

Manuscript version: Author's Accepted Manuscript

The version presented in WRAP is the author's accepted manuscript and may differ from the published version or Version of Record.

Persistent WRAP URL:

<http://wrap.warwick.ac.uk/122662>

How to cite:

Please refer to published version for the most recent bibliographic citation information. If a published version is known of, the repository item page linked to above, will contain details on accessing it.

Copyright and reuse:

The Warwick Research Archive Portal (WRAP) makes this work by researchers of the University of Warwick available open access under the following conditions.

Copyright © and all moral rights to the version of the paper presented here belong to the individual author(s) and/or other copyright owners. To the extent reasonable and practicable the material made available in WRAP has been checked for eligibility before being made available.

Copies of full items can be used for personal research or study, educational, or not-for-profit purposes without prior permission or charge. Provided that the authors, title and full bibliographic details are credited, a hyperlink and/or URL is given for the original metadata page and the content is not changed in any way.

Publisher's statement:

Please refer to the repository item page, publisher's statement section, for further information.

For more information, please contact the WRAP Team at: wrap@warwick.ac.uk.

On Kinesias' Musicopoetic *Paranomia*

Abstract

In this article I focus on the New Poet Kinesias and on the ways in which he was depicted, ridiculed, and criticized in our sources. I contextualize his depiction as a poetic and musical corrupter and as a thin and disabled individual within the criticism of the New Music in late fifth- and early fourth-century philosophical works, namely those by Plato and Aristotle, to argue that he was considered the poet who embodied the musicopoetic *paranomia* and the lack of *orthotēs* in the New Music. I also bring into my analysis a fragment from a speech of Lysias against Kinesias, where I focus on the accusations against the poet, in order to show that both his political actions (as described in the fragment and in Athenaeus who transmits the passage) and his experimentations with the chorus and with poetic performances were interpreted as a threat to the coherence and stability of the community.

Keywords

Kinesias – New Music – *paranomia* – comedy – Plato – criticism – ethical and moral interpretation – *khoreia* – community

Comic parodies and anecdotes turned Kinesias into an icon for the disreputable new dithyrambic poetry. Pherecrates commemorates him as one of the corrupters of traditional and well-ordered *mousikē* alongside Melanippides, Phrynīs, and Timotheus (*PCG* 155), Aristophanes portrays him as the poet whose light poetic compositions forced him to wander on the *aithēr* for inspiration (*Av.* 1373-1409), and Strattis devotes an entire comedy to him, where he is depicted as an impious individual, who manipulated the chorus in his compositions, mishandling and thus spoiling

harmonious choral performances (*PCG* 14-22). Kinesias' experimentations with the choral mode of the dithyramb, his kinetic innovations, and exaggerated dance choreography are complemented in several sources, comic and otherwise, by observations of his slim physique and numerous bodily disabilities, as well as by comments concerning his impious and disrespectful personality.¹

In this article I discuss how the representation of Kinesias' persona embodies the manner in which our sources interpreted the New Music as a cultural phenomenon and how it reflects both the aesthetic criticism and the ethical judgement against the late fifth- and early fourth-century style of *mousikē*, as that is detected primarily in philosophical writings such as those of Plato and Aristotle. My argument will take into account the features that according to Plato's ideal vision of lyric should characterize choral and poetic performances, and will connect the fourth-century *paranomia* in poetry and music, as Plato calls it, and its lack of correctness (*orthotēs*) with the debased character and the vulgarity of the public that enjoyed the New Music. This I shall do in order to argue that on grounds other than strictly musical and technical our sources perceived the New Music also as an immoral affair and depicted its representative poets in similar colours too. With regard to Kinesias such an interpretation takes into account his disregard of poetic and musical laws that is exhibited in his extensive use of modulations (*kampai*) and the lack of moral uprightness that is metaphorically manifested in his poor health and thin physique. Kinesias was apparently also involved in legal proceedings and we possess a fragment from Lysias that comprehensively reflects the comic parody of Kinesias and the reading of the New Music as immoral in both Plato and Aristotle (Lysias fr. 195 and 196 Carey). When considered within the context of

¹ E.g. Plato *Comicus* 200 *PCG*; Athen. 12.551d = Strattis 7 *PCG*; Harpocr. κ 59 Keaney = Lysias fr.196 Carey. On Kinesias in comedy, Kugelmeier 1996, 208-48.

the criticism of the New Music by contemporary intellectuals, Kinesias' disregard for musical laws is connected with his disobedience to the city's laws, both of which, I argue, should be interpreted as features characteristic of an immoral ethos and as threats to the formation and stability of the community.

1. Musicopoetic *Paranomia* and Immoral Affairs

The new musical style that was practised by poets and professional musicians in the late fifth and early fourth centuries BC was associated by its conservative critics with sexual permissiveness, moral degeneration, and educational negligence, and comedy is one of the main sources that depicts the New Music as a sign of moral decline. We read in Eupolis' *Heilotes* that singing the songs of Stesichorus, Alcman, and Simonides is old-fashioned; Gnesippus is the trendy poet, and his songs are the favourite repertoire of adulterers (*PCG* 148). In Aristophanes' *Clouds* and *Daitales* Pheidippides and the debased son reject the classical lyric poets Simonides, Alcaeus, and Anacreon because they were not nobly educated and consequently they could not judge poetry correctly (*Ar. Nu.* 1353-73, *Daitales PCG* 235). Additionally, the debate in the *Clouds'* *agōn* focuses on the differences between old and current education: Better Word depicts Phrynus' innovative *kampai* that strain old harmonies as an example of the musical innovation at the time (*Nu.* 961-72), and a speaker in Pherecrates' *Cheiron* (*PCG* 156) laments the lapse from the standards of the past, reflecting the picture of general decadence in the late fifth century BC that Better Word paints in *Clouds*.

In Plato's *Laws* the Athenian lawgiver mirrors comedy's opposition between then (τότε) and now (τὰ νῦν), and creates a chronological and cultural division in the history and evolution of lyric poetry (*Lg.* 700a-701a3). He describes a past that was composed of clearly defined religious song-

types and genres—hymns, paeans, dithyrambs, and kitharodic *nomoi*—and where certain tunes (μέλους εἶδος) were strictly prescribed to certain types of songs (οὐκ ἐξήν ἄλλο εἰς ἄλλο καταχρησθαι). The description continues and the lawgiver refers implicitly to the educational role that lyric performances had back then (περὶ παιδείου) and to the orderly state of their audiences (τότε): the spectators listened to the songs in silence and behaved in accordance with the enforced law. In contrast to this law-abiding past the musical and poetic present of Athens (τὰ νῦν) is characterized by *paranomia* in *mousikē* (παρὰνομίαν εἰς τὴν μουσικὴν) in all four features to which the Athenian drew attention in his narration of the days of old: types of songs and lyric genres, musical tunes and musical instruments, the ultimate purpose of lyric performances, and the character of the audience. Nowadays, we read, poets mix song-types and poetic genres that are not meant to be confused (κεραυννύντες), musical tunes are intermingled in a single performance, whilst poets compose and performers perform with the ultimate aim of pleasing a very noisy audience (κατεχόμενοι ὑφ' ἡδονῆς... θέατρα ἐξ ἀφώνων φωνήεντ' ἐγένοντο).

As scholars have recently emphasized, both choral song and dance in the *Laws*' Magnesia become the instruments of political integration and socialization.² As a result, aesthetic pleasure in the *Laws* is a feature of virtue and of ethical formation, and the choral lyric genres are reconstructed in Magnesia as educational tools.³ Magnesia's re-appropriation of contemporary musical and poetic practices reinvents ancient Greek performance culture by attaching to its poetic genres and its choral performances the ethical principles that appear to be of great significance throughout the

²The most substantial treatment of this issues is in Prauscello 2011, 2013, and in more detail 2014.

³Folch 2015, 11.

