tragic genre’s language is to create a sense of intimacy, immediacy and closeness for those at hand. Through studying these types of deictic uses, in conjunction with other types of deixis, we shall gain a clearer understanding both of the relationship between actor and audience and between tragic tetralogy and comic performance. For, I submit, one of the keys to unlocking the “meaning(s)” of Greek drama is a thorough grasp of how demonstratives are used in performance. What I attempt, therefore, is not a holistic grammar of Greek drama, though this would of course be invaluable to students and scholars alike, but a smaller, more performance-oriented grammar of proximal and medial demonstratives in tragedy, satyr play, and the comedies of Aristophanes. 

To date, there are only two studies on ancient Greek deixis that categorize the various types of deictics, those of Perdicoyianni-Paléologou, who looks at a selection of plays of Euripides, and of Manolessou, who studies the evolution of the Greek demonstratives over time but provides a useful statistical analysis of demonstratives in Homer. Perdicoyianni-Paléologou creates ten categories of deixis: exophoric

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68 For the most sustained treatment of this theme see Walsh 1984.
69 Lakoff 1974: 347, 349.
71 Manolesou 2001. She concludes (137-9) with a critique of Bakker (1999), refuting his claim that οὗτος is a deictic pronoun in Homer.
(extratextual), endophoric (intratextual, i.e., anaphora and cataphora), temporal, spatial, gestural, possessive, proximity, memorial, Du-deixis (ο/τος designating the interlocutor), and third-party. Manolessou, on the other hand, offers eleven categories: spatial, temporal, situational, person / object, audience / locals, first person, second person, cataphora, anaphora of utterance, anaphora of person / thing, understood anaphora. In my own categorization I have inclined toward those of Manolessou, with two major abridgements: I have subsumed her “audience / locals” into “person / object deixis” and combined the various types of anaphora into the single (perhaps overly broad, all-encompassing) category of anaphora. My categories of deictic uses, then, are: first person, second person, spatial, temporal, situational, anaphora, and cataphora; the parameters of each are defined in greater detail in what follows.

For many of these uses, there can be great coincidence in designation. First person deictics, invariably indicated with ο/τος, cover both pronominal and adnominal uses; they can mean “I” or “we” as easily as “my” or “our.” On occasion, the proximal demonstrative unambiguously identifies the speaker, as we see in Persians 1 (τάδε µ/ν Περσ/ν τ/ν οικομένων) or in Oedipus Tyrannus 968 (έγω δ’ ὀδ’ ἔνθαδε). As possessive deictics, there is a necessary and unavoidable overlap with person / object deixis. Thus when Polyphemus refers to his belly as γαστρ/ τ/δε (Cyc. 355) or Clytemnestra to her wounds as πληγ/ς τάδε (Eum. 103) the demonstratives simultaneously mark possession and draw attention to the physical object. Indeed, all cases of first person (and second person) deixis could be (re)categorized as examples of person / object deixis. My decision to maintain a distinction is purely an interpretive one, and I have no doubt that others will prefer that some of demonstratives listed as person / object deixis in the appendices be changed. My choice of which term I have employed is based on the emphasis I believe the demonstrative has in each case. It is important to note, however, especially since much will be made later of statistical frequencies, that were one to change all first and second person deictics to person / object deixis there would be no significant change to the statistics. The essential nature of each, I maintain, at least in terms of a dramatic performance’s ability to engage with its audience is less a matter of deictic designation than which demonstrative is employed.

Second person deixis nearly always refers to vocative uses of ο/τος (“Hey, you!”), but adnominal uses do occur (e.g., Cho. 231 ἰδο/ δ’ ὑφασμα το/το, σής ἔργον

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72 Perdicoyianni-Paléologou 2005.
74 There is no consensus within the linguistic community as to how best to divide and subdivide deictic categories (see the introduction to Imai’s 2003 dissertation for an excellent survey, some of which I repeat here, esp. his Table 1, p. 7). Traditionally, there have been three main axes: spatial deixis, based on a distinction between proximity and distance (“this” vs. “that,” “here” vs. “there”), personal deixis, based on the social binary of “I/we” vs. “you”; and temporal deixis, based on a distinction between temporal coordinates (e.g., “now,” “today,” “yesterday”) but excluding “before” and “earlier” (see Fillmore 1982: 35, 38; Javella and Klein 1982: 2). Various scholars have added to these three categories. Following the work of Lyons (1968, 1977) and Fillmore (1997), Levinson (1983: 89-94) adds social deixis and discourse (or text) deixis, as well as making a case for visibility deixis (whether something is visible or invisible).
75 See Chapter 3, §I.1 for a discussion of first person ο/τος.
χερός). Just as first person deictics are often reinforced by ἐμός, so here the second person deictic meaning is highlighted by σής.

Spatial deixis refers to places, both intra- and extradiegetic, though generally the spaces referred to are visible. Proximal demonstratives are standard across genres, though medials do appear in comedy. In tragedy and satyr play, reference is most often made to the skene and the area before it and the city or region in which the drama is set. Temporal deixis refers to present time and accordingly is indicated with proximal demonstratives. It is exceptionally rare in comedy. Most often, temporal deixis indicates the present day, though at times we find it referring to the present year, a specific moment of the present day, or, on occasion, used metonymically for “life.” In Chapter 5 of his Poetics, Aristotle famously remarks that one of the defining generic features of tragedy vis-à-vis epic is its temporal specificity, the fact that all events take place (ideally) on a single day. Although temporality per se is not often stressed, when it is, as in Orestes, a growing sense of immediacy, of anxiety that something must or will happen soon develops. It is also important to note that even when a proximal demonstrative is not used explicitly temporally, i.e. adnominally with a word for “day,” a strong sense of “now” inheres in all uses of ὃδε. On one occasion, Peace 601, we find the medial demonstrative used temporally to denote a past time.

Situational deixis refers to a present, ongoing situation or event. This use is often easy to define when the activity referred to does not fall neatly into any of the other deictic categories, and frequently indicates on ongoing speech act (especially supplication and prayer) or some activity being undertaken at the moment of utterance. Precisely what constitutes situational deixis is problematized when, as often, the ongoing activity

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77 Cf., e.g., Eq. 1132-4 (καί σοι πυκνότης ἐνεστ’ ἐν τῷ τρόπῳ, ὡς λέγεις, τοῦτω πάνυ πολλῇ) where the medial demonstrative is made “more” possessive by the second person λέγεις.
78 A. Ag. 320 (τὴν... ἐν ἡμέρᾳ), 504 (φέγγει τῷ δὲ); S. OT 438 (ἡ δὲ ἡμέρα), 1157 (τῇ δὲ ἡμέρα), 1238 (τῇ δὲ θημέρα), Ph. 1450-1 (δὲ... καιρός); E. Med. 340 (τῇ δὲ... ἡμέραν), 373 (τῇ δὲ... ἡμέραν), 1231 (τῇ δὲ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ), 1247 (βραχεῖαν ἡμέραν), Hipp. 22 (ἐν τῇ δὲ ἡμέρᾳ), 136 (τάνδὲ... ἀμέραν), 369 (παναμέρος ὃδε χρόνος), 726 (τῇ δὲ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ), 889-90 (ἡμέραν... τῇδ'), Or. 39 (ἐκτὸς... τὸ ἡμαρ), 48 (ἡ δὲ ἡμέρα), 422 (ἐκτὸς τὸ ἡμαρ), 440 (τῇ δὲ ἡμέρα), 858 (τῇ δὲ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ), 948 (ἐν τῇ δὲ ἡμέρᾳ), 1035 (τῷ... ἡμαρ); Ar. Th. 76 (τῇ δὲ θημέρα), Ec. 943 (τάδ').
79 Ag. 40 (δέκατον ἐτος τῷ δὲ); Ph. 312 (ἐτος τὸ... δὲ); Hipp. 1003 (ἐς τῷ... ἡμαρας ἄγνων δέμας); Ar. Nu. 431 (ἀπὸ τοῦδ').
80 Med. 651 (Ἀμέραν τάνδὲ), where the proximal demonstrative is strongly possessive. See Page 1976: 119 for comparanda.
81 1449b12-13.
82 I follow Manolessou (2001) in using “situational deixis” to indicate deictic expressions that refer to a situation. For the linguistic terms “situational-bound deixis” (vs. “situation-free deixis”) or “situational use,” which refer to expressions that take as their deictic center the speaker’s location and expand outward, see, e.g., Fillmore 1971: 223, Rauh 1983: 43-5, Himmelmann 1996: 219-24, 240-3. Situational-free deixis is used to describe instances where the deictic center is not the same as the speaker, as in quotations (Rauh 1983: 45). I do not discuss situation-free deixis as a separate category.
84 E.g., A. Cho. 85, 86, 112, 146, 475, 856; Eum. 1, 329, 342; E. Med. 1409, Or. 675, 968; Th. 313, 354.
85 E.g., Ag. 942, 1071; Cho. 246, 338, 340, 891, 1065; Eum. 278, 482, 488, 575, 581, 630, 639, 732, 745; Ant. 39, 159, 397, 414, 793; Med. 181, 777, 1319, 1419; Hipp. 301, 866, 985, 1182; Or. 91, 333, 732, 1023, 1612; Cyc. 203, 354, 451; Ach. 167, 248, 284, 392; Eq. 461, 479, 1302, 1360; Nu. 534, 906; V. 1483; Pox 44, 244 (possibly), 256, 388, 858, 1052; Av. 1030, 1171, 1207, 1495; Lys. 350, 351, 352, 445, 446, 478, 615, 1078; Th. 300-1, 700, 703, 733, 924, 1008, 1176; Ra. 371, 396, 658, 873, 1018, 1371, 1401; Ec. 485, 1089; Pl. 1097.
or experience is pain or grief. In the appendices I have not been consistent with my classifications of the various deictic expressions of pain, grief, suffering, etc., but have offered what I believe the predominant tone of the demonstrative to be.86 In *Philoctetes*, for example, when someone other than Philoctetes refers to his pain, as Neoptolemus and Heracles do (919, 1326, 1422), these instances are clearly situational. When the eponymous hero refers to his own pain and suffering, however, the proximal demonstrative also and very emphatically indicates both possession (“this pain of mine”) and underscores the present temporal aspect (“…which I am now suffering”). The same is true, of course, for nearly all expressions of grief in the dramas discussed herein. A similar ambiguity can be found in *Agamemnon* once the corpses of Cassandra and Agamemnon are wheeled onstage. The bodies themselves are repeatedly referenced with proximal demonstratives, though these uses again can operate in multiple ways, both as person / object deictics and as excited anaphors. At times, the adnominal proximal demonstratives are, in my view, more markedly situational than person / object,87 but to refuse their simultaneous ability to point at the corpses is to ignore how demonstratives can, and often do, operate in the theater.88 As was stated previously, the issue is not so much about categorization, but rather presence and immediacy, and that is precisely what proximal demonstratives offer.

In this study, anaphora is a term that covers a wide range of specificities, but at its core it concerns reference to something known to the discourse participants.89 This includes text deixis (reference to a particular portion of preceding text or speech),90 discourse deixis (reference to propositions or events),91 and recognitional deixis (reference to something known to the discourse participants but not otherwise expressed).92 My decision to elide the linguistic differentiation of endophoric uses comes, at least in part, from my belief that what matters most to our understanding of the emotional and engaging effects of dramatic language and performance is the type of demonstrative used to refer back in the discourse, regardless of to what that reference refers. Cataphora, as noted above, is reference forward in the speech situation to a word, phrase, sound, or action.

86 Perdicoyianni-Paléologou (2005: 68) groups expressions of feeling with instances where a speaker designates his body, age, and an item he holds.
87 1409, 1494, 1518, 1627, 1635.
88 Several instances of adnominal το/τουτο / τουτί are equally ambiguous and at times refer to the situation, at other times to a person.
89 When anaphoric demonstratives are discussed as distinct from other uses, e.g., discourse deixis and recognitional deixis, Diessel’s (1999: 95) definition that an anaphor is “coreferential with a noun or noun phrase” is typical.; cf. Lyons 1977: 660, Himmelmann 1996: 226-9, 240 (“tracking use”).
91 Himmelmann (1996: 224-6; Diessel 1999: 100-5; Lyons (1977: 668) calls this “impure text deixis.”
92 Himmelmann (1996: 240) defines recognitional deixis thus: “Recognitional use involves reference to entities assumed by the speaker to be established in the universe of discourse and serve to signal the hearer that the speaker is referring to specific, but presumably shared knowledge.” In the present study all types of recognitional deixis are classified as anaphora. I suggest that this type of “recognition” is what we may see underlying the pejorative or contemptuous uses of ο/τος. Similar to Latin *iste*, the nuance of this use comes from a previously known or established perception about the person or thing indicated with the medial demonstrative: the valuation conveyed through the demonstrative is only possible through an already established (possible) perception of the referent that is taken for granted by the speaker.
Person / Object deixis, as the name suggests, is the use of deictics to indicate people or objects onstage or in the audience. I group them together in the appendices but do discuss their separate elements in Chapter 3. Bodies, both living and deceased, are categorized as person deixis, while individual body parts (face, hand, phallus, etc.) are examples of object deixis.

The purpose of this study is to uncover how the various dramatists create meaning through the use of the demonstratives ὅδε and οὗτος. For many of us, the difference between these two words can be difficult to feel. The distinctions drawn between the two in introductory Greek textbooks are often ignored or forgotten or just gradually dissolve until they are translated indiscriminately as “this” and “that.”93 But there is an important difference. By uncovering the underlying motivations for why a speaker (or author) chooses one form over the other we are able to gain greater insight into how a spectator may have engaged with the original performances.94 Although the demonstratives ὅδε and οὗτος exhibit great flexibility and overlap in their uses, the proximal demonstrative ὅδε is used primarily to point (deictically) at someone/something or (cataphorically) forward toward an ensuing linguistic entity, while the medial demonstrative οὗτος is most frequently anaphoric and looks back in the discourse to a previously specified or implied topic or idea.95 We should also note here that the medial demonstrative has several overlapping uses: it is used to garner the attention of one nearby; to ask someone for their identity; as a rough equivalent of a second person possessive pronoun; to respond to and acknowledge the stated point of view of another; to refer to a person(s) outside the immediate communication situation between speaker and addressee; and to refer to someone or something that is famous or infamous. When we encounter the less common usages of these words, i.e. ὅδε used anaphorically or οὗτος used cataphorically, it is to our benefit not to simply translate as “this” or “that” without reason and move on, but to consider the rhetorical function underlining each usage.

Contrary to Gildersleeve, who posited that “it would be dangerous to generalize as to the contrast in usage” between ὅδε and οὗτος in tragedy and comedy,96 I find that such generalizations, derived from statistical analyses not dissimilar to those he himself

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93 Gildersleeve 1902: 124: “‘This’ and ‘that’ in English are not so simple as might be supposed. Foreigners do not always master them perfectly; a German friend of mine always said ‘one of those days,’ and the use of este and ese is said to be the Spanish shibboleth. No one, however blunt his senses, is indifferent to the final ι in ὅδι and οὗτοι, and it is not unprofitable to train the perceptions to catch the difference.” The present study is, in a sense, a training manual for those interested in understanding how demonstratives are used in Athenian drama; I hope those who read it will not find it unprofitable.

94 Cf. Lyons 1977: 668-9: “‘This’ and ‘that’, in English, may be used deictically to refer not only to objects and persons in the situation and to linguistic entities of various kinds in the text or co-text, but also to refer to events that have already taken place, are taking place or are going to take place in the future. The conditions which govern the selection of ‘this’ and ‘that’ with reference to events immediately preceding and immediately following the utterance, or the part of the utterance in which ‘this’ and ‘that’ occur, are quite complex. They include a number of subjective factors (such as the speaker’s dissociation of himself from the event he is referring to), which are intuitively relatable to the deictic notion of proximity/non-proximity, but are different to specify precisely. What does seem clear, however, is that the use of the demonstratives in both temporal and textual deixis, and also in anaphora, is connected with their use in spatial deixis.” Lakoff’s (1974) discussion on “this” and “that” in English, in particular some of her remarks on “emotional deixis” (351-3), are quite similar in many respects to the present discussion.

95 See, e.g., the studies of Ledesma 1987; Manolesiou 2001.

96 Gildersleeve 1908: 176.
was at times engaged in, are, in fact, precisely what is required if we are to gain a deeper understanding not only of the distinct genres at play during the City Dionysia, but also of the larger dynamics of Athenian drama, from the performance of individual plays to the cumulative effects of witnessing tragic tetralogies and comedies over the course of a festival. To these ends, I examine how a 5th-century Athenian dramatist’s lexical choices shape an audience’s engagement with and investment in a dramatic work, focusing specifically on the proximal demonstrative ὅδε (“this <one> here / now”) and the medial demonstrative οὗτος (“that <one> just mentioned” / “that <one> there”).

I have organized this study around five deictic categories. In Chapter 2, I examine the language of spatial reference in terms of “macro space,” the larger spatial setting of a drama (city, region, country), and “micro space,” whatever the stage building is declared to represent. While tragedy and satyr play frequently refer to the imagined location of the dramatic action, and thus seek to create a space which includes the audience, in comedy not only are demonstratives seldom employed to acknowledge where the characters are, but when they are used they usually serve to unify the dramatic space and time with the larger civic space of real-life Athens. In addition to these larger generic issues, I examine the phrase “this house” over the course of Aeschylus’ Oresteia, showing that the intense focus on the skene as the epicenter of murder in Agamemnon and Choephoroi necessarily disappears in Eumenides, for it is only by functionally removing the House (and Apollo’s temple), deemphasizing it as an important, meaningful space, and replacing it with a larger, civic space (Athens) and institution (the Areopagite council) that discord can be resolved without further violence and competing social interests can be effectively reintegrated and harmonized.

In Chapter 4, I address anaphoric and cataphoric reference. The normal way to refer back in the discourse in Greek is, of course, with οὗτος; ὅδε regularly looks forward. As grammar books have long noted, when ὅδε is used anaphorically it indicates

97 Gildersleeve 1906: 327, 1908: 376.
98 Ariel (2008: 62) discusses the importance of statistical analysis in helping to define distinct genres. Cf. Frye 1971: 96: “Once we think of a poem in relation to other poems, as a unit of poetry, we can see that the study of genres has to be founded on the study of convention.”
a speaker’s elevated emotional state. Following an overview of anaphora and cataphora in tragedy and satyr play, I give a detailed analysis of these two types of reference in Aristophanes. A cross-genre comparison reveals that while ὁδὲ is used more often than οὖτος in tragedy and satyr play, particularly in anaphoric reference, Aristophanes does occasionally use ὁδὲ to refer backward. When he does, it is always either paratragic or in a scene of intense excitement. Based on the types of uses found in Aristophanes we are thus afforded a clear view of the rhetorical and emotional effects of “normal” tragic diction; the relative infrequency of ὁδὲ in Aristophanes appears, then, to confirm at the linguistic level the observation that comedy is less emotionally engaging than tragedy or satyr play. Or, to put it another way, the exceptional frequency of ὁδὲ in tragedy and satyr play (much the highest rate for any Greek literary genre) creates an intensity and immediacy that necessarily draws the audience strongly into the fictional world of these plays.

In Chapter 5, I begin by focusing on the marked statistical frequencies in anaphora. I then step back to consider how the generic differences in spatial deixis and anaphoric uses in particular affect the audience’s overall experience in witnessing dramatic performances in the Great Dionysia (and Lenaia), suggesting that this is analogous to the act of “sacred pilgrimage” (theoria), wherein a member of the community would journey abroad, witness something, and return home with an expanded world-view to share with his city. That is, the theater audience progresses from a sense of inclusion in the manifold worlds of the tragic tetralogies, brought about in large part by spatial and anaphoric uses of ὁδὲ, toward a subsequent disengagement from these other times and places achieved by the comic performances through, amongst other things, a less intense spatial focus, more direct audience address, and colloquial diction. Athens and her citizens thus reap the political, social, and psychological benefits of theoria by traveling to the other places (and times) imaginatively experienced at the dramatic festivals, and all without ever leaving the theater.

Following my final chapter the reader will find appendices, organized by author and play, that list every instance of ὁδὲ and οὖτος in these works. Each entry contains the line number, the word, the type of deixis, and to what it refers. My data sources have been the most recent editions of the Oxford Classical Texts. In all cases I have accepted the editor’s text, and offered an analysis of the demonstrative given. The lone exception is Ag. 1657-8 (†στείχετε δ’ οἱ γέροντες πρὸς δόµους πεπρωµένους τούσδε†) where, as written, τούσδε cannot logically modify δόµους. The second person imperative (στείχετε) issued by Clytemnestra means that if τούσδε is correct, it must be deictic and be accompanied by a gesture; the queen must point somewhere toward the houses of the Argive elders. I do not believe this to be the case and have thus excluded the line from my data.
In noting the generic differences between tragedy (and satyr play) and comedy we may observe that although the language of spatial reference is the same—both use the same vocabulary to indicate “here” and “there”—their divergent uses are highly informative about the genres’ relative spatial foci. Tragedy emphasizes the larger spatial frame in which the drama unfolds (the House or city, country, etc.) while comedy is more fixated on any given moment. From scrutinizing the spaces indicated with proximal and medial demonstratives it will become apparent that tragedy and satyr play emphasize the spatial setting of the drama more than their comic counterpart. Moreover, we shall see that tragic and satyric diction places greater stress than comic diction on the presence and immediacy of space, on the *hic et nunc*, through the overwhelming use of proximal demonstratives, regardless of the speaker’s relative position to the spatial referent.

This chapter examines the use of ὅδε and ὅτος as deictics of space first in tragedy and satyr play (discussed together), then in Aristophanic comedy. Each discussion follows the same order: macro space, skene, other spaces, spatial adverbs.

I. TRAGEDY and SATYR PLAY

Tragedians had at their disposal various techniques of clueing the audience in as to where a play is set. The first speaker of a play may begin with a vocative address which announces the play’s dramatic setting (e.g., A. Sept. 1, S. OT 1, E. Alc. 1), or the location may be readily gleaned from details given in the opening monologue (or, in the case of Sophocles, the opening dialogue). Once established, the setting rarely changes, and all subsequent references to “here” or “this place” (*vel sim.*) assist in situating the audience within the (mythologically, historically, temporally) foreign location for the duration of the play. The two main types of space referred to in tragedy—macro space (the city, region, or country in which the drama is set) and micro space (the skene and the area before it)—are both consistently indicated with ὅδε. As the following chart illustrates (Fig. 2.1), it is rare for any other space to be indicated by ὅδε. We may observe that in the ten plays under review, only 14 of the 211 instances of spatial deixis (including diegetic spaces) refer to something other than the skene or the present location. Or, to put it differently, 93.4% of all spatial deictics indicate one of two primary spaces. It may be quite obvious, but worth pointing out nonetheless, that when tragedy and satyr play refer to a space with a demonstrative, they do so with the proximal form and that these uses have the very pointed effect of enhancing the audience’s theatrical experience by generating a sense of presence. I have divided the spaces indicated by demonstratives into three categories: Region, House, and Other. Region indicates the city (or island) in which the play is set, i.e. the larger dramatic setting; House refers to the skene building and its architectural features (inside and out), as well as the area immediately in front of the skene; Other encompasses all

99 On tragic prologues see Leo 1908; Méridier 1911; Nestle 1930; Gollwitzer 1937; Schadewaldt 1926; Schmidt 1971.
100 The possible exceptions to this rule (*Eum. 684, 704*) are discussed below in §I.2.
101 Excluding the spatial adverbs τῷδε and ταύτην.
other spaces mentioned, including the *bouleuterion* in *Eumenides*, discussed in greater detail below (§1.3). The tallies below represent only those things which I have categorized as spatial deictics in the appendices; other things which can seem spatial but which I have interpreted otherwise, such as the suppliants’ seats at *Oedipus Tyrannus* or the volcano on Lemnos in *Philoctetes*, are discussed in §1.4.

Fig. 2.1: spatial demonstratives given by author and play

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<tr>
<th>Aeschylus</th>
<th>Choephoroi</th>
<th>Eumenides</th>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>House:</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>Region:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other:</td>
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<td>House:</td>
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<tr>
<td>Other:</td>
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<td>Other:</td>
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<table>
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<th>Antigone</th>
<th>Philoctetes</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Oedipus Tyrannus</td>
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<table>
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<th>Hippolytus</th>
<th>Orestes</th>
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<td>Medea</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Region:</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other:</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Other:</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

102 Excluded from this data are the spatial adverbs τηδε (OT 857, 858; Ph. 163, 204 (x2), 1331; Or. 1280; Cyc. 44, 49, 50, 685 (x2)) and ταιτη (Ph. 1331; Cyc. 685).

103 46, 501, 506, 540, 545, 619, 1282, 1419, 1583.

104 3, 182, 540, 1042.


106 18, 310, 1102, 1186, 1197, 1291, 1481, 1572, 1673.

107 669, 692, 740, 745, 764.

108 3, 18, 60, 179, 185, 195, 205, 207.

109 4, 200, 488.

110 570, 614, 684, 685, 704.

111 47, 51, 54, 72, 98, 104 (x2), 110, 136, 210, 237, 253, 323, 340, 353, 418, 443, 659, 670, 736, 762, 1043, 1223, 1436, 1449.


113 1, 220, 244, 528, 577, 613, 989, 1012, 1147, 1375.

114 431, 927, 951, 1228, 1294.

115 40, 147, 159, 286, 954, 1000, 1262.

116 798, 801.

117 758.

118 10, 71, 253, 269, 272, 313, 353, 448, 604, 666, 682, 702, 726, 729, 785, 916, 938, 940, 943, 1237, 1357, 1381.

119 12, 29, 31, 36, 53, 281, 373, 893, 897, 973, 1098, 1153, 1176, 1184, 1199, 1393.

120 46, 441, 739, 1328, 1601, 1644.

121 77, 1293, 1295, 1300, 1317.

122 171, 575, 796, 813, 1150, 1155.

123 629, 744, 844, 1150, 1277, 1508, 1533, 1547, 1562, 1567, 1595, 1618, 1620.
I.1. Macro Space: City, Region, Country

Proximal demonstratives are useful in creating or reinforcing the feeling of being present, being “here, now” because, as discussed in Chapter 1, that is precisely the resonance that δέ conveys. When a character declares that s/he has come to “this land,” the audience is immediately informed of the play’s geographic parameters and they find themselves as tourists in the newly defined elsewhere(s), there to take in the sights, sounds, experiences before returning home. The three tragedians vary to some degree on how quickly the macro space is indicated with δέ. Euripides shows a strong predilection for stating outright (within the first sixteen verses) where the action is to unfold by baldly asserting the dramatic setting with a demonstrative adjective, while Aeschylus and Sophocles show greater variation.

As already stated, the development of space need not rely exclusively on proximal demonstratives, though these are, I believe, the most forceful means of cementing a setting. And, once the dramatic setting is established, all further spatial references to “here” or “this city,” either by name or periphrasis, continue to give the audience a sense that they included in the action. In some plays the macro space is mentioned infrequently, e.g., Choephori where the phrase “this land” appears only four times. Elsewhere it appears quite often, as in Oedipus Tyrannus and Medea, where we find the phrases “this city” and “this land” occurring twenty-five and twenty-two times, respectively. What is more informative, however, is when such spatial references come in quick succession, as in Antigone, where Creon’s four uses of the phrase “this city” between lines 191-210 heighten the emotional intensity of his pro-polis / pro-Creon rhetoric.

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124 20, 63 (x2), 92, 106, 113, 382, 468.
125 30, 87, 195, 204, 324, 363, 666.
126 Med. 10 (τήνδε γῆν Κορινθίαν), Hipp. 12 (τήδε γῆς Τροχηνίας), Andr. 16 (Φθίας δὲ τήδε καὶ πόλεως Φαρσαλίας), Hec. 8 (τίνωδ’ ἄριστην Χερσουηηήναν πλάκα), Supp. 1-2 (Ελευσίνος χθονὸς τήδε’), El. 6 (ἐς τὸδ’ Ἀργος), Her. 4 (τάδε Θήβας), Tro. 4 (τίνωδ’ Τροικὴν χθόνα), Ion 5 (Δελφῶν τίνωδ’ γῆν), Hel. 1 (Νείλου μὲν αἰδέ καλλιπάρθενοι τραίρῃ), Phoen. 5-6 (γῆν τίνωδ’), Ba. 1 (τίνωδ’ Θηβαίαν χθόνα), IA 14 (τήνδε κατ’ Αὔλιν).
127 3, 182, 540, 1042.
129 191 (τίνωδ’…πόλιν), 194-5 (πόλεως…τίνωδ’), 203 (πόλει τή𝛿’), 209 (τίνωδ’ τῇ πόλει). On the stylistic features of Creon’s speech as indicative of his emotional state see Griffith 1999: 160. The five instances of a proximal demonstrative of space (six total instances including the anaphoric use at 198) far exceed the average of one proximal demonstrative per ca. ten lines.
I.2. Skene

Apart from the larger region in which each drama is set, no other space is so frequently indicated with a proximal demonstrative as the skene. For the most part, such marked references to the stage building do more than simply focus our attention on the structure; they also make the dramatic action and events more engaging. In this section we shall look at the use of ὁδε as a spatial demonstrative in the conclusion of Medea and the whole of the Oresteia. I have omitted any discussion of Sophocles from this section because he seldom indicates the skene with a proximal demonstrative; indeed, in Antigone, e.g., it is never referred to as “this house.”

The skene receives little demonstrative attention in Medea until Jason arrives on the scene, frantically searching for his wife (1293-1305):

γυναῖκες, αἱ τῆς ἐγγὺς ἔστατε στέγης, ἀρ’ ἐν δόμοιςιν ἢ τὰ δεῖν εἰργασμένη Μήδεια τοιοίδ’ ἢ μεθέστηκεν φυγῇ; (1295)

Women who are standing near this building, is she who perpetrated these dreadful things inside this house or has she departed in flight? For she must conceal herself beneath the earth or raise her body on wings into the depth of the sky, if she does not want to give satisfaction to the home of the rulers. Does she believe that she can kill the land’s rulers without penalty and flee from this house here?

Prior to Jason’s arrival, the audience’s attention has been riveted on the skene since Medea entered it resolved to slaughter her children, and it remains their focus as they listen to the Chorus pray in vain to Earth and Sun to stop the horrific act (1251-60), and as they hear the screams of the terrified young boys within begging for help (1270a-2,

130 This is not to say, of course, that Sophocles refrains entirely from using the phrase “this house” to call attention to the skene for particular effect, as for instance in OT 1227-8 (οἴμαι γὰρ ὑπὸ τὸ στρών οὕτως Φάσιν ἀν νίκαι καθαρὰς τῆς στέγης), where the Messenger’s words forcefully demarcate Oedipus’ palace as the place of atrocious acts. Cf. the discussion of Ag. and Cho. below.

131 The first occurrence is at line 77 by the Paedagogus (κοῦκ ἐστ’ ἐκεῖνος τοίοδε δώμασιν φίλος).
The Chorus deliberates whether or not to enter the home and help the children (1275), but of course they do nothing and the children die. Jason’s entrance moves our attention away from the skene momentarily, but our gaze is quickly and continually directed back toward the house by his use of proximal demonstrative adjectives. This repeated focus on the physical structure of the home serves a single purpose: to create an expectation which will be dramatically dashed with Medea’s god-like appearance atop the skene in her grandfather’s chariot. With the boys dead and Jason pounding hysterically on the doors and calling for the attendants within to open them (1314-15), we may well anticipate the lifeless bodies of his sons being brought out on the eccyclema.

In addition, we may now also wonder how Medea will escape, for in Jason’s (and our?) view she certainly cannot simply up and fly away (1296-7 δεὶ γάρ νῦν ἦτοι γης γε κρυφθήναι κάτω / ἢ πτηνὸν ἄραι σῶμι’ ἐς αἰθέρος βάθος). But she does, and with her sons, no less. Her appearance above the house at 1317 answers all of our questions; her taunting of Jason (1317 τί τάσδε κινεῖς καναισκῆλευς πύλας) yet again focuses our attention (ironically), on the very doors above which she is now located, safely out of reach.

Aeschylus’ Oresteia likely comprises our earliest extant plays for which the skene was in use, the semi-permanent structure being introduced less than a decade before its production. In concluding her fantastic rhesis detailing the messenger-flame’s journey from Mt. Ida to Argos (281-316), Clytemnestra brings the flame home, so to speak: “And then it struck this structure here” (310 κατετίθησεν Ἀτρέδων ἐς τόδε σκήπτει στέγος). It is a fitting end to a speech which took us from Troy to our present location in Argos at the royal palace; “this structure,” the skene, here before our eyes will be the locus of all of the action for the first two plays of the trilogy. This use of ὂδε to focus our attention on a particular space is also seen at the beginning of the play when the Watchman says, “then I weep, bemoaning this home’s misfortune” (18 κλαίω τὸτ’ οὖν τοῦρ συµφοράν στέγων). The “misfortune” can be understood as the current mismanagement of the home by Clytemnestra and Aegisthus, as the partipicial phrase in the following line may suggest (19 οὖχ ὦς τὰ πρόσδε καὶ στέγασα διασπονοµένων), though it is vague enough to recall all the misfortunes the house of Atreus has suffered over the years. And, in fact, it is this

A view first proposed by Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (1886) and strongly advocated by Taplin (1977: 453). Hamilton (1987) makes a compelling argument based on the description of interior scenes and the pattern of cries from within that a skene must have existed before Aeschylus’ Suppliants. More recently, Librán Moreno (2002) has argued, based on a study of the vase paintings and especially of pre-Aeschylean fragments, that a wood skene stood next to the orchestra from the beginning, but his evidence seems only to show that some pre-Aeschylean dramas were imagined to be performed before a building of some sort; the nature and material of this building is never established. It is surely correct that some type of structure or barrier was in use from the first tragic performances, but precisely what it was is impossible to tell for sure. For a concise summary of the various views on this matter see Garvie 2009: xlvii.
aspect of the house which is highlighted every other time the skene is referred to with ὀδέ.136

Cassandra indicates the palace as “this house” four times (1102, 1186, 1197, 1291), and on each occasion the spatial emphasis given by the proximal demonstrative adjective works to pinpoint the location of the horrors committed by Atreus and his family:

1100-4

ιὼ πόποι, τί ποτε μὴδεται;
tί τόδε νέον ἄχος; µέγα,
µέγ’ ἐν δόµοις τοῖσδε μὴδεται κακὸν,
ἀφερτον φίλοισιν, δυσίατον ἀλκὰ δ’
ἐκάς ἀποστατεί.

Alas! What ever does she plot? What is this new pain? A great, great evil she plots in this house, unbearable for her dear ones, difficult to heal; help stands far away.

1184-97

καὶ μαρτυρεὶτε συνδρόμως ἵχνος κακῶν
ριψιλατοῦσθα τῶν πάλαι πεπραγμένων. (1185)
tὴν γὰρ στέγην τὴν’ οὐποτ’ ἐκλείπει χορὸς
ξύμφθογγος οὐκ εὐφωνος’ οὐ γὰρ εῦ λέγει.
καὶ µὴν πεπωκὼς γ’, ὡς σφραύνεσθαι πλέον,
βρότειον αἶµα κῶµος ἐν δόµοις µένει,
δύσπεµπτος ἄµα κ’, ἀλκὸν πόστατεν.
καὶ µαρτύρησον προύµασας τὸ µ’ εἰδέναι
λόγῳ παλαιὰς τῶνδ’ ἀμαρτίας δόµων.

And bear witness agreeing with me that I am sniffing out the track of the horrors committed long ago. A chorus never leaves this building, singing in unison but not pleasing to the ear. For it does not speak well. And a band of revelers,

136 At 399-402 Aeschylus makes what appears to be a mythological innovation by making both sons of Atreus live in the same house when Paris came and abducted Helen (400 ις δόµον τὸν Ατρειδᾶν). Fraenkel (1950: 210) suggests that Aeschylus may have deviated from the traditional account of separate residences because “he felt it important that in the great lawsuit, the Trojan War, the plaintiff should not be solely or mainly represented by Menelaus, but that both the brothers should appear equally as ἀντίδικοι of Priam (40f.).” The collocation of the Atreidae in a single structure may, however, have more to do with Aeschylus’ use of the relatively new invention of the stage building: in putting both Menelaus and Agamemnon in the same house, the very house which serves as the focus of the play, the curse of the Atreidae and the crimes of their family can be centralized; the audience can see for the duration of two plays the very literal “House of Atreus.”
kindred Furies, having drunk human blood—to embolden itself more—remains in
the house; it is difficult to send outside. Besieging the house they sing a song, the
first folly that commenced it all, and in turn they reject with spitting a brother’s
bed, hostile to the one who trampled it. Did I miss the mark, or score a bull’s-eye
like an archer? Or am I a lying seer, a door-knocker, a babbler? Swear an oath
and bear witness that I know the long spoken of crimes of this house.

1291

‘Αιδοὺ πῦλας δὲ τάσδ’ ἐγὼ προσευνέπω

I speak to these gates of Hades

In her final reference to the House of Atreus, Cassandra quite accurately describes it as a
veritable hell to all who enter; escape is near impossible. Clytemnestra, too, envisages the house as the epicenter of kindred-murder.137

1567-76

ἐς τῶνδ’ ἐνέβης ξὺν ἀληθείαι
χρησιμῶν ἐγὼ δ’ οὖν
ἐβέλω δαίμονι τῷ Πλεισθενίδαν
ὀρκους θεμένη τάδε μὲν στέργειν
(1570)
dύστηλτά περ ὃνθ’, ὁ δὲ λοιπόν, ἵνα
(1575)
ἐκ τῶνδε δόμων ἄλλην γενεὰν
τρίβειν θανάτοις αὐτῆς πάνη
κτεάνων δὲ μέρος βαίνῃ ἐξουσίᾳ
πάν ἀπόχρη μοι, μανίας μελάθρων

You have come upon this oracle sort of saying with truth. In any case, I wish to
be content with these things, though they are difficult to endure, having sworn an
oath to the spirit of the Pleisthenids, who, in the future, going from this house will
rub out another family with kindred-murders. And if I have but a small portion of
possessions, I would be satisfied with that if I should remove the madness of
cyclical killings from this palace.

Indeed, the very presence of a Pleisthenid spirit in the house is, in Clytemnestra’s view,
what has perpetuated (and continues to perpetuate) the endless cycle of violence. The
final example of “this house” comes in Clytemnestra’s play-concluding assurance to
Aegisthus that they, together, will set things right again (1672-3):

(1576-7)

καὶ σὺ θήσομεν κρατοῦντε τῶνδε δωμάτων <καλώς>.

137 The proximal demonstrative at 1481 (ἡ μέγαν τοῖκος τοῖς τοῖς) used by the Chorus of the house is part
of an ametrical line and may best be disregarded, though the sentiment is in keeping with the other passages
discussed. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff suggested the neologism οἰκοσινη to fit the meter (hemiepes).
Don’t pay attention to these empty barkings. I and you, ruling this house together, shall set things right.

Fraenkel was uncomfortable with the lack of an object for θήσοµεν and highly suspicious of τώνδε δωµάτων, so he restructured the line to read καὶ σὺ δωµάτων κρατούντε ** θήσοµεν καλῶς.\textsuperscript{138} I quote his discussion at length:

I have difficulties also with the pronoun in τώνδε δωµάτων. In the only two passages in Aeschylus where δωµάτα has a deictic pronoun attached to it, the distinction made is an indispensable one (the singular δώµα with such a pronoun does not occur in Aeschylus, which may be merely an accident): \textit{Eum}. 179 (hardly relevant to our passage, for there it does not mean ‘household, family’, etc., but the actual building, the temple) ἔξω...τώνδε δωµατων (‘out of this house of mine’; similarly \textit{Eum}. 60 the priestess, referring to Apollo, says τώνδε δεσπότη δώµα, […] and \textit{Cho}. 692 ὤ δυσπάλαιστε τώνδε δωµάτων Ἀρά. What is needed in \textit{Ag}. 1673 is not ‘since we are masters in this house’ or ‘in this house here’ (there is no question at all of any other house) but ‘since we are masters in the house’.\textsuperscript{139}

Fraenkel’s objection to τώνδε rests too heavily on his belief that the phrase “this house” is solely deictic and is used to point back at the skene.\textsuperscript{140} And while this is to a large degree true, as I have already shown above, Aeschylus has used “this house” in two consistent ways throughout \textit{Agamemnon}, and Clytemnestra’s use of the phrase in the concluding verse of the play is in keeping with and an eloquent articulation of the usages already established. If we adhere to the paradosis and leave τώνδε δωµάτων

\textsuperscript{138} For his full discussion of the problems see Fraenkel 1950: 800-3.
\textsuperscript{139} Fraenkel 1950: 802.
\textsuperscript{140} It is on these grounds, too, that he takes issue with Wilamowitz-Moellendorff’s (1899: 67) interpretation of the proximal demonstrative as a stage-direction. Fraenkel (1950: 802-3) translates and discusses as follows:

[Wilamowitz] says … ‘The queen closes the whole play with an utterance of which the exact wording is uncertain, but the sense unmistakable “We shall arrange it, this house is ours.” If only we do full justice to the indication of the stage action contained in these words, if we picture Aegisthus being led with apparent reluctance by his wife to the door, and, when she says τώνδε δωµάτων, turning towards the house which he is to enter, while the Chorus, in spite of their scornful utterances, prepare to depart…we shall need nothing more.’ It seems almost past belief that Aeschylus should have combined the idea ‘we are lords and masters (and therefore need be afraid of nobody)’ with the indication, which for Aegisthus is quite unnecessary, ‘this is the house whose masters we are’. If Aeschylus had meant to employ a stage-direction such as Wilamowitz supposes, he would probably have made Clytemnestra say: ‘Let us go into this house (the house here).’ Actually her significant closing words are entirely devoted to a wider issue; so she speaks of what she claims to have won, and what she hopes for (and also what she is secretly afraid of).

Although I do not agree with Wilamowitz’ interpretation of the possible staging, I do like the idea that τώνδε may be heard possessively (‘uns gehört dies Haus’) as well as spatially. Fraenkel’s idea that Clytemnestra’s words “actually” concern her winnings, hopes, and secret fears (and not her preoccupation with her control over Argos and its microcosm, her house) unjudiciously cleaves the two as if they were not compatible or even inseparable. The house, its history, and its curses are indistinct from and unquestionably relevant to Clytemnestra’s (and Aegisthus’) future as rulers of it and of Argos.
unmolested and in its proper place, as most editors have done, the play concludes with Clytemnestra—no doubt standing centrally before the skene doors and between the feuding factions of Argive Elders and Aegisthus’ men—proclaiming control over her home and promising that it (“this home here”) will be ruled well, a direct answer to the Watchman’s lament at 18-19. Finally, the deictic reference yet again calls our attention to the physical structure of the House of Atreus and, especially in light of all the other instances of “this house,” alludes more to the violent acts that have been executed within its walls, and to those that will soon be committed again.

The language of the home is ubiquitous in Aeschylus’ *Choephori* and it would be misleading to say that the palace does not always loom large, even when proximal demonstratives are not used to indicate the space. What is notable, however, is not only that just two characters use proximal demonstrative adjectives to denote the skene, but that the few times they do refer to the palace as “this house” the demonstrative δόδε seems to carry a great deal of weight.

