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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


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, Phrynis, 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 frs. 195 and 196 Carey). When considered within the context of

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’ agon focuses on the differences between old and current education: Better Word depicts Phrynis’ 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 (τά 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 εἴδος) were strictly prescribed to certain types of songs (οὐκ ἔξη ἄλλο εἰς ἄλλο καταχρῆσθαι).

The description continues and the lawgiver refers implicitly to the educational role that lyric performances had back then (περὶ παιδείας) 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 (παρανομίαν 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 (κεραννύντες), 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. 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. 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

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

3 Folch 2015, 11.
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. 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. On the contrary, according to Plato, the current poetic environment with the debased rule 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. 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

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4 On the ethical character of poetic genres in the Laws, Folch 2015, Part II.
5 Cf. Lg. 655c3-d3 on the unacceptable claim that correct mousikē is that which pleases the soul.
6 Folch 2015, 2, 7 and 11.
7 The 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.\textsuperscript{8}

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

\begin{quote}
\textit{ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν τε ὀργάνων καὶ τῆς ἐργασίας ἀποδοξιμάζομεν τὴν τεχνικὴν παιδείαν (τεχνικὴν δὲ
tίθεμεν τὴν πρὸς τοὺς ἁγώνας ἐν ταύτῃ γὰρ ὁ πράττων οὐ τῆς αὐτοῦ μεταχειρίζεται χάριν
ἀρετῆς, ἀλλὰ τῆς τῶν ἁκουόντων ἡδονῆς, καὶ ταύτης φορτικῆς, διόπερ οὐ τῶν ἔλευθέρων
cρίνομεν εἶναι τὴν ἐργασίαν, ἀλλὰ θητικωτέραν καὶ βαναύσους δὴ συμβαίνει γίγνεσθαι: πονηρὸς
gὰρ ὁ σκοπὸς πρὸς δὲν ποιοῦνται τὸ τέλος· ὁ γὰρ θεατὴς φορτικὸς ὃν μεταβάλλειν εἶπε οὐ τὴν
μουσικὴν, ὡστε καὶ τοὺς τεχνίτας τοὺς πρὸς αὐτὸν μελετῶντας αὐτοὺς τε ποιούς τινας ποιεῖ καὶ
tὰ σώματα διὰ τὰς κινήσεις).}
\end{quote}

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

\footnote{The 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

\(^9\)Translations of all passages are taken from the relevant volume of the Loeb Classical Library and are at points altered.

\(^{10}\)On 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)”.

\(^{11}\)Choral 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,
121-7.
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.\footnote{On being trained in musical ‘goodness’, see Rocconi 2012, 117-21.}

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.\footnote{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.}

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,\footnote{ Cf. Arist. Pol. 1342a18-22 on the two groups of spectators: the free and educated (ὁ μὲν ἐλεύθερος καὶ παπαιδευμένος) and the vulgar, which is composed of labourers (ὁ δὲ φορτικός).} 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
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 *mousikê*, as they are unaware of the kind of *mousikê* that would have positive effects on them and that deserves serious attention. As a consequence they take pleasure in the wrong kind of *mousikê*, 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 *mousikê*, 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 ἄφιακοκάμπτας, *Nu.* 969f κάµψειν τινα καµπήν... τάς κατὰ Φρόνιν ταύτας τᾶς δυσκολοκάμπτους; Plut. *Mor.* 569c where Timotheus is called ἰωσκάμπτας.
Ἄσματοκάμπας 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. 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. 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.

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

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.

Worman 2002 and 2015.

Worman 2015, 24.
ποιούντες ποιήματα, λόγους τε ἐπιλέγοντες τοιούτους, τοῖς πολλοῖς ἐνέθεσαν παρανομίαν εἰς τὴν μουσικὴν καὶ τάλμαν ὡς ἱκανοῖς οὕσιν 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 ἄληθῆ 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 ἁμοσόι (_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 _melê_ 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 (_kampê_), the primary

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²¹ On _amousia_, see Halliwell 2012.
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 ποίησις; οὐ τοιαύτη τίς σοι καταφαίνεται; ἢ ἡ γῆ τι φροντίζειν Κινησίαν τὸν Μέλητος, ὡς ἐρεῖ τι τοιοῦτον ὅθεν ἄν οἱ ἀκούοντες βελτίους γίγνονται, ἢ ὅτι μέλλει χαριεῖσθαι τῷ ὑχλῷ τῶν θεατῶν;

ΚΑΛ. Δήλον δὴ τοῦτό γε, ὦ Σώκρατε, 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