Platonic corpus.⁴ For Plato the main aim of poetic performances is the moral improvement of individuals. For this precise reason Magnesia's *mousikē* is strictly regulated by law and the city's *khoreia* is accordingly philosophically anchored.⁵ In the Athenian's description and criticism of the New Music civic education is identified with a musically well-ordered and generically pure lyric poetry which the lawgiver projects onto the institutions of aristocratic society and onto elite ideology.⁶ On the contrary, according to Plato, the current poetic environment with the debased role of the spectator, the progressive violation of the laws of *mousikē*, the prevalence of music and poetry that would be performed for pleasure, and the undisciplined audience are perceived as signs of the rise of democracy and consequently of the political liberty the demos had acquired.⁷ Plato purposefully heightens the unruly character of the mob in the lawgiver's account by coining the term *theatrokratia* in order to criticize the political power the demos gradually gained and also to

⁴On the ethical character of poetic genres in the *Laws*, Folch 2015, Part II.

⁵Cf. *Lg.* 655c3-d3 on the unacceptable claim that correct *mousikē* is that which pleases the soul.

⁶Folch 2015, 2, 7 and 11.

⁷The above passage from the *Laws* builds on *R.* 424c5-6 where political changes are perceived as a consequence of alterations in *mousikē*, which is presented as a view of Damon, on which see Wallace 2004, 261-3 and 2015, 64-75. With reference to the changing character of the audience as depicted in the above extract Wallace (1997) has demonstrated that according to a number of sources the Athenian theatre audience was as vocal and physically active in the fifth century as it was in the fourth century BC.

denounce the popular appeal that new and innovative musical and poetic productions had at his time.⁸

In his disapproval of professional musicians in the *Politics* Aristotle similarly criticizes the coarse character of the spectator, which he also connects in causal terms with the kind of *mousikē* which aims to please a crowd that lacks good aesthetic and musical judgement.

ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν τε ὀργάνων καὶ τῆς ἐργασίας ἀποδοκιμάζομεν τὴν τεχνικὴν παιδείαν (τεχνικὴν δὲ τίθεμεν τὴν πρὸς τοὺς ἀγῶνας· ἐν ταύτῃ γὰρ ὁ πράττων οὐ τῆς αὐτοῦ μεταχειρίζεται χάριν ἀρετῆς, ἀλλὰ τῆς τῶν ἀκουόντων ἡδονῆς, καὶ ταύτης φορτικῆς, διόπερ οὐ τῶν ἐλευθέρων κρίνομεν εἶναι τὴν ἐργασίαν, ἀλλὰ θητικωτέραν· καὶ βαναύσους δὴ συμβαίνει γίγνεσθαι· πονηρὸς γὰρ ὁ σκοπὸς πρὸς ὃν ποιοῦνται τὸ τέλος· ὁ γὰρ θεατῆς φορτικὸς ὢν μεταβάλλειν εἴωθε τὴν μουσικὴν, ὥστε καὶ τοὺς τεχνίτας τοὺς πρὸς αὐτὸν μελετῶντας αὐτοὺς τε ποιούς τινας ποιεῖ καὶ τὰ σώματα διὰ τὰς κινήσεις)...

For we reject training in some instruments and in professional performances (and we count participation in competitions as professional; for the performer does not take part in it for his own improvement, but for his hearers' pleasure, and that would be a vulgar pleasure, owing to which we do not consider performing to be proper for free men, but somewhat menial; and indeed performers do become vulgar, since the object at which

⁸The ideological undertones in the musical criticism against the New Music, as expressed in our sources, have been the subject of discussion in a number of studies, e.g. Csapo 2004 and 2011; Wilson 2003a and 2004; Csapo/Wilson 2009, on Timotheus.

they aim is a low one; for the spectator who is vulgar usually influences the poetry and the music, so that it imparts to the artists who practise it with a view to suit the spectator a special kind of personality, and also of a certain bodily frame because of the performed movements)⁹...

Arist. *Pol.* 1341b8-18

Aristotle echoes the lawgiver's evaluative judgement in the *Laws*. He goes, however, one step further than Plato. He paints in the above extract a picture where the spectators influence not only the music of the performers but also their personalities and their bodily movements. The acoustic and visual image that is constructed in Aristotle's *Politics* mirrors Plato's account of *khoreia* in the *Laws*. *Khoreia* in Magnesia is depicted as a kind of mimesis where song and choral dance are turned into representations of character. The beauty and overall character of a choral performance is defined by the nature and ethos of the object of mimesis, and that ethos is transmitted at the performance by the performers/imitators (*Lg.* 655d5-656a1).¹⁰ Notably, the nature, character, and ethical disposition of both the performers and the audience should correspond to the representations in performance, and only the spectators who accord with the choral and musical representations would find the performances pleasurable (cf. *Lg.* 655d5-e3, 658e6-659a1).¹¹ It is therefore expected

⁹Translations of all passages are taken from the relevant volume of the *Loeb Classical Library* and are at points altered.

¹⁰On *Lg.* 655d5-656a1 and choral mimesis, see Folch 2015, 91-3. Prauscello (2013, 259) explains this kind of mimesis as "active at both a representational (mimesis qua representation) and performative level (mimesis qua enactment)".

¹¹Choral and musical representations should also correspond correctly to their models, i.e. their objects of mimesis, and this is understood as one of the criteria of musical judgement (*Lg.* 669a7-b2), on which Barker 2010 and Rocconi 2012,

that the ethically correct *mousikē* ideally performed in Magnesia will please the best of men, those who have been adequately and well educated, and also those who excel in virtue and education.¹² In such an exemplary performative scenario the ethos of the spectators would accord with the ethical character of the performance itself. As a result, the ideal *mousikē* constructed in Plato's Magnesia gains a moral and ethical dimension that goes beyond the perfect alignment of performers, performances, and spectators. "For Plato aesthetic pleasure depends on *ethical disposition*", as Marcus Folch concludes, and artistic judgement is unequivocally connected in the *Laws* with aesthetic pleasure and eventually with the ethical character of both the individuals and the artistic product.¹³

In the specific extract from the *Politics* Aristotle identifies the vulgarity of the audience with the character of the pleasure that will be experienced at a musical and poetic performance. He uses the epithet φορτικός to characterize a certain group of spectators,¹⁴ and through the same epithet he also implicitly describes the performance itself and the audience's experience at the performance. The association between performance and audience is in retrospect suggestive of an interpretation whereby the baseness of the audience in Aristotle and the undisciplined character of the noisy mob in Plato's *Laws* become features that also demonstrate lack of morality and also lack of good aesthetic judgement. In this view the term φορτικός in the extract from the *Politics* also colours

¹² On being trained in musical 'goodness', see Rocconi 2012, 117-21.

¹³ Folch 2015, 93f., quotation from 93; see also Rocconi (2012, 121-7) on the three criteria of musical judgement that concern the correct knowledge of the model of imitation, and both the technical correctness and ethical dimension of the representation in performance.

¹⁴ Cf. Arist. *Pol.* 1342a18-22 on the two groups of spectators: the free and educated (ὁ μὲν ἐλεύθερος καὶ πεπαιδευμένος) and the vulgar, which is composed of labourers (ὁ δὲ φορτικός).

ethically and aesthetically the quest of the professional performers for poetic innovation and technical proficiency, and subsequently applies to their poetic and musical compositions. They, in any case, aim to please a vulgar audience to which they have to adjust their compositions and performances.¹⁵⁾ Plato implicitly moves his criticism of the New Music to the realm of ethics and touches on questions of morality. As we read in the *Laws*, the ethos of both the composer and the performer is expected to be reflected in the poetic product and that ethos is subsequently transferred to the audience at the performance. For Aristotle the vulgar spectators are bad judges of *mousikē*, as they are unaware of the kind of *mousikē* that would have positive effects on them and that deserves serious attention. As a consequence they take pleasure in the wrong kind of *mousikē*, and Aristotle explicitly connects the deviant nature of such people to the melodic and harmonic irregularities a performance should exhibit in order to be pleasurable for them (*Pol.* 1342a22-27).¹⁶⁾ Given how the vulgar spectator could influence *mousikē*, according to both Plato and Aristotle, the spectator's lack of good ethos and lack of good musical taste and judgement are traits to which the performed poetry and by extension the composers should also correspond.

The “unethical” character of the New Music and of its representatives is encapsulated in the metaphorical interpretation of the word *καμπή* (‘twist’, ‘bend’).¹⁷⁾ If we trust the scholion to

¹⁵⁾ Cf. [Plut.] *De Mus.* 1135d1-4 where Crexus, Philoxenus, Timotheus and other composers of their time are characterized as lovers of innovation as well as more vulgar than poets of the previous generation (φορτικώτεροι καὶ φιλόκαινοι γεγόνασι).