*Choephori* 668-71

```text
εἶναι, λέγοιτ' ἂν ἐ' τὶ δεῖ: πάρεστι γὰρ ὀπω' ἄπερ δόμωσι τοῖσδ' ἐπεικότα,
καὶ θερμὰ λουτρὰ καὶ πόνων θελκτηρίᾳ στρωμνῆ δικαίων τ' ὀμμάτων παρουσία.
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Strangers, please speak up if you need anything. For we have here the sorts of things that are fitting for this house: hot baths, bedding to soothe your pains, the companionship of civilized faces.

At the risk of putting too much emphasis on the phrase δόμωσι τοίσδε, although my reading is already anticipated by Sidgwick,141 I suggest that the proximal demonstrative is strongly deictic, as it points to the house directly behind Clytemnestra, highlighting the structure which lay at the heart of *Agamemnon*, and equally strongly possessive, marking both Clytemnestra’s ownership and control over the domain (again, cf. *Agamemnon* 1673). Clytemnestra’s diction calls attention to the structure itself and to her ownership in order to recall the house’s role in the previous play, and her role in it. To render the phrase δόμωσι τοίσδε as “a house such as this” fails to give proper emphasis,142 for it is not a house “such as this” but *this* house in particular in which one will appropriately, of course, find warm baths (in which husbands are slaughtered), and bedding (and other fabrics), and the (un)civilized faces of a(n un)kind welcome.

Upon hearing of Orestes’ death, Clytemnestra once more refers to the palace with a proximal demonstrative in the vocative ὤ δυσπάλαιστε τῶνδε δωμάτων Ἁρά (692 “Hard to wrestle against Curse of this house”). In a similar move as before, where Aeschylus pointed to “this house” at a moment when the past atrocities committed under its roof were alluded to in the following verses, so here is “this house” indicated when its curse is brought up. For Clytemnestra, “this house” is a space of murders, in which she herself has had a hand.

141 Sidgwick 1900: 50.
142 A common interpretation: e.g., Tucker 1901: 154, often followed by translators.
Cilissa, Orestes’ nurse, is the only other character to refer to the palace with ὅδε, and her uses reveal a different perspective from Clytemnestra’s on the space. In relating Clytemnestra’s “true” reaction to the news of Orestes’ death, Cilissa reports (737-41):

πρὸς μὲν οἰκέτας
θέτο σκυθρωπῶν πένθος ὀμμάτων, γέλων
κέυθου επ’ ἐργοῖς διαπεπραγμένοις καλῶς
κείμη, δόμοις δὲ τοίσδε παγκάκως ἔχειν, (740)
φήμης ὑφ’, ἵς ἤγγειλαν οἱ ξένοι τορῶς.

Before the household slaves she took on a grief of scowling eyes, concealing a laugh on account of the deeds that have been accomplished, well for her, but for this house it is entirely bad because of the report which the guests have reported clearly.

Cilissa’s house is like that of the Watchman in Agamemnon (18); it is a house which, for the slaves at least, is a space that once was good and prosperous (before Agamemnon left for Troy), but is now in an entirely wretched state (παγκάκως) under the management of Clytemnestra and Aegisthus. To Cilissa, the previous crimes committed inside “this house” were an indistinct jumble, but a manageable one nonetheless (743-7):

ὦ τάλαιν’ ἡγώ,
ὡς μοι τὰ μὲν παλαιὰ συγκεκραμένα
ἀλγη δύσοιστα τοίσδ’ ἐν Ἀτρέως δόμοις
τυχόντ’ ἐμὴν ἐλγυνεν ἐν στέρνοις φρένα’
ἀλλ’ οὕτι πω τοιόνδε πῆμ’ ἀνεσχόμην’ (745)

Wretched me! How the ancient pains, all mixed up, hard to bear, happening in this house of Atreus pained my heart in my chest. But never yet did I endure such a pain as this.

Like Clytemnestra’s use of the proximal demonstrative at 692, Cilissa’s τοίσδ’ ἐν Ἀτρέως δόμοις has the same effect of forcefully drawing our attention toward the palace. Her final use of ὅδε as a spatial demonstrative adjective operates exactly as her first and reflects her hope that the house’s past glory will return (764-5):

στείχω δ’ ἐπ’ ἄνδρα τῶνδε λυμαντήριον
οἴκων, θέλων δὲ τόνδε πεύσεται λόγον.

I am going for the man who ruined this house, and he will gladly learn this story.

Despite the curses on the House of Atreus (first Myrtilus’, then Thyestes’) and the resulting and unending kin-murders, Cilissa still clings to the belief that the house was good until Agamemnon left and Aegisthus came and destroyed it.

The different applications of the proximal demonstrative adjective to the skene by Clytemnestra and Cilissa reveal two distinct mindsets and perceptions about the space.
itself. For the queen, “this house” is the locus of intense, inescapable bloodshed; for the slave, it is a space of former glory, the hope of rejuvenation finally ruined (she thinks) by Orestes’ tragic demise.\textsuperscript{143}

The restoration of the house comes only in \textit{Eumenides}, but there the terms are transmuted: the demonstrative emphasis given to a particular building—the House of Atreus in \textit{Agamemnon} and \textit{Choephori}, Apollo’s temple in \textit{Eumenides}—is replaced with a different spatial focus, the city of Athens. The House of Atreus has been left behind in Argos, replaced at the beginning of the third play of the tetralogy with what appears to be a space of resolution, the Temple of Apollo at Delphi. This is, of course, a red herring, for neither Apollo nor his oracle will be able to settle the conflict of one of the most dysfunctional families in all of Greece.

Both the Pythia and Apollo repeatedly refer to Delphi and Apollo’s temple with proximal demonstratives.\textsuperscript{144} It is no coincidence, following the uses of the phrase “this house” outlined above, that the first reference to the skene as a “house” comes at line 60 where the ever-faithful Pythia lauds (ultimately quite ironically) Apollo’s powers of healing and purification (60-3):

\begin{quote}
τάντευθεν ἡδη τῶνδε δεσπότη δόμων
αὐτῷ μελέθοι Λοξία μεγασθένει·
ἰατρόμαντης δ’ ἐστι καὶ τερασκόπος
καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις δωμάτων καθάρσιος.
\end{quote}

Let these matters be a concern for the master of this house, Loxias himself, great and strong; he is a prophet and a healer, an interpreter of omens, a purifier of others’ homes.

The horizon of expectation created, in no small part through repetition of the word “home” (60 τῶνδε…δόμων, 63 δωμάτων), is that here at Delphi Apollo in his role as “purifier of homes” will cleanse the House of Atreus of its bloodstained walls and generations of murder, and, more specifically, Orestes of his bloodguilt. Apollo’s temple, the trilogy’s new setting, is proclaimed as a space for resolution, and Apollo himself states unequivocally that this is why Orestes is now there: “I ordered him to approach my house here as a suppliant in need of purification” (205 καὶ προστραπέσθαι τούσδ’ ἐπέστελλον δόμους).

The surety of Apollo’s claims, however, is as questionable as Delphi’s “Medized” non-authority was to the Athenians in 458 BCE.\textsuperscript{145} And it is this real-time political dimension, I submit, that lies beneath the phrase “this house” used of Apollo’s temple at the beginning of \textit{Eumenides} and its replacement with other, more Athenocentric phrases once the play relocates to Athens. The movement away from “this house” (Agamemnon’s palace, Apollo’s temple)\textsuperscript{146} to “this land” (Athens) is nearly a

\textsuperscript{143} Cf. Griffith 1995, esp. 73, 80.

\textsuperscript{144} 3-4 (τόδ’…μαντε/\textit{µαντε}/\textit{ον}), 11 (ἐσ τήνδε γαίαν), 16 (χώρας τήσδε), 18 (τοίσδε…ἐν βρόνυς), 60 (τῶνδε…δόμων), 179 (τῶνδε δωμάτων), 185 (δόμοισι τοίσδε), 194-5 (χρηστηρίοις ἐν τοίσδε), 205 (τούσδ’…δόμους), 207 (δόμοισι τοίσδε).

\textsuperscript{145} On Delphi’s “Medizing” see Hdt. 7.139-145.1.

\textsuperscript{146} In all likelihood, the two structures “looked exactly alike,” as Rosenmeyer (1982: 59) suggests.
precondition for the transition from the never ending blood feuds of a single oikos to the orderly systems of conflict resolution offered by the institutions of the democratic polis.\footnote{See Revermann 2008: 247.}

Aeschylus redirects the spatial focus of the trilogy from skene to the city and country of Athens. Athena’s temple is never indicated with a proximal demonstrative; it is visually central, of course, but never marked as a place to which we should pay much attention. Instead, the linguistic focus moves away from the stage building to “this land,” the all-inclusive geographic expanse which unites the \textit{hic et nunc} of the dramatic world with the spatial and temporal reality of the present one. Moreover, there has been a thematic shift in what will happen “here”: the threats the Furies pose are not to a family, to an oikos, but to the Athens and her territory,\footnote{720, 781, 800, 811, 888.} and it is this larger communal space that ultimately gives and receives great benefits.\footnote{762, 773, 834, 869, 884, 890, 902, 915, 978.} What is more, in a beautiful move of ring-composition, Athena predicts that should the Furies leave the city they will long for it like lovers (851-2 υμεῖς δ’ έσ αλλόφυλον ἔλθοὺσαι χθόνα / γῆς τήςδ’ ἔρασθήσασθε), a sentiment which recalls the language used by the Chorus to the Herald earlier in the trilogy (Ag. 540 ἐρως πατρώιας τῆςδε γῆς σ’ ἐγύμνασεν).\footnote{On the theme of \textit{poleos erastes} (“lover of the city”) see Yatromanolakis 2005.} This echo further highlights the change in space that has occurred over the course of the three plays.

By no longer placing the same linguistic emphasis on the structure that had been at the heart of two and a third of the trilogy’s plays, and instead refocusing on Athens and her territory with the same use of proximal demonstratives, Aeschylus signals that the space of resolution, the place in which vendettas will finally come to an end and Orestes’ purification will be unquestioned, is here in Athens. But there is more to it than that. It is only through the demotion or displacement of powerful oikoi (the elite) and the elevation of the people (the mass), that society itself can move forward, out of the darkness of Agamemnon and into the light of the world offered by the torch lit procession at the close of Eumenides, a world that is difficult to separate fully from that of contemporary Athens.

I.3. Scene Change in Eumenides

This last point, the blurring of the time and space of Eumenides with those of the audience of 458 BCE leads us directly to our next issue: Does the scene change from the Acropolis to the Areopagus in Eumenides? It is not unheard of, though certainly quite exceptional, for a Greek tragedy to change locations during a play.\footnote{Apart from Eumenides, the one play for which a change of scene is not debated, scholars have also proposed scene changes in Persians, Choephoroi, and Ajax, though in the first two plays Scullion (1994: 67-128) is adamantly opposed to the view that any play other than Eum. changes locations mid-play, but his claims regarding Ajax (89-128) and Aeschylus’ Aithiai (87 n. 49, 117), which may have had as many as five changes of scene (see Taplin 1977: 416-18), seem tenuous at best.} Apart from Eumenides, the one play for which a change of scene is not debated, scholars have also proposed scene changes in Persians, Choephoroi, and Ajax, though in the first two plays
the movement from tomb to palace may be thought of more as a “refocusing” than a formal change of scene.\textsuperscript{152}  

\textit{Eumenides} begins at Delphi before the Temple of Apollo, then moves to Athens where the dramatic space is now before the Temple of Athena Polias on the Acropolis.\textsuperscript{153} One more move may be made from the temple to the Areopagus, though this is hotly contested.\textsuperscript{154} The Delphic setting, perhaps visually discernable at the start of the play,\textsuperscript{155} is apparent through the Priestess’ words by at least line 7 (Φοίβη), if not before (3 τόδ’... μαντείον), and is indicated with a proximal demonstrative at line 11 (ές τήμιδε γαίαν). Apollo’s declaration that Athena will oversee the trial of Orestes (224) allows the audience to know that they are in Athens when Orestes begins speaking at 235 (ἀνασο’ Αθῆνα). The temple edifice and statue of Athena, visible to the audience before any lines are spoken, are named as Orestes continues (242 πρόσειµι δῶμα καὶ βρέτας τὸ σὸν, θεά).\textsuperscript{156} Firmly located in Athens, the play now refers to “this land” with exceptional frequency.\textsuperscript{157}  

In establishing the trial scene, Athena uses ὃδε to delimit or redefine (or perhaps further define) the performance space as the \textit{bouleuterion} (566-73):

\begin{verbatim}
κήρυσσε, κήρυξ, καὶ στρατὸν κατειργαθοῦ,  
eις οὐρανόν δὲ διάτορος Τυρσηνίκη  
σάλπιγξ βρετείου πνεύματος πληρομένη  
全国人民投票 μαθεσθαι χρόνον  

Convene the people, herald, and call them to order; let the Etruscan trumpet, piercing to heaven, as it is filled with mortal breath, make a blaring voice ring
\end{verbatim}

\textsuperscript{152} Dale’s (1969: 119-20) idea of “refocusing,” her widely adopted term for describing the movement from one space on the stage to another is certainly useful, but not as fully developed as Rosenmeyer’s (1982: 60) description of the relationship of tomb to skene as “a comprehensive space that subsumes both” the action performed at the tomb and that performed at the palace. The audience is, of course, fully aware of both spaces, regardless of where the action is centered.  

\textsuperscript{153} Sommerstein (1989: 123) places the statue near the skene; Taplin (1977: 386 n. 1) in the orchestra; Meineck (1998: 127) suggests that because the trip to Athens has already been clearly forecast and Orestes makes an appeal to Athena “it would not have been necessary to set an actual representation of Athena’s statue on stage.” This last interpretation seems to be odds with lines 259 (περ’ βρέτει πλεχθεὶς θεᾶς ἀμφρότου) and 409 (βρέτας τε τοῦμὸν τῶδ’ ἐφημένῳ ἔξω).  

\textsuperscript{154} Scullion (1994: 77-86), opposed to Taplin (1977: 390-2) and others (see bibl. in Taplin p. 391 n. 1), is strongly against a change of scene, arguing, in part, that Athena’s use of deictic pronouns (685 πάγον δ’ ἡλειοντ’ τῶδ’: 687-8 πόλιν νεόπτολιν τήνδ’ ὑψιπρέγου) does not definitively prove that such a change occurred.  

\textsuperscript{155} Sommerstein (1989: 79) suggests that the altar of Apollo Agyieus (Ag. 1081) and the pillar of Hermes (Ag. 515, Cho. 1) may have been replaced at the start of the third play with tripods, thus allowing the audience to recognize the new setting before any lines are spoken.  

\textsuperscript{156} Podlecki’s (1989: 76) emendation of πρόσειµι is unnecessary for, as Wedd (1895: 142) has already noted, πρόσειµι is “pregnant” and means “have come and am present at.”  

\textsuperscript{157} 288, 688, 720, 762, 773, 781, 800, 811, 834, 852, 869, 884, 888, 890, 902, 915, 978.
clear to the people. For now that this council-chamber is being filled up it is proper both for the entire city into time eternal and for these people here to be silent and learn my ordinances so that this case may be decided well.

At this point there are no textual clues to signal that we are no longer on the Acropolis. Apollo, answering Orestes’ query whether he acted justly or not in murdering his mother, turns toward the jurors (and/or audience) and says (614-15):

λέξω προς υμᾶς, τόνδ’ Αθηναίας μέγαν θεσμόν, δικαίως, μάντις ὡν δ’ οὐ ψεύσομαι.

I shall say to you, this great ordinance of Athena here, [that Orestes’ killed] with justice, and I, because I am a seer, shall not be lying.

The pairing of a second person with an appositive proximal demonstrative is relatively unusual, though here the sense is very clearly spatial. What is remarkable, however, is Athena’s use of the medial demonstrative to refer to the bouleuterion at 684 and 704, and her use of the proximal demonstrative at 685 and 688 to refer to the Areopagus.

**Eumenides 681-90**

κλύοιτ’ ἂν ἡδη θεσμόν, Ἀττικὸς λεώς, πρῶτας δίκας κρίνοντες αἵματος χυτοῦ, ἔσται δὲ καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν Αἰγέως στρατῷ αἰεὶ δικαστῶν τούτο βουλευτήριον. πάγον δ’ Ἀρείων τόνδ’, Ἀμαζόνων ἔδραν σκηνὰς θ’, ὅτ’ ἦλθον Θησέως κατὰ φθόνον στρατηλατοῦσαι, καὶ πόλιν νεόπτολιν τήνδ’ υψιπύργοιν ἀντεπύργωσαν τότε, Ἀρεί δ’ ἔθουν, ἐνθεὶ ἔστ’ ἐπώνυμος πέτρα πάγος τ’ Ἀρείος:

Please hear now my ordinance, people of Attica, as you judge the first trial of bloodshed. There will be also in the future for Aegeus’ host always that bouleuterion. And <they will sit on> this hill [of Ares], the Amazon’s base and camp when they came with their army, resentful of Theseus, and then did they fortify this newly built, high-walled citadel. And they used to sacrifice to Ares, whence the name for this crag and hill, the Hill of Ares.

Let us begin with 685 (πάγον δ’ Ἀρείων τόνδ’). Much debate has constellated around this demonstrative in attempts to prove or disprove whether or not the play moves from the Acropolis to the Areopagus between 488 and 685, a matter complicated to some extent by the uncertainty of the text.158 Those in favor of a change of scene interpret δὲ

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158 On this issue see Taplin 1977: 395-401.
as clearly indicating Athena’s present location, which must be the Areopagus.\(^{159}\) And without denigrating this position—for indeed it is true that proximal demonstratives can be and often are used to indicate the present space, as we have already seen—it is important to consider that ὅδε is by no means constrained to this meaning and can indicate a space or thing at a certain distance from the speaker, but very present in his/her thoughts.\(^{160}\) But does our understanding of the scene change if Ἄρειον, the reading of the manuscripts, is not what Aeschylus actually wrote? It may, in fact, be the case that Ἄρειον is an intrusive gloss, perhaps replacing ἔδούνται (Weil) or ἔδεῖται (Wecklein).\(^{161}\) If so, then we would have the anomalous use (twice) of a proximal demonstrative used outside of a prologue to indicate a space that has not previously been defined. If “this hill” is not deictic at 685 and 688, then the demonstratives must indicate the cognitive, not physical, presence of the Hill of Ares and lend a vividness to Athena’s aetiological digression. The real issue with this interpretation is that although proximal demonstratives do at times refer to something present in one’s mind, such references are usually to people, not places.\(^{162}\)

Let us now consider the medial demonstratives at 684 (passage above) and 704.

**Eumenides 700-6**

τοιόνδε τοι ταρβούντες ἐνδίκως σέβας ἔρμα τε καὶ πόλεως σωτηρίουν ἐχοῖτ’ ἄν οἶνον οὕτις ἀνθρώπων ἔχει, οὔτ’ ἐν Σκύθησιν οὔτε Πέλοπος ἐν τότοισιν, κερδών άθικτον τούτο δουλειτήριον, αἰσθίου, δρόμου, εὐδότων ὑπὲρ ἐγρηγοροίς φρούρια γῆς καθίσταμαι.\(^{163}\)

If, you know, you justly fear a revered thing as this, you will have a bulwark for your land and a source of safety for your city, the sort nobody else has, not those in Scythia nor those in the regions of Pelops. That *bouleuterion* I establish as

\(^{159}\) See Taplin 1977: 390-2. It is worth noting that the demonstrative in the appositive phrase πόλιν νεόπτολιν τήνδ’ ὑψιργον (687-8) is primarily anaphoric, though as it refers back to a space (the Areopagus) indicated with a proximal demonstrative there is a secondary or simultaneous deictic quality.

\(^{160}\) Scullion 1994: 78: “the deictic pronouns prove nothing; Athena could indicate with them either ‘this hill of Ares (we’re standing on)’ or ‘this hill of Ares (right across from us)’.” Also Ridgway 1907: 168; Wilamowitz-Moellendorff 1914: 182. A gesture issued by the actor would, of course, make this ambiguity clear in performance. Müller (1833: 107-8) proposed that the Areopagus was depicted on one of the periaeti, and it is at this that Athena points, but periaeti are no longer regarded as part of the fifth-century theater.

\(^{161}\) A verb of sitting normally comes between a disyllabic, line-initial word indicating a location (hill, altar, etc.) and the proximal demonstrative adjective modifying it: cf. A. Suppl. 189 (πάγον προσίζειν τόνδ’ ἀγωνίων θεών); E. Her. 48 (βεβαιών καθίζω τόνδε σωτῆρος Διός). The proximal demonstrative at E. Andr. 735, be it dative or accusative, is anaphoric of πόλις της (734). E. Rh. 115 is a more poignant example. Fantuzzi (2006) is correct, I believe, in favoring Schaefer’s reading of νικῶνεις μὲν τίνδ’ ὑπὸ συ μόλις πόλιν over Cobet’s νικωμενός μὲν οὕτως μῆ μόλις πάλιν, for the former requires only the transposition of two words of the paradosis. Whether or not the demonstrative is deictic is another matter. Without a gesture, however, τίνδ’…πόλιν is best understood either as anaphoric, the referent Troy being understood, or as possessive. In either case, Fantuzzi’s idea that Aeneas uses the demonstrative to “make the idea of his beloved city more vivid, and thus to make the fear of not returning to it more emotionally powerful” is surely right.
untouched by [thoughts of] gain, respected, keen-spirited, a wakeful watchman of 
the land for those who are asleep.

In both passages the use of a medial demonstrative to describe a present space is aberrant and some rationale for Athena’s diction must be sought.163 If Charles Bain is correct in his analysis of demonstratives in Sophocles—and I am doubtful he is—it is possible that the post-caesural position of τοῦτο may also add emphasis, lending it a much stronger, more deictic force roughly equivalent to τόδε.164 But there are various other ways to interpret the phrase τοῦτο βουλευτήριον (684). Following the plural imperative and vocative address κλύοιτ’ ἓν ἣδη θεσµόν, Ἀττικὸς λέως (681),165 it may be strongly second person: “There will be also in the future for Aegeus’ host always that bouleuterion of yours.”166 If heard as such the second person resonance here may contribute to the merging of the Athenian jurors onstage with the fifth-century Athenians of the audience. Alternatively, or perhaps additionally, the medial demonstrative and its inherent distance may work in conjunction with the future tense (683 ἔσται): the present, ongoing bouleuterion should be thought of in the present; the bouleuterion of the future, the Areopagite Council of fifth-century Athens, is thus distant from Athena’s thoughts in both space and time. At 704, then, the use of οὗτος is both anaphoric of 685 (τάγον δ’ Ἄρειον τόνδ’) and, necessarily, possessive in the same way as it was at 684, a sense made stronger by the repetition of the phrase τοῦτο βουλευτήριον.

But this evidence is not yet enough to conclude with any sort of definitiveness that there is, in fact, no change of scene. Before the change of venue from Delphi to the Acropolis takes place it is repeatedly signaled within the play,167 thereby readying the audience for their relocation. Based on Aeschylus’ use of demonstrative adjectives and pronouns to indicate the location at the beginning of a play, we may safely say that the change of scene to the Acropolis is in keeping with the “established” practice of first identifying a location and then reinforcing it with a proximal demonstrative, while the purported change here to the Areopagus is not. But this issue cannot be resolved by simply arguing for or against the established practices of staging,168 the normal usages of demonstratives,169 or the “logic” of the parade route of the play’s closing procession.170 The discomfiture that many have felt in moving from the Acropolis to the Areopagus can be assuaged, perhaps, in understanding Aeschylus’ motivation for creating what is, at least textually, a blurring of space(s) and time(s).171 The indistinct, or chronotopically

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163 In fact, these are the only examples of such a use in all of Aeschylus and in the plays of Sophocles and Euripides discussed herein.
164 See Bain 1913: 7-8.
165 Also ἔχοιτ’ ἄν (702).
166 Cf. Lys. 12.4 where ταύτην τὴν γῆν seems to indicate both a second person and a temporal remove.
169 Ridgway 1907: 168; Scullion 1994: 78.
170 Ridgway 1907: 168; Wilamowitz-Moellendorff 1914: 182.
171 Verrall’s (1908: 187) remarks on the subject are quite sound: “The foundation-speech of Athena (vv. 684 foll.) conveys, and must be intended to convey, the impression, that it is spoken on the Areopagus. This point however cannot with any advantage be debated. Each reader must consider for himself, whether that is in fact the impression which he receives.” Paley (1879: 640) approached the issue in a similar yet less yielding manner: “There is no reason to conclude that the scene is still in the Acropolis…. The whole weight and solemnity of the institution depends on the illusion, that the affair is now transacted in the
ambiguous space in which the trilogy concludes—the Acropolis-Areopagus, the Athens of the past and the present—is the only place(s) and time(s) appropriate for the resolution of the bloody chaos with which Agamemnon began. For it is only by functionally removing the House (and Apollo’s temple), deemphasizing it as an important, meaningful space, and replacing it with a larger, civic space (Athens) and institution (the Areopagite council) that discord can be resolved peacefully and without further violence.

I.4. Other Spaces

As mentioned at the outset of this section, it is unusual for a proximal demonstrative to indicate anything other than the skene or the region of the dramatic setting, and the exceptions to this general rule are worth noting. The various sites Orestes’ aged Attendant points out to him at the beginning of Sophocles’ Electra (4-8), the river Nile in Euripides’ Helen (1), or even the city of Troy itself, gestured toward by Poseidon in Trojan Women (22), to name but a few, are all examples of diegetic spaces which are visible to those onstage, and thus can be referred to deictically with proximal or medial demonstratives (usually the former), but elude sensorial perception by the audience. In general, these spaces fade almost as soon as they are mentioned; their purpose being to help to situate the dramatic action.172

Another example of diegetic space, though perhaps best classified as “narrative space,” is the type found in speeches which relate past actions. Oedipus’ recollection of his fateful encounter with his father, Laius, is a good example (OT 798-805):

As I am going I come to these places, in which you say that ruler perished. And to you, woman, I shall speak the truth. When I was walking near this triple path, there a herald and a man riding on a horse-drawn wagon encountered me, a man of the sort you say. And the leader and the old man himself tried to drive me off the road by force.

Areopagus itself” (italics original). The very idea of “illusion” or an intended “impression” has recently been developed with more sophistication by Jouanna (2009: 86-9), who argues that in unifying the two geographically distinct spaces, Acropolis and Areopagus, Aeschylus intensifies a “profound unity”: Athena acting religiously in protecting a suppliant and politically in establishing the Areopagus court. Revermann (2008: 248) notes that at the end of the trilogy “justice has become not the justice of Athena, daughter of Zeus, or the justice of the people of Athens, but a peculiar mix of both.” I would add to this that the “peculiar mix” of justice is perfectly matched by the mixing of two distinct spaces: the Acropolis and the Areopagus.

172 Of course, such a marked reference to Troy at Tro. 20 cannot help but linger in the background of the audience’s thoughts as they witness the horrid aftermath of the destruction of a once great city.
One may properly claim that τούσδε τοὺς χώρους is anaphoric of 733-4, particularly with the relative clause ἐν οἷς... λέγεις; however, the use of proximal demonstratives of space (798 τούσδε τοὺς χώρους; 801 κελεύθου τίσδ’) also lends a vividness to Oedipus’ story.¹⁷³ It is not the factual details alone which make his account captivating; the engaging language with which it is revealed also contributes to making present the crossroads at which father and son met years before and miles away.

A particularly unusual use of diegetic space, in part for how late into the play it occurs, is Philoctetes 800. Philoctetes, in the throes of pain, begs Neoptolemus to immolate him just as he himself had done previously for Heracles (799-801):

\[
\omega \ τέκνον, \ \omega \ γενναίον, \ \alphaλλά \ συλλαβέων\ \\
τῷ Λημνίῳ τῷ δ’ ἀνακαλουμένῳ πυρί\ \\
ἐμπρησον, \ \omega \ γενναίες
\]

Son, noble one, take me and burn me with this ritually summoned Lemnian fire, noble one.

And while it would be convenient to declare simply that in the phrase τῷ Λημνίῳ τῷ δ’ ἀνακαλουμένῳ πυρί (800) the proximal demonstrative points to the Moschyllos volcano on Lemnos, the island’s primary geographical feature regardless of whether or not one actually existed,¹⁷⁴ this reading is not as simple or, indeed, as accurate as it may at first appear. If we are to accept, with Walter Burkert, anticipated by Schneidewin-Radermacher,¹⁷⁵ that “ἀνακαλεῖσθαι is a verb of ritual,” and should not here be translated as “called” or “known as,” as many continue to insist,¹⁷⁶ but is best rendered “ritually summoned,” then the spatial connotation of ὁδε becomes a bit more complex.¹⁷⁷ What I suggest is that the language Philoctetes employs in his call for fire is doubly motivated. We may first cite Philoctetes’ elevated emotional state (to put it lightly!) as cause for the heavy use of proximal demonstratives in 782-809.¹⁷⁸ The second factor is,

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¹⁷³ Kamerbeek 1967: 164: “τούσδε τοὺς χώρους: refers to 733, 4. τούσδε: the locality is before his mind’s eye, cf. τίσδε 801.” Some may interpret the shift from the narrative imperfect to the historical present as lending a vividness to the narrative—a reading premised on De Subl. 25 (ὅταν γε μὴν τὰ παρεληλυθότα τοῖς χρόνοις εἰσάγχης ὡς γνώμενα καὶ παρόντα, οὐ διήγησιν ἐπὶ τὸν λόγον ἀλλὰ ἐναγώνιον πράγμα ποιήσεις,)—though Sicking and Stork (1997) have made a strong case against reading the historical present tense in this way. They also argue that De Subl. 25 proffers an interpretation which itself reflects anachronism in its own understanding of the use and function of the historical present tense in Classical Greek. See too Rijksbaron 2006: 129; Rijksbaron 2002: 257-63.

¹⁷⁴ In literary texts and commentaries there is no doubt that a volcano existed on Lemnos, but the geological evidence for such a formation is lacking (see the sources given in Burkert 1970: 5 nn. 2, 4; Torretti 1997: 80-1). Forsyth (1974) suggests that this lack does not eliminate the possibility of fumarolic activity on the island, and that Lemnian fire may refer to the flames produced in these circumstances. On “Lemnian fire” see too the excellent work of Martin 1987.

¹⁷⁵ Schneidewin-Radermacher 1911: 91.

¹⁷⁶ E.g., Lloyd-Jones 1994: 333: “this fire that is invoked as Lemnian.”

¹⁷⁷ Burkert 1970: 5. Schneidewin (1855: 221) was the first to propose “summoned up” (invocari solicitus). Also Jebb 1932: 130: “yon fire, famed as Lemnian” (italics original).

¹⁷⁸ 783, 788, 792, 795, 800, 802, 807. If we accept Bain’s (1913: 7-8) idea that a medial demonstrative following the caesura can be equally emphatic, then we may add 803.
perhaps quite obviously, their presence on the island of Lemnos. The use of ὀδε is, then, unquestionably highly emotional, but also playful (at least on the part of Sophocles) as it suggests a very literal interpretation of Lemnian fire as coming from the (real or imagined) volcano on Lemnos, even if “true” Lemnian fire, as Burkert has argued, is one that is conjured (perhaps through a bronze mirror) for a purificatory ritual. In categorizing the proximal demonstrative here, it is best to understand it as an example of object deixis—the fire Philoctetes so desperately requests is already present before his mind’s eye—though the play’s setting necessarily demands that τὸ ὀδε is also heard (secondarily) as spatial.

One occurrence from Antigone may not be that anomalous, but it is certainly worth mentioning as an example of how proximal demonstratives mark space vividly. Creon begins his final words to Haemon by responding to his claim that his father does not want to listen to him (758-9):

ἀλιθείς; ἀλλ’ οὐ, τόνδ’ Ὁλυμπον, ἵσθ’ ὃτι, χαίρων ἐτι ψόγοις δεδυνάσεις ἐμέ.

What! Well, you won’t, by Olympus here, be sure of that, continue to insult me with your reproaches and get away with it.

As Griffith notes, μά, often omitted in negative oaths, is to be understood with τόνδ’ Ὁλυμπον; the phrase itself refers to the skies above. The lone comparandum is Ajax 1389, where Teucer, furious at Agamemnon and Menelaus’ wish to deprive Ajax of a proper burial, fumes (1389-91):

τοιγάρ σφ’ Ὁλύμπου το/ FE δ’ πρεσβεύων πατήρ μνήμων τ’ Ἑρινώς καὶ τελεσφόρος Δίκη κακοὺς κακῶς φθείρειαν

Therefore may the father, ruler of Olympus here, unforgetting Fury and accomplishing Justice destroy those horrible men horribly.

These two instances of Ὁλυμπος modified by a proximal demonstrative adjective are noteworthy if only to illustrate the dynamism language has at creating and calling attention to space. In each example ὀδε functions as a linguistic mark of heightened emotion; it helps to signal the character’s rage. At the same time, in the open-air theater the phrase “Olympus here,” where Olympus is used synonymously for sky, calls the

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179 Nauck-Schneider 1855: 221: “Philoktet fordert also mit erzwungenen Humor (vgl. 759) den Neoptolemos auf, ihn in Ἀἰμιλίον τοῦ, welches hier im vollen Sinne Ἀἰμιλίον sei, zu schleduern. Vgl. 986. Daher ist ἀνακαλουμένω, wofür man ἀνακαλουμένω geschrieben hat, zu fassen entweder ore hominum celebritus ignis, oder invocari solitus, so oft die Schmerzen mich folterten.” Radermacher (Schneider-Schneider 1911: 91), in his revised edition of Nauck-Schneider, omits the words “mit erzwungenen Humor” in this passage and also the mention of a “forced smile” (“erzwungenen Lächeln”) in Nauck-Schneiderin’s (1855: 218) note on 759.
182 As elsewhere in Sophocles: Aj. 1389, Ant. 605, OT 1088, OC 1651.
spectator’s attention upward; the light shining down from above, in turn, gives assurance that the speaker’s words will be accomplished.183

One notable instance where the language suggests a spatial feature which may or may not be present onstage is the opening of *Oedipus Tyrannus*. Oedipus’ first words are (1-3):

"Ω τέκνα, Κάδμου τού πάλαι νέα τροφή, τίνας ποθ' ἔδρας τάσδε μοι θοάζετε ἰκτηρίους κλάδοισιν ἔξεστεµµένοι;"

Children, last-born charges of Cadmus long ago, why ever are you sitting here before me with suppliant branches, garlanded?

At first blush the phrase ἔδρας τάσδε means nothing more than “these seats here.” Yet ἔδρα is often used to mean “posture” or “position,” frequently of a suppliant (as here). What we are left with, then, is the question of whether or not ἔδρας τάσδε means “these seats here” (of the altars) or “these suppliant positions.” The difference is slight, even negligible since in either case we know that they are seated at Oedipus’ altars (15-16 προσήµεθα βωµο/ʊς σο/ʊς). If we are to make a decision based on Sophocles’ normal use of spatially deictic demonstrative adjectives, however, then we should understand ἔδρας τάσδε as an instance of situational deixis.184

I.5. Spatial Adverbs

As discussed in the preceding pages, the tragic scene is regularly set and reinforced by the use of ὅδε. This section examines the adverbial uses of τάδε, τῆδε, ταύτη, and δεύρο.

I.5.a. Adverbial Uses of τάδε

The neuter plural demonstrative pronoun τάδε can be used to indicate the present location of the speaker. Nearly all discussions of τάδε meaning “here” turn for support to Hermocrates’ speech in Thucydides (6.77):

"Αλλ` οὐ γὰρ δὴ τὴν τῶν Αθηναίων ἐυκατηγόρητον οὐσαν πόλιν νῦν ἢκομεν ἀποφανοῦντες ἐν εἰδόσιν ὡς ἀδικεῖ, πολὺ δὲ μᾶλλον ἡμᾶς αὐτούς αἰτιασόμενοι ὅτι ἔχοντες παραδείγµατα τῶν τ` ἑκεῖ Ἑλλήνων ὡς ἐδουλώθησαν οὐκ ἀμύνοντες σφίσιν αὐτοίς, καὶ νῦν ἐφ` ἡμᾶς ταύτα παρόντα σοφίσµατα, Λεοντίνων τε ξυγγεν/ʊν κατοικίσεις κα` Ἐγεσταίων ἐμιµάχων"

183 Cf. my remarks in §I.5.b on *Ph*. 1329-31 (p.54).

184 Kamerbeek (1967: 32) draws the same conclusion in evaluating the indefinite pronoun: “ἔδρα may be taken as concrete (‘seat’) or as abstract (‘sitting’), but τίνας favours the second view: so our passage had better not be listed with the instances of the accusative with κε/ʊσθαι, στ/ʊναι, ἦσθαι denoting the place occupied, as is done by K.-G. I 313 Anm. 13. The accusative is internal: ‘why are you sitting thus’, but the concrete ‘these seats’ is implied in the phrase.”
But we are not now come to declare to an audience familiar with them the misdeeds of a state so open to accusation as is the Athenian, but much rather to blame ourselves, who, with the warnings we possess in the Hellenes in those parts that have been enslaved through not supporting each other, and seeing the same sophisms being now tried upon ourselves—such as restorations of Leontine kinsfolk and support of Egestaean allies—do not stand together and resolutely show them that here are no Ionians, or Hellespontines, or islanders, who change continually, but always serve a master, sometimes the Mede and sometimes some other, but free Dorians from independent Peloponnese, dwelling in Sicily.

But how rigid is our determination to read the proximal demonstrative pronoun in the phrase δειξαι αυτοῖς ὑπὸ Ἰωνίων τάδε εἰσίν oυδὲ Ἑλλησπόντιοι καὶ νησιώται, oἱ δεσπότην η Ἀρχον τίνα αἰεὶ μεταβάλλειται, ἀλλὰ Δωριῆς ἐλεύθεροι ἄτρπονόμου τῆς Πελοποννήσου τὴν Σικελίαν οἰκούντες.

τάδε μὲν Περσῶν τῶν οἰχομένων Ἑλλάδ’ ἐς αἰαν πιστὰ καλεῖται

We here are called the trusty [councilors] of the Persians who are on their way to the land of Greece.

As Alexander Garvie explains, “The phrase with the deictic τάδε is equivalent to οἱδε καλούμεθα, but the pronoun has been assimilated to the gender of the neuter predicate, so that the whole expression becomes third, rather than first, person.” But Garvie’s translation (“we here are called the faithful (counsellors)”), as too mine above, insists on a strong, but not exclusive, spatial element. Indeed, in the examples to be adduced below, it is nearly impossible to declare with any definitiveness that τάδε is spatial (only) and not (also) first person.
Orestes 1506-9

Or. Where is that guy who fled my sword from the house?
Phr. I am prostrating myself before you, lord, supplicating in the barbarian custom.
Or. Here is not in Ilium, but in the Argive land.
Phr. Everywhere do prudent men consider it sweeter to live than to die.

Orestes’ οὐκ ἐν Ἰλίῳ τάδε ἔστιν (1508) is primarily spatial; the demonstrative properly denotes the area around, i.e. “these things here,” which are located within a larger spatial frame (Argos, not Ilium). At the same time, given Persians 1-2 it is difficult—and unnecessary—to discount the possibility that τάδε ἔστιν was not also heard as equivalent to οἶδε ἔσμεν.

Let us look at the rest of the evidence.

Trojan Women 98-100

ἀνα, δύσδαιµον· πεδόθεν κεφαλὴν ἐπάειρε δέρην <τ’>· οὐκέτι Τροία τάδε καὶ βασιλῆς ἐσμεν Τροίας.

Get up, wretched woman. Lift your head and neck from the ground. No longer does Troy exist here, and we are no longer Trojan queens.

Andromache 168-9

γνώναι θ’ ἰ’ εἰ γῆς. οὔ γάρ ἐσθ’ Ἐκτώρ τάδε, οὐ Πρίαµος οὔδε χρυσός, ἀλλ’ Ἑλλάς πόλις.

Know where in the world you are. For there is no Hector here, no Priam, no gold. This is a Greek city.

Cyclops 203-5

ἀνέχε πάρεχε· τί τάδε; τίς ἢ ῥαθυμία;
τί βακχιάζετ’; οὔχι Διόνυσος τάδε,
οὐ κρόταλα χαλκοῦ τυμπάνων τ’ ἀφάγματα.

Hold on! Yield! What is this? What is this recreation? Why are you playing the Bacchant? There is no Dionysus here, no castanets made of bronze and crashings of drums.

Nicolaus Wecklein characterizes Hermione’s expression in Andromache as “harsh,” an interpretation expanded by P.T. Stevens who describes this use of τάδε here and

191 Wecklein 1911: 29: “eine bittere Redeweise.”
elsewhere as having “a sarcastic or contemptuous connotation.” And this is certainly correct for the passages above. One passage which does not conform to this rubric—omitted in the comparanda cited by Stevens—is *Cyclops* 63-8:

\[
ο\, τά\, δέ\, Βρό\, μι\, ος, \, ο\, τά\, δέ\, χορ\, οι \\
Βάκχαι τε \, \, θυρσοφόροι, \\
ο\, τυμ\, πτά\, νων\, άλαλα\, γμι\, οι, \\
ο\, ό\, οι\, όν\, χλω\, ρα\, i\, σταγό\, ο\, νε\, s \\
κρή\, ναι\, i\, s\, πα\, ρ\, ι\, υ\, δρο\, χύ\, ς\, ι\, ο\, s.
\]

There is no Bromius here, no choruses here, and thyrsus-carrying Bacchants, no bangings of drums, no fresh drops of wine by the gushing springs.

The difference in tone here—more nostalgic than sarcastic or contemptuous—may be accounted for by the heavily ironic (both intra- and extra-dramatically) claim made by the Chorus as they sing and dance at a festival in honor of Dionysus that there “is no Bromius here, no choruses.” To this we may compare Euripides’ *Hypsipyle* fr. I.ii.9-11:

\[
ο\, τά\, δέ\, πή\, νας, \, ο\, τά\, δέ\, κερκί\, δος \\
ι\, στό\, τό\, να\, πα\, ρα\, μυ\, θια\, Λη\, μι\, νια \\
Μο\, ύσα \, θέ\, λει\, με \, κρέ\, κει\, ν
\]

These are not the Lemnian consolations of the bobbin-thread, of the shuttle stretched on the loom, the Muse wants me to sing

G.W. Bond compares this passage to *Cyclops* 63 (ο\, τά\, δέ\, Βρό\, μι\, ος, \, ο\, τά\, δέ\, χορ\, οι), and says that “τά\, δέ means in effect ‘here’. ” Better, however, is the interpretation offered more recently by Cropp who translates these lines as “These are not the Lemnian songs for relieving the labour of the weft-thread and web-stretching shuttle…. “ Although there is an obvious similarity between these verses of *Hypsipyle* and the passages above which employ a similar construction, here τά\, δέ is best understood as an example of situational deixis (“these words I am now saying”) and refers to the current song. And although the type of deixis may be different from that of *Cyclops* 63, the tone is also one of nostalgia.

What is more important for our larger discussion of spatial deixis, however, is how these adverbial uses of τά\, δέ would have been understood. When adverbial τά\, δέ follows a negative it seems to denote the present space. And yet this still may not be the

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192 Stevens 1971: 116-17. *Ody*. 1.226 (ἐπεί οὐκ ἔρανος τάδε γ’ ἔστιν), included among Stevens’ comparanda, is not only sarcastic, but there τάδε quite emphatically calls attention to the space itself, the halls of Odysseus which do not, and have not for some time, enjoyed a communal dinner.

193 Bierl 2001: 78.

194 Bond 1963: 65. The translation by Jouan and van Looy (2002: 180), “Non, ce ne sont point ici les tissues, ce n’est point la navette qui resserre la trame, ma consolation à Lemnos, que la Muse m’ invite à chanter,” also interprets τάδε as spatial.

195 Collard, Cropp, and Gibert 2004: 191. Collard’s translation has been altered slightly in Collard and Cropp (2008: 267): “These are not the Lemnian songs, relieving …”
only way to construe this phrase. The bareness of the expression—a simple neuter plural demonstrative pronoun in apposition to a singular noun—may in many cases (Or. 1508; Tro. 99; Cyc. 63, 203) just as easily be read as situational, even if in the appendices the above passages are listed as examples of spatial deixis. Although τάδε has the capacity to refer to the first person, the present space, and the ongoing situation, and thus a precise or irrefutable terminological assignation of the preceding examples is impossible, this is more a testament to the power the proximal demonstrative has of engaging an audience than a deficiency in lexical precision. If anything, we may begin to get a clearer understanding of the close relationship between the situation onstage and the spatial setting in tragedy; or, to put it otherwise, the dramatic situation itself is inseparable from the space in which it transpires.

I.5.b. Adverbial Uses of τέθει and ταύτη

Little need be said of these adverbs as they conform to the “rules” of proximal and medial demonstratives set out previously: τέθει refers to what is nearer to the speaker; ταύτη to what is further away. Broadly speaking, τέθει refers to the present location of the speaker, but it is used both in the sense of “here where I am now” and “(over) here by me” / “this way.” A clear example of adverbial ταύτη comes from Philoctetes where it is juxtaposed with τέθει and gives a nice glimpse into the gestures that would have accompanied the words (1329-31):

καὶ παῦλαν ἵσθι τέθει μὴ ποτ’ ἀν τυχείν
νόσου βαρεῖας, ἣς ἂν αὐτὸς ἥλιος
ταύτη μὲν αἰρῇ, τέθει δ’ ἀυ δύνη πάλιν,

And know that you will never have respite from awful sickness, as long as the same sun rises over there and sets again over here

As we hear those words we imagine Neoptolemus raising his arm first to the East (ταύτη), and then to the West (τέθει); the sun blazing down upon us gives surety to his words.

As an example of how these adverbs can clue us into the lost proxemics of the originals we need only examine the Chorus’ entrance in Cyclops. They begin their first

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196 An interesting comparandum seldom brought into this discussion is OT 1329-30 (Ἀπόλλων τάδ’ ἦν, Απόλλων, φίλοι, / ὁ κακᾶ κακᾶ τελῶν ἐμὰ τάδ’ ἐμὰ πάθεα). There are two ways to understand τάδε here: it can be construed with κακᾶ in the following verse, or it can stand on its own in the phrase Απόλλων τάδ’ ἦν (“this was Apollo”). Both ways should be considered examples of situational deixis (cf. OT 1318), but, the similarity of Απόλλων τάδ’ ἦν to, e.g., οὗ τάδε Βρόμιος, does give cause for pause. Dawe (1982: 232) implies that Eur. Cyc. 63, 204, and Andr. 16 may be situational.

197 See too Cyc. 685.

198 Webster’s (1970: 151) idea that “οὗτος ‘yonder Sun’ is expected” is entirely without merit (as too Brunck’s emendation), for the sun is always referred to with a proximal demonstrative. Barby (1803: 214) defends Brunk’s οὗτος by calling αὐτός—the reading of the manuscripts—“stupid” (“inficetius est”), though in my view the reading of οὗτος inficetius est.

199 Webster 1970: 151: “the rising and setting of the sun is almost a guarantee of the truth of Neoptolemus’ words.” Cf. my remarks on Ant. 758-9 and Aj. 1389-91 (§1.4, pp.49-50).
ode by addressing the ram who leads them into the orchestra. As the ram veers off toward the skene they ask “Is not this way the gentle breeze and grassy pasture?” (44-5 οὐ τᾶδ’ ὑπήνεμος αὐρα καὶ ποιηρά βοτάνα), where “this way” indicates the direction in which the Chorus is moving. They begin their mesode by summoning the errant creature back to their present location, the “grassy pasture” of the center of the orchestra which they have by now reached (49-50):

ψύττ’· οὐ τᾶδ’, οὐ;
οὐ τᾶδε νεμὴ κλειτὸν δροσεράν;

Psst! Come over here, won’t you? Won’t you please feed on the dewy slope here?

I.5.c δεύρο in Tragedy

In tragedy δεύρο most often signals the city or region in which the play is set (“here” in both the senses of, e.g., “to this city” or “in this city”) or the skene, including the area in front of the stage building. Once a play establishes its setting, all subsequent uses of δεύρο refer back to the agreed-upon referent. Far less often (only about 5% of the time) is δεύρο paired with an imperative of a verb of motion and means “hither,” or it is used directionally to specify the immediate location of the speaker.200 “Here,” in this use, is closely associated with the speaker and αὐτή / ἔμφυτη is often to be understood if it is not stated outright.

On occasion the adverb is used in what we may consider a subset of “directional δεύρο” to designate a part of the body. Ajax, in Sophocles’ play of the same name, holds his hands before his upper torso and tells his wife Tecmessa to hand him their son, Eurysaches: “Lift him, lift him up here to me” (545 σιήρ’ σιτόν, σιήρε δεύρο·). Similarly, Peleus in Euripides’ Andromache instructs the Boy and Andromache to stand under his arms (747-8 ἤγον τέκνον μοι δεύρ’ ὑπ’ ἄγκάλαις σταθείς, / σὺ τ’).201 More often, one is asked to turn his/her head or eyes toward the speaker:

OT 1121-2
οὗτος σὺ, πρέσβυ, δεύρο μοι φώνει βλέπων
ὅς’ ἄν σ’ ἐρωτῶ.

Hey you! Sir, look over here and tell to me whatever I ask you.

Heracleidai 942-4
πρώτον μὲν οὖν μοι δεύρ’ ἐπίστρεψον κάρα
καὶ τλήθι τοὺς σοὺς προσβέλεπειν ἐναντίον
ἐχθροὺς·
For starters, turn your head here toward me and dare to look at your enemies face-to-face.

200 An imperative meaning “come” may be omitted: e.g., Ba. 341, IA 630.
201 Also Andr. 722-3: ἔρπε δεύρ’ ὑπ’ ἄγκάλαις, βρέφος, / Ἐξῆλθε δεσμὰ μητρός·
**Hippolytus 300**
φθέγξαι τι, δεύρ' ἄθρησσον.

Say something! Look here at me!

**Hippolytus 946-7**

dείξον δ', ἐπειδὴ γ' ἐς μίασμ' ἐλήλυθα,
tὸ σὸν πρόσωπον δεύρ' ἐναντίον πατρί.

Since you have already been polluted, show your face here, face-to-face with your father.

In these passages δέρο’s strong association with the first person is readily apparent; in each case the adverb functions almost as πρὸς ἐμέ.

Δέρο can also have a temporal quality, a very uncommon use and one restricted to tragedy. 202 In *Eumenides*, Orestes replies to the Furies’ question “Did the seer [Apollo] instruct you to kill you mother?” (595) with “Yes, and up until now I have never found fault with the result” (596 καὶ δεύρο γ’ ἀεὶ τὴν τύχην οὐ μέμφομαι). Similar uses are found in *Medea*, when Medea asks Aegeus if he has been childless his entire life (670 πρὸς θεῶν, ἀπαῖς γὰρ δεύρ’ ἀεὶ τείνεις βίον); and in *Orestes*, when Apollo describes the troubles Helen has caused Menelaus (1663 πόνοις διδοὺς δεύρ’ ἀεὶ διήνυσεν). 203 It is interesting to note that although δεύρο is temporal, in all of the passages which contain the expression δεύρ’ (ό γ’) ἀεὶ a hint (or more) of its spatial sense is retained: the notion of “up until this present moment” is founded on a conception of time in which participants move forward; each temporal moment, each “now,” is at the same time a “here.”

It is this notion which I believe helps to explain the anomalous use in *Hippolytus* (493-6):

eἰ μὲν γὰρ ἦν σοι μὴ ’πι συμφοραίς βίος
τοιαῖς, σώφρων δ’ οὐδ’ ἐτύγχανες γυνῆ,
οὐκ ἀν ποτ’ εὐνῆς οὖνεξ’ ἡδονῆς τε σῆς
προῆγουν ἃν σε δεύρο’ (495)

For if your life were not in such an unfortunate state as this, and you happened to be a woman with self-control, I would never be trying to lead you here to this point for the sake of your bed and its pleasure.

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202 The lone example from Aristophanes is *Lys*. 1135 (εἷς μὲν λόγος μοι δεύρ’ ἀεὶ περαίνεται), a quote from E. *Erechtheus*, fr. 363. Sommerstein (1990: 213) characterizes this line as “not very poetic,” an accurate description to some extent, but the phrase δεύρ’ ἀεὶ is mostly found in the poetry of Euripides.

The “here” designated by δεύρο (496) may be understood as a poetic adaptation of the prosaic μέχρι δεύρο (“up to this point”), used of logical arguments. The generic difference, the absence of μέχρι, may also underlie the temporal uses above. Support for this idea can be found in the Euripidean scholia and Byzantine lexica which consistently gloss δεύρ’ αεί as αντί τού μέχρι τούτου and ἡως τούτου.

The similarity of δεύρο to a proximal demonstrative can be seen most clearly in Orestes when Electra instructs Pylades to pay attention to what she is about to say: “Listen up then. And you, pay attention here” (1181 ἄκουε δή νῦν, καὶ σὺ δεύρο νοῦν ἑχε). This use of δεύρο is very close to the cataphoric use of τάδε. Similar expressions are found elsewhere in Euripides. In Ion we hear: “I held my mind elsewhere, though being present here” (251 ἐκείσε τὸν νοῦν ἑσθον ἑνθάδ’ οὐσά περ.); in Phoenissae: “Whoever speaks differently takes delight in argumentation, but holds his mind elsewhere” (360-1 ὃς δ’ ἄλλως λέγει/ λόγοις χαίρε, τὸν δὲ νοῦν ἐκείσ’ ἑχε). In contrasting the use of δεύρο in Orestes 1181 with that of the distal demonstrative adverb ἐκείσε in Ion 251 and Phoenissae 361 we may see how δεύρο functions unambiguously as a proximal demonstrative adverb. Further support is to be found in the regular juxtaposition of the proximal adverb δεύρο with the distal adverb ἐκείσε:207 the vivid, present use of τὸ δεύρο for τὸ μεταξὺ at Oedipus Coloneus 663; and the two cataphoric uses of δεύρο (A. Supp. 438; E. IA 1377) where “here” looks forward to what is about to be said in the same way as τάδε frequently does.

But the examples above constitute exceptions from the adverb’s normal usage in tragedy of denoting the present location. All three tragedians regularly use δεύρο to refer to the place where the action is unfolding; its range in this use covers the skene, the space before the skene, and the larger space (city or region) in which the drama is set.

II. ARISTOPHANES

II.1. Macro Space: City, Region, Country

When proximal demonstratives are used in Aristophanes to indicate a place or location, they overwhelmingly denote Athens and its territory. This is not surprising, for Attic Old Comedy has Athens as its initial point of reference. And regardless of where the comic hero’s journey may take him (and us), be it to heaven or to hell, present-day Athens always remains in the fore, an ever-present space exerting itself on the dramas through every imaginable element of performance (e.g., dialect, audience, location of performance, actors, topical references). And yet in performance, even or especially within the dramatic world gradually created onstage before the audience’s eyes, these

204 See LSJ s.v. δεύρο I.3.
205 Cf. examples in LSJ s.v. δεύρο II.
206 See too the examples in Diggle 1981: 97-8; Diggle 1970: 165.
207 S. Tr. 929; E. Andr. 618, IT 1409 (ἐκείσε), Hel. 1141-2, Ph. 98, 266, 315. Note the similar use of proximal and distal adverbs at Ph. 266 (265-6 ὃν οὐκ’ ὡμα πανταχ’ διοιστέον / κάκεισε καὶ τὸ δεύρο, μὴ δόλους τις ἐγεί) and Ph. 315 (312-17 πῶς ἰπάντητα / καὶ χερσὶ καὶ λόγοις / πολυλεκτον ἀδοναν / ἐκείσε καὶ τὸ δεύρο / περιχορεύουσα τέρψιν παλαιάν λάβω / χαρµονάν); with the proximal and medial adverbs at S. Ph. 1331 (discussed above, §1.I.5.b, p.54).
208 Jebb 1928: 112.
poignant indexical markers each and every time they are used signpost quite perceptibly, if not at times jarringly, the simultaneity of the dramatic world and the real world. The Athens of comedy exists on a parallel plane with the Athens of reality, a dual identity which we see expressed on numerous occasions.209

Most of the deictic references to Athens occur naturally enough in plays set in Athens; in these instances the phrases “this city” (ηδε η πόλις),210 “this land” (ηδε γη),211 “this region” (ηδε χώρα),212 or “here” (τηδε)213 operate to construct a viable dramatic world which bears some legitimate semblance to the real world in which and for whom it is performed. When the location of the dramatic world moves out of Athens, however, as it does in Peace, Birds, and Frogs, deictic spatial references to the present location become more complicated: the “this / here / now” element of the proximal demonstrative at once insists on the spatio-temporal moment of utterance within the dramatic world, and yet, at the same time, cannot help but include the real Athens. For example, at the conclusion of Birds (1720-1725) τηδε πόλει signals that both Cloudcuckooland and Athens will benefit from the marriage of Peisetairus and Basileia:214

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{άναγε δίεχε πάραγε πάρεχε}. \\
\text{περιπετεσθε μάκαρα μάκαρι σύν τύχα}. \\
\text{ώφε θεύ τής όρας, του κάλλους}. \\
\text{ώμακαριστόν σύ γάμον τηδε πόλει γήμας}.
\end{align*}
\]

Go Back! Stand apart! Get in line! Fall out! Fly by the man blessed with blessed luck! Hot damn! Her youth! Her looks! You have made a marriage most blessed for this city.

It is not surprising that the comedy with the most deictic spatial references is Birds, as the creation of a new city, especially one simultaneously perched in midair and located firmly on the ground of the theater, requires that it be acknowledged as present, as “here” and “now,” with a proximal demonstrative.215 And, in fact, as Nan Dunbar points out, it is the Poet’s use of the phrase τήνδε πόλιν (921) which provides the first textual indication that the action is now taking place in Cloudcuckooland.216 We may observe further that the gods’ entrance into Cloudcuckooland is marked by a proximal demonstrative (1565-6):

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209 See Elam 2002: 92-102 for the relationship between the actual world and the dramatic world. Ruffell (2008: 51) describes the relationship between worlds in similar terms: “There is a sort of distancing through being in a peculiarly twisted version of the here-and-now and both comic and tragic worlds are constructed out of the audience’s own world experience, but the comic world nonetheless remains much more recognizable as a twisted version of the Athenian here-and-now.” See too his diagrams of theatrical communication, Figs. 2.1-3 (pp. 41-3).

210 Eq. 566, 568, 1175, 1317; V. 1077.
211 Eq. 699, 1330; V. 1230; Lys. 467, 582.
212 V. 1043, 1118; Pax 638; Ec. 173.
213 Ach. 903; Nu. 588.
214 Calame 2004: 177.
215 921, 965, 1279, 1280, 1313, 1566, 1725.
216 Dunbar 1995: 532. As she also notes (p. 491), ἐντευθενι at 817 is the first “ambiguous sign” that the action has moved from the earth to the sky.

58
It is possible to see this city here of Cloudcuckooland, to where we make our embassy.

Dunbar states that Poseidon’s language is “dignified,” citing the tragic rhythm and πόλισμα, but the use of the τοδί in the following line—acceptable in satyr play or comedy but not tragedy—undercuts some of the solemnity and dignity of the entrance even before the god of the sea abruptly breaks off his speech to berate the Triballian. Nevertheless, this type of entrance, one marked with a spatial proximal demonstrative, we have already seen as a common technique of Euripides to establish the setting at the outset of a play.

Within a play, spatial indicators, markers that reinforce where we are, can create a tension between dramatic and theatrical spaces. Certain words, like ἐνθάδε, can be understood both intra- and extradiscursively; they can reference both the hic of the dramatic space and the hic of the performance space. In Frogs, as Xanthias and the Slave discuss the genesis of the contest between Aeschylus and Euripides, the Slave says that “the good are the few, just like here” (783 ὀλίγον τὸ χρηστόν ἐστιν, ὀστρέ ἐνθάδε). The words ὀστρέ ἐνθάδε, likely accompanied by a sweeping gesture toward the audience, abruptly displace us, transfer us from Hades (back) to Athens. With this breach of the dramatic frame we are reminded just where we are and where the action of the play is actually unfolding. We are in both Hades and Athens, and there is no (real) difference.

II.2. Skene

While tragedy gives great emphasis to the skene, and thus always refers to it with ὅδε even when characters are not near it, comedy exhibits greater flexibility in its use of demonstratives and regularly indicates spatial distance with οὐτος. When a proximal demonstrative is used of the skene, this can be explained either by the speaker’s proximity to the building or by his emotional state.

