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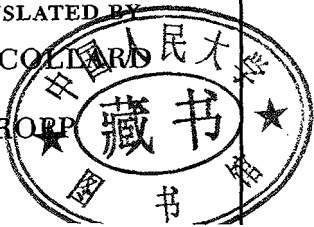


EURIPIDES

FRAGMENTS

Aegeus-Meleager

EDITED AND TRANSLATED BY
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AND
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CONTENTS

PREFACE	ix
INTRODUCTION	xi
CHRONOLOGY	xxix
ABBREVIATIONS	xxxiii
ÆGEUS (ΑΙΓΕΥΣ)	3
ÆOLUS (ΑΙΟΛΟΣ)	12
ALEXANDER (ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ)	33
ALCMEON IN PSOPHIS and ALCMEON IN CORINTH	77
ALCMEON IN PSOPHIS (ΑΛΚΜΕΩΝ Ο ΔΙΑ ΨΩΦΙΔΟΣ)	79
ALCMEON IN CORINTH (ΑΛΚΜΕΩΝ Ο ΔΙΑ ΚΟΡΙΝΘΟΥ)	87
ALCMENE (ΑΛΚΜΗΝΗ)	
ALOPE (ΑΛΟΠΗ)	115
ANDROMEDA (ΑΝΔΡΟΜΕΔΑ)	124

CONTENTS

ANTIGONE (ΑΝΤΙΓΟΝΗ)	156
ANTIOPE (ΑΝΤΙΟΠΗ)	170
ARCHELAUS (ΑΡΧΕΛΑΟΣ)	229
AUGE (ΑΤΓΗ)	259
AUTOLYCUS A and B (ΑΥΤΟΛΥΚΟΣ Α, Β)	278
BELLEROPHON (ΒΕΛΛΕΡΟΦΟΝΤΗΣ)	289
BUSIRIS (ΒΟΥΣΙΡΙΣ)	318
DANAË (ΔΑΝΑΗ)	323
DICTYS (ΔΙΚΤΥΣ)	346
EPEUS (ΕΠΕΙΟΣ)	361
ERECHTHEUS (ΕΡΕΧΘΕΥΣ)	362
EURYSTHEUS (ΕΥΡΥΣΘΕΥΣ)	403
THERISTAE, 'HARVESTERS' (ΘΕΡΙΣΤΑΙ)	413
THESEUS (ΘΗΣΕΥΣ)	415
THYESTES (ΘΥΕΣΤΗΣ)	428
INO (ΙΝΩ)	438
IXION (ΙΞΙΩΝ)	460
HIPPOLYTUS VEILED (ΙΠΠΟΛΥΤΟΣ ΚΑΛΗΠΤΟΜΕΝΟΣ)	466
[CADMUS] [ΚΑΔΜΟΣ]	491
CRESPHONTES (ΚΡΕΣΦΟΝΤΗΣ)	493

CONTENTS

CRETAN WOMEN (ΚΡΗΣΣΑΙ)	516
CRETANS (ΚΡΗΤΕΣ)	529
LAMIA (ΛΑΜΙΑ)	557
LICYMNIUS (ΛΙΚΤΜΝΙΟΣ)	560
MELANIPPE WISE and MELANIPPE CAPTIVE	567
MELANIPPE WISE (ΜΕΛΑΝΙΠΠΗ Η ΣΟΦΗ)	569
MELANIPPE CAPTIVE (ΜΕΛΑΝΙΠΠΗ Η ΔΕΣΜΩΤΙΣ)	587
MELEAGER (ΜΕΛΕΑΓΡΟΣ)	613
INDEX	633

PREFACE

We were invited to contribute these volumes to the Loeb Classical Library at the generous suggestion of Sir Hugh Lloyd-Jones, whose editions of the Aeschylean and Sophoclean fragments provided a template. We had earlier cut our teeth for such work in two volumes which offer selected fragmentary plays on a much larger scale (*SFP* in our Abbreviations list). We have been immeasurably aided in this new task by two recent and complete major editions of Euripides' fragments by François Jouan and the late Hermann Van Looy (ed. Budé) and Richard Kannicht (*TrGF* 5). We briefly describe and admire the extraordinary achievement of these editions in our Introduction under "Collection and Study of the Fragments"; here we express our warmest gratitude to the editors themselves for their encouragement and help.

Amongst other recent editors of the fragmentary texts we salute especially Colin Austin (Austin, *NFE* in the Abbreviations list), James Diggle (Diggle, *TrGF*S), and Wolfgang Luppe, a prolific editor of papyri whom we cite very frequently. Our bibliographies name the many editors of individual plays on whose work we have drawn, and other scholars who have contributed to the surge in fragment studies on which we remark in the Introduction

PREFACE

(note 23 there mentions some bibliographical surveys of this work).

Martin Cropp's work for these volumes has been facilitated by research grants from the University of Calgary. Jason McClure assisted him in checking references and preparing the Index, and Elizabeth Cropp read most of our introductions and translations with improving effect. Thanks for various kinds of personal support and practical help go also to Bill Allan, James Diggle, John Gibert, Doreen Innes, Jim Neville and Peter Toohey. We happily record appreciation of a quite different kind, not least for much wondering patience, to our wives, Jean Collard and Elizabeth Cropp.

Lastly, Christopher Collard would like it known how much is owed to Martin Cropp's expertise in preparing the copy for publication.

Christopher Collard, Oxford
Martin Cropp, Calgary

INTRODUCTION

Evidence for the Lost Plays

Euripides first produced plays at the Athenian Dionysia in 455 when he was probably in his late twenties; his dramatic career continued for almost fifty years.¹ Our knowledge of his plays depends almost entirely on the texts collected and edited two centuries later by scholars at Alexandria, who may have relied largely on the official Athenian collection commissioned by Lycurgus around 330; but so little is known about the earlier history of the original scripts, and particularly about the processes of authorial revision, circulation, and adaptation for reperformance at Athens and elsewhere, that we cannot know how exactly these were reproduced in what became the standard texts; we can only assume that what we read for the most part represents Euripides' work.²

The Alexandrian scholars seem to have known of ninety-two titles but could find and edit texts of only sev-

¹ On Euripides' life and the evidence for it see David Kovacs in the Loeb *Euripides* I.1–21.

² For a survey of the ancient and medieval transmission of tragic texts see D. Kovacs in J. Gregory (ed.), *A Companion to Greek Tragedy* (Malden, Mass., and Oxford, 2005), 379–93.

INTRODUCTION

enty tragedies and eight satyr plays.³ These included five plays whose authenticity was disputed or confused: *Pirithous*, *Rhadamanthys*, *Tennes*, a *Sisyphus* (perhaps displacing or confused with Euripides' own *Sisyphus* of 415 B.C.) and the extant *Rhesus* (certainly displacing Euripides' own *Rhesus*). Adding three more satyr plays whose texts seem to have been lost before the Alexandrian editions (*Epeus*, *Theristae*, *Lamia*), we have a total of eighty-one known Euripidean or possibly Euripidean titles, of which eighteen are extant and sixty-three are fragmentary or lost almost without trace. All of the latter are included in this edition.⁴ Their chronology, so far as it can be known or estimated, is detailed in the Chronology.

Euripides was amongst the most widely read authors of the Greek and Roman world, and many of his plays seem to have remained in circulation at least until the middle of the 3rd century A.D. The fragments of those that were lost after that time or earlier come partly from excerpts and quotations found in the extant or fragmentary texts of other authors (collectively known as 'book fragments') and partly from papyri, i.e. the remains of actual ancient books recovered in the late 19th and 20th centuries, mostly in

³ The satyr plays were *Autolycus A* and *B*, *Busiris*, *Eurystheus*, *Cyclops*, *Sisyphus*, *Sciron*, *Syleus*. For details, computation and lists see R. Kannicht in C. Mueller-Goldingen (ed.), *ΔΗΝΑΙΚΑ: Festschrift für C. W. Müller* (Stuttgart-Leipzig, 1996), 185–201 (sources and list also in *TrGF* 5.77–80, 149–50); H. Van Looy in ed. Budé VIII.1.xi–xvi; Pechstein 19–29.

⁴ We also include the negligible evidence for a *Cadmus*. *Pirithous*, *Rhadamanthys*, *Tennes* and the disputed *Sisyphus* fragment are printed at the end of our edition.

INTRODUCTION

Egypt.⁵ About seventy-five papyri representing some thirty plays are listed in the *Index of Sources* in Kannicht's recent edition of the fragments (*TrGF* 5; this total includes the papyrus 'hypotheses' mentioned below). Nearly half of them are from the deserted site of Oxyrhynchus, excavated in the 1890s.⁶ The papyri include nothing so spectacular as those of Menander, or of Aristotle's *Constitution of Athens*; the most we have for a play of Euripides is about 500 lines (many incomplete) representing less than one-third of *Hypsipyle*. They have nevertheless transformed our knowledge of the lost plays.

The second category mentioned above, the 'book fragments', was the basis for virtually all knowledge of the plays before the discoveries of papyri. These fragments come from a great variety of sources ranging from literary, philosophical, historical and scientific works to anthologies, commentaries on the works of Euripides himself and other authors, mythological handbooks, encyclopedias, dictionaries, and other scholarly and educational books.⁷ Among these sources (some of which have themselves been amplified through papyrus discoveries) the comic

⁵ A few remnants are actually written on parchment, notably *Cretans* F 472e, *Melanippe Captive* F 495, and the *Phaethon* palimpsest. A few brief quotations are scratched on pottery sherds (*ostraca*), e.g. *Aegeus* F 11.

⁶ Information and images of the Oxyrhynchus papyri are easily accessible on the website of Oxford University's Papyrology Project. On the city's history and life as learned from the papyri: Peter Parsons, *City of the Sharp-nosed Fish* (London, 2007).

⁷ What follows is a brief sketch. For a fuller survey of the book fragments see H. Van Looy in ed. Budé VIII.1.xxxvii–liv.

INTRODUCTION

playwright Aristophanes is of special importance as a younger contemporary of Euripides who actually saw the first productions of many of his plays. The eleven extant plays of Aristophanes include many quotations and comic adaptations of Euripidean verses, and some extensive parodies of Euripidean scenes; the scholia on them, especially those derived from Alexandrian scholarship, are a rich further source of information (far richer in fact than the scholia on the extant plays of Euripides himself) on provenances and original wordings, contexts and speakers. From the 4th century the philosopher Aristotle, who initiated the systematic study of tragedy as a genre, provides insights into the reception of Euripides in the period following his death. Hellenistic sources are sadly lacking except through citations by later authors, but the continuing importance of Euripides for cultured readers in the Greco-Roman world is evident in (for example) the quotations in Cicero's letters and philosophical works, the rhetorical works of Dio Chrysostom and Aelius Aristides, the learned trivia of Lucian and Athenaeus, and the essays and biographies of Plutarch which make him the most abundant source of Euripidean quotations after Stobaeus and Aristophanes with his scholia. The anthology of Stobaeus (John of Stobi in Macedonia, 5th c.) is by far the most abundant of all, with nearly six hundred Euripidean excerpts from the fragmentary plays occupying about fifteen per cent of the Index of Sources in Kannicht's edition. Stobaeus clearly relied on earlier collections, as did his contemporary anthologist Orion of Thebes in Egypt, most of whose forty excerpts from the lost plays are also found in Stobaeus; such collections were in fact assembled and widely used throughout Hellenistic and Roman times, and

INTRODUCTION

their use is evident in such sources as the *Stromata* ('Miscellanies') of the Christian convert Clement of Alexandria, composed about 200 A.D.⁸ Alongside this excerpt tradition ran the traditions of literary commentary, grammatical analysis and reference books which supplied the Euripidean material in some important late antique and medieval sources, most notably the scholia on the extant works of Euripides, Aristophanes and others, the *Lexica* of Hesychius (5th c., but transmitted in an abridgement) and the patriarch Photius (9th c.), the *Etymologicum Genuinum* (9th–10th c.) in its various manifestations, the Byzantine encyclopedia known as the *Suda* (10th c.), and the voluminous Homeric commentaries of Eustathius, Bishop of Thessalonica (12th c.).⁹

Many of the book sources convey piecemeal information about plots and dramatic situations, although many others (especially anthologies, dictionaries and so on) do not. The fullest such information, however, comes from the remains of an ancient collection of 'narrative hypotheses' sometimes known as the 'Tales from Euripides' (but

⁸ Euripides was particularly valued in antiquity as a source of the *gnōmai* or ethical judgments and observations which abound in the anthologies: on this aspect of his plays see G. W. Most in M. S. Funghi (ed.), *Aspetti di letteratura gnomica nel mondo antico*, I (Florence, 2003), 141–66. Most rightly emphasizes the dramatic and characterizing functions of the *gnōmai* in their original contexts, which are of course evident in the extant plays. *Gnōmai* excerpted from fragmentary plays often seem banal, especially when considered *en masse*, but their possible dramatic contexts should always be kept in mind.

⁹ Eleanor Dickey, *Ancient Greek Scholarship* (London–New York, 2007) provides a useful guide to such sources.

INTRODUCTION

one or two Sophoclean examples are known), which is now represented in some twenty papyri.¹⁰ These are not detailed dramatic outlines but rather summaries of the stories told in the plays, so they generally omit or blur many important details of the plays as such. Nevertheless these papyri are of major importance for the reconstruction of *Aeolus*, *Alexander*, *Theseus* and *Scyrians*, and of lesser—sometimes minimal—value, according to their degree of physical damage, for about twenty others. For *Melanippe Wise* and *Stheneboea* narrative hypotheses from very damaged papyri are supplemented by more complete texts which happen to be quoted in late rhetorical sources, and the latter add a briefer summary of *Pirithous*. The same or similar collections are probably reflected—but abbreviated, sometimes heavily, and subject to contamination—in book sources which give narrative summaries attributed to Euripides, such as the astronomical sources for *Andromeda*, *Hyginus' Fables* for *Antiope* and *Ino*, Apollodorus for *Alcmeon in Corinth*, John Malalas of Antioch for *Danae*, and the Armenian Moses of Chorene for *Auge* and *Peliades*; and the same may be true of many that do not name him, including those summaries of Hyginus which are our basis (for better or worse) for reconstructing *Alope*, *Archelaus*, *Cresphontes*, *Polyidus* and the conclusion of

¹⁰ Van Rossum-Steenbeek (1998) provides a thorough introduction with references to previous studies and texts of most of the now known papyri. On style and probable date (2nd c. B.C.—1st c. A.D.) see further J. Diggle in Bastianini-Casanova, *Euripide e i papiri* 27–67. Summaries of this kind are known from as early as the 3rd c. B.C., for example the *Tragoidoumena* ('Stories from Tragedy') of Asclepiades of Tragilos, *FGRH* 12 F 1–15.