¹⁶⁾ On the moral pleasure the men educated in performance can experience from music and how it is connected with musical ethos in the *Politics*, see Jones 2012, 167-71.

¹⁷⁾ E.g. Pherecrates 155.9, 15, 28 *PCG*; Ar. *Nu.* 333 ἄσματοκάμπτας, *Nu.* 969f κάμψειεν τινα καμπήν... τὰς κατὰ Φρῦνιν ταύτας τὰς δυσκολοκάμπτους; Plut. *Mor.* 569c where Timotheus is called ἰωνοκάμπτας.

ἀσματοκάμπας in Ar. Nu. 333c, *kampē* designated the articulations of strophic compositions. Within the context of the New Music in particular it denoted the modulation between musical modes, which produced as a consequence astrophic *anabolai* in the dithyramb, and was also connected with the new techniques that were introduced within the context of the *aulos* revolution.¹⁸ The comedians, Plato, and Aristotle all use the imagery of twisting and bending to describe the aesthetics and effects of the decadent new musical style in the late fifth and early fourth centuries BC. Nancy Worman analyses the correlation between mimesis, metaphor, and style, and discusses in detail how literary imagery embraces larger ideas about self-presentation.¹⁹ As she demonstrates, literary depictions touch upon issues of style and character type. The twists of the New Music (*kampai*) are often contrasted in our sources with the straighter and more austere old style of *mousikē*. Within an interpretative framework where aesthetics and ethics are closely connected, as Worman argues, the language of twisting and bending, especially in Aristophanes, potentially denotes lack of moral uprightness, too, even if exclusively in a metaphorical sense.²⁰

In his very account of the changing character of *mousikē* in the *Laws* the Athenian lawgiver himself criticizes the lack of correctness (ὀρθότης) in the New Music.

μουσικῆς ἄκοντες ὑπ' ἀνοίας καταψευδόμενοι ὡς ὀρθότητα μὲν οὐκ ἔχει οὐδ' ἠγντινοῦν μουσική,
ἡδονῇ δὲ τῇ τοῦ χαίροντος, εἴτε βελτίων εἴτε χείρων ἂν εἴη τις, κρίνοιτο ὀρθότατα. τοιαῦτα δὴ

¹⁸ On *kampai* and the changes they brought upon the dithyramb, see Franklin 2013. On the *aulos*-revolution in Athens, Wilson 1999; Martin 2003; Wallace 2003; Wilson 2004.

¹⁹ Worman 2002 and 2015.

²⁰ Worman 2015, 24.

ποιούντες ποιήματα, λόγους τε ἐπιλέγοντες τοιούτους, τοῖς πολλοῖς ἐνέθεσαν παρανομίαν εἰς τὴν μουσικὴν καὶ τόλμαν ὡς ἱκανοῖς οὔσιν κρίνειν·

And thus, through their folly, they unwittingly bore false witness against music, as a thing without any standard of correctness, of which the best criterion is the pleasure of the auditor, be he a good man or a bad. By compositions of such a character, set to similar words, they bred in the populace a spirit of lawlessness in regard to music, and the effrontery of supposing themselves capable of passing judgment on it.

Pl. *Lg.* 700e1-6

Orthotēs ('correctness') in this passage from the *Laws* refers to poetic and musical *paranomia* as portrayed in performance, that is, to the breaking of musical and poetic laws. Metaphorically, the lack of *orthotēs* might additionally point to the extensive use of *kampai* in musical and poetic compositions that would have created poems full of 'bends', or modulations. The lawgiver, however, associates this lack of *orthotēs* or the bending of *mousikē* both with the lack of aiming for the audience's improvement and with the lack of the appropriate moral stance and aesthetic judgement that would enable anyone to judge a musical performance properly. We read in *Lg.* 658e5-659a4 how Magnesia's *mousikē* would not please everyone but rather exclusively the highly educated men who excel in virtue and are also in a position to act as judges of *mousikē* (τοὺς βελτίστους καὶ ἱκανῶς πεπαιδευμένους τέρπει). In the course of his instructions the Athenian lawgiver distances the ideal *mousikē*, its audience, and its judges from the uneducated crowd that attempts to corrupt the poets and their compositions.

οὔτε γὰρ παρὰ θεάτρου δεῖ τὸν γε ἀληθῆ κριτὴν κρίνειν μανθάνοντα, καὶ ἐκπληττόμενον ὑπὸ
θορύβου τῶν πολλῶν καὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ ἀπαιδευσίας...

For the true judge should not take his verdicts from the dictation of the audience, nor
yield weakly to the uproar of the crowd or his own lack of education...

Lg. 659a4-b4

I suggest that the lawful and ethically appropriate *mousikē* that would be accommodated in Magnesia is turned into the exact opposite of the New Music as described in *Lg.* 700a7-701b3, where it becomes clear that the noisy mob controls poets, poems, and poetic performances. The mob's shouts are, nevertheless, characterized as ἄμουσοι (*Lg.* 700c2), a characterization that points to the want of taste and education.²¹ Besides, Eupolis cites the public's lack of good aesthetic judgement as the reason for silencing performances of Pindar (κατασεσιγασμένα ὑπὸ τῆς τῶν πολλῶν ἀφιλοκαλίας *PCG* 398 = *Ath.* 1.2c-3a). To judge from the mob's criticism in both Plato and Aristotle Eupolis' ἀφιλοκαλία might also be interpreted as the expected characteristic of a vulgar audience and of a body of citizens that would silence the proper *melē* of the past in favour of songs of the late classical lyric poets. Thus, these new songs had to be ethically and morally inappropriate, if they were to satisfy the mob. The bending of musical and poetic laws in compositions of the New Music is extended therefore to the spheres of aesthetics and ethics, and modulation (*kampē*), the primary

²¹On *amousia*, see Halliwell 2012.

feature of the new poetic style, is portrayed in our sources not only as a feature of the New Music but also as an ethical characteristic of those practicing that kind of poetry.²²

2. A Threat Called Kinesias

In Plato's *Gorgias* Kinesias becomes the main representative of the kind of poetry that would be produced and performed exclusively for popular approval.

ΣΩ. Τί δὲ ἡ τῶν χορῶν διδασκαλία καὶ ἡ τῶν διθυράμβων ποιήσις; οὐ τοιαύτη τίς σοι καταφαίνεται; ἢ ἡγή τι φροντίζειν Κινησίαν τὸν Μέλητος, ὅπως ἐρεῖ τι τοιοῦτον ὅθεν ἂν οἱ ἀκούοντες βελτίους γίγνοιτο, ἢ ὅτι μέλλει χαριεῖσθαι τῷ ὄχλῳ τῶν θεατῶν;

ΚΑΛ. Δῆλον δὴ τοῦτό γε, ὦ Σώκρατες, Κινησίου γε πέρι.

Soc: And what of choral productions and dithyrambic compositions? Are they not manifestly, in your view, of the same kind? Or do you suppose Kinesias, son of Meles, cares a jot about trying to say things of a sort that might be improving to his audience, or only what is likely to gratify the crowd of spectators?

Call: Clearly the latter is the case, Socrates, with Kinesias.

Grg. 501e8-502a3

²² Cf. Rocconi 2016 on how Plato's instructions in the *Laws* might have influenced contemporary and later musical criticism.

In this passage Socrates focuses on the effect choral productions and dithyrambic performances might have on the audience, and distinguishes between the moral improvement of the audience and the quest for pleasure. Kinesias' dithyrambos, it seems, do not aim to improve the audience morally; rather they aim to gratify the audience. This detail about authorial intention suggests that Kinesias' poems belong within the *Laws*' contaminated and lawless *mousikē*. Kinesias is thus depicted as the exemplary poet, one might say, of the changing character of *mousikē* in late fifth and early fourth century BC, as his poetry embodies one of the main features that according to Plato contributed to its *paranomia*—composing for the gratification of the audience. Another important feature of Plato's musical and poetic *paranomia* is the mixture of different song-types in poetic compositions, and the association of Kinesias with the mixture of genres the Athenian criticizes in Plato's *Laws* is hinted at in the well-known fragment from Pherecrates' *Cheiron* (PCG 155), where Mousike herself complains about the torture she suffered at the hands of the New Musicians.