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218 Stanford 1963: 139; Dover 1993: 288; Schol. V ad loc. Rogers (1919: 118), although printing the scholion, suggests that when the slave utters this line he looks at the audience. Given the nature of the masks worn, a look could have only been effective if it were part of a much larger movement, like an abrupt turn of the head toward a different part of the audience than the actor was facing when he delivered the line. Even so, surely such a look would have had greater efficacy if accompanied by a gesture.
220 Cf. Segal’s (1961) analysis of Dionysus in Frogs, particularly his role as part of the Athenian community. We may also note that ὁ δῆμος (779) further contributes drawing the two spaces and communities, Hades and Athens, together.
221 This is especially true when the Chorus’ refer to the skene: e.g., OT 927; Hipp. 171, 813, 1150; Or. 1547.
Strepsiades has just pointed out to his son the location of the Thinktank, Socrates’ school of sophistry. The adverb δεύρο, as discussed above, functions like a proximal demonstrative and we should expect Strepsiades to point toward the space. The play may have used two doors, one for Strepsiades’ house located in the country (τηλον γὰρ οἰκῶν τῶν ἄγρων), the other for Socrates’ school in Athens. The onstage proximity between the two locales cannot be helped and it is up to us to imagine that they are, in fact, supposed to be located in different areas. Strepsiades’ use of a medial demonstrative, provides some help in envisioning a significant space between doors. If there were a single entrance to the skene, however, then a medial demonstrative would only aid further the illusion of distance between spaces. Moreover, the physical dimensions of the performance space, which necessarily put in close proximity any two places which are dramatically intended to be distant from each other, should not be taken too literally.

We see doors and houses referred to with οὗτος in three other plays.

*Thesmophoriazusae 25-6*

Ευ. ἴδοι.
Κη. ὑπό τὸ θύριον τοῦτο;
Ευ. Πώς τὸ θύριον τοῦτο;
Ευ. Βάδιζε δευρί καὶ προσέχε τὸν νοῦν.
Ευ. Εὐριπίδης ὕπο διαφήμισιν τὸν νοῦν.

Euripides has led his Kinsman near to a house that will soon be identified as belonging to the tragic poet Agathon (29 ἐνταῦθα Ἀγάθων ὁ κλεινὸς οἰκῶν τυχάνει ὁ τραγῳδόποιος). The two may be imagined to be standing near the center of the orchestra when these lines are spoken, though they may be a bit closer to the skene or even toward one side. At the first sound of the doors opening they duck behind some cover so as to avoid being noticed by Agathon’s Attendant (36). Whatever it is that the two hide behind—most likely some shrubbery, but perhaps an altar—must be far enough away from the skene both to allow the Attendant to perform his rites, and to merit

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222 I do not know how many doors there were, though I often find myself leaning toward the “monist” position over that of the “pluralists.” See Lowe 2006: 49 n. 3 for a recent, brief discussion of the two main schools of thought on how many doors the comic stage used. Also Revermann 2006a: 207-9.

223 The word προθυσόμενος (38) suggests that an offering is to be made; πρόθυματα are small, pre-sacrificial offerings placed on an altar before the performance of the main sacrifice. See Austin and Olson 2004: 64-5.
the description of the Kinsman’s movement toward the Attendant as coming near to the skene (58 τίς ἀγροιώτας πελάθει θριγκοῖς;). Moreover, Euripides’ use of the medial demonstrative adverb ἐνταῦθα (29) suggests some distance between himself and the building.224

Lysistrata 245-51

Lys. Let us with the other women in the city go inside and help in barring the doors.

Myr. Don’t you think that the men will straightaway come to the rescue in attacking us?

Lys. They are of little concern to me: they will not come with such threats or fire as to open those gates, except on the conditions we have laid out.

It is generally assumed that τὰς πύλας ταύτας (250-1) is an indexical reference to the central door of the skene which now, for the first time in the play, can be clearly identified as the Propylaea, and I believe this is largely correct.225 At the same time, we must ask ourselves why Lysistrata chose a medial demonstrative rather than a proximal. Distance is one possible motive, and this would be in keeping with locating the women closer to the center of the orchestra as they bind themselves to their cause through the swearing of an oath (181-239). By using the medial demonstrative at the same time that she and the other women begin moving toward the skene, Lysistrata’s diction may imply that there is some greater imaginary distance to traverse, just as was the case in the Clouds passage above.226 But we may also just as easily interpret τὰς πύλας ταύτας as anaphoric of the gates implied in the mention of “bars” at 246 (τοὺς μοχλούς).

Wealth 230-3

ημεῖς δὲ ταῖς ἀλλαίοι ταῖσιν ἐν πόλει ἐξεπεμβάλωμεν εἰςιοῦσαι τοὺς μοχλούς.

οὐκοῦν ἐφ’ ἡμᾶς ἐξυμβολήσειν οἴει τοὺς ἀνδρας εὐθὺς;

οὐ γὰρ τοσαύτας οὔτ’ ἀπειλᾶς οὔτε πῦρ ἥξουσι’ ἔχουσα ὡστ’ ἄνοιξαι τὰς πύλας ταύτας, ἕαν μὴ ’φ’ οἴσιν ἡμεῖς εἴπομεν.

Lys. Let us with the other women in the city go inside and help in barring the doors.

Myr. Don’t you think that the men will straightaway come to the rescue in attacking us?

Lys. They are of little concern to me: they will not come with such threats or fire as to open those gates, except on the conditions we have laid out.

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Wealth 230-3

σοῦ δ’, ὦ κράτιστε Πλοῦτε πάντων δαιμόνων,

εἰσώ μετ’ ἐμοῦ δεύρ’ εἰσίθ’· ἢ γὰρ οἰκία

αὐτή ἱστιν ἴν δέι χρημάτων σε τήμερον

224 In general, ἐνταῦθα operates as we may expect any medial demonstrative adverb to work: it can be used anaphorically and to designate a distance greater than that appropriately indicated by a proximal demonstrative adverb. On the uses of ἐνταῦθα in Aristophanes and Plato see Ricca 1989: 69-74.


226 Following Reitzammer’s (2008) persuasive argument that the Adonis Festival underlies much of Lysistrata, and that the Acropolis is a veritable rooftop on which the women perform their rites, it may also be possible to hear the medial demonstrative in the phrase τὰς πύλας ταύτας as hinting as well at vertical distance, for it is here at this moment in the play that the women now enter the Propylaea and make their ascent to the top of the Acropolis.
μεστήν ποίσαι καὶ δικαίως κάδικώς.

You, Wealth, strongest of all the gods, go inside here with me. That home there is the one which you must make filled with money today, justly and unjustly.

Cario has just run into the house, and Chremylus and Wealth remain outside. It is difficult to say at what distance the men stand from the skene, but as they entered from one of the eisodoi at the beginning of the play and stopped to hold a conversation—presumably to one side of the orchestra near whence they entered or in the middle of it—we may assume that the men are at about the same distance from the skene as others are when they refer to it (e.g., Euripides and Lysistrata in the preceding examples). But Chremylus may move toward the skene at 231 as he invites Wealth inside;227 at the very least we may imagine a gesture to accompany δεῦρο. If Chremylus has, in fact, moved much closer to his house, then αὐτή seems to be at odds with his proximity and may best be understood as anaphoric of the gesture made with δεῦρο.

Although Aristophanes, unlike the tragedians, generally avoids demonstrative reference to the skene as “this house” (vel sim.), there are two passages which we may set against the examples of “that house” discussed above in order to argue for a consistent spatial use of medial and proximal demonstratives.228

Wasps 266-7

τί χρῆμ’ ἄρ’ οὐκ τῆς οἰκίας τῆς δικαίως πέπονθεν, ὥς οὐ φαίνεται δεῦρο πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος:

What might our fellow-juror, the man of this house, have suffered that he does not appear here to our group?

Although there is some concern over whether these lines belong here or between 316 and 317,229 in either case the Chorus Leader must cease his walking and to be close by Philocleon’s door, but not immediately in front of it since it is being guarded (319b).

Clouds 1157-62

οὔδεν γὰρ ἄν με φλαύρου ἐργάσασθ’ ἐτί,
οἰός ἐμοὶ τρέφεται
τοῖον ἐνὶ δώμαις παῖς,
ἂμφικει γλώττη λάμπον,
πρόβολος ἐμός, σωτὴρ δόμοις, ἔχθροις βλάβῃ,
λυσανίας πατρῶν µεγάλων κακῶν· (1160)

228 I exclude from the list of passages Th. 871 and 874 since they are part of the Helen parody discussed below. The skene door is referred to with δεῦρ or ὁδί at V. 1484; Ra. 36; Ec. 963, 989. In all cases the speaker is, naturally enough, standing beside the door.
You might not any longer do anything bad to me, such a child is being raised for me in this house, brilliant with double-edged tongue, my protector, savior of my house, bane of my enemies, ender of sorrows of his father’s great troubles.

Strepsiades’ paratragic song takes place before the Thinktank, on whose door he knocks at 1145. He is greeted by Socrates who informs him that his son, Pheidippides, is now educated in “Wrong Argument” and can now defend him in any lawsuit (1145-53). In his joy, Strepsiades bursts into song. And although it may be enough simply to state that both Strepsiades’ proximity to the door and his unabashed excitement are sufficient to justify his use of the phrase το/υδσδ’ ἐνὶ δόμασι (1159), the lack of a definite article and the poetic plural mark this as paratragic, perhaps even para-Euripidean.230

II.3. Other Spaces

Extending our discussion of medial demonstrative adjectives to include all spaces referred to, we may gain new understanding of the staging of Frogs 277-9:

προϊέναι βέλτιστα νῦν,  
ὡς οὖτος ὁ τόπος ἐστίν οὗ τὰ θηρία  
tὰ δείν’ ἐφασκ’ ἐκεῖνος.

It’s best if we move on since that is the place where that guy [Heracles] said the terrible beasts are.

The phrase οὖτος ὁ τόπος ἐστίν is regularly translated as “this is the place,”231 but this wrongly implies that Dionysus and Xanthias are currently located in the place of terrible beasts foretold by Heracles (143-4 μετὰ το/υτ’ ὁφεις καὶ θηρί’ ὁφειμιρία δεινότατα). Heracles does not say that Xanthias and Dionysus will be in a place of “snakes and countless, most terrible beasts,” but only that they will see (ὡφει) them. I suggest that the humor of 277-9 rests on a continuation of the joke at 276, in which Dionysus can still see (in the audience) the father-beaters and oath-breakers. Xanthias is concerned and advocates moving away from “that place”; οὖτος ὁ τόπος indicates a portion of the audience nearby which is visible “over there,” but cannot be accurately referred to as “here where we are now.” Xanthias and Dionysus then run away from their current location at the side of the orchestra toward a safer spot, presumably nearer the skene or the orchestra center.232 This fleeing, of course, highlights the irony of Dionysus’ bravado at 279-84. And it is from this new location, perhaps the center of the orchestra (now land, not a lake), that Dionysus begins his sprint toward his priest for safety (297).

When a medial demonstrative suffixed with –i is used to indicate a space, the deictic iota is, well, strongly deictic. There is quite range of spaces indicated with

230 The phrase το/υδσδ’ ἐν δόμασιν occurs in E. Her. 44 and Hel. 8; Euripides also uses το/υδσδε δόμασιν at Med. 77, Or. 1533, and the spurious Danae fr. 1132. 52. With supplementation, it also appears in Dioscorus fr. 22.6: σήμερον ἔξπλυνης φάος ἐπελετο δόμασι το/υδσδε].
232 Others prefer to make the stage (or area in front of the skene if there was no raised stage) the point of disembarkment, e.g., Sommerstein 1996: 59; Henderson 2002: 61.
οὐτοσί. We find it designating the larger spatial setting of a speaker or a spatial feature just before him (οὐτοσί = οὗτος),\(^{233}\) as well as visible and non-visible spaces at some distance from the speaker (οὐτοσί = οὕτος).\(^{234}\) In every instance a gesture likely accompanied the demonstrative.

II.4. Spatial Adverbs

This section examines the adverbial uses of τῇδε, ταύτῃ, and δὲρῳ in Aristophanes. Unlike the tragedians, Aristophanes does not use τάδε spatially.

II.4.a. Adverbial Uses of τῇδε and ταύτῃ

Aristophanes hardly employs τῇδε and ταύτῃ as spatial or directional adverbs to any great degree; only in five of his plays.\(^{235}\) While τῇδε does at times simply indicate the present space of the speaker,\(^{236}\) and ταύτῃ a location at a distance from the speaker,\(^{237}\) their predominant use in comedy is similar to what we have already witnessed in Cyclops, as a directional marker directing another toward the speaker or as indicating the direction the speaker is headed.

A single scene toward the end of Thesmophoriazusae should suffice to illustrate this point (1217-24).\(^{238}\)

\begin{quote}
Κο. τὴν γραψὸν ἐρωτᾶς ἢ ἑρευνάς πᾶς πηκτίδας;
Το. νάι, ναίκι. εἶδες αὐτό;
Κο. ταύτῃ γ᾽ οἴχεται
αὐτῇ τ᾽ ἐκείνη καὶ γέρων τις εἶπετο.
Το. κροκῶτ᾽ ἐκοντο τῇ γέρουτο;
Κο. φήμ᾽ ἐγὼ·
ἐτ᾽ ἂν καταλάβοισ, εἰ διώκει ταύτη."[1220]
Το. ὦ μιρὸ γράο· πότερο τρέξῃ τὴν ὁδό;
Ἀρταμοῦξια.
Κο. ὁρθῆν ἄνω διώκε, ποί τείς; οὔ πάλιν
τῇ διώκεις; τοῦμπαλιν τρέχεις σὺ γε.
\end{quote}

\(^{233}\) Pnyx: Ach. 20; surrounding area: Eq. 99; midair: Av. 551; Thesmophorion: Th. 880; lake: Ra.181. Similarly, a proximal demonstrative is used to indicate the Theater of Dionysus (Th. 1060). The proximal demonstrative at Th. 1105 (ἐὰν τιν’ ὄχθου τόνδ’ ὁρῶ) is part of an adapted line of E. Andromeda, fr. 125.

\(^{234}\) Line on the ground: Ach. 483; hero shrine: V. 820; cavern housing Peace: Pax 224.

\(^{235}\) Pax 968; Av. 1220, 1267-8.

\(^{236}\) Th. 784, 1218, 1221. The medial demonstrative at Av. 1195 (μὴ σε λάθη τῆς ταυτῆ περῄν) is typically translated in such a way as to indicate the present space: “this way” (Sommerstein 1987: 143); “here” (Henderson 2000: 179). But this is not the appropriate demonstrative to use for this type of statement which should require τῇδε. Rather, we should understand ταυτη as referring to a space at some distance from the Chorus, perhaps one of the eisodoi, or, as I believe is more likely, as not being spatial at all but anaphoric, and so referring “that famous way” that gods regularly slip past mortals undetected.

\(^{237}\) Cf. V. 990; Th. 666, 784. Pax 726 (τῇ διὰ παρ’ αὐτῆ τῆν θείν) is similar, but the –ι of τῇδι indicates a gesture forward whereby the speaker points to the path that should be taken but does not take it himself.
Cor. Are you asking for the old woman who brought the lute?
Arch. Yes, yes! You seen her?
Cor. She went that way; some old man was following her.
Arch. Was he wearing a yellow dress, the old man?
Cor. Yes he was! You still might catch them if you run that way.
Arch. Blasted old lady! Which road I run down?
Cor. Go straight back that way. Where are you going? No, run back this way toward us. You’re running the wrong way!

The Chorus Leader begins by telling the Scythian Archer to go “that way” (1218 ταύτη γ’ οὖχεται) in pursuit of Artemisia. The medial demonstratives there and at 1221 (ταυτή) confuse the Archer who is unsure of which path to take. Finally, the Chorus Leader gives more precise directions and the Archer runs offstage in the opposite direction. It is impossible to discern where the Chorus Leader gestured in giving her directions, or even how precise such a gesture would have been; indeed, the Archer seems fairly confused as to where to go and may not even have changed his course after being told to “run straight back that way” (1223). What is more important is that there is a great deal of movement onstage and that one character, the Chorus Leader, is doing her best at controlling the movement of another. This type of control and directionality is far commoner in comedy than tragedy, as we can see in an examination of the uses of the adverb δεύρο.

II.4.b. δεύρο

By comparing the different uses of the adverb δεύρο (and δεύρι) between genres we may come to understand better how spatial description contributes to the audience’s engagement with a performance (or series of performances). For the most part the poets use δεύρο similarly, though the distribution of types of usage is, I suggest, reflective of the generic differences. Aristophanes’ poetics of space are largely “egocentric,” that is over fifty-percent of the occurrences of δεύρο are those in which it is paired with an imperative.241

Aristophanic comedy uses the adverb far more frequently than tragedy. Wealth is an outlier with only five instances, while the remaining plays exhibit a range from 11 in Wasps to 30 in Birds.242 D. Ricca, in his study of deictic adverbs, divides δεύρο into two categories: “inclusive” (“usi inclusive”), which refers to a space that includes the speaker, including directional uses, and “exclusive” (“usi non inclusivi”), which refers to a space

239 Rogers (1911: 130), following Brunck, understands τρέξι as a third person singular: “But while I am delaying, Artamuxia is running.” Sommerstein (1994: 137), Henderson (2000: 615), and Austin and Olson (2004: 349) all understand it as a first person singular.
240 Gannon (1988: 74) suggests that the Archer may exit through the spectators toward the Acropolis.
241 This often takes the form of a double-δεύρο construction: Eq. 148; Nu. 690, 866, 1485; Pax 79; Av. 259 (δεύρο δεύρο δεύρο δεύρο); Ra. 301. Unless spoken by the Chorus, as in the quadruple δεύρο at Av. 259 (and Eur. Rh. 680, the only other instance of the double δεύρο outside of Aristophanes), δεύρο δεύρο precedes a vocative.
242 S. OC has the most occurrences with 15; E. Heracl. and Pho. are close with 14 and 13, respectively. Most tragedies, however, contain 2-8 instances.
distant and separate from the speaker (and is thus similar in use to ἐνταῦθα).\textsuperscript{243} Inclusive uses cover the regular, expected uses of the adverb. So, for example, we may see the close association of δεῦρο with the first person in the Chorus Leader’s direct address to the spectators in the parabasis of Clouds: “Wisest spectators, turn your mind here” (575 ὥ σοφῶτατοι θεαταί, δεῦρο τοῦ νου προσέχετε), where “here” means “to me.”

In discussing “exclusive” δεῦρο, Ricca cites three instances where the adverb modifies an imperative: Strepsiades pointing to the Thinktank (\textit{Nu}. 91 δεῦρο νυν ἀπάβληπε); Socrates directing Strepsiades’ gaze toward the Clouds entering the orchestra (\textit{Nu}. 323 βλέπε νυν δευρὶ πρὸς τὴν Πάρνηθ’); Demosthenes pointing to the audience (\textit{Eq}. 162 δευρὶ βλέπε). I would suggest, however, that in all three of these examples δεῦρο is best understood as speaker-oriented deixis, whereby the “here” indicated is really “here where I am looking and/or pointing.”\textsuperscript{244}

### III. Conclusions

On the whole, it is declarative statements about space that give it its theatrical meaning and function. If an actor enters and declares “This is Thebes,” then the dramatic world is that of Thebes. Likewise, when the skene is said to be someone’s palace, or an altar or tomb designated as that of a particular person, these spaces retain their designations until we are given reason to recode them, as in Aeschylus’ \textit{Eumenides}. Such recoding is notoriously rare in tragedy; commoner in comedy. But in both genres those involved—actors and audience—must agree on the change and abide by the “rules of the game” in order to achieve a full, meaningful theatrical effect.\textsuperscript{245}

To underscore this point, let us examine a scene from Aristophanes’ \textit{Thesmophoriazusae} in which the Kinsman plans to escape from the Thesmophorion by impersonating, or really reperforming, Euripides’ \textit{Helen}. The parody lasts from 855-919 and these lines are, not surprisingly, thick with deictics as the Kinsman tries desperately to (re)create the scene. “Here are the beautiful maiden streams of Nile” (855 Νείλου μὲν αἰδε καλλιπάρθενοι ροαι = \textit{Hel}. 1), the Kinsman begins quoting the opening of Euripides’ play, remaking the scene into Egypt. Here, as often, the Kinsman’s recitation or parody of \textit{Helen} is swiftly rebuffed by Critylla, but he continues. Euripides enters, playing the role of the shipwrecked Menelaus, and points to the skene: “Who is the master of this strong house?” (871 τίς τῶν δ’ ἐρυμνων δωματων ἔχει κράτος; = \textit{Hel}. 68), to which Helen-Kinsman replies: “To Proteus do these halls here belong” (874 Πρωτέως τάδ’ ἐστὶ μέλαθρα.), close to but not exactly the same as \textit{Helen} 460 (Πρωτέως τάδ’ ἐστὶ δωματ’). Critylla, believing Euripides’ character, but confused and angry at the Kinsman’s lies, attempts to correct the false information and, at the same time by using normal comic diction, the generic slippage which is occurring (879-80):

\[ \text{πείθει τι <τούτω> τῷ κακῶς ἀπολουμένῳ} \]

\textsuperscript{243} Ricca 1989: 76-7.

\textsuperscript{244} Speaking more generally, Ricca’s (1989: 75) idea that the range of uses exhibited by δεῦρο locate it somewhere between a proximal and medial adverb (“neutralizzazione tra prossimale e mediano”) does not seem correct.

\textsuperscript{245} This is true also of staging: cf. Arist. \textit{Poetics} Chpt. 17 (1455a23-9) on Carcinus’ poor staging of the character Amphiaraurus.
ληρούντι λήρον; Θεσμοφορείον τουτογί.

Do you really believe this son-of-a-bitch babbling nonsense? This is the Thesmophorion!

The deictic τουτογί, standing in marked contrast to the proximal demonstratives in 871 (τῶν ἐρυμνῶν δωμάτων) and especially the anaphoric proximal demonstrative in 874 (τάδ᾽... μέλαθρα), angrily and emphatically insists not just on a consistent use of space but also on the proper register of speech. Critylla functionally asserts that this place is the kind of place where one says τουτογί, not τάδε.

Euripides and his Kinsman continue to ignore Critylla and maintain their parody, this time redefining the altar as Proteus’ tomb (885-9):

Ευ.  αἰαῖ· τέθνηκε. ποῦ δ’ ἔτυμβεύθη τάφω;
Κη.  τόδ’ ἐστὶν αὐτοῦ σῆμ’, ἐφ’ ὁ καθήμεθα.
Κρ.  κακώς γ’ ἀρ’ ἔξολοιο—κάξολεὶ γέ τοι—
      ὁστίς γε τολμᾶς σῆμα τὸν βωμόν καλεῖν.
Ευ.  τί δαί σὺ θάσσεις τάσδε τυμβήρεις ἔδρας
      φάρει καλυπτός, ὡ ἕξενη;

Eu.  Noooo! He’s dead! Where is he buried with a tomb?
Kin.  This is his gravestone on which I am seated.
Cr.  Go to hell!—And mark my words, you will—you who dare to call the altar a gravestone.
Eu.  Why do you sit, veiled in a robe, at the tomb like this, stranger?

As before, Critylla refuses to play along and thus denies the possibility of spatial transformation. Moreover, unlike other characters in other plays, Critylla will not allow herself to get caught up in the moment or the parody and she eschews tragic diction. In the end it is her refusal to play an appropriate role in this new, avant-garde drama which dooms, ironically enough, Euripides’ rescue attempt, for he should have known the rules of the game, known that without getting all the participants to agree on the space(s) demarcated by proximal demonstratives there was no chance in redefining or recoding the dramatic setting, and thus no chance of successfully freeing his relative.248

Whereas tragedy tends to center on the House and city or region where the drama takes place, and where the audience is accordingly located for the duration of the performance, comedy on the other hand is more concerned with the moment and the movement to and from a central character.249 What emerges is a picture of a performance genre that is disengaged from the tragic project of situating the audience in a particular other time and place.

246 On this translation see Austin and Olson 2004: 285.
247 See the discussion in Chapter 4 of, e.g., Trygaeus’ daughter and the Priest in Birds.
248 Cf. Bowie 1993: 222-3; Zeitlin 1996: 392-3 on the non-cooperative audience’s role, i.e. Critylla’s, in the failure of the mimetic project.
249 In this respect, the proxemic shifting in satyr play is more consistent with what we see in comedy than in tragedy.
The language of tragedy and satyr play insists on spatio-temporal presence. The repetition of phrases like “this land” or “this house” or “Thebes here” sprinkled throughout a play insist on the very presence and immediacy of the dramatic spaces, both macro and micro. Unlike comedy, whose spaces are, relative to tragedy, fluid and relatively seldom acknowledged with proximal demonstratives, tragic (and satyric) diction emphasizes the importance of the play’s location both to the characters, who are (inter)acting in the dramatic world, and to the audience, who are participants in the very same world. Comedy’s relative lack of spatial reference is reflective of the genre’s disengagement from a stable and inclusive hic et nunc.
PERSON / OBJECT DEIXIS

I. PERSON DEIXIS IN TRAGEDY AND SATYR PLAY

After anaphoric reference (discussed in the next chapter), proximal and medial demonstratives are most commonly used to indicate a person or object onstage. As the frequency chart below (Fig. 3.1) illustrates, ὦς is the overwhelming demonstrative of choice.

**Fig. 3.1: person / object deixis in tragedy and satyr play**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>ὦς / οὗτος (οὗτοσί)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A. Ag.</td>
<td>[64] 56 / 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. Cho.</td>
<td>[40] 39 / 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. Eum.</td>
<td>[48] 45 / 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. OT</td>
<td>[59] 49 / 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. Ant.</td>
<td>[45] 39 / 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. Ph.</td>
<td>[63] 50 / 13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. Med.</td>
<td>[29] 29 / 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. Hipp.</td>
<td>[41] 41 / 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. Or.</td>
<td>[64] 59 / 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. Cyc.</td>
<td>[24] 20 / 3 (1)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Indeed, when it comes to person / object deixis, Aeschylus uses ὦς 92% of the time and Euripides 94%;¹ Sophocles uses the word “only” 83%.² This remarkable lexical consistency demands that we examine the few instances of οὗτος and attempt to uncover the motivation for its use.

Fig. 3.1, of course, slightly misleading as it combines two distinct groups (people and objects) into a single category. A deeper understanding of the ways demonstratives refer to people and to objects can only be achieved by unpacking the category into its respective components. The following table illustrates the use of person deixis in the tragedians; a similar chart for object deixis can be found in §III, Fig. 3.4.

**Fig. 3.2: person deixis in tragedy and satyr play**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>ὦς / οὗτος</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A. Ag.</td>
<td>[49] 41 / 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. Cho.</td>
<td>[16] 15 / 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. Eum.</td>
<td>[44] 41 / 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. OT</td>
<td>[55] 45 / 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. Ant.</td>
<td>[43] 37 / 6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ 96% excluding Cyclops.
² This data excludes uses listed herein under the categories first and second person deixis, though their addition affects the percentages little. If we combine these categories with person / object deixis the numbers look like this: Aeschylus: 91%; Sophocles: 83%; Euripides: 93% (95%, excluding Cyc.).
As is evident, the tragedians show a strong predilection for referring to a person onstage with proximal demonstratives. This penchant is so marked, in fact, that ὁδὲ is the genre’s default form of reference; any instance where a person onstage is indicated with the medial demonstrative must therefore be explained, and it is to this that the present section is devoted. Before launching into our discussion of ὁ/τος, however, it is worth stating once more that the repeated uses of ὁδὲ contribute to the overall feeling of presence and immediacy experienced by the audience.

I.1. First Person ὁ/τος

The medial demonstrative is seldom used, not just in drama but in all of Greek literature, to refer to a first person. The only possible instance in the plays under discussion is Cyclops 282.3 Polyphemus asks Odysseus if he and his men were the ones who went to Troy to avenge the theft of Helen (280-1 ἡ τῆς κακίστης οἵ διελθεθ᾽ ἅρπαγάς / Ἐλένης Σκαμάνδρου γείτον` ἱλίου πόλιν;), to which Odysseus replies ὁ/τοι, πόνον τὸν δεινὸν ἐξυπνηλικότες (“We are they who endured that terrible toil until the end”). It is best to understand ὁ/τοι as anaphoric of the Cyclops’ question—the retrospective nature of the demonstrative perhaps aided by the relative clause of 280-1—and it means simply “Yes, we are those whom you just mentioned.”4 But there may also be a glimmer of humility in Odysseus’ response as he tries to stave off any gustatory aggression by Polyphemus.5

I.2. Second Person ὁ/τος

In what is often described as a colloquialism, the nominative ὁ/τος is sometimes used as a vocative to summon the attention of another. More specifically, it asks that the person addressed turn and face the speaker.6 It has often been suggested that such an

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3 Prior to Dindorf’s emendation of ὁ/τος for the nonsensical ὁ/τος, the reading of L, Cyc. 105 (ἐκείνος ὁ/τος εἶμι) provided another example. See Seaford 1984: 123 for comparable passages. He rightly observes that the expression ἐκείνος ὁ/τος is used only in the third person. See too Radt 1985: 104, 116 n. 3.

4 Cf. Pindar O. 4.24 (ὁ/τος ἕγκ ταχυτάτη), where the medial demonstrative is best taken anaphorically of the person who just accomplished the deeds witnessed by Hypsipyle: “That one whom you just saw accomplish all that is I.” The scholiasts on this passage explain the demonstrative as “deictic” (δεικτικόν, δεικτικός) and believe Erginos points at himself as he approaches Hypsipyle to be crowned. Humbert (1954: 31) gives this passage in his discussion of ὁ/τος, stating “La distance est négligeable, et le pronom n’exprime que la première personne” (italics original).

5 See the examples given in Radt 1985: 104; he does not discuss this passage.

6 Dickey 1996: 154. Stevens (1976: 37) maintains—incorrectly in my view—that additionally ὁ/τος is used more frequently to “call attention to a surprised or indignant question or an impatient command: ‘You there’: ‘I say’.”
address is brusque or rude, and this certainly does appear to be the case at times, but as a rule this is true only of the fuller expression οὔτος σύ. Those who see only harshness in the tone of the vocative οὔτος have overgeneralized a particular construction found in comedy (see §II.3) but absent from tragedy. Eleanor Dickey’s analysis of the vocative use of οὔτος is quite instructive and provides a far more nuanced description than previously offered. Using English “hey” as a near equivalent to the force of the vocative οὔτος, she maintains that “the extent that ‘hey’ is disrespectful…is not so much because it indicates that the addressee is the speaker’s inferior, nor because it indicates any kind of negative emotions, but simply because it is so informal; it belongs to a low register of speech. There is strong evidence to suggest that Greek οὔτος was in this respect very similar to ‘hey’.” In fact, the bare οὔτος may be understood as located somewhere on the spectrum of addresses between the polite ὥ οὔτος, closer to “sir” than “hey,” and the assaultive οὔτος σύ.

In tragedy ὥ οὔτος occurs only twice, both in plays of Sophocles. Oedipus’ miraculous disappearance at the end of OedipusColoneus is narrated by the Messenger who tells us how a voice called to Oedipus “many times and in many ways” saying, “You there, Oedipus, why are we delaying our going?” (1627-8 ὥ οὔτος οὔτος, Οἴδιπος, τί µέλλομεν χωρεῖν:). Richard Jebb hears impatience in ὥ οὔτος, while Stevens detects a note of solemnity in the vocative marker ὥ; neither is quite correct. Both views are predicated on context: for Jebb, that the voice goes on to mention that Oedipus has delayed the matter for too long (1628 πάλαι δὴ βραδύνεται) retroactively triggers a sense of impatience; the solemnity which Stevens feels, on the other hand, is derived from the larger sense of the scene as a solemn ritual. Gordon Kirkwood comes closest to appreciating the respect offered to Oedipus by the voice in noting that “the abruptness and familiarity underline the combination of impersonality and intimacy of divine power toward Oedipus.”

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7 E.g., Moorhouse 1982: 31. Svennung (1958: 212) suggests that what we interpret as sounding harsh in tone, and thus rude or brusque, comes from addressing another without using his/her name. Wendel (1929: 115-16) finds οὔτος harsh when used without a verb of calling (καλῶ, φωνῶ). Parker (2007: 205) upholds the view that οὔτος may be rude, but notes that such rudeness is “greatly attenuated” if the speaker is of a higher social standing (e.g., a god addressing a mortal). These issues are discussed in greater detail in §II.3.

8 See esp. Hel. 1627 (discussed below), with Kannicht 1969: 424, where the address οὔτος is immediately followed by ὥ δέσποτα. Cf. Ra. 851, with discussion below.

9 This is true only of tragedy; the instances of οὔτος σύ in Aristophanes (V. 854; Av. 1199; Lys. 728; Th. 224, 610; Ec. 1049) do not appear any more assertive or angry than the uses of οὔτος.

10 Dickey 1996: 155; also 176-7.

11 In fact, the Etymologicum Magnum and the Lexica Segueriana give ὥ οὔτος as a gloss for ὥ τάν.

12 The politeness aspect is active only in the civil nature of the address, not in the (perceived) power relations between speaker and addressee. As Wendel (1929: 116) has argued, the one using ὥ τάν is of an inferior standing to the one addressed. Taplin (1977: 220 n. 4) suggests, quite rightly but without further comment, the need to distinguish between ὥ οὔτος, οὔτος, and οὔτος σύ.


14 Stevens 1945: 102 n. 1.

The second instance occurs at the beginning of Ajax when Athena summons the hero from his tent for the second time. Her first attempt was made a few lines earlier and used the commoner, less polite oútoς (71-2):

οútoς, σε τὸν τὰς αἰχμαλωτίδας χέρας
deismoiς ἀπευθύνουσα προσμολεῖν καλῶ·

Hey! I am calling you, the one stretching out with bonds the arms of your captives, to come forth.

Athena’s address at 71 is the “normal” use of the vocative oútoς as it attracts with neither obsequiousness nor undue brusqueness the attention of Ajax, who is single-mindedly focused on the brutal torture of his ovine prisoners. He does not emerge, however, until after Athena and Odysseus have engaged in a revealing stichomythic exchange.16 Her second summons (89-90) employs the polite ὁ oútoς to macabre effect:17

ὁ oútoς, Ἀιας, δεύτερον σε προσκαλῶ.
tί βαϊόν oútwος ἑντρέπη τῆς συμμάχου;

You there, Ajax, I am calling you out for the second time. Why do you pay so little regard to your ally?

Athena’s respectful address is chilling in and of itself, but when coupled with her claim to be Ajax’ ally it assumes a truly sinister tone,18 one which is amplified with Ajax’ own pleasant, familiar invocation of the goddess (91-3).19

As would, in fact, have been obvious to everyone watching the plays we must now read, the person addressed with oútoς does not face the speaker. This use of the demonstrative thus affords us the opportunity to reconstruct the staging of scenes in which it is used. At times our texts provide helpful details about a character’s posture which allow us to visualize better what is transpiring onstage. Thus at Oedipus Tyrannus 1121 Oedipus says to the Shepherd “Hey you, old man, look here and tell me what I’m asking you” (oútoς σύ, πρέσβυ, δεύτερον σε προσκαλῶ / ὁσ’ ἂν σ’ ἑρωτῶ), and at Trachiniae 401 the Messenger accosts Lichas with “Hey! Look over here at me! To whom do you think you’re speaking?” (oútoς, βλέφ’ ὃδε. πρὸς τίν’ ἐννέπειν δοκεῖς;). Twice in Euripides’ plays we find women who refuse to meet the gaze of another as they cry, necessitating the verbal intervention “hey!” to redirect their attention. In Medea, the title character begins to weep as she thinks about her children and turns away from Jason, prompting him to respond (922-4):

16 Mastronarde 1979: 29.
17 Walsh (2005: 159 n. 16) gives Aj. 89 as an example of the contemptuous use of the medial demonstrative in tragedy.
18 Mastronarde (1979: 29) sees in these verses “the attitude of dreadful playfulness which the goddess adopts toward the crazed Aias.”
19 On these verses see Kirkwood 1958: 102, who notes the “bluff familiarity” with which Ajax greets Athena.
Hey, why do you wet your eyes with fresh tears having turned your white cheek away, and not gladly welcome this speech from me?

Similarly, when Theoclymenus enters from the wing with his slaves and dogs at Helen 1165 he greets his father’s tomb. His salutation (1165 ὡ χαίρε, πατρῷς μνήματι) is issued as soon as he enters the orchestra, but he is still at some distance from the tomb as he does not realize until 1177, when he has made his way closer, that Helen is no longer seated where she had been. Theoclymenus’ order for his slaves to open the gates (1180) is preempted by Helen’s sudden (and convenient) appearance from the skene doors, and he quickly orders his men to wait (1184). Although likely standing very close to each other—Theoclymenus’ description of his father’s tomb (1167-8) suggests it is close by the skene doors—Helen takes no notice of her suitor but instead remains with head bowed, feigning tears (1189-90), and thus Theoclymenus resorts to calling for her attention in the manner used when the addressee is turned elsewhere.

More often, we may presume relative body positions based on the blocking of a scene. In Cyclops, Silenus puts the mixing bowl behind Polyphemus as he lies down to recline (545), ostensibly so no one passing by may knock it over (546). Polyphemus is skeptical and believes (rightly) that Silenus is putting it out of the way so that he can steal wine (546-7). When Polyphemus speaks to Odysseus he faces him, turning his back to Silenus who takes the opportunity to sneak a drink, just as his master predicted. Unable to resist the temptation to make a snarky comment on Polyphemus’ promise to give Odysseus the favor of eating him last (550), Silenus sarcastically interjects “Nice present you give to your guest, Cyclops” (551 καλόν γε τῷ γέρας τῷ ξένῳ δίδως, Κύκλωψ). This remark prompts Polyphemus to turn around and exclaim as he catches sight of Silenus imbibing, “Hey, what are you doing? Are you drinking wine in secret?” (οὗτος, τί δράς; τὸν οἶνον ἐκπίνεις λάθρα;). His excuse that he was not drinking but that the wine bowl kissed him for his good looks (553) suggests that Polyphemus is forced to use οὗτος to catch Silenus’ attention because the satyr has promptly returned to his illicit drinking immediately after his one-liner—for Silenus, only the temptation of a good zinger is enough to pull him away from the drink.

In Euripides’ Hecuba the recently blinded Polymestor rushes towards Agamemnon’s voice as he enters and appeals to him for help (1114-15). He and Agamemnon converse for ten lines (1114-23) before Polymestor becomes aware of Hecuba’s presence and roars (1124-6):

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20 Masronarde (1979: 24), commenting on Hel. 528ff. and Ba. 642, observes that “the space around the door and the moment of emergence are potentially just as isolated from visual and aural/oral contact as the parodos-space.”

21 Kannicht (1969: 311) sees Theoclymenus’ address to Helen (and Jason’s to Medea, Med. 922) as “impatient consternation” (“ungeduldige Betroffenheit”) at the addressee’s comportment. I see nothing of impatience or annoyance in Theoclymenus words at 1186-92, unlike Jason’s at 922-4.
Pò. ομοι, τί λέξεις; ἢ γὰρ ἐγγύς ἐστὶ που; σήμηνον, εἰπὲ ποῦ ἀθ', ἵν' ἀρπάσας χερῶν διασπάσωμαι καὶ καθαμάξω χρόα.

Pol. Alas! What will you say? Is she near? Give me a sign, tell me where she is so that I snatch her with my hands, tear her limb from limb and bloody her flesh.

After uttering 1124, though perhaps in the middle of the line, Polyphemus turns away from Agamemnon and begins moving frantically about as he tries in vain to grab his assailant. To redirect his attention back, Agamemnon calls to him with οὗτος, τί πάσχεις; (1127 “Hey! What are you doing?”). οὗτος is often used by one who has just entered to gain the attention of one already onstage. Heracles, in Euripides’ Alcestis, enters from the palace after much inappropriate merrymaking and addresses the grief-stricken Attendant (773 οὗτος, τί σεμνὸν καὶ περφροντικὸς βλέπεις;). This scene may be staged in one of two ways: either the Attendant looks back toward the palace doors as Heracles makes his entrance, affording the hero a view of his distraught expression only to turn away again, or he turns toward Heracles when he is called with οὗτος. In the second scenario, the remainder of Heracles’ line (“Why do you look solemn and worried?”) is a response to the glum expression he has just noticed.

22 The addressee’s attention may already be turned elsewhere, as Menelaus’ clearly is when he is called by Orestes (Or. 1567), or he may face the newly-arrived character only to turn away. Menelaus’ call to Teucer not to move Ajax’ body (Aj. 1047-8 οὗτος, σε φωνῶ τόδε τὸν νεκρὸν χερῶν / μὴ συγκομίζειν, ἀλλὰ ἐὰν ὑπὸς ἔχει) is an example of the latter as Teucer and the Chorus have already discussed Menelaus’ approach (1042-6). Although it is possible that Menelaus employs οὗτος simply as a means of calling to Teucer and that the visual contact between the two has not been broken, it is more likely that Teucer, already advised by the Chorus to bury the body quickly precisely because Menelaus is approaching (1040-2), has turned his back to Menelaus and begun to bury his half-brother, however superficially. This action prompts Menelaus both to call to him with οὗτος and to add the command not to bury the corpse, the precise action Teucer is presently engaged in.

23 A similar example can be found in Aeschylus’ Suppliants. In his discussion of “partial and uneven contact,” Donald Mastronarde points to the paradox of Suppliants 903-11 as an unusual case where a character’s entrance (Pelagius) goes unnoticed by one of the characters onstage (the Herald). Accepting Heath’s no doubt correct transposition of 906-7 and 909-10, he argues that “the transition from general appeal (ἄγοι πρόμοι) to

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22 The audience, of course, would have observed the Attendant’s expression as soon as he entered.
23 Note too that at 1116-17 Teucer tells Menelaus that he will ignore his interruption (τοῦ δὲ σοῦ ψόφου / οὐκ ἂν στραφεὶτί), and presumably continue to bury his half-brother, as promised at 1109-10 (ἐξ ταφᾶς ἔγω / θῆσαι δικαίως). Teucer’s efforts, however, are not yet successful and Ajax’ body not only remains unburied (1140-1), but the “tomb” later achieved is nothing more than a ditch hastily hollowed out after Menelaus departs just moments before Tecmessa and Eurysaces enter (1163-7). Indeed, the body itself is still considered unburied (1325-6) until the Greeks can come together at the play’s end to perform the task properly (1403-20).
sighting and invocation of the king is natural and the herald seems also to be made aware of the king’s approach, for he substitutes a verbal threat for physical action.” In terms of staging, after turning and spying Pelasgus and his men after the Chorus’ appeal for help (908) the Herald releases his grip on the Chorus member whose hair he was clutching but does not turn back toward the approaching men. Instead, he remains facing the Chorus, likely intimidating them with a posture that maintains the threat of violence. Only once he is addressed by Pelasgus with “Hey! What are you doing?” (911 οὗτος, τί ποιεῖς;) does he turn his body around and engage fully with the king.

In light of the instances discussed thus far where οὗτος is consistently used to address an individual who is not looking at the speaker at the moment of utterance we may be better prepared both to evaluate the reasons for athetizing Oedipus Tyrannus and to understand Oedipus’ harsh address to Creon which follows (530-5):

Χο. οὐκ οἶδ’· ἄ γὰρ δρῶσ’ οἱ κρατοῦντες οὐχ ὀρῶ.
[αὐτὸς δ' ὅδ' ἡδι δωμάτων ἔξω περὰ.]
Οἰ. οὗτος σὺ, πῶς δεῦρ' ἡλθες; ἢ τοσοῦδ' ἐξεῖς
tόλμησ πρόσωπον ὡστε τὰς έμὰς στέγας
ίκου, φονεύς ὅν τοῦδε τάνδρος ἔμφανως
ληστής τ’ ἐναργής τῆς ἐμῆς τυραννίδος;

Cho. I do not know, for what rulers do I do not see. [But this very man is now coming out from the house.]
Oed. Hey you! Why have you come here? Do you have such a face of daring that you have come to my house, clearly being the murderer of this man and the robber—it’s plain as day—of my kingship?

P. Oxy. 2180 does not include line 531, an omission which has led some to posit that its inclusion in the manuscripts must be the result of an actor’s (or reader’s) interpolation. Herbert Rose has argued for the deletion of 531 partially on the grounds that Oedipus’ forceful entrance (“a sudden rush out of the palace”) neither gives time for Creon to turn and see him before being addressed with οὗτος σὺ (532) nor for the Chorus to introduce Oedipus’ entrance with such a formulaic introduction. If Oedipus had only said οὗτος and not used the more aggressive, contemptuous οὗτος σὺ, the argument for excising line 531 would be stronger. As it stands, it is impossible to gauge the precise nature of the staging of this scene. The Chorus may very well have announced Oedipus’ entrance, but this should not diminish the fury with which he enters, for surely his anger is plain to see before he speaks through his rapid, forceful gait and clearly manifest once he delivers his opening words to Creon.

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24 Mastronarde 1979: 89.
25 Page punctuates without a comma.
26 Friis Johansen 1962: 240: “[t]he evidence of interpolation is much too slight”; his view is supported by Kamerbeek (1967: 124). Battezzato (2003: 29) notes that the omission may have been caused by the orthographic similarity of αὐτός (530) with οὗτος (531), both line-initial.
27 Rose 1943: 5.
The tone of the phrase οὖτος σὺ is here, as always in tragedy, one of anger if not outright vitriol.\textsuperscript{28} When Oedipus uses it to address the Shepherd at 1121 it plainly indicates his anger; when Orestes calls to Menelaus with it (\textit{Or.} 1567) his words drip with rage.\textsuperscript{29} Similar anger is expressed by Agamemnon in Euripides’ \textit{Hecuba} when he responds to Polymestor’s prophecy that Clytemnestra will kill him with οὖτος σὺ, μαίνη καὶ κακῶν ἐρῆσ τυχεῖν; (“Hey you! Are you crazy? Do you want your ass kicked?”). What began as an orderly trial with paired speeches (1132-1237), at which Agamemnon stood as judge between Hecuba and Polymestor, quickly devolved into a stichomythic shouting match after he handed down his verdict. Hecuba and Polymestor must be turned toward each other barking back and forth. By this point Agamemnon has likely moved a step or two back on his own, or been pushed back slightly by Polymestor and Hecuba as they argue, though not so far as to allow the two combatants to physically reach each another. In either case, the entirety of 1254-79 must be understood as a two-way communication between Hecuba and Polymestor; Agamemnon is essentially an outsider. Once he hears the prophecy of his own death, however, he reenters the discussion and addresses Polymestor. Agamemnon’s use of οὖτος σὺ reveals both his anger and the staging of the scene since Polymestor’s attention was intensely focused on Hecuba and needed to be wrested away. Perhaps after addressing Polymestor Agamemnon pushed him back, further separating him from Hecuba and, at the same time, allowing himself not only to reenter the conversation, but to physically reassert control of the situation.

How then are we to understand \textit{Oedipus Tyrannus} 532? There is no question that there οὖτος σὺ conveys Oedipus’ anger, that is established. But does Creon have his back to the king at the moment of utterance? If he does not, and if the Chorus’ announcement at 531 is sound, then it is the lone example of the phrase used of one whose attention is already on the speaker. On the other hand, if we are to assume a consistency of usage, then it is best to side with Rose and excise 531, seeing Oedipus’ entrance as so rapid as to not give Creon time to turn around and face the palace.

Our final example of οὖτος used vocativally comes from \textit{Helen} and proves the rule that it is, as I have argued, always used to summon the attention of one whose gaze is turned elsewhere. As Theoclymenus turns to enter the palace, aiming to harm his sister Theonoe for enabling Helen’s escape, someone grabs his robe and says, “Hey! Where are you stepping, master? What sort of bloodshed are you going to commit?” (1627 οὖτος, ὃ, ποί σόν πόδ’ ἄρεις, δέσποτ’, ἐς ποῖον φόνον;). The demonstrative address and the laying of hands upon the king is harsh and unexpected since the person, whoever s/he may be, is necessarily a slave and subject to ‘Theoclymenus’ rule. Although the manuscripts assign the verse to the Chorus, an ascription defended by many,\textsuperscript{30} two other characters (Theonoe’s attendant and the Messenger) vie for the part.\textsuperscript{31}

Those who have wished to reassign the verses in question from the Chorus Leader to another have sought support in the masculine participial phrases δοῦλος ὡν (1630) and ἡμῶν ἐκόντων (1640), arguing that the gender is inappropriate for a chorus of

\textsuperscript{28} Jebb (1928: 251) notes that the combination οὖτος σὺ is “rough.”
\textsuperscript{29} West (1987: 288) sees οὖτος σὺ as “a startlingly rude way for a young man to accost a senior relative.”
\textsuperscript{30} E.g., Dale 1967: 165-6; Kannicht 1969: 422-4; Mastronarde 1979: 63 n. 34; Allan 2008: 338.
\textsuperscript{31} Ley (1991: 32) ingeniously sidesteps the issue by suggesting that 1629-41 are “illogically or carelessly intruded into the script at a later date”; Theoclymenus’ entry into the palace is instead blocked by the Dioscori.
women; the apologists of the manuscripts’ distribution of parts defend these masculine participles as “generalizing.” Despite decades of debate, the independent work of Volker Langholf and Hubert Petersmann has mooted this issue to some extent by making a strong case that -ντ- participles can be treated as two-termination. The solution to who opposes Theoclymenus cannot, therefore, rest on the participles alone and must be sought in the dramaturgical logic of the scene.

W.G. Clark first put forth the idea—anticipated, in his view, by Hermann, though not carried through to its logical extension—that the lines given to the Chorus Leader after the Messenger’s speech are better suited to a faithful slave than a captive Greek woman. Gilbert Murray further develops this notion by suggesting that the Slave is that of Theonoe. This idea has been supported by Anne Pippen Burnett and D.P. Stanley-Porter, amongst others, and finds a home in both James Diggle’s OCT and the Loeb edition of David Kovacs. Burnett proposes that the interposing figure must be male (because of the masculine participle at 1630) and must come from the palace because he blocks Theoclymenus’ way. She also speculates that the Attendant is one of the silent extras who had earlier accompanied Theonoe and that his priestly robes would allow the audience to identify him immediately and recognize his understanding of the situation.

Stanley-Porter bases his argument largely on what he sees as the symmetry between the scene in question and the Old Woman who blocked Menelaus’ entrance into the palace earlier in the play (437-82), but one of many instances throughout Helen of doubling. “To reject Theonoe’s attendant coming out of the palace in favor of the coryphaeus already standing before it,” he argues, “destroys the totality of these two carefully worked-out aspects—among many—of duplication.” He deals with the criticism that the speaker appears knowledgeable of Theonoe’s motives laid out earlier in the play—note the similar language—by claiming that such analysis “is a misapplied demand for realism.” He continues: “Drama is not an

32 Langholf 1977; Petersmann 1979. Langholf (p.306) goes on to suggest that Euripides’ use of two-termination participles can be accounted for by either his love for archaism or his love of innovation, though perhaps it is a mix of both. Wackernagel (2009: 458) already noted a tendency for -ντ- participles not to reflect a difference in gender. For some of the previous discussions of this issue see Wilamowitz-Moellendorff 1914: 195; Barrett 1964: 366-8; Dale 1967: 166; Kannicht 1969: 424-5; Stanley-Porter 1977: 45 with n. 2. McCall (1976: 121) points to Ag. 560-2 (λειµωνίας δρόσοι…τιθέντες) as the lone, uncontested example, while still acknowledging Page’s (1972: 158) note in his app. crit. that the participle is “suspectum”; Denniston and Page (1957: 124), following Fraenkel 1950: 283-5, posited earlier that “We have to accept here an almost, perhaps quite, unparalleled aberration of language; perhaps an intentional solecism.”

33 The chief arguments for and against the usual suspects (Chorus Leader, Messenger, Attendant) are nicely summarized and discussed by Kannicht 1969: 422-3.

34 Clark 1858: 178. His view is strongly supported by Paley 1858: 215.

35 In his app. crit. ad 1627 Murray (1913) also posits that the role may be given to the Messenger, but is best assigned to Theonoe’s attendant: “igitur vel Nuntio vel potius post Clarkium Θεράποντι Theonoae tribuenda, qui regi in regiam inrumpenti obvius fiat.”


37 Burnett 1971: 98 n. 17; Stanley-Porter (1977: 48) rejects the idea that Theonoe entered with any male attendants; Kaimio (1988: 74 n. 72) objects to Burnett on two fronts: first, Theonoe’s attendants were female (cf. 865 φέρουσα), and second, that mute characters are not unexpectedly given speaking parts. Pylades at Cho, 900-2, she notes, is a “brilliant exception” but different since he is a “well-known, named mute companion, not an obscure attendant.”

38 Stanley-Porter 1977: 47.
exact portrayal of life, where events and situations should afford logical explanations, but a selection and shaping of certain incidents and details important to the dramatist’s overall purpose, and the omission of other, inessential ones.”

Stanley-Porter appeals to Taplin’s criticism of Denniston and Page’s view that Clytemnestra in *Agamemnon* is present when the Herald arrives, tacitly arguing that just as Clytemnestra’s entrance at the conclusion of the Herald’s rhesis attests to her own omniscience, so must the Attendant’s well-timed, very coincidental appearance attest to his master’s omniscience. But there is a very important difference between these two cases: Clytemnestra’s appearance, Taplin contends, is heralded by the Chorus at 585-6 who turn our thoughts to her just as she appears in the door, whereas Theonoe’s Attendant appears unbidden and unexpectedly, a fortuitous coincidence which Stanley-Porter believes “should occasion no surprise if her attendant knew (as she herself earlier did) the right moment to appear in her defense,” but which nevertheless violates the rules that in tragedy new speaking parts are announced or prepared for in advance and minor characters whose entrances are not clearly marked enter with their masters. The complete violation of convention is difficult to overlook and even harder to support, not to mention the nagging question of what is gained by introducing a new, unidentified character when one or two are already available onstage, and with better motives at that.

But there is still more evidence against the case for Theonoe’s Attendant. Kovacs makes the interesting observation that the phrase αἱρεῖν πόδα and similar expressions do not appear to be used to describe the stepping over a threshold or an entrance into a house but are used instead of departures. This may reveal that whoever it is who says ποί σὺν πόδ’ αἱρεῖς (1627) verbally characterizes the king’s movement as a departure and not as an entrance, as someone who has just come from the palace and is blocking its door may. More importantly, we must consider how this scene would have been staged. Following his reaction to the Messenger’s news, Theoclymenus exclaims that he will end his sister’s ability to help others, and turns toward the palace. As he turns away from the Chorus and/or Messenger someone immediately grabs his robe and calls his attention with “Hey!”; the exclamation and grab are performed simultaneously. In the same act, this person, having now prevented his/her master from entering the palace, moves around him to physically block his exit. The peremptory moves made by Theoclymenus’ opposer—the sharp address, the quick seizing of the king’s robe, the speedy end-around to impede his retreat into the palace—are all accomplished within a trochee; once the slave and master stand face-to-face, and the former is confronted with the hard reality of what s/he has just done, to say nothing of the the cold steel of Theoclymenus’ sword, s/he quails for moment and attempts to pacify the king with the polite δέσποτ’.

Whoever shouts

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44 Kovacs 1996: 68.
45 Kannicht 1969: 424. He goes on to speculate that we should perhaps read ὁ instead of ὄ, an emendation adopted by Kovacs (2002: 190).
οὐτοὺς cannot be facing the king since, as discussed above, that is not how this quasi-vocative is used. In sum, there is no Attendant who enters from the skene and blocks the king.

That leaves just two choices: the Chorus Leader and the Messenger. Traditionally, the primary objection to the Chorus Leader has been the masculine singular participle at 1630, but this is now a non-issue. More problematic is the idea that the chorus of Greek slave women can lay hands on Theoclymenus, risk their lives for Theonoe, or justify being willing to die for their master. Their willingness to lay down their lives for Theonoe may be explained as the Chorus giving voice (and action) to an idea they had earlier expressed at 1030-1, after witnessing the scene between Theonoe, Helen, and Menelaus (865-1029), and in the first stasimon (1137-64). But the Chorus’ final declaration (1639-41) still remains a bit surprising as that topos is unexpectedly expressed and more difficult to account for. The Chorus’ physical involvement is unusual to be sure, but a parallel is to be found at Oedipus Coloneus 827-59, where the Chorus Leader intercedes on Antigone and Oedipus’ behalf and seizes Creon (857 οὕτωι σ’ ἀφήσω). The fact remains, however, that in Greek tragedy there is no parallel for slave women accosting a man.

But if it is not the Chorus who intercedes on Theonoe’s behalf, then it must be the Messenger, who tarry on stage after delivering his news. Wecklein was the first to give this part to the Messenger, and Murray accepted it as a possibility, albeit less likely than his own, but it was A.Y. Campbell who most vociferously championed the Messenger as Theoclymenus’ opposer based on the use of an indefinite adjective. The speaker of 1627, he argues, must have heard 1624-6, for otherwise he would not have used the phrase ποιοῖν φόνον. His other supporting arguments—that Theonoe’s Attendant could not have entered at 1621-3; that it would be “incredible” that the Messenger exit after concluding his speech at 1618 without awaiting a reaction from Theoclymenus at 1621-6; that since there would be a fourth speaking actor by 1642 it is “certain” that the Messenger must be the person who opposes Theoclymenus’ entrance into the palace—