INTRODUCTION

Telephus.¹¹ Where such resources are lacking—as for example for *Antigone*, *Thyestes*, *Cretan Women*, *Licymnius*, *Oenomaus*, *Peleus*, *Pleisthenes*, *Chrysippus* and most of the satyr plays—we are generally reduced to educated guesswork supplemented in some cases by incidental ancient comments which may illuminate some aspect or part of the play.

Pictorial representations are a further but rather limited source of evidence for the precise content of the plays, although they are of greater importance as documenting the reception of Euripides' work. It is clear that Euripides created many highly distinctive dramatic plots, inventing or heavily adapting myths for this purpose, and that some of these fed into the iconographic traditions of the classical world. But the correlation between iconographic representation and dramatic original is seldom if ever simple or exact, even when the lapse of time between the two is brief. The extant *Iphigenia in Tauris* is an obvious example of a distinctly Euripidean subject adopted but also adapted in the iconographic tradition. For the fragmentary plays there are a few cases where works of art—especially Attic and South Italian vase paintings from the two or three generations after Euripides' death—clearly reflect Euripidean scenes, whether staged (*Melanippe Wise*, *Telephus*, *Hypsipyle*) or reported (*Antiope*). But in these cases confident identification of the artwork with the play

¹¹ On the limitations of the summaries in Hyginus and Apollodorus as evidence for reconstructing the plays see van Rossum-Steenbeek 25–30 and more fully M. Huys, *APF* 42 (1996), 168–78 and 43 (1997), 11–30 and *RhM* 140 (1997), 308–27.

INTRODUCTION

and interpretation of its details depends on our already knowing the relevant content of the play from other sources—and even then unanswered questions may remain (such as the possible role of Cretheus in *Melanippe Wise*). Where such confirmation is lacking, identification and interpretation of a Euripidean subject in a work of art remain speculative, and plausible to varying degrees (see for example our introductions to *Aegeus*, *Aeolus*, *Alcmene*, *Dictys*, *Theseus*, *Cretans*, *Meleager*, *Oeneus*, *Stheneboea*).¹² The same kind of caution applies to reflections of Euripidean subjects in later poetry, especially the Latin tragedians (themselves preserved only in tenuous fragments: see for example on *Alexander*, *Alcmeon in Psophis*, *Antiope*, *Thyestes*, *Meleager*, *Telephus*, *Philoctetes*, *Phoenix*) and such tradition-conscious but eclectic and innovative poets as Ovid (see on *Aeolus*, *Protesilaus*, *Scyrians*, *Phaethon*) and Statius (*Protesilaus*, *Scyrians*, *Hypsipyle*).

¹² The relationship between art-works (especially vase-paintings) and plays is a subject of continuing controversy, discussed for example by L. Giuliani, *BICS* 41 (1997), 71–86; J. P. Small, *The Parallel Worlds of Classical Art and Text* (Cambridge, 2003), 37–78 (a sceptical approach; abridged in Gregory [note 2 above], 103–18); and now Taplin 1–46. For a survey of the material evidence see J. R. Green, *Theatre in Ancient Greek Society* (London, 1995), 16–88, and for collections of relevant vase-paintings Trendall–Webster (1971, cf. Trendall’s survey of South Italian vases in T. Rasmussen and N. Spivey eds., *Looking at Greek Vases* [Cambridge, 1991], 151–82), Todisco (2003), and Taplin 47–267. For earlier systematic uses of vase-paintings for reconstruction of the plays see L. Séchan, *Études sur la tragédie grecque dans ses rapports avec la céramique* (Paris, 1926), and Webster (1967).

INTRODUCTION

Our impressions of the lost plays are of course determined and potentially distorted by the selection of fragments and testimonies that we happen to have for each of them. Only the papyri (and the parchments mentioned in note 5 above) provide texts that extend beyond a single speech. These are highly illuminating for a few plays (*Alexander*, *Antiope*, *Erechtheus*, *Hypsipyle*, *Phaethon*) and offer flashes of illumination for others (*Cresphontes*, *Cretans*, *Telephus*), but even in the best of these cases large segments of the play's action remain obscure. Where extensive papyri and narrative summaries are both lacking, our sense of the enacted plays and their dramatic character is usually still more limited, but often not entirely deficient. Aristophanes' parodies offer vivid insights into the opening of *Andromeda* with its captive heroine and her heroic rescuer's arrival, Bellerophon's flight on the winged horse Pegasus in *Bellerophon*, and the debate and hostage scenes in *Telephus*. The special interest of Euripides to orators, teachers of rhetoric and anthologists has preserved extensive speeches from *Autolycus*, *Erechtheus* and *Melanippe Captive* (F 494 is from a papyrus anthology) along with the openings of *Bellerophon*, *Melanippe Wise*, *Stheneboea* and (in paraphrase) *Philoctetes*. The comments of a reader such as Plutarch can restore the impact of a particular dramatic moment such as Merope's attack on her own son in *Cresphontes* (F 456).

Even the many fragments transmitted without explanatory comment may be more informative than they seem at first sight. Some groups of anthologized excerpts seem to have originated in particular scenes of argument and debate which no doubt helped to make their plays notable (or notorious), especially *Aeolus* F 19-24 on the merits of in-

INTRODUCTION

cestuous marriage, *Alexander* F 48–60 on the status of slaves, *Antiope* F 183–202 on the choice between lives of action and contemplation (here the anthologies complement the accounts of Plato and others), *Archelaus* F 231–244 on the prerequisites for noble achievement, *Dictys* F 333–7 on nobility and political power, *Meleager* F 520–8 on women's roles and behaviour, *Oedipus* F 542–8 on marriage, and *Palamedes* F 578–85 (the arraignment and trial of Palamedes). Twenty of the thirty fragments of *Bellerophon* (F 285–304) are transmitted through anthologies (chiefly Stobaeus) and reflect a debate on human worth, fortune and divine dispensation that must have extended thematically through the play. Similarly the almost wholly sententious fragments of *Ino* suggest a play comparable with *Medea* in its contemplation of female misfortune, rivalry and criminality. Sometimes a chance assemblage of a few brief testimonia and fragments from anthologies and other sources can provide vivid insights into a play's characteristic scenes, as for example Auge's predicament and peril and Heracles' saving return in the late and melodramatic *Auge*.

In sum, the fragments are an invaluable complement to the understanding of Euripides and his immense contribution to the development of Athenian drama that we have from the extant plays. The subjects of the latter are, as it happens, heavily biased towards the Trojan War and its aftermath (ten of nineteen, including *Cyclops* and the inauthentic *Rhesus*) and stories linked with Athens (*Children of Heracles*, *Hippolytus*, *Suppliant Women*, *Heracles*, *Ion*); only *Alcestis*, *Medea*, *Phoenician Women* and *Bacchae* fall outside this range. The fragmentary plays

INTRODUCTION

supplement the first two groups to some extent¹³ but greatly enlarge the overall scope, embracing in particular the mythical histories of the Cretan royal family, Thessaly, Aetolia, Thebes and the legend of the Seven, Perseus, Bellerophon, Heracles and his descendants, and the Pelopid dynasty before the Trojan War.¹⁴ At the same time the repertoire of Euripides' tragic subjects is enlarged and diversified. Some of these are well represented in the extant plays: heroes succumbing to divine retaliation, heroines rescued from perils, tragedies of revenge and self-sacrifice.¹⁵ Others are much less so, although no less important: youthful heroes proving themselves against opposition, older heroes isolated amongst their peers, divine rape and its consequences, and other sexually charged

¹³ Trojan subjects: *Alexander, Palamedes, Scyrians, Telephus, Philoctetes*. Athenian subjects: *Alope, Erechtheus, Theseus, Hippolytus Veiled*.

¹⁴ Crete: *Cretan Women, Cretans, Polyidus*. Thessaly: *Ino, Melanippe Wise, Peliades, Peleus, Protesilaus, Phrixus A and B*. Aetolia: *Meleager, Oeneus*. Thebes etc.: the two *Alcmeons, Antigone, Antiope, Oedipus*. Perseus: *Andromeda, Danae, Dictys*. Bellerophon: *Bellerophon, Stheneboea*. Heracles and Heraclids: *Alcmene, Archelaus, Cresphontes, Licymnius, Temenidae, Temenus*. Pelopid dynasty: *Thyestes, Oenomaus, Pleisthenes, Chrysippus*.

¹⁵ Heroes cast down: *Alcmeon in Psophis, Bellerophon, Ixion* (compare the extant *Andromache, Bacchae, Heracles, Hippolytus*). Heroines rescued: *Andromeda, Antiope, Dictys, Melanippe Captive, Hypsipyle* (cf. *Helen, Iphigenia in Tauris*). Revenge: *Ino, Cresphontes, Oeneus, Stheneboea* (cf. *Hecuba, Electra, Medea*). Self-sacrifice: *Erechtheus, Phrixus A or B(?)* (cf. *Heraclidae, Iphigenia at Aulis*).

INTRODUCTION

conflicts;¹⁶ the last two of these in particular are notable for having inspired many of the plots of New Comedy a century later. There is also enrichment in matters of dramatic design and structure such as debates and trials, dramatic reversals, 'messenger' scenes, recognitions and divine interventions,¹⁷ and in other less neatly classifiable features—for example, the bizarre scenes of Pasiphae defending her mating with the bull (*Cretans*), Clymene concealing the smouldering remains of her son (*Phaethon*), or Andromeda exposed as 'fodder for the sea-monster'.

These categories and catalogues could be multiplied, but they can hardly do justice to Euripides' infinite creativity in varying and combining the elements of his drama. To

¹⁶ Heroes proving themselves: *Aegeus*, *Alexander*, *Archelaus*, *Theseus*, *Oenomaus*, *Stheneboea*. Isolated heroes: *Palamedes*, *Telephus*, *Philoctetes*. Divine rape: *Alcmene*, *Alope*, *Auge*, *Danae*, *Melanippe Wise* (cf. *Ion*). Sexual conflicts: *Aeolus*, *Antigone*, *Hippolytus Veiled*, *Cretan Women*, *Cretans*, *Meleager*, *Oedipus*, *Peleus*, *Stheneboea*, *Scyrians*, *Phoenix*, *Chrysippus* (elements of this, of course, in the extant *Hippolytus*, *Medea* and *Andromache*).

¹⁷ Debates and trials: *Aeolus*, *Alexander*, *Alcmene*, *Antiope*, *Cretans*, *Erechtheus*, *Melanippe Wise*, *Melanippe Captive*, *Meleager*, *Oedipus*, *Palamedes*, *Protesilaus*, *Scyrians*, *Telephus*, *Hypsipyle*, *Philoctetes*, *Chrysippus*. Reversals: *Antiope*, *Archelaus*, *Ino*, *Cresphontes* (twice), *Melanippe Captive*, *Phrixus A* or *B*. 'Messenger' scenes: *Alexander*, *Andromeda*, *Antiope*, *Bellerophon*, *Erechtheus*, *Melanippe Captive*, *Meleager*, *Stheneboea*, *Phaethon*. Recognitions: *Aegeus*, *Alexander*, *Alcmeon in Corinth*, *Antiope*, *Auge*, *Cresphontes*, *Melanippe Captive*, *Hypsipyle*. Divine interventions: *Alcmene*, *Antiope*, *Erechtheus*, *Phrixus A* and *B* (divine 'wrap-ups' in many others).

INTRODUCTION

appreciate this fully, readers must immerse themselves in what we have of the plays themselves.¹⁸

Collection and Study of the Fragments

The process of collecting the book fragments which culminated in Nauck's editions of 1856 and 1889 was begun in the 1570s by Dirk Canter (Theodorus Canterus), younger brother of Willem Canter whose 1571 edition of the extant plays had included a selection of Euripidean *sententiae* gathered from both extant and lost plays.¹⁹ D. Canter col-

¹⁸ For surveys complementing this brief sketch of dramatic content in the lost plays see *SFP* I.5–10, ed. Budé VIII.1.xxv–xxxI, M. Cropp in Gregory (note 2 above), 280–6, and (for Trojan subjects) R. Kannicht in A. Bierl and others, *Antike Literatur in neuer Deutung* (Munich, 2004), 185–201. Huys, *The Tale* analyses exhaustively the plays about heroes exposed at birth (*Alope*, *Auge*, *Danae*, *Melanippe Wise*) and later reunited with their mothers (*Alexander*, *Antiope*, *Melanippe Captive*, *Oedipus*, and the extant *Ion*; Huys excludes *Hypsipyle* where the heroes have been separated from their mother in infancy but not exposed to die).

¹⁹ On the collecting and editing of tragic fragments from the 16th to the mid-19th c. see R. Kassel in H. Hofmann and A. Harder (eds.), *Fragmenta Dramatica* (Göttingen, 1991), 243–53 (translated and supplemented by H. and D. Harvey in McHardy, *Lost Dramas* 7–20) and D. Harvey in McHardy, *Lost Dramas* 21–6; for Euripides in particular, R. Kannicht in G. W. Most (ed.), *Collecting Fragments: Fragmente Sammeln* (Göttingen, 1997), 67–77, and H. Van Looy in ed. Budé lviii–lxxii (previously in *AC* 32 [1963], 170–84). On D. Canter's collection and its subsequent history: J. A. Gruys, *The Early Printed Editions of Aeschylus, 1518–1664* (The Hague, 1981), 277–309, 342–6; C. Collard, *AC* 64 (1995), 243–50; Kannicht (above) 72–5.