In terms that can be metaphorically translated as sexual Mousike informs Dikaiosyne about the suffering she experienced, and describes the musical innovations of Melanippides, Kinesias, Phrynis, Timotheus, and plausibly also Philoxenus. In the course of her description Mousike offers details of the structural alterations all these poets made to the *kithara* in order to achieve the desired acoustic effects in their performances: Melanippides loosened her and made her slacker by increasing her strings to twelve; Kinesias proliferated turns and twists; Phrynis shoved in a *strobilon*, bended, and twisted her; Timotheus, having stripped her, altered her in a dishonourable manner; Philoxenus also stuffed her with modulations.²³ The metaphors Mousike uses equate musical

²³ On this fragment, see Borthwick 1968; Dobrov/Urios-Aparisi 1999; Olson 2007, 182-6; Franklin 2013; LeVen 2014, 73-86 where she also discusses other sources on the New Music.

changes with the loosening of morals, and her narrative progresses climactically, pairing abuses and perpetrators, and using language that mirrors the intensity of her torture: the bland synonyms *απολώλεχε* (v.10) and *διέφθαρεν* (v.15) for the consequences of the actions of Kinesias and Phrynis are replaced by the sexually colourful verbs *κατορώρυχεν* (v.19) and *διακεκναικ' αἴσχιστα* (v.20) for Timotheus' indecent acts.²⁴ Though Timotheus is described as Mousike's most kinky lover, Kinesias is the perpetrator who is singled out in the fragment.

Κινησίας δέ <μ'> ὁ κατάρατος Ἀττικός,
ἐξαρμονίους καμπὰς ποιῶν ἐν ταῖς στροφαῖς
ἀπολώλεχ' οὕτως, ὥστε τῆς ποιήσεως 10
τῶν διθυράμβων, καθάπερ ἐν ταῖς ἀσπίσιν,
ἀριστέρ' αὐτοῦ φαίνεται τὰ δεξιά.
ἀλλ' οὖν ἀνεκτὸς οὗτος ἦν ὅμως ἐμοί.

Then Cinesias, that damned Atticus,²⁵
by inserting off-key modulations in his stanzas,
so completely destroyed me that in the creation of his dithyrambs
his right seems to be his left,
like objects in a mirror.
But even he was an acceptable man for me.

Phercrates' *Cheiron PCG* 155.8-13

²⁴Dobrov/Urios-Aparisi 1999, 150.

²⁵The *LCL* translation is 'Athenian'.

Kinesias is the sole poet in the fragment for whom an adjective is used—he is *κατάρατος*, ‘goddamned’—turning the invective against him into an *ad hominem* attack.²⁶ He is also the sole poet who is accused and in retrospect remembered for the dance alterations he introduced in his poetic performances.²⁷ We read in the fragment that Melanippides, Phrynīs, Timotheus, and Philoxenus interfered with the *kithara*-shaped body of Mousike and played around with her strings and harmonies. Their alterations are therefore presented as technical, instrumental, and purely musical. Kinesias, however, experimented not with the *kithara* but with the dithyramb itself, as Mousike recalls. The off-key modulations that he introduced in his dithyrambic compositions had presumably as a consequence the abandonment of the regular triadic structure in his strophic stanzas, which must have affected the dithyrambic dance. When his compositions are performed the chorus does not move as is expected, and one gets the impression that they are watching the dithyrambic performance through its reflection in a mirror. Everything is done the other way around.

Borthwick argues that the inclusion of mirrors and shields in the fragment (if the word *ἀσπίς* is translated literally) and the reference to the moves from right to left must allude to the pyrrhic dance.²⁸ The *pyrrhichē* was danced by men armed with shields, and it involved fast movements that resembled flames: the dancers would gesture with their arms and would rhythmically flex their

²⁶ Apparently a common epithet in comedy: e.g. Ar. *Eccl.* 949, *Pax* 1076, *Lys.* 530, *Th.* 1049; Pherecrates *PCG* 70.3. Cf. Dobrov/Urios-Aparisi 1999, 148f.

²⁷ On Kinesias’ musical innovations as presented in the fragment, see Franklin 2013, 229f.

²⁸ Borthwick 1968, 63-6.

bodies up and down and from left to right, in the course of which the shields would move in different directions (Ar. Nu. 988f.; Pl. Lg. 815a; Xen. An. 6.1.12).²⁹ Nonetheless, Mousike protests in Pherecrates' fragment that the confusion between right and left happened to the dithyramb, whose formal structure of dance must have changed. Her complaint suggests therefore that the two types of dance—the *pyrrhichē* and the dithyramb—blended together into a single performance, which was meant to be exclusively dithyrambic. Borthwick connects Pherecrates' fragment with the scene in Aristophanes' *Frogs* (vv.145-53) where Dionysus refers to Kinesias' *pyrrhichē* as an encounter one might have in the Underworld, and suggests that Mousike hints in fact at the mixture of genres that is criticized by the Athenian lawgiver in Plato's *Laws* as an unacceptable feature of the New Music.³⁰ If we follow Borthwick's train of thought and detect in the accusations against Kinesias in Pherecrates' fragment a reference to the mixture of features of the dithyramb and of the *pyrrhichē*, he—Kinesias—is turned into the poet whose compositions would correspond precisely to the unruly combination of genres and song-types the Athenian criticizes. Understandably therefore he is singled out in Plato's *Gorgias*.

²⁹ On the *pyrrhichē* see the book-length study of Ceccarelli 1998; also Ceccarelli 2004.

³⁰ The connection of Kinesias with the *pyrrhichē* in the passage from the *Frogs* has been interpreted variously in scholarship. Lawler (1950, 84f.) follows the *scholia* (Σ Ra.153b), and suggests that the reference might be an allusion to tense movements in his choreography for dithyrambic choruses; Dover (1993, ad loc) suggests that due to his feeble physique Kinesias could not have performed a *pyrrhichē*, but he presumably composed the music for one; Ceccarelli (1998, 43 and 221) concludes that the *pyrrhichē* of Kinesias could in fact have been dithyrambs executed with choreography appropriated for a war-dance; also Bliquez 2008, 320f. The grammarian Diomedes associates the *pyrrhichē* with Kinesias by drawing on Aristophanes' passage in the *Frogs* and by playing upon the association of Kinesias' name with movement (Diom. Art. Gramm. III, GrLat I 475, 9-25 Keil); cf. *Suda* s.v. πυρρίχην (π 3225 Adler).

A fragment of Lysias couples Kinesias' disregard for the laws of *mousikē* with his disobedience to the city's laws. According to Athenaeus, who preserves the fragment, Kinesias decided to leave his poetic art aside and to become a *sykophantēs*. We additionally gather from the extant passage that Lysias defended someone called Phantias against whom Kinesias brought a *graphē paranomōn*. Athenaeus' introduction and the fragment itself provide substantial information about Kinesias' actions and behaviour in the Athenian community, and it is worth quoting the passage in its entirety.³¹

ἄλλοι δ' αὐτόν, ὡς καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης, πολλάκις εἰρήκασι φιλύρινον Κινησίαν διὰ τὸ φιλύρας τοῦ ξύλου λαμβάνοντα σανίδα συμπεριζώννυσθαι, ἵνα μὴ κάμπτηται διὰ τε τὸ μῆκος καὶ τὴν ἰσχύτητα. ὅτι δὲ ἦν ὁ Κινησίας νοσώδης καὶ δεινὸς τᾶλλα Λυσίας ὁ ῥήτωρ ἐν τῷ ὑπὲρ Φανίου παρανόμων ἐπιγραφομένῳ λόγῳ εἴρηκεν, φάσκων αὐτὸν ἀφέμενον τῆς τέχνης συκοφαντεῖν καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου πλουτεῖν. ὅτι δὲ ὁ ποιητὴς ἐστὶ καὶ οὐχ ἕτερος, σαφῶς αὐτὸς ὢν σημαίνεται ἐκ τοῦ καὶ ἐπὶ ἀθεότητι κωμωδούμενον ἐμφανίζεσθαι καὶ διὰ τοῦ λόγου τοιοῦτον δείκνυσθαι. λέγει δ' οὕτως ὁ ῥήτωρ·