46 See Bain (1981: 16, with 19 n. 6) who comments on the rarity of physical contact between the chorus and other actors, with the exception of corpses.
47 Stanley-Porter’s (1977: 46 n. 4) objection that “any similarity of language [between Hel. 1627 and OC 857] does not translate into subsequent action” is without merit as it is clear that in both passages one character grabs the garment of another.
48 Chong-Gossard (2008: 173-4) makes the very interesting suggestion that the chorus of Helen have already shown their ability to act in an unusual manner by vacating the stage at 385. Moreover, he argues, “If it is the chorus women who intervene at the end, their actions flesh out their characterization as individuals who collectively show solidarity as women.”
49 Wecklein 1907: 100.
50 See p.77 n. 35 above.
51 I agree that whoever blocks the king must have heard his angry response to the Messenger’s tale (1621-6), and that this is a good argument for the Chorus or Messenger and against the Attendant, but details of staging must be taken into consideration in evaluating the language used. The phrase ποιοῖν φόνον reflects both Theoclymenus’ words and his action, perhaps the latter more. After avowing that Theonoe “will never deceive another man with her prophecies” (1626 οὕτωι ἄλλοιν ἄνδρα ψεύσται μαντεύμασιν) he unsheaths his sword, visually affirming what his words strongly suggested.
52 Campbell 1950: 153.
are all far more contentious yet still do not discount the Messenger.\(^{53}\) All of these points will be discussed in greater detail below, but we may briefly state here that apart from the problem of the Attendant entering unannounced at 1621, there is no issue with a messenger exiting immediately after delivering a message—in fact, this is far from unusual—and the issue of a fourth speaking actor is only a problem if he stays onstage and a different actor blocks Theoclymenus’ exit. None of these is insurmountable.

A.M. Dale is quick to rebuff the possibility that the Messenger stays on to continue the dialogue as this is not part of the “Messenger-concept” and he must exit after delivering his speech. Additionally, the stance taken by Theoclymenus’ opposer is in contrast to the views expressed by the Messenger and “would in effect characterize him to a distracting and quite unparalleled extent.”\(^{54}\) James Porter, who believes it is the Messenger who blocks Theoclymenus, counters Dale by arguing that her position is based on too rigid a conception of messengers and their speeches, and compares the messengers in *Heraclidae* 961ff. and *Antigone* 1244ff., both of whom intervene in the action onstage.\(^{55}\) It is also worth adding that if this role is taken by the Messenger, then, *contra* Dale, his critical views of Theoclymenus are made all the stronger and add a great deal of power to the overall characterization of the king precisely because of his previous experience: despite the fact that he has nearly lost his life at the hands of those whom Theonoe has just helped he is willing to stand up for what he believes is morally and socially right. His correction of Theoclymenus’ description of his sister from “vilest” (1632 κακίστην) to “most pious” (1632 ευσεβεστάτην), and his description of her betrayal as “just” (1633 δίκαιον), all of which echo Theonoe’s characterization of her own behavior (998 ευσεβεῖν; 1002 τῆς Δίκης) need not be seen as evidence that the speaker knows what Theonoe has said previously—the view taken by those who advocate for the Chorus Leader—but may instead be interpreted as a poignant iteration of a moral position previously espoused, unbeknownst to the Messenger, which helps to characterize Theoclymenus’ actions. Moreover, the ineffectual yet accurate words issued from the mouth of a lowly (and soaking wet?) slave are seconded by the powerful (and presumably dry) *dei ex machina* who appear on high and describe Theonoe’s actions as just and pious (1647-9):

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οὐδ’ ἤ θεᾶς Νηρηδὸς ἔκγονος κόρη ἀδικεὶ σ’ ἀδελφὴ Θεονόη, τὰ τῶν βέων τιμῶσα πατρός τ’ ἐνδίκους ἔπιστολάς. And the girl, born of the Nereid goddess, your sister Theonoe, does you no injustice in honoring the affairs of the gods and the just orders of your father.
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That Theonoe’s actions are just and pious is thus articulated independently three times over the course of the play by the three social classes which grace the stage: princess,

\(^{53}\) It is tempting to adduce for support of the Messenger Dodds’ (1960: 151-2) claim that trochaic tetrameters are used in conversations with servants, but Drew-Bear (1968: 401) makes a strong case against Dodds’ evidence.

\(^{54}\) Dale 1967: 166; her position is dogmatically taken up by many.

\(^{55}\) Porter 1994: 218 with n. 10. Also Or. 1506-36 as a similar instance where there is a short, violent scene between master and slave following a messenger’s speech, as noticed by Hourmouziades 1965: 167 n. 1.
slave, and god. And although the Chorus Leader is also a slave, and her delivery of these verses would still preserve the different classes who have taken up this position, nonetheless the power of the critique is made all the more stronger by the speaker not being aware of what Theonoe had previously said.

I.3. Third Person οὗτος

Within the category of person deixis, οὗτος is most often used by a speaker to refer to a third party who is onstage. This person tends to be part of a three-way conversation and is indicated by the speaker with the medial demonstrative when he is speaking to the other member(s) of the communication situation. I limit the following discussion to Orestes, Eumenides, and Choephoroi, though many other passages from other plays could easily illustrate this concept.⁵⁶

In Orestes, immediately after Helen has strutted forth from the skene and addressed Electra (71-80), Electra responds by saying (81-7):

\[\text{Ελένη, τι σοι λέγομι' ἀν ἄ γε παρούσῃ ὀρᾶς [ἐν συμφοραὶ τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονος γόνου]; ἐγὼ μὲν ἄπυπτος πάρεδρος ἀθλίω νεκρῷ (νεκρὸς γὰρ ὁ ὦτος οὐνέκα σμικρὰς πνοῆς) θάσσω· τὰ τοῦτον δ` οὐκ ὀνειδίζω κακά. σὺ δ` ἡ μακαρία μακάριος θ` ὁ σὸς πόσις ἥκετον ἐφ` ἡμᾶς ἀθλίως πεπραγότας.}\]

O Helen, why would you ask me what you who are present here can see [the offspring of Agamemnon is in dire straits]? I sit sleepless beside a wretched corpse—that man is a corpse because he is scarcely breathing. I do not cast reproach on his misfortunes. But you, blessed, and your blessed husband have come to us in a wretched state.

Both οὗτος (84) and τοῦτον (85) do point to Orestes. However, as he was already onstage and his proximity to Electra was signaled in the previous line with πάρεδρος, both instances of the demonstrative may simply be anaphoric of the phrase ἀθλίω νεκρῷ (83). There is certainly a deictic quality to the demonstratives, but that the medial and not the proximal is employed suggests either that the primary sense is anaphoric, or that Orestes in his wretched, near-death state is not and should not be considered part of group which consists of Electra and Helen. Given Orestes’ condition, it seems preferable to understand the demonstrative as exclusionary.

Later in the play, Orestes is plagued by visions of his mother-sent Furies (255-7):

\[\text{ἀ ω μῆτερ, ἱκετεύω σε, μη `πίσειέ μοι τάς αἰματωποὺς καὶ δρακοντώδεις κόρας· αύται γὰρ αύται πλησίον θρόσκουσ' ἐμοῦ.}\]

⁵⁶ A perusal of the appendices for “person / object deixis” will yield several such examples. The rhetorical effect of exclusion / inclusion may be best felt when there is a shift from proximals to medials, as at S. Ph. 573-6.
Mother, please, don’t drive against me the bloody-eyed, snake-like girls. There, there they are, bounding closer toward me.

In one sense, the demonstratives may be heard as the anaphors of “the bloody-eyed, snake-like girls” (256), but this reading is too text-based and ignores the realities of performance. When Orestes begins crying “There, there they are” he surely points toward the approaching Furies, clearly locating his visions in space, even though that space is empty for Electra and for us. His gesture and gaze demand that we see, or at least look toward, his invisible pursuers.

Two groups in Eumenides are referred to with οὗτος, the Furies (476, 930) and the jury (613). In using αὐταί of the Furies at 476 Athena rhetorically makes them a third party to her “discussion” with Orestes. Athena begins answering Orestes’ plea (443-69) with a generalizing remark on the greatness of the matter at hand (470 τὸ πρᾶγμα μεῖζον), but her reply is focused on Orestes, whom she addresses with the second person (473 σὺ μέν). The Furies, in turn, are acknowledged with the medial demonstrative (476 αὐταί δ’) as Athena explains the potential dangers to her land if they are not victorious. Her entire speech, however, until 484 when she addresses both parties, is directed at Orestes. The medial demonstrative should not, therefore, be heard as contemptuous but as a means of simultaneously unifying the speaker and her addressee and distancing them from the third party. This use of the demonstrative to refer to a third party nearby but outside of the immediate communication situation is precisely what we see at 613 when Orestes, speaking to Apollo, refers to the jury. When Athena again refers to the Furies with αὐταί at 930, although there is a deictic quality, it is best to take the demonstrative as the anaphor of μεγάλας καὶ δυσαρέστους δαίμονας αὐτοῖς κατανασσαμένη (928-9) as there is no attempt at distancing, nor any pejorative tone. Indeed, either of those “negative” elements would be antithetical to the ongoing celebration and incorporation of the Furies into the state.

Thus far we have seen that Aeschylus uses the medial demonstrative of a person onstage when he wishes to express their distance from the speaker. By and large, however, as was stated at the outset of this chapter, people onstage are referred to with the proximal demonstrative. This leaves us with the final, and perhaps most famously ambiguous case of οὗτος, Choephori 583. Just before he and Pylades go offstage to ready their disguises, Orestes concludes his remarks with these two verses (583-4):

τὰ δ’ ἀλλα τούτω δεῦρ’ ἐποπτεύσαι λέγω,
ξιφηφόρους ἀγώνας ὀρθώσαντί μοι.

As for the rest, I call on that one to watch over here and manage the sword contests for me.

The crux here is to whom does Orestes refer when he says τούτω? The medial demonstrative has been posited as indicating Agamemnon, Apollo, Pylades, or Hermes.58

57 We cannot dismiss the possibility that some Athenians in the audience did not interpret αὐταί as contemptuous given the threat the Furies are posing to their land, particularly given the specter of the Persian invasion which may lurk in the description of harming Athenian territory.
58 See Garvie 1986: 201 for a summary of the different arguments.
In my view, the arguments levied in favor of Pylades or Hermes are far more convincing than those for Agamemnon and Apollo. What I would like to suggest, however, is simply that it would appear to be un-Aeschylean were τούτω to indicate Pylades and that the most likely referent is a statue of Hermes near the palace door. 59

As we have already seen, medial demonstratives are used by Aeschylus to refer to a person onstage when a speaker seeks to create or indicate a distance between him/herself and the referent of the demonstrative, often with the rhetorical aim of forging a stronger bond with his/her addressee. When Orestes says τὰ δ’ ἄλλα τούτω δεύρει ἐποπτεύσαι λέγω he is no longer speaking to a single group (the Chorus) as he did at the outset (554-78). As he presents his plans, Orestes addresses all those involved and indicates them as such with proximal demonstratives. He explains each person’s role in the plot, referring first to Electra (554 τήμδε), then to Pylades (561 σύν ἀνδρὶ τῷ δ’). After laying out the details Orestes addresses his sister (579-80), then the Chorus (581-2). He concludes with the verses with which this discussion began. To refer to Pylades at this point with the medial demonstrative when he has already clearly established their unity in action through his diction (561 σύν ἀνδρὶ τῷ δ’, 563-4 ἀμφω... ἡσομεν... μιμουμένω, 567 μενουμεν) is nonsensical. Τούτω must, therefore, refer to someone or something other than Pylades, and Hermes is the best possible option. 60

I.4. Contemptuous ὅτος

I.4.a. Euripides

Euripides on occasion uses ὅτος to signal contempt; this is the same use most commonly seen in the Attic orators to refer to one’s opponent in court. And while it is true that nearly all uses of the medial demonstrative can reflect an air of disdain, the contemptuous use of ὅτος is seldom its primary function.

Orestes 534-9

ὦς σύν ἂν εἰδῆς, Μενέλεως, τοῖσιν θεοῖς
μὴ πρᾶσσε ἑναντί’ ωφελείν τούτων θέλων,

59 To the evidence already marshaled by Garvie 1970 I would like to add Ag. 1291 (Ἄιδου πύλας δὲ τάσδ’ ἐγὼ προσεννεπω) and Cho. 3 (ἠκω γὰρ ἐς γῆν τήνδε καὶ κατέρχομαι). I suggest that Cassandra’s vivid recasting of the palace as a second Hades is, in effect, answered or continued by Orestes’ use of the verb κατέρχομαι, which is used, though less frequently (and less famously) than καταβάω, to refer to an underworld descent (e.g., Il. 6.284, 7.330; IG II2 13108, IG XII, 9 1240, SEG 30: 295). Orestes’ return to Argos and the contest he must undergo (the killing of Clytemnestra and Aegisthus) may thus be understood as a type of underworld journey, the type which is best accompanied by Hermes, invoked in the first line of the play.

60 Tucker 1901: 134: “But τούτω is much too curt a reference for one who is not visible and who has not been the subject of the speech. Moreover, the point of the next line is entirely ignored. This would rather be τῷ δε; it gives Pyl. a position out of keeping with the part which he plays.” Garvie (1986: 201) also thinks that were Pylades meant τῷ δε would be expected. There is, of course, the possibility that Pylades begins walking toward the palace doors while Orestes continues to speak (but after 567) and is near the statue of Hermes when Orestes refers to “that one” making the demonstrative ambiguous. In this scenario the ambiguity and near interchangeability between Pylades and Hermes would be eloquently performed through the mise en scène. This staging would also show Pylades’ willingness or enthusiasm for accomplishing the deed at hand.
Let me make myself clear, Menelaus: do not act contrary to the gods, wanting to help that man. But let him be stoned to death by the citizens, [or don’t walk upon Spartan land!] My daughter died justly, but it was not right that she died at his hands.

Tyndareus is concluding his rhesis with a clear and forceful appeal to Menelaus not to aid the matricide Orestes. Since his entrance at 456, Tyndareus has regularly referred to Orestes both deictically and anaphorically with the proximal demonstrative.\(^{61}\) The shift at 535 should not be read as an indication that Orestes is suddenly more distant in Tyndareus’ thoughts than he had been, or will be but seconds later (539 πρὸς τοῦδ’), but rather that the murderer of Tyndareus’ daughter is in the speaker’s view despicable and worthy of contempt. In this passage the contemptuous οὗτος contributes to Tyndareus’ rhetoric. In exhorting Menelaus to act in accordance with the gods (or what Tyndareus believes the gods wish), Tyndareus emphasizes Orestes’ loathsome (and thus not worthy of aid) nature through his use of the medial demonstrative.

There is also the issue of Orestes 74, a verse which has been subject to emendation and deletion. Upon leaving the skene Helen greets Electra and asks her a couple of questions (71-4):

[Ω παί Κλυταιμήστρας τε κάγαμέμνονος]
παρθένε μακρόν δῆ μήκος Ἡλέκτρα χρόνου,
πῶς, οὗ τάλαινα, σὺ τε καισιγνιτός τε σός
[τλήμων Ὀρέστης μητρὸς ὅδε φονεύς ἐφυ]?

Child of Clytemnestra and Agamemnon, unmarried for such a long time Electra, how are you, poor wretch, you and your own brother—this suffering Orestes here was the murderer of your mother.

The line τλήμων...ἐφυ has been treated variously. Kirchhoff proposed excising it wholesale,\(^{62}\) a position upheld by Paley, di Benedetto, Diggle and Willink,\(^{63}\) while Porson emended ὅδε to ὅς.\(^{64}\) The case against the demonstrative is quite strong from a dramaturgical standpoint. Willink notes that without line 74 Helen does not refer to

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\(^{61}\) 479, 483, 491, 508, 509. Willink (1986: 170) accepts Von der Mühll’s (1966: 190-1) idea that at 508 τόνδε = τὸν δείναι, and thus refers to an indefinite person. Cf. scholia MTB ad loc: εἰ τόνδ’ ἀποκτείνειν: καθ’ ὑπόθεσιν ἠστιν ὁ λόγος. ὡς ἐν παραδείγματι ταῦτα φησί. ἀντὶ τοῦ εἰ τίνα. τὸ τόνδε ὄρισμένον ἐλαβεν ἀντὶ ἀρίστος τοῦ τίνα. I am far more inclined to understand τόνδε as referring to Orestes (and believe this is how the audience would have understood it), as do Benedetto 1965: 107, West 1987: 95, and Medda 2001: 207.

\(^{62}\) Kirchhoff 1855: 44.


\(^{64}\) Porson 1802: 91; West (1987: 66) and Kovacs (2002: 418) adopt this reading.
Orestes with ὃδε until Electra has called her attention to him at 81.65 Electra’s response, however, directly answers Helen’s question about how Electra and Orestes are faring; the line “O Helen, why would you ask me what you who are present here can see?” (81) does not necessarily imply that Helen did not see Orestes, simply that she did not acknowledge him or his situation.

The final three instances in the plays of Euripides discussed herein come from Cyclops, and all three resemble the (possible, non-anaphoric) meaning found at Orestes 84 and 85. Twice within a span of eight lines (253-260) does Odysseus, who is engaged in conversation with Polyphemus, refer to Silenus with οὔτος:

Κύκλωψ, ἀκουσον ἐν μέρει καὶ τῶν ἔξων,
ἡμεῖς βορᾶς χρήζοντες ἐμπολίν λαβεῖν
σῶν ἀδερφὸν ἄντρων ἥλθομεν νεώς ἀπο.  (255)
τοὺς δὲ ἄρνας ἡμῖν οὔτος ἀντ’ οἴου σκύφου
ἀπημόλα τε καδίδου πιεῖν λαβῶν
ἐκόμι ἐκουσί, κούδεν ἢν τούτῳ βία.
καὶ ἀλλ’ οὔτος χείρεσ σοφέν ὄν φησιν λέγει,
ἐπεὶ κατελήφθη σοῦ λάθρα πωλῶν τὰ σά.

Cyclops, listen in turn also to us guest friends. We, needing to purchase a supply of food, have come to your cave from our ship. And that guy sold and gave us the sheep for a cup of wine, since he took it and drank it. Both parties were willing and nothing of those matters was done by violence. But nothing that guy says is sound since he has been caught selling your stuff without your knowledge.

It is difficult to discern fully whether Silenus is referred to with the medial demonstrative at 256 and 259 because Odysseus feels some annoyance at him (this may be how Silenus interpreted the demonstratives given his response at 262), or simply because he is trying to create a “we” between himself and Polyphemus as against Silenus, the excluded other who constitutes a third party.

The third use is similar to 256 and 259 in its ambiguity. Silenus, fearing Polyphemus’ wrath for having attempted to sell Odysseus and his men sheep, offers up his own children should he be lying (268-9):

ἡ κακῶς οὔτοι κακοί
οἱ παιδεῖς ἀπόλοιυθ’, οὔς μάλιστ’ ἐγώ φιλῶ.

Or [if I’m lying] may those wretched children be destroyed wretchedly, whom I very much love.

The scene may easily be staged so as to have Silenus, Polyphemus, and Odysseus at stage center with the Chorus and Chorus Leader nearby but at a great enough distance to “merit” the use of a medial demonstrative. Perhaps. But it is also possible, and I believe more likely, that the joke itself motivates the use of οὔτοι and that the medial demonstrative calls attention to Silenus’ expression of distance toward, and possibly even

65 Willink 1986: 95.
disdain for, his children. The punch line, an expression of intense affection 
(μάλιστ’ ἐγὼ φιλῶ) delivered after the caesura in the relative clause, derives its humor 
from its incongruity with the distancing and negativity of the setup (κακῶς οὕτοι 
kakoi... ἀπόλοινθ’).

I.4.b. Sophocles

Sophocles uses the medial demonstrative of a person onstage more than the other 
two tragedians. The types of usage, however, are consistent with what we have already 
come to expect and regularly denote a third party or signal contempt, sometimes both. In 
Oedipus Tyrannus, it is possible to discern a tone of disdain in one of the occurrences of 
οὗτος spoken by Oedipus, whose anger manifests itself in his diction. At 429-31, Oedipus responds to Teiresias’ clear, but difficult to hear prophecy first with an appeal to 
the Chorus, then by a direct attack on the seer:

ἡ ταύτα δήτ’ ἀνεκτὰ πρὸς τούτου κλειῖν;
οὐκ εἰς ὀλεθρον; οὐχὶ θάσσον αὕ τάλιν
ἀφορρὸς οἶκων τῶνθ’ ἀποστραφεῖς ἀπεῖ;

Must it be endured to hear those things from that man? To hell with you! Turn 
around and hurry back again away from this house!

In asking the Chorus if Teiresias’ remarks must be endured—a rhetorical device aimed at 
garnering support for his position against Teiresias—Oedipus points to the seer as a third 
party excluded from the “we” created by his direct address to the Chorus. At the same 
time, given the context and the following two aggressive verses, it is difficult not to hear 
an air of contempt in Oedipus’ voice.

There is another instance which may also be hostile. In replying to the Chorus, 
Oedipus says (669-72):

ὁ δ’ οὐν ἱτω, κεὶ χρὴ με παντελῶς θανεῖν,
ἡ γῆς ἀτιμων τίσδ’ ἀπώσθηαι βία.
τὸ γὰρ σὸν, οὐ τὸ τοῦδ’, ἔποικτίρω στόμα
ἐλείνων οὗτος δ’ ἐνθ’ ἣν ἧ στυγήσεται.

Let him go, then, even if I ought to die outright or be thrust out of this land by 
force, dishonored. For it is your pitiable voice, not that of this man, I pity; he will 
be hated wherever he is.

At 672 οὗτος is the anaphor of τοῦδ’ (671) and conforms to the regular pattern of a 
medial demonstrative referring back to an index first made with a proximal. Yet given 
the complex relationship between textual reference and deictic resonance in performance, 
it is difficult not to hear a critical undertone to what must also be understood, if

66 Recall the (very) high figures for OT and Ph. in Fig. 3.2. It is also worth noting that Sophocles has more 
stichomythia than the other two tragedians. See Seidensticker 1971 on stichomythia in tragedy.
67 See Chapter 4, §II.6.
secondarily, as a deictic reference to Creon, who is standing right there. Moreover, Creon’s reply (673-4), which acknowledges that although Oedipus yields his position he does so with hatred (673 στυγνος μεν εικον δηλος ει), seems to be predicated more on Oedipus’ words at 669-72 than on those he made prior, suggesting, perhaps, that Oedipus’ tone, if not the demonstrative ουτος in particular, contributed to Creon’s interpretation and understanding of the king’s feelings.

I.4.c. Aeschylus

Aeschylus, like Euripides, is rather sparing in his use of the medial demonstrative to refer to a person or an object onstage. The most revealing case of ουτος as a marker of contempt is spoken by Clytemnestra as she stands proudly over Agamemnon’s corpse and taunts the Chorus of Argive elders (Ag. 1401-6):

πειρασθε μου γυναικος ως αφρασμονος, εγω δι ατρεστω καρδια προς ειδοται λεγω σου δι αυενε ειτε με ψευευν θελεις, ομοιον ουτος εστιν Αγαμεμνων, εμοι ποσις, νεκρος δε, τησδε δεςιας χερος έργου, δικαιας τεκτονος. ταδ’ άδε έχει. (1405)

You are testing me as if I were a senseless woman, but I with fearless heart speak to you who know. Whether you wish to praise or to blame me; it’s all the same. That one there is Agamemnon, my husband and a corpse, the product of my right hand, a just author. This is how things are.

The contempt for her lifeless husband expressed in the medial demonstrative at 1404 is made all the clearer by Clytemnestra’s consistent use of proximal demonstratives from the moment she exits the palace at 1372 until the play’s end. Apart from 1404 she uses a medial only three times (1419, 1437, 1523), and all three times it is anaphoric. Clytemnestra’s diction is striking, in part, because the normal register of tragedy expects her to refer to people and objects with οδε, just as she does elsewhere of Agamemnon.68

I.5. Person Deixis and Conceptions of Tragic Space

The following discussion examines instances of “person deixis” with an eye toward better understanding both how we may be intended to conceive of dramatic space and how a speaker’s choice of a proximal or medial demonstrative to refer to one who has just exited has more to do with the exiting character’s mental prominence in the speaker’s deictic field than with physical distance.

There is but a single possible use in Medea of a medial demonstrative used to indicate a person onstage. After Medea and the Chorus have bid adieu to Aegeus (756-63), and he, in turn, has headed down the stage right eidos to return to Athens, Medea says (764-9):

68 1397, 1414, 1433, 1441, 1446, 1501, 1503, 1506, 1522, 1525. We may also include 1494 and 1518, though I consider both cases of situational deixis.
Zeus, Justice, and light of the Sun, now we shall be victorious, dear women, over my enemies and we have made a start in the right direction; now there is hope that my enemies will pay the penalty, for that man, when we were most exhausted, appeared as a harbor for my concerns.

It is fair to state that οὗτος is used to indicate distance, the question being whether it is physical or mental. If the actor was still onstage, then the medial demonstrative marks the physical distance between Medea and Aegeus. As the pair occupy the center of the stage while conversing, it is likely that even if he turns to leave after 755 (and thus walks away from the Chorus Leader’s farewell to him at 759-3), most, if not all, of the audience would still have a visible referent for οὗτος. Were Creon to have made it down one of the eisosodi and out of the sight of some of the spectators by the time οὗτος was spoken, it would be heard as anaphoric in reference to “that guy” who was just here. But what is Medea’s motivation for using the medial demonstrative? Her apostrophe to Zeus, Justice, and her grandfather Helios suggests that in her mind Aegeus, regardless of his possible presence onstage and visibility to some or all of the audience, had already left and was thus not present in her deictic field. I have accordingly listed the demonstrative as anaphoric in the appendices. More important than what the audience could or did actually perceive was the “imagined” distance between people once one exits the immediate space of action. That is to say, although some of the audience may still see Aegeus walking away, the ability of dramatic space to encompass a much larger space than is physically or “realistically” possible suggests that he is no longer present to those onstage.

A similar use may be seen at Orestes 724 moments after Menelaus has removed himself from Orestes’ suppliant embrace. Orestes begins by berating his uncle for being a coward and lacking the ability to successfully defend his kin, except by launching the expedition to retrieve Helen (717-18). He then moves toward apostrophizing his father, Agamemnon, and bemoaning his current fate (721-4):

So you are friendless, father, in your wretched state. Alas! I have been abandoned! There’s no longer hope, nowhere to turn to escape death from the Argives, for that man was my refuge for safety.
As in the previous passage from *Medea*, the medial demonstrative refers to a person who, if not completely offstage, is at the very least no longer within sight or the immediate thoughts of the speaker. Orestes’ use of οὗτος here may also be contemptuous.

We may contrast these instances of the medial demonstrative used of one who has already left or is in the process of leaving the stage with those that employ a proximal demonstrative. In Sophocles’ *Oedipus Tyrannus* the Priest, having been assured by Oedipus that he will free Thebes from the plague and take vengeance upon Laius’ killer (132-41), repeats Oedipus’ order to rise from the altar (142-3) and enjoins the children to leave their place of supplication (147-8):

ō παιδεῖς, ιστώμεσθα τῶν δέ γὰρ χάριν
καὶ δεύρ᾽ ἐβημεν ὡν ὡδ᾽ ἐξαγγέλλεται.

Children, let us rise. For it was for these things which this man announces that we came here.

It would be difficult to stage this scene in such a way as to have Oedipus completely offstage by the time the Priest refers back to him with ὡδε and we can be sure that Oedipus was still near the altar and the suppliants, even if he had immediately turned toward the skene after calling upon Apollo.

The converse is seen in Euripides’ *Medea*. After Creon has foolishly agreed to grant Medea a one-day reprieve from exile he turns and heads down one of the *eisodoi*. The Chorus, distraught, worry that Medea will have no place to turn once she leaves Corinth (358-60). Medea replies by saying (364-9):

κακῶς πέρακται πανταχῷ τίς ἰντερεῖ;
ἀλλ᾽ οὔτι ταύτῃ ταύτα, μὴ δοκεῖτέ πω.
(365)
ἐτε ὕιον ἄγῳνες τοῖς νεωτῖ νυμφίοις
καὶ τοῖς κηδεύσασιν οὐ σμικροὶ πόνοι.
δοκεῖς γὰρ ἃν με τόνδε θωπεύσαι ποτε
εἰ μὴ τι κερδαίνοσαν ἢ τεχνωμένην;

Things have turned out in all ways horrible. Who will deny it? But that is not yet in that way, don’t think it yet. There are still struggles for the newlyweds and large toils for those who set up their marriage. For do you think I would have ever fawned upon this man unless I were to gain something or were plotting?

Although we cannot be sure of the speed with which actors delivered their lines, by my admittedly imprecise calculations—based on my own reading of the passage aloud both fast and slow—it takes anywhere between 25 and 45 seconds from the moment the Chorus cries φεῦ φεῦ (358) before Medea says τόνδε at 368, more than enough time for him to be completely offstage.⁶⁹ But this does not seem to be the correct approach to employ, for Creon’s presence or absence is moot as the Chorus and Medea have moved

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⁶⁹ On average people walk at about 3 feet per second, meaning that Creon has ample time to move from his location near the skene down the *eisodos* and out of sight. See Moretti 1999-2000: 396 and Goette 2007: 117 for the dimensions of the orchestra.
on and are embroiled in their own discussion about Medea’s fate. Creon may or may not be physically present, may or may not be visible to the audience, but that debate is irrelevant. The proximal demonstrative is used to indicate his position at the forefront of Medea’s thoughts.

In _Agamemnon_, when Clytemnestra concludes avowing her fidelity (ironically, as she is in fact knowledgeable in the “dippings of bronze” (612), i.e. the tempering of steel) she turns and enters the skene. The Chorus, as normally in tragedy, responds immediately to the long rhesis and refers to Clytemnestra with αὐτή (615-16):

αὐτή μὲν οὖτως εἶπε, μανθάνοντι σοι
τοροσίσιν ἐρμηνεύσιν εὔπρεπῆ λόγον.

That woman spoke, to you who understand her literally, [but] to clear interpreters a fair-seeming speech.

Clytemnestra may have exited the skene at 582 and thus, as a proper “watchdog of the house” (607 δωµάτων κύνα), blocked the Herald’s attempt to pass through the doors. She may move away from the door as she speaks, but this is impossible to know for sure and it is equally likely (perhaps more so) that she delivers her lines before the palace doors, asserting her control and dominance over the house and access to it. That would allow her to finish her speech and swiftly reenter the skene. The Chorus’ use of αὐτή, then, may refer to the queen who is no longer present onstage. Even if Clytemnestra has not yet completely entered the palace, she is, for all intents and purposes, done with those left onstage and is referred to with a demonstrative which indicates as much.

Based on the preceding examples, it appears that the real spatial dimensions of the playing space and the audience’s visual access to all or parts of it are, in terms of appreciating and understanding the dramatic action, subordinate to how a speaker defines the relative distance through his/her diction. It is mental, not physical space that motivates lexical choice.

II. PERSON DEIXIS IN ARISTOPHANES

Fig. 3.3: person deixis in Aristophanes

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70 See, e.g., Fraenkel 1950: 305; Sommerstein 2008: 72 n. 126.
71 The MSS. assign 613-14 to the Herald, though they must be spoken by Clytemnestra, on which see Fraenkel 1950: 305-6.
72 I give the text of Fraenkel 1950.
73 On the difficulties plaguing the text and interpretation of these lines see Fraenkel 1950: 307-10; Denniston and Page 1957: 127.
74 Taplin 1977: 299-300.
In Aristophanes οὐτοσι is virtually synonymous with ὁδί and ὁδε; οὐτος is used with greater flexibility. Accordingly, and in keeping with the approach thus far of examining the types of demonstratives which reveal much about staging and performance, this section will focus predominately on the medial forms οὐτοσι and οὐτος, after a few brief remarks on ὁδε. Both the proximals ὁδί and ὁδε and the medial οὐτοσι refer deictically to a third party onstage; all three also convey a heightened sense of emotion. Although less commonly used than οὐτοσι, ὁδε can also focus attention on a body as the locus of an ensuing action perpetrated upon said body (e.g., Th. 635ff.). The only discernable difference, so far as I am aware, is one which we shall discuss in detail in Chapter 4: relative emotional intensity. Despite the overlapping uses and near interchangeability of ὁδε and οὐτοσι, the former is still more emphatic and emotional than the latter. This is most clearly visible in scenes of elevated excitement, such as in Peace, where over two-thirds of the occurrences of ὁδε come between the freeing of Peace and Trygaeus’ return to earth.75

Two moments, one from Birds, the other from Lysistrata, will help illustrate this point. When the Chorus Leader of Birds decides that Peisetaerus and Euelpides should be punished on the spot by dismemberment, he refers to them as “these two guys here” (337 τῶδε). This initiates just over one hundred lines of proximal references where only once (355 τούτων) is a party indicated with anything other than ὁδε or οὐτοσι.76 The vividness of ὁδε is most apparent at 369-74:

Χο. θείσομεθα γάρ τι τῶν δε μᾶλλον ἡμεῖς ἤ λύκων; ἢ τίνας τεισαίμεθ’ ἄλλους τῶν; ἂν ἐχθέοις ἔτι;
Επ. εἶ δὲ τῆν φύσιν μὲν ἐχθροί, τὸν δὲ νοῦν εἰσίν φίλοι, καὶ διδάσωντας τι δεῦρ’ ἡκουσίν υμᾶς χρήσιμοι;
Χο. τοῦ δ’ ἄν οἰδ’ ἡμᾶς τι χρήσιμον διδάξειαν ποτε ἢ φράσειαν, ὄντες ἐχθροί τοῖς πάπποις τοῖς ἐμοῖς;

Cho. Why could we punish these guys more than wolves? What others could we punish who are still more hateful than these guys?
Te. If they are enemies by nature, but friends by intention, and have come here to teach you something beneficial?
Cho. How could these guys ever teach or show us anything beneficial, since they were enemies to my grandfeathers?

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75 See above §III.1, pp.152-3.
The marked repetition of ὅδε (369, 370, 373) by the Chorus Leader to refer to Peisetaerus and Euepides is indicative of his anger and vehement antipathy toward Tereus’ plan to welcome the humans.

A similar use of ὅδε as a means of expressing indignation is found at Lysistrata 467-70, as the Men’s Chorus Leader complains to the Proboulos:

Ὡ πόλλ’ ἀναλώσας ἐπὶ πρόβουλε τῇ ὅδε γῆς,
tί τοῖς σαυτὸν εἰς λόγον τοῖς θηρίοις συνάπτεις;
οὐκ οἴσαθα λουτρόν οἶον αἰῶν 'ήμας ἠλουσαν ἄρτι
ἐν τοῖς ἰματιδίοις, καὶ ταῦτ’ ἄνευ κονίας;

You’ve wasted many words, magistrate of this land. Why do you join yourself in conversation with these beasts? Don’t you know what sort of washing these women just now gave us still in our cloaks, and what’s more, without powdered soap!

As before, the double—or triple, if we include τῇ ὅδε γῆς (467)—proximal demonstratives (468, 469) indicates the speaker’s outrage.

II.1. First Person οὕτοσι

On three occasions οὕτοσι is employed synonymously with ὅδε.

Acharnians 366-7

Dic. ἂλλ’ Ἀμφίθεος μοι ποὺ ὅστιν;
Amph. οὕτοσι πάρα.

Dic. But where’s Amphitheus?
Amph. Right here!

Acharnians 366-7

ἰδοὺ θεάσθε, τὸ μὲν ἐπίξυμον τοῦτο,
ὁ δ’ ἄνηρ ὁ λέξων οὕτοσι τυννουτοσί.

Ta-da. Take a look, here’s the chopping block, and the man who is going to speak is right here, small as he is.

Clouds 141-2

λέγε νῦν ἔμοι θαρρῶν’ ἐγὼ γὰρ οὕτοσι
ήκω μαθητής εἰς τὸ φροντιστήριον.

Take heart, then, and tell me, since I myself have come as a student to the Thinktank.

In each case the –ί suffixed medial demonstrative serves to call attention to the speaker’s very presence (“I right here”). Amphitheatheus’ use of οὕτοσι is also anaphoric, but as he
rushes onstage and is behind Dicaeopolis when the question is asked (or at least not close enough to be seen), the demonstrative’s primary function is to call attention to the speaker. In the other two cases, the speaker calls attention to himself at the moment he is to undergo an ordeal. The only other example shows οὗτος used like οὗτος.

**Knights 1098-9**

καὶ νῦν ἐμαυτὸν ἐπιτρέπω σοι τούτοι
γεροταγωγεῖν κἀναπαίδευειν πάλιν.

And now, I turn myself here over to you to lead me in my old age and reeducate me.

In referring to himself with the medial demonstrative, Demos is self-deprecating and exhibits great humility.\(^77\)

**II.2. Third Person οὗτοι**

The –ι suffixed medial demonstrative is used similarly to its non-marked counterpart; at times, the only discernable difference is one of (presumed) emphasis and emotion. So in Knights, when Paphlagon and the Sausage Seller are accusing each other we get the following exchange (278-81):

Πα. τούτοι τὸν ἀνδρή ἐγωνδείκνυμι, καὶ φήμ’ ἐξάγειν
taίνιοι Πελοποννησίων τριήρεις ξωμεύματα.

Αλ. ναὶ μὰ Δία κἀγώγε τοῦτον, ὡτι κενή τῇ κοιλίᾳ
eἰσδραμὼν εἰς τὸ πρυτανεῖον, εἶτα πάλιν ἐκθεὶ πλέα.

Pa. I mark this man here, and say that he exports soup for the Peloponnesians’ triremes.

SS. Yes, by Zeus, and I mark that man for running with an empty tummy into the Prytaneum, then running back out with a full one.

The Sausage Seller’s τοῦτον, particularly with the oath μὰ Δία, could be slightly less emphatic than Paphlagon’s line-initial τούτοι, but it nonetheless indicates the person meant just as clearly. In fact, in Knights οὗτοι is used consistently to refer to a third party without any special deictic quality, a use which we may attribute to the heightened emotional states of those involved.\(^78\)

When οὗτοι is not being used as a virtual synonym of οὗτος to refer to a third party, it is markedly deictic and either introduces a character or makes its referent a “person of interest,” focusing the audience’s attention on the individual.\(^79\) The following examples are “extreme” examples of focusing in that οὗτοι is used to call attention to

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\(^77\) Radt 1985: 104.

\(^78\) It is worth noting that the Paphlagon uses –ι suffixed demonstratives sparingly compared with the Sausage Seller.

\(^79\) See especially the numerous entrances of birds in Av. 268-301.
an actor’s body; it linguistically spotlights the person who becomes the focal point of the action onstage and of the audience’s gaze.

*Peace 871-6*

Τρ. ἰθι υψην, ἀποδῶμεν τῇδε τὴν Θεωρίαν ἀνύσαντε τῇ βουλῇ.

Οι. τί; ταυτηνὶ; τί φῆς; σὰμ Θεωρία ἴστιν, ἵνα ἴμεῖς ποτε ἐπαύσωμεν Βραυρωνᾶδ’ ὑποπεπωκότες;

Τρ. σάφ’ ἴσθι, κάληθη γε μόλις.

Οι. ὡ δέσποτα, (875) ὅσην ἔχει τὴν πρωκτοπενετηρίδα.

Τρ. Come then, let’s hurry up and hand over Theoria here to the Council.

Οι. What? This one here? What are you saying? That woman is Theoria, the one whom we used to pound back in the day on our way to Brauron after we’d had a few too many?

Τρ. Absolutely! And she sure was difficult to get.

Οι. Master, she has such a large ass, a quadrennial festival’s worth!

In 872 the Slave’s use of ταυτηνὶ, perhaps spoken with an accompanying gesture, focuses our attention onto Theoria, specifically her body. This same type of linguistic concentration is also seen later in the play at 1122-4:

οὔ μὲν οὖν ἔγω δὲ τουτοὶ τῶν κραδίων, ἀλάμβαν’ αὐτὸς ἐξαπατῶν, ἐκβολβίω.
οὔ καταβαλεῖς τὰ κρόδι’, ὡ θυηπόλε;

No, you do it; I’m going to strip this guy of his skins like a purse-tassel, which he himself used to get by means of deceit. Throw down the skins, tender of sacrifices!

The Slave’s response to Trygaeus’ request to keep beating Hierocles (1121 πα’ αὔτὸν ἐπέχων τῷ ἔλεῳ, τὸν ἀλαζόνα) again highlights the body of the person of interest, a body which will no longer be beaten but stripped.

*Birds 1567-73*

οὔτος, τί δρᾶς; ἐπαρίστερ’ οὔτως ἀμπέχει; οὔ μεταβαλεῖς θοιμάτιον ὡδ’ ἐπιδέξια; τί, ὡ κακόδαιμον; Λαισποδίας εἶ τὴν φύσιν; ὡ δημοκρατία, ποὶ προβιβᾶς ἡμᾶς ποτε, εἰ τουτοὶ κεχειροτονήκασ’ οἱ θεοὶ; ἔξεις ἀτρέμας; οἴμως; πολὺ γὰρ δή σ’ ἐγὼ ἐόρακα πάντων βαρβαρώτατον θεῶν.

80 On the variant readings of line 872 see Chapter 4, §II.6 (p.147).
Hey, what are you doing? Is your cloak draped to the left? Please switch it up to the right, like mine. What? You sorry fool, are you built like Laespodias?

Democracy, where ever are you leading us if the gods elected this guy? Please be still! Damn you! Of all the gods I’ve ever seen you are by far the most barbaric!

In this passage, although Poseidon has already marked out the contrast between how he and the Triballian wear their cloaks—note the contrasting οὔτως and οὖδε, strongly second and first person, respectively—οὔτοσί is used when the action moves to adjusting the Triballian’s garment.

II.3. Second Person οὔτοσ

There are no examples in Aristophanes of οὔτοσ used of a first person. As we have already seen in §I.2, the medial demonstrative is used to call the attention of one who’s attention is turned elsewhere. This use is ubiquitous in comedy. But there is another usage, or rather a variation in usage, that is peculiar to the comic stage but which has had tremendous influence on pre-Dickey interpretations of the vocative οὔτοσ.81

The οὔτοσ that demands that the addressee turn and face the speaker is, necessarily, assertive. Not surprisingly, it is always line-initial.82 The two instances in Aristophanes where οὔτοσ is used at the beginning of a verse where the addressee may be facing the speaker, and thus not conform to the pattern described above, can be explained by understanding the demonstrative as a form of address which both signals annoyance and indicates that the locutor does not know the name of the addressee. At Birds 1035 the Decree Seller enters reading a decree from a scroll. He introduces himself (1037) and reads another decree at Peisetaerus’ prompting (1038-41), to which Peisetaerus responds with “You’ll soon be using the same ones as the Ototuxians!” (1042 οὖ δέ γ’ οὔτοσί χρῆσει τάχα) and punctuates his statement by punching the Decree Seller, who, in turn, cries out “Hey! What are you doing?” (1044 οὔτοσ, τί πάσχεις;). The simplest way to stage this scene would be to have the Decree Seller look down at his scroll and read the decree aloud to all, perhaps even taking a step forward so as to better proclaim to the audience. Peisetaerus’ response should be taken as an aside, his fists as direct. And while it is possible that the Decree Seller yells “Hey!” in response to the blows he has just received, and has not yet turned to face his assailant, this does not appear to be a case where οὔτοσ is used to gain the attention of one who is not paying attention. Rather, the demonstrative conveys a sense of hostility doubly or partially motivated by the fact that the Decree Seller does not know Peisetaerus’ name.

A similar passage may be found at Ecclesiazusae 976 where the First Old Woman says to Epigenes, “Hey, why are you knocking? Not looking for me, are you?” (οὔτοσ, τί κόπτεις; μῶν ἐμὲ ζητεῖς;). Rather than assume a blocking of the scene which allows Epigenes to be looking elsewhere (up at the window where the Girl had been), οὔτοσ here seems to be used in the same vein as Birds 1044: the speaker is both annoyed that

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82 Dickey 1996: 154: “It is notable that οὔτοσ is almost always the first word in its sentence and that, in constrast to other vocatives in Aristophanes, it is virtually never accompanied by οὖ; this abruptness is another indication that the word was used primarily to get the addressee to turn around, rather like English ‘hey’.”
Epigenes is knocking on her door, and does not know his name. This use is very similar to the demonstrative found in the interrogative sentence τίς οὗτος; / τίς οὗτοσί.: 83

When used as part of a τίς interrogative sentence that follows a self-announced entrance of a new character, the –ί suffixed medial demonstrative οὗτοσί can operate similarly to the nominative for vocative οὗτος in that it has the ability to reflect a speaker’s dismissive (and annoyed or angry) attitude toward one who has just arrived onstage.

**Acharnians 1018-19**

De. οἴμοι τάλας.
Di. Ὅ Ηράκλεις, τίς οὗτοσί;
De. ἄνηρ κακοδαιμὼν.

Der. Woe is me!
Dic. Heracles! Who’s this guy?
Der. A miserable man.

**Clouds 1259-63**

Χρ. ἰὼ µοί µοί.
Στ. ἔα.
τίς οὗτοσί ποτ’ ἔσθ’ ὁ θρηνών; οὗ τι που
τῶν Καρκίνου τις δαιμόνων ἐφθέγξατο;
Χρ. τί δ’, ὅστις εἰμί, τοῦτο βουλεσθ’ εἰδέναι;
ἄνηρ κακοδαιμὼν.

Cr. Oh poor me!
Str. Ugh! Who the heck is this guy, Mr. Lamenter? Was it not, I suppose, some one of Carcinus’ gods that made that noise?
Cr. What do you mean, who am I? You want to know that? I am a miserable man.

**Birds 1021-3**

Επισκ. ποῦ πρόξενοι;
Πε. τίς ὁ Σαρδανάπαλλος οὗτοσί;
Επισκ. ἐπίσκοπος ἥκω δεύρο τῷ κυάμῳ λαχῶν
εῖς τὰς Νεφελοκοκκυγίας.

Insp. Where are the proxenoi?
Pe. Who’s this Ashurbanipal?
Insp. I, an inspector appointed by lot, have come here to Cloudcuckooland.

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83 Cf. Ach. 395, 1018, 1048 (x2); Nu. 1221, 1260; Lys. 847; Ra. 464. Of those passages just cited, it is necessary to distinguish τίς οὗτος; (Ach. 395, Lys. 847, Ra. 464) from τίς οὗτοσί; (Ach. 1048, Nu. 1221, 1260). In the case of the former, the unmarked instances of the medial demonstrative, the question is asked directly to the person indicated with οὗτος; when οὗτοσί is employed, the question is directed toward another, often the audience, and expresses annoyance or an elevated emotional state.
Wealth 823-5

Δι. ἔποι μετ' ἐμοῦ, παιδάριον, ἵνα πρὸς τὸν θεόν ἱώμεν.
Κ. ἔα, τίς ἐσθ' ὁ προσιῶν οὔτοσι;
Δι. ἀνὴρ πρότερον μὲν ἄθλιος, νῦν δ' εὔτυχής.

Just. Follow me, kid, so that we can go to the god.
Ca. Whoa! Who’s this guy coming forward?
Just. A man formerly wretched, but now fortunate.

In all of these passages it is normal practice to translate οὔτοσι as “that” or “this.” But as we see in each of the above examples, each time the question τίς ... οὔτοσι; is asked it is immediately answered, showing that the newly arrived characters know that the question is about them; even if delivered as an aside, οὔτοσι covers the range of “that one there” and “you.” The nuance of this type of expression in Greek is similar to the American English “Who’s this guy think he is?,” a question which, performatively speaking, is asked rhetorically to someone nearby, but is always intended as a slight to the deictee.

But there are two other uses of the vocative οὔτος found in the comedies of Aristophanes: the first aims not at redirecting another’s gaze but at conveying the speaker’s annoyance or anger at the addressee; the second, properly a subset of the first, is used when a speaker does not know the name of the person whom s/he is addressing.84 On several occasions οὔτος comes in second position and clearly indicates the speaker’s dissatisfaction with his/her interlocutor. Take, for example, the phrase ἀληθὲς, οὔτος; ("Is that so, you #@!?"), which occurs thrice (Eq. 89, V. 1412, Av. 1048). In each case the speaker is responding to something s/he finds upsetting: Demosthenes is upset at Nicias’ besmirching of the power of wine to develop good plans (Eq. 86); Myrtia is dismayed at Philocleon’s behavior after she has summoned him (V. 1409-11); Peisetaerus is angry that the Inspector has summoned him (Av. 1047). These feelings of annoyance are translated into what is tantamount to namecalling; rendering οὔτος with some word or phrase that expresses enmity (e.g., “jerk,” “son-of-a-bitch,” “moron”) seems close to the nuance of the Greek.85

The second use mentioned above (οὔτος used when a speaker does not know another’s name) may be understood as a variant of the first, though it is questionable if there is, in fact, any difference in tone (e.g., V. 1412 and Av. 1048, above). Often, οὔτος clearly expresses contempt for or annoyance at the person addressed (Eq. 821, Av. 1243, Lys. 437), but at other times it is more difficult to gauge the emotional tenor, although I am inclined to believe that it always retains at least a hint of annoyance. At Clouds 220, for example, Strepsiades says to the Pupil, “Come now, you, call up to him in a loud voice for me” (ιθ' οὔτος ἀναβοήσον αὐτόν μοι μέγα). On the face of it there is nothing overtly hostile about οὔτος, although the double imperatives are certainly assertive, and one could make the case that the medial demonstrative is just a default form of address. It may also be claimed that as both the Pupil and Strepsiades are engaged in looking upward at Socrates, Strepsiades must gain the attention of the Pupil and opts to do so

84 See Svennung 1958: 212.
85 This is also a case of the second category since Myrtia does not know Philocleon’s name (1406 δοτίς εἶ).
86 Also Eq. 821; Nu. 220; V. 829; Av. 57, 1044, 1243; Lys. 437; Ra. 522; Ec. 976.
verbally, although we might expect a line-initial οὗτος were this the case. Instead, οὗτος ought to be read as a gruff sort of address in keeping with Strepsiades’ earlier aggressive comments and his characterization (136, 138, 217); the imperative ἢ gains the Pupils attention while the demonstrative insults him.

There are three occasions where the force of οὗτος may be determined by the blocking of a scene. At Birds 57, Euelpides bangs on the door yelling παῦ παῦ. Peisetaerus corrects his friend’s misconceived attempt at calling for a slave: “What are you saying, you, are you summoning an epops with ‘slave’?” (τί λέγεις, οὗτος; τὸν ἐποπα παῦ καλεῖς). Again, one could argue that οὗτος is used to garner the attention of Euelpides who is still looking at the door and not at Peisetaerus and that the demonstrative is necessary to regain his attention. But, as before, we should expect a line-initial οὗτος. Instead, Peisetaerus’ words convey an irritation at his friend’s ignorance and may be translated: “What are you saying, dummy….”

As we have already seen in our discussion of tragedy and satyr play, the nominative οὗτος is used for a vocative by a speaker to hail another whose attention is turned elsewhere, similar to English “hey!” In understanding this we may get a better glimpse into the proxemic relationships onstage. The vocative address is most commonly part of a question, but can be used by itself or with an expanded vocative phrase, or with an imperative.

When paired with an imperative, οὗτος typically has an impatient, pejorative tone which sharply demands attention and signals a (perceived) power differential. The speaker may address a slave (Eq. 821, V. 395, Av. 933, Ra. 522), or one whom he considers his inferior (Nu. 220, 829; Av. 1243; Ra. 851). Two examples, both involving a god and a mortal, are worth considering in greater detail.

*Birds* 1238-43

Ιρ. ὁ μῶρε, μῶρε, μὴ θεῶν κίει φρένας
dεινάς, ὅπος μὴ σου γένος πανώλεθρον
Διὸς μακέλλη πᾶν ἀναστρέψει Δίκη,
λιγυνὸς δὲ σῶμα καὶ δόμων περιπτυχάς
καταιθάλώσει σου Λικυμνίοις βολαῖς.

Πε. ἄκουσον, αὔτη παῦ τῶν παφλασμάτων.

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87 See also Dickey 1996: 154-8; Svennung 1958: 208-12.
88 Ach. 564; Nu. 721, 732, 1502; V. 1, 144, 750, 854; Pax 682, 879; Av. 57, 354, 1055, 1064, 1199, 1567; Lys. 126, 728; Th. 224, 610, 689, 930, 1083; Ra. 198, 479; Ec. 520, 703, 753, 1049; Pl. 439. Pax 164 (ἀνθρώπη, τί δρᾶς, οὗτος ὁ χέζων) could also be added, but here the medial demonstrative is formally a case of person deixis. The vocative is formally expressed with ἄνθρωπη, coming line-initially to hail the addressee, but the sense of οὗτος extends beyond that of a relative pronoun with an attributive participle and can only be “justified” by seeing in it a strong association with the second person, here explicable by the preceding vocative address. Cf. V. 1232-3 (ἀνθρώπη, οὗτος ὁ μαίομενος τὸ μέγα κράτος) and Lys. 847 (τὸς οὗτος οὖντος τῶν φυλάκων ἔστώς.).
89 V. 1364; Pax 268; Av. 49, 225, 274, 658, 1631; Ra. 171, 312; Pl. 926.
90 V. 395; Av. 933.
91 Eq. 821; Nu. 220; V. 395, 829; Av. 933, 1243; Ra. 522, 851. Many of the other occurrences of οὗτος can also be considered pejorative.
Iris' mock-tragic appeal to Peisetaerus is met with an aggressive, almost violent response. The tone of αὕτη is quite severe, and shows immediate disrespect toward the goddess, a disrespect which is continued in the following verses, culminating with Peisetaerus' threat of rape (1253-6). And although Iris appears to be the frequent victim of such male aggression, perhaps making Peisetaerus’ remarks expected or generically acceptable, his diction in 1243-56, beginning with the imperative + αὕτη, reflects that he does not recognize the goddess’ power or authority.

**Frogs 851**

At *Frogs* 851, Dionysus interrupts Aeschylus, saying ἐπίσχες οὗτος, ὕπο πολυτίμητ' Αἰσχύλε (“Hey, hold on there, much honored Aeschylus.”). The juxtaposition of the brusque ἐπίσχες οὗτος with the overly obsequious πολυτίμητος, an epithet in comedy normally applied to gods, which here stands in marked contrast to the vocative “lowly Euripides” (852 ὧ πόνηρ’ Ἐριπίδη), not only foreshadows the outcome of the contest, but adds to the humor of the scene.

**Peace 253-4**

A possible exception to this “rule” is *Peace* 253, where Trygaeus says:

οὗτος, παραινῷ σοι μέλιτι χρῆσθαι 'τέρῳ.
τετρώβολον τοῦτ' ἐστι’ φείδου τάττικοῦ.

Hey, I advise you to use different honey. That one’s four obols, be sparing of the Attic.

In using οὗτος of War in an aside, Trygaeus makes no bona fide effort to garner War’s attention. Instead, the humor of these verses resides in Trygaeus’ false bravado: although his language asserts a pattern which typically indicates that the speaker is more powerful than the hearer, that the lines are delivered as an aside and are not heard by War humorously reveals Trygaeus’ bold remark as nothing more than a craven whisper.

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95 See Robson 2006: 53-4 on “register change” in Aristophanes. He does not discuss this passage. Cf. *Hel.* 1627, with my discussion in §I.2.
II.4. Third Person ὁτός

Nearly all uses of ὁτός in reference to a person are used by a locutor to refer to a third party. It thus designates someone who, at least for the purposes of the statement(s), stands outside of the immediate communication situation, the participants of which are by default conceived of as a “we” (= ὑμεῖς). At times, ὁτός also may have a markedly pejorative tone. On occasion, the use of a medial demonstrative clearly indicates that there is a physical distance between a speaker and the referent. This is most readily seen when a speaker has removed himself from the main action onstage. So, for example, at Peace 240 when Trygaeus apostrophizes Apollo and exclaims about War ἄρ' ὁτός ἐστ' ἐκείνος ὃν καὶ φεύγομεν (“Is that guy there the one whom we are fleeing?”), the demonstrative indicates not just one who is not part of the ongoing, one-sided communicative act between Trygaeus and Apollo, but also distance since Trygaeus has six lines earlier ducked out of the way to avoid War (234 φέρ' ἄυτὸν ἄποδρῶ). Similarly, the Chorus in Acharnians, who have crouched out of the way while Dicaeopolis and his family perform their own Rural Dionysia (239-40 ἄλλα δεύορ πᾶς ἐκποδῶν), leap up at 280 and exclaim ὁτός ὁτός ἐστιν, ὁτός· (“That’s the guy, that’s him!”).

New entrances are seldom announced with a medial demonstrative, and when ὁτός is used it seems to indicate that the person who has just entered has been visible for at least long enough for the audience to process his/her presence. In other words, ὁτός does not in and of itself call attention to an entrance unless it is in marked contrast to a proximal demonstrative and multiple people or groups are appearing. In this case, and indeed in the others we shall look at, ὁτός also, if not predominately, indicates distance.

At the beginning of Lysistrata as the various women make their way into the orchestra from both wings Calonice and Lysistrata narrate the arrivals (65-6):

Κα. ἀτὰρ αἰδε καὶ δή σοι προσέρχονταί τινες.
Λυ. αὐταὶ δ’ ἔτεραι χωροῦσί τινες.
Ca. But look, here are some women coming toward you.
Lys. And there are some others approaching.

The two women stand in the center of the orchestra, equidistant to each eisodos. When Calonice says αἰδε she gives a gesture or turns toward the women so as to indicate their arrival. Lysistrata’s use of the medial demonstrative, an emendation for R’s αἰδ’ αὐθ’ based on the analogy of Lys. 736 (αὐτὴ ἦτερα), either indicates that this second group is more distant than the first and has not yet fully made its way up of the eisodos, or it is an example of addressee-oriented deixis and indicates that the second group is entering from the wing closest to Calonice.

In Clouds, when Strepsiades notices a man hanging overhead in a basket he, surprised, asks the Pupil φέρε τίς γάρ ὁτός ὁπικ τῆς κρεμάθρας ἀνήρ; (218). The

96 Cf. Fig. 1.2.
97 E.g., Ach. 562; Eq. 280; V. 900, 914; Th. 535, 538, 649.
98 On this use of γάρ see Denniston 1950: 82-5; Dover 1968: 120.
demonstrative οὖτος is used to reflect the distance—perhaps imagined to be quite substantial, and certainly in need of a loud voice to be heard (220 ἀναβόησον...μέγα)—between Strepsiades and Socrates.

Another passage in Clouds also presents a use of the medial demonstrative which may or may not be a case where it denotes distance. In response to Socrates’ question about what the Cloud-Chorus looks like (342) Strepsiades replies (343-4):

οὐκ οἶδα σαφῶς· εἶξασιν δ’ οὖν ἔριοισιν πεπταμένοισιν,
κούχι γυναιξίν, μᾶ Δί’, οὖθ’ ὀτιοῦν· αὖται δὲ ρίνας ἔχουσιν.

I don’t know for sure. But they resemble wool that’s been spread out, and certainly not women, by Zeus, not in the least! But those women have noses.

Understanding αὖται (344) as motivated by distance is only problematic if we apply too “real” a sense of relative space. It may, at first, seem as though the difficulty comes from Strepsiades’ comment that the Clouds are filling the entire orchestra (328 πάντα γάρ ἣδη κατέχουσιν) and Socrates’ earlier reference to the Clouds as “these women here” (340 διὰ μέντοι τάσδ’), two passages which imply the Clouds’ close proximity. In fact, it is Socrates’ exuberant use of the proximal demonstrative (with the particle μέντοι) that is out of place.100 Nowhere else in the play are the Clouds referred to with anything other than medial demonstratives precisely because they, qua Clouds, are not on the same terrestrial plane as we.