INTRODUCTION

lected and documented 837 fragments, three-quarters of the 1132 that Nauck included in his second edition. His comprehensive approach distinguished him from other early collectors who were interested primarily in presenting excerpts from classical authors for their moral and educational value.²⁰ Canter's collection was unfortunately never published, although a few scholars used it in the 17th century, and so the first published collection aiming at comprehensiveness was the philologically inferior one which Joshua Barnes attached to his pretentious edition of Euripides in 1694. J. C. Valckenaer later treated the fragments at length in a monograph on the lost dramas of Euripides (*Diatribē in Euripidis perditorum dramatum reliquias*, 1767), and increasingly large collections were included in the complete Euripidean editions of S. Musgrave (1779), A. Matthiae (1829) and F. Wagner (1844). Valckenaer also discussed the reconstruction of some of the lost plays, but the first comprehensive (if over-imaginative) attempts at reconstruction came more than seventy years later from F. G. Welcker and J. A. Hartung.²¹

Much nineteenth-century scholarship remained pre-occupied with the textual problems of the book fragments,

²⁰ For example, H. Grotius' collection of poetic excerpts from Stobaeus (1623, supplemented from other sources in 1626) which was organized like its model by topics. These contrasting approaches to the study of the fragments are discussed by Kassel and Kannicht (see previous note). A collection of *testimonia* for Aeschylus, Sophocles and Euripides was published by J. Meursius in 1619 (Kassel 243 [Eng. tr. 7], Kannicht 72).

²¹ F. G. Welcker, *Die griechischen Tragödien mit Rücksicht auf den epischen Cyclus geordnet* (3 vols., Bonn, 1839-41); J. A. Hartung, *Euripides Restitutus* (2 vols., Hamburg, 1843-4).

INTRODUCTION

and Nauck's second edition (1889) still relied almost entirely on them while presenting *testimonia* only summarily and generally without comment.²² Textual work remains of course an essential (especially in the editing of the papyri), but since the time of Welcker and Hartung scholarly interest has increasingly turned to the reconstruction of the lost plays, their place in Euripides' work and in the development of Athenian drama, and (more recently) their continuing role in the culture of the Greek and Roman worlds. This broadening of interest has been motivated by general trends in the historical study of the ancient world, and propelled by archaeological discoveries of both papyri and visual evidence. The resulting proliferation of work in the 20th century need only be briefly noted here; much of it, especially from the 1960s onwards, will be cited in our introductions to the individual plays.²³ By now we have one or more editions with commentary for twenty-four of the known tragedies and all of the satyr plays,²⁴ and compre-

²² For a brief account of Nauck's work see D. Harvey in McHardy, *Lost Dramas* 26–31.

²³ For surveys see Van Looy in ed. Budé VIII.1.lv–lviii (papyri) and lxxii–lxxx; Harvey in McHardy, *Lost Dramas* 31–46 (papyri, 31–7). Van Looy published detailed bibliographical surveys in *AC* 32 (1963), 162–99, 60 (1991), 295–311, 61 (1992), 280–95, and H. J. Mette a series of surveys and collected *testimonia* in *Lustrum*, especially vols. 13 and 14 (1967–8) and 23–24 (1981–2).

²⁴ See our bibliographies for *Alexander*, *Alcmeon in Psophis*, *Alcmeon in Corinth*, *Andromeda*, *Antiope*, *Archelaus*, *Autolytus*, *Bellerophon*, *Danae*, *Dictys*, *Erechtheus*, *Cresphontes*, *Cretans*, *Melanippe Wise*, *Melanippe Captive*, *Oedipus*, *Palamedes*, *Stheneboea*, *Telephus*, *Hypsipyle*, *Phaethon*, *Philoctetes*, *Phrixus* A and B. Satyr plays: Pechstein (1998), Krumeich (1999).

INTRODUCTION

hensive editions of all the fragmentary plays both in the Budé edition of F. Jouan and H. Van Looy (1998–2003) and in R. Kannicht's *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, Vol. 5 (2004). The Budé edition is particularly valuable for its extensive general introduction and its introductions to each of the plays; we cite the latter routinely in our own bibliographies. Kannicht's edition definitively replaces Nauck's, and mercifully brings together (and in many cases re-edits) the papyrus fragments, previously scattered in dozens of publications. It is also fuller and more systematic in its presentation of numbered *testimonia* both for Euripides' life, works and art (pp. 39–145) and for each of the plays, where ancient references to the play and its content, and to related mythographic and iconographic material, are followed by brief summary paragraphs on plot reconstruction, dramatic location and characters, special historical information as needed, major editions and discussions, chronology, other ancient plays on the same subject, and other fragments sometimes ascribed to the play. Kannicht's textual apparatus for the individual fragments adds a wealth of concise explanatory and illustrative comment. In preparing our own introductions and notes we have assumed as a matter of course that readers wanting fuller information will consult Kannicht's edition.

This Edition

We reproduce Kannicht's numbering of the *testimonia* and fragments (itself based on Nauck's) and likewise the established ordering of the plays alphabetically by their Greek rather than Latin/English titles; thus the numerical sequence of the fragments is maintained, but those titles be-

INTRODUCTION

ginning with C, Ch, H, Ph and Th in Latin and English appear 'out of order' since these letters represent K, X, aspirated I, Φ and Θ in Greek (and there are other minor discrepancies). The fragments of *Pirithous*, *Rhadamanthys*, *Tennes* and *Sisyphus* which are assigned to Critias in *TrGF* I are here added at the end of the edition. We preface each play with a select bibliography, usually divided between editions and other studies and discussions, and a brief introduction surveying so far as possible (and with varying emphases according to the nature of the evidence) the play's mythical background, its plot and reconstruction, and its general character, chronology, and impact on subsequent literary and artistic traditions. These introductions also list 'Brief fragments' (single contextless words or phrases, or incomprehensible papyri, which we have omitted from the main series) and 'Other ascriptions' (i.e. other fragments which scholars have assigned inconclusively to the play). The introductions are followed by a selection of Kannicht's testimonia (including only those which contribute substantially to our knowledge of the play's content) and all of the play's fragments other than the 'Brief fragments' just mentioned. The apparatus accompanying the Greek texts lists the principal sources (excluding those which are derivative or otherwise of little importance) and notes only those textual uncertainties, with a very limited number of conjectural suggestions, which have a substantial bearing on the sense; most such points are explained briefly in the notes to the translations. For complete information on the sources, history and constitution of the texts the reader should in all cases consult Kannicht's edition and those specialized editions of individual plays which are mentioned in our introductions to the plays.

INTRODUCTION

The following markers are used in Greek texts:

- [] gaps in papyri due to physical damage (text within square brackets, if any, is editorial reconstruction)
- dots beneath spaces represent letters missing or illegible in papyri (incomplete letters printed with reasonable confidence are not so marked in this edition)
- < > text or speaker identifications omitted in the source(s) and supplied or left incomplete by editors
- { } text judged inauthentic
- † † text judged incurably corrupt
- unidentified speaker
- * fragment (F) or testimony (test.) identified as Euripidean but attributed conjecturally to this play
- ** fragment (F) or testimony (test.) attributed conjecturally to Euripides

The English translation uses the last five markers similarly, but parenthesis marks enclose all editorial supplements and completions of sense as well as actual parentheses, and all gaps and omissions are represented by three dots on the line. Translations of papyrus texts occasionally reflect supplements not included in the facing Greek text but recorded in the apparatus below it.

CHRONOLOGY

Exact or near-exact dates of production derived from Athenian public records are available for the nine extant and fourteen fragmentary plays listed in section (a) below. Those listed in section (b) can be dated more or less closely from several kinds of evidence, of which two are of special importance. First, quotation or parody by Aristophanes and other contemporary comic playwrights provides latest dates for a dozen tragedies in this group, although these are not necessarily close approximations—there are for example parodies of *Telephus* (438) in Aristophanes' *Acharnians* (425) and again in his *Women at the Thesmophoria* (411). Secondly, close or distant approximations for the dates of nearly twenty more tragedies can be estimated from metrical features of the fragments, especially the increasing frequency over time of 'resolutions' (substitutions of two short for one long or *anceps* syllable) in Euripides' iambic trimeters, the increasing variety of word-shapes accommodated by these resolutions, and his use of trochaic tetrameters in dialogue scenes, of which the earliest dated instance is in *Trojan Women* (415).¹

¹ Further chronological details are given in the introductions to the plays. For general guidance on the estimates from metrical data see Cropp-Fick 1-30, 60-1, 66, 69. Several factors make the

CHRONOLOGY

- » preceding a date = 'before', following = 'or later'
 m dates inferred mainly or wholly from metrical evidence
 q dates inferred mainly or wholly from quotations or parodies in Comedy (usually Aristophanes)

Capital letters (*ALCESTIS* etc.) denote extant plays.

(a) Dates Derived from Athenian Public Records

455	<i>Peliades</i>
438	<i>Cretan Women, Alcmeon in Psophis, Telephus, ALCESTIS</i>
431	<i>MEDEA, Dictys, Philoctetes, Theristae</i>
428	<i>HIPPOLYTUS</i>
415	<i>Alexander, Palamedes, TROJAN WOMEN, Sisyphus</i>
412	<i>Andromeda, HELEN</i>
411-407	<i>Hypsipyle, PHOENICIAN WOMEN, Antiope (?)²</i>
408	<i>ORESTES</i>
<i>posthumous</i>	<i>Alcmeon in Corinth, BACCHAE, IPHIGENIA AT AULIS</i>

statistical estimates necessarily tentative and inexact (see especially Cropp-Fick 2, 23); they are however accurate for most of those plays whose dates can be confirmed from other evidence (*ibid.* 18-19, 23).

² Metrical evidence suggests an earlier date for *Antiope* (427-419).

CHRONOLOGY

(b) Approximate Dates

c. 450 [?]	<i>Rhesus</i> (lost)
» 431	<i>Aegeus</i> , <i>Cretans</i> (m), <i>Hippolytus Veiled</i>
c. 430	CHILDREN OF HERACLES
» 425	<i>Bellerophon</i> (q), <i>Danae</i> (m), <i>Thyestes</i> (q), <i>Ino</i> (q), <i>Oeneus</i> (q), <i>Phoenix</i> (q), <i>Protesilaus</i> (m)
426–412	<i>Melanippe Captive</i> (m, q)
c. 425	<i>Cresphontes</i> , ANDROMACHE
» 423	<i>Aeolus</i> (q), HECUBA (q) ³
c. 423	SUPPLIANT WOMEN
423 »	<i>Temenidae</i> (m) ⁴
» 422	<i>Stheneboea</i> (q), <i>Theseus</i> (q)
422 [?]	<i>Erechtheus</i> ⁵
c. 420	<i>Phaethon</i> (m), ELECTRA (m)
420 »	<i>Antigone</i> (m), <i>Ixion</i> (?)
419 »	<i>Meleager</i> (m), <i>Oedipus</i> (m)
c. 417	HERACLES (m)
» 414	<i>Pleisthenes</i> (q)

³ *Aeolus* and *Hecuba* are quoted in Aristophanes' *Clouds* which was produced in 423, but the extant text of *Clouds* shows signs of revision. *Aeolus* might therefore be as late as 421 (the date of *Peace* which also quotes it), and *Hecuba* as late as 417 (the latest possible date for the revision of *Clouds*).

⁴ If *Temenus*, *Temenidae* and *Archelaus* formed a trilogy, all should be dated after the accession of Archelaus in 413. See Introduction to *Archelaus*.

⁵ The date 422 for *Erechtheus* is inferred uncertainly from Plutarch. Metrical evidence suggests 421–410.

CHRONOLOGY

- 414 » *Auge* (m), *Polyidus* (m)
c. 413 *IPHIGENIA IN TAURIS* (m), *ION* (m)
412 » *Archelaus* (and *Temenus*, *Temenidae*)⁴
» 411 (421-411?) *Melanippe Wise* (q)
» 410 (421-410?) *Alcmene* (m)

(c) *Unknown Dates*

TRAGEDIES. *Alope*, *Licymnius* (» 448?), *Oenomaus*, *Peleus*, *Scyrians* (» 431?), *Temenus*,⁴ *Phrixus A and B*, *Chrysippus*, and the doubtfully ascribed *Pirithous*, *Rhadamanthys*, *Tennes*.

SATYR PLAYS. *Autolycus A and B*, *Busiris*, *Epeus*, *Eurystheus*, *CYCLOPS* (c. 408?), *Lamia*, *Sciron*, *Syleus* (437-424?)