θαυμάζω δὲ εἰ μὴ βαρέως φέρετε ὅτι Κινησίας ἐστὶν ὁ τοῖς νόμοις βοηθός, ὃν ὑμεῖς πάντες ἐπίστασθε ἀσεβέστατον ἀπάντων καὶ παρανομώτατον ἀνθρώπων γεγονέναι. οὐχ οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ τοιαῦτα περὶ θεοῦ ἐξαμαρτάνων, ἃ τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις αἰσχρὸν ἐστὶ καὶ λέγειν, τῶν κωμωδοδιδασκάλων <δ'> ἀκούετε καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτόν· οὐ μετὰ τούτου ποτὲ Ἀπολλοφάνης καὶ Μυσταλίδης καὶ Λυσίθεος συνειστιῶντο, μίαν ἡμέραν ταξάμενοι τῶν ἀποφράδων, ἀντὶ δὲ νομηνιαστῶν κακοδαιμονιστὰς σφίσι αὐτοῖς τοῦνομα θέμενοι, πρέπον μὲν ταῖς αὐτῶν τύχαις· οὐ

³¹ Also Lysias fr.196 Carey πρὸς Κινησίαν β' = Harpocr. x 59 Keaney which summarizes the content of Lysias' two speeches against Kinesias.

μὴν ὡς τοῦτο διαπραττόμενοι τὴν διάνοιαν ἔσχον, ἀλλ' ὡς καταγελῶντες τῶν θεῶν καὶ τῶν νόμων τῶν ὑμετέρων. ἐκείνων μὲν οὖν ἕκαστος ἀπώλετο ὡσπερ εἰκὸς τοὺς τοιούτους. τοῦτον δὲ τὸν ὑπὸ πλείστων γινωσκόμενον οἱ θεοὶ οὕτως διέθεσαν ὥστε τοὺς ἐχθροὺς βούλεσθαι αὐτὸν ζῆν μάλλον ἢ τεθνάναι παράδειγμα τοῖς ἄλλοις, ἵν' εἰδῶσιν ὅτι τοῖς λίαν ὑβριστικῶς πρὸς τὰ θεία διακειμένοις οὐκ εἰς τοὺς παῖδας ἀποτίθενται τὰς τιμωρίας, ἀλλ' αὐτοὺς κακῶς ἀπολλύουσι, μείζους καὶ χαλεπωτέρας καὶ τὰς συμφορὰς καὶ τὰς νόσους ἢ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις προσβάλλοντες. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἀποθανεῖν ἢ καμῖν νομίμως κοινὸν ἡμῖν ἅπασιν ἐστὶ, τὸ δ' οὕτως ἔχοντα τοσοῦτον χρόνον διατελεῖν καὶ καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν ἀποθνήσκοντα μὴ δύνασθαι τελευτῆσαι τὸν βίον τούτοις μόνοις προσήκει τοῖς τὰ τοιαῦτα ἄπερ οὗτος ἐξημαρτηκόσιν.

περὶ μὲν οὖν Κινησίου ταῦτα ὁ ῥήτωρ εἶρηκεν.

But other authors, such as Aristophanes, routinely refer to Kinesias as *philurinos*, because he took a plank of lime-tree (*philura*) wood and wrapped it around himself, to keep him from bending, since he was so tall and skinny. That Kinesias was unhealthy and a generally conniving character is asserted by the orator Lysias in his speech entitled *On Behalf of Phantias on a Charge of Proposing an Illegal Motion*, where he says that Kinesias abandoned his profession in favour of bringing false charges against people and growing rich that way. As for whether this is the poet rather than someone else, he is manifestly shown to be the same person by the fact that he is openly mocked in comedy for being an atheist and is shown to be such in this speech. The orator puts it as follows:

'I am astonished if you are not profoundly upset that the man supposedly defending the laws is Cinesias, since you are all aware that he is the most impious, lawless person alive.

Isn't this the individual who committed the sort of crimes against the gods that other

people are embarrassed even to mention, but that you hear about from the comic poets every year? Didn't Apollophanes, Mystallides, and Lysitheus used to have feasts with him at one point? And didn't they set aside an unlucky day of the month for this, and refer to themselves not as New-Mooners, but as *Kakodaimonistai*—an appropriate name for how matters turned out for them! This wasn't what they planned to accomplish, of course; their goal was to make fun of the gods and your laws. But the fact is that they all died just as one would expect people like that to. As for the most widely known of them, the gods treated him in such a way that his enemies would have wanted him to go on living rather than die, making him an example to others, so that they realize that the gods do not wait and punish the children of people who behave in an utterly outrageous way where divine matters are concerned, but destroy the individuals in question themselves, by striking them with greater and harsher misfortunes and diseases than they impose on others. Because dying and suffering from ordinary diseases is an experience we all share; but to go on like this for so long, and to be dying every day, but nonetheless unable to bring one's life to an end—that is reserved exclusively for people who commit the sort of crimes this man did'.

This is what the orator has to say about Kinesias.

Lysias fr. 195 Carey = Ath. 12.551d-552b³²

Kinesias is portrayed in the fragment as the most impious and lawless person alive but apart from his gatherings with his companions *Kakodaimonistai* Lysias mentions no other wicked act or

³² The Greek text is that of Carey in the *OCT* edition of Lysias, which, however, starts from ὅτι δὲ ἦν. I also retain the τὸ φιλόρατος τοῦ ξύλου that is found in the ACE manuscripts of Athenaeus.

behaviour whatsoever. No need to, it seems; the assembly is reminded of all the religious crimes of Kinesias by the comic poets who year after year mocked his impious behaviour on the comic stage.³³⁾ The most substantial physical, musical, and poetic representation of Kinesias is found in Aristophanes' *Birds*, where he appears on stage as the representative of the New Musical style (*Av.* 1373-1409). He is depicted as light enough to be flying like a bird in the sky (*v.*1375 ἀναπέτομαι), where he also acquires his inspiration among the clouds (*v.*1384 ἐκ τῶν νεφελῶν), lime-wooded (*v.*1377 φιλύρινον), perhaps also with a lame leg (*v.*1378 πόδα κυλλόν), composing and singing light, insubstantial, air-whirled, and non-strophic preludes in the absence of a chorus (*vv.*1384f.).³⁴⁾ His appearance in the *Birds* is complemented by several other comic scenes and fragments that mock similar aspects of his figure and persona and also add other features to his comic representation. In Aristophanes' *Gerytades* he is depicted as a poet who was so thin that he looked as if he frequented the Underworld (*PCG* 156), hints are made of a public incident of diarrhoea while singing with his choruses in honour of Hecatae, if we trust the scholia (*Ar. Ecc.* 366 with scholia *ad loc.* and *Ar. Ecc.* 329f.), and Plato Comicus (*PCG* 200) describes him as thin as a rake (*σκελετός*), buttless (*ἄπυγος*), with skinny legs (*καλάμινα σκέλη φορῶν*), and looking as if he is moments away from death (*φθόγης προφήτης*). His natural thinness, which allows him to join Cloudcuckooland in the *Birds* and pretend

³³ Cf. Harpocr. κ 59 Keaney where Harpocraton stresses in his summary of Lysias' speeches that in the drama *Kinesias* Strattis ridiculed Kinesias' impiety (ἐν ᾧ καὶ τὴν ἀσέβειαν αὐτοῦ κωμῶδει).