There is an interesting use of οὖτος in Peace after Trygaeus returns to earth. From the time Peace is dragged onstage at 520 after an intense effort by the Chorus she is only referred to with proximal demonstratives (580, 602, 604, 614, 624, 637). The joy and excitement of Peace at long last returned to Athens are palpable.101 After the parabasis (729-817), Peace is referred to but once more with a demonstrative, this time with the medial at 923 when Trygaeus responds to his household slave’s question of what needs to be done next (now that Peace is restored): τί δ’ ἄλλο γ’ ἣ ταύτην χύτραις ἵδρυτέον; (“What else but install that one with pots?”). Without a doubt, ταύτην refers to Peace, but why does Trygaeus employ that form and not the proximal τήνδε? Platnauer believes that the medial demonstrative indicates that Peace has likely been removed from the stage, although he does allow for the possibility that she has been conveyed to Trygaeus’ house during the parabasis.102 The use of the medial must be explained in one of two ways, neither of which can be argued for with any certainty as it is impossible to tell from the text whether or not the statue of Peace is brought back with Trygaeus, Opora, and Theoria.

Nothing in our text suggests explicitly that Peace, now freed, accompanies Trygaeus back to Athens or that she remains onstage during and after the parabasis. In fact, while Hermes is quite clear that Trygaeus may take back Opora and Theoria (706-8, 713-14), Peace, by whom the threesome pass as they make their way back into the skene.

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99 Denniston 1950: 400.
100 Socrates’ use of the proximal demonstrative may also suggest his close relationship with the Clouds; cf. 359-63.
101 See the discussion in Chapter 4, §II.4 (pp.133-4).
102 Platnauer 1964: xv with n. 1, 145.
(726 τηδι παρ’ αυτην την θεον), is not mentioned as returning with them, although this may be guessed at from Trygaeus’ promise never to let Peace go (705 ἀφησόμεσθά σου) and Hermes’ reply that he will assent on that condition (706 ἐπι τούτοις). It would certainly be a powerful image were Peace to remain onstage for the duration of the play after the rest of the characters vacated the stage, watching over the parabasis and the celebration.103 As the action is no longer focused directly on her and the actors are located more toward the center of the orchestra, the medial demonstrative at 923 must express distance. If, however, Peace was brought back into the skene with Hermes and did not return with Trygaeus to earth,104 as I am inclined to think, then ταυτην must be anaphoric.

One further example of a medial demonstrative used to indicate a person onstage is worth examining in greater detail. During the contest between Aeschylus and Euripides in Frogs, the former summons forth the latter’s Muse (1305-8):

Aesch. Where is she with the potsherds, that one who bangs things together? Come here, Muse of Euripides, to whose accompaniment it’s appropriate to sing those songs.

Dion. That Muse, previously…did not used to “play the Lesbian.” Absolutely not!

Apart from αυτη in 1308 there are two other medial demonstratives in these verses, both of which are anaphoric: αυτη (1306) refers, likely contemptuously,105 to “that (in)famous” Muse of Euripides; ταυτ’ (1307) to Euripides’ choral lyrics, the topic since 1301. It is possible, even likely, that the phrase “that Muse” (1308 αυτη…ιευριπιδου) is used deictically to point to ‘Muses’ Muse as she comes onstage; the medial demonstrative would denote her physical distance from Dionysus who turns toward the skene and sees her entrance. There may, however, be another way to understand this line. Rather than interpret αυτη as a case of person deixis, we may see it as the anaphor of the “Muse of Euripides” (1306). And even though with δευρο we (and Dionysus) expect the Muse to come forth soon, the meaning and humor of 1308 may come from

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103 Arnott (1962: 67-8) is inclined to believe the scholiast who says that the statue is that of Athena, for “When one interpretation is so obvious, to give another presupposes special knowledge, and the Scholiast is therefore more likely to be correct.” On this approach see the sound critique by Dearden 1976: 49. On the various ways this scene may have been staged see Olson 1998: xliii-xlviii. Olson (1998: 216) suggests that Trygaeus, Opora, and Theoria exit via the wing next to Zeus’ house; Hermes enters Zeus’ house; Sommerstein (1985: 715) proposes that Hermes exits down one of the wings, while Peace remains “dominating the stage and the action” (p. xvii); Henderson (1998: 519) has all the actors enter the skene; Newiger (1965: 236-7) advocates Hermes and the eccyclema being wheeled back inside, but Peace is left onstage. Dale (1969: 118) puts Peace and Hermes on the eccyclema, which is withdrawn at scene-end, and the other three as either moving inside off the eccyclema or as stepping down into the orchestra and off through one of the wings. Dover (1972: 135) prefers Peace to be wheeled out and to remain onstage while Trygaeus, Opora, and Theoria return to earth.

104 Thiery 1986: 80.

Dionysus beginning to speak with his back to the Muse, who perhaps did enter at 1307. The first half of the line (σοαντη ποθ' ἠ Μοῦσ') is spoken as anaphoric reference of Euripides’ Muse; Dionysus is beginning a statement (perhaps positive): “That Muse you just mentioned, a while back….” He then catches sight of her—an old, ugly (ex?) prostitute—and completes the sentence after the caesural break with a comment, stemming from her appearance, which refers both to her unMuse-like qualities and the fact that she did not perform fellatio. 106

III. OBJECT DEIXIS IN TRAGEDY AND SATYR PLAY

Fig. 3.4: object deixis in tragedy and satyr play

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<tr>
<td>A. Cho.</td>
<td>[23]</td>
<td>24 / 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. OT</td>
<td>[4]</td>
<td>4 / 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. Ant.</td>
<td>[2]</td>
<td>2 / 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. Ph.</td>
<td>[24]</td>
<td>20 / 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. Med.</td>
<td>[10]</td>
<td>10 / 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. Hipp.</td>
<td>[15]</td>
<td>15 / 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. Or.</td>
<td>[8]</td>
<td>8 / 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. Cyc.</td>
<td>[13]</td>
<td>12 / 0 (1)</td>
</tr>
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</table>

Props are seldom referred to with anything other than proximal demonstratives, as Fig. 3.4 makes clear. Philoctetes appears on the face of it to be exceptional in this respect, and this section will begin with a discussion of the four possible uses of medial demonstratives in that play to indicate an object (the lone occurrence in Choephoroi has already been discussed above in §I.3) before moving on to some general remarks about the use of demonstrative reference of props in tragedy.

III.1. Sophocles’ Philoctetes

As part of Neoptolemus’ attempt to persuade Philoctetes to relinquish his bow he fabricates an account of how on the shores of Sigeum Odysseus refused to hand over Achilles’ weapons. In response to Neoptolemus’ tearful and angry outburst at Agamemnon and the Greeks (368-70) 107 Odysseus supposedly replies (372-81):

“ναί, παῖ, δεδώκασʼ ὅδε οὗτοι τάδε·
ἐγὼ γὰρ αὐττ’ ἔσωσα κἀκεῖνον παρὼν.
κάγω χολωθές εὐθὺς ἣρασαν κακοὶς
τοῖς πάσιν, οὗθεν ἐνδεες ποιούμενος,
              (375)
“Yes, boy, they gave these to me justly, for I was there; I saved them and him.”

And I in my anger straightaway threw every type of horrible reproach at him making my effort incomplete in no way, if that son-of-a-bitch should rob me of my weapons. And he, although not being quick to anger, having been stung came to this point and replied in this way to what he had heard: “You were not where we were, but you were away where you should not have been. And those weapons you ask about, since you speak with overbold tongue, never will you sail to Scyros possessing them.”

The use of the medial ταύτα (380) is, as I have translated above, an example of addressee-oriented deixis. The object (Achilles’ weapons) is first indicated by Neoptolemus with τα τεύχη τάμα (370), the emphatic ἐμά (instead of μου) operates as τάδε often does, and it is to this that Odysseus replies. As it is unlikely that in the scenario imagined by Neoptolemus Odysseus actually holds Achilles’ weapons as he speaks, Odysseus’ use of τάδε (372) is anaphoric, though perhaps with a biting sense of possession (“they gave them to me justly and they are mine, not yours”).

As in the first example below, οὗτος may simply reflect a speaker’s distance from (or non-possession of) the object indicated, but it often is strongly associated with the second person. When Odysseus bursts onto the scene as Neoptolemus is desperately trying to decide whether or not he should obey his orders or return Philoctetes’ bow to its rightful owner, he angrily addresses the young man (974-5):

οὗ κάκιστ’ ἀνδρῶν, τί δράς;
οὐκ εἰ μεθεὶς τὰ τόξα ταύτ’ ἐμοὶ πάλιν:

Vilest of men, what are you doing? Will you not give back that bow to me and go away from there?

Juxtaposed with ἐμοί, the medial demonstrative in the phrase τὰ τόξα ταύτ’ may be best rendered as “that bow which you possess.”

This use is explicitly articulated earlier in the play in a unique exchange between Neoptolemus and Philoctetes (654-5):

Νε. ἤ ταύτα γάρ τὰ κλεῖνα τόξ’ ἡ νῦν ἔχεις;
Φι. ταύτ’, οὐ γάρ ἀλλ’ ἐστ’, ἀλλ’ ἡ βαστάζω χεροῖν.

Neo. Is that the famous bow which you are now holding?

---

108 Jebb (1932: 68) interprets τάδε as I do.
Phil. Yes, for there is no other but the one I carry in my hands.

In Neoptolemus’ question the meaning of the medial demonstrative is (needlessly) expanded with a relative clause. Philoctetes’ repetition of ταύτα, so far as I am aware, has no direct parallel. The normal sequence of demonstratives should be for Neoptolemus’ medial to be answered with a proximal (“this bow of mine”). There is a similar use in Sophocles’ Electra 1177-8, though with proximal demonstratives:

Or. ἦ σῶν τὸ κλεινὸν εἰδος Ἡλέκτρας τόδε;
Ηλ. τόδ' ἔστ' ἐκεῖνω, καὶ μάλ` ἀθλίως ἔχον.

Or. Is your form here the famous one of Electra?109
El. This here is that one, and it is very wretched.

Orestes’ use of τόδε, and perhaps also Electra’s to some extent, is motivated by his excitement.110 The difference, however, between the two passages is that while Electra’s response is in keeping with normal patterns of demonstrative usage, as τόδε is closely connected to the first person, Philoctetes’ is jarringly out of place.111 And although it is of course acceptable Greek to affirm a question with the repetition of the operative word in the interrogative sentence,112 instead of simply accepting outright this interpretation (which may very well be correct) I would like to interrogate Philoctetes’ choice of diction as it seems on the face of things somewhat peculiar.

The first word of Philoctetes’ response, even if it provides a positive answer to the question just posed in a grammatically acceptable manner, nonetheless highlights the deictic reference in Neoptolemus’ question. But there is more to it than that. Philoctetes has just been told that he will be able to escape Lemnos once the winds let up (639-40) and that he should gather together the possessions he wishes to take on the journey (645-6). He proceeds to move about the stage picking up errant arrows lest someone else collect them (652-3) and it is at this time that Neoptolemus asks about the bow, the first time that another has mentioned it in Philoctetes’ presence, even though he has likely had it in hand or slung over his shoulder from his first moment onstage.113 His question heralds the central scene of the play (654-842), and it is the staging of Philoctetes’ response which allows us to understand why a medial demonstrative is used.114 The verb βαστάζω conveys a range of meanings, but as J.C. Kamerbeek defines it, it means to hold for the purpose of careful examination.115 When asked about his weapon, Philoctetes pauses for a moment, then slowly raises the bow up, slightly away from his

109 Lit. “Is your form here the famous one of Electra,” but κλεινὸν is a transferred epithet (Jebb 1924: 159).
110 Orestes’ excitement may undercut, at least to some small degree, the “dignity and solemnity” (Kells 1973: 193) expressed by the form of the question. Finglass (2007: 458) posits that Electra, by her use of the third person, “contemplates her own keenly-felt misery from the distant perspective of a bystander.”
111 It is possible, though I believe highly unlikely, that τάδ’ was originally written and came to be replaced with τα/τ’ through scribal error.
112 In S. Ph., e.g., the repetition of ἄδυσσέως in 976-7.
113 Philoctetes refers to it at 288.
114 On this scene see Segal 1995, esp. 102-7.
115 Kamerbeek 1980: 102. See too Fraenkel 1950: 22-3, where he notes that “Philoctetes’ bow of destiny is no pocket pistol” (p.23), and is thus presumably worthy of examination.
body, and looks at it. The bow is enchanting and Neoptolemus wants to touch it and worship it like a god (656-7). Philoctetes’ own bow, the bow which will now become the focus of the dramatic action even more than before, is an object at some remove from its owner as he, and we, contemplate its significance for a moment. It is “that bow there, for there is no other, which I am holding aloft for contemplation with my two hands.”

The final passage under discussion comes after Odysseus has obtained Philoctetes’ bow. Satisfied with his prize and annoyed (as always) with the archer Odysseus tells his men to let Philoctetes remain on Lemnos since he is unnecessary for their plan (1054-7):

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ἀφετε γὰρ αὐτὸν, μὴ δὲ προσψαύσητε ἕτι,} \\
\text{ἐὰτε μόνειν, οὐδὲ σοῦ προσχρήζομεν,} \\
\text{τὰ γὰρ ὀπλὰ ἔχοντες ταῦτα ἐπεὶ πάρεστι μὲν} \\
\text{Τεῦκρος παρ’ ἡµῖν, τίνῳ ἐπιστήµην ἔχων,}
\end{align*}
\]

Release him! Don’t lay your hands on any longer! Let him stay. We have no need for you since we have those weapons. Teucer is among us and he possess this knowledge as well.

I have translated the phrase τὰ ὀπλα ταῦτα above as “those weapons,” but although this accurately conveys the distance between the speaker (Odysseus) and the object (held by Neoptolemus) there is another resonance which I believe informs these verses. Odysseus’ antipathy toward the lame Philoctetes comes out in the sneering causal participial phrase where the medial demonstrative is also strongly second person (“since we have your weapons”).

### III.2. Prop- and Corpse-reference

The range of objects and props found in tragedy and satyr play is unquestionably more limited than in comedy, but the role they play is nevertheless significant. In fact, when an object is marked with a demonstrative (nearly always proximal), this object is generally of vital importance to the plot of the drama.

To understand how the repetition of proximal demonstratives works to focus the audience’s gaze onto something crucially important in the play (or trilogy) let us look at Sophocles’ *Philoctetes*, Euripides’ *Medea*, and Aeschylus’ *Agamemnon* and *Choephori*. There are two foci in *Philoctetes*: the hero’s bow and his festering foot. The repeated

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116 Cf. Lakoff’s (1974: 351) remarks on the distance marker “that” in English. She notes that in the hypothetical question “How’s that throat?,” the reply “That throat’s better, thanks” (instead of the correct “This throat…”) does not make logical sense because “that” is associated with the second person.

117 Cf. Taplin 1978: 77: “As with all stage business the Greek tragedians are sparing in their use of stage-properties, but this very economy throws more emphasis on their employment.” On the significance of props in general see, e.g., Taplin 1978: 77-100; Goldhill 2007: 86-92. I have included corpses in this discussion because the way they are referenced is the same as props, though I consider them examples of person deixis.

reference to both with proximal demonstratives, coupled with the visual omnipresence of both, make it impossible to ignore or forget why we are now on Lemnos. And while both constantly inform the dramatic action, neither is referred to with the type of deictic clustering that generates the same type of intense focus that we see in the following examples.

The one constant in the Medea legend is that her children are killed, a fact that Euripides’ plays up to great emotional gain by constantly calling our attention to “these children here,” forcing us to focus our attention and thoughts on the ephemerality of the young boys. From the moment they arrive onstage their very presence is repeatedly brought to the fore with proximal demonstratives, particularly in the conversation between the Nurse and the Tutor where we learn that Jason no longer cares for them and are introduced to the idea their mother may harm them. They are again made the focus in the fourth episode as Medea weeps for them, and again in the fifth as the children’s fate begins to be sealed. Finally, as Medea stands aloft in her chariot looking down at Jason, the children are once more referred to with proximal demonstratives. “These boys here are dead!” (1370 οἱδ’ οὐκέτ’ εἰσί, οἰμόι, σῶ κάρας μίαστορεσ), and his plea to Medea to allow him to bury them (1377) keep our attention on the bodies hanging over the chariot’s edge. The intense visual focus on the children at the close of the play answers, sadly, that at the beginning.

At the conclusion of the first play of the Oresteia Clytemnestra, flanked by freshly-made corpses, stands before us and points repeatedly to the dead body of her now ex-husband. Once Aegisthus enters he too points at the bodies. So does the Chorus. These repeated references to the dead king spotlight the destruction of the royal palace, the “topic of conversation” since Agamemnon’s cries were first heard from within. But within the trilogy this focus on the dead king has the added effect of

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119 As stated in Chapter 1, most expressions of Philoctetes’ pain I have categorized as “situational deixis” in the appendices.
120 46, 70, 88, 90, 93.
121 925, 926, 929.
122 1002, 1046, 1068. Although there presence is not emphasized by deictic clustering, the scene is one of the most emotionally engaging in all of tragedy. They are also mentioned at 1155 in the Messenger’s reporting of Jason’s attempt to convince his new bride to obtain exile from her father for them.
123 Also 1383, properly “situational.” We should also note that the use of proximal demonstratives seems to reflect a contestation over rightful “ownership”; the demonstratives cannot help but also be heard as possessive: “My children are dead” (1370); “My children are alive” (1371); “Let me bury my dead ones and weep for them” (1377).
124 1397, 1414, 1433, 1441, 1446, 1501, 1503, 1522, 1525. The last two examples (1522, 1525) may also be anaphoric of 1513-20 and 1523, respectively. We may also include 1494 and 1518, though I consider both cases of “situational deixis.” Clytemnestra points to Cassandra at 1438 and 1440.
125 1581, 1590, 1603, 1608,1611, 1638; at 1604 he points to both Cassandra and Agamemnon.
126 1506, 1539, 1613, 1634, 1648; also the “situational deictics” at 1409, 1494, 1494, 1518, 1627, 1635.
127 I would also like to suggest that, at least from a mythological perspective, where the king and his palace are consistently represented as a microcosm for the well-being of the city, the distribution of lines amongst the twelve choreuts at 1348-71, a fracturing of their once unified voice, performs the destruction of the city at the precise moment of Agamemnon’s murder; as the king falls, so too the city. This mythological reading is, of course, in tension with the “real” political situation in Argos, where although the
highlighting Clytemnestra and Aegisthus’ bloody rule, and the hope for Orestes’ return to set the house aright. The intense focus on Agamemnon’s corpse at the end of Agamemnon is beautifully reframed at the beginning of Choephoroi both with the setting at Agamemnon’s tomb and the performance of Orestes and Electra’s respective offerings to their father. Deictically speaking, it is the filial piety of Agamemnon’s children—Orestes’ lock of hair and Electra’s libations—that now receives emphasis, and which will become the guiding force for the duration of the play.  

IV. OBJECT DEIXIS IN ARISTOPHANES

Fig. 3.5: object deixis in Aristophanes

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<th>ὁ ὄτοσί</th>
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IV.1. ὁ ὄτος

Like the tragedians, when Aristophanes uses ὁ ὄτος to refer to a prop it always indicates distance and/or a close connection with the second person. This consistency of usage allows us to recreate the staging of a few scenes.

Knights 1183-7

Αλ. λαβὲ καὶ ταδί υνν.
Δημ. καὶ τί τούτοις χρῆσομαι
τοῖς ἐντέροις;
Αλ. ἐπίτηθες αὔτ’ ἐπεμψὲ σοι

constitutional government may be destroyed and replaced with a tyranny, the city itself suffers no actual harm.

128 Orestes’ lock: 7, 168, 174, 177, 187, 188, 193, 197, 226; Electra’s libations: 87, 92, 99, 129, 149, 154. We may also add Electra’s act of supplication: 85, 86.

129 I have omitted a discussion of the other three demonstratives (ὁ δι, ὁ δὲ, ὁ ὄτοσί) because they cover much the same ground as each other and their uses do not reveal anything about staging that we did not already know or surmise. The lone interesting use is Ra. 30 (ὁ δ’ ὄμος ὁ ὄτοσί πεζέται) where Xanthias uses ὁ ὄτοσί possessively, an unusual deployment of the word, although he may have made an accompanying gesture. Generally speaking, the demonstratives are very strongly deictic.

130 The one type of exception to this rule is reference to the butt (see below) and the phallus (V. 1062, 1349), normally referred to with ὁ δι (V. 1347; Lys. 1012), ὁ δὲ (Lys. 928), or ὁ ὄτοσί (Ach. 157; Lys. 937, 956; Th. 62). At V. 1349 τοῦτο may be anaphoric of τῷ πέει τῷ ὄδε (1347), though Philocleon may have punctuated his point with a flip of his phallus.
εἰς τὰς τριήρεις ἐντερόνειαν ἡ θεός:
ἐπισκοπεῖ γὰρ περιϕανῶς τὸ ναυτικόν.
ἐχὲ καὶ πιεῖν κεκραμένον τρία καὶ δύο.

SS. Take these too, then.
Dem. And what shall I do with those innards?
SS. The goddess sent them to you on purpose to be the innards of triremes;
clearly she watches over the fleet. Have a drink, too, mixed three to two.

The Sausage Seller tries to hand Demos tripe, but he refuses. Demos’ use of τούτοις is
markedly second person (“that tripe of yours”). Only after the Sausage Seller has
explained its purpose (1184-6) does Demos accept it, and it is at this point that the
Sausage Seller continues by offering him a drink.

Lysistrata 861-4

Κι. ἵθι νῦν κάλεσον αὐτήν.
Λυ. τί οὖν; δώσεις τί µοι;
Κι. ἐγώγε <σοί> νῇ τὸν Δί', ἤν βουλὴ γε σὺ· ἔχω δὲ τοῦθ': ὀπερ οὖν ἕχω, δίδωµι σοι.
Λυ. φέρε νῦν καλέσω καταβάσα σοι.

Cin. C’mon, call her.
Lys. What’ll you give me?
Cin. I’ll give it to you, by Zeus, if you want it. And I have that. So what I have
    I give to you.
Lys. Alright, I’ll call her and come down to you.

It has often been suggested that Cinesias refers to his phallus when he says τοῦθ’ (863), a
view supported by one of the explanations found in the scholia. But, as Sommerstein
explains, this reading is problematic on three fronts: “(1) this would make 863 into a
weak repetition of 862; (2) Cinesias says ‘I give’, not ‘I will give’; (3) upon these words
Lysistrata immediately goes to fetch Myrrhine without seeking any pledge in
confirmation of a supposed promise which Cinesias might very well forget once reunited
with his wife.”  Even though his second point of contention, the tense of δίδωµι, is not
accurate—a dynamic or colloquial δίδωµι can well appear for a future—nonetheless
his concluding analysis, that Cinesias gives Lysistrata a bribe (perhaps a purse of money)
must surely be right. Moreover, the medial demonstrative allows us to explain with
greater accuracy the interpretation offered by B.B. Rogers that Cinesias throws the
money up to Lysistrata. The scene is staged as follows: Lysistrata asks what Cinesias
will give her, to which he first replies by waving his phallus (862). Lysistrata gives some
non-verbal indication that she is not interested and begins to move away but Cinesias
quickly pulls out a money-bag. She quickly turns around and he throws the bag up to
her, and then, after she has it in hand, does he say “And I have that” (863). The medial

131 Sommerstein 1990: 201.
132 I thank Donald Mastronarde for this point.
133 Rogers 1911a: 104.
demonstrative reflects physical distance, if not also the fact that Cinesias already regards the bribe as belonging to Lysistrata.

_Ecclesiazusae_ 890

τούτω διαλέγου κάποιῳρήσον

Have intercourse with this and run along.

There have been many different suggestions as to what τούτω indicates, and the likeliest interpretations are: the Old Woman’s anus, her finger, a dildo. The meaning of the phrase τούτω διαλέγου is obviously rude and dismissive, but exactly what it means is difficult to ascertain without a clear referent for the demonstrative and all ideas must necessarily remain guesses. What we can say is this. If the Old Woman bends over to make her point, then there are two possible referents for τούτω: either it refers deictically to her posterior, or, anaphorically to the sound of a fart. It is quite rare for a character to refer to his/her own bodypart with a medial demonstrative, but one of the few exceptions may shed some light where it usually does not shine. There happen to be two instances of a character pointing to his own rear end, and one of these references is made with a medial demonstrative. We may also observe that a finger or finger gesture is never indicated with ο/τος, but instead with δί or ο/τοσί, and this may lead us toward preferring either the rump or the dildo to the finger. If it is the dildo, then I suggest that the Old Woman pulls it out of her dress—she has no need of it under the new sexual hierarchy—and tosses it up to the girl. The demonstrative here is then explainable in the same way as at _Lysistrata_ 863.

V. CONCLUSIONS

Reference to people and things in tragedy and satyr play, like most other types of reference in tragedy and satyr play, is immediate and pressing. The people and objects are “here, now,” at the forefront of the speaker’s thoughts and in the fictional world of the play. And, like the other types of deictic reference in the tragic tetralogies, the persistent use of the proximal demonstrative helps to create a sense of presence for the audience. Medials, on the other hand, are, as we may expect, used primarily to reflect distance, both physical and mental. The register of diction is elevated, emotional, and this pervasive

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135 Sommerstein’s (1998: 215) note that it may be the woman’s anus because farting in a person’s face was a sign of contempt—indeed!—is only partially correct. Since the medial demonstrative will not look forward to a fart, nor any other noise for that matter, if a sound was issued it must have been made prior to τούτω being said.
136 Sommerstein’s (1987: 204) note that it may be the man’s rotundity (τούτω). The demonstrative there, as with all the other places specified in this scene, refers simultaneously to a part of Reconciliation’s body. See Sommerstein 1990: 215.
137 Sommerstein’s (1998: 215) note that it may be the woman’s anus because farting in a person’s face was a sign of contempt—indeed!—is only partially correct. Since the medial demonstrative will not look forward to a fart, nor any other noise for that matter, if a sound was issued it must have been made prior to τούτω being said.
138 Sommerstein’s (1987: 204) note that it may be the woman’s anus because farting in a person’s face was a sign of contempt—indeed!—is only partially correct. Since the medial demonstrative will not look forward to a fart, nor any other noise for that matter, if a sound was issued it must have been made prior to τούτω being said.
and consistent intensity is part of the larger project of situating the spectators within the
dramatic frame.

When props are indicated, these objects are generally crucial to the drama and
development of the plot. Items are not mentioned at random with proximal
demonstratives. Comedy, on the other hand, is very free with its use of props (and
people), and in the plays of Aristophanes our attention moves quickly from one person or
object to another. The type of engagement created by person / object deixis in tragedy is
largely absent from comedy.
This chapter examines forward looking reference (cataphora) in tragedy, satyr play, and Aristophanes, and backward looking reference (anaphora) in Aristophanes. I have omitted any sustained discussion of anaphora in tragedy and satyr play because of the ubiquity of this use. Instead, the emotional tenor of tragic anaphora, discussed in the following chapter, will be explained through the examples found in the Aristophanic corpus.

I. CATAPHORA in TRAGEDY and SATYR PLAY

I.1. Cataphoric δέ

In tragedy and satyr play, the proximal demonstrative is used cataphorically primarily to look forward to something about to be enunciated (e.g., “he said the following”) or to an epexegetical infinitive, but we also find it announcing various other types of appositive clauses or noun phrases, though these uses are far less common. It is useful to see this type of deixis as conceptually similar to entrances announced with δέ. Bakker clearly describes the phenomenon by observing that “when the referent of δέ is accessible to the speaker only (and this happens frequently), it may become a piece of as yet unknown information for the hearer and something salient for the speaker to utter. For example, the pronoun is used for what is newly arriving or appearing at the time of the speech: this frequently happens in drama when a new character walks onto the stage.”¹ There is an interesting consistency of usage when the demonstrative is used with λέγω. If the verb is in the present tense, then the demonstrative pronoun is τάδε;² if it is in the aorist, then τόδε is used.³ This same phenomenon is observable in Aristophanes, discussed below.

I.2. Cataphoric οὗτος

When one hears a medial demonstrative that has no clear referent, i.e. is not used anaphorically or to point at something, one will assume that the demonstrative is cataphoric and accordingly wait for the speaker to explain what has been anticipated by “that.” In this way, οὗτος may have the effect of creating suspense for the auditor as s/he waits for the demonstrative to “resolve.” At the same time, this rhetorical move on the part of the speaker is enabled by the inherent meaning of the medial demonstrative: in being more closely associated with the sphere of the addressee, when a speaker uses οὗτος cataphorically the auditor cannot help but feel as if the ensuing information is in some way particularly relevant to or explicitly directed at him/herself. In seeing all uses of cataphoric οὗτος, even those cases of correlative construction (i.e., the demonstrative looking forward to a relative pronoun where the phrasing could have been reversed) as a

¹ Bakker 2010: 153 (italics original).
² Ph. 938; Med. 1151; Or. 116, 622; Cyc. 1413.
³ Ag. 205, 931; Or. 365. For Aristophanes see Chapter 4, §III.1 (p.152).
type of addressee-oriented deixis, we may begin to hear and to explain the subtle, seldom commented upon rhetorical turns of phrase that revolve around cataphoric medial demonstratives.

In Philoctetes, for example, a play in which this nuance is employed often, we witness Odysseus telling Neoptolemus of his newly formed plan (77-8):

\[\text{άλλ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο δεῖ σοφισθῆναι, κλοπεύς ὅπως γενήσῃ τῶν ἀνικήτων ὤπλων.}\]

But it is necessary that this very thing be contrived, that you become a thief of the unconquerable weapons.

The demonstrative τοῦτο, here, is explained by the close association with the second person (γενήσῃ) in what follows. The plan that must be contrived affects Neoptolemus, the addressee of Odysseus’ speech. Similarly, at 1121 the Chorus tell Philoctetes that they are concerned that he will reject their friendship (καὶ γὰρ ἐμοὶ τοῦτο μέλει, μὴ φιλότητ' ἀπώσῃ). As in the preceding example, the second person verb (ἀπώσῃ) may be understood in a sense as dictating the preceding τοῦτο. We also see a comparable usage at 1325-8, as Neoptolemus reminds Philoctetes how he became sick:

\[\text{kαὶ ταῦτ’ ἐπίστω, καὶ γράφου φρενών ἔσω. σὺ γὰρ νοσεῖς ἀλγὸς ἐκ θείας τύχης. Χρύσης πελασθέεις φύλακος, ὡς τὸν ἀκαλυφή σηκὸν φυλάσσει κρύφιος οἰκουρῶν ὄρις'}.\]

And know that, and write it in your mind: You became sick with this sickness by divine chance when you neared the guardian of Chryse, the hidden, watchkeeping snake who guards the roofless precinct.

Here, ταῦτα seems to anticipate the second person σὺ…νοσεῖς. That is, Neoptolemus’ diction at 1325 conveys to Philoctetes the importance of what he is about to say to him.

This point may be best illustrated by Antigone 61-2, Ismene’s appeal to Antigone to remember her gendered place in society:

\[\text{άλλ' ἐννοεῖν χρή τοῦτο μὲν γυναῖχ' ὅτι ἔφυμεν, ὡς πρὸς ἄνδρας οἷς μαχουμένα·} \]

But we should be mindful that we are women; we are not supposed to fight against men.

Ismene’s generalizing statement about the nature of the female sex is begun with the indefinite χρή + infinitive; precisely who the subject is—Antigone? Ismene? both?—remains obscure. And while Ismene obviously directs her words solely to Antigone, by employing the medial demonstrative τοῦτο, her diction may convey a slightly more emphatic rhetorical stance than has previously been observed. She is, in effect, saying, “you should be mindful of what I’m about to say (following ὅτι).”
Also in Sophocles we find medial demonstratives accompanying second person imperatives, where οὗτος may be explained as marking for the addressee that what follows pertains especially to him/her.

**Antigone 98-9**

άλλ’ εἰ δοκεῖ σοι, στείχε τοῦτο δ’ ἰσθ’, ὅτι ἄνους μὲν ἐρχη, τοῖς φίλοις δ’ ὀρθῶς φίλη.

Well, if it seems best to you, go! But know that you are a fool to go but, as is right, dear to those who are dear to you.

**Philoctetes 232-3**

άλλ’, ὡς ξέν’, ἰσθι τοῦτο πρῶτον, οὔνεκα Ἐλληνεσ ἐσμεν· τοῦτο γάρ βουλη μαθεῖν.

Well, stranger, know this first of all, that we are Greeks. For that is what you want to know.

**Oedipus Tyrannus 1512-14**

νῦν δὲ τοῦτ’ εὐχεσθέ μοι, οὐ καιρὸς ἡ ἡμῖν, τοῦ βίου δὲ λόγον ὑμᾶς κυρήσαι τοῦ φυτεύσαντος πατρός.

But as it is, pray for me that you are allowed to lived where it is advantageous, that you may find a better life than the father who begot you.

**Philoctetes 1440-1**

τοῦτο δ’ ἐννοεῖθ’, ὅταν πορθήτε γαῖαν, εὐσεβεῖν τὰ πρὸς θεούς.

Be mindful, when you sack the land, that you respect religious matters.

As I have indicated through underlining, each of these imperatives comes in close proximity to other second person verbs and/or second person pronouns. Moreover, in each example, what the speaker enjoins upon his addressee is more salient to the addressee than to the locutor. The use of imperatives may make this point obvious enough, but in combination with a medial demonstrative the speaker is verbally highlighting an important piece of information.\(^4\)

At the same time, we must be mindful of locating rhetorical emphasis within larger grammatical structures and phrases. That is, with a verb of knowing or perception

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\(^4\) The unusual case of the plural medial demonstrative used cataphorically at A. Supp. 991 (καὶ ταῦτα μὲν γράψασθε) is well discussed by Friis Johansen and Whittle 1980: 282-5. I wonder, however, if the “problems” may be solved, at least in part, by emending ταῦτα το τοῦτο. Although the phrase καὶ τοῦτο μὲν is without parallel in drama, and may thus be suspect in and of itself, this small change has the benefit of solving Friis Johansen and Whittle’s (283) three main objections.
το/το regularly anticipates ὅτι. Thus we find Creon saying that he would not befriend his country’s enemy “knowing that this is the ship that keeps us safe” (Ant. 188-9 το/το γιγνώσκων ὅτι / Ἡδ’ ἐστίν ἢ σώζουσα), where το/το clearly looks forward to ὅτι. It does not seem impossible that here the demonstrative is momentarily heard as the anaphor of 187-8 (ο/τ’ ἄν φίλον ποτ’ ἄνδρα δυσμενῆ χθονὸς / θείμην ἐμαυτῷ) before being reheard cataphorically.

With this frame of reference, let us now turn to an expression found among the tragedians only in Sophocles: το/το μέν … (το/το) δέ (vel sim.).

I.2.a. Cataphoric το/το μέν

This construction is an interesting example of cataphoric ο/τος because it illustrates, I believe, how a medial demonstrative could be heard cataphorically without any confusion or difficulty.

**Oedipus Tyrannus 603-8**

καὶ τῶν ἑλεγχον το/το μέν Πυθῶδ’ ἵων πευθοῦ τὰ χρησθέντ’, εἰ σαφῶς ἔγγειλά σοι–
το/το' ἀλλ’, ἐἀν με τῷ περασκόπῳ λάβης
κοιπή τι βουλεύσαντα, μὴ μ’ ἀπλῆ κτάνης
ψήφῳ, διπλῇ δέ, τῇ τ’ ἐμὴ καὶ σῇ, λαβῶν,
γινώμη δ’ ἀδήλῳ μὴ με χωρὶς αἰτίω.

Examine me on these matters. First, going to the Pytho consult the oracle, whether I have reported it to you truly. Then, if you find me to have conspired in any way with the soothsayer, sentence me to death, convicting with not one but two votes, mine and yours, but do not on your own accuse me with a unclear judgment.

**Philoctetes 1344-7**

καλὴ γὰρ ἢ ἕκτησις, Ἑλληνῶν ἕνα
κριθέντ’ ἄριστον, το/το μέν παιωνίας
ἐς χείρας ἐλθείν, εἴτα τὴν πολύστονον
Τροίαν ἐλόντα κλέος ὑπέρτατον λαβείν.

For the additional gain is noble: to be judged the best one of the Greeks. First, to come into healing hands, then, by sacking Troy, cause of so much grief, to obtain the highest fame.

**Oedipus Coloneus 437-444**

χρόνῳ δ’, ὅτ’ ἢδη πᾶς ὁ μόχθος ἢν πέπων,
κάμάθανον τὸν θυμὸν ἐκδραμόντα μοι
μείζω κολαστὴν τῶν πρὶν ἡμαρτημένων,
τὸ τηνίκ’ ἢδη το/το μέν πόλις βίᾳ
ἡλαυνεῖ μ’ ἐκ γῆς χρόνιον, οἷ δ’ ἐπωφελεῖν,

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5 See Chapter 4, §II.4 (pp.134-5).
And in time, when my whole distress became mild, and I understood that my anger had run rampant, a chastiser greater than my previous mistakes, at that time, first, the city drove me from the land by force, after all that time, and those who were able to help their father, those born of their father, refused to act, but for lack of a few words I, an exile in their eyes, began to wander forth as a beggar forever.

Ajax 660-73

καὶ γὰρ τὰ δεινὰ καὶ τὰ καρτερώτατα
timai's upékei: toûto mên nifostibëis (670)
cheimwônè ekcharouási évukárptô vérei:
èxistatai de uuktôs aiavnês kýklos
ti' leukopóllw phéggoi ñméra phlégeiν.

For even terrible and the strongest things yield to public authorities. Consider first: snow-filled winter storms give way to fruitful summer; second, the eternal circle of night stands aside for the white-horsed day to shine its light.

In each of the preceding examples, including Antigone 61-2 (above), toûto mên announces forthcoming information. This is not to say, of course, that in general toûto mên was always heard cataphorically, for of course the demonstrative and particle are at times coupled in anaphoric usage, but rather that because there is no clear anaphoric referent the phrase itself not only helps to guide the listener forward, but also predicts the cataphoric use of toût' aúthís (Ant. 167) and toût' áll' (OT 605).

The “logic” of this expression can be understood on analogy to one of the commonest uses of cataphoric toûto, i.e. toûto paired with a verb of knowing and often anticipating òti (or oûnêkα) or another type of phrase, as witnessed above. A passage that may suture cataphoric toûto mên with other examples of cataphoric toûto is Antigone 164-9:

úmáis d' ègyw poimpoísin ék pántwôn diá
ësteil' ñkésbâi, toûto mên tá Laîou
sébontas eîdôs eû thronon ñéi krátî,
toût' aúthís, ëmîkè Òidipous õrðou pólin,
...
kátei diwòlet', ìmēf thôs keûwôn ëti
paídas mènountas ëmpèdois ðrouñímasin. (168)

In tragedy: Ph. 981, IT 501, Or. 415. These passages, however, are all marked by anaphoric toûto being used in stichomythia and it is possible, indeed likely, that when toûto mên was heard within a larger speech it had an almost a formulaic effect, i.e. it triggered a particular grammatical association or construction that told the auditor that this was not an anaphoric demonstrative, but rather cataphoric.
And through envoys I have ordered you out of all the people to come, knowing first of all, that you have always honored well the power of Laius’ throne, and second, that when Oedipus guided the city [...], and when he died, still you remained well-disposed to their children.

Here, τοῦτο μέν (165) is balanced by τοῦτ’ αὖθις (167); there is no confusion that Sophocles has composed a sentence in which the medial demonstrative is used cataphorically in the same way as we have already seen in Oedipus Tyrannus 603, Philoctetes 1345, Oedipus Coloneus 440, and Ajax 670. The key difference, however, is the verb of knowing (166 εἰδός). This verb allows us a window into the mindset of the construction τοῦτο μέν. I suggest that we may understand all instances of cataphoric τοῦτο μέν as implicitly set up by an understood verb of knowing or perception. The verb itself may be omitted because the cataphoric medial demonstrative itself signals for the addressee to pay attention to what is coming up. In essence, τοῦτο μέν has the force of “and you, know what I am about to say.”

The rhetorical force of this is nicely seen in Oedipus Coloneus 440 where Oedipus moves from his recalling his own intellectual awareness (438 καμάνθανον) to narrating for his daughter the actions of Thebes and of her brothers (440-3).

II. ANAPHORA IN ARISTOPHANES

As mentioned above, the medial demonstrative οὗτος is concerned with connecting the fibers of a communication situation, with allowing discourse participants to refer back to previously mentioned things or ideas in a seamless manner. A quick perusal of Appendices 11-21 or of Figs. 5.6.1-11 and 5.8 in Chapter 5 will show that οὗτος is employed most often as an anaphoric demonstrative pronoun or adjective.

Anaphoric reference can be subdivided into several categories, all of which have at their heart the notion of referring back to something previously expressed. In the following pages we shall look at various types of anaphora, including what we may call “citational” anaphora, a particular use of οὗτος in which the demonstrative cites or references something just said or done; “addressee-oriented” anaphora, wherein a medial demonstrative in its close association with the second person responds to a proximal demonstrative, strongly associated with the first person; and “marked” uses of ὅτε (and to a lesser extent οὗτοσί), i.e. the use of forms which we expect to look forward employed to refer back, the effect being one of heightened emotion.

II.1. Anaphoric οὗτος

In this next section we will begin with two “formulae,” both of which use the neuter plural ταῦτα anaphorically.

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7 This interpretation runs counter to Bakker’s (2010: 156) notion that οὗτος “is not so much new or newsworthy to the hearer as a basis from which to launch further exchange.”
II.1.a. ταὐτ’ ἄρα and ταὐτ’ οὖν

In the neuter plural, οὖτος is used in a couple of expressions which invariably refer back in the discourse, ταὐτ’ ἄρα and ταὐτ’ οὖν. The connective particle and the anaphoric demonstrative in both of these phrases are typically taken as a single unit. According to LSJ the combination ταὐτ’ οὖν can be adverbial (“therefore”),9 also ταὐτ’ ἄρα.10 And while rote application of this “translation formula” can prove useful, especially for students in the early stages of Greek, it does not explain why ταὐτα is used at all since the particles οὖν and ἄρα are already inferential and necessarily stem from a thought just expressed. As J.D. Denniston observes, ταὐτ’ ἄρα is common in Aristophanes and his translation of this combination (“I see: that’s why …”) expresses the independent meanings of both the particle (“I see”) and the demonstrative pronoun (“that’s why”), which can be explained as an anaphoric adverb or internal accusative pointing back to a preceding statement which having just been heard affords the speaker a fresh understanding.11 We may also understand ταὐτα as shorthand for the fuller expression διὰ ταὐτ’ ἄρα, which we see at Birds 486.12 In Aristophanes, ταὐτ’ ἄρα always accompanies a change in speaker.13

Ταὐτ’ οὖν, on the other hand, is used in Aristophanes’ early plays by a speaker to continue his/her own argument.14 When a new speaker begins with ταὐτ’ οὖν, as we see in Aristophanes’ later plays, with only one exception, the sentence is a question and ταὐτα is both anaphoric, picking up a preceding statement, and also looks forward to something in apposition,15 or it is anaphoric and the direct object of ποιέω.16

II.2. μελήσει ταῦτα (γ’).17

In Aristophanes, the phrase μελήσει ταῦτα (γ’) is used when a character wishes to affirm that he will do what has just been ordered of him.18 As the following passages illustrate, the neuter plural ταῦτα can look back in the discourse to a single imperative

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8 The near, if not complete, similarity in the two phrases is not surprising as ἄρα, at least until Plato, is used as an alternative to οὖν. See Denniston 1950: 41. On this same page Denniston notes that “even in Plato ἄρα perhaps conveys a slightly less formal and more conversational connexion than [οὖν or δή].” And while this may be true, I have observed that the combination ταὐτ’ οὖν is used more often than ταὐτ’ ἄρα when a speaker is being disrespectful.

9 See LSJ s.v. οὖτος C.VIII.1. ταὐτ’ οὖν: Ach. 599; Nu. 525; V. 1358; Av. 120; Lys. 658; Ra. 1010; Pl. 898, 1025. The use of οὖν in fr. 58.1 (πρὸς ταὐτ’ οὖν) is slightly different.

10 Ach. 90; Eq. 125; Nu. 319, 335, 353, 394; Pax 414, 617.


12 On this verse and the issue of who speaks the line see Dunbar 1995: 332.

13 On the change of speaker at Nu. 394 see Woodbury 1980: 112-18, against the view of Dover 1968: 151. The similar expression διὰ ταὐτ’ ἄρα (Th. 166) does not follow this rule.

14 Ach. 599; Nu. 525; V. 1358; Av. 120. Dunbar (1995: 171) interprets ταὐτα at Av. 120 as an internal acc. governed by an intransitive verb equal to διὰ ταῦτα. This use is consonant with what we see in tragedy, the lone exception being IT 814, where it is used in a stichomythic question.

15 Lys. 658; Ra. 1010; Pl. 898. Pl. 1025 is not a question.

16 Ra. 1010, Pl. 1025.

17 This section is a slightly abridged version of Jacobson forthcoming.

18 Apart from Aristophanes, only Euripides (IA 715) uses μελήσει ταῦτα to answer an imperative.
(Ach. 932; Pax 149; Th. 1064, 1207), a single imperative + participle (Pax 1041), and to a double imperative (Pax 1311). The number of the demonstrative is plural not because the referent is in some sense plural—indeed, the majority of the examples run counter to this notion—but because the phrase “that will be a concern” is itself a fixed expression which employs the plural ταῦτα and the future μελήσει.

S. Douglas Olson sees μελήσει ταῦτα as a “response to an unsolicited or unnecessary order or suggestion” and as “a regular way of rejecting advice.” But while it is true that the commands given are not solicited, and perhaps not always necessary, I do not find that the one who replies with μελήσει ταῦτα is in any way rejecting the advice just offered. Instead, μελήσει ταῦτα signals that the speaker will strive to accomplish to the best of his ability whatever was asked for with the preceding imperative(s). The translation “Don’t you worry, I’ll take care of that” captures the nuance of the expression.

Outside of Aristophanes the phrase is relatively uncommon, but does occur in both prose and poetry, most often in a quotation of the proverb ἐμοὶ μελήσει ταῦτα καὶ λευκαῖς κόραις, reportedly Apollo’s reply to news of a barbarian attack. Proverbs by nature are fixed expressions and it is not surprising that all but one of the extant examples of it are identical. The lone exception, Tzetzes’ Epistulae 14.27.21, records the line as ἐμοὶ μελήσει τοῦτο καὶ λευκαῖς κόραις, but this should be changed to read ἐμοὶ μελήσει ταῦτα καὶ λευκαῖς κόραις, the wording Tzetzes himself preserves at Chilaides 11.372.387.

Examples of the singular τοῦτο in place of the plural ταῦτα do not occur before the fourth century C.E. The singular in this phrase is thus without parallel in Classical and Hellenistic Greek and I suggest emending the text of Wealth 229 to read ἐμοὶ μελήσει ταῦτά γ’. Confusion between ταῦτα and τοῦτο (and ταύτι and τοῦτι) is, of course, frequent in the Aristophanic manuscript tradition, but in this case the scribe’s eye perhaps caught sight of the singular τοῦτο δι (or one of the MSS. readings τοῦτο δῃ Ρ.

19 Olson 2002: 305.
21 E.g., Pl. Phd. 95B7, Phdr. 238D7; Ach. Tat. 1.8.10.2; Hld.1.28.1.8, 7.28.6.5.
22 E.g., Eur. IA 715, Phoen. 928. In Homer we see the variations ἐμοὶ δὲ κε ταῦτα μελήσεται δέρα τελέσσω (II. 1.523) and ταῦτα δ’ Ἀρηὶ βοῶ καὶ Αθήνη πάντα μελήσει (II. 5.430). Choricus (16.1.5.6) attributes to Homer ταῦτα δὲ Ἀδώνιδι καὶ Ἄφροδιτῃ μελήσει. The proximal demonstrative τάδε is used in Od. 17.608 (αὐτὰρ ἐμοὶ τάδε πάντα καὶ ἀβάσατοι μελήσε), and in Adespota Papyracea (SH), HXametri 946.3 (= Rhianos 41 ter b3 (Mette 1978: 24) (ἀλλὰ τάδ’ ἄμιν ἐπείτα θε[ῶν ἱστη]τί μελήσει). 23 Schol. Ar. Nu. 144; App. Anth. 93.1; Arist. 339.1; Suda s.v. ε 1060.1-3; Tzetzes 11.372.387: Appendix Proverbiorum 2.55.1. Cicero translates the oracle with a singular expression: ego providebo rem istam et aliae virgines (De Div. 1.81).
24 E.g., Lib. Or. 12.68.7, Ep. 375.6.2; Jul. Or. 8.2.39; Himer. Or. 46.43; Georgius Pachymeres Quadrivium 1.40.15. In Libanius we also find μελήσει governing a singular demonstrative in the genitive: Ep. 868.4.1 (ἐκεῖνον), 883.2.2 (τοῦτο). Diels’ text of the first-century C.E. Anonymus Londiniensis Iatrica 2.30 (ἀλλὰ τῷ τούτῳ) is far from certain. Daniela Manetti has informed me per litteras that the letter following the τ of τοῦτο is most likely an α because in the manuscript one can see on the upper right side of the letter the start of the ligature mark common with αυ but not ου. Accordingly, we should read ταῦτα…μελήσει.
25 Ach. 652, 755; Eq. 572; V. 119; Lys. 514; Ra. 143, 695, 1010; Pl. 472, 573, 678.
τούτο δὴ \( V \), τούτο δὲ \( ΑΚΛ \) in line 227 leading him to write a singular for what was originally a plural.26

II.3. ταὐτά + Verb of Doing

With verbs of doing, especially δράω and ποιέω, ταὐτά is frequently paired.27 And in each case ταὐτά is used anaphorically, with only two possible exceptions: *Thesmophoriazusae* 1003 and *Ecclesiazusae* 470. As we shall see, however, in both of these alleged counterexamples the demonstrative is, in fact, anaphoric.

**Ecclesiazusae 465-72**

In the case of *Ecclesiazusae* 465-72, some scholars, despite their best intentions of identifying and explaining a situationally appropriate action, have mistakenly posited the performance of a gesture where there is none. The passage in question reads as follows:

Bl. έκεῖνο δεινόν τοίσιν ἥλικοισι νὸν,
    μὴ παραλαβοῦσαι τῆς πόλεως τᾶς ἥνιας
    ἐπεὶτ’ ἀναγκάζωσι πρὸς βίαν—
Chr. τί δράν;  
Bl. κινεῖν ἑαυτάς, ἵνα δὲ μὴ δυνώμεθα,
    ἄριστον οὐ δώσουσι.
Chr. οὐ δὲ γε νὴ Δία
    δρά ταῦθ', ἵνα ἄριστάς τε καὶ κινήθης ᾧμα. (470)
Bl. τὸ πρὸς βίαν δεινότατον.
Chr. ἄλλ' εἰ τῇ πόλει
tοῦτο ξυνοίσει, ταὐτὰ χρὴ πάντ' ἀνδρα δράν.

Bl. That’s the danger for men our age: if the women take over the reins of the city they’ll force us to …
Chr. To do what?
Bl. To screw them! And if we can’t they won’t give us breakfast.
Chr. By Zeus! You’d best do that then so you can have breakfast and screw, together.
Bl. It’s awful when forced.
Chr. But if it will benefit the city, every man should do that.

Blepyrus’ anxiety that, should the Athenian government fall into the hands of women, the old men of Athens would be at risk of not getting their first meal of the day, coupled with

26 The appearance of τοῦδε τοῦ (226) in nearly the same position in the line may have also contributed to the mistake.
27 On six occasions ταὐτά, sans verb, is used in response to a command as a way of showing that the speaker will comply with the request (*Ach*. 815; *Eq*. 111; *V*. 142, 851, 1008; *Pax* 275). This phrase is likely colloquial, on which see Fraenkel 1950: 80-89; Stevens 1976: 30; López Eire 1996: 182-4. There does not appear to be any difference between these uses and ones in which the verb is expressed, although we may note that in all instances an exit occurs soon or immediately after assent has been made, a pattern that is not as prevalent when the verb is given.
his concern about forced sex, while not exactly comic gold, is in and of itself funny (or at least amusing). But there is a good chance that the humor in this passage operates on multiple levels. Jeffrey Henderson has suggested that “breakfasting” (ἀριστάω) is a slang term for the act of cunnilingus;28 Blepyrus’ fear that “they won’t give us breakfast” (469 ἀριστον ὑ δᾶσσωσι) is, accordingly, a double entendre. But to what extent if any is this secondary meaning active in the exchange between Chremes and Blepyrus? That is, do either of the actors do something to indicate that they are conscious of the various shades of meaning embedded in their words?

As always it is difficult, if not wholly impossible, to reconstruct the gestures and movements which accompanied and amplified the texts as we have them. One could certainly stage this scene “straight,” without any overt signs to indicate either “breakfasting” or “screwing” (e.g., hand gestures, movement of the head, hips and/or phallus). In this scenario the audience must derive humor from the situation and its language; the double entendre would likely go unnoticed by some. Alternatively, Chremes could highlight the latent sexual content of “breakfasting” and the manifest sexual content of “screwing” through gesture or intonation. Anything other than the normal, expected delivery of the word ἀριστᾶς could call the audience’s attention to the word’s double meaning. Since there are no textual clues that Blepyrus responds to any gesture we may imagine either that there were none to which to respond, or that Chremes’ actions (but not his words) were delivered as a type of aside.29

Those who posit Chremes’ performance of an “obscene” gesture while or immediately after saying δρα ταυθ’ premise their argument on ταυτα being used cataphorically to point to an ensuing action. Sommerstein, the first to suggest that ταυτα forecasts a gesture, presents his translation with very explicit stage directions: “Well then, by Zeus, you should do this [bending forward and raising his long comic phallus to his lips].”30 In support of this staging Sommerstein puts forth the idea that Chremes suggests to Blepyrus that he should fellate himself as this would enable him both to have “breakfast” and to facilitate penetrative sex since this auto-fellatio would facilitate the erection which his age has rendered difficult to achieve.31 Sommerstein goes on to note

29 Perhaps Blepyrus had turned his attention elsewhere as Chremes gesturally explained simultaneous screwing and cunnilingus. This would allow Chremes to make an “obscene” gesture(s) without Blepyrus noticing. Of course, it is always possible that Blepyrus did witness Chremes’ actions and chose not to acknowledge them in words—we cannot omit the possibility that Blepyrus showed some reaction through his body language.
30 Sommerstein 1998: 79 (italics original). Henderson (2002: 303) follows Sommerstein’s interpretation and changes his earlier translation of “By Zeus you’d better do it then” (1996: 165) to “By god, you’d better do this then” (italics original). Roche (2005: 622) follows suit with “Then you’ll jolly well have to learn to joggle, like this,” explaining “this” with the stage direction “Taking out his stage phallus and wagging it.”
31 Sommerstein 1998: 180-1. Sommerstein suggests that “breakfasting” here bears the same resonance as Eq. 1010 (το πέος ουτοσ δάκο), which he (1981: 105) translates as “He can go and suck himself!”; Henderson (2002: 355) offers the slight variant “He can go suck himself!” And while I feel both of these translations excellently capture the sense of the line, it is possible that the Sausage Seller is referring to his own penis and indicates as much as he utters this line. The change from wishing that Paphlagon suck his own penis to wishing that he suck the speaker’s (Sausage Seller’s) penis is an important distinction—by forcing Paphlagon into the subservient, passive sexual role Sausage Seller asserts his own dominance—but one which could only be articulated gesturally. When characters refer reflexively to their own phalluses with the word πέος a demonstrative pronoun (with or without –i) or a possessive adjective or pronoun is
that to fellate oneself was considered “so utterly gross” that not even satyrs are depicted on vases engaged in such an act and, moreover, Artemidorus (1.80) calls it “contrary to nature” (παρά φύσιν).

But we must ask ourselves why Aristophanes would even consider representing onstage a citizen male performing so vile an act. In order to understand Chremes’ words as indicating a forthcoming gesture ταύτα must be heard as cataphoric. To be sure, there are instances of ταύτα being used in Aristophanes as a cataphor, but this is by no means its standard or expected usage. At Ecclesiazusae 470, the question is whether or not Chremes gestures after saying δρᾶ ταύθ'. We should not be too hasty to dismiss the possibility that Chremes did, in fact, make a gesture, even if this would not be expected from his diction.

Before turning to numerous examples that militate against Sommerstein’s reading of ταύτα as cataphoric I would like to offer a single and to my knowledge the only possible comparandum: Thesmophoriazusae 1003.

**Thesmophoriazusae 1003-4**

Κη. χάλασον τὸν ἰλον.
Το. ἀλλὰ ταύτα δρᾶσ' ἐγώ.
Κη. οἴμοι κακοδαίμων, μᾶλλον ἐπικρούεις σὺ γε.

Kn. Loosen the nail!
Arc. No, but I’ll do this instead!
Kin. Ouch! Oh good god! You’re hammering it in instead!

The Scythian Archer responds to the Kinsman’s request by doing the exact opposite of what was begged of him. The fast-moving antilabic structure of 1003 tells against the Archer first hammering the nail and then replying that he will do “that” (looking backward to the action just enacted) instead. The act of hammering must follow the delivery of the line. But should we read ταύτα cataphorically, as I have translated above in keeping with most standard translations of these verses? One of the problems of interpretation in this passage is the Archer’s pidgin-Greek. If, following one of Sommerstein’s suggestions, we understand the Archer as having misunderstood the imperative χάλασον “loosen” (< χαλάζω) for the unaspirated κόλασον “punish” (<

33 On cataphoric uses of the medial demonstrative see §§ III.2 (pp.153-7).