ABBREVIATIONS

AC	<i>L'Antiquité Classique</i>
Aéliion (1983)	R. Aéliion, <i>Euripide héritier d'Eschyle</i> , 2 vols. (Paris, 1983)
Aéliion (1986)	R. Aéliion, <i>Quelques grands mythes héroïques dans l'oeuvre d'Euripide</i> (Paris, 1986)
AJA	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>
AJP	<i>American Journal of Philology</i>
APF	<i>Archiv für Papyrusforschung</i>
Austin, NFE	C. Austin, <i>Nova Fragmenta Euripidea in Papyris Reperta</i> (Berlin, 1968)
Bastianini– Casanova, <i>Euripide e i papiri</i>	G. Bastianini, A. Casanova (eds.), <i>Euripide e i papiri: atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi, Firenze, 10–11 giugno 2004</i> (Florence, 2005)
BICS	<i>Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies</i> (London)
CAG	<i>Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca</i> , 23 vols. (Berlin, 1882–1909)
CCC	<i>Civiltà Classica e Cristiana</i>

ABBREVIATIONS

CPG	<i>Corpus Paremiographorum Graecorum</i> , ed. E. von Leutsch, F. Schneidewin, 2 vols. (Göttingen, 1839, 1851)
CQ	<i>Classical Quarterly</i>
CRAI	<i>Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres</i> (Paris)
Cropp–Fick	M. Cropp, G. Fick. <i>Resolutions and Chronology in Euripides: The Fragmentary Tragedies</i> (London, 1985: BICS Suppl. 43)
Diggle, TrGFS	J. Diggle, <i>Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta Selecta</i> (Oxford, 1998)
DK	H. Diels, W. Kranz, <i>Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker</i> (Berlin, 1951–2 ⁶)
ed. Budé	F. Jouan, H. Van Looy, <i>Euripide, Tome VIII: Fragments</i> , 4 vols. (Paris, 1998–2003)
FGrH	<i>Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker</i> , ed. F. Jacoby, 3 vols. in 15 (Berlin, 1923–58)
Gantz	T. Gantz, <i>Early Greek Myth: a Guide to Literary and Artistic Sources</i> (Baltimore, 1993)
Gramm. Gr.	<i>Grammatici Graeci</i> , ed. G. Uhlig and others, 4 vols. in 6 (Leipzig, 1867–1910)
GRBS	<i>Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies</i>

ABBREVIATIONS

HSCP	<i>Harvard Studies in Classical Philology</i>
Huys, <i>The Tale</i>	M. Huys, <i>The Tale of the Hero Who Was Exposed at Birth in Euripidean Tragedy: A Study of Motifs</i> (Leuven, 1995)
ICS	<i>Illinois Classical Studies</i>
IEG	<i>Iambi et Elegi Graeci</i> , ed. M. L. West (Oxford, 1989–91 ²)
IG	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae</i>
JHS	<i>Journal of Hellenic Studies</i>
Jouan (1966)	F. Jouan, <i>Euripide et les légendes des chants cypriens</i> (Paris, 1966)
Krumeich	R. Krumeich, N. Pechstein, B. Seidensticker (eds.), <i>Das griechische Satyrspiel</i> (Darmstadt, 1999)
LIMC	<i>Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae</i> , 8 vols., each in two parts (Zürich, 1981–98)
LSJ	H. G. Liddell, R. Scott, <i>A Greek-English Lexicon</i> , revised by H. Stuart-Jones, with Supplement (Oxford, 1968 ⁹)
Matthiessen	K. Matthiessen, <i>Die Tragödien des Euripides</i> (Munich, 2002)
McHardy, <i>Lost Dramas</i>	F. McHardy, J. Robson, D. Harvey (eds.), <i>Lost Dramas of Classical Athens: Greek Tragic Fragments</i> (Exeter, 2005)
MDAI(A)	<i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung</i>

ABBREVIATIONS

Nauck or N	A. Nauck, <i>Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta</i> (Leipzig, 1889 ² : reprinted with <i>Supplementum continens nova fragmenta Euripidea etc.</i> , ed. B. Snell, Hildesheim, 1964)
Nauck-Snell or N-Sn OGCMA	Supplement to Nauck (see above) <i>The Oxford Guide to Classical Mythology in the Arts, 1300-1990s</i> , ed. J. D. Reid, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1993)
Page, GLP	D. L. Page, <i>Select Papyri, III: Literary Papyri, Poetry</i> (London and Cambridge, MA, 1941: Loeb Classical Library no. 360)
PCG	<i>Poetae Comici Graeci</i> , ed. R. Kassel, C. Austin, 8 vols. in 10 (Berlin, 1983-)
Pechstein	N. Pechstein, <i>Euripides Satyrographos: Ein Kommentar zu den Euripideischen Satyrspielfragmenten</i> (Stuttgart-Leipzig, 1998)
P.	Papyrus (followed usually by the name of the place or the collection with which the papyrus is associated, and by the number assigned to the papyrus)
P. Oxy. PG	Oxyrhynchus Papyrus <i>Patrologiae cursus completus . . . series Graeca</i> , ed. J.-P. Migne, 161 vols. (Paris, 1857-66)

ABBREVIATIONS

PMG	<i>Poetae Melici Graeci</i> , ed. D. L. Page (Oxford, 1962)
PMGF	<i>Poetarum Melicorum Graecorum Fragmenta</i> , ed. M. Davies (Oxford, 1991–)
PSI	Publicazioni della Società italiana per la ricerca dei papiri greci e latini in Egitto
RAAN	<i>Rendiconti dell'Accademia di Archeologia, Lettere e Belle Arti di Napoli</i>
Rau, Paratragodia	P. Rau, <i>Paratragodia: Untersuchung einer komischen Form des Aristophanes</i> (Munich, 1967: <i>Zetemata</i> 45)
RFIC	<i>Rivista di Filologia e di Istruzione Classica</i>
Rhet. Gr.	<i>Rhetores Graeci</i> ed. C. Walz, 9 vols. (Stuttgart, 1832–6); ed. L. Spengel, 3 vols. (Leipzig, 1853–6)
RhM	<i>Rheinisches Museum</i>
SFP	<i>Euripides: Selected Fragmentary Plays</i> , Vol. 1 ed. C. Collard, M. J. Cropp, K. H. Lee (Warminster, 1995: corrected reprint with Addenda, Oxford, 2008); Vol. 2 ed. C. Collard, M. J. Cropp, J. Gibert (Oxford, 2004)
SIFC	<i>Studi Italiani di Filologia Classica</i>
Sourvinou-Inwood	C. Sourvinou-Inwood, <i>Tragedy and Athenian Religion</i> (Lanham, 2003)

ABBREVIATIONS

- TAPA** *Transactions of the American Philological Association*
- Taplin** Oliver Taplin, *Pots and Plays: Interactions between Tragedy and Greek Vase-painting of the Fourth Century B.C.* (Los Angeles, 2007)
- Todisco** L. Todisco and others, *La Ceramica figurata a soggetto tragico in Magna Grecia e in Sicilia* (Rome, 2003)
- Trendall–Webster** A. D. Trendall, T. B. L. Webster, *Illustrations of Greek Drama* (London, 1971)
- TrGF** *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. B. Snell, R. Kannicht, S. Radt, 5 vols. in 6 (Göttingen, 1971–2004)
- Van Looy (1964)** H. Van Looy, *Zes verloren Tragedies van Euripides* (Brussels, 1964)
- Van Rossum-Steenbeek** M. van Rossum-Steenbeek, *Greek Readers' Digests: Studies on a Selection of Subliterary Papyri* (Leiden, 1998: *Mnemosyne* Suppl. 175)
- Voelke** P. Voelke, *Un théâtre en marge: aspects figuratifs et configurationnels de drame satyrique dans l'Athènes classique* (Bari, 2001)
- Webster** T. B. L. Webster, *The Tragedies of Euripides* (London, 1967)

ABBREVIATIONS

Wilamowitz, <i>Analecta</i>	U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, <i>Analecta Euripidea</i> (Berlin, 1875)
Wilamowitz, <i>Kleine Schriften</i>	U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, <i>Kleine Schriften</i> , 6 vols. in 7 (Berlin, 1935-72)
ZPE	<i>Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik</i>

EURIPIDES

AEGEUS

H. Van Looy in ed. Budé VIII.1.1–13.

B. B. Shefton, *AJA* 60 (1956), 159–63; Webster 77–80, 297–8; Trendall–Webster III.3.1–3 (cf. Taplin no. 55); *LIMC* I.i.359–67 ‘Aigeus’; Aélion (1986), 220–2; S. Mills, *Theseus, Tragedy and the Athenian Empire* (Oxford, 1997), 234–45 and in A. Sommerstein (ed.), *Shards from Kolonos* (Bari, 2003), 219–32; C. Hahnemann, *Hermes* 127 (1999), 385–96 and in *Shards from Kolonos* 203–18.

According to the legend elaborated at Athens, Theseus was born and raised in Troezen by his mother Aethra without the knowledge of his father, Aegeus of Athens. On reaching maturity he obtained the tokens of his paternity—a sword and a pair of sandals—by lifting the rock under which Aegeus had concealed them. He then journeyed to Athens, slaying monsters and brigands as he went, in order to claim his heritage. Before he could do this he was recognized by the Colchian sorceress Medea, now living with Aegeus after fleeing from Corinth (cf. Medea 663–758). In what became the standard version of the story (see for example Plutarch, Theseus 12) Medea warned Aegeus that the heroic stranger was a dangerous rival and persuaded him to offer Theseus a poisoned cup, but at the last moment the king recognized the sword his son was carrying and dashed

EURIPIDES

*the cup from his lips; after their reunion Medea fled from Athens, and Theseus later undertook to subdue the savage Bull of Marathon. In a variant version found only in Apollodorus (Epit. 1.5-6 = test. *ii (a)) and the Vatican Mythographer (1.48 = test. *ii (b)), Medea first persuaded Aegeus to send Theseus against the Bull in the hope that it would kill him, and only attempted the poisoning after he had subdued it.*

The sparse fragments of Sophocles' and Euripides' Aegeus show that both plays told the story of Theseus' return in some form, but it is not clear how the 'standard' and 'variant' versions mentioned above relate to their plots. Sophocles' plot, which included the capture of the Bull (Soph. F 25), will have been close to the 'variant' version unless (as Mills suggests) it did not involve Medea at all. Euripides' plot is often reconstructed along the lines of the 'variant' version, F 1-2 coming from an early scene in which the arriving Theseus is questioned about his identity, F 3-4 referring to Medea, F 7a representing her warning to Aegeus about Theseus, and F 10-11 referring to Theseus' campaign against the Bull; but this last group could refer to other exploits, and Euripides' plot could in that case have approximated to the 'standard' version (as Hahnemann argues, attributing the 'variant' version to Sophocles). Inferences from the iconographic tradition are also difficult. Between 460 and 430 a series of vase paintings of Theseus with the captured Bull includes both Aegeus and a discomfited woman equipped with a jug and libation dish. After 430 the woman is usually marked by her oriental clothing as Medea, and in the earlier vases too she is more likely to be Medea than some other character. The change of style might be due to the production

AEGEUS

of Euripides' *Aegeus with an orientalized Medea* in the late 430s, or to the orientalizing presentation of *Medea in Medea* (of 431). Euripides' *Aegeus* probably preceded his *Medea*, but neither it nor Sophocles' play can be closely dated.

Brief fragments: F 11b 'man-killing', F 11c 'having endured the contest', F 12 'Panactus' (a border fortress on the road from Eleusis to Thebes), F 12a (a reference to *Medea* killing her brother), F 13 'cave-dwelling'. Other ascriptions: Auge F 271, Theseus F **386b; F 858, F 905.

Theseus' journey to Athens had been popular in Athenian art from about 520 B.C. onwards. His arrival and *Aegeus' anxious reaction* are the subject of a dithyramb of Bacchylides (*Bacchyl.* 18, probably earlier than Euripides' first production in 455). No other Greek tragedies on the subject are known. Ennius appears to have produced both a version of Euripides' *Medea* (distinguished by some sources as *Medea in Exile*) and a *Medea set at Athens* (see fr. 112 *Jocelyn*) which could have been a version of Euripides' *Aegeus*.

ΑΙΓΕΤΣ

1

ποίαν σε φῶμεν γαίαν ἐκλελοιπότα
πόλει ξενούσθαι τῆδε; τίς πάτρας ὄρος;
τίς ἐσθ' ὁ φύσας; τοῦ κεκήρυξαι πατρός;

Clement of Alexandria, *Miscellanies* 6.2.11.3

2

<ΧΟΡΟΣ?>

τί σε μάτηρ ἐν δεκάτῃ τόκον ὠνόμαζεν;

Schol. on Aristophanes, *Birds* 494 (similarly Suda δ 181)

3

δειλῶν γυναῖκες δεσποτῶν θρασύστομοι.

Stobaeus 4.22.161

4

πέφυκε γάρ πως παισὶ πολέμιον γυνῆ
τοῖς πρόσθεν ἢ ζυγείσα δευτέρα πατρί.

Stobaeus 4.22.157

2 δευτέρα πατρί Dindorf (δευτέρα Elmsley): δευτέρῳ πατρί
Stob. ms. M and probably others (δευτε.. πατρί ms. A, δευτέρῳ
πόσει ms. S after alteration)

AEGEUS

1

What land shall we say you have left to visit this city? What is your homeland's border? Who begot you, as whose son are you proclaimed?

2

<CHORUS?>

What did your mother name you on the tenth day after your birth?¹

¹ The sources cite this verse to illustrate the custom of naming children at a Tenth Day Feast.

3

Weak masters have outspoken wives.

4

A woman is naturally somewhat hostile towards the children of a previous marriage when she is their father's second wife.

EURIPIDES

5

εἰ μὴ καθέξεις γλῶσσαν, ἔσται σοι κακά.

Stobaeus 3.34.3

6

τί γὰρ πατρώας ἀνδρὶ φίλτερον χθονός;

Stobaeus 3.39.6

7

κρεῖσσον δὲ πλούτου καὶ βαθυσπόρου χθονὸς
ἀνδρῶν δικαίων καγαθῶν ὁμιλίας.

Orion 6.1 Haffner; Stobaeus 3.9.5 attributes a largely similar excerpt to Euripides' *Theseus*.

1 βαθυσπόρου χθονὸς Orion: πολυχρύσου χλιδῆς Stob.
2 ὁμιλίας Orion: παρουσίας Stob.

7a (= *Theseus* F 389 N)

ἀνὴρ γὰρ ὅστις χρημάτων μὲν ἐνδεής,
δρᾶσαι δὲ χειρὶ δυνατός, οὐκ ἀνέξεται
τὰ τῶν ἐχόντων χρήμαθ' ἀρπάζειν φιλεῖ.

Stobaeus 4.4.1, with attribution to Euripides' *Theseus* (cod. S)
or "Euripides' *Theseus Aegeus*" (mss. MA)

2-3 οὐκ ἀνέξεται . . . ἀρπάζειν φιλεῖ: οὐκ ἀφέξεται . . .
ἀρπάζειν βία Nauck 3 τῶν Valckenaer: τῶν δ' codd.