³⁴ On the relevant lines from the *Birds*, see Ieranò 2013, 368f, 380-3; on Kinesias' appearance in *Birds*, see in detail Dunbar 1995, 660-73. Kinesias also claims to have been extremely loved by the people (*Av.* 1303f.), a statement that is confirmed by an early fourth century inscription with a dedication by a victorious *chorēgos* whose chorus was trained by Kinesias: *IG II² 3028*] ατος Φαληρεὺς ἐχ[ορήγε. |]Κινήσιας ἐδίδ[ασκε ('Phalereus was the choregos. Kinesias taught [sc. the chorus]').

to fly, is exaggerated and picked up in these comic passages in order to portray the main features of the New Music; lightness would be translated into lack of substance, meaning, and intellect.³⁵

Both Lysias and Athenaeus explicitly mention characteristics of Kinesias that are parodied on the comic stage—his tall and skinny physique and his fragile health—and they even recall his *kampai* and his comic characterization *philyrinos* (cf. *Ar. Av.* 1377).³⁶ To my knowledge in no other oratorical speech is comedy introduced as source of information for any accusation nor does Lysias himself refer to it in any of his speeches as a parallel source to his arguments or to support any accusations against his opponents. Only Isocrates, who was roughly contemporary with Lysias, comments on comedy's generic licence to ridicule everything without constraint, and associates this tendency of comedy with the reckless speeches of bad orators (ἀφρονεστάτοις) who do not care for the welfare of the public (*Isoc.* 8.14.1-5).³⁷ Comedy becomes a significant parallel source only in Plato's *Apology*, where Plato imagines Socrates defending himself at his trial for impiety and corruption (*Ap.* 19b-d). In this imaginary speech Socrates enumerates the accusations that have been crafted against him—'Socrates is a criminal and a busybody, investigating things beneath the earth and in the heavens and making the weaker argument stronger and teaching others these same things' (*Ap.* 19b4-c2)—and recreates the caricature in Aristophanes' *Clouds* where he appears overhead and wafts in a basket at the end of a rope with the aim of better observation of the sun

³⁵ Cf. *Suda* s.v. φιλύρινος Κτησιόας (π 454 Adler), which encapsulates the critical features that are parodied in the scene from the *Birds*: physical and mental lightness, and bodily disabilities.

³⁶ On the depiction of Kinesias as lime-wood, see Lawler 1950.

³⁷ Cf. *Isoc.* 2.44.3 on how the public would prefer the follies of the lowest comedy instead of the admonitions of Hesiod, Theognis, and Phocylides.

(*Ar. Nu.* 217-34). He himself points out that Aristophanes and his comedies, which the Athenians attended, have provided the substance for his accusations.³⁸ Whereas Plato's Socrates reproduces his comic caricature with the aim of refuting it,³⁹ Lysias reinforces his accusations against Kinesias by referring to the slander to which he was subjected in comedy.

Stephen Kidd points out that while the artistic and conventional context of *ὀνομαστικῶς κωμῶδειν* may contribute to the fictional character of the comic attack, the content that is chosen as material for mockery is often connected with reality, and is indeed meant to be taken seriously.⁴⁰ A content-oriented interpretation would eliminate the limitations that are created from the conventional and often exaggerated character of comic mockery, and would consider our poet and all his flaws as a non-fictional construct. Kinesias might indeed have been very thin and sickly. Comedy's influence on the manner in which both Athenaeus and Lysias portray Kinesias is evident in the association of Kinesias' immoral behaviour and ethos with his comic caricature. The representation and portrayal of the New Poet as a lawless individual whose immoral ethos is reflected in his physique and in his bad health is presented as continuous and uninterrupted in our sources, which evidently build on each other: Lysias on comedy and Athenaeus on both comedy

³⁸ Pl. *Ap.* 19d τοιαύτη τις ἐστίν· ταῦτα γὰρ ἑώρατε καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐν τῇ Ἀριστοφάνους κωμῶδίᾳ ('something of that sort it is. For you saw these things in Aristophanes' comedy').

³⁹ *Ap.* 19d ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐμοὶ τούτων, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, οὐδὲν μέτεστιν ('but I, men of Athens, have nothing to do with these things').

⁴⁰ Kidd 2014, 97-9.

and Lysias.⁴¹ While his slim physique in comedy is an indirect attack against his insubstantial compositions and might additionally be interpreted as an allusion to the feeble and non-intellectual New Music Kinesias represents, Lysias associates Kinesias' body and physical appearance with his immoral ethos when he interprets his sickly appearance as punishment for his unethical and disrespectful behaviour.

Undoubtedly, both Lysias and Athenaeus draw explicitly on Kinesias' comic caricature. Although one cannot argue for a connection between Kinesias' portrayal in Lysias and the Platonic criticism of the New Music in the *Laws* due to issues of chronology, it is still possible to suggest that Lysias is thinking in a Platonic way, so to speak. If we are meant to trust the accusations included in Lysias' fragment, Kinesias shows no respect towards religious and other laws. He is thus *paranomōtatos*, the most lawless of all men. The Athenian in Plato's *Laws* criticizes the new status quo of *mousikē* by calling attention to the lack of respect towards poetic and musical laws—the New Music is an example of *paranomia*—and Kinesias is presented as the exemplar poet of such musical and poetic *paranomia* in the *Gorgias*.⁴² The contempt for law, nonetheless, originates in *mousikē*, as the Athenian claims in the *Laws* (*Lg.* 701a5-7), and one might argue that the musical and poetic portrait of Kinesias gradually leads to his lawless behaviour as an Athenian citizen. In Plato's understanding, as it is laid out by the Athenian lawgiver, Kinesias' behaviour in the political sphere would ultimately follow as a consequence of his disregard for the laws of *mousikē*. We have also seen

⁴¹ Cf. Plut. *De Gloria Ath.* 348b-c σκωπτόμενος δὲ καὶ χλευαζόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν κωμωδιοποιῶν οὐκ εὐτυχῶς δόξης μετέσθηκε ('jeered and mocked by the comic poets, he acquired his share in unfortunate notoriety') on the power of comic parody in shaping Kinesias' fame.

⁴² Ieranò (2010, 72) characterises Kinesias as a demagogue of poetry.

how Kinesias' depiction in several comic passages reflects the features of the New Music criticized by the Athenian in Plato's *Laws*, which features do not accord to the kind of poetry that would be accepted in Magnesia, that is, the kind of poetry that could contribute to the creation and establishment of an ideal community.

Both Athenaeus and Lysias offer additional pieces of evidence to suggest that not only Kinesias' compositions but also his behaviour as a citizen were a threat to the community, in this case to the Athenian community. It seems that Kinesias deserted his poetic art and became a sycophant, a label that in Athens was attached to a group of young newcomers to the world of social and political elites and who were also prepared to break moral protocols.⁴³ A sycophant for the Athenians is the individual whose 'legal behaviour is antithetical to that of a good citizen'⁴⁴ and who becomes a threat to social unity and legal stability; the motivation behind sycophancy is personal advantage. In comedy especially a sycophant will intrude, be exposed as base, and then expelled (*Ar. Av.* 1410-1469, *Pl.* 850-958), and in oratorical speeches a sycophant is equally portrayed as a social enemy and polluted outcast (e.g. *Dem.* 25.60-3). Although Kinesias' characterization as a sycophant derives exclusively from his prosecution against Phantias, which is used by Lysias as proof of his disrespect towards the laws, it is difficult not to see an additional ethical interpretation of the term that would turn the sycophant Kinesias into a threat to the moral values of the city and to its very substance as community.⁴⁵ At this very point the two personae of Kinesias—the New Poet and the Athenian citizen—converge, and his lawless behaviour merges his conduct within society with his

⁴³ See Fisher 2008, 186.

⁴⁴ Christ 2008, 170.

⁴⁵ On the sycophant in comedy and oratory, see Christ 2008, 170-4.

poetry and ethos. The novel character of the New Music was in any case associated by its critics with social concerns and moral decline.⁴⁶ The same critics equally turned the representatives of the new poetic and musical trend of the late fifth and early fourth centuries into figures of compromised principles. We need only remember the metaphors Mousike uses in Pherecrates' *Cheiron* to describe the changes to which she was subjected and the general picture of moral decadence within which our sources contextualize the New Music. It is therefore possible to argue that these poets were also portrayed as threats, even if only obliquely.

In addition to the depiction of the New Poets and of Kinesias in particular as potential communal and ethical threats, according to Strattis Kinesias also killed the chorus.

σκηνή μὲν < > τοῦ χοροκτόνου Κινησία

the tent of Kinesias the chorus-killer

Strattis *Kinesias* PCG 16

Strattis' fragment is cited by the scholiast in Aristophanes' *Frogs* (schol. *Ra.* 404a) in connection with Kinesias' supposed interference with comic *chorēgia* at the Lenaea festival. As we also read in the scholion to *Ar. Ra.* 153, Kinesias, who also enjoyed a short career in politics,⁴⁷ took action against the comic poets, who remained without *chorēgoi* (ἀχορήγητοι) as punishment for the way in which

⁴⁶ On the psychology of novelty, see D'Angour 2011, 27-32.