34 Some sort of gesture may have been made, but I think Sommerstein goes too far in suggesting auto-fellatio. So far as I can envision, not only would Chremes’ padded costume make it difficult to bend down toward his phallus and thus enjoy it orally, but also, and perhaps more importantly, a phallus of about two feet would be necessary to circumvent the difficulty presented by the padding. This would mean that if Chremes places his phallus in or near his mouth he must untie a phallus ἀναδεδεµένον (“tied up”), on which see Stone 1981: 80-1 and Figs. 5b-d; see too Stone 1981: 72-143 for discussions of the phallus and of padding.
35 On the language of the Scythian Archer see Austin and Olson 2004: 308-9 with bibliography on p.309.
36 Sommerstein 1994: 222.
κολάζω(ω), then we may reread the particle ἄλλα not as adversative, but as assentient, which, as Denniston explains, is an indication of “[p]ractical consent, expression of willingness to act in a required way. The first speaker usually speaks in the imperative, the second usually in the future indicative…”37 With this in mind, we may hear the Archer’s ἄλλα as assenting to what he perceived was the Kinsman’s command and ταῦτα, with the future indicative δρᾶσ’ (= δράσω), in turn, as referring anaphorically back to the Kinsman’s misheard command to “punish” the nail.38 Accordingly, we should retranslate the Archer’s reply as, “OK, I’ll do that.”

There are also examples of ταῦτα used as an internal accusative; in all instances it retains its anaphoric sense.39 For example, in Clouds, just before Strepsiades knocks on the door of Socrates’ school he says, “Why do I keep loitering like this?” (131 τί ταῦτα ἔχων στραγγεύοµαι;). Here ταῦτα is an internal accusative, just as at Acharnians 385 when the Chorus asks Dicaeopolis “Why are you twisting like that” (τί ταῦτα στρέφει).40 In both instances the action referenced with ταῦτα was begun in the past; even if it continues at the moment of utterance, the medial demonstrative emphasizes that it began earlier, not that it is ongoing.41 In English we may render ταῦτα as “thus” or “in this way,” and that certainly captures the sense, but grammatically these instances are anaphoric and properly refer to what preceded. The same can be said of ταῦτα when it is used to indicate an action performed on stage.42

Acharnians 1064

Knowing that medial demonstratives are normally anaphoric helps us to understand how to punctuate texts that seem, if we falsely impose an equivalency between “this” and “that,” to be correct either way. Acharnians 1064 is a prime example of this. I give below two versions of the text.

Sommerstein: οἶοθ’ ὡς ποιεῖται; τοῦτο τῇ νύμφῃ φράσον:
   Do you know how it’s done? Tell the bride this:44

Wilson: οἶοθ’ ὡς ποιεῖται τοῦτο: τῇ νύμφῃ φράσον,
   Do you know how that is done? Tell the bride,

37 On the “assentient” use of ἄλλα see Denniston 1950: 16-17; quote from p. 17.
38 Austin and Olson 2004: 310. In stating in their note on 1003 that the Archer’s consent is feigned, Austin and Olson suggest that ταῦτα is anaphoric. It is impossible to tell whether or not the Archer’s reply was made in earnest or not, and the audience must decide for themselves the Archer’s motivations.
39 E.g., Ach. 90, 385, 514; Eq. 1224, 1357; Nu. 131; Pax 414, 617, 1185; V. 334; Th. 168, 473.
40 As Olson 2002: 174 notes, citing KG i.309-10.
41 There may also be an addressee-oriented resonance: “Why do you do those things you do?”
42 Dover (1968: 110), Sommerstein (1982: 23), and Henderson (1998: 25) all render ταῦτα “like this.”
43 We may compare the instances of ταῦτα μαρτύροµαι with those of plain μαρτύροµαι. In the three examples which use ταῦτα (Nu. 1297, V. 1436, Pl. 932), the actor does not immediately exit. Perhaps in the non-ταῦτα examples (Ach. 926, Pax 119; Av. 1031, excluding Nu. 495 in which Strepsiades describes what he does when beaten) the one beaten cries μαρτύροµαι as he runs off while in the other two cases the use of ταῦτα expresses the victim’s willingness to stay and not just call for but actually gather witnesses.
For Sommerstein, the subject of ποιε/ται is unexpressed but understood from the previous line and το/το looks forward to the following two verses. Nigel Wilson, on the other hand, understands the demonstrative as anaphoric, looking back to the previous statement. But in knowing that the normal use of το/το is to look back in the discourse, we can see that Wilson’s punctuation is to be preferred.

When translating these uses of τα/τα (and το/το) it is often convenient to employ phrases like “in this way” or “thus,” but this is a problem of English idiom. None of the examples of internal accusative τα/τα in Aristophanes is cataphoric and none refers to an action performed on stage. In fact, when Aristophanes wants to point linguistically at an action performed onstage at the moment of utterance or immediately following it he turns to forms marked with –ί or to the demonstrative adverbs ὥδε and ὥδη, both of which have a range of meanings: ὥδε operates as an adjectival modifier (“so”);46 a directional adverb (= δε/ρο);47 an anaphoric adverb (“like that”);48 and also as a cataphoric adverb (“like this”).49 In this respect it is the same as its forms marked with –ι, which are almost always, with only two exceptions, cataphoric adverbs indicating an action being or about to be performed.

Any movement or activity, including self-fellatio, could be marked verbally (or textually) by an adverb. Wasps 1210-1211 nicely illustrates the interaction between speech and gesture:

Φιλ. πώς οὖν κατακλίνω; φράζ' ἀνύσας.
Βδ. εὐσχημόνως.
Φιλ. ὥδη κελεύεις κατακλινήναι;
Βδ. μηδαμώς.

Phil: How, then, am I to recline? Hurry up and tell me!
Bd: Elegantly.
Phil: Are you telling me to lie down like this?
Bd: Not at all.

Philocleon responds to Bdelycleon telling him to recline “elegantly” (1210) by collapsing awkwardly to the ground. The adverb ὥδη marks the action which takes place either as the words are spoken, or, as makes for better theater and is in keeping with the cataphoric use of ὥδε, at the conclusion of the sentence. After all, falling inelegantly to the ground while speaking is definitely one of the best ways to ensure that an audience does not hear the entirety of a line.

As we have seen in the preceding discussion, τα/τα is not used to gesticulate forward toward an action. Instead, it regularly refers back to something previously mentioned. Chremes’ diction at Ecclesiazusae 470 (δρά τα/θ') should not, therefore, be

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45 E.g., Lys. 1090, in which the demonstrative may be both anaphoric and deictic.
46 Ach. 215; Eq. 385-6; Lys. 518, 1015; Th. 525.
47 Ach. 745, 1063; Av. 229; Th. 987; fr. 362.2.
48 Eq. 837; Lys. 301.
49 Av. 1568; Nu. 771; V. 1109; Lys. 567, 634.
50 Av. 1457, Ra. 98. In both of these passages ὥδη is used cataphorically and points forward to a development of the idea.
understood as setting up a lewd or sexual act, in the way that Sommerstein’s interpretation claimed. So it is Blepyrus and not Chremes who in some way performs “screwing” and “breakfasting” while speaking 468-9, whereupon Chremes is provoked by the prospect of living in a world where the women do not give their men “breakfast” and there is no “screwing” and replies excitedly (469 οὐ δὲ γε νὴ Δίς), interrupting his interlocutor with “You’d better do it, then!” In this way ταῦτα (470) is not only the anaphor of κινεῖ, but when it is used again at 472 it operates much like the American English euphemism “to do it,” used of sexual intercourse. The humor of this passage may be of a sexual nature, but it is far subtler than that of an “obscene” gesture. By not directly acknowledging the slang meaning of ἀποστάσσω Chremes earnestly juxtaposes eating and fornicating at the same time (470 ὁμα). And yet, all the while cunnilingal undertones lurk beneath the surface and, this being Greek comedy and sexual jokes being part and parcel of the genre, the audience would be hard pressed not to hear the suggestion of the impossible, simultaneous act of penetrative and oral sex.⁵¹ Instead of stressing the word “this” by placing it in italics to indicate a gesture being made, I prefer to render these verses as I have above, employing the medial form “that” instead of the proximal form “this,” as all translators prior to Sommerstein have done. What we have in these lines, then, may be a straightforward plea by Chremes to Blepyrus that he “do those aforementioned things” precisely because “doing it” will be good for the city.⁵²

II.4. “Marked” Uses of ὁδε and οὐτοσί

Although, as we have noted, ὁδε and οὐτοσί are mostly used cataphorically, they are occasionally used anaphorically, and it is in this use that we can see best that whatever is referenced by the proximal demonstrative is firmly within the deictic field of the speaker. This heightened (or even created) presence, in turn, elevates the emotional level of the communication situation and increases the engagement of the hearer(s). The following pages examine some examples of anaphoric ὁδε and οὐτοσί and attempt to recapture the effect this diction would have or was intended to have on the audience.

Anger, indignation, and fear are emotions which can be, and surely were, expressed primarily through vocal modulation and bodily movement, and it is with instances where the proximal demonstrative reflects these emotional states that we shall begin.

Acharnians 576-7a

The First Semichorus, locked in battle with the Second Semichorus over the veracity of Dicaeopolis’ speech (497-556),⁵³ pray for Lamachus’ appearance, or that of

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⁵¹ I admit that were a man exceedingly flexible he could, theoretically, engage in both acts at once. The comic costume, however, makes such flexibility a moot argument.
⁵² Ussher (1973: 141) takes it this way; Sommerstein (1998: 180) does not believe that ὁδὸς ταὐτά can bear the meaning “obey” and finds that meaning “quite inappropriate … since Blepyrus’ problem is not that he is unwilling to obey commands of the kind envisaged, but that he fears he will be unable to” (italics original).
⁵³ The “split verdict” vocalized and performed by the Chorus’ fracture into two distinct bodies mirrors the (potential or expected) division within the audience (cf. the tie vote in A. Eum.), themselves addressed as the recipients of his speech through the vocative ἄνδρες οἱ θεώμενοι (497).
any taxiarch, general, or siege-engineer\(^{54}\) (566-71). As they survey the audience for someone to come to their aid, Lamachus in full panoply\(^{55}\) marches into the orchestra, troops in tow (576-7a).\(^{56}\)

\[ \text{Ηµ.} \quad \text{ό Λάµαχ', οῦ γὰρ οὖτος ἀνθρώπος πάλαι} \\
\text{λάπαι} \\
\text{άπασαν ἠμῶν τὴν πόλιν κακορροθεῖ;} \\
\text{Λα.} \quad \text{οὖτος, σὺ τολµᾶς πτωχὸς ὄων λέγειν τάδε;} \\
\text{Cho.} \quad \text{Lamachus, don’t you know that} \quad \text{that} \quad \text{guy has been and still is slandering our entire city?} \\
\text{La.} \quad \text{Hey! Do you, a beggar, dare to say these things}?! \]

Valckenaer was the first to delete 577a (= old numeration 578), and most early editors took their cue from him.\(^{57}\) Suspicion as to the verse’s authenticity comes from two fronts: its similarity to 558 (ταυτὶ σὺ τολµᾶς πτωχὸς ὄων ἠμὰς λέγειν;) and 593 (ταυτὶ λέγεις σὺ τὸν στρατηγὸν πτωχὸς ὄων),\(^{58}\) and the apparent lack of a clear referent of τάδε since Lamachus has not yet been addressed by Dicaeopolis. Elmsley first observed, quite correctly, that τάδε refers back to the idea contained in the verb κακορροθεῖ (577),\(^{59}\) yet this still does not explain the purpose of the proximal demonstrative.\(^{60}\) In fact, even though we may now claim with some surety that 577a is a quote from Euripides’ \textit{Telephus} (fr. 712a Kannicht), but one of many in this section of the play, defaulting to the position that Aristophanes uses it because Euripides used it (and the audience would thus recognize it) only displaces and does not address the question of what motivated this lexical choice and what that choice can tell us about the performance or delivery and/or reception of the word τάδε both in \textit{Telephus} and \textit{Acharnians}. In \textit{Telephus}, the proximal demonstrative would, on the one hand, have been unmarked in the sense that tragedy permits with greater frequency than comedy anaphoric uses of ὅς and thus would have been heard as “normal,” at least generically

\(^{54}\) Olson 2002: 222.  
\(^{55}\) Sommerstein (1980: 185) suggests that the epithet “heroic” (575 ἔρως) may imply that Lamachus enters wearing his armor. Olson (2002: 223) takes the wearing of armor for granted and adds that ἔρως is also fitting of Lamachus’ readiness to avenge the wronged. To this I would add that Lamachus’ god-like appearance immediately following the First Semichorus’ invocation may have been visually underscored by the brilliant gleam of his armor and simultaneously undercut by the ugly, anti-heroic comic mask and costume.  
\(^{56}\) Mueller (1863: 105) first proposed that several armed guards accompanied Lamachus, an idea followed by Sommerstein 1980: 91 and Henderson 1998a: 125. Olson (2002: 222-3) rejects this idea on the grounds that this armed retinue does not engage in any detectable way in the drama, nor are they mentioned after 575 (if λόχων is to be taken to refer to Lamachus’ entourage). If no others are present onstage with Lamachus, then λόχων is perhaps a case of mocking hyperbole.  
\(^{57}\) E.g., Brunck, Meineke, Starkie.  
\(^{58}\) Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (1880: 80-3) proposed deleting 593 and replacing it with 577a on the grounds that Lamachus has not yet been insulted and that he does not know whether Dicaeopolis is poor or not. Rennie (1909: 176) takes issue with both presumptions, maintaining that κακορροθεῖ gives Lamachus sufficient evidence for his claims and that Dicaeopolis is still dressed as Telephus. On the repetition of these and similar lines see Miller 1944: 31.  
\(^{59}\) Elmsley 1830: 67.  
\(^{60}\) Starkie (1909: 120) explained, or explained away, τάδε as noting that the line is probably from \textit{Telephus} and that the use of proximal demonstratives as anaphors is the purview of tragedy.
speaking. On the other hand, normal tragic diction remains, particularly with respect to
the relative use of proximal and medial demonstratives, a highly charged, elevated and
intense means of communication in which actions, thoughts, and ideas are frequently
expressed in such terms as to impart a dynamic sense of immediacy to all those within
earshot. That is, in using τάδε anaphorically where one would normally expect ταῦτα
the presence and importance of the demonstrative’s referent is conveyed as being in the
speaker’s immediate deictic field, as being at the forefront of his/her thoughts. Although
one may be tempted to dismiss any contextual meaning in Acharnians by claiming that
577a is simply a recognizable Euripidean intertext, and thus necessarily funny,
nonetheless we cannot forget that the scene as performed, even with its numerous tragic
parodies and quotations, still maintains and demands its own dramatic logic. Acharnians
is, first and foremost, a comedy by Aristophanes, not a derivative, second-rate play. The
energy Lamachus displays in his sudden, epiphany-like appearance, rapid-fire series of
four questions in insistent asyndeton (572-4), and obvious commitment to helping those
in need continues or is rearticulated in his response to the question of 576-8. In using the
proximal demonstrative Lamachus conveys to his hearers that standing here and verbally
abusing our entire city (577 ἀπασαν ἡμῶν τὴν πόλιν κακορροθεὶ) is something he
simply will not tolerate. Lamachus’ rage at what he has only heard described about
Dicaeopolis’ recent speech is immediately translated and conveyed through his anaphoric
use of the proximal demonstrative pronoun.

Lysistrata 15-20

Κα. ἄλλ`, ὥ φιλτάτη,
ἡξουσι χαλεπή τοι γυναικῶν ἔξοδος.
ἡ μὲν γάρ ἡμῶν περὶ τὸν ἄνδρ’ ἐκύπτασεν,
ἡ δ’ οἰκέτην ἤγειρεν, ἢ δὲ παιδίον
κατέκλινεν, ἢ δ’ ἔλουσεν, ἢ δ’ ἐψώµισεν.
Λυ. ἄλλ’ ἤν γάρ ἔτερα τῶνδε προύργιαίτερα
αὐταῖς.

Ca. Dear, they’ll come. It’s difficult, you know, for wives to get out. For one
of us is busy with her husband, another wakes a slave, another puts her
child to bed, another bathes him, another feeds him bits of food.
Ly. But other things were more important for them to do than those things!

Lysistrata is frustrated with her fellow women and her response to Calonice indicates as
much. Coupled with the particle combination ἄλλα…γάρ, which is “strongly
adversative” and “not only opposes what precedes, but rules it out of court as nonexistent
or inessential,”61 the proximal demonstrative emphatically refers back in the discourse.62
In other words, Lysistrata is having none of Calonice’s excuses and bluntly tells her so.
Her anger is apparent in her diction and the aforementioned things are referenced with the
proximal demonstrative.

62 Henderson 1987: 70: “τῶνδε is deictic, referring to the actions described and mimicked by Kal.” I am
more comfortable with the term anaphoric than deictic to describe backward looking τῶνδε.
At the prompting of the Men’s Chorus (484-5) the Proboulos interrogates Lysistrata about her seizure of the Acropolis. Lysistrata justifies her actions by claiming that she and the other women were trying to keep Athens’ money safe and prevent the men from using it for war (488 ἵνα τάργυριον σῶν παρέχοιμεν καὶ μὴ πολεμοῖτε δι’ αὐτό). The Proboulos is puzzled at her answer and asks, “Is it because of money that we’re at war?” (489 διὰ τάργυριον πολεμοῖμεν γάρ;), to which Lysistrata explains (489-92):

καὶ τάλλα γε πάντ’ ἐκκήθη.
ἵνα γὰρ Πείσανδρος ἔχοι κλέπτειν χοί ταΐς ἀρχαῖς ἐπέχοντες ἀεὶ τινα κορκομυγήν ἐκύκων. οἱ δ’ ὅν τοῦδ’ οὐνεκὰ δρόωντων ὅ τι βούλονται τὸ γὰρ ἀργύριον τοῦτ’ οὐκέτι μὴ καθέλωσιν.

Yes, and what’s more everything else got screwed up! For in order that Peisander might be able to steal, and those seeking to hold office, they were continually stirring up a commotion. So for the sake of that let them keep on doing what they want since no longer will they be carrying off that money.

At the very least, the prepositional phrase τοῦδ’ οὖνεκα puts emphasis on the continuing activities of men like Peisander, but perhaps there is a hint of anger or scornful mockery in that Lysistrata knows their actions will be in vain so long as the women maintain control of the city’s finances.

The phrase is used once more in this play less than a minute later, again by Lysistrata in her exchange with the Proboulos (499-501):

Λυ.            ἀγανακτεῖς;
Πρ.        νη τὴν Δήμητρ’ ἀδικόν γε.
Λυ. σωστέον, ὡ τὰν.
Πρ.      κεὶ μὴ δέομαι;
Λυ.                  τοῦδ’ οὖνεκα καὶ πολὺ μάλλον.

Lys. Are you annoyed? Well, nevertheless those things must be done.
Pr. By Demeter, you have no right!
Lys. You must be saved, sir.
Pr. Even if I don’t want to be?
Lys. Yes, for just that reason all the more.

Lysistrata’s reply to the Proboulos’ κεὶ μὴ δέομαι is an emphatic, pointed rebuttal similar in affect to Peace 744.63 Our protagonist is tired of debating with someone who simply does not understand the necessity of the women’s actions. Were this a modern production we may envision Lysistrata throwing her hands up in the air in frustration, a

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63 See the discussion in Chapter 4, §III.1 (pp.152-3).
gesture which may emphasize visually what her words (τοῦδ’ οὖνεκα) do linguistically. The point is simply that the men do not see the very obvious need for a change in policy, one that can only be achieved through a female-run state.

Peace 114-18

Trygaeus becomes visible to the audience—first to those seated in the upper rows, then to those closer to the orchestra—4—at 80 (or so) as he, perched atop his winged Pegasus-beetle, is raised above the skene. He has a brief exchange with his slave in which his purpose to fly to Zeus is revealed (88-110), prompting Slave B to summon Trygaeus’ daughters from within (110-13). They run forth from the house and immediately address their airborne father (114-18).65

Oi. ιου ιου ιου·
ό παιδί, ὁ πατήρ ἀπολιπών ἀπέρχεται
ὑμᾶς ἔρημοι εἰς τὸν ὑφαντὸν λάβρα,
ἀλλ’ ἀντιβολεῖτε τὸν πατέρ’, ὃ κακοδαίμονα.
Pi. ὁ πάτερ, ὁ πάτερ, ἄρ’ ἔτυμὸς γε
δῶμαιν ἡμετέροις φάτις ἤκει,
ὡς σὺ μετ’ ὀρνίθων προλιπών ἐμὲ
ἐς κόρακας βαδιεὶ μεταμώνιος;
ἔστι τι τῶνδ’ ἐτύμως; εἶπ’, ὃ πάτερ, εἶ τι φιλεῖς με.

Sl. Oh no! Alas! Dear children, your father is sneaking away to heaven, having abandoned you, now deserted. You ill-fortuned little kids, entreat your father.
Da. Father, father, has a true word come to our home that along with the birds you will abandon me and go to the crows? Are any of these things true? Tell me, father, if you love me at all.

Unsurprisingly, the Daughter’s appeal is emotional, confronted as she is with her father floating in the air on a dung beetle, on the verge of flying toward Olympus. The epanaphora of the vocative ὁ πάτερ, and the particle combination ἄρα…γε, which enlivens and accentuates the question, straightforwardly present the Daughter’s anxiety.

64 The laughter that surely would have arisen from those seated higher up, and thus because of their elevated position able to see (and react) to a person or object being lifted up from behind the skene earlier than those located closer to the action, would have created a swelling of anticipation as those who were not yet privy to the sight now anxiously awaited what others had found funny.
65 We do not know if the daughters spoke in unison or if one of them spoke for the group (Olson 2002: 90), although I am inclined to favor a single speaker.
66 Olson (1998: 90) says that φάτις here refers to Slave B’s cry rather than “rumor,” the meaning it had in the original line of Euripides’ Aeolus (fr. 17). It is hairsplitting, however, to distinguish between shades of meaning when the Greek allows both meanings to be heard simultaneously. On one level, Olson is unquestionably correct that φάτις here refers to Slave B’s message called into the house, but on another level, the level of intertextuality or parody, φάτις necessarily retains its “original” meaning even if it is at odds with the current situation. The tragic bombast of the entire speech may also suggest that the use of φάτις is humorously hyperbolic, evoking the idea that “an oracle has arrived.”
67 Denniston 1950: 50; also Stevens 1976: 44.
and distress at the prospect of losing her father. And it is precisely this disquiet which the Daughter succinctly expresses in τῶνδε (118). But there is a second, metatheatrical motivation underlying the Daughter’s choice of words. Her lines are sandwiched between parodies of Euripides’ Aeolus, fr. 17 in lines 114-15, “a loose pastiche of tragic tags and diction,” 68 and fr. 18 in 119. 69 We may understand her as getting caught up in the emotionality of the tragic diction and employing as a result the proximal demonstrative which would match her level of discourse both to what precedes and, conveniently, to what follows.

It is precisely this (potential) ability for comic characters, who so far as we can tell are not engaging outright in a parody, to become drawn into the emotional tenor of a tragic parody or pastiche which we witness at Birds 862-3.

**Birds 862-3**

Immediately following the song-filled celebration of the founding of Cloudcuckooland Peisetaerus calls for a priest and one steps forward:

Πε. ἱερεύ, σὸν ἔργον, θύε τοῖς καινοῖς θεοῖς.
Ιε. δράσω τάδ’.

Pe. Priest! The task is yours: sacrifice to the new gods.
Pr. I shall do that.

The full import of the Priest’s reply, I would like to suggest, can only be deduced from the words σὸν ἔργον in the previous line. Dunbar’s concluding remark on this phrase is spot on: “Perhaps σὸν ἔργον was colloquial, but Ar., associating it with Eur., could create a complicated effect by having it delivered in a tragic tone.” 70 If 862 sounds paratragic (or para-Euripidean), then the Priest’s reply even more clearly informs the audience of the paratragic / para-Euripideanness of these verses since δράσω τάδ’ is exclusively Euripidean. 71 Or, as I think more likely, the Priest’s reply retroactively brings to light for those in the audience who did not catch the (subtle?) σὸν ἔργον that something in 862 was paratragic, for what is to be gained by having the Priest utter a two-word Euripidean phrase in and of itself? We may also see in 862-3 an escalation in or contagion of the emotional intensity regarding the creation of the new state, an intensity that was first brought to the fore by Peisetaerus and spread to the Priest.

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68 Olson 1998: 90.
71 Cyc. 163, 654; Med. 184, 267, 927, 1019; Hipp. 1088; Suppl. 346; Herc. 606; Tro. 793. Sophocles never uses the phrase but does have δράσω καὶ τάδε καὶ πάνθ’ κτλ. (OC 1773) and δράσεις τάδε. / — δράσω· (El. 466-7) in which τάδε is the unexpressed direct object of δράσω.
**Birds 846-7**

After Peisetaerus has directed Euelpides to go and help the birds with the building of the new city (837-45), a command at which Euelpides is not overjoyed (845-6), Peisetaerus implores his friend (846-7):

\[\text{ιθ', ώγάθ', οἱ πέμπω σ' ἐγώ.} \]
\[\text{oὐδὲν γὰρ ἀνευ σοῦ τῶνδ' ἂ λέγω πεπράξεται.} \]

Good fellow, go where I send you. For none of these things which I am talking about will have been accomplished without you.

As Dunbar notes, there is a solemnity to 847, despite the anapaestic γὰρ ἀνευ σοῦ, ἂ λέγω, and she likens it to the religious formula “nothing is /can be/ done without god X.” In *Birds*, the proximal demonstrative vivifies Peisetaerus’ words and marks the referent of this demonstrative pronoun, the various acts of continuing and future construction needed for the new city (837-42), as present in his thoughts. In using τῶνδε and by including it in what was perhaps a formulaic religious phrase, Peisetaerus’ diction may be seen as an attempt to persuade his friend of the importance of the task set before him and/or transfer his own excitement about the project.

**Ecclesiazusae 1043-4**

Another example of a proximal demonstrative used anaphorically to illustrate the speaker’s heightened emotional state can be found in *Ecclesiazusae*. The Young Girl comes onstage at 1036 and asks the First Old Woman whither she is dragging Epigenes (1037). The Young Girl objects to the old woman taking Epigenes home and argues that because of her age she is more a mother than a wife (1038-42), to which the First Old Woman retorts (1043-4):

\[\text{ὡ παμβδελυρά, φθόνουσα τόνδε τὸν λόγον ἐξηύρες· ἀλλ' ἐγώ σε τιμωρήσομαι.} \]

You nasty, nasty girl! You’ve invented this pretext out of jealousy. Well, I’ll get my vengeance on you.

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72 Dunbar 1995: 501 (italics original). She cites two comparanda, *Ag* 1487 and Pindar *N* 7.3-4. It is *Agamemnon* 1487-8, sung by the Chorus as they lament their newly-slain king, which provides the closest parallel to our passage:

\[\text{τί γὰρ βροτοῖς ἀνευ Διός τελεῖται;} \]
\[\text{τί τῶνδ' οὐ θεόκραντον ἔστιν;} \]

For what for mortals is accomplished without Zeus? What of these present things is not brought about by the god?

One important, but not insurmountable difference between the language of *Birds* and the language of *Agamemnon* is the *mise en scène*. In *Ag* the Chorus’ words reverberate deeply with the grisly tableaux of Clytemnestra flanked by the corpses of Agamemnon and his concubine Cassandra. “These things” (τῶνδε) accordingly refers both to the present situation and preceding events—the murders, the usurpation of power, etc.—and to the very tangible, very present dead bodies.
Heard in conjunction with the vocative ὁ παμβδελυρά, τόνδε expresses the First Old Woman’s anger as it vividly places the Young Girl’s words, more properly referred to with a medial demonstrative, which would both refer backward and to the second person, in the immediate present. In other terms, τόνδε τὸν λόγον occupies the Origo of the First Old Woman’s deictic field.73

**Wasps 614-15**

As Philocleon winds down his lengthy enumeration of the joys of jury-service he concludes, appropriately enough, with his favorite (605-7):

ο δὲ γ’ ἤδιστον τούτων ἐστὶν πάντων, οὐ γὰρ ἐπελησμην, ὡσταν οἶκαδ’ ἵω τὸν μισθὸν ἔχων, κάπειθ’ ἣκουθ’ ἀμα πάντες ἀσπάζωνται διὰ τάργυριον.

And the best part of all those things, which I’d forgotten, is when I come home carrying my pay. Then everyone gives me a warm welcome upon my arrival because of the money.

He proceeds to elaborate on the benefits he enjoys: his daughter washes and oils his feet, kisses him, then tries to filch a three-obol piece (608-9); his wife sits him down and feeds him dessert (610-12). He does not even have to look to Bdelycleon or the grumbling steward to find out when lunch is served (612-14). Philocleon then says (614-15):

άλλην μὴ μοι ταχὺ μᾶξῆ,  
τάδε κέκτημαι πρόβλημα κακῶν, σκευῆν βελέων ἀλέωρῆν.

And if [your steward] does not knead for me quickly, I possess these things as a protection against ills, equipment that is a defense against missiles.

Most commentators rightly understand τάδε as the anaphor of 606-12,75 although Starkie maintains that τάδε is deictic and points to a prop associated with Philocleon’s profession.76 I see no textual clues to indicate this nor do I think the benefit of Philocleon displaying his pay to everyone, thereby demonstrably marking τάδε as deictic, outweighs

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73 On the phrase τόνδε τὸν λόγον see Austin and Olson 2004: 338, who note that it is found often in tragedy.
74 The reading of ἄλλην in RVJ, with a full stop after μᾶξῆ, is not entirely without merit. As MacDowell (1971:215-16) notes: “the participles [614 καταρασάµενος καὶ τονθορύσας] imply fear and μᾶζην is understood with ἄλλην: for fear that he may soon have to knead me another’. But after this we should expect a connective particle, either ‘but’ or ‘for’, in 615.” I agree with this assessment but would add that if a full stop follows μᾶξῆ, then the asyndetic τάδε seems to express surprise, an emotion which is not in keeping with the rest of Philocleon’s speech.
75 E.g. MacDowell 1971: 216; Sommerstein 1983: 615. The scholiast, followed by Blaydes 1893: 294, took τάργυριον (607) as the referent.
76 Starkie 1897: 243: “I have no doubt that τάδε refers, deictically, to some emblems of their profession, such as the βακτηρία in the closely parallel passage Ach. 682 οἷς Ποσειδών Ἀσφάλειώς ἐστιν ἢ βακτηρία.”
what is to be gained by hearing it as anaphoric, for it is as an anaphor that the proximal demonstrative vividly articulates Philocleon’s joy at the familial affection he garners when he comes home with pay, linguistically imprinting onto the mask the beaming look in his eyes, the content, proud expression on his face.\textsuperscript{77}

Much of the preceding can be summarized simply by saying what we already know to be true: \( \delta \delta e \) is more vivid or emotional than the other demonstratives and that when the proximal demonstrative is used anaphorically the speaker is baldly asserting that s/he is preoccupied with its referent. The heightened emotional state conveyed by \( \delta \delta e \) is nicely illustrated in Peace as Trygaeus, Hermes, and the Chorus attempt to draw Peace out of the cavern in which she is imprisoned. Hermes first refers to Peace anaphorically (371-2 ἄρ’ οἴσθα θάνατον ὅτι προεἴφ’ ὃ Ζεὺς ὃς ἄν / ταύτην ἄνορύττων ἐυρεθή). But the mood soon changes and the Chorus can almost taste (and almost see) the peace that will be enjoyed as they try to muffle Hermes’ potential cries (389-91):

\begin{quote}
†µὴ γένη παλίγκκοτος
ἀντιβολούσιν ἡμῖν,†
ὡςτε τὴνδε μὴ λαβεῖν
\end{quote}

Don’t be hostile toward us who entreat you so that we fail to get our hands on her.

The textual variants τῶν δὲ (p) and τόδε (LAld) for τὴνδε in 391, should both be disregarded—Wilson does not even include them in his critical apparatus—as they perhaps reflect a scribe’s discomfort at τὴνδε, a feminine demonstrative pronoun, referring back to an un-, or at least not a clearly expressed referent. But as we have just seen with ταύτην (372), the only logical, indeed the only possible feminine referent at this point in the play is the goddess Peace who is close at hand and whom everyone onstage is actively trying to free.

The vividness with which the Chorus sing, marking as manifest within their thoughts the impending or wished-for emergence of Peace, is continued by Trygaeus in his attempt to convince Hermes to assist in the effort to restore the goddess (416-17):

\begin{quote}
ναὶ μὰ Δία. πρὸς ταύτ’, ὡ φίλ’ Ἐρμῆ, ξύλλαβε
ἡμῖν προθύμως τὴνδε τε ξυνέλκυσον.
\end{quote}

Yes, by Zeus. In light of that, dear Hermes, join our undertaking eagerly and help drag this goddess out.

As in 391, we see both the textual problems that have arisen about τὴνδε as well as Trygaeus’ excitement.\textsuperscript{78} His enthusiasm may also be a rhetorical strategy geared toward convincing Hermes to help with the endeavor. Combined with the friendly vocative (ὡ

\textsuperscript{77} The superlative ἡδιστον (605) aids in framing Philocleon’s words, in creating their presence in his deictic field.

\textsuperscript{78} The codd. read τῆνδε καὶ for which Meineke proposed both τῆνδε τε and τῶνδε τε, the latter being a partitive genitive, sc. τῶν σχοινίων. Against Olson’s (1998: 160) justification for retaining the paradox see Wilson 2007: 106.
φίλ' Ἐρμή) which is used now that progress is being made toward P/peace, the proximal demonstrative may operate similarly to how Peisetaerus uses it with Euelpides at Birds 846-7. Trygaeus’ words are efficacious and Hermes becomes an active participant in the ongoing effort to restore peace, now on the verge of success, so much so that at 506 instead of the medial demonstrative he used previously (372) he uses the proximal demonstrative (506-7):

άλλ' εἴπερ ἐπιθυμεῖτε τήνδ' ἔξελκυσαι,
πρὸς τὴν θάλατταν ὀλιγον ὑποχωρήσατε.
But if you are really eager to drag out this goddess, move back a little toward the sea.

Peace is on everyone’s mind; at this point when she is so close to returning there is no other imaginable way to refer to her than with language which plainly indicates the speaker’s immediate preoccupation with her. The synergy and expectation onstage as the Chorus strain to liberate Peace while Hermes and Trygaeus bark orders must have been electric. The audience, who themselves after a decade of bloodshed had finally attained a (brief) respite from war, must have relished the opportunity to relive that initial moment of learning that peace had been made and seeing “her” come into view.

**Peace 950-55**

As Trygaeus and the Slave make preparations for sacrifice the Chorus playfully break into song:

οὔκουν ἀμιλλήσεσθον; ὡς
ὁ Χαῖρις ὑμᾶς ἠδή,
πρόσεεισιν αὐλῆσων ἀκλή-
τος, κάτα τούδ᾿ ἐὖ οἶδ᾿ ὅτι
φυσῶντι καὶ πονομένῳ
προσδώσετε δῆπου.

Aren’t you going to compete? Since if Chairis sees you he just might show up unbidden, playing his pipes, and then, rest assured, you will surely give some of this to him, puffing and toiling.

Olson has emended the text at 953 from κάτα τὸῦτ’ ἐὖ οἶδ’ ὅτι (“And then, rest assured, …”) to κάτα τοῦδ᾽ ἐὖ οἶδ᾽ ὅτι, a reading which Wilson adopts. In defense of this emendation Olson says, “’d’s τοῦδ’ preceding a smooth breathing must be emended somehow, and since Chairis can reasonably be expected to request not the whole sheep but only the piper’s ‘fair share’, Brunck’s τὸῦτ’ will not do.” In defense of Brunck,
and all previous and subsequent editors who have adopted that reading, τοῦτο may interpreted two ways: as the direct object of προσδώσετε in anaphoric reference τοῦτο πρόβατον (949), or as a variation of the phrase τοῦτο οἶδ' ὃτι, in which case τοῦτο refers prospectively to ὃτι and the verb lacks an expressed object. What Olson’s emendation offers, however, is a clearer picture of the staging. At 949 the Slave says “nothing is keeping us [from performing the sacrifice] except the animal” (κούδεν ἵσχει πλήν τοῦ πρόβατον ὑμᾶς). He then runs into the house and fetches the sheep while the Chorus sings 950-55. I believe that the Slave returns with the sheep at 953 thereby allowing the Chorus’ reference to the animal to be heard as deictic. If the Slave does not lead the sheep onstage by 953, the Chorus’ words are still apt, and part of what we may term “choral vividness,” whereby proximal demonstratives are used anaphorically by the chorus within lyric passages to make their song and its subject more present, although this “vividness” is really just an expression of heightened emotion.

In Clouds, after Strepsiades has chased the Second Creditor offstage with the threat to “goad [him] where the sun don’t shine” (κεντρών τὸν πρωκτὸν σε τὸν σειραφόρον), the Chorus begin a song which comments directly upon Strepsiades preceding interactions (1222-1302). The strophe runs as follows (1303-10):

οἷον τὸ πραγμάτων ἐρᾶν φλαύρων· ὁ γάρ
gέρων ὥδ' ἐρασθεὶς
ἀποστερήσαι βούλεται
tὰ χρήμαθ' ἀδανείσατο·
κοῦκ ἔσθ' ὅπως οὐ τήμερον
λήμεται τι πράγμ' ὃ τοῦ-
tον ποιήσει τὸν σοφι-
στήν <ἀπάντων> ὃν πανουργεῖν ἤρξατ', ἔξ-
αίφης καλὸν γ' ὁνασθαί.

How horrible it is to lust for sordid affairs! For this old man having fallen in lust wants to avoid repaying the money he borrowed. And without a doubt, today he will come upon some matter which will make him, that sophist, all of a sudden pay dearly for all those villainous things he did.

In performance the phrase “this man here” (1303-4 ὃ...γέρων ὥδ') would be clear. If Strepsiades has hurried into his house after his last line, as most translators would have

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83 The “ʷ-扩张” of the phrase τοῦτο οἶδ' ὃτι is, so far as I am aware, without direct parallel. Sommerstein (1985: 95) translates “you’ll give him something” and explains “probably a portion of the sacrificial meat” (p.179). Henderson’s (1998: 547) translation “mark my words” suggests to me that he has understood the phrase as equivalent to τοῦτο οἶδ' ὃτι, a phrase which occurs at Nu. 1254 (τοῦτο οἶδ' ὃτι); Av. 1221 (οἶδα τοῦθ' ὃτι), 1408 (τοῦτο οἶδ' ὃτι). Cf. too Th. 1013 (δὴ λον οὖν <τοῦτ'> ἤρξατ', ἔξ- αίφης καλὸν γ' ὁνασθαί). Austin and Olson 2004: 312: “δὴ λον κτλ. resumes the crucial point made in 1009-10 after the explanation in 1010-12.” They choose to print δὴ λον οὖν <νν>, but the resumptive (anaphoric) force of τοῦτο seems equally justified, if not more so. If τοῦτο is correct, then perhaps we may see in the demonstrative the normal or regularly construed meaning in phrases like οἶδα τοῦθ' ὃτι. See Chapter 1, p.8 n. 9; Chapter 3, §§I.2, II.3.

84 On the staging of this scene and the attribution of lines see Sommerstein 1985: 178.
it, and is not present for any portion of the Chorus’ song, then ὄδε reflects the presence he
retains in their mind, a presence which the Chorus projects to the audience as they
forecast Strepsiades’ fate. If, on the other hand, Strepsiades has given slight chase to the
Second Creditor and does not immediately enter the skene but walks back toward it as the
Chorus being singing, then ὄδε would be deictic. In this scenario Strepsiades passes
through the doors of his home between 1305-6 and is not privy to the foretelling of the
beating he is about to receive.

To be sure, many more passages could be adduced which would all illustrate this
same idea. Instead of surveying all of these, I would like instead to focus on a single
prepositional phrase. Aristophanes is sparing in his use of πρὸς τάδε; comparatively
free with πρὸς ταῦτα. Of the four instances of πρὸς τάδε, all are spoken by the
chorus. Olson, in his commentary on Peace 305 (πρὸς τάδ’ ἡμῖν, εἰ τι χρὴ δράν, φράξε
κάρχιτεκτόνει), says that πρὸς τάδε is used metri gratia for the more normal
πρὸς ταῦτα. He is correct in observing a correlation between the phrase and the meter—
since πρὸς ταῦτα has the metrical shape of − − − it cannot fit in a trochee—but we
should try to see a correspondence between diction and meter. Is it not better to see the
language reinforcing or iterating the mood or emotion of the metrical structure?

In tragedy, πρὸς τάδε and πρὸς ταῦτα in anaphoric reference frequently
introduce an admonitive or defiant imperative. It is difficult to discern a hard and fast
rule as to when one expression is used over the other, but I am inclined to believe that the
playwrights used πρὸς τάδε as a means of lending greater emphasis to the words which
preceded, a perfectly natural strategy for marking an end to a long speech. In
Aristophanes, we may observe a consistent feature of all the instances of πρὸς τάδε: the
preceding verb is one of speaking (Ach. 705 ἀντερεῖ; Eq. 622 λέγε; Nu. 1031 δεῖ σε
λέγειν; Pax 305 φράξε). And, in all the cases but Acharnians, the verb is an imperative
or imperative equivalent. In Knights, Clouds, and Peace πρὸς τάδε begins a new portion
of the speech which is now directed at a different person than before. The words (or
song) which preceded πρὸς τάδε are thus, by virtue of the proximal demonstrative,
brought vividly to the fore, reminding or exhorting the addressee(s) of the speech’s
import.

Tragic poets generally put πρὸς τάδε in the mouths of the actors, not the chorus,
but Aristophanes’ practice is markedly different. As πρὸς ταῦτα is far commoner, not

86 Ach. 702, Eq. 622, Nu. 1030, Pax 305.
87 Ach. 659; Nu. 996, 1433; V. 648, 927, 1386; Pax 765, 1315; Th. 150, 707; Ra. 993; Ec. 486, 851, 1140;
fr. 233.1 K-A.
88 Olson 1998: 133. This explanation is absent from his later commentary on Acharnians and I suspect he
may have changed his mind. This is the only example of the phrase in trochaic tetrameters in comedy, so
far as I am aware; it appears thrice in tragedy (A. Pers. 170, 730; E. Or. 747).
89 See Garvie 2009: 111-12; Mastronarde 1994: 296; Diggle 1981: 38; Friis Johansen and Whittle 1980:
90 Cf. Thuc. 1.71.7: πρὸς τάδε βουλεύεσθε εὗ καὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον πειράσομεν μὴ ἐλάσσω ἐξηγεῖσθαι ἣ
οἱ πατέρες ἡμῖν παρέδοσαν.
91 In tragedy the chorus only twice speaks the phrase πρὸς τάδε, Aesch. Sept. 312 and Eur. IA 1210, where
the Chorus Leader speaks at end of Clytemnestra’s rhesis (1146-1208), and only once is it in song (Sept.
312). For the most part πρὸς τάδε is used in iambic trimeters, especially but not exclusively those of
Euripides: A. Eum. 436; S. OT 343, Ph. 568; E. Hipp. 304, 697, Andr. 950, El. 693, 685, Hel. 781, IA 1210,
Rh. 99.
just in Aristophanes but in all prose and poetry, and bears essentially the same meaning as πρὸς τάδε, albeit with less emphasis, it is an interesting question why the chorus, and only the chorus, employ the proximal demonstrative in Aristophanes. The four instances in Aristophanes of πρὸς τάδε (cited above) on one level convey the same meaning as other uses of anaphoric ὅδε in that they add emotion to the speaker’s words. On another level, however, the comic chorus’ use of anaphoric ὅδε endows their speech with a deictic vividness that is generally, as far as deictic pronouns are concerned, lacking in the comic diction of actors, apart from the examples already discussed above. That is, in Aristophanes the Chorus is “allowed” to speak more expressively, with what I have termed above “choral vividness.”

The presence and immediacy which anaphoric uses of the proximal demonstrative create is, I would like to suggest, part of the chorus’ purview. In Acharnians, following the antistrophe (692-702) in which the Chorus resume their grumbling begun in the epirrhea, the Chorus Leader responds with the following (703-5):

τῷ γὰρ εἰκός ἅνδρα κυφῶν, ἥλικου Θουκυδίδην,
ἐξολέσαι συμπλακέντα τῇ Ἀκερίνῃ ἐρημίᾳ,
τῷ δὲ τῷ Κηφισοδήμου, τῷ λάλω ξυνηγόρῳ;

Yes! For how is it fitting for a hunched-over man the age of Thucydides to be destroyed completely entwined with the Scythian wilderness, that son of Cephisodemus, the babbling advocate?

At issue is how the proximal demonstrative τῷ δὲ τῷ Κηφισοδήμου should be understood. Sommerstein believes that τῷ δὲ is deictic (“this man here”) and shows that the person referenced, perhaps a member of the Council, was located in the lower, more conspicuous rows of the theater. And indeed this may have been true. Olson, on the other hand, reads τῷ δὲ as showing “only that this individual has been brought up in the discussion previously,” i.e. as anaphoric. I believe both scholars are correct, to a degree. I prefer to read τῷ δὲ as Olson does and see in it what we may term a transference of energy from the lively antistrophe of the whole Chorus to the Chorus Leader’s response, but at the same time the proximal demonstrative may encourage members of the audience to seek out in the theater the person mentioned, particularly if, like Sommerstein, some of the spectators understood τῷ δὲ as deictic. But what is most notable about the use of demonstratives in this parabasis, beginning with the epirrhea, is the way Aristophanes deploys them to connect and reinforce the different sections of the parabasis. At 692 (τὰ ταῦτα πῶς εἴκοτα) the medial demonstrative is anaphoric but expanded cataphorically (see pp.155-7), thereby creating a seamless transition from the epirrhea to the antistrophe. The Chorus concludes their song with “What Marpsias will speak against this?” (701 πρὸς τάδε τίς ἀντερεῖ Μαρψίας;), and the energy contained in the proximal demonstrative is then picked up by the Chorus Leader who not only agrees

93 Olson 2002: 253. Olson critiques Sommerstein’s reading by saying reference to one who is conspicuous in the audience “would require a deictic.” I can only assume that by “deictic” Olson means the form τῷ δὲi, although the audience, individually and collectively, are regularly referenced without such marked forms of the demonstrative.
with the tenor of the song (702 γάρ), but also carries over the excitement and spirited way of speaking with τῷ δὲ τῷ Κηφισοδήμου.

II.5. Anaphoric Uses of οὗτοσί

When the anaphoric medial demonstrative is suffixed with –ί it becomes more expressive, conveying a heightened emotional state (anger, indignation, fear, surprise, excitement) correlative with the speaker’s reaction to the referential statement. In this respect it is similar to ὅδε. We can see this similarity expressed in a few verses of Acharnians which we have already discussed (pp.125-7).

558 ταυτὶ σὺ τολμᾶς πτωχὸς ἡμᾶς λέγειν;
593 ταυτὶ λέγεις σὺ τὸν στρατηγὸν πτωχὸς ὦν
577a οὗτος, σὺ τολμᾶς πτωχὸς ὦν λέγειν τάδε;

In 558 and 593 the speaker (Leader of First Semichorus and Lamachus, respectively) has been privy to the statements made and reacts to them with indignation and anger which survives for us in the –ί but surely would have been doubly or triply emphasized with gesture(s) and tone of voice. 577a, on the other hand, is spoken by Lamachus who has not heard for himself Dicaeopolis’ slanderous remarks and his anger is expressed with the proximal demonstrative. In spite of the overlap between οὗτοσί and ὅδε when it comes to pointing at something, the former invariably remains true to its anaphoric roots and is never used by a speaker to refer back to something s/he has not heard first hand.94 We may also note that in contrast to anaphoric ὅδε, of which ca. 50% of the total usages are spoken by the Chorus, the Chorus speak only ca. 5% of the total instances of anaphoric οὗτοσί.

One of the primary uses of anaphoric οὗτοσί is as a citational tool, as a means of referring back in the discourse to an utterance (anywhere from an entire speech to a single word or phrase) or an action just performed by the speaker’s interlocutor.95 In this sense it is functionally equivalent to unmarked anaphoric medial demonstratives except for the emphasis added by the –ί. Often the verb governing the citational demonstrative is, as we may expect, one of speaking, hearing or perception. For example:

Knights 490-2

Οἰ. ἔχε νῦν, ἀλείψω τὸν τράχηλον τούτῳ, ἵνα ἐξολισθάνω δύνῃ τὰς διαβολὰς.
Αλ. ἀλλ᾽ εὖ λέγεις καὶ παιδοτριβικώς ταυταγί.

Sl. Hold up. Anoint your neck with this so that so that you can maneuver

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94 It can, however, be used by a speaker to an addressee who is out of earshot, as at Av. 954 and V. 211.
95 Wilson 2007: 40 (on Eq. 49): “Deictic iota is used for citations, not just to point at something; Wasps 55 is another good example. LSJ fails to make this clear. At 492 below the deictic pronoun refers to what has just been said; cf. 721 and 820. At Av. 1599 it introduces a specification of the terms to be agreed between Zeus and the birds.”
out of his slander-throws.

SS. Well, you say those things you just said well and like a wrestling coach.

Peace 62-4

Tr. Ο Ζευ, τι δρασείεις ποθ' ἡμῶν τὸν λεὼν; λήσεις σεαυτὸν τὰς πόλεις ἐκκοκκίσας.
Oi. τούτ' ἐστὶ τούτι τὸ κακὸν αὖθ' οὐγὼ 'λεγον'.

Tr. Zeus, what ever are you going to do to our people? Won’t you notice that you gutted our cities?

Sl. That right there is that evil which I was talking about.

In Knights, ταυταγί (492) refers back to 490-1. In Peace, the unmarked τοῦτο refers back to the two lines just spoken by Trygaeus; τούτι, on the other hand, here as an adjective with τὸ κακόν, refers further back to what the Second Slave said at 56-8.96

Birds 1017-18

νῇ Δί', ὡς οὐκ οἶδ' ἂν εἰ
φθαίης ἂν· ἐπίκεινται γὰρ ἐγγὺς αὐται.

By Zeus, I don’t know if you can get away, since they’re nearly upon you!

Peisetaerus punctuates this line by raining down punches upon Meton, who can only respond with a cry of pain (1019 οἴμοι κακοδαίμων) before exiting. As deictic as αὐται sounds (and, at least to Meton, certainly feels), it refers citationally back to Peisetaerus’ previous statement that punches are coming fast and furious throughout the city (1014 πληγαὶ συχνὰ κατ' ἀστυ.). Part of the humor in 1017-18 resides in the incongruity of innocuous language and violent stage action.97

Acharnians 465-8

ἀπέρχομαι.
καίτοι τὶ δράσω; δεὶ γὰρ ἐνὸς οὐ μὴ τυχών
ἀπόλωλ', ἄκουσον, ὥ γλυκύτατ' Εὔριπίδη;
τούτι λαβῶν ἀπειμι κοῦ πρόσειμ' ἐτι

I’m going. And yet, what shall I do? For there’s need of one thing which, if I don’t obtain it, I’m ruined. Listen up, my sweetest Euripides. After I take this I shall go and I will not come again.

Dicaeopolis playfully manipulates the phrase τούτι λαβῶν. Contextually, τοῦτι refers back to ἐνὸς οὐ μὴ τυχών (466) and should be heard citationally. At the same time, because the –ι grants the medial demonstrative the freedom to operate like τόδε, it has a

96 Cf. Nu. 26 (τοῦτ' ἐστὶ τούτι τὸ κακὸν ὃ μ' ἀπολώλεκεν) where the first medial demonstrative refers to what Pheidippides just said (25 Φίλων, ἄδικες. ἔλαυνε τὸν σαυτοῦ δρόμον.) and the second to what Strepsiades was describing previously (12-16).

97 Cf. Eq. 1025-7, discussed in Chapter 4, §II.6 (pp.145-6).
deictic quality to it. Normally, as the direct object of the aorist participle λαβών the demonstrative pronoun, medial or proximal, is solely deictic (cf. Ach. 449, 460, 465). Here, in using τουτί Aristophanes is able to drag out the joke of “just one more thing.”

Since our only avenue toward uncovering (or recovering) the gestural components of an original performance is through the texts themselves, the occasions on which οὗτος appears to operate on two levels, one linguistic, the other gestural, demand closer attention. Of course, if in the examples we shall investigate below οὗτος was accompanied by a gesture, in terms of an audience’s hierarchy of signatory perception the gestural would precede the linguistic. And yet, despite the common appellation “deictic iota,” –ί does not invariably denote gesticulation and we must exercise caution in assuming indexical gestures each and every time we read οὗτος.

Knights 749-55

Αλ. ναί, ναί, διάκρινων δήτα, πλήν μη ἃν τῇ Πυκνί.
Δηµ. οὐκ ἂν καθιζοίµην ἐν ἄλλῳ χωρίῳ.
       ἄλλ’ εἰς τὸ πρόσθε. χρὴ παρείν’ εἰς τὴν πύκνα.
Αλ. οίµοι κακοδαίµων, ὡς ἀπόλλωλ’ ὁ γάρ γέρων
       οἶκοι μὲν ἀνδρῶν ἑστὶ δεξιόστατος,
       ὅταν δ’ ἐπὶ ταυτησία καθήται τῆς πέτας,
       κέχηνεν ὡσπέρ ἐμποδίζων ἱσχάδας.

SS. Yes, yes, you be the judge, but not on the Pnyx.
Dem. I wouldn’t sit anywhere else, so move forward. We must arrive at the Pnyx.
SS. Damnit! I’m ruined! For the old man at home is the cleverest of men, but whenever he sits down on that rock he gapes like he’s chewing figs.

Demos stands before the skene door flanked by Paphlagon and the Sausage Seller. The Chorus is in the orchestra but hedged toward the side of their ally, the Sausage Seller. At Paphlagon’s suggestion (746-7) the trio moves to the Pnyx. How this scene was staged is unclear, but I am inclined to believe that there was a rock in the orchestra—likely a prop now placed there by stagehands, if not present for the duration, or the natural rough-hewn rock to the side of the orchestra—and that it is toward this which the actors move and on which Demos sits. Unless the Sausage Seller extended his arm and pointed toward the rock, wherever it was, as he said ἐπὶ ταυτησία καθήται τῆς πέτας, there is no indication

99 Dearden (1976: 70-1), following an idea earlier proposed by Ribbeck 1867: 271 and Srebny 1960: 87-9, maintains that the Pnyx is located on the eccyclema. Sommerstein (1980: 53-4) refutes this view. Where the rock was located has a significant bearing on the meaning of the following scene. Were it to the side of the orchestra then all of the actors, and of course all of the action, would be on one side of theater, a proxemic layout which would have the unpleasant (and unnecessary) effect of excluding a large portion of the audience. If, on the other hand, Demos’ rock were in the center of the orchestra, then the Paphlagon, the Sausage Seller, and the Chorus could all stand beside him without creating a listing effect in the theater. With Demos centrally fixed, we should imagine the Paphlagon on his left and the Sausage Seller and the Chorus on his right, the overloading of one side of the orchestra being an intentional effect meant to heighten the Paphlagon’s isolation.
that ταυτησί must refer deictically to the physical rock and it can just as easily refer back in the discourse to τῇ Πυκνί (749).

Wasps 254-7

The Chorus enter the orchestra at 230 led by young boys. As they approach the center of the orchestra one of the boys spots a mud-puddle and warns his elders to look out for it (248). The Chorus Leader responds with a reprimand to the young boy about proper care of oil-lamp wicks (249-52) and then says, “For it doesn’t sting you whenever it is expensive to buy” (253 οὐ γὰρ δάκνει σ’, ὅταν δὲ τίμιον πρίσαθαι), punctuating δάκνει with a smack to the boy’s head. Stunned and upset, the Boy retorts (254-7):

εἰ νὴ Δί’ αὐθίς κονδύλοις νοσθετὶσεθ’ ἡμᾶς,
ἀποσβέσαντες τοὺς λύχνους ἀπίμενον οἴκαδ’ αὐτοί·
κάπετ’ ἵως ἐν τῷ σκότῳ τούτουι στερηθείς
τὸν πηλὸν ὡσπερ ἀτταγάς τυρβάσεις βαδίζων.

If, by Zeus, you admonish us once more with your fists, we will extinguish the lamps and go home alone. And perhaps then, in the dark deprived of this will you wander about stirring up mud like a duck.

We should understand τουτοί either as the neuter substantive expressing the idea of the light produced by the lamps which, if lost, will cause the old men of the chorus to flail about like ducks, or as referring to the lamp the Boy is carrying, which he waves about to emphasize his point. And while I am inclined to believe with most others that τουτοί does refer to the lamp which the Boy would have made prominent by holding it up, it is not by any means beyond the realm of possibility that no gesture was made and that τουτοί is used simply as a citational device for ἀποσβέσαντες τοὺς λύχνους (255).

If τουτοί is “self-citational” and refers back to the speaker’s own words, then it is but one of a few examples of such a use. The closest comparanda to Wasps 256 are Lysistrata 740, Thesmophoriazusae 20, and Frogs 251, although none of these is quite the same and the appellation “self-citational” is problematic.

Lysistrata 739-41

Γυ. Ἐγώ γ’ ἀποδείρασ’ αὐτίκα μάλ’ ἀνέρχομαι.
Λυ. μὴ, μάποδείρης ἢν γὰρ ἄρις τουτοί,
ἐτέρα γυνὴ ταύτων ποιεῖν βουλήσεται.

Wo. I’ll be back in a jiffy, after I strip it.
Lys. No, don’t you strip it! For if you begin that another woman will want to do the same thing.

100 See Smyth 1956: 308.

Lysistrata’s τούτουί does refer most immediately back to her prohibition against stripping (740 μή, μάποδείρης), but it really references the Second Old Woman’s ἀποδείρασ’ (739).

Thesmophoriazusae 19-20

διὰ τὴν χοάνην οὖν μήτ’ ἀκούσ μήθ’ ὄρω;
νη τὸν Δι’ ἢδομαι τι τούτι προσμιαθών.

So it’s because of the funnel that I neither hear nor see? By Zeus, I sure am glad to learn that!

The Kinsman’s τούτι looks back citationally both to the preceding sentence (19), as well as to Euripides’ lengthy explanation which prompts the Kinsman to pose that question in the first place (13-18). It is best to take the citation as referring first and foremost to Euripides’ exegesis and secondarily to the Kinsman’s summation.

Frogs 250-1

Βα. Δι. βρεκεκεκεξ κοάξ κοάξ.
Δι. τούτι παρ’ ύμων λαμβάνω.

Fr. Di. Brekekekex koax koax.
Di. I am taking that from you.

Most recent editors have followed Rogers in giving line 250 to both Dionysus and the Frogs. W.B. Stanford suggests reading λαμβάνω as “I am going to take,” and if this is correct then we may hear 256 as the first time Dionysus usurped the Frogs’ cry. Even if we consider that 250 may be spoken solely by the Frogs, this does not change the citational use of τούτι since “that” refers to the Frogs’ βρεκεκεκεξ κοάξ κοάξ, which they have croaked on several occasions up to this point (209-10, 220, 223, 225, 235, 239).

Unlike Wasps 256, the three examples just given do not use τούτι as a means of citing something previously stated by the speaker. Instead, this citational use of the medial demonstrative seems to be reserved for referring to another’s words. And although examples of this type of reference are scant in the Aristophanic corpus—indeed, I have discussed each case I believe to be relevant—nonetheless, we may speculate that Wasps 256 is more likely to be purely deictic than citational, if the pattern of use as seen in the other examples is taken as the norm.

Knights 197-203

As our final example I would like to look at an instance of οὐτοσί which is always assumed to be deictic. In Knights, Demosthenes reads an oracle, the meaning of which the Sausage Seller finds perplexing; Demosthenes then provides an explanation:

103 Stanford 1962: 96. See too Paley 1877: 29 for a good discussion of the different interpretations.
104 Lys. 1145 may be read as “self-citational,” but it is best taken as emotional anaphora.
Δη. “‘άλλ’ ὀπόταυ µάρψι βυρσαίετος ἁγκυλοχήλης
gαµφηληγη δράκοντα κοάλεµον αἰµατοπώτην,
δὴ τότε Παφλαγόνων µὲν ἀπόλλυται ἡ σκοροδάλµη,
κοιλιοπώλησιν δὲ θεὸς µέγα κύδος ὀπάζει,
αἶ κεν µὴ πωλεῖν ἀλλὰντας µᾶλλον ἔλωνται.”

Αλ. πῶς οὖν πρὸς ἐµὲ ταύτ’ ἔστιν; ἀναδίδασκέ µε.

Δη. βυρσαίετος µὲν ὁ Παφλαγών ἐσθ’ οὔτοσι.

Dem. “But whenever the crooked-jawed eagle-tanner snatches in his talons a stupid, blood-sucking snake, then the garlic-brine of the Paphlagonians will be destroyed. God grants great glory to sausage-sellers, unless they prefer to sell sausages.”

SS. What does that have to do with me? Teach me that.

Dem. That Paphlagon is the eagle-tanner!