8

ἀνδρὸς <δ> ὑπ' ἐσθλοῦ καὶ τυραννέισθαι καλόν.

Stobaeus 4.6.6

AEGEUS

5

If you don't restrain your tongue, it will be the worse for you.

6

What is dearer to a man than his ancestral land?

7

The company of just and virtuous men is worth more than wealth and fertile land.¹

¹ Cf. *Erechtheus* F 362.21 with note.

7a (= *Theseus* F 389 N)

A man who lacks possessions but has the ability to act forcefully will not hold back; he likes to seize¹ the possessions of those who are well off.

¹ Nauck smoothed the slightly abrupt sequence from v. 1 to v. 2 with 'will not refrain from seizing by force . . . '.

8

It is a fine thing even to be ruled by a noble man.

EURIPIDES

9

<ΧΟΡΟΣ>

ἧ που κρείσσον τῆς εὐγενίας
τὸ καλῶς πράσσειν.

Stobaeus 4.29.9

10

<ΘΗΣΕΥΣ?>

κατθανεῖν δ' ὀφείλεται
καὶ τῷ κατ' οἴκους ἐκτὸς ἡμένω πόνων.

Stobaeus 4.51.6

11

<ΧΟΡΟΣ>

ἔστι καὶ πταίσαντ' ἀρετὰν ἀποδείξασθαι θανάτῳ.

Stobaeus 3.1.61; P. Berlin 12311 (ostrakon, ed. P. Viereck in
Raccolta . . . G. Lombroso, 1925)

11a

κρήνης πάροιθεν ἀνθεμόστρωτον λέχος

Photius, *Lexicon* α 1949 Theodoridis

AEGEUS

9

<CHORUS>

Assuredly fine conduct is worth more than noble birth.

10

<THESEUS?>

Death is due even to a man who sits at home avoiding adversity.

11

<CHORUS>

Even if one falls, one can exhibit virtue in death.

11a

. . . in front of the spring, a flower-strewn bed . . . ¹

¹ Possibly from a description of Theseus seducing the daughter of one of his brigand victims, Sinis or Kerkyon (Plutarch, *Theseus* 8.3-5; 29.1).

AEOLUS

H. Van Looy in ed. Budé VIII.1.15–37.

Webster 157–60, 303; M. Labate, *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa* 3.7 (1977), 583–93; S. Jaekel, *Grazer Beiträge* 8 (1979), 101–18; *LIMC* I.i.398–9 ‘Aiolos’; Gantz 169; C. Mülke, *ZPE* 114 (1996), 37–55, esp. 53–5; S. Casali, *Mnemosyne* 51 (1998), 700–10.

Aeolus (son of Hippotes), master of the winds, lived on remote islands in the western Mediterranean; he had six sons and six daughters: see Homer, Odyssey 10.1–12 with Scholia, where his life's story is idyllic. In Euripides, however, one of his sons, Macareus, fell in love with a sister, Canace, and made her pregnant. With the complicity of her nurse she alone, or Macareus too, concealed the imminent birth; and Macareus further deceived Aeolus by proposing that his children should intermarry. Aeolus agreed, but ruled that their unions should be decided by lot. Macareus did not draw Canace as wife; and she had now given birth to a son. An attempt to hide the child from Aeolus failed; he ordered its death by exposure and sent Canace a sword with which to kill herself. Macareus may have considered, or been offered, exile as punishment, but preferred suicide upon Canace's body. The baby boy seems nevertheless to have survived; named Triopas, he founded

a house of the Aeolids (but myth confuses this Aeolus and Macareus with the Thessalian Aeolus son of Hellen and his sons and dynasty, for whom see our Introduction to Melanippe Wise with F 481).

The narrative hypothesis in P. Oxy. 2457 (test. ii below) takes us just beyond Macareus' failure in the lottery; F 13a-25 lie within its span. The play's ominous first line (F 13a) was probably spoken by the nurse, already aware of Canace's pregnancy and probably helping to conceal it (as in Cretans F 472e.47, cf. 472f.29-30); F 14 may also come from her prologue. Hopes by Aeolus for a brilliant dynasty (F 15, 16) may have followed with ironic effect, perhaps before the parodos of the chorus, who are unidentifiable girls (F 17 + 18). Macareus' proposal to Aeolus and his agreement no doubt made an agôn scene; the issues were wealth, nobility and morality (F 19-22) in marriage, and the power of sex (F 23, 24)—all favourite 'social' topics for Euripides. The Chorus's F 24b hints at danger from man's ingenuity (Macareus' proposal?), and may have contained fear for the lottery's outcome (F 24a). Probably the lots were drawn off-stage (but would have made good theatre, like the voting scene in Aeschylus' Eumenides). By F 25 Aeolus is disillusioned, so that he must have discovered the baby (cf. the end of the hypothesis). How, and how quickly, Canace's death followed cannot be known: her long 'monologue' in Ovid before her suicide need not reflect a monologue (or a monody) in Euripides, although such a stage moment would be typical of the poet. F 26 may be a report of her death, perhaps also that of Macareus; F 30 (Macareus rejecting exile?) and F 31 (Aeolus advised against vindictiveness) may both be earlier; F 36 (Aeolus?, Chorus?) appears to condemn the Nurse's complicity.



EURIPIDES

Most of F 28–39 are gnomic, expressing the aftermath of disaster (F 32–35) or fate's and the gods' cruel unpredictability (F 37, 38: cf. F 13a). In the theatre a god (Athena?) perhaps vouchsafed the baby's future (cf. Lloyd-Jones [app. to test. ii below], Webster), comforted Aeolus, and warned men to avoid incestuous marriage (Mülke, who documents its proscription in contemporary Athens). F 28 and 29 defy location.

*Brief fragments: F 40 'strengthless', F 41 'to be fully grown' (a metaphor from horses' shedding milk-teeth, possibly referring to Aeolus' complete misery?). Other ascriptions: F 989 (= *41a N–Sn) 'lottery (is) the child of chance': cf. F 24a.*

Aeolus is parodied in Aristophanes' Clouds of 423 B.C. (vv. 1370–3 with Scholia = test. iva) and Peace of 421 (see F 17–18). The metrical style is characteristic of the first half of Euripides' career (Cropp–Fick 72), and in subject-matter Aeolus resembles several other plays from that period which treated women's delinquent or perverse sexual behaviour (Cretan Women, Cretans, Hippolytus Veiled, Stheneboea).

The shape Euripides gave this story was definitive; almost all other accounts are later and derivative (Gantz 169): artistic (Canace's suicide is identified on a Lucanian hydria of 425–400 B.C. = test. vi, LIMC no. 1, Trendall–Webster III.3.4, Todisco L 4, Taplin no. 56), poetic (Ovid, Heroides 11 = test. viib), or scholarly (Sostratus FGrH 23 F 3 = test. iiiia, cf. [Plutarch], Moralia 312c–d). Lycophron (3rd c. B.C.) wrote an Aeolus and an Aeolides; both are mere titles, the second ('Grandson of Aeolus') may refer to Canace's baby; but both may have treated rather the Thessalian Aeolids. Euripides' play provided repeated fun

AEOLUS

for Aristophanes in Peace (above), Frogs 1475 (= F 19) etc., and around 390 B.C. in two plays called Aeolosicon ('Aeolus the Cook'?). In the 4th century Antiphanes and Eriphus each wrote a comic Aeolus; but no Latin derivatives are known. Ovid's Heroides 11 seems to reflect much of Euripides' incident and perhaps his depiction of Canace (Labate, Casali). Suetonius, Nero 21 alleges that the emperor performed 'Canace giving birth'.

ΑΙΟΛΟΣ

test. ii (Hypothesis)

Αἴολος, οὗ [ἀρ]χή·

ἦ δεινὰ καὶ δύσγνωστα βουλευεῖ θεός·
 20 ἦ δὲ ὑπόθεσις·

Αἴολος παρὰ θεῶν ἔχων τὴν τῶν ἀνέμων δ[υνάστει-
 αν ᾤκησεν ἐν ταῖς κατὰ Τυρρηνίαν νήσο[ις] υἱὸς ἕξ
 καὶ θυγατέρας τὰς ἴσας γεγεννηκώς· τ[ούτων] δ' ὁ
 νεώτατος Μακαρεὺς μίᾳς τῶν ἀδελ[φῶν] ἐ-
 25 ρασθεῖς διέφθειρεν ἢ δ' ἔγκνος γενη[θείσα]
 τὸν τόκον ἔκρυπτεν τῷ νοσεῖν προ[σποιη-
 τῶς]· ὁ δὲ νεανίσκος ἔπεισε τὸν πατέρα [τὰς θυ-
 γατέρας συνοικίσαι τοῖς υἱοῖς· ὁ δὲ συνκα[λεσά-
 μενος κληῖρον τοῦ γάμου πᾶσιν ἐξέθη[κεν]
 30 πταισας δὲ περὶ τὸν πάλον ὁ ταῦτα μ[ηχα-
 νησάμενος] ἠτύχει· τὴν γὰρ ὑπὸ τούτου [διεφθαρ-
 μένην κληῖρος πρὸς ἄλλου συμβίωσ[ιν ἐνυμ-
 φαγώ[γει] συνδραμόντες δ' εἰς τὸ αὐτ[ὸ]
 κουτ[...].ι τὸ μὲν γεννηθὲν ἢ τροφὸς [

P. Oxy. 2457.18–34, ed. E. Turner (1962); cf. H. Lloyd-Jones, *Gnomon* 35 (1963), 443–4, Austin, *NFE* 88–9.

21–2 δ[υνάστει]αν Diggle: δ[εσποτεί]αν Kassel: δ[ιοίκησιν] |

AEOLUS

test. ii (Hypothesis)

Aeolus, which begins 'The designs of heaven are indeed
frightening and inscrutable'. The plot is this: Aeolus, who had 20
the mastery of the winds from the gods and lived on the islands
off Etruria, had fathered six sons and as many daughters. The
youngest of these,¹ Macareus, fell in love with one of his sis- 25
ters and violated her; she became pregnant and hid the birth
by pretending illness. The young man persuaded his father to
marry his daughters to his sons; calling them together, Aeolus
made them draw lots for their marriage. But the one who had 30
contrived this was unlucky and so failed, for the lot betrothed
the daughter he had violated into living with another son.
They² ran to the same (place?) to meet each other . . . the nurse
. . . the newborn child . . .

¹ Macareus is 'youngest' also in [Plutarch], *Moralia* 312c, 'oldest' in Stobaeus 4.20.72. ² Reference not clear, but probably Macareus and Canace.

ἀνώκησεν Turner 24 ἀδελ[φῶν Κανάκης ἐ- van Rossum
29 ἐξέθη[κεν Snell: ἐξεφα[ίνετο Turner

EURIPIDES

13a (= 947 N)

ἦ δεινὰ καὶ δύσγνωστα βουλευεὶ θεός.

P. Oxy. 2457.19 (see Hypothesis above); also Orion, Euripidean Appendix 3 Haffner

14

Ἡ δὲ Σαλμώνη πλησίον ἐστὶ τῆς ὁμωνύμου κρήνης, ἐξ ἧς ρεῖ ὁ Ἐνιπεύς . . . τούτου δ' ἐρασθήναι τὴν Τυρώ φασιν . . . ἐνταῦθα γὰρ βασιλεῦσαι τὸν πατέρα αὐτῆς τὸν Σαλμωνέα, καθάπερ καὶ Εὐριπίδης ἐν Αἰόλῳ φησί.

Strabo 8.3.32

15

< ΑΙΟΛΟΣ >

ἴδοιμι δ' αὐτῶν ἔκγον' ἄρσεν' ἄρσένων·
 πρῶτον μὲν εἶδος ἄξιον τυραννίδος·
 πλείστη γὰρ ἀρετὴ τοῦθ' ὑπάρχον ἐν βίῳ,
 τὴν ἀξίωσιν τῶν καλῶν τὸ σῶμ' ἔχειν.

Stobaeus 4.21.1; v. 2: Athenaeus 13.566b and (without attributions) in many later authors

16

< ΑΙΟΛΟΣ? >

λαμπροὶ δ' ἐν αἰχμαῖς Ἄρεος ἐν τε συλλόγοις,
 μή μοι τὰ κομφὰ ποικίλοι γενοῖατο,
 ἀλλ' ὦν πόλει δεῖ μεγάλα βουλευόντες εὔ.

Stobaeus 4.4.13; vv. 2-3: Aristotle, *Politics* 1277a19 (μή μοι τὰ κόμφ', ἀλλ' ὦν πόλει δεῖ)

3 μεγάλα suspect: χρηστὰ Kannicht

18

AEOLUS

13a (= 947 N)

The designs of heaven are indeed frightening and inscrutable.

14

Salmone is near the spring of the same name, from which flows the river Enipeus . . . they say Tyro fell in love with the river . . . for the king there was her father Salmoneus, as Euripides too says in *Aeolus*.¹

¹ Strabo is describing Pisa in the western Peloponnese. For Tyro see especially Homer, *Odyssey* 11.235-59 and the remains of Sophocles' two *Tyro* plays; Gantz 171-3.

15

<AEOLUS>

May I see children from them, sons for my sons! In the first place, (may I see in them) good looks worthy of kingship; for excellence in life is greatest when this underlies it, a body indicative of fine qualities.¹

¹ Beauty of body, beauty of deeds done (not only athletic): Pindar, *Olympians* 9.94, *Nemeans* 3.19 etc.

16

<AEOLUS?>

May they be brilliant amid the spears of War and in debates, not devious I hope with sophistries but good with counsel needed by the city upon great matters.

EURIPIDES

17 + 18

<ΧΟΡΟΣ>

- 17 ἄρ' ἔτυμον φάτιν ἔγνων < . . . >
 Αἴολος εὐνάζειν τέκνα φίλτατα . . .