⁴⁷ A late fourth-century inscription (*IG II²* 18 = 108 Tod, 393 BC) that was found in the Theatre of Dionysus at Athens records a motion by Kinesias to honour and offer privileges to Dionysius the Elder, the tyrant of Syracuse, and his family, on which see Tod 1946, 24-6.

they ridiculed him on the comic stage.⁴⁸ Nothing in Strattis' fragment suggests such an interpretation, however, and I would rather associate Kinesias' characterization as 'chorus-killer' with the changes he introduced in his dithyrambic performances.⁴⁹ He is in any case depicted in Aristophanes' *Birds* walking with a limp (*Av.* 1379), which could be an allusion to the irregular moves he might have introduced in his actual poetic compositions and performances with circular choruses.⁵⁰ Such moves would have interfered with the chorus' circular dance. Poetically and in terms of performance therefore Kinesias' innovations and alterations would have ruined circular dance performances. It is, moreover, possible to look beyond the aesthetic appeal that choral performances might have lost at the hands of Kinesias, and detect an additional meaning that might be hinted at behind his description as 'killer of the chorus'.

Recent studies have emphasized the social value of choral performances, as *khoreia*—both the dance and the group of dancers—is perceived by the Greeks as an activity that forms social coherence and constitutes community itself.⁵¹ The chorus is thus seen as a symbol for the community, and choral singing and dancing become both a form of social integration and a means for collective display and civic representation. These dynamics are particularly valid in Athens

⁴⁸ Cf. *Suda* s.v. πυρρῆχῆ (= π 3225 Adler); Arist. fr.630 R on the establishment of *sykhorēgia*, with Wilson 2000, 265; Meriani 1995, 29-32 and Orth 2009, 108-15 on Strattis *PCG* 16.

⁴⁹ Cf. Orth (2009, 111f.), who takes this adjective as an indication of the changing status of the chorus in the fourth century BC and at the introduction of solo pieces.

⁵⁰ Dunbar (1995, ad loc) suggests that the entire verse might refer to the unsteady dance steps that accompanied Kinesias' entrance-song, to the actual choruses performing circular movements around the altar in the orchestra, and to the irregular metrical feet Kinesias produced in his lines.

⁵¹ E.g. Calame 1997; Kowalzig 2004, 2005, 2007; Kurke 2012; Wilson 2000, 2003b.

where dithyrambs and performances with circular choruses had a social and political significance. As tribal choruses in Athens appeared after Kleisthenes' reformation of the society in tribes and after his choral reorganization of the Dionysia, the dithyrambic chorus was in all probability the first form of collective action in the new tribal system.⁵² Dancing for Dionysos developed a sense of tribal solidarity, as Peter Wilson argues.⁵³ In general the chorus in antiquity represented the community (any kind of community), and through its performance it also drew in all members of that community, as the skilful and harmonic dance of a chorus instilled in both performers and spectators the erotics of community-building.⁵⁴ These very erotics that the chorus projects at performance are put to use in Plato's *Laws*.⁵⁵ *Khoreia* becomes in the *Laws* the main instrument through which the collective character of Magnesia's community is shaped and the primary form of public discourse on which the civic unity and moral identity of the new community are built. Strattis' characterization of Kinesias as 'chorus-killer' becomes particularly significant if one interprets the chorus as a symbol for the identity and coherence of the community. Kinesias' chorally destructive actions would then have interrupted the sense of social and political cohesion that a chorus would potentially transmit at performance. One could claim that his innovations would even have silenced the civic voice. Going a step further Kinesias' chorally destructive acts might also reflect his behaviour as a citizen and member of Athenian society. His new role as a

⁵² Wilson 2003b, 182f.

⁵³ Wilson 2003b, 168.

⁵⁴ Kurke 2012, 226f.

⁵⁵ The shaping of Magnesia's community through the erotics of citizenship that are projected in choral performances has been analysed extensively in Prauscello 2014.

sycophant and his unlawful actions are depicted in Lysias as having dire consequences for both the legal institutions and the stability of the community.

To sum up, Kinesias is remembered in our sources especially for the modulations (*kampai*) he introduced in his poetic compositions, a term that also carries ethical connotations and metaphorically denotes a lack of morality. Such an association between *kampē* as primarily a musical feature of the New Music and *kampē* as metaphorically an ethical characteristic would explain the intense connection of Kinesias with the musical twisting and bending, as well as the constant references to his breaking the circular mode of dithyrambic performances. It would also account for Kinesias' depiction in Athenaeus as a very thin individual who had to wear a lime-wood board to prevent himself from bending, an image that alludes to both his professional and ethical persona: his excess in bending melodies, his exaggerated dance moves, his physical lightness and poetic shallowness, and his lack of upright morality.⁵⁶ According to Plato, he is also the New Poet who aimed exclusively to gratify the uncultivated and uneducated mob. Coupled with Mousike's accusation in Pherecrates' *Cheiron* that he mixed the performative modes of the *pyrrichē* and of the dithyramb, he is indeed singled out as the New Poet whose poetic career would reflect all the features of the New Music that are criticized in the *Laws*. In light of the criticism of the New Music and of the moralization and politicization of choral performances in Plato's *Laws*, where *khoreia* is put into action as an instrument of community-formation, and also of Kinesias' depiction in Lysias as a lawless individual whose actions are a threat to the communal good, one could rightly argue that Kinesias is portrayed in our sources as a threat to the community's poetic, musical, ethical, and

⁵⁶ Cf. Franklin 2017, 167-9.

political stability. He is, nevertheless, the New Poet who destabilized choral performances, and thus both literally and figuratively killed the chorus, the symbol of the community itself.

Acknowledgments:

Research for this article was conducted while I held a Marie-Skłodowska Curie Actions COFUND fellowship at the University of Warwick UK that was funded within the framework of the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme under the Marie Skłodowska-Curie grant agreement No. 713548. Part of this article was written during a stay at Fondation Hardt pour l'étude de l'antiquité classique in Geneva Switzerland in October 2018, and I thank the director of the Fondation Hardt, Professor Pierre Ducrey, for awarding me a research scholarship for young researchers. The article was completed and prepared for publication during an academic visit at the Faculty of Classics at the University of Oxford. Many thanks to Eleonora Rocconi for her support at the final stages of the article's submission. All remaining errors are my own.

Bibliography

- Barker, A. (2010). Laws, Paper 1. In: *Proceedings. 7th Annual Seminar on Ancient Greek Music, "The Main Passages Concerned with Music in Plato's Laws", 5–11 July 2010 Corfu*. DOI: <https://conferences.ionio.gr/sagrm/2010/en/proceedings> (access 6/12/2018).
- Bliquez, L.J. (2008). The PURRIXH of Kinesias, a Pun? Aristophanes, *Frogs* 153. *CQ* 58.1, pp. 320–326.
- Borthwick, E.K. (1968). Notes on the Plutarch *De musica* and the *Cheiron* of Pherecrates. *Hermes* 96, pp. 60–73.
- Calame, C. (1997), *Choruses of Young Women in Ancient Greece: Their Morphology, Religious Role, and Social Function*, trans. D. Collins and J. Orion. Lanham MD: Rowman & Littlefield.

- Ceccarelli, P. (1998). *La Pirrica nell'antichità greco-romana: Studi sulla danza armata*. Pisa/Roma: Istituti editoriali e poligrafici internazionali.
- Ceccarelli, P. (2004). Dancing the *Pyrrichē* in Athens. In: P. Murray and P. Wilson, eds, *Music and the Muses. The Culture of 'Mousikē' in the Classical Athenian City*, Oxford: OUP, pp. 91–117.
- Christ, M.R. (2008). Imagining Bad Citizenship in Classical Athens: Aristophanes' *Ecclesiazusae* 730–876. In: I. Sluiter and R.M. Rosen, eds, *KAKOS. Badness and Anti-value in Classical Antiquity*, Leiden: Brill, pp. 169–183.
- Csapo, E. (2004). The Politics of the New Music. In: P. Murray and P. Wilson, eds, *Music and the Muses. The Culture of 'Mousikē' in the Classical Athenian City*, Oxford: OUP, pp. 207–248.
- Csapo, E. (2011). The Economics, Poetics, Politics, Metaphysics, and Ethics of the 'New Music'. In: D. Yatromanolakis, ed., *Music and Cultural Poetics in Greek and Chinese Societies, Vol. I. Greek Antiquity*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, pp. 65–131.
- Csapo, E. and Wilson, P. (2009). Timotheus the New Musician. In: F. Budelmann, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Greek Lyric*, Cambridge: CUP, pp. 277–293.
- D'Angour, A. (2011). *The Greeks and the New. Novelty in Ancient Greek Imagination and Experience*. Cambridge: CUP.
- Dobrov, G. and Urios-Aparisi, E. (1999). The Maculate Music: Gender, Genre, and the *Chiron* of Pherecrates. In: G. Dobrov, ed., *Beyond Aristophanes: Transition and Diversity in Greek Comedy*, Atlanta: Scholars Press, pp. 138–174.
- Dover, K.J. (1993). *Aristophanes Frogs*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Dunbar, N. (1998). *Aristophanes Birds*. Oxford: OUP.