It is presumed that Demosthenes points at Cleon in the audience when he says οὔτοσι, making the link between Paphlagon and Cleon apparent to all those who had somehow yet to make the connection. And this very well may have been how it was staged. Yet on a linguistic level, ο Παφλαγών…οὔτοσι can easily look back in the discourse to Παφλαγόνων…/σκοροδάλµη and be heard as an excited anaphor; the –ί indicates Demosthenes’ frustration at the proleptically named “stupid snake” (198 δράκοντα κοάλεµον) for not picking up on the transparency of the oracle. Alternatively, we cannot discount the possibility that if a gesture was made that it pointed back toward the house, reminding the audience (and not the Sausage Seller, who has never questioned who Paphlagon is) that Paphlagon is inside.105

Birds 288 presents an interesting case for testing the limits of reading οὔτοσι as anaphoric.

Eu. τίς ὀνοµάζεται ποθ’ οὔτος;
Επ. οὔτοσι κατωφαγάς.

Eu. What the heck is that one’s name?
Ter. That one’s a glutton.

Strickly speaking, οὔτοσι answers οὔτος and on those grounds is anaphoric. But there is a marked irregularity to the sequence of demonstratives which strongly suggests that Tereus’ οὔτοσι is primarily and emphatically deictic and would have been accompanied by a gesture. Tereus’ gesture is mandated by two elements. First, the scene does not seem to benefit from or even make sense with reading –ί here as an index of emotionality. Second, it follows an unmarked medial demonstrative, an inversion of the “normal” movement from deictic to anaphoric, as we shall see below.

105 Neil 1901: 34: “οὔτοσι is rarely used of anything not on the stage: Vesp. 74 and Plut. 800 it means one of the audience: here it may be supposed that Cleon is visible inside the house from the stage.” I presume Neil means the Paphlagon when he says Cleon; I do not, however, presume that he was visible since the doors are surely shut at this point.
II.6. **Unmarked Uses of οὗτος**

Demonstratives, when used first deictically then anaphorically of the same object adhere to a regular sequence or hierarchy. The initial indication is made with a demonstrative more marked than the ensuing anaphor. We may express this in a series of three ‘if X deictic then Y anaphor’ statements:

1) If ὅδι then ὃδε or ὦτος
2) If ὃδε then ὦτοσί or ὦτος
3) If ὦτοσί then ὦτος

A few examples (or a quick perusal through the appendices) should suffice to illustrate this system.

1) If ὅδι then ὃδε or ὦτος

So far as I can tell, the only example of a deictic ὅδι followed by an anaphoric ὃδε is *Frogs* 979:106

ποὺ μοι τοδί; τίς τόδ’ ἔλαβεν;

Where is this thing of mine? Who took this thing of mine?

This verse, however, is not without its difficulties and there are good arguments (although in my opinion ultimately irresolvable) for reading ποὺ μοι τοδί; τίς τοῦτ’ ἔλαβε.107 Assuming that τοδί is followed by another proximal demonstrative, then what we have is an example where emotional intensity breaks the rules of the system’s hierarchy. The speaker, a man Euripides imagines is now an astute and rational thinker, particularly when it comes to household management, is envisioned to enter his home and ask how things are (978 ποὺς τοῦτ’ ἔχει;). This question is followed by the two quoted above. I believe we can see in these hypothetical questions an escalation in emotion as the speaker first asks where something is (ποὺ μοι τοδί;), and when he does not receive the answer he wants grows angry and demands to know who took the thing referenced by τοδί. In fact, we may speculate that the initial tone of the speaker is angry (or at least excited) since there does not seem to be any motivation for the –ί.

There are but a handful of examples which show the movement from deictic ὅδι to anaphoric ὦτος. In the four examples below ὅδι calls attention to a character’s

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106 There are no instances of ὦτοσί as the anaphor of a deictic ὅδι. The two possible exceptions are *Av.* 1599-1603 and *Ec.* 1084-1100. In *Birds*, ταδί (1599) is cataphoric and the proximal demonstrative ἐτί τοῦσδε, while admittedly anaphoric, refers back to the idea that Zeus restore the scepter to the birds (1600-1). In *Ecclesiazusae*, the Third Old Woman is referenced with ἑδί (1084) and then at 1100 with τῆσδ’, but the intervening dialogue and stage action—Epigenes being fought over by the two old women—make the proximal demonstrative in 1100 deictic.

entrance (a very common use of the –ι marked proximal demonstrative), or to a prop which the speaker displays as he hands it over to his interlocutor (Ach. 191; Eq. 1183), or to a group of people already present (Pax 969). My translations of the passages below attempt to capture through their stilted English the full meaning of the anaphoric demonstrative.

**Acharnians 191-2**

Αµ. οὐ δ᾽ ἀλλὰ τασδὶ τὰς δεκέτεις γεύσαι λαβὼν.
Δι. ὅζουσι χαϊται—

Am. Well, take a taste of these ten year old treaties here which I possess (τασδὶ τὰς δεκέτεις).

Dic. These treaties which you just mentioned and presented (αὕται) also smell

**Acharnians 908-9**

Δι. καὶ μὴν ὁδὶ Νίκαρχος ἔρχεται φανὼν.
Θη. μικκός γα μάκος οὔτος.

Dic. Look! I see Nicarchus (ὁδὶ Νίκαρχος) coming to inform.

Theb. I see that guy you just mentioned (οὔτος) and he is tiny.

**Peace 969-70**

Οἰ. τοισδ᾽ φέρε δὴ πολλοὶ γὰρ εἰσι κάγαθοί.
Τρ. τούτους ἀγαθοὺς ἐνόιμισας;

Sl. Well, let me give it to these people here before me (τοισδὶ), for they are many and brave.

Tr. You think those people you just mentioned (τούτους) are brave?

**Knights 1183-4**

Αλ. λαβὲ καὶ ταδί νυν.
Δη. καὶ τί τούτοις χρήσομαι τοῖς ἐντέροις;

SS. Take too these here entrails which belong to me (ταδὶ).
Dem. And how shall I make use of these entrail of yours which you just mentioned (τούτοις τοῖς ἐντέροις)?

In all of these passages the proximal demonstrative is, naturally enough, closely associated with the ego of the utterance.

**Knights 1025-7**

Αλ. οὐ τούτο φησ᾽ ὅ χρησμός, ἀλλ᾽ ὁ κύων ὁδὶ ἔσπερ θύρας σου τῶν λογίων παρεσθίει.

The oracle doesn’t say that, but this guy here is the dog who will eat your oracles just like he did your doors! For the oracle I’ve got is correct about that damn dog.

*Knights* 1025-7 presents a special case. For the first time in the play the Sausage Seller refers to Paphlagon with a proximal demonstrative instead of his usual, and often contemptuous, οὗτος or οὗτοι. Quite enlivened by Paphlagon’s (mis)reading of the oracle in which he claimed that Apollo demanded of Demos to protect he Paphlagon (1023-4), the Sausage Seller rebuts this interpretation and pointing at Paphlagon exclaims that Paphlagon will chew on Demos’ oracles just as real dogs when tied to doorposts chew on them. But we may also see ὅδι as conveying the Sausage Seller’s anger and irritation at Paphlagon, an emotional state reexpressed with the anaphoric, and surely contemptuous, περὶ τούτου τοῦ κυνός, which refers back simultaneously to all previously mentioned dogs, both the dog in the oracle (textually present) and Paphlagon the dog (physically present). This ambiguity of who or what exactly is the dog is then played for laughs as Demos, unable to distinguish between a dog mentioned by an oracle and a real dog, and afraid of being bitten, picks up a rock for protection (1028-9).

2) If δὲ then οὗτοι or οὗτος

There are only two instances of οὗτοι as the anaphor of δὲ and in both cases οὗτοι seems primarily, if not exclusively, deictic.

*Knights* 1045-9

Αλ.  ἐν οὐκ ἀναδιδάσκει σε τῶν λογίων ἐκών,  
      ὅτι τὸ σιδήρον τεῖχός ἐστι καὶ ξύλων,  
      ἐν ὧν σΕζΕΙΝ ὅν ήκέλευ’ ὁ Λοξίας.  

Δηµ.  πώς δῆτα τούτ’ ἔφραζεν ὁ θεός;  
Αλ.  τοῦτοι  
δῆσαι σ’ ἐκέλευ’ ἐν πεντεσυρίγγῳ ξύλῳ.

SS. One thing of the oracles he doesn’t willingly explain to you: what is the wall of iron and wood in which Loxias was bidding you to keep this guy safe?

Dem. What did the god mean by that?

SS. He was bidding you to bind this guy in five-holed wood.

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109 Mitchell 1836: 192, paraphrasing Casaubon. Sommerstein and Henderson both follow Hermann and read “porridge” (ἄθριης) for “doors” (θύρας) since “no dog even by the most determined nibbling could eat away any substantial part of a door” (Sommerstein 1981: 198).

110 The Sausage Seller’s confusion was, of course, understandable given Cleon’s canine affinities, derived either from from his self-proclamation that he was a “watchdog” of the city or because of the phonetic similarity between his name (Κλέων) and “dog” (κύων). Cf. *Eq*. 1017-24, 1030-4; *V*. 1031; *Pax* 313.

111 Cf. *Av*. 1017-18, Chapter 4, §II.5 (p.139).
Peace 871-2

Τρ. ἵθι νυν ἀποδώμεν τήν Θεωρίαν ἄνυσάντε τῇ βουλῇ.

Οἰ. τί; ταυτηνὶ; τί φής; αὐτὴ Θεωρία ἵστιν, ἣν ἤμεις ποτὲ ἐπαίομεν Βραυρωνᾶδ' ὑποπεπωκότες;

872 ταυτηνὶ V: ταυτηὶ R: ταύτην p: ἐσθ' αὐτῇ L: τίς αὐτὴ Dobree

Tr. Come then, let’s hurry up and hand over Theoria here to the Council.

Sl. What? This one here? What are you saying? That woman is Theoria, the one whom we used to pound back in the day on our way to Brauron after we’d had a few too many?

In *Knights* the linguistically anaphoric τοὺτονὶ (1048) must have been accompanied by a gesture as the Sausage Seller indicates “this bum here” (reading the medial demonstrative with a pejorative tone). The case of Theoria in *Peace* is more complex. First deictically marked by Trygaeus (871 τήνδε), Theoria is then referenced again by the Slave who asks for clarification in response to Trygaeus’ suggestion. Following Wilson’s text (printed above as throughout), the form ταυτηνὶ cannot be anaphoric here as τί imposes a break in the logical flow of the communication. Uncompacting the Slave’s staccato interrogatory tricolon we may translate: “What? Do you mean that woman there [pointing to Theoria]? What are you suggesting?!” As such, it is best to hear ταυτηνὶ as expressing both a gesture and the Slaves’ surprise at losing Theoria.112 If, on the other hand, we follow Dobree’s emendation τίς αὐτηί, preferred and defended by Olson on the grounds that τί; ταυτηνὶ; “makes little sense, especially as punctuated by Maurice Platnauer [whose punctuation Wilson follows], since if anyone announces Holiday’s identity, it ought to be Tr.,”113 then there is less of a break and αὐτηί is easily read as an excited anaphor. Contrary to Olson, I find both τίς αὐτηί; and τί; ταυτηνὶ; to be grammatically and performatively acceptable. The question then becomes should one follow V, an 11th-century manuscript, or L, which may very well carry a conjecture of Demetrius Triclinius’ work of the early 14th century and not be based on transmission? It is probably best to follow V. However, the interrogative τί; by itself is rare in drama but certainly not unparalleled.114 In all of the extant examples, a solitary interrogative τί denotes surprise or excitement. The difference between τί; ταυτηνὶ; and τίς αὐτηί; seems, then, to be one of emotion: τί; expresses the Slave’s excitement through his inability to form a coherent sentence—he is reduced to short, excited outbursts; ταυτηνὶ; and τίς αὐτηί;, even with the emotion of the –ί of αὐτηί;, are relatively more staid.

The movement from δὲ to οὖντος is normal, and it is in this progression from a deictic to an anaphoric demonstrative that we can often see a speaker’s point of view clearly illustrated in their diction. What is initially indicated with a proximal demonstrative bears the expanded meaning “that thing I see.” A prime example of this

112 Sommerstein (1985: 85) gives the stage directions “surprised to hear the name Showtime” before Slave’s lines at 872. On the various textual readings see Olson 1998: 237-8.
113 Olson 1998: 238.
114 Soph. fr. 314.105 Radt; Ar. *Ach.* 750; *Pl.* 400; Men. *Her.* 70.
type of exchange is the *teichoskopeia*-scene in Book 3 of the *Iliad* where Priam and Helen stand atop the wall of Troy surveying the battlefield. When Priam asks about a particular warrior he uses a proximal demonstrative to which Helen replies with a medial demonstrative.\(^\text{115}\) Thus, e.g.:

\[\text{ος τις ὁδ´ ἐστιν Ἀχαιὸς ἀνήρ (3.167)}\]
\[\text{oútós γ´ Ἀτρείδης εὑρὰ κρείων Ἀγαμέμνων (3.178)}\]

Who is this Achaian man before my eyes?  
That man before your eyes is the son of Atreus, wide-ruling Agamemnon.”

This same pattern occurs several times in Aristophanes, e.g.:

**Acharnians 895-6**

Θη. ἐμοὶ δὲ τιμὰ τάσσει πᾶ γενήσεται;  
Δι. ἀγορᾶς τέλος ταύτην γέ που δώσεις ἐμοί.

Th. From where shall I have payment for this?  
Dic. I suppose you’ll give it to me as a market-tax.

**Acharnians 910-12**

Νι. ταυτὶ τίνος τὰ φορτὶ ἐστὶ;  
Θη. τῶδ´ ἐμὰ  
Θείβαθεν, ἵππῳ Δεύς.  
Νι. ἐγὼ τοίνυν ὅδι  
φαίνω πολέμια ταύτα.

Ni. Who’s wares are these?  
Th. These right here are mine from Thebes, by Zeus.  
Ni. Then I, right here, right now, declare those goods of yours contraband.

**Knights 1183-4**

Αλ. λαβὲ καὶ ταδί νυν.  
Δημ. καὶ τί τούτοις χρήσομαι  
τοῖς ἐντέροις;  
SS. Here, take these.  
Dem. And what am I to do with these entrails of yours.

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\(^\text{115}\) The use of medial and proximal demonstratives in this scene is nicely discussed by Ruijgh 2006: 158; see too Martín López 1994: 23-4; Manolessou 2001: 132-3.
3) If οὗτοσι then οὗτος

In the following passages we see οὗτος as the anaphor of a deictic οὗτοσι or οὗε, the two demonstratives being used often by Aristophanes as virtual synonyms. In each case, the marked deictic (οὗε or οὗτοσι) is referred back to by an unmarked οὗτος.116

**Clouds 187-92**

Στ. ἀτὰρ τί ποτ’ εἰς τὴν γῆν βλέπουσιν οὗtoi;
Μα. ζητούσιν οὗτοι τὰ κατὰ γῆς.
Στ. βολβοὺς ἀρα
ζητοῦσι. μὴ νῦν τοῦτο γ’ ἔτι φροντίζετε’
ἐγώ γὰρ οἰδ’ ἵν’ εἰσὶ μεγάλοι καὶ καλοί.
190
τί γὰρ οἰδὲ δρώσιν οἱ σφόδρ’ ἐγκεκυφότες;
Μα. οὗτοι δ’ ἐρεβοδιφώσιν ὑπὸ τὸν Τάρταρον.

Str. Why the heck are those guys there staring at the ground?
St. They are seeking what is beneath the ground.
Str. Ah, they’re looking for bulbs. You don’t need to fret about that any more since I know where there are bulbs, big and nice looking. But what are these guys doing so very hunched-over?
St. They are scrutinizing Erebus under Tartarus.

**Birds 270-1**

Πε. τίς ἔστιν οὐρνις οὗτοσι;
Επ. οὗτος οὐ τῶν ἡθάδων τῶνδ’ ὄν ὄρᾱθ’ ύμεῖς ἀεί,
ἀλλὰ λιμναῖος.

Pe. What is that bird?
Ter. That is not one of the usual sort here which you see all the time but a marsh-bird.

In both of the above passages the deictic demonstrative both points at something and, by virtue of the close connection between οὗε and οὗτοσι and the ego of the utterance, expresses the speaker’s perspective. One distinction we may try to draw between deictic proximal and medial demonstratives is that the former seem to (or should) be used to reference things which are physically nearer to the speaker. So in Clouds, when Strepsiades uses οὗτοι (188) to index those looking for bulbs, and then uses οἷε (190) for those peering into the netherworld, we should imagine that the bulb-diggers are further away from Strepsiades than the netherworld-lookers. In the same vein we may see in οὗτοσι at Birds 270 an indication that the marsh-bird is not near Peisetaerus. The anaphor of these deictics, however, is unrelated to proxemic relationships of any sort and derives its meaning solely from its speaker’s relationship to the speaker of the deictic demonstrative.

116 Martín de Lucas (1996: 168-9) has already observed the movement from deictic οὗτοσι to anaphoric οὗτος.
An interesting example which may reflect the strength of this normal order from marked to unmarked is *Acharnians* 187-8:

Greek:

έγωγέ φηµι, τρία γε ταυτί γεύµατα.
αὔται µέν εἰσι πεντέτεις. γεύσαι λαβών.

I say that I do, these three tastes here.
These are five-years old. Take a taste.

Both ταυτί γεύµατα and αὔται are deictic. For the former, Amphitheus displays his three “tastes” of *spondai* (“libation-treaties”), as the –ι informs us. After presenting his selection he then offers Dicaeopolis one of them. But rather than using a clearly deictic form, as we have at 191 (τασδ/ uni1F76 τ/ uni1F70ς δεκέτεις) and 194 (α/ uni1F51ταιί), Aristophanes uses a medial demonstrative. Its close proximity to the ταυτί and the particle µέν suggest that this first batch of treaties is conceived as part of the larger group which was clearly marked, at least linguistically. There was certainly a gesture accompanying αὔται as Amphitheus presented them to Dicaeopolis, but on the level of diction they are not as clearly distinguished.

### II.7. Exceptions to the Normal Sequence

When the normal pattern of ‘X deictic, Y anaphor’ is not maintained, as probably at *Frogs* 979, there is a marked excitement, one which was likely also indicated through tone of voice and comportment, and/or a gesture.¹¹⁷ I give below two examples of passages that may contain exceptions to the rule, though I am disinclined to see either as such. Rather, in each case the “exceptional” demonstrative is an illustration of addressee-oriented deixis.

*Acharnians* 331-3

**Δι.**  βάλλετ', ε/ uni1F30 βούλεσθ'· / uni1F10γ/ uni1F7C γ/ uni1F70ρ τουτον/ uni1F76 διαφθερ/ uni1FF6.  
ε/ uni1F34σοµαι δ' / uni1F51µ/ uni1FF6ν τάχ' / uni1F45στις / uni1F00νθράκων τι κήδεται.  

**Χο.**  / uni1F61ς / uni1F00πωλόµεσθ'· / uni1F41 λάρκος δηµότης / uni1F45δ' / uni1F14στ' / uni1F10µός.  

**Dic.** Pelt me, if you want. For I shall slaughter this. And I’ll quickly see who of you cares at all for coal.

**Cho.** How we are ruined! This coal-basket here is my demesman.

In *Acharnians*, ὄδε is the anaphor of τουτονί. We may have “properly” expected the Chorus Leader to use a medial demonstrative, but the proximal is explainable in three

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¹¹⁷ This is true also in tragedy. Moorhouse (1982: 153) scoffs at Humbert’s (1954: 30-1) idea that the proximal is more excited than the medial and thus shows a “gradation ascendante” (italics original) at S. El. 981, asking “But do we then find a descending emphasis in P. 841 etc.?” Humbert is, of course, correct. On the few instances when the same person is indicated first with a medial and then with a proximal demonstrative it does appear that the speaker is growing more excited; the shift from a proximal to a medial is, as we have seen, the normal movement of demonstratives.
ways, none of which negates the others. This is surely an emotionally intense scene, at least or especially for the Chorus who are unaware of the Telephus parody, and their diction reflects how present in their thoughts the Orestes-coal-basket is as Dicaeopolis threateningly presses his knifeblade against it. At the same time, δεδε may indicate a gesture and/or be heard as possessive. Even with a gesture and/or a doubled sense of possession (presaging ἐμός), the proximal demonstrative elevates the emotionality of the scene.

Wasps 1371-3

Βδ. νὴ τὸν Δί', αὐτὴ ποὺ ἵστι σοὶ γ' ἢ Δαρδανίς.
Φί. οὐκ, ἄλλ' ἐν ἄγορα τοῖς θεοῖς δᾶς κάεται.
Βδ. δᾶς ἤδε;
Φί. δᾶς δῆτ'.
Βδ. By Zeus, that girl you have, I suppose, ἢς Dardanis.
Πη. No she’s not, she’s a torch burning for the gods in the marketplace.
Βδ. This here is a torch?!
Πη. Yup, she’s a torch.

It is probably best to hear Bdelycleon’s δᾶς δηδε as deictic, as verbally echoing a gesture made in Dardanis’ direction. At the same time, given Philocleon’s ridiculous lie in 1372, Bdelycleon is, as often, frustrated with this father and δῆδε may reflect his spluttering. Philocleon’s nonchalant reply (1373 δᾶς δηδε), in which δῆτα affirms Bdelycleon’s previous statement, must have further frustrated his son.

III. CATAPHORA IN ARISTOPHANES

III.1. Cataphoric δὲ and ὅδι

Aristophanes uses cataphoric δὲ mostly in the neuter plural demonstrative pronoun (with a slight preference for ταδί over τάδε), but occasionally as the demonstrative adjective or the object of a preposition. As the following examples help to illustrate, there does not appear to be any semantic distinction between ταδί, τάδε, τοδί, and τόδε and each is used somewhat indiscriminately to look forward to a linguistic entity.

Frogs 1417-18

Δι. ἐνδαίμονοις. φέρε, πῦθεσθέ μου ταδί.
       ἔγὼ κατηλθών ἐπὶ ποιητήν.

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118 Denniston 1950: 276.
119 ταδί: Eq. 928; Av. 130, 137, 168, 1441, 1599; Lys. 414; Ra. 1417; Ec. 726; τάδε: Eq. 66; Nu. 1079; Av. 600; Th. 373, 556; Ec. 57, 699; τοδί: Nu. 500; Th. 740, 844; Pl. 40; τόδε: Eq. 985, 1036, 1058; Lys. 326; other: V. 55 (ὀλίγ' ἀτθ'…ταδί), 413 (τόνδε λόγου); [Pax 744 (οὐκεκα τοῦδι)]; Lys. 97-8 (τοδί…τι μικρόν); Th. 412 (διὰ τοῦτο τοδί); Ra. 1035 (πλὴν τοῦδ'), 1243 (πρὸς τοδί) 1342 (τάδε τέρα).
Di. May you be happy! Come now, learn from me the following: I came down here go get a poet.

**Birds 600-1**

Πε. λέγουσι δέ τοι τάδε πάντες,
“οὔδες οἶδεν τὸν θησαυρὸν τὸν ἐμὸν πλὴν εἶ τὶς ἄρ’ ὅρνις.”

Pe. As you know, everyone says the following: “Nobody knows my treasure chest except some bird.”

**Clouds 500-2**

Στ. εἰπὲ δὴ νῦν μοι τοδί:

ήν ἐπιμελῆς ὦ καὶ προθύμως μανθάνω,
tῶν μαθητῶν ἐμφερῆς γενήσομαι:

Str. Alright then, tell me this: if I am attentive and eagerly learn, which of your students shall I come to resemble?

**Knights 1036-7**

Πα. ὡ τὰν, ἀκουσον, εἶτα διάκρινον, τόδε:

ἔστι γυνῆ, τέξει δὲ λέονθ’ ἵερα ἐν Ἀθήναις,

Pa. Sir, listen to the following and then make your decision: There is a woman, and she will give birth to a lion in holy Athens,

I have not observed any marked difference between the singular and the plural forms or between those with or without –ί and there does not appear to be any correlation between the form of the demonstrative and what it anticipates: both plurals and singulars alike look forward equally to an utterance expressed in a single line as to one communicated over several. There are, however, a couple of consistent, observable constructions. First, λέγω always takes the plural;[120] εἶπον the singular. [121] Second, when the proximal demonstrative occurs at the end of a line, as it does a bit more than half the time, nearly three-fourths of these instances use forms marked with –ί.[122]

If there is a difference between cataphoric demonstratives with –ί and those without, however, it is likely to be one of inflexion or tone. We can see a good example of this in *Peace* 739-45:

πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ τοὺς ἀντιπάλους μόνος ἀνθρώπων κατέπαυσεν
eis tā rākia skw贫穷τοντας ἀεί kai tois fheirouin polēmuṁtaς,
touς Ἡρακλέας τοὺς ῥαττοντας καὶ πεινώντας ἑκεῖνουs

[120] *Eq* 66; *Pax* 213; *Av* 130, 600, 1441; *Lys* 414; *Ec* 695, 726.
[121] Ῥα. 1243, Pl. 40. At *V* 55 we find Ῥαδι governed by ύπεστον; at *Th* 556 we see ἐπὲ τάδ’ οὐκ εἶρον… ὣς….
[122] Blaydes’ suggestion of Ῥαδι at *Eq* 1036 may be tempting based solely on statistical frequency, but I do not find that alone to be a compelling reason to emend the text.
First of all, he was the only person to stop his rivals from continually making fun of rags and making war with lice. And he first dishonored and drove out those Heracleses who knead bread and still go hungry, and put an end to those slaves who run away and who deceive and who receive beatings—and whom they put onstage crying incessantly, and what’s more they were there only for the sake of that—just so that his fellow slave having mocked his beatings can then ask....

Most editors athetize line 744 because, as Sommerstein explains, it is virtually identical to 742 in terms of meaning and may represent an earlier version of the text which was later replaced by 742. Olson acknowledges the difficulties in 742-4 (the participles in 742 are more appropriate to the slaves mentioned in the second half of 743; ἐπίτηδες is odd with φεύγοντας in 742 and should coordinate with ἵνα in 745; ἔξαγω in 744 is not used elsewhere with the sense “bring characters on stage”; 744 itself adds nothing) but dismisses these problems and proposes keeping the line. His decision to do so is questioned by Wilson who asks, among other things, “what is the point of the deictic τουδί?” The demonstrative pronoun with –ι highlights for the audience the incredible disbelief and annoyance the Chorus (and Aristophanes) has for the foolish actions staged by rival poets. And although one is perfectly correct in seeing, as Wilson and Sommerstein do, a needless redundancy in the phrase καὶ τούτους οὐνεκα τουδί, by definition this use of καὶ + demonstrative pronoun is redundant (“and in addition to what I just said [of those people]”). The effect of this phrase is, I believe, an intense or emotional parenthesis in which the Chorus voices their exasperation with what they believe is a ridiculous practice.

**III.2. Cataphoric οὗτος**

Medial demonstratives are only used cataphorically when they point forward to an appositive. Additionally, as we shall see below, anaphoric οὗτος is frequently expanded or developed by appositional clauses which allow οὗτος to be heard first as anaphoric and then reheard as prospective. In these instances it is primarily or initially heard anaphorically and only becomes prospective when something is placed in apposition to it. These appositives facilitate greater clarity of thought, but are not entirely

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126 On καὶ + demonstrative pronoun (usually καὶ τοῦτα) see Kühner-Gerth 1898: 647, 1904: 85. Rijksbaron (2007: 181) has observed that, at least in Plato, “when οὗτος is used cataphorically, announcing a relative clause which modifies a noun phrase, it seems to prefer a position immediately before ἵνα + noun.” In Aristophanes, cataphoric οὗτοι displays relatively great consistency. Only at V. 781 does it appear at line end (Ra. 1215 ends the line with the demonstrative adjective as object of the preposition πρὸς χάρι τουτοί but continues in the next line with enjambed τῶν πρόλογων), and the neuter singular τουτί is the preferred form, save for Ec. 232 (σκεφάμενοι ταύτι μόνα).
necessary since the referent of the anaphoric medial demonstrative is in all cases apparent, though not always as clear as possible.

Purely cataphoric reference—that is, a medial demonstrative that not only looks forward to an appositive (relative clause, indirect question, epexegetical infinitive, etc.), but cannot also be construed anaphorically—is rather rare. Indeed, I have found only a handful of occurrences.\textsuperscript{128} The relative paucity of this type of construction, compared to tragedy, and the frequency with which the medial demonstrative is employed prospectively with a verb of knowing may suggest that the audience was prepared to expect something to come if they heard a medial demonstrative and did not understand a clear referent. C.J. Ruijgh has posited that a medial demonstrative pronoun may be used prospectively “when it refers to what is going to be mentioned in the continuation of the same sentence,”\textsuperscript{129} although he acknowledges that the difference between “continuation of the same sentence” and “next sentence” (to which οδε would look forward) is not always clear.\textsuperscript{130}

What follows are a few examples and discussions of medial demonstratives used cataphorically.

\textbf{Wasps 700-1}

\-script{οδτις πόλεων ἄρχων πλείστων ἀπὸ τοῦ Πόντου μέχρι Σαρδούς
οὐκ ἀπολαύεις πλῆν τοῦθ' ὃ φέρεις ἀκαρῆ}

[You] who rule over the most cities from the Black Sea to Sardinia have no enjoyment whatsoever, except from that measly bit you receive.

When the medial demonstrative looks forward to a relative clause, as in line 701 below, the demonstrative is closely connected with the second person, and the speaker’s use of prospective reference may be readily understood as both emphasizing the “you” of the statement and, as we saw in our discussion of tragedy above (§I.b), as marking something that is particularly salient to the hearer.\textsuperscript{131}

\textbf{Clouds 374}

In \textit{Clouds} 374 (“Well, tell me who the thunderer is [who does] that which makes me tremble.”) (\textgreek{αλλ' ὁστὶς ὁ βροντῶν ἐστὶ φράσον, τοῦθ' ὃ με ποιεῖ τετραμαίνειν) the medial demonstrative is an internal accusative and stands either for the articular infinitive τὸ βροντᾶν\textsuperscript{132} or for the cognate accusative βροντῆν.\textsuperscript{133} But rather than see it as only part of a larger prospective construction with the relative pronoun ὁ, it seems best to take it primarily as an anaphoric internal accusative.

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
  \item[\textsuperscript{128}] Ach. 755-6; Eq. 520, 780, 1302; Nu. 374, 418, 1254; V. 701; Av. 1221; Lys. 486-7; Th. 275, 1013; Ra. 534-6; Pl. 259-60, 471, 489.
  \item[\textsuperscript{129}] Ruijgh 2006: 154.
  \item[\textsuperscript{130}] Ruijgh 2006: 154 n. 6.
  \item[\textsuperscript{131}] Cf., in particular, Eq. 780; Nu. 418; Th. 275; Pl. 471.
  \item[\textsuperscript{132}] Humphreys 1885: 103.
  \item[\textsuperscript{133}] I have not found a single occurrence of βροντάω taking a cognate accusative.
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
Wealth 259-60

The last example of a cataphoric medial pronoun comes from Wealth 259-60 where the Chorus Leader says to Carion:

σοῦ δ’ ἄξιοις ἱσως με θείν, πρὶν ταῦτα καὶ φράσαι μοι,
ἐντοῦ χάριν μ’ ὁ δεσπότης ὁ σὸς κέκληκε δεύρο.

Perhaps you expect me to run, before you even tell me the reason why your master has called me here.

At first glance ταῦτα appears to look forward to ὁτου χάριν, but even though the indirect question does further explain the medial demonstrative, this is not the initial way ταῦτα would have been perceived. In fact, the medial demonstrative is the anaphor of Carion’s excited commands hurled at the Chorus before they have even entered the orchestra (255-6):

ἐντ’, ἐγκονεῖτε, σπεύδεθ’ ὡς ὁ καῖρος οὐχὶ μέλλειν,
ἄλλ’ ἔστʼ ἐπ’ αὐτῆς τῆς ἀκμῆς, ἦ δεὶ παρόντ’ ἅμύνειν.

C’mon! Kick up some dust! Hurry up! Since it’s the perfect time not to delay, but the moment is critical at which you must be prepared to help.

As we hear these words we may expect that the Chorus is already privy to the plans, but once we hear the phrase πρὶν ταῦτα καὶ φράσαι μοι (259) we become aware that they have been kept in the dark. This expansion of an anaphoric medial demonstrative, or what we may describe as medial demonstratives which are first heard anaphorically, then reheard cataphorically, although this is to give the false impression that what is reheard bears equal weight, is extremely common in Aristophanic comedy and may signal that although anaphoric οὗτος was normal, its use often comes with a reminder for the audience of what its referent was.

It is best to think of these uses of medial demonstratives not as first anaphoric and next cataphoric, although this certainly accurately describes their auditory reception, but as what we may term “expanded anaphors.” Expanded anaphors are instances in which a medial demonstrative refers back to a referent but is then modified or “expanded” by any of a number of appositives (relative clauses, epexegetical infinitives, if-clauses, etc.).

Numerous examples could be adduced but a few will suffice.

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134 Relative clauses are the commonest by far. Epexegetical infinitives are also quite common, but are usually anticipated by the singular τοῖς.
135 E.g. Ach. 516, 692; Eq. 180, 314, 878; Nu. 26, 588, 693, 887, 1038, 1099, 1200, 1286, 1369, 1412, 1499; V. 50, 559, 576, 1117, 1536; Pax 942, 1285; Av. 457, 661, 758, 977, 1076; Th. 156; Ra. 27, 75, 743, 1057, 1173, 1368; Ec. 247, 585; Pl. 42, 120, 264, 340, 509, 517, 532, 573, 1162.
Acharnians 692-7

The Chorus begins their antistrophe by continuing the complaint expressed in the epirrhema (676-91)—that old men who previously served their country well are now being sued by young men and convicted—saying, “How is that fair?” (692-7):

ταύτα πῶς εἴκοτα, γέροντ’ ἀπολέσαι πολιόν
ἀνδρα περὶ κλεψύδραν,
pολλὰ δὴ ἐξεμπονήσαντα καὶ θερμόν ἀπο-
μορφαμενον ἀνδρικὸν ἱδρώτα δὴ καὶ πολύν;
ἀνδρὸν ἀγαθὸν ὄντα Μαραθῶνι περὶ τὴν πόλιν;

How is that fair? To ruin an old, grey-haired man by the water-clock, indeed, a man who has toiled with you much and wiped away warm, manly sweat—and a lot of it!—, a man who was brave when he was at Marathon for the city.

The audience would have heard ταύτα first as anaphoric, and then, as the song continued and what followed (γέροντ’ … πόλιν) further explained “these things,” reheard it as cataphoric.136

Wealth 898-9

We see an analogous use at Wealth 898-9 where the Informer being insulted by Cario and the Just Man apostrophizes the gods:

ταύτ’ οὖν ἀνασχέτ’ ἐστίν, ὥ Ζεὺ καὶ θεοί,
τούτους ὑβρίζειν εἰς ἔμ’;

Must then this (ταύτα) be endured, Zeus and you other gods, that these men insult and abuse me?

As with Acharnians 692, ταύτα when first heard clearly refers to what preceded and it is only upon the expansion of the thought with epexegetic infinitives that it becomes (also) a cataphor.137

Clouds 1338-41

Let us take as our final example Clouds 1338-41. Pheidippides has just beaten his father, Strepsiades, and declared that he can prove that his actions were right (1321-37). Strepsiades, amazed and excited that his son’s rhetorical training has proved so effective responds with the following:

ἐδιδαξάμην μέντοι σε νή Δι’, ὥ μέλε,
τοῖσιν δικαίοις ἀντιλέγειν, εἰ ταύτα γε
μέλλεις ἀναπείσειν, ὥς δίκαιον και καλὸν

136 Olson (2002: 250) describes ταύτα in similar terms.
137 Also Lys. 587; Pl. 898.
τῶν πατέρα τύπτεσθ' ἐστὶν ὑπὸ τῶν υἱῶν.

By Zeus, I have taught you, my friend, to speak against people who are just, if you intend to persuade me of those things, how it is just and noble for the father to be beaten by his sons.

In the protasis of the conditional sentence ταῦτα (1339) is one accusative in a double accusative construction with ἀναπείθω (“to persuade someone (acc.) of something (acc.)”); the second accusative (με) is omitted since it is understood from context. In this way ταῦτα is anaphoric. However, when the construction changes after the caesura with the conjunction ὅς, ταῦτα is reheard as prospective and signals that “this/these things” will be further explained.

138 Or: “to speak against what is right.”
139 Cf. Pl. 573-4.
ANAPHORA and the MEANING of the CITY DIONYSIA

Greek drama, as I have already argued, creates various degrees of engagement with its audience through the use of proximal demonstratives. In this final chapter I would like to begin by re-examining the various types of deixis already discussed, focusing in particular on the statistical frequencies of anaphoric demonstratives, and then by speculating on how the linguistic differences between the tetralogies and the comedies may be read as part of a larger program aimed ultimately at the psycho-social renewal of Athens and her citizens.

Giambattista D’Alessio has taken the first steps in attempting to analyze systematically the preponderance of proximal demonstratives found in tragedy. Based on the statistical frequencies derived from working with both the TLG and with Perseus, he gives the following data (Figs. 5.1-2) and argues that the frequency with which the tragic genre employs δδε makes it more engaging than other genres.\(^1\)

Fig. 5.1: frequency of δδε per line (from D’Alessio 2007: 101, based on TLG)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total occurrences / # of lines</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aeschylus 828 / 8119</td>
<td>1: 9.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sophocles 1109 / 10341</td>
<td>1: 9.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Euripides 2366 / 26036</td>
<td>1: 11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aristophanes 403 / 15288</td>
<td>1: 37.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pindar 48 / 3416</td>
<td>1: 71.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fig. 5.2: frequency of δδε per word (from D’Alessio 2007: 102, based on Perseus)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total words / Occurrences</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aeschylus 40104 / 834</td>
<td>1: 47.98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sophocles 61714 / 1194 (28 from Ich.)</td>
<td>1: 51.68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Euripides 147583 / 2625</td>
<td>1: 56.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aristophanes 94797 / 406</td>
<td>1: 233.49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pindar 21317 / 49</td>
<td>1: 435</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It remains to be seen, however, if it is purely the multitude of proximal demonstratives that fosters the audience’s engagement in the dramatic action, or if, in

\(^1\) D’Alessio 2007, anticipated by Bain 1913: 11: “Its [δδε’s] specific, pure use is a deictic pronoun of the speaker in the present time, which, however, is not to be limited to the immediate present. This element of the speaker, of the first person, is what makes it specifically the pronoun of tragedy, in which there is so much of deep personal moment to the speaker.” Dik (2007) observes the remarkable frequency of δδε in tragedy, even noting that it may be due to “the higher degree of affect in tragic dialogue as opposed to comedy or Platonic dialogue” (p.224), but nonetheless regards “the frequent (line- and) clause-final instances, which are alien to prose usage, as likely ‘fillers’” (p.239 n.31). The term itself comes from Descroix’s (1931: 334-9) discussion of line-final disyllabics in iambic trimeter in which he concludes by describing the effect of these words as conveying “une plénitude, une véhémence supplémentaire, et cela ne masque pas le procédé” (p.339). The issue, then, becomes whether words deemed metrically-induced are still presumed to have meaning or not, or does the primarily prosodic motivation exclude other motivations for usage? I am inclined to believe that metrical “necessity” and generic agendas work in tandem to produce meaning, though I give more weight to the latter for determining word choice, particularly since these “fillers” are far less frequent in Aristophanes.
fact, different types of deictic reference possess different powers of engagement. This is, of course, a difficult nuance to judge, but I would like to suggest that those forms of reference which are by nature markedly exciting and/or can create for the auditor a sense of investment in the ongoing action are more engaging than those forms which in and of themselves are not or do not. That is, of the various types of deixis specified (first person, second person, situational, temporal, spatial, anaphoric, cataphoric, person, object), it is anaphoric reference first and foremost that creates a captivating linguistic intensity that helps to keep the spectators fixated on and invested in the dramatic worlds before them.

Tragedy utilizes proximal demonstratives more regularly than comedy to heighten both the intensity of a scene or thought on stage and the emotional involvement of the hearers (especially the audience) who are brought into the orbit of the speaker’s deictic field and drawn deeper into the present situation. All of the uses of the proximal demonstrative as anaphor give greater emphasis to the referent and verbally indicate an increased level of emotion, whether joy, anger, or, as is most often the case, general excitement. It is important, therefore, to parse D’Alessio’s data further and break down precisely how proximal (and medial) demonstratives are being used before drawing any definitive conclusions, for not all demonstrative usage is created equal.

It is obvious from the following tables (Figs. 5.3-6) that tragedy and satyr play employ demonstratives differently than comedy.

Fig. 5.3.1-3: relative frequency of δε and οτος in Aeschylus

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>total</th>
<th>δε / οτος</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Agamemnon</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st person</td>
<td>[4]</td>
<td>4 / 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd person</td>
<td>[0]</td>
<td>0 / 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anaphoric</td>
<td>[104]</td>
<td>77 / 27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cataphoric</td>
<td>[8]</td>
<td>7 / 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>person/object</td>
<td>[64]</td>
<td>56 / 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>situational</td>
<td>[14]</td>
<td>14 / 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>spatial</td>
<td>[18]</td>
<td>18 / 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>temporal</td>
<td>[3]</td>
<td>3 / 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>totals:</strong></td>
<td>215</td>
<td>179 / 36</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Choephori</strong></th>
<th>total</th>
<th>δε / οτος</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st person</td>
<td>[5]</td>
<td>5 / 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd person</td>
<td>[1]</td>
<td>0 / 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anaphoric</td>
<td>[73]</td>
<td>51 / 22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>person/object</td>
<td>[40]</td>
<td>39 / 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>situational</td>
<td>[21]</td>
<td>21 / 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>spatial</td>
<td>[12]</td>
<td>12 / 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>temporal</td>
<td>[0]</td>
<td>0 / 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>totals:</strong></td>
<td>163</td>
<td>137 / 26</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

3 Unlike Fig. 2.1, the spatial data here includes adverbial uses of τηδε and ταυτη.
### 5.3.3. *Eumenides* total \( \ddot{o}de / o\acute{u}tos \)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1(^{st}) person</th>
<th>2(^{nd}) person</th>
<th>anaphoric</th>
<th>cataphoric</th>
<th>person/object</th>
<th>situational</th>
<th>spatial</th>
<th>temporal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1(^{st}) person</td>
<td>[5]</td>
<td>[1]</td>
<td>[68]</td>
<td>[5]</td>
<td>[48]</td>
<td>[14]</td>
<td>[32]</td>
<td>[0]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5 / 0</td>
<td>0 / 1</td>
<td>38 / 30</td>
<td>4 / 1</td>
<td>45 / 3</td>
<td>14 / 0</td>
<td>30 / 2</td>
<td>0 / 0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**totals:** 173 \( \ddot{o}de / o\acute{u}tos \) / 136 / 37

---

**Fig. 5.4.1-3: relative frequency of \( \ddot{o}de \) and \( o\acute{u}tos \) in Sophocles**

### 5.4.1. *Oed. Tyrannus* total \( \ddot{o}de / o\acute{u}tos \)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1(^{st}) person</th>
<th>2(^{nd}) person</th>
<th>anaphoric</th>
<th>cataphoric</th>
<th>person/object</th>
<th>situational</th>
<th>spatial</th>
<th>temporal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1(^{st}) person</td>
<td>[2]</td>
<td>[2]</td>
<td>[167]</td>
<td>[11]</td>
<td>[58]</td>
<td>[5]</td>
<td>[34]</td>
<td>[3]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 / 0</td>
<td>0 / 2</td>
<td>82 / 85</td>
<td>3 / 8</td>
<td>48 / 10</td>
<td>5 / 0</td>
<td>34 / 0</td>
<td>3 / 0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**totals:** 282 \( \ddot{o}de / o\acute{u}tos \) / 177 / 105

### 5.4.2. *Antigone* total \( \ddot{o}de / o\acute{u}tos \)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1(^{st}) person</th>
<th>2(^{nd}) person</th>
<th>anaphoric</th>
<th>cataphoric</th>
<th>person/object</th>
<th>situational</th>
<th>spatial</th>
<th>temporal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1(^{st}) person</td>
<td>[1]</td>
<td>[0]</td>
<td>[142]</td>
<td>[10]</td>
<td>[45]</td>
<td>[7]</td>
<td>[12]</td>
<td>[1]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 / 0</td>
<td>0 / 0</td>
<td>68 / 74</td>
<td>4 / 6</td>
<td>39 / 6</td>
<td>7 / 0</td>
<td>12 / 0</td>
<td>1 / 0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**totals:** 218 \( \ddot{o}de / o\acute{u}tos \) / 132 / 86

### 5.4.3. *Philoctetes* total \( \ddot{o}de / o\acute{u}tos \)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1(^{st}) person</th>
<th>2(^{nd}) person</th>
<th>anaphoric</th>
<th>cataphoric</th>
<th>person/object</th>
<th>situational</th>
<th>spatial</th>
<th>temporal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1(^{st}) person</td>
<td>[6]</td>
<td>[0]</td>
<td>[164]</td>
<td>[15]</td>
<td>[63]</td>
<td>[9]</td>
<td>[22]</td>
<td>[2]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6 / 0</td>
<td>0 / 0</td>
<td>73 / 91</td>
<td>4 / 11</td>
<td>50 / 13</td>
<td>9 / 0</td>
<td>21 / 1</td>
<td>2 / 0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**totals:** 281 \( \ddot{o}de / o\acute{u}tos \) / 165 / 116
Fig. 5.5.1-4: relative frequency of δὲ and οὗτος in Euripides

### 5.5.1. Medea

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>total</th>
<th>δὲ / οὗτος</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st person</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0 / 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd person</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0 / 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anaphoric</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>72 / 28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cataphoric</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6 / 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>person/object</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>29 / 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>situational</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>10 / 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>spatial</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>27 / 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>temporal</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5 / 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>totals:</td>
<td>180</td>
<td>149 / 31</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 5.5.2. Hippolytus

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>total</th>
<th>δὲ / οὗτος</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st person</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2 / 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd person</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0 / 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anaphoric</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>54 / 25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cataphoric</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>10 / 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>person/object</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>41 / 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>situational</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>25 / 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>spatial</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>22 / 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>temporal</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6 / 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>totals:</td>
<td>192</td>
<td>160 / 32</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 5.5.3. Orestes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>total</th>
<th>δὲ / οὗτος</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st person</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0 / 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd person</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0 / 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anaphoric</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>51 / 41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cataphoric</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>9 / 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>person/object</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>59 / 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>situational</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7 / 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>spatial</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>24 / 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>temporal</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7 / 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>totals:</td>
<td>204</td>
<td>157 / 47</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 5.5.4. Cyclops

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>total</th>
<th>δὲ / οὗτος (οὗτος)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st person</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4 / 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd person</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0 / 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anaphoric</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>15 / 12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cataphoric</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1 / 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>person/object</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>20 / 3 (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>situational</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3 / 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>spatial</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>20 / 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>temporal</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0 / 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>totals:</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>63 / 18 (1)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Figs. 5.6.1-11: relative frequency of \( \delta \delta \varepsilon \) and \( \delta \varepsilon \tau \sigma \) in Aristophanes

### 5.6.1. Acharnians

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>( \delta \delta \varepsilon ) / ( \delta \varepsilon \tau \sigma )</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>1st person</strong></td>
<td>[5]</td>
<td>1 (3) / 0 (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>2nd person</strong></td>
<td>[5]</td>
<td>0 / 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>anaphoric</strong></td>
<td>[71]</td>
<td>5 / 63 (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>cataphoric</strong></td>
<td>[3]</td>
<td>0 / 0 (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>person/object</strong></td>
<td>[86]</td>
<td>28 (13) / 13 (32)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>situational</strong></td>
<td>[4]</td>
<td>1 / 1 (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>spatial</strong></td>
<td>[4]</td>
<td>2 / 0 (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>temporal</strong></td>
<td>[0]</td>
<td>0 / 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>totals:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>178 / 37 (16) / 82 (43)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 5.6.2. Knights

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>( \delta \delta \varepsilon ) / ( \delta \varepsilon \tau \sigma )</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>1st person</strong></td>
<td>[3]</td>
<td>2 / 0 (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>2nd person</strong></td>
<td>[3]</td>
<td>0 / 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>anaphoric</strong></td>
<td>[119]</td>
<td>1 / 105 (13)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>cataphoric</strong></td>
<td>[7]</td>
<td>4 (1) / 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>person/object</strong></td>
<td>[67]</td>
<td>14 (7) / 13 (33)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>situational</strong></td>
<td>[4]</td>
<td>0 / 3 (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>spatial</strong></td>
<td>[8]</td>
<td>6 / 1 (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>temporal</strong></td>
<td>[0]</td>
<td>0 / 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>totals:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>211 / 27 (8) / 127 (49)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 5.6.3. Clouds

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>( \delta \delta \varepsilon ) / ( \delta \varepsilon \tau \sigma )</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>1st person</strong></td>
<td>[2]</td>
<td>1 / 0 (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>2nd person</strong></td>
<td>[4]</td>
<td>0 / 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>anaphoric</strong></td>
<td>[165]</td>
<td>2 / 154 (9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>cataphoric</strong></td>
<td>[9]</td>
<td>1 (1) / 4 (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>person/object</strong></td>
<td>[65]</td>
<td>11 (3) / 33 (18)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>situational</strong></td>
<td>[2]</td>
<td>1 / 0 (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>spatial</strong></td>
<td>[3]</td>
<td>2 / 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>temporal</strong></td>
<td>[1]</td>
<td>0 (1) / 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>totals:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>251 / 18 (5) / 196 (33)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 5.6.4. Wasps

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>( \delta \delta \varepsilon ) / ( \delta \varepsilon \tau \sigma )</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>1st person</strong></td>
<td>[0]</td>
<td>0 / 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>2nd person</strong></td>
<td>[10]</td>
<td>0 / 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>anaphoric</strong></td>
<td>[145]</td>
<td>3 (1) / 127 (14)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>cataphoric</strong></td>
<td>[7]</td>
<td>1 (1) / 4 (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>person/object</strong></td>
<td>[84]</td>
<td>11 (16) / 33 (24)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>situational</strong></td>
<td>[2]</td>
<td>1 / 0 (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>spatial</strong></td>
<td>[8]</td>
<td>6 (1) / 0 (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>temporal</strong></td>
<td>[0]</td>
<td>0 / 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>totals:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>256 / 22 (19) / 174 (41)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.6.5.</td>
<td><em>Peace</em></td>
<td>total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1&lt;sup&gt;st&lt;/sup&gt; person</td>
<td>[0]</td>
<td>0 / 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2&lt;sup&gt;nd&lt;/sup&gt; person</td>
<td>[5]</td>
<td>0 / 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anaphoric</td>
<td>[99]</td>
<td>6 / 90 (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cataphoric</td>
<td>[7]</td>
<td>1 (4) / 1 (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>person/object</td>
<td>[63]</td>
<td>22 (2) / 17 (22)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>situational</td>
<td>[6]</td>
<td>2 / 0 (4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>spatial</td>
<td>[6]</td>
<td>2 (2) / 1 (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>temporal</td>
<td>[2]</td>
<td>1 / 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>totals:</td>
<td></td>
<td>185 / 34 (8) / 115 (31)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>5.6.6.</th>
<th><em>Birds</em></th>
<th>total</th>
<th>ὁδε (ὁδι) / οὕτος (οὕτοσι)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1&lt;sup&gt;st&lt;/sup&gt; person</td>
<td>[2]</td>
<td>2 / 0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2&lt;sup&gt;nd&lt;/sup&gt; person</td>
<td>[16]</td>
<td>0 / 16</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anaphoric</td>
<td>[109]</td>
<td>5 / 92 (12)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cataphoric</td>
<td>[10]</td>
<td>1 (5) / 3 (1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>person/object</td>
<td>[89]</td>
<td>25 (10) / 15 (39)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>situational</td>
<td>[6]</td>
<td>0 / 0 (6)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>spatial</td>
<td>[11]</td>
<td>8 (1) / 1 (1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>temporal</td>
<td>[2]</td>
<td>2 / 0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>totals:</td>
<td></td>
<td>245 / 43 (16) / 127 (59)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>5.6.7.</th>
<th><em>Lysistrata</em></th>
<th>total</th>
<th>ὁδε (ὁδι) / οὕτος (οὕτοσι)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1&lt;sup&gt;st&lt;/sup&gt; person</td>
<td>[1]</td>
<td>1 / 0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2&lt;sup&gt;nd&lt;/sup&gt; person</td>
<td>[5]</td>
<td>0 / 5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anaphoric</td>
<td>[97]</td>
<td>4 (1) / 83 (9)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cataphoric</td>
<td>[7]</td>
<td>1 (2) / 3 (1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>person/object</td>
<td>[75]</td>
<td>21 (9) / 26 (19)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>situational</td>
<td>[13]</td>
<td>6 (1) / 2 (4)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>spatial</td>
<td>[3]</td>
<td>2 / 1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>temporal</td>
<td>[0]</td>
<td>0 / 0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>totals:</td>
<td></td>
<td>201 / 35 (13) / 120 (33)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>5.6.8.</th>
<th><em>Thesmo.</em></th>
<th>total</th>
<th>ὁδε (ὁδι) / οὕτος (οὕτοσι)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1&lt;sup&gt;st&lt;/sup&gt; person</td>
<td>[0]</td>
<td>0 / 0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2&lt;sup&gt;nd&lt;/sup&gt; person</td>
<td>[7]</td>
<td>0 / 7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anaphoric</td>
<td>[89]</td>
<td>3 / 80 (6)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cataphoric</td>
<td>[7]</td>
<td>2 (3) / 2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>person/object</td>
<td>[61]</td>
<td>14 (7) / 25 (15)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>situational</td>
<td>[10]</td>
<td>5 / 1 (4)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>spatial</td>
<td>[15]</td>
<td>9 (1) / 3 (2)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>temporal</td>
<td>[1]</td>
<td>1 / 0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>totals:</td>
<td></td>
<td>190 / 34 (11) / 118 (27)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5.6.9. *Frogs* total

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>1\textsuperscript{st} person</th>
<th>2\textsuperscript{nd} person</th>
<th>Anaphoric</th>
<th>Cataphoric</th>
<th>Person/Object</th>
<th>Situational</th>
<th>Spatial</th>
<th>Temporal</th>
<th>Totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[1]</td>
<td>[7]</td>
<td>[124]</td>
<td>[7]</td>
<td>[58]</td>
<td>[8]</td>
<td>[7]</td>
<td>[0]</td>
<td>212</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1\textsuperscript{st}</td>
<td>0 (1) / 0</td>
<td>0 / 7</td>
<td>3 / 116 (5)</td>
<td>2 (2) / 2 (1)</td>
<td>10 (5) / 25 (18)</td>
<td>3 / 2 (3)</td>
<td>5 / 1 (1)</td>
<td>0 / 0</td>
<td>23 (8) / 153 (28)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.6.10. *Ecclesiazusae* total

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>1\textsuperscript{st} person</th>
<th>2\textsuperscript{nd} person</th>
<th>Anaphoric</th>
<th>Cataphoric</th>
<th>Person/Object</th>
<th>Situational</th>
<th>Spatial</th>
<th>Temporal</th>
<th>Totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[1]</td>
<td>[6]</td>
<td>[108]</td>