<—>

- 18 δοξάσαι ἔστι, κόραι· τὸ δ' ἐτήτυμον οὐκ ἔχω
 εἰπεῖν.

Aristophanes, *Peace* 114–9 with Schol. on 114 (F 17) and 119 (F 18)

17.1 < . . . > Collard 17.2 Αἴολος omitted by ms. R: Αἴολον Dindorf; Αἴολος with e.g. ὡς μέλλει Kannicht

19

<ΜΑΚΑΡΕΤΣ>

τί δ' αἰσχρὸν ἦν μὴ τοῖσι χρωμένοις δοκῆ;

Aristophanes, *Frogs* 1475 (parodied with τοῖς θεωμένοις 'to the spectators') and Schol.; Plutarch, *Moralia* 33c; Machon 410 Gow; anthologists.

20

μὴ πλοῦτον εἶπης· οὐχὶ θαυμάζω θεόν,
 ὃν χῶ κάκιστος ραδίως ἐκτήσατο.

Stobaeus 4.31.61, cf. 3.3.1; Athenaeus 4.159c; Plutarch, *Moralia* 34d; and others.

AEOLUS

17 + 18

<CHORUS>

Is the report that I learned true . . . Aeolus . . . to mate his own dearest children to . . . ?¹

<—>

It may be conjectured, girls; but I cannot tell what is true.

¹ The text is ungrammatical and probably defective: 'that Aeolus is mating' Dindorf; '(that) Aeolus (intends) to mate' suggested by Kannicht.

19

<MACAREUS>

What is shameful, if it does not seem so to those practising it?¹

¹ Aristophanes' parody of this line made it a notorious example of Euripides' moral equivocation. Macareus may be arguing his proposal (so Kannicht) rather than defending his rape after it has been revealed.

20

Don't mention wealth: I do not admire a god of whom even the basest man can easily get possession.¹

¹ Probably Macareus: cf. F 22.

EURIPIDES

21

< ΑΙΟΛΟΣ >

- δοκεῖτ' ἂν οἰκέειν γῆν ἐν ἧ πένης ἅπας
 λαὸς πολιτεύοιτο πλουσίων ἄτερ;
 οὐκ ἂν γένοιτο χωρὶς ἐσθλὰ καὶ κακά,
 ἀλλ' ἔστι τις σύγκρασις, ὥστ' ἔχειν καλῶς.
 5 ἃ μὴ γάρ ἐστι τῷ πένητι, πλούσιος
 δίδωσ'· ἃ δ' οἱ πλουτοῦντες οὐ κεκτήμεθα,
 τοῖσιν πένησι χρώμενοι τιμώμεθα.

Stobaeus 4.1.20; vv. 3–4: Plutarch, *Moralia* 369b and 474a and
 (οὐκ ἂν . . . σύγκρασις) 25c; v. 3: Theophrastus, *Metaphysics* 18

1 γῆν ἐν ἧ Cropp: γᾶν εἰ Stob. 7 τιμώμεθα suspect:
 θηρώμεθα Bergler

22

< ΜΑΚΑΡΕΥΣ >

- τὴν δ' εὐγένειαν πρὸς θεῶν μὴ μοι λέγε,
 ἐν χρήμασιν τόδ' ἐστί· μὴ γαυροῦ, πάτερ.
 κύκλω γὰρ ἔρπει τῷ μὲν ἔσθ', ὁ δ' οὐκ ἔχει
 κοινοῖσι δ' αὐτοῖς χρώμεθ'· ᾧ δ' ἂν ἐν δόμοις
 5 χρόνον συνοικῆ πλείστον, οὗτος εὐγενής.

Stobaeus 4.31.24

5 εὐγενής Grotius: εὐτυχής Stob.

23

- ἀλλ' ἢ τὸ γῆρας τὴν Κύπριν χαίρειν ἔᾶ,
 ἦ τ' Ἀφροδίτη τοῖς γέρονσιν ἄχθεται . . .

AEOLUS

21

<AEOLUS>

Do you think you could live in a country where the entire population of its poor governed the city without the rich? Good and bad would not be separate; yet there is a mixture of them where things can be well. What the poor man does not have, the rich one gives; and what we rich do not possess, we get through our dealings with the poor: honour.¹ 5

¹ 'honour' is suspect: 'we pursue through our dealings with the poor', Bergler.

22

<MACAREUS>

Don't speak to me of nobility, in heaven's name! This depends upon money—don't take pride in it, father! Money goes around in a circle: one man has it, another doesn't; but we use it as common to all; and whoever has it dwelling with him in his house the longest time is noble.¹

¹ Nobility identified with wealth: cf. *Alcmene* F 95, *Erechtheus* F 362.14–15, *Cretan Women* F 462.5 etc. Grotius corrected Stobaeus' 'is fortunate'.

23

But either old age really does bid sex farewell, and Aphrodite is displeased with the old . . .

Stobaeus 4.50.71; Plutarch, *Moralia* 285b; v. 2: *Moralia* 786a and 1094f.

I ἀλλ' ἦ (Nauck) and ἀλλ' ἦ (interrogative: Stob., Plut.) are both doubted

EURIPIDES

24

< ΑΙΟΛΟΣ >

κακὸν γυναῖκα πρὸς νέαν ζεῦξαι νέον·
μακρὰ γὰρ ἰσχύς μᾶλλον ἀρσένων μένει,
θήλεια δ' ἤβη θᾶσσον ἐκλείπει δέμας.

Stobaeus 4.22.111; v. 1: Clement of Alexandria, *Miscellanies* 6.2.8.4

24a (= 39 N)

Κλῆρος Ἑρμοῦ· συνήθεια ἀρχαία· ἔβαλλον οἱ κληροῦν-
τες εἰς ὑδρίαν ἐλαίας φύλλον, ὃ προσηγόρευον Ἑρμῆν·
καὶ πρῶτον ἐξήρουν τοῦτο, τιμὴν τῷ θεῷ ταύτην ἀπονέ-
μοντες· ἐλάγχανεν δὲ ὁ μετὰ τὸν θεόν. Εὐριπίδης ἐν
Αἰόλῳ μνημονεύει τοῦ ἔθους τούτου.

Photius, *Lexicon* κ 774 Theodoridis = *Suda* κ 1785; Eusta-
thius on Homer, *Iliad* 7.191; references in other lexica

24b (= 27 N)

ΧΟΡΟΣ

ἦ βραχύ τοι σθένος ἀνέρος· ἀλλὰ
ποικιλία πραπίδων
δεινὰ μὲν πόντου χθονίων τ' ὀρέων
δάμναται παιδεύματα.

Plutarch, *Moralia* 98e and 959d; vv. 1-2: Stobaeus 4.13.4

3-4 τ' ὀρέων Wilamowitz; δὲ ὀρέων or τ' ἀερίων τε Plut. 98e
(959d is corrupt and disordered)

AEOLUS

24

< AEOLUS >

It is bad to join a young man with a young wife; for males' vigour is longer lasting, while a woman's youth abandons her body more quickly.

24a (= 39 N)

'Hermes' lottery': an ancient custom. Those drawing lots threw into an urn an olive leaf, which they called 'Hermes'; they drew this first, apportioning this honour to the gods; and the winner was the one who drew after the god. Euripides in *Aeolus* mentions this custom.¹

¹ Cf. test. ii (Hypothesis), 29–33. Hermes was god of luck.

24b (= 27 N)

CHORUS

A man's strength is indeed slight; but his ingenuity of mind overcomes the terrible offspring of the sea and of earth's mountains.¹

¹ Cf. Sophocles, *Antigone* 342–50, in the 'hymn' to man's extraordinary abilities.

EURIPIDES

25

< ΑΙΟΛΟΣ >

φεῦ φεῦ, παλαιὸς αἶνος ὡς καλῶς ἔχει·
 γέροντες οὐδέν ἔσμεν ἄλλο πλὴν ψόφος
 καὶ σχῆμ', ὀνείρων δ' ἔρπομεν μιμήματα·
 νοῦς δ' οὐκ ἔνεστιν, οἴόμεσθα δ' εὖ φρονεῖν.

Stobaeus 4.50.38; v. 1 = *Dictys* F 333.1

26

τῇ δ' Ἀφροδίτῃ πόλλ' ἔνεστι ποικίλα·
 τέρπει τε γὰρ μάλιστα καὶ λυπεῖ βροτούς·
 τύχοιμι δ' αὐτῆς ἡνίκ' ἔστιν εὐμενής.

Stobaeus 4.20.1

(27 N = 24b above)

28

παῖδες, σοφοῦ πρὸς ἀνδρός, ὅστις ἐν βραχεῖ
 πολλοὺς καλῶς οἴος τε συντέμνειν λόγους.

Stobaeus 3.35.3; σοφοῦ . . . λόγους = Aristophanes, *Women at the Thesmophoria* 177–8

29

σιγᾶν †φρονούντα κρεῖσσον ἢ εἰς ὀμιλίαν†
 πεσόντα· τούτῳ δ' ἀνδρὶ μήτ' εἶην φίλος
 μήτε ξυνείην, ὅστις αὐτάρκη φρονεῖν
 πέποιθε δούλους τοὺς φίλους ἡγούμενος.

Stobaeus 3.22.14

AEOLUS

25

<AEOLUS>

Oh, alas, how true the ancient saying is: we old men are nothing but noise and mere shapes,¹ and we move as imitations of dreams; there is no intelligence in us, yet we think we have good sense.

¹ Similarly *Melanippe* F 509, *Andromache* 745–6, *Heracles* 111–2.

26

Aphrodite is very fickle; she brings men the greatest delights and the greatest pains. I wish I may meet with her when she is kind!

(27 N = 24b above)

28

My children, it's a clever man who has the ability to condense many words well in a brief space.

29

†A thinking man(?) is better† silent †than when fallen into company†.¹ I wish I may be neither friend nor companion to the man who believes his thoughts are self-sufficient while deeming his friends slaves.

¹ Textual corruption in v. 1 obscures the progression of ideas into vv. 2–4. 'Silence is better when one has fallen into the company of thinking men', Bothe ('a thinking man', Wilamowitz). 'A thinking man is better silent < . . . > (than/or) when fallen into the company < . . . >', Collard.

¹ φρονούντων (-ος Wilamowitz) κρείσσον εἰς Bothe: lacuna after κρείσσον (and ἢ corrupt)? Collard

EURIPIDES

30

ἀλλ' ὅμως
οἰκτρὸς τις αἰὼν πατρίδος ἐκλιπεῖν ὄρους.

Stobaeus 3.39.5

31

ὀργῇ γὰρ ὅστις εὐθέως χαρίζεται,
κακῶς τελευτᾷ· πλείστα γὰρ σφάλλει βροτούς.

Stobaeus 3.20.7

32

κακῆς <ἀπ' > ἀρχῆς γίγνεται τέλος κακόν.

Stobaeus 3.4.11

33

οἴμοι, τίς ἀλγεῖν οὐκ ἐπίσταται κακοῖς;
τίς ἂν κλύων τῶνδ' οὐκ ἂν ἐκβάλοι δάκρυ;

Stobaeus 4.49.9

34

γλυκεῖα γάρ μοι φροντὶς οὐδαμῆ βίου.

Stobaeus 4.34.31

35

αἰὲ τὸ μὲν ζῆ, τὸ δὲ μεθίσταται κακόν,
τὸ δ' ἐκπέφηνεν αὐθις ἐξ ἀρχῆς νέον.

Stobaeus 4.40.10

AEOLUS

30

. . . but still it is a pretty miserable life to leave behind the borders of one's fatherland.

31

The man who immediately gratifies anger, meets a bad end; for it very often trips men up.

32

A bad end comes from a bad beginning.

33

Oh me! Who does not know how to feel pain for others' troubles? Who could hear these things and not shed a tear?

34

Nowhere in my life do I have a pleasant thought.

35

There is always one trouble alive and well, with another giving way, while another appears in turn fresh from the beginning.

EURIPIDES

36

γυναῑκα δ' ὅστις παύσεται λέγων κακῶς,
 δύστηνος ἄρα κού σοφὸς κεκλήσεται.

Stobaeus 4.22.155

37

μοχθεῖν ἀνάγκη· τὰς δὲ δαιμόνων τύχας
 ὅστις φέρει κάλλιστ' ἀνὴρ, οὗτος σοφός.

Stobaeus 4.44.49

38

τὰ πόλλ' ἀνάγκη διαφέρει τολμήματα.

Stobaeus 4.9.6

**38a (= 112 N)

ὁ χρόνος ἅπαντα τοῖσιν ὕστερον φράσει.

Stobaeus 1.8.20, with attribution uncertainly read as *Aeolus*, *Alope* (= F 112 N) or some other play; the lemma may be misplaced. Stobaeus attaches a second, corrupt verse, ἄλλος ἐστὶν οὗτος, οὐκ ἐρωτῶσιν λέγει ('he is another(?), he speaks to those who do not ask'), probably a comic fragment whose lemma has been lost (see PCG VII.317).

(39 N = 24a above)

AEOLUS

36

The man who will stop speaking ill of a woman will in fact be called a wretch and short of understanding.

37

Suffering is inevitable. The man who bears most nobly what fortune the gods give, is wise.

38

Fate defers most bold ventures.¹

¹ Or (e.g.) 'Fate diverts . . .'; any translation is insecure without the context.

**38a (= 112 N)

*Time will tell future men everything.*¹

¹ Cf. *Alexander* F 60, *Antiope* F 222, 223.107, *Bellerophon* F 303, *Hippolytus Veiled* F 441.

(39 N = 24a above)

ALEXANDER

B. Snell, *Euripides Alexandros etc.* (Berlin, 1937), 1–68; R. A. Coles, *A New Oxyrhynchus Papyrus: the Hypothesis of Euripides' Alexandros* (London, 1974); Diggle, *TrGFS* 80–4 (Hypothesis and F 46, 61d, 62a, 62d); F. Jouan in ed. Budé VIII.1.39–76; M. Cropp in *SFP* II.35–91. See also under test. iii and F 46 below.