- Fisher, N. (2008). The Bad Boyfriend, the Flatterer and the Sykophant: Related Forms of the *Kakos* in Democratic Athens. In: I. Sluiter and R.M. Rosen, eds, *KAKOS. Badness and Anti-value in Classical Antiquity*. Leiden: Brill, pp. 185–231.
- Folch, M. (2015). *The City and the Stage. Performance, Genre, and Gender in Plato's Laws*. Oxford: OUP.
- Franklin, J. (2013). 'Song-Benders of Circular Choruses': Dithyramb and the 'Demise of Music'. In: B. Kowalzig and P. Wilson, eds, *Dithyramb in Context*. Oxford: OUP, pp. 213–236.
- Franklin, J. (2017). 'Skatabasis'. The Rise and Fall of Kinesias. In: A. Gostoli, A. Fongoli, and F. Biondi eds, *Poeti in Agone. Competizioni poetiche e musicali nella Grecia antica*. Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, pp. 163–221.
- Halliwell, F.S. (2012). *Amousia*. Living without the Muses. In: I. Sluiter and R. Rosen, eds, *Aesthetic Value in Classical Antiquity*. Leiden: Brill, pp. 15–45.
- Ieranò, G. (2010). Poeti Lirici e Poeti Drammatici nell' Atene del V Secolo. In: F. Leonardelli and G. Rossi, eds, *Officina Humanitatis. Studi in Onore di Lia De Finis*, Trento: Società di Studi Trentini di Scienze Storiche, pp. 63–72.
- Ieranò, G. (2013). 'One Who is Fought over by All the Tribes': The Dithyrambic Poet and the City of Athens. In: B. Kowalzig and P. Wilson, eds, *Dithyramb in Context*. Oxford: OUP, pp. 368–386.
- Jones, E. M. (2012). Performance, Pleasure, and Value in Aristotle's *Politics*. In: I. Sluiter and R. Rosen eds, *Aesthetic Value in Classical Antiquity*. Leiden: Brill, pp. 159–82.
- Kidd, S.C. (2014). *Nonsense and Meaning in Ancient Greek Comedy*. Cambridge: CUP.
- Kowalzig, B. (2004). Changing Choral Worlds: Song-Dance and Society in Athens and Beyond. In: P. Murray and P. Wilson, eds, *Music and the Muses: The Culture of 'Mousikē' in the Classical Athenian City*. Oxford: OUP, pp. 39–65.

- Kowalzig, B. (2005). Mapping out *Communitas*: Performances of *Theoria* in their Sacred and Political Context. In: J. Elsner, I. Rutherford, eds, *Pilgrimage in Graeco-Roman and Early Christian Antiquity*. Oxford: OUP, pp. 41–72.
- Kowalzig, B. (2007). *Singing for the Gods: Performances of Myth and Ritual in Archaic and Classical Greece*. Oxford: OUP.
- Kugelmeier, C. (1996). *Reflexe früher und zeitgenössischer Lyrik in der Alten attischen Komödie*. Stuttgart: Teubner.
- Lawler, L.B. (1950). "Limewood" Cinesias and the Dithyrambic Dance. *TAPA* 81, pp. 78–88.
- LeVen, P.A. (2014). *The Many-Headed Muse: Tradition and Innovation in Late Classical Greek Lyric Poetry*. Cambridge: CUP.
- Martin, R. (2003). The Pipes are Brawling: Conceptualizing Musical Performance in Athens. In: C. Dougherty and L. Kurke, eds, *The Cultures within Ancient Greek Culture: Contact, Conflict, Collaboration*, Cambridge: CUP, pp. 153–80.
- Meriani, A. (1995). Il Cinesia di Strattis (fr. 14-22 Kassel-Austin). In: I. Gallo, eds, *Seconda miscellanea filologica*, Napoli: Arte Tipografica, pp. 21–45.
- Olson, S.D. (2007). *Broken Laughter: Select Fragments of Greek Comedy*. Oxford: OUP.
- Orth, C. (2009). *Strattis. Die Fragmente: Ein Kommentar*. Berlin: Verlag Antike.
- Prauscello, L. (2011). Patterns of Choralities in Plato's *Laws*. In D. Yatromanolakis, ed., *Music and Cultural Politics in Greek and Chinese Societies: Vol. I. Greek Antiquity*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, pp. 133–58.
- Prauscello, L. (2013). Choral Persuasions in Plato's *Laws*. In: R. Gagné and M.G. Hopman, eds, *Choral Mediations in Greek Tragedy*, Cambridge: CUP, pp. 257–77.
- Prauscello, L. (2014). *Performing Citizenship in Plato's Laws*. Cambridge: CUP.

- Rocconi, E. (2012). The Aesthetic Value of Music in Platonic Thought. In: I. Sluiter and R.M. Rosen, eds, *Aesthetic Value in Classical Antiquity*, Leiden: Brill, pp. 113–158.
- Rocconi, E. (2016). The Music of the *Laws* and the Laws of Music: *Nomoi* in Music and Education. *GRMS* 4.1, pp. 71–89. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1163/22129758-12341268>
- Tod, M.N. (1946). *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions to the End of the Fifth Century B.C.* Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Wallace, R.W. (1997). Poet, Public, and “Theatrocracy”: Audience Performances in Classical Athens. In: L. Edmunds and R.W. Wallace, eds, *Poet, Public, and Performance in Ancient Greece*, Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, pp. 87–111.
- Wallace, R.W. (2003). An Early Fifth-Century Athenian Revolution in *Aulos* Music. *HSPH* 101, pp. 73–92.
- Wallace, R.W. (2004). Damon of Oa: A Music Theorist Ostracised? In: P. Murray and P. Wilson, eds, *Music and the Muses. The Culture of ‘Mousikē’ in the Classical Athenian City*, Oxford: OUP, pp. 249–67.
- Wallace, R.W. (2015). *Reconstructing Damon. Music, Wisdom Teaching, and Politics in Perikles’ Athens*. Oxford: OUP.
- Wilson, P. (1999). The *Aulos* in Athens. In: S.D. Goldhill and R. Osborne, eds, *Performance, Culture, and Athenian Democracy*. Cambridge: CUP, pp. 58–95.
- Wilson, P. (2000). *The Athenian Institution of the Khoregia: The Chorus, the City and the Stage*. Cambridge: CUP.
- Wilson, P. (2003a). The Sound of Cultural Conflict: Kritias and the Culture of *Mousike* in Athens. In: C. Dougherty and L. Kurke, eds, *The Cultures within Ancient Greek Culture: Contact, Conflict, Collaboration*, Cambridge: CUP, pp. 181–206.

Wilson, P. (2003b). The Politics of Dance: Dithyrambic Contest and Social Order in Ancient Greece.

In: D. Phillip and D. Pritchard, eds, *Sport and Festival in the Ancient Greek World*, Swansea:

The Classical Press of Wales, pp. 163–196.

Wilson, P. (2004). Athenian Strings. In: P. Murray and P. Wilson, eds, *Music and the Muses. The*

Culture of 'Mousiké' in the Classical Athenian City, Oxford: OUP, pp. 269–306.

Worman, N. (2002). *The Cast of Character. Style in Greek Literature*. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Worman, N. (2015). *Landscape and the Spaces of Metaphor in Ancient Literary Theory and Criticism*.

Cambridge: CUP.