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* 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’ dithyrambs, 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 \( \alphaπολώλεχε \) (v.10) and \( \deltaιέφθαρεν \) (v.15) for the consequences of the actions of Kinesias and Phrynis are replaced by the sexually colourful verbs \( κατορώρυχεν \) (v.19) and \( διακεκναικ' αίσχιστα \) (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.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Κινησίας δὲ <µ'> ὁ κατάρατος Ἀττικός,} \\
\text{ἐξαρμονίσατε καμπάς ποιῶν ἐν ταῖς στροφαῖς} \\
\text{ἀπολώλεχ' σύτως, ὡστε τῆς ποιήσεως} & \quad 10 \\
\text{τῶν διθυράμβων, καθάπερ ἐν ταῖς ἀσπίσιν,} \\
\text{ἀριστέρ' αὐτοῦ φαίνεται τὰ δεξιά.} \\
\text{ἀλλ' οὖν ἀνεκτὸς οὗτος ἦν ὅμως ἐμι.} \\
\end{align*}
\]

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.

Pherecrates' Cheiron PCG 155.8-13

\(^{24}\)Dobrov/Urios-Aparisi 1999, 153.

\(^{25}\)The 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. He is also the sole poet who is accused and in retrospect remembered for the dance alterations he introduced in his poetic performances. We read in the fragment that Melanippides, Phrynis, 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 ἄσπις is translated literally) and the reference to the moves from right to left must allude to the pyrrhic dance. The *pyrrhiché* 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

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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.

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). 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. 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.

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 Phania 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

Also Lysias fr.196 Carey πρὸς Κινησίαν β’ = Harpocr. x 59 Keaney which summarizes the content of Lysias’ two speeches against Kinesias.
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 Phanias 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 Apollonius, 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-552b

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

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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 φιλύρας 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 ἀναπέττομαι), 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 (φθόης προφήτης). His natural thinness, which allows him to join Cloudcuckooland in the *Birds* and pretend

33 Cf. Harpocr. x 59 Keaney where Harpocratio stresses in his summary of Lysias’ speeches that in the drama *Kinesias* Strattis ridiculed Kinesias’ impiety (ἐν ὧν καὶ τὴν ἁσβείαν αὐτοῦ καμιαθεῖ).  
34 On the relevant lines from the *Birds*, see Ieranó 2013, 368f, 383-3; on Kinesias’ appearance in *Birds*, see in detail Dunbar 1995, 660-73. Kinesias also claims to have been extremely loved by the people (Av. 1323f.), a statement that is confirmed by an early fourth century inscription with a dedication by a victorious khorerōgos whose chorus was trained by Kinesias: *IG II* 3028 ἐκ Φαληρεύς ἐχ[ο]ρήγησεν | Κινήσιας ἐδίδ[ασε] (‘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 Κινεσίας (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.\textsuperscript{38} Whereas Plato’s Socrates reproduces his comic caricature with the aim of refuting it,\textsuperscript{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 ὀνομαστὶ κωμῳδεῖν 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.\textsuperscript{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

\textsuperscript{38}Pl. Ap. 19d τοιαύτη τις ἔστιν ταῦτα γὰρ ἑωράτε καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐν τῇ Ἀριστοφάνους κωμῳδίᾳ ('something of that sort it is. For you saw these things in Aristophanes’ comedy').

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

\textsuperscript{40}Kidd 2014, 97-9.
and Lysias.\footnote{Cf. Plut. De Gloria Ath. 348b-c σκωττάληματος δὲ καὶ χλευαζόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν κωμῳδιστῶν ὀφεὶ εὐτυχοῦς δύσθενα μετέστηκε (‘jeered and mocked by the comic poets, he acquired his share in unfortunate notoriety’) on the power of comic parody in shaping Kinesias' fame.} 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 paranomótatos, 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.\footnote{Ieranò (2010, 72) characterises Kinesias as a demagogue of poetry.} 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
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 Phanias, 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. 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.

\[
\text{σκηνή μέν} < \quad \text{τοῦ χοροκτόνου Κινησία}
\]

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 *khorēgia* at the Lenaea festival. As we also read in the scholion to Ar. *Ra*. 153, Kinesias, who also enjoyed a short career in politics, took action against the comic poets, who remained without *khorēgoi* (αχορήγητοι) as punishment for the way in which

\footnote{On the psychology of novelty, see D’Angour 2011, 27-32.}

\footnote{A late fourth-century inscription (*IG* II 18 = 128 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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{49} He is in any case depicted in Aristophanes’ \textit{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.\textsuperscript{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 \textit{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.\textsuperscript{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


\textsuperscript{49} Cf. Orth (2009, 11f.), 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.

\textsuperscript{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.

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.\(^\text{52}\) Dancing for Dionysos developed a sense of tribal solidarity, as Peter Wilson argues.\(^\text{53}\) 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.\(^\text{54}\) These very erotics that the chorus projects at performance are put to use in Plato's \textit{Laws}.\(^\text{55}\) \textit{Khoreia} becomes in the \textit{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

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.

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