G. Murray, *Greek Studies* (Oxford, 1946), 127–44 (orig. 1932); J. Davreux, *La légende de la prophétesse Cassandre* (Liège, 1942), 37–41, 108–17 with Figs. 7–21; D. Lanza, *SIFC* 34 (1963), 230–45; J. Hanson, *Hermes* 92 (1964), 171–81; T. C. W. Stinton, *Euripides and the Judgement of Paris* (London, 1965: repr. in *Collected Papers*, Oxford, 1990), 64–71; Jouan (1966), 113–42; Webster 165–74; G. Koniaris, *HSCP* 77 (1973), 85–124; R. Scodel, *The Trojan Trilogy of Euripides* (Göttingen, 1980), 20–42, 68–121, 138–42; *LIMC* I.i.494–7, 500–5, 523, 526–8 'Alexandros'; D. Kovacs, *HSCP* 88 (1984), 47–70; M. Huys, *ZPE* 62 (1986), 9–36 and *The Tale*, relevant sections; M. Hose, *Drama und Gesellschaft* (Stuttgart, 1995), 36–45; S. Timpanaro, *RFIC* 124 (1996), 5–70; Matthiessen 251–3.

Alexander is the alternative name of Paris, prince of Troy. Before he was born his mother Hecuba dreamed she would give birth to a firebrand; her daughter Cassandra inter-

EURIPIDES

preted this, correctly, as meaning he would cause the destruction of Troy. Hecuba and Priam therefore had the baby exposed to die, but he was spared and reared by peasants on Mount Ida. After reaching maturity Paris returned unknown to Troy and competed as an outsider in the athletic games instituted by the king and queen to commemorate their supposedly dead son. He was so successful that the jealous queen and her sons tried to kill him, but his identity was discovered in the nick of time; he was accepted into the family, and as foretold went on to bring about Troy's ruin through the abduction of Helen.

The story of Paris as a 'curse-child' may have been an old one, but the dream is first known to us in a papyrus fragment of Pindar's Paeans (fr. 52i(A).14-25 Snell-Maehler), and the story of Paris's exposure, return and recognition appears first in tragedy. Sophocles seems to have told a similar story in his Alexander, probably before Euripides; its few fragments (F 91a-100a) include mention of town and country people, midwifery and suckling, and a herdsman defeating townsmen. Sophocles' plot may be more or less closely reflected in Hyginus, Fab. 91 (= test. iob(2)), in which Paris competes in the games in order to win back a favourite bull commandeered as a prize. Euripides elsewhere mentions Hecuba's failure to kill the baby Paris (Andromache 293-300, Trojan Women 597-8, 919-21) and the exposure and rustic upbringing (IA 1283-99); perhaps also the torch-dream (Trojan Women 922, but this may be an interpolation). In his Alexander the drama was built around a conflict between Paris and his fellow-herdsmen, Priam's decision to admit him to the games, and the characters of Hecuba and Paris—a grieving mother turn-

ing to murder, and a young man who by proving his nobility and talents achieves his destiny as destroyer of Troy.

Much of the play's outline can be inferred from the papyrus hypothesis (test. iii) and the numerous fragments, especially those in the Strasbourg papyrus (published in 1922 and partly re-organized by Coles when he published the Oxyrhynchus hypothesis in 1974). The play was set before the royal palace, with the temple of Apollo probably close by. The Chorus probably comprised Trojan women (friends of the dramatically central Hecuba). A prologue speech giving the story of Paris's early life and the context of the impending games (test. iii.4-14, F 41a-42d) was delivered either by a god such as Aphrodite or Hermes, or possibly by Paris's foster-father, a herdsman. F 43-46 are plausibly assigned to a parodos and following dialogue in which the chorus consoled Hecuba's grief over her long-lost son. If Wilamowitz's supplements at the end of F 46 are correct (see note there), Cassandra then entered, presumably to converse with Hecuba, although the Hypothesis overlooks this scene and the purpose of Cassandra's appearance is unclear; if she delivered prophecies about Paris at this point as Snell suggested, these would have anticipated those at the end of the play. F 46a seems to represent a further scene in which Priam discusses the preparations for the games, perhaps with Hecuba. Then came the entrance of a secondary chorus of herdsmen arraigning Paris before Priam because of his 'arrogant behaviour' towards them (test. iii.15-17, test. v). The shape of the ensuing episode is unclear, but the accusations of the herdsmen seem to have given way to a rhetorical debate in which an opponent attacked Paris's slave background and resisted his ad-

EURIPIDES

mission to the games (F 48–51; and F 59^p), Paris defended himself successfully (test. iii.17–19, F 55; also F 56–57, 61^p), and Priam was led to allow Paris to compete (test. iii.19–21, F 60); the choral reflections on true nobility (F 61b–c) probably come from a stasimon following this debate. The identity of the opponent is something of a mystery: Deiphobus seems a likely candidate in view of his later hostility to Paris (test. iii.22–5, F 62a–d), but a son of Priam can hardly have addressed to him the condescending F 48 (this might however be attributed to the chorus leader). Hecuba herself seems a plausible choice, giving a drama built consistently, and in Euripidean style, around a conflicted female character.

The games and Paris's successes in them were reported, probably to Hecuba, in a messenger's speech (F 61d; also F 61a, 54^p). Then Hector and Deiphobus returned, and a scene in which Deiphobus and Hecuba plotted to murder Paris despite Hector's objections is well represented by the papyrus fragments F 62a–d (perhaps from five consecutive papyrus columns and spanning around 170 lines of text: cf. Coles 35–58, Huys [1986]). In F 62d col. iii their plot is complete and the chorus excitedly anticipates its fulfilment, then greets a newly arriving person who may well be Alexander himself, lured into the trap (cf. F 62d.27–9) like other tragic victims such as Lycus in both Heracles and Antiope. Although the Hypothesis identifies Hecuba as his prospective killer (test. iii.24–5, 29), it seems likely (as Huys argues) that she was to be aided by Deiphobus and/or some subordinates; but the paucity of the remaining fragments leaves the ensuing action very unclear. The Hypothesis (test. iii.25–32) has Alexander arriving, Cassandra

recognizing him in a mantic fit (cf. most or all of F 62e-h), Hecuba prevented from killing him, and his foster-father arriving to confirm his identity; this presumably led to a re-union celebration (F 62[?]). Later iconography (see below) suggests that Paris had taken refuge at the altar of Zeus (F 62i[?]), as in Hyginus. Such a sequence seems to require the almost continuous presence of Hecuba and Paris, in which case the actor playing Cassandra must have exited after her prophecies so as to reappear as the foster-father, and Deiphobus (let alone Priam) can hardly have had a speaking role at this point; perhaps he waited in the palace while Hecuba persuaded Paris to go inside, and he could have reappeared as a mute as Paris emerged fleeing to the altar. For suggested reconstructions more or less close to the Hypothesis see especially Scodel 35-8, Jouan in ed. Budé 53-7, Timpanaro 47-9. A divine speech at the end is unlikely since the future had to remain unknown to everyone except Cassandra (cf. Lanza 232-5, Scodel 39-40, Timpanaro 66-8).

Brief fragments: F 62k (further scraps of P. Strasbourg with a few words), F 63 'the unnamed maiden' (i.e. Persephone). Other ascriptions: F 867, 937-8 (see note there), 958, 960, 976, 1050, 1068, 1082 (see note); adesp. F 71 'I call to witness the (majesty[?]) of Zeus Herkeios', adesp. F 286 'How like Priam's sons this herdsman is!', adesp. F 289 'Out came the Hector's and the Sarpedon's'; adesp. F 721b-c perhaps includes a few damaged lines from Cassandra's prophetic speech.

Alexander was the first play of Euripides' 'Trojan trilogy' of 415 B.C., with Palamedes and the extant Trojan Women; the satyr play was Sisyphus. Our source for this

EURIPIDES

information (Aelian, Historical Miscellanies 2.8.) complains that Xenocles with his Oedipus, Lycaon, Bacchae and Athamas was awarded first prize ahead of Euripides. There must have been a broad thematic coherence between Alexander and Trojan Women (and possibly Palamedes) insofar as the fate of Troy was concerned, but the earlier play's events are surprisingly unprominent in the later one, despite the strong presences of Hecuba and Cassandra in both; the survival of Paris is mentioned only at Tro. 597–8 and 919–21. Still, the ironies implicit in Alexander's particular working out of the recognition-and-reunion plot, by contrast with its normal culmination in joy and release, must have been strongly felt, as they are in Sophocles' Oedipus. And we can sense from the fragments how the characters of Hecuba, Priam and Paris will have been portrayed as elements in the fulfilment of Troy's fate.

Sophocles' Alexander has been mentioned above, and a third Alexander is recorded, by the Hellenistic tragedian Nicomachus of Alexandria Troas (TrGF 127 F 1). Ennius' Latin Alexander is said by Varro to have been modelled on Euripides' play; its fragments (included in ed. Budé 77–80, SFP II.88–91) provide useful supplementation for the prologue speech, the report of the games, and Cassandra's mantic scene (also possibly the earlier dialogue between Cassandra and Hecuba), although they do not certainly replicate Euripides. Nothing in Greek art can be confidently connected with the play, but many Etruscan mirrors and ash-urns show Paris taking sanctuary on the altar and attacked by a male and/or a female figure (Deiphobus and Hecuba?), sometimes with supporting figures (see Davreux 108–17, LIMC nos. 19–43); these may reflect loosely the Euripidean plot and a Greek icono-

ALEXANDER

graphic tradition lost to us. Beyond that the story of Paris's exposure and return appears infrequently in extant classical literature and art, but see Ovid, Heroides 16.43ff., 89ff., 359ff., 17.237ff., 'Dictys of Crete' 3.26, Dracontius 8.78–212, and for more recent works OGCMA II.818–20.

ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ

test. iii (Hypothesis)

Ἀλέξαν]δρ[ος οὐ ἀρχή·

] καὶ τὸ κλεινὸν [Ἰ]λιον,

ἢ δὲ ὑ]πόθεσις·

] Ἐκάβης καθ' ὕπνον ὄψεις

5

ἔ]δωκεν ἐκθῆναι βρέφος

]ν ἐξέθρεψεν υἱὸν Ἀλέ-

ξανδρ[ον Π]άριον προσαγορεύσας. Ἐκά-

βη δὲ τῆ[ν ἡ]μέραν ἐκείνην πενθοῦ-

σα ἄμα κ[αί] τιμῆς ἀξιοῦσα κατωδύ-

10 ρατο μὲν [τὸ]ν ἐκτεθέντα, Πρίαμον [δ' ἔ-

πε[ι]σε πολυτ]ελεῖς ἀγῶνας ἐπ' α[ὐ]τῷ κα-

ταστήσ[ασ]θα[ι]. διελθόντ[ων δὲ ἐτῶ]ν εἴ-

κοσι ὁ μὲν παῖς ἔδοξε [κρείττων τ]ῆν

φύσιν εἶναι βουκόλο[ν τοῦ θρέψα]ντος,

15 οἱ δ' ἄλλοι νομεῖς διὰ [τ]ῆν ὑπερήφανον

συμβίωσιν [δ]ήσαντες ἐπ[ι] Πρίαμον ἀνήγα-

γον αὐτόν·ηθεῖς [δ]ὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ δυνά-

στουω[.].....[.(.)]ρειτο καὶ τοὺς δι-

P. Oxy. 3650 col. i, ed. R. A. Coles (1984, previously in Coles 1974: see bibl. above); see also van Rossum-Steenbeek 186-7, Diggle *TrGFS* 80-1.

ALEXANDER

test. iii (Hypothesis)

Alexander, which begins, '... and famous Ilium'; the plot is as follows: (because) Hecuba (had seen) visions in her sleep, (Priam) gave her infant son to be exposed. (The herdsman who took him) reared him as his son, calling Alexander Paris.¹ But Hecuba, grieving because of that day but also thinking it should be honoured, lamented the exposed child and persuaded Priam to establish lavish games for him. When twenty years had passed, the boy seemed to have a nature (superior) to that of the herdsman (who had reared him), and the other shepherds, because of his arrogant behaviour towards them, bound him and brought him before Priam. When he (was arraigned?) before the ruler, he (readily defended himself?) and

¹ Or possibly 'calling him Alexander Paris'; the double name appears in some mythographic sources. But see the note on F 42d.

13 [κρείπτων Luppe: ἔδοξε[ν ἀμείνων Coles
17 ἐπερωτηθεὶς Coles (ἀν- Bremer): ἀπολογηθεὶς Luppe
18 ῥαδίω[s] συνη[γο]ρεῖτο Kannicht, after Coles

EURIPIDES

- αβάλλοντας ἐκάστ[ο]υς ἔλαβε καὶ τῶν
 20 ἐπ' αὐτῷ τελ[ο]υμέν[ων] ἀγώνων εἰάθη
 μετασχεῖν. δρόμον δὲ καὶ πένταθλον,
 ἔτι †δαπαξητηνηττεφ†... ἀπεθρίωσε
 τοὺς περὶ Δηΐφοβον, οἵτινες ἠττᾶσθαι δια-
 λαβ[ό]ντες ὑπὸ δούλου κατηξίωσαν τὴν
 25 Ἑκάβην ὅπως ἂν αὐτὸν ἀποκτείνῃ πα-
 ραγενηθέντα δὲ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον
 Κασ[σάν]δρ[α μ]ὲν ἐμμανῆς ἐπέγνων
 καὶ π[ε]ρὶ τῶ]ν μελλόντων ἐθέσπισεν,
 Ἑκάβη [δὲ ἀπο]κτεῖναι θέλουσα διεκω-
 30 λύθη. π[α]ρα[γενό]μενος δ' ὁ θρέψας αὐτὸν
 διὰ τὸν κίνδυνον ἠναγκάσθη λέγειν τὴν
 ἀλήθειαν. Ἑκάβη μὲν οὖν υἱὸν ἀνεύρε . . .