<td>[7]</td>
<td>[52]</td>
<td>[2]</td>
<td>[3]</td>
<td>[1]</td>
<td>180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1\textsuperscript{st}</td>
<td>1 / 0</td>
<td>0 / 6</td>
<td>2 / 100 (6)</td>
<td>2 (1) / 1 (3)</td>
<td>12 (10) / 17 (13)</td>
<td>0 / 1 (1)</td>
<td>2 (1) / 0</td>
<td>1 / 0</td>
<td>20 (12) / 125 (23)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.6.11. *Wealth* total

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>1\textsuperscript{st} person</th>
<th>2\textsuperscript{nd} person</th>
<th>Anaphoric</th>
<th>Cataphoric</th>
<th>Person/Object</th>
<th>Situational</th>
<th>Spatial</th>
<th>Temporal</th>
<th>Totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[0]</td>
<td>[5]</td>
<td>[110]</td>
<td>[7]</td>
<td>[50]</td>
<td>[2]</td>
<td>[1]</td>
<td>[0]</td>
<td>175</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1\textsuperscript{st}</td>
<td>0 / 0</td>
<td>0 / 5</td>
<td>0 / 104 (6)</td>
<td>0 (1) / 6</td>
<td>4 (6) / 23 (17)</td>
<td>0 / 0 (2)</td>
<td>0 / 1</td>
<td>0 / 0</td>
<td>4 (7) / 139 (25)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The most significant divergence occurs in how often each genre uses a proximal demonstrative in anaphoric reference, a distinction that can be perceived more easily when we examine this figure in isolation.

**Fig. 5.7**: proximal and medial demonstratives in anaphoric reference in tragedy and satyr play

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Play</th>
<th>őδε : őυτος</th>
<th>Freq. of anaphoric őδε</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A. Ag.</td>
<td>77 : 27</td>
<td>1 : 21.73 lines</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. Cho.</td>
<td>51 : 22</td>
<td>1 : 21.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. Eum.</td>
<td>38 : 30</td>
<td>1 : 27.55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. OT</td>
<td>82 : 85</td>
<td>1 : 18.66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. Ant.</td>
<td>68 : 74</td>
<td>1 : 19.90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. Ph.</td>
<td>73 : 91</td>
<td>1 : 20.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. Med.</td>
<td>72 : 28</td>
<td>1 : 19.71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. Hipp.</td>
<td>54 : 25</td>
<td>1 : 27.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. Or.</td>
<td>51 : 41</td>
<td>1 : 33.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. Cyc.</td>
<td>15 : 12</td>
<td>1 : 47.30</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
On the face of it, one could claim that Sophocles’ preference for οὗτος indicates that his dialogue is less engaging or exciting, but a closer inspection of how often ὅδε is used anaphorically clearly shows that Sophocles is no less engaging in this respect than his peers. The difference between the tragedians is simply that Aeschylus and Euripides much prefer ὅδε for anaphoric reference while Sophocles not only prefers οὗτος but also refers back in the discourse much more frequently altogether, a particular stylistic “quirk.” Of course, an analysis of anaphora cannot rest on relative frequencies alone. The number of times οὗτος is used to refer back in the discourse is, I argue, fundamentally inconsequential to our understanding of the large-scale emotionality of the genre, for it is not that “normal” diction is eschewed entirely, but that the rate with which the tragedians employ the more engaging proximal demonstrative in anaphoric reference is what helps to create the genre’s emotional intensity and may even be seen as defining the genre itself, at least to some degree.⁴

Aristophanes, on the other hand, rarely refers back with anything other than οὗτος, as we can see below.

Fig. 5.8: ratio of anaphoric ὅδε to οὗτος in Aristophanes; frequency of anaphoric ὅδε *includes adverbial uses (incl. ὅτωσί)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Play</th>
<th>ὅδε (ὅδι) : οὗτος (𝘰ὗτοσί)</th>
<th>Freq. of anaphoric ὅδε, ὅδι</th>
<th>Freq. of anaphoric ὅδε, ὅδι, οὗτοσί</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Acharnians</td>
<td>5 : 63 (3)</td>
<td>1 : 246.80 lines</td>
<td>1 : 154.25 lines</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Knights</td>
<td>1 : 105 (13)</td>
<td>1 : 1408.00</td>
<td>1 : 100.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clouds</td>
<td>2 : 154 (10)</td>
<td>1 : 755.5</td>
<td>1 : 125.90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wasps</td>
<td>3 (1) : 127 (14)</td>
<td>1 : 384.25</td>
<td>1 : 85.39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peace</td>
<td>6 : 90 (3)</td>
<td>1 : 226.50</td>
<td>1 : 151.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Birds</td>
<td>5 : 92 (12)</td>
<td>1 : 353.00</td>
<td>1 : 103.82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lysistrata</td>
<td>4 (1) : 83 (9)</td>
<td>1 : 264.20</td>
<td>1 : 94.36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Themo.</td>
<td>3 : 80 (6)</td>
<td>1 : 410.33</td>
<td>1 : 136.78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frogs</td>
<td>3 : 116 (5)</td>
<td>1 : 511.00</td>
<td>1 : 191.63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ecclesiazusae</td>
<td>2 : 100 (6)</td>
<td>1 : 591.50</td>
<td>1 : 147.88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wealth</td>
<td>0 : 104 (6)</td>
<td>1 : 0.00</td>
<td>1 : 201.50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Moreover, anaphora constitutes a comparatively low percentage of the total uses of proximal demonstratives; the dominant category, as perhaps is to be expected, is that of person / object deixis (See Figs. 3.3, 3.5, 5.6.1-11). Importantly, the statistics are not significantly affected when anaphoric οὗτοσί is included. In fact, that this form is seldom used relative to the unmarked οὗτος tends to confirm the relative generic lack of excited forms of looking back in the discourse.

The generic differences between the tetralogies and the comedies allow us to make the following observations about the use of demonstratives.

1) Tragedy emphasizes the hic et nunc of the dramatic action; comedy is less concerned with either spatial or temporal consistency.

⁴ Denniston and Page’s (1957: 73) comment on Ag. 57 is patently false: “this use of the demonstrative pronoun to denote something of which mention was made a moment ago is rare.”
2) When tragedy points to people or to objects, these people and objects are most often fundamental to the plot and function of the drama; comedy points at people and objects very freely; often, attention is drawn to a person / object for a momentary joke or for a fleeting plot digression. Comedy does not exhibit the same “focus” on people or objects as tragedy.

3) Tragedy and satyr play employ the proximal demonstrative anaphorically much more often than comedy. This linguistic difference gives the tetralogies a more excited and engaging tone relative to the normal diction of comedy.

The combination of a register of speech which is markedly more excited than other speech and poetic genres and a persistent focus on both the space of the dramatic action and the key figures (people and props) within it serve as a very effective means of drawing the spectators into the dramatic fiction, of making them emotionally invested in the fate not just of the individuals whom they are watching, but also of the cities or places which they too occupy for the duration of the drama.

The audiences’ various experiences of “otherness,” of being transported to and participating in numerous times and places over the course of a multi-day festival can, and should, be read and analyzed as a single event. Once the full program of the City Dionysia was established in 487/6 BCE—twenty dithyrambs, three tetralogies, five comedies—the performance portion of the festival took on a new, or at least a state-sanctioned, logic. The experiential journey of the spectators—and I will argue, of the city—reflects the aims and themes of the festival.

All theaters have conventions that must be unquestionably accepted by the audience in order for the reality of the performance to be believed. One of the many conventions of Athenian tragedy and satyr play, and also of comedy, but to a lesser extent, was the expectation that one would be transferred to other times and places. Such fictive transport was surely part of the anticipated theatrical experience, one of the “rules of the game,” and, through the unique mechanisms of the theater, part of what distinguished Greek drama from other forms of choral lyric poetry. Choral lyric poetry captivated the audience of its occasion through the stimulating and entrancing power of song and dance and its integral place within the ritual or festival at which it was performed. In addition, as Barbara Kowalzig has argued, the chorus is the “hinge element” that fuses the past with the *hic et nunc* of the present performance. With the

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5 The viewing of a single play could and did (and continues to) affect the audience. To take but one approach, for example, Segal has suggested that part of what makes Greek drama what it is is “a concrete, public sharing of grief through the collective response of the chorus, and more broadly through the community of spectators in the theatre” (Segal 1996: 149, cf. 1994: 127-35). By participating in a shared, public response, in this case facilitated or cued by the chorus, not only is a sense of community forged (and re-forged), but the theatergoers experience a type of release at the end of a play. In locating this approach within the frame of a tragic trilogy, we may see that one avenue of accessing the larger effects of tragic viewing as *communitas* and/or release may be experienced not only in each individual play, but perhaps repeatedly over the course of a trilogy.

6 Rusten (2006) nicely discusses the evidence of comic performances before 487/6 BCE and the possible political motivations for formally incorporating the genre into the festival.

7 Kowalzig 2004, esp. 54-5, quote from p. 55. Kowalzig (2007a: 80) elaborates on this view, stating: “choral performance seems to jumble the associations of myth and ritual to time and place, allowing for a transcendence of both.” See too Kowalzig 2007b. As is readily apparent, the ability for performers and
chorus as hinge, the door necessarily swings wide open for the audience to access both the mythological past and the ritual present via the chorus and their song. Instead of relying entirely on the chorus to allow them entrance into the mythological past and the ritual present, the audiences of dramatic poetry were now (for the first time) made directly and implicitly a part of the other times and places of the dramatic worlds through the dynamic environment of the theater.

Tragedy and comedy, unlike their cousin choral lyric, had at their disposal another very powerful tool with which to convey an audience further into the mythological past and the ritual present: costumes and masks. For the first time, worlds which had previously been accessible solely, and to some extent therefore incompletely, through language, were now available to the Athenians.\(^8\) By donning masks, by literally putting on new \textit{personae}, actors were able to embody and animate gods and the heroes of the past.\(^9\) Moreover, with the theatrical convention that the space of a performance (first the \textit{agora}, then the Theater of Dionysus) was rendered mutable through performance; able to become different spaces (and times)—a lability no doubt aided and enhanced by the advent of the \textit{skene}\(^10\)—the place where these gods and heroes now walked (for the first time) was made more tangible, achieved a greater sense of “realness.” The worlds previously accessed through choral song were now available to the audience in a way never previously experienced: 3D. And the playwrights exploited the novelty of their craft to tremendous effect.

Willingness to enter the other worlds of the tetralogies was a prerequisite of audience participation.\(^{11}\) As discussed in Chapter 2, each new space is clearly indicated,

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8 Felson (1999: 1), speaking of “the powerful linguistic tool of deixis” in Greek poetry, correctly observes that it “can engage the emotions of persons listening to any sort of text and give them the illusion of participating in events and places and times that are far and distant.” This power to engage through deixis is, I maintain, all the stronger when the poetic tool is buttressed by visual elements, e.g., masks, scene painting, etc.

9 Wilson (2000: 70) elegantly remarks: “When the tragic flower first blossomed in Attic soil late in the sixth century it represented a major innovation on the horizon of Greek poetry and society. For the first time the familiar figures of myth...had miraculously come to life. They moved and interacted as real physical presences \textit{before the eye}; they spoke and sung \textit{directly to the ear of the audience}; the new technology of the theatrical mask and costume introduced the possibility of total impersonation. A unique set of circumstances had produced a radically new kind of performance, and with it the first fully theatrical audience.” (italics mine) Cf. Herington 1985: 136.

10 See the discussion in Chapter 2, §1.2 (p.35).

11 Of course, the spectators, both individually and collectively, could refuse their silent participatory role and replace it with a more assertive one, manifested through auditory disruptions (shouting, hissing, clapping, etc.) not unlike those found in the Athenian law courts. See, e.g., Antiphanes fr. 189; Timocles
often with a proximal demonstrative. Unlike choral lyric, however, whose use of spatial deixis is largely obliged to reference to the actual site of the performance, dramatic space is literally created and recreated throughout the festival within the confines of the theater space. And as if established by fiat, once a space is set it is permanent. The audience, then, become participants in these different spaces, at least four per tetralogy.

The unsettling, yet undoubtedly socially, psychically, and civically beneficial experience of witnessing and participating in (or “playing”) the other was capped by the concluding play of each tetralogy, the satyr play, which granted the audience a type of “escape” from the world of tragedy and served to reintegrate them back into normal Athenian life. Although we cannot say with any certainty on which day(s) the comic performances occurred, they seem to have helped transition the spectators either into or, as I find more likely, out of the tragic worlds. This move was aided both through familiar elements, such as the use of colloquial language, topical and political references, and the practice of expressly acknowledging the spectators individually and in the aggregate, as well as by tools of distancing, like the ugly, and thus ideologically anti-Athenian appearance of the actors, and the relatively infrequent deployment of words or phrases, namely deictics of place, such as those we find in tragedy, which serve to indicate and emphasize where the action is occurring. If a comedy followed each tetralogy, then we may envision the genre as not just providing a type of escape from the tragic worlds, as satyr plays did, but as reestablishing the audience’s sense of place and identity, which had been disrupted by repeated participation in the other times and places experienced in the preceding plays, by granting them access to the more familiar, if slightly distorted, contemporary world of Athens.


13 See Chapter 2 for the exceptions to this rule.

14 Zeitlin 1996.

15 In a cohesive trilogy like Aeschylus’ Oresteia the audience may have been afforded a type of double “escape,” the first accomplished by Eumenides, the second by the satyr-play Proteus (Griffith 2002, esp. 249-50). On the socially beneficial function of satyr plays see the differing yet complementary views of Hall 1998, Voelke 2001, and Griffith 2005. See too Gibert 2002 for an excellent survey of some of the recent work done on the genre.


17 I am inclined to think that the comedies followed the tragedies, most likely on the fifth day of the festival. The sheer number of paratragic lines in the plays of Aristophanes leads me to believe that the comic effect would be greatest if the audience had already been exposed repeatedly to tragic diction. On the distinction between paratragedy, parody, and tragic pastiche see Robson 2009: 105-119.

18 I would also submit that the level of “comic interpellation” directly correlates to a spectator’s proximity to the orchestra: those mentioned by name in the comic performances, who would normally be prominent politicians or other figures of note, were seated closest to the orchestra and had the least visual contact with the world outside the theater or even their fellow spectators. Conversely, those seated higher up, the majority of the anonymous theatergoers who would have been able to look outside of the theater and orient themselves within their city throughout the performances, are not directly named.


20 Ruffell 2008: 51: “There is a sort of distancing through being in a peculiarly twisted version of the here-and-now and both comic and tragic worlds are constructed out of the audience’s own world experience, but the comic world nonetheless remains much more recognizable as a twisted version of the Athenian here-and-now.”
A spectator surely had no clue where s/he was being transported to next, and it is precisely this protean nature of the performance space that underlies the humor of Aristophanes’ *Birds* 9-10, a nearly programmatic statement on the function of Greek drama:

Eu. 

άλλ’ ουδὲ ποῦ γῆς ἐσμὲν οἶδ’ ἔγωγ’ ἔτι.
ἐντευθεὶν τὴν πατρίδ’ ἀν ἐξεύροις σὺ ποιος;

Eu. But I at any rate no longer know where in the world we are. From here could you discover our fatherland?

Peisetaerus and Euphildes at the beginning of the play, like us, have no clue where they are. In fact, they are so lost they do not even know which way is up anymore, or, more precisely, where Athens is. At the same time, it is from there that they (and we) will *exeuriskein* (“invent,” “find”) the fatherland.

The various “elsewheres” and “other selves” experienced and enjoyed through participation in a Dionysiac rite were state-sponsored, and as such surely were believed to bestow some benefit upon the city and its people. Losing oneself in the music of choral odes and the moments of tragic and comic excitement is all a (necessary) part of Athens’ attempt at maintaining and perhaps even redefining its civic identity. The journey the audience undertakes through the act of spectatorship, traveling to “other places”—hells, eutopias, heterotopias21—is one whose views are mediated through persistent contact with the ever-present city: visible over the skene, peeking out from the sides of the theater, the Acropolis looming above. Every “elsewhere” no matter how remote is always firmly located within Athens. If we, like Euphildes and Peisetaerus, have no idea where we are at the start of a performance, by the end, as the chorus dances off, the dynamics of the theatrical experience will have certainly afforded us a much clearer vantage point of where and how we—individually and as a city—stand, enabling us to *exeuriskein* Athens all over again after we leave the Sanctuary of Dionysus.

Furthermore, the daily repetition of performances should be understood as not just benefiting and rejuvenating the present audience, but the entire city of Athens. The Theater of Dionysus in Athens in the fifth century likely held between 4,000 and 7,000 spectators, as Csapo has recently argued,22 a figure far smaller than the tens of thousands traditionally believed to fill the space. Socrates’ statement in Plato’s *Symposium* (175e6) that Agathon’s victory at the Lenaia was witnessed by more than 30,000—the traditional number given for male citizens of Athens23—suggests that each theater audience, regardless of the theater’s actual capacity, conceptually represented the *entire* city. The theater, like the Assembly, is thus a space that when filled houses the “imagined community” of Athens.24 This means that each individual day of the City Dionysia’s

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21 Foucault 1986.
22 Csapo 2007: 97.
23 Cf. Ar. Ec. 1132, Hdt. 5.97.2, Men. Epitr. 1088-9
24 Cf. Ober 1989: 33, 137-8; also Sommerstein 2010: 124, 140; Goldhill 1997: 57-8. Dolan’s (2005: 11-12) description of the effect of *The Chief*, a one-man show about Pittsburgh Steelers’ owner Art Rooney, had on herself is similar: “Although I’m the only one in my family who’s never been to a Steelers’ game, even I was caught up in the manufacture of communitas that the actor’s impersonation of Rooney’s stories produced.” She goes on (p. 12): “*The Chief* made the theater audience a microcosm of the civic audience,
dramatic performances was thought of as being performed before the entire citizenry of Athens, even if in reality such numbers could not actually attend the theater. The benefits of theatrical participation, then, whether gained through witnessing a single play, a full tetralogy, or a series of comic performances must not be seen as accruing solely to those who could afford to attend the theater, but to the citizen body of Athens as a whole.

And yet, I believe there is still more to the process. The audience’s theatrical experience was, at least conceptually, similar to if not nearly identical with ritualized forms of initiation, particularly the religious act of *theoria* (“sacred pilgrimage”), the latter bearing marked affinities with the former.

The Athenians did not consider their own attendance at the City Dionysia a *theoria*, nor were the spectators themselves called or thought of explicitly as *theoroi*. These terms do not properly refer to a religious rite conducted within one’s own polis, or to attendance at or participation in such a rite; instead, we find θυσία used for the ritual activity and θεατής for the attendee. Properly speaking, *theoria* was a trip with three basic components: 1) travel to a sanctuary or sacred place; 2) a religious motivation; 3) a journey that is of greater than usual length. A *theoros* is typically seen as moving from “local space” to “panhellenic space” and back again, though trips from an Athenian deme to Eleusis, Sounion or Brauron, for example, also count as *theoria*. Andrea Nightingale, drawing on the seminal work of the Victor and Edith Turner, has rightly emphasized the importance to the theoric process of a liminal phase in which the *theoros* detaches himself from familiar social structures: “*Theoria* in the classical period follows the ‘Turners’ basic pattern of detachment from the city, the ‘liminal’ phase of the journey itself (culminating in the ‘witnessing’ of events and spectacles in a religious sanctuary), and reentry into the polis.” During this period of separation from one’s hometown the *theoros* was exposed to new ideas and practices. By participating in such activities, *theoroi* returned home changed by their experiences and with an enlarged worldview.

And while the linguistic evidence weighs heavily against reading the City Dionysia literally as a theoric activity for the Athenians themselves, this does not mean that travel outside one’s city’s limits for the purposes of *theoria* and a trip to the theater within one’s city were not, in fact, similar, nor that such resemblances went unrecognized. Indeed, there is an uncanny similarity between the experiences of a

relaying the conventions of communitas from the football field to performance and in the process creating a moving night at the theater that borrowed the emotional rituals of football.”

25 I imagine the same to be true for the dithyrambic performances.
27 Thuc. 5.50.2; Nightingale 2004: 49.
28 Rutherford 1995: 276. Nightingale (2004: 42) is particularly adamant that *theoria* can only take place “at a distance from the pilgrim’s hometown or city” and that “geographical distance was a precondition for the special kind of viewing and apprehension that characterized *theoria*.”
29 Rutherford 1995: 276; Nightingale (2004: 47) observes that “local space” is “social and ideological.”
31 Nightingale 2004: 43.
32 Nightingale 2004: 44, also 47.
33 Foreigners or residents of outside demes could, however, likely be considered *theoroi*, given the rubric above.
34 Cf. Rehm 2002: 30-1.
theoros, particularly a “private” theoros, and a spectator at the City Dionysia, and it is this experiential similarity that I wish briefly to explore here. The most obvious point of contention, the issue of theater attendance not constituting lengthy enough travel, is potentially overcome when a less literal interpretation of travel is applied. It is not so much the journey to the theater that matters as the journeys undertaken once the performances begin, for it is the performances themselves that convey the audience to other places. Moreover, once they have moved out of Athens to Thebes or Troy or wherever the dramatic action has taken them, the spectators witness spectacular things and are confronted with “foreign” ideas and practices, about which they no doubt reported back to their fellow citizens after “returning” to Athens.

If we continue to apply the Turners’ schema of initiation to theatrical attendance, then the symbolic death undergone during the liminal stage is the period during which the spectators engage in and with alterity through the act of witnessing; successful return to the daily realities of Athens after the shows is, necessarily, a type of rebirth. Undergoing a rite of passage and undertaking a pilgrimage both entail a conceptual death and rebirth, the shedding of a former identity or world-view and the assumption of a new and improved one. The spectators at the City Dionysia may thus be thought of as embarking upon a veritable pilgrimage or initiation through which their pre-festival identity is sacrificed, and they, by entering the theater, witnessing performances, and returning to their city, are born anew. And Athens repeats this process of civic regeneration annually.

What I would like to suggest, in conclusion, is that by the end of the sixth century the City Dionysia had developed a full program of performances that aimed at

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35 Nightingale 2004: 43.
36 Goldhill’s (1996: 19, 1997: 5-8) politicization of theoria, premised on the idea that all cases of collective viewing (e.g., the theater, the courts, and the Assembly) constitute theoria since in all three venues the citizens play the same essential role as “spectators of speeches,” is rebutted by Ker 2000: 304-5 and Nightingale 2004: 49-52. Appeal to the Theoric Fund as “proof” that in the fifth century attending the theater was itself a theoretic activity, a position strongly advocated by Goldhill 1999, cannot be sustained by the evidence of the Theoric Fund itself, on which see Roselli 2009. Nevertheless, as I shall argue, there are strong reasons to accept Goldhill’s basic position that spectatorship did, in fact, constitute theoria. In this vein, see too Elsner 2000: 61 with Wiles 2007: 238, 255.
37 Consider the remarks of Redfield (1985: 100): “The tourist, in fact, travels in order to be a foreigner, which is to say, he travels in order to come home. He discovers his own culture by taking it with him to places where it is out of place, discovers its specific contours by taking it to places where it does not fit.” He goes on to state (p. 102) that “The tourist, it seems, can also travel in order to think.” Solon, as Redfield states on the same page just quoted, is “a kind of alter ego of the narrator himself,” for Solon, like Herodotus, teaches those with whom they come into contact about the world. I suggest that Solon’s theoria may be taken as a programmatic statement about the reader’s experience within the Herodotean text. By engaging with the various other places and peoples encountered through Herodotus’ narrative, the reader, like Solon, embarks upon a veritable theoria of his own. Slater (1993: 415), discussing the spatial movement of Achæhian, suggests that “Its playful and rapid transitions from theatre to assembly to lawcourt and back again, while temporarily raising the spectre of a collapse of all forms of Athenian civic life into a form of theoria,...in fact teach the spectators to see the differences and restores distinctions and boundaries which Sophists such as Gorgias seemed to be undermining.”
38 Rutherford (1995: 286-92) brings this point out nicely. See also Rutherford 2004: 69, with n. 15.
39 An interesting connection between theoria and sacrifice can be found in Aelius Aristides 1.187, a description of the scene in Euripides’ Erecitheus where Praxithea leads her daughter to the altar to be sacrificed “just as if she were sending her on a theoria” (ὡς τω δι δογν [θεωρίην πεισθαι]). On this passage see Rutherford 1998: 153-6.
rejuvenating Athens and her citizens through a series of repetitive steps. The performances began with the dithyrambs, a genre that was a stasis-quelling force with “powerful associations with ideas of cleansing and renewal, particularly with civic renewal.”

On the following days, the audience of the dramatic performances was plunged into the mythological past and immersed in the world(s) of heroes; their experience and participation in these other spaces, as we have seen, was facilitated in part through the use of proximal demonstratives. As the festival came to a close, the audience, having journeyed to myriad other worlds brought into existence within the confines of the Theater of Dionysus, achieved their nostos, their “return” to the city through the various reintegrations built into the festival program, and after 486 BCE, this “return” I have suggested, was especially reinforced by the performance of comedies as the final component of the dramatic competition. The final reintegration of all, however, took place following the Pandia, when the Assembly met in this same theater, turning its civic gaze inward without the filters and displacements provided by the alternate realities and masks of the previous days, and reclaimed for the communal good of the city a space which had for those days been a locus of such intense spatial and temporal instability.

The political, social, and psychic identity of Athens, having been unsettled and disassembled over the course of the festival, was at last reaffirmed and renewed.

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40 Wilson 2004: 170. Elements of this may be present in the pre-performance procession and sacrifice, on which see the summary of views presented by Rehm 2002: 46.

41 On this assembly, referred to in Demosthenes 21.8, Wilson (2000: 167) states: “The Athenian demos scrutinizes the conduct of its festival immediately after it is over. The theatre-audience returns—purified of ‘outsiders’—to discuss the whole activity in which it and its leaders were just engaged.” Cf. Calame’s (2002: 131) remarks on comedy and the Lenaia: “So it is that, much as one comes back down from the sweet inebriation caused by the phármakon, the ambiguous wine of Dionysus, so also the comic masquerade invites us to return to reality. Although we do not know what happened in this domain at the Lenaea festival, it is certain that this return is institutionally marked by the ekklesia, the official public assembly that signified the conclusion of the Great Dionysia. The critical scrutiny applied to the way the ritual was carried out during this popular assembly session indicates in a particularly clear way the practical impact that the act of cultic devotion to Dionysus Eleuthereus had on Athenian civic life.”
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### APPENDICES

#### Appendix 1: Agamemnon

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<td>Ag's choice to slay or spare his daughter, 206-11</td>
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τοισίδ’ p person / object eyes
τοισδ’ p person / object Chorus
τήσδε p spatial Argos
τήσδ’ p anaphoric tears
τούδε p anaphoric Chorus' words
τήμδε p spatial Argos
τούτ’ m anaphoric 546
τάτα m anaphoric spoils, implied in 577
τάδ’ p anaphoric 551-79
τάτα m anaphoric 551-82
τούτον m cataphoric opening door for husband, 604
τα/αθ’ m anaphoric that wives love to see their husbands returning safe from war, 601-4
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τήσδε p spatial Argos
τάδε p anaphoric good and true things, 622
τόνδε p anaphoric paian, 636-7
τουσαν m anaphoric 813-20
τάδε p anaphoric 810-28
τάδε p cataphoric revering friend who fares well
τάδε p person / object Argive citizens
ούτος m person / object Agamemnon, 856
δι’ p person / object Agamemnon
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τοδ’ p anaphoric to be fittingly praised, 916-17
τοσδε p anaphoric tapestries, 921
τοδ’ p cataphoric 933
τάδε p anaphoric walking on tapestries, 922-7
τοδ’ p anaphoric walking on tapestries, 922-7
τόδε p cataphoric sack of Troy (vel sim.), understood topic
τάδε p anaphoric since Ag's entrance
τησδε p situational present dispute
ταυθ’ m anaphoric walking on tapestries, 922-7
τοσδε p person / object tapestries
τούτων m anaphoric 944-9
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αυτη m person / object Cassandra
τάδε p anaphoric walking on tapestries, 922-7
τώνδε p anaphoric purple dye, 958-60
τήσδε p person / object Ag's life
τόδ’ p 1st person fear
τάδ’

p
anaphoric

summoning one back to life through

incantation, 1021

τήνδε

p
person / object

chariot

τήνδε

p
anaphoric

slavery, 1041

τόνδε

p
person / object

seat in chariot

τήδε

p
1st person

Clytemnestra

τήνδε

p
anaphoric

sacrificing for Ag's homecoming, 1056-7

τάδε

p
anaphoric

sacrifice, 1056-8

τόνδε

p
person / object

chariot

τήδε

p
situational

present situation

τάδε

p
situational

new grief

τούσδε

p
person / object

Thyestes' children, explained in 1096-7

τα/τε’

m
anaphoric

1072-3

/δε

p
person / object

Cassandra

τάδε

p
anaphoric

that Cass has come to Ag's house, 1087

τάδε

p
anaphoric

that Cass has come to Ag's house, 1087

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p
person / object

Thyestes' children

τάδε

p
situational

new grief

τούσδε

p
spatial

House

τούτων

m
anaphoric

1101-4

τάδε

p
situational

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τάδε

p
anaphoric

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τάδε

p
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τάδε

p
anaphoric

1156-61

τάδε

p
anaphoric

1166-72

τούσδε

p
situational

present pain

τήνδε

p
spatial

House

τούσδε

p
spatial

House

τάδε

p
anaphoric

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τάδε

p
anaphoric

that Apollo was struck with desire, 1203

τάδε

p
anaphoric

lying to Apollo, 1208

τούσδε

p
person / object

Thyestes' children

τάδε

p
anaphoric

1217-1222

τάδε

p
anaphoric

Cass's description of Clyt, i.e. that unless she is persuasive what she said will happen

τάδε

p
anaphoric

Cass' words, 1246

τούτε

m
anaphoric

1250

αύτη

m
person / object

Clytemnestra

τάδε

p
person / object

Cass's dress

τοισδε

p
person / object

Cass's dress

τήσδε

p
spatial

Argos

τάδε

p
person / object

death of Ag and Cass, 1279

τάδε

p
spatial

skene doors

τόδε

p
1st person

Cass's eyes

τάδε

p
anaphoric

Cass's final day, 1300
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## Appendix 2: Choephoroi

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τησδε p cataphoric agreements, 560-78
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τοισδε p cataphoric killing of Clyt being enacted inside
τηνδ' p person / object Cilissa entering
τήνδε p anaphoric message
τοισδε p spatial House
τοισδ' p spatial House
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τώνδε p anaphoric news of Or's death, 839-46
τάδ' p situational present prayer
τώνδ' p anaphoric killing of Aeg and Clyt, 872
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τώδε p person / object Aegisthus
τόνδε p person / object Clyt's breast
τουτα m anaphoric Aegisthus
τουτον m anaphoric Aegisthus
τούτων m anaphoric killing of Ag, 909
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| 980  | τωνδ' | p      | anaphoric | murder of Ag, 978
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| 988  | τόνδε | p      | person / object | Clyt's dead body
| 991  | τοῦτ' | m      | anaphoric | net, 999-1000
| 1003 | τῶδε | p      | anaphoric | net, 999-1000
| 1011 | τόδ' | p      | person / object | cloak
| 1015 | τόδε | p      | person / object | cloak
| 1017 | τήσδ' | p      | situational | present victory
| 1029 | τήσδε | p      | anaphoric | murder of Clyt, 1027
| 1031 | τωντ' | m      | anaphoric | murder of Clyt, 1027
| 1035 | τωνδε | p      | person / object | olive branch
| 1038 | τόδ' | p      | situational | murder of Clyt
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| 1042 | τῆσδε | p      | spatial | Argos
| 1043 | τάσδε | p      | cataphoric | reputation
| 1053 | τωνδε | p      | situational | present trouble
| 1056 | τωνδε | p      | anaphoric | fresh blood on Or's hand, 1055
| 1060 | τωνδε | p      | situational | Or's present trouble
| 1061 | τάσδ' | p      | person / object | Furies
| 1065 | δδε | p      | situational | present situation
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τούδ’  p person / object Philoctetes

τόδε  p cataphoric 687-90

τούτο  m anaphoric Neo taking hold of Phil, 761

τάδ’  p person / object Phil's bow

τούτο  m anaphoric pain of sickness, 759
τόδε p anaphoric pain of sickness, 765
τόδε p anaphoric time when Phil is asleep, 769
ταυτα m anaphoric Phil's bow, 763-4

ταυτα m anaphoric that Neo may steer clear of the trouble Phil had, 776-8

τόδε p person / object blood
τόδε p anaphoric new pain, 784

ηδε p situational Phil's pain

τηνδε p situational Phil's pain

τωδε p person / object Lemnian fire

τωνδε p person / object Phil's bow

τουτον m anaphoric Philoctetes

τουδε p person / object Philoctetes

τουδε p person / object Philoctetes

τουδε p person / object Philoctetes

τάδε p anaphoric whether Phil will go to Troy, 841-2

τουτω m anaphoric Odysseus, referred to obliquely in 852

τουνδε p person / object Chorus

τουτ m cataphoric 870-1

τουτ m anaphoric waiting with and helping Phil, 870-1

τουτ m anaphoric Phil's suffering, 870, 872

τουδε p 1st Person Phil's suffering

οιδε p person / object Sailors

ταδε p anaphoric 882-888

τουτους m person / object Chorus

τουτοισι m person / object Chorus

ταδε p anaphoric 890-2

ταδε p anaphoric what Neo lacks, 898

τουδε p anaphoric being confused, 898

τουτ m anaphoric seeming to be base, 906

δε p person / object Neoptolemus

τουτ m anaphoric sending Phil on a grievous journey, 912-13

τουδ p situational Phil's suffering

ταυτ m anaphoric 919-20

τουτω m anaphoric 919-20

ταδ p cataphoric 940-62

τωδε p spatial Phil's cave

τοισιδ p person / object Phil's bow

τοουδ p person / object Philoctetes

τοουδ p person / object Philoctetes

ταυτ m person / object Phil's bow

δε p person / object Odysseus
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## Appendix 7: Medea

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τῇσδ'  p  person / object  Phaedra
τήνδε  p  person / object  Phaedra
τὰ/uni1FE6τα  m  anaphoric  whole previous argument
τῆσδ'  p  spatial  Troezen
τάδ'  p  anaphoric  Phaed's death and Hipp's reported rape, topic since 811
τόδε  p  situational  Th's present argument
τόδ'  p  anaphoric  Hipp's lack of ability in making speeches, 986-7
τόδε  p  person / object  sunlight
το/uni1FD6σδ'  p  anaphoric  sun and earth, 993-4
τόδ'  p  temporal  present moment of the day
τήνδε  p  anaphoric  sex, 1003
τα/uni1FE6τα  m  anaphoric  sex, 1003
τήσδε  p  person / object  Phaedra
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ηδε  p  anaphoric  Phaedra, last referred to at 1023
δδε  p  person / object  Hippolytus
τόδ'  p  anaphoric  1042-4
τόνδε  p  anaphoric  that father should kill, not banish son who touches wife, 1042-4
ο/uni1F57τος  m  anaphoric  living a miserable life in a foreign land, 1050
ηδε  p  person / object  writing tablet
τηδ'  p  anaphoric  charge against Hipp, 1058
τάδε  p  anaphoric  Th's comment that Hipp is a wife-seducer and evil-plotter, 1068-9
τόνδε  p  anaphoric  Hippolytus
τόνδε  p  person / object  Hippolytus
ταυτ'  p  anaphoric  banishing Hipp, 1087
ταυτ'  m  anaphoric  what really happened to Phaed
τηδε  p  spatial  Troezen
ταυτ'  m  anaphoric  that Hipp is chaste, 1100
ταδε  p  cataphoric  destiny
ταφνυδ'  p  spatial  House
τανδ'  p  person / object  Messenger entering
τησδε  p  spatial  Troezen
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ταυτ'  m  situational  being an exile
ηδε  p  spatial  Troezen
ταφδ'  p  anaphoric  Hipp saying, 1191-3
τησδε  p  spatial  Troezen
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το/uni1F25δε  m  anaphoric  chariot, 1231
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ταοσδε  p  anaphoric  Chorus' reporting of new troubles, 1255-5
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ταφνυδε  p  anaphoric  people, animals mentioned 1268-80
Th's use of wish against Hipp and ensuing results, 1316-4
disgrace of having Aphrodite kill Hipp.,

Hippolytus entering

Hippolytus

Hippolytus

arrows

death and dying, 1437-8

present griev
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τάδε p anaphoric killing Clyt, 421

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τῆνδ’ p spatial Argos

δὲ p person / object Tyndareus entering

δὲ p person / object Orestes

δὲ p person / object Orestes

tάδε p person / object Orestes

ο/τοί m anaphoric Aegisthus' men, 435

τ/δ’ p temporal present day

tήνδ’ p spatial Argos

τόδ’ p person / object Orestes

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τονδε  p person / object countryman / hunter entering
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τήνδε | p | situational | procession
οὗτος | m | 2nd person | Dicaeopolis
οὗτος | m | person / object | Dicaeopolis
τουτί | m | situational | attack on Dicaeopolis
τοῦτο | m | anaphoric | Dic's question, 286
ταύτα | m | anaphoric | 309-10
ο/τοσ | p | 1st person | Dicaeopolis
τοῦτο | m | anaphoric | 313-4
τοῦτον | m | person / object | Dicaeopolis
τοῦτ’ | m | anaphoric | 325-7
τουτόν | m | person / object | Dicaeopolis
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tονδε | p | person / object | coal basket
tοδε | p | person / object | coal basket
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ο/τοσ | m | person / object | cloak
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ταυτι | m | anaphoric | what Dicaeopolis has to say, implied in
τοτ’ | m | anaphoric | 352-7
τοτ’ | m | anaphoric | chopping block
τοτοσι | m | 1st person | Dicaeopolis
ταυτα | m | anaphoric | Dicaeopolis' twistings and turnings
ο/τοσ | m | situational | present case
ο/τοσ | m | 2nd person | Dicaeopolis
α/τη | m | anaphoric | the speech Dic must give, 416
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tοδε’ | p | person / object | small cup
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τουτι | m | cataphoric | 478
αυτηνι | m | spatial | (imaginary?) line on ground
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τοθ’ | m | anaphoric | 515
tαυτ’ | m | anaphoric | 520-1
tαυτ’ | m | anaphoric | 516-22
ταυτα | m | anaphoric | 544-54
ταυτ’ | m | anaphoric | Dic's rhes, esp. 535-56
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Theban's wares

Nicarchus entering

Nicarchus

Theban's wares

Theban's wares

Theban's wares

Nicarchus

Theban's wares

Nicarchus

Lamachus

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Dicaeopolis' pitcher
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Demos' ring

Sausage Seller

Paphlagon

Paphlagon

Paphlagon

Paphlagon

Cleon

Cleon

oracles

Paphlagon

oracle

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ο/οντος m person / object Socrates
ο/οντος m 2nd person Student
tο/οντο m anaphoric the earth drawing moisture for itself, 232-3
tο/οντον m person / object wreath
tα/οντα m anaphoric giving wreath
tο/οντο m person / object cloak
tα/οντε/α m person / object Strepsiades	o/ονται m person / object comedians
α/ανθαι m person / object Clouds
το/οντο m anaphoric Clouds' song, 298-313
tα/οντε m anaphoric benefits Clouds bestow, 316-8	o/ονται m person / object Clouds
tα/ονται m person / object Clouds
tα/οντας m anaphoric Clouds, 328	o/ονται m anaphoric Clouds
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το/οντο m anaphoric Clouds changing into different things,
tο/οντο m anaphoric shaggy men
α/ανθαι m person / object Clouds, 353 (understood)
tα/οντε m anaphoric that Clouds changing shape to expose

tα/οντε m anaphoric individuals, 352
tα/οντα m anaphoric throwing away shield (sc. verb of doing)
tο/οντο m anaphoric Clouds changing shape to expose

tα/οντε m anaphoric that Clouds saw Cleisthenes, 355	o/ονται m person / object Clouds
το/οντο m anaphoric Clouds, 370
το/οντο m anaphoric Soc's explanation of where rain comes

tο/οντο m anaphoric who the thunderer is, 374
tα/οντας m anaphoric Clouds
το/οντα m person / object who the thunderer is, 374
tο/οντο m anaphoric Clouds
το/οντο m anaphoric where lightning comes from, 395
tο/οντο m anaphoric lightning
tα/οντας m person / object Clouds
το/οντο m cataphoric winds causing something to burst, 404-7
tο/οντο m anaphoric winning in different areas, 418-19
τούτων m anaphoric 420-1
τούτι m person / object Chaos 424
ταυτί m anaphoric three (new gods), 424
τούτι m cataphoric that Strepsiades be the best speaker 429
τούτο m anaphoric that Strepsiades will be the best speaker 431
τουδί p temporal present time 431
τούτων p anaphoric proposing important business, 433
ταυτί m anaphoric Strepsiades entrusting himself to the Clouds, 435
τουτί m person / object Strepsiades' body 440
ταυτ' m anaphoric 444-51
ταυτέ p person / object Strepsiades 457
ταυτής m anaphoric that Strep entered Soc's house 511
ταυτήν m anaphoric first version of Clouds 522
ταυτα m anaphoric Aristophanes' earlier loss with Clouds, 524-5
τουτες m anaphoric having learned Strepsiades' disposition, 528-32
τουτοις m anaphoric Eupolis, Phrynicus, and Hermippus, 553-7
τουτον m anaphoric Hyperbolus, 551
τουτοσι m anaphoric similes about eels, 559
τουτοσι m anaphoric Cleon, 586
τουτα m anaphoric mistakes, 599
τηδε p spatial Athens 658
τουτο m anaphoric election of Cleon, 587
τουτο m anaphoric Cleon, 591
τουτο m anaphoric bits of knowledge, 630
τουτο m anaphoric grain-seller cheating Strep, 639-40
τουτοι m person / object Strep's finger 653
ουτοσι m person / object Strep's finger 654
τουτων m anaphoric rhythm, 647
τουτο m anaphoric most unjust argument, 657
τουτο m anaphoric 666
τουθ m anaphoric calling κάρδοπος masculine, 669
τουτα m anaphoric names just mentioned, 686
τουθ m anaphoric what Soc has been trying to teach Strep 693
τουθ m anaphoric what Soc has been trying to teach Strep 697
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τουθ m 2nd person Strepsiades 720
ουτος m 2nd person Strepsiades 723
τουτόνι m person / object Strepsiades
οὐτός m 2nd person Strepsiades
τοῦτο m anaphoric about what Strepsiades should think
τούτ' m anaphoric keeping the moon, 749-53
ταύτην m anaphoric stone
ταύτην m anaphoric stone
τούτι m cataphoric 776-7
δῆς p person / object Strepsiades
tούτ' m anaphoric laugh issued at 819
something that once learnt will make Ph a man, 823-4
τοῦτο m anaphoric that Dinos is king. 828
tαὐτα m anaphoric that Dinos is king, 828
τοῦτον m person / object rooster Strepsiades' slave is carrying
ταύτην m person / object hen Strepsiades' slave is carrying
tήνδε p person / object hen Strepsiades' slave is carrying
tοτούνι m person / object rooster Strepsiades' slave is carrying
clever things like knowing fowl gender, 852
ταύτ' m anaphoric Pheidippides
tαὐτα m anaphoric Strep forgetting things because of his age
τοῦτον m anaphoric first obol of jury pay
tοῦτοις m anaphoric Strep's past actions, 859-64
τούτων m person / object Pheidippides
tοτούνι m person / object audience
tοσύτος m anaphoric Pheidippides
tούτ' m anaphoric different types of oratory, 874-5
that Pheidippides will learn from the Arguments, 886
tοῦτο m anaphoric inventing new principles, 896
tοτούνι m person / object audience
tοτί m situational situation
τούτ' m anaphoric being called bad names, 909-14
tοῦτον m person / object Pheidippides
tοῦτον m person / object Better Argument
tαὐτ' m anaphoric 935-8
τοῦτων m person / object Better Argument
tοτóων m anaphoric the making of an exposition
tαὐτας m anaphoric musical inflexions
Worse Arg's reply to Better Arg's speech, 984-5
tαὐτ' m anaphoric 987-9
ταύτα m anaphoric running into dancing-girl's house, 996
tαὐτ' m anaphoric Better Arg's speech, 961-99
tοῦτο ο/υντμ το/υτον m person / object Better Argument
tαὐτα m anaphoric what Better Arg has told Ph
τοῦτων m person / object what Better Arg has told Ph
tοῦτοις m anaphoric 1015-23
tάδε p anaphoric either 1024-29 or 1002-1023 or 1015-23
tαὐτ' m anaphoric Better Arg's arguments
1038 τούτο m anaphoric destroying arguments, 1037
1041 τούτο m anaphoric as right, 1039-40
1052 ταύτα m anaphoric 1051-2
1052 ταύτα m anaphoric 1051-2
1058 δι p person / object Better Argument
1063 τούτο m anaphoric being prudent, 1061
1074 τούτων m anaphoric pleasures, 1073-4
1079 τάδε p cataphoric 1080
1086 τούτον m anaphoric becoming wide-assholed, 1085
1087 τούτο m anaphoric that harm follows being made wide-assholed, 1085
1099 τούτοι m person / object audience member
1100 τούτοι m person / object audience member
1105 τούτον m person / object Pheidippides
1111 τούτον m person / object Pheidippides being educated by Worse
1114 ταύτα m anaphoric Arg
1115 τόνε p 1st person Chorus
1131 ταύτην m anaphoric day three
1134 ταύτην m anaphoric day two
1146 τούτοι m person / object gift
1159 τούτοδε p spatial Strepsiades' home
1167 ὃς p person / object Pheidippides
1173 τούτο m person / object Pheidippides' "nationalistic look"
1188 τούτι m anaphoric Solon being a friend of the people by nature, 1187
1200 τούτο m anaphoric 1198
1204 τούτοι m person / object Pheidippides
1219 τούτοισι m person / object 1215-18
1221 οὔτοσι m person / object 1st Creditor
1230 τούτο m anaphoric that Pheidippides did not yet know the unbeatable argument, 1229
1232 ταύτα m anaphoric Strep saying he'd pay, 1227, but now denying the debt, 1230
1237 οὔτοσι m person / object 1st Creditor's belly
1242 τούτων m anaphoric having disrespected 1st Creditor's belly the man demanding money from
1247 οὔτος m person / object Strepsiades
1248 τούθ m anaphoric dough-tray
1248 τούτι m person / object dough-tray
1254 τούτο m cataphoric that 1st Creditor will be making a deposit
1257 τούτο m anaphoric making deposit and losing 12 minae, 1256
1260 οὔτοσι m person / object 2nd Creditor
1262 τούτο m anaphoric knowing who 2nd Creditor is, 1262
1270 ταύτα m anaphoric the money Ph owes to 2nd Creditor, 1267-8
1281 τούθ m anaphoric rain water, 1280
1286 τούτο m anaphoric the word "interest", 1280
αὖτη m anaphoric sea, 1290

ταῦτη m anaphoric beating threatened or just or about to be

given

ταῦτη m anaphoric Strepsiades beating 2nd Creditor

δῆ p person / object Strepsiades

τοῦτον m anaphoric Strepsiades

ταῦτα m anaphoric calling Pheidippides names, 1327

τουτί m anaphoric that beating one's father is right, 1333

ταῦτα m anaphoric that beating one's father is right, 1333

οὗτος m anaphoric Pheidippides, 1346

telling Chorus whence the quarrel arose, 1351-2

τοῦτο m anaphoric Pheidippides, 1364

telling Chorus whence the quarrel arose, 1350-1

τοῦτον m anaphoric clever new poetry, 1370

ταῦτα m anaphoric new poetry, 1369-70

οὗτος m anaphoric Pheidippides

οὗτος m anaphoric Pheidippides

τοῦτων m anaphoric being devoted to racing, 1401-2

οὗτοι m person / object Strepsiades

τουτί m anaphoric if Strepsiades beat Pheidippides as a boy, 1409

τοῦτο m anaphoric beating, 1412

τοῦτο m anaphoric beating

τοῦτο m anaphoric beating

τοῦτον m anaphoric law, 1420

ταυτί m anaphoric animals

ταῦτα m anaphoric immitating animals in certain ways not the same as beating, 1430-1

τοῦτοι m anaphoric young men

τοῦτων m anaphoric what has already happened to Strep

τοῦθ m anaphoric Ph beating his mother

ταῦτα m anaphoric Ph beating his mother

ταῦτα m anaphoric what has already happened to Strep

τοῦτων m anaphoric what has already happened to Strep

ταῦτα m anaphoric that Strep was turning toward base ways, 1454

ταῦτα m anaphoric that Strep was turning toward base ways, 1455

ταῦτα m anaphoric not telling Strep that he was turning toward base ways, 1456-7

ταῦθ m anaphoric that Dinos had expelled Zeus, 1470-1

τουτοί m person / object Dinos

destroying Thinktank and everyone inside, 1499

ταῦτα m anaphoric

οὗτος m 2nd person Strepsiades
## Appendix 14: Wasps

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344 τουτ' m anaphoric that Philocleon will do harm, 340
344 τούτων m anaphoric that Philocleon is imprisoned
346 τουδί p person / object Bdelycleon
356 τούτ' m anaphoric Phil throwing self off wall, 355
356 τούτ' m anaphoric present situation
369 ταύτα m anaphoric Philocleon drawing through net, 367-8
371 τούτο m person / object net
374 τούτον m person / object Bdelycleon
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1303 ταθ' m anaphoric 1298-9
1306 τατα m person / object food
1311 τατα m anaphoric eating food, 1310
1315 τατα m person / object food
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tο/τος m anaphoric rooster
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tο/τ’ m anaphoric that Agamemnon and Menelaus ruled w/ birds, 508-10
το/τός m anaphoric Zeus and Apollo having birds on their heads, 514-16
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ο/τοι m person / object tattooed runaway slave, 760
ο/τος m anaphoric bored spectator, 786-7
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α/uni1F55τη m anaphoric the name Νεφελοκοκκυγία, 819
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τουτί m person / object aulos-player
τάδ' p anaphoric sacrificing to the new gods, 862
tουτο m person / object sacrificial offering
tουτογί m person / object sacrificial offering
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tηνδ' p spatial Cloudcuckooland
tαυτής m anaphoric Cloudcuckooland
tουτί m person / object Poet
tουτω m anaphoric Poet
tούτος m 2nd person slave
tόδε p person / object jerkin
tουτονί m person / object chiton
tαυταγί m anaphoric coldness, 950-1
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tαυτ' m anaphoric oracle, 962
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tουτω m person / object papyrus or writing tablet
tαυτ' m anaphoric 987-8
tουτί m person / object Meton entering
tουτί m person / object air-rulers
tουτονί m person / object ruler
tαυτι m anaphoric 1014
ουτοί m person / object Inspector entering
ουτοί m person / object pay
tουτί m situational being hit, 1029
tουτί m person / object scroll
tουτί m person / object peisetaeis
tούτος m 2nd person Peisetaerus
ο/uni1F57τοσί m person / object Peisetaerus
ο/uni1F57τοσί m person / object Peisetaerus
ο/uni1F57τοσί m person / object Decree-seller
ο/uni1F57τοσί m person / object Decree-seller
τήδε p temporal current day
tαυτα m anaphoric 1074-5
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ουτοσί m person / object Peisetaerus
ουτοσί m person / object Peisetaerus
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1205 τούτο m anaphoric Peisetaerus’ question, 1204
1205 ταυτημία m person / object Iris
1207 τούτο m situational current situation
1208 τούτο m situational current situation
1194-5 ταύτικα m anaphoric "that way" (= sky)
1194-5 αὐτή m 2nd person Iris
1208 τούτο m anaphoric Peisetaerus’ question, 1204
1205 ταυτημία m person / object Iris
1207 τούτο m situational current situation
1208 τούτο m situational current situation
1220 τήδε p spatial adv., "this way"
1221 τούθός m cataphoric 1222-3
1243 αὐτή m 2nd person Iris
1245 ταυτή m anaphoric 1238-42
1267-8 τήδε p spatial adv., "this way"
1274 τόδε p person / object crown
1279 τήδε p spatial Cloudcuckooland
1280 τήδε p spatial Cloudcuckooland
1313 τάνδε p spatial Cloudcuckooland
1318 ταυτή m anaphoric Cloudcuckooland, 1316
1327 τούτων m anaphoric Manes
1331 τάδε p person / object wings
1341 ὅδε p person / object Father-beater entering
1351 ταύτα m anaphoric young bird who beats father considered manly, 1349-50
1364 ταυτημίδι p person / object wing
1365 τούτο m person / object spur
1366 τονδί p person / object crest
1375 τούτο m person / object Cinesias entering
1403 ταυτί m anaphoric chasing Cinesias with wings, 1397-1400
1408 τούτος m cataphoric that Cinesias will not case until he has wings, 1408
1410-11 ὅδε p person / object birds (said by Informer entering)
1413 τούτο m situational situation
1414 ὅδε p person / object Father-beater entering
1419 ὅδε p 1st person Peisetaerus
1430 τούτο m anaphoric denouncing foreigners, 1428-9
1441 ταδί p cataphoric 1442-3
1478 τούτο m anaphoric tree, 1473
1495 τούτο m situational situation
1508 τούτο m person / object parasol
1528 τούτων m anaphoric barbarian gods, 1525
1544 τούτων m anaphoric information regarding how Peis may rule, 1531-43
1552 τονδί p person / object stool
1566 τοδί p spatial Cloudcuckooland
1567 οὖν m 2nd person Triballus
1571 τούτων m person / object Triballus
1583 ταῦτα m person / object meat
1595 τούτων m anaphoric reasons why gods have come, 1591-4
1599 ταδί p cataphoric 1600-2
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### Appendix 17: *Lysistrata*

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τάδε' p situational setting fire to Propylaea
τούτι m situational women approaching men
οὐσσάρι m person / object "swarm" of women
tαύτας m person / object women
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tαδί p cataphoric 416-19
tοῦτ' m anaphoric sandal strap
οὗτος m 2nd person Archer
tοῦτον m anaphoric Archer
tαύτη m person / object Lysistrata
tαύτην m person / object First Old Woman
tαύτη m person / object First Old Woman
tαύτης m person / object Second Old Woman
tούτι m situational situation
tήσδ' p situational attack
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ιδ'  p  situational  current situation
τουσδε  p  person / object  Athenian ambassadors entering
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τήδε p situational song and dance
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ούτος m 2nd person Dionysus
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τα/τοιαυτ’ m person / object Aeschylus

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τα/τοιαυτ’ m person / object Euripides

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τα/τοιαυτ’ m person / object Aeschylus

τα/τοιαυτ’ m person / object Euripides

τα/τοιαυτ’ m person / object Euripides

τα/τοιαυτ’ m person / object Aeschylus

τα/τοιαυτ’ m person / object Aeschylus

τα/τοιαυτ’ m anaphoric have a poetry competition (topic since 830)

τα/τοιαυτ’ m anaphoric poetry contest

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- People following the new civic order.
- Sing to lead one near.
- What follows "I'm alone and mom's elsewhere".
- Having sex with old woman or one with upturned nose.
- Having sex with women in proper order.
- Epigenes entering.
- Sleeping with women in proper order.
- Epigenes.
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## Appendix 21: Wealth

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