22 ἔτι δὲ πὺξ Coles: ἔτι δὲ πυγμὴν Huys στεφθεὶς Bremer

test. v

(Hippolytus' entrance at *Hipp.* 58 ff. seems to have been accompanied by a secondary chorus of huntsmen.) ἕτεροί εἰσι τοῦ χοροῦ, καθάπερ ἐν τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ οἱ ποιμένες. ἐνταῦθα μὲν οὖν δύναται προαποχρησασθαι τοῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ χοροῦ, ἐκεῖ δὲ συνεστῶτος τοῦ χοροῦ ἐπεισάγει τοῦτο τὸ ἄθροισμα, ὡς καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἀντιόπῃ δύο χοροὺς εἰσάγει, τὸν τε τῶν Ἀθηναίων γερόντων διόλου καὶ τὸν μετὰ Δίρκης.

Schol. on Euripides, *Hippolytus* 58

ALEXANDER

caught out each of those slandering him, and was allowed to
take part in the games which were being celebrated in his hon-
our. By (winning the crown?) in running and the pentathlon, 20
and also (in boxing?), he enraged Deiphobus and his compan-
ions who, realising that they had been worsted by a slave,
called on Hecuba to kill him. When Alexander arrived, Cas- 25
sandra became possessed and recognized him, and prophe-
sied about what was going to happen; and Hecuba tried to kill
him and was prevented. The man who had raised him arrived, 30
and because of the danger (to Paris) was compelled to tell the
truth. Thus Hecuba rediscovered her son . . .

test. v.

(The huntsmen who enter with Hippolytus at *Hipp.* 58ff.) are different from the chorus, like the herdsmen in *Alexander*. Notice that here (in *Hippolytus*) Euripides can use some of the chorus-members in advance (i.e. before the entrance of the full chorus), whereas in *Alexander* he brings on this group with the (main) chorus already present, as he also introduces two choruses in *Antiope*, the one comprising the old Athenians generally and the one with Dirce.

EURIPIDES

41a

] καὶ τὸ κλεινὸν [Ἰ]λιον

See test. iii.2 above

42

. . . καὶ χρόνον προύβαινε πούς.

Schol. on Aristophanes, *Frogs* 100 (cf. 311); Suda π 356.

(42a–c N–Sn = 62f–h below)

42d

γενόμενος δὲ νεανίσκος καὶ πολλῶν διαφέρων κάλλει τε
καὶ ῥώμῃ αὐθις Ἀλέξανδρος προσωνομάσθη, ληστὰς
ἀμυνόμενος καὶ τοῖς ποιμνίοις ἀλεξήσας.

Apollodorus 3.12.5

43 (= 46 N)

ΧΟΡΟΣ

πάντων τὸ θανεῖν· τὸ δὲ κοινὸν ἄχος
μετρίως ἀλγεῖν σοφία μελετᾷ.

Stobaeus 4.44.47

44 (= 45 N)

<ΧΟΡΟΣ>

ὥστ' οὐτίς ἀνδρῶν εἰς ἅπαντ' εὐδαιμονεῖ.

Stobaeus 4.41.33

ALEXANDER

41a

From the play's first line:

... and famous Ilium ...

42

... and time's foot moved on.

(42a-c N-Sn = 62f-h below)

42d

When he (Paris) became a young man and excelled many in beauty and strength, he was given a second name, Alexander, because he drove off brigands and protected the flocks.¹

¹ Alexander's name is explained by reference to the verb ἀλέγω, 'protect'. Varro, *On the Latin Language* 7.82 cites a line from Ennius' *Alexander* (fr. 20 Jocelyn: *quapropter Parim pastores nunc Alexandrum uocant*, 'And so the herdsmen now call Paris Alexander'), noting that this etymology was clear in Euripides' Greek but not in Ennius' Latin. This suggests the re-naming was mentioned in the prologues of both plays. For similar etymologies see *Antiope* F 181-2, *Melanippe Captive* F *489 etc.

43 (= 46 N)

CHORUS

All of us must die; but wisdom practises feeling the pain of this common woe in moderation.

44 (= 45 N)

<CHORUS>

And so no man is fortunate in everything.

EURIPIDES

45 (= 44 N)

<ΧΟΡΟΣ>

οἶδ'· ἀλλὰ κάμπτειν τῷ χρόνῳ λύπας χρεῶν.

<ΕΚΑΒΗ>

χρῆ· τοῦτο δ' εἰπεῖν ῥᾶον ἢ φέρειν κακά.

Stobaeus 4.49.8

46 (46 N = 43 above)

<ΧΟΡΟΣ>

ἔστιν τέκνων σοι πλ[

<ΕΚΑΒΗ>

εἰ[γὼ δὲ θ]ρηνώ γ' ὅτι βρ[έφ-

<ΧΟΡΟΣ>

τλήμων γε Πρίαμος κ[

<ΕΚΑΒΗ>

ὡς ἴσμεν οἱ παθόντες ο[

<ΧΟΡΟΣ>

5 παλαιὰ καινοῖς δακρύοις οὐ χρῆ στένειν.

F 46, 46a, 61d, 62a-e, 62k: P. Strasbourg 2342-4, ed. W. Crönert, *Nachrichten . . . Göttingen* (1922), 1-17; re-ed. Snell, Coles and others (see bibl. above).

F 46: P. Strasbourg 2344.1; v. 5: Stobaeus 4.56.20

1 πλ[ῆρες ἀρσένων στέγος Crönert: πλ[ῆθος ἀρσένων ἔτι Diggle 2 βρ[έφος Crönert: then κατέκαμεν Snell (διώλεσα Diggle, κτανεῖν ἔτλην Lee, προουθήκαμεν Collard)
3 κ[αὶ ἦ (= χῆ) τεκοῦσα Crönert: then δύσμορος Snell
4 ο[ἰ τλάντες θ' ἄμα Collard

ALEXANDER

45 (= 44 N)

<CHORUS>

I know, but one should bring grieving to an end in time.

<HECUBA>

One should, but it is easier to say this than to bear the affliction.

46 (46 N = 43 above)

<CHORUS>

You have . . . of children . . . ¹

<HECUBA>

And yet I grieve because (I/we killed/exposed our) child.

<CHORUS>

Unhappy Priam, and . . . ²

<HECUBA>

As we know well, who suffered . . . ³

<CHORUS>

One should not lament old troubles with fresh tears. 5

¹ 'a home filled with male children', Crönert; 'still an abundance of male children', Diggle. ² 'and ill-fated she who bore the child', Crönert, Snell. ³ 'who both suffered and dared the deed', Collard.

EURIPIDES

<ΕΚΑΒΗ>

.]εν.ων τις ἢ τεκούσ[α

<ΧΟΡΟΣ?>

..].. μέν, ὡς φασ', ὄλετ[

<ΕΚΑΒΗ>

.. μα]κάριον τάρ' οὐκ[

]εστι τοῖ' ἔμο[

10

]πνας πρὸς κακ[

<ΧΟΡΟΣ?>

δέ]δορκα παῖδα κ[

]ν ἀδύτων ω[

traces of two more lines

7 perhaps ὁ πα]ῖς μέν Crönert 10]πνας or]μνας
Kannicht 11-12 καὶ μὴν δέ]δορκα παῖδα Κ[ασσάνδραν
σέθεν | ἤκουσα]ν ἀδύτων ὦ[δε Φοιβείων πάρος (e.g.) Wilamo-
witz (στείχουσα]ν Diggle; end ἄπο Webster)

46a

col. i *remains of three line-ends, then:*

5

]μν[...]ος[...]]λλοις ἔριν

]τ[...]ω...[.]δης λάτρης

]νδε πω[λι]κοῖς ὄχοις

]ντατη[...]]ους θανείν

] ὄν τετίμη[κ]ας τέκνων

]ελ[...]]υ[...]]αι γένος

10

]ρ οἵπερ ἴσταν[τ]αι πον[

] τήνδ' ἀφαγνίζεις χθόνα

κα]ἰ ἐπικηδείους πόνους

ALEXANDER

<HECUBA>

A . . . , his mother . . .

<CHORUS?>

(The child) perished, so they say . . .

<HECUBA>

. . . not, then, blessed . . . such . . . there are for me(?) . . . because of (or added to) my afflictions(?) . . .

10

<CHORUS?>

. . . I see your(?) daughter . . . (from?) the shrine . . . ⁴

(traces of two more lines)

⁴ Wilamowitz's bold supplement makes vv. 11-12 an entrance announcement, 'But now I see your daughter Cassandra coming out here from Apollo's sacred precinct.' On this possibility see the Introduction above.

46a

(remains of three lines) . . . strife . . . servant . . . horse- 5
drawn carriage . . . to die . . . the child you have hon-
oured(?) . . . family . . . (the trials) which are being put on 10
. . . you are cleansing this land . . . and funeral trials . . . the

EURIPIDES

15]ων ἤδη πόλιν
]ουφ σπονδῆ λάβη
]υδενω νέμων πόλιν
]τασιν τε γῆς
 π]ορσ[ύν]οις κακῶν
 τ]ῶ τεθ[ν]ηκότι
] καλὸν τόδε

ends of two more lines

col. ii *beginnings of seventeen lines*

P. Strasbourg 2342.1

16 ἀνάσ]τασίν Crönert 17 beg. ἀποστροφῆν δ' ἄν
 τῶνδε (e.g.) Snell 18 παιδὶ τ]ῶ Crönert

(47 N = 61a below)

48

σοφὸς μὲν οὖν εἶ, Πρίαμ', ὅμως δέ σοι λέγω·
 δούλου φρονούντος μείζον ἢ φρονεῖν χρεῶν
 οὐκ ἔστιν ἄχθος μείζον οὐδὲ δώμασι
 κτῆσις κακίων οὐδ' ἀνωφελεστέρα.

Stobaeus 4.19.14; vv. 2–4 partly preserved in an inscription on a herm (of Euripides?) now in Copenhagen (Ny-Carlsberg Glypt. 414b).

2 μείζον inscr.: μάλλον Stob.

49

ἤλεγχον· οὕτω γὰρ κακὸν δούλου γένος·
 γαστήρ ἅπαντα, τοῦπίσω δ' οὐδὲν σκοπεῖ.

50

ALEXANDER

city already . . . eagerness grips (you?) . . . ruling the city . . . 15
(ruination?) of the land . . . you could provide (relief from
her?) afflictions . . . for the dead (child?) . . . (if?) this is
good . . . (*ends of two more lines*)

(47 N = 61a below)

48

You are certainly wise, Priam, but still I tell you: there is no
greater burden than a slave who has bigger ideas than he
should, nor a possession more vile nor more worthless in a
household.

49

I've tested it (*or them*): so vile is the race of slaves, all belly
and looking to nothing beyond that.

Stobaeus 4.19.15

EURIPIDES

50

δούλων ὅσοι φιλοῦσι δεσποτῶν γένος
πρὸς τῶν ὁμοίων πόλεμον αἴρονται μέγαν.

Stobaeus 4.19.16

2 αἴρονται Elmsley: αἰροῦνται Stob.

51

δούλους γὰρ οὐ
καλὸν πεπᾶσθαι κρείσσουνας τῶν δεσποτῶν.

Stobaeus 4.19.20

(52, 53 N = 61b, 61c below)

54

κακόν τι παίδευμ' ἦν ἄρ' εἰς εὐανδρίαν
ὁ πλοῦτος ἀνθρώποισιν αἶ τ' ἄγαν τρυφαί·
πειρία δὲ δύστηνον μέν, ἀλλ' ὅμως τρέφει
μοχθεῖν τ' ἀμείνω τέκνα καὶ δραστήρια.

Stobaeus 4.33.3; vv. 1–2: Clement of Alexandria, *Miscellanies*
4.5.24.3

1 παίδευμ' Clem.: βούλευμ' Stob. 4 μοχθεῖν τ' Conington:
μοχθοῦντ' Stob.

55

< ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ? >

ἄδικον ὁ πλοῦτος, πολλὰ δ' οὐκ ὀρθῶς ποιεῖ.

Stobaeus 4.31.71

ALEXANDER

50

Slaves who become attached to their masters' kind earn serious enmity from their own sort.

51

It is not good to own slaves who are better than their masters.

(52, 53 N = 61b, 61c below)

54

Wealth and excessive luxury, it turns out, are a bad sort of training for manliness. Poverty is a misfortune, but all the same it rears children who are better at working hard and get things done.¹

¹ If these lines belong in the debate scene the speaker will be Paris (cf. the next fragment). But they may well be a comment on Paris's successes in the games made by the Messenger at the end of his report.

55

< ALEXANDER? >

Wealth is unjust and does many things wrongly.

EURIPIDES

56

<ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ>

ἄναξ, διαβολαὶ δεινὸν ἀνθρώποις κακόν·
ἀγλωσσία δὲ πολλάκις ληφθεὶς ἀνὴρ
δίκαια λέξας ἤσσον εὐγλώσσου φέρει.

Stobaeus 3.42.3; vv. 2–3; Clement of Alexandria, *Miscellanies*
1.8.41.1

57

<ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ?>

ὦ παγκάκιστοι καὶ τὸ δοῦλον οὐ λόγῳ
ἔχοντες, ἀλλὰ τῇ τύχῃ κεκτημένοι.

Stobaeus 4.19.18

2 τύχη Stob.: φύσει Jacobs (then οὐ τύχη . . . ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ
φύσει Cobet)

(58 N = 62i below)

59

ἐκ τῶν ὁμοίων οἱ κακοὶ γαμοῦσ' αἰεί.

Stobaeus 4.22.87

60

<ΠΡΙΑΜΟΣ>

χρόνος δὲ δείξει σ'· ᾧ τεκμηρίῳ μαθὼν
ἢ χρηστὸν ὄντα γνωσόμεσθ' ἢ κακόν.

Clement of Alexandria, *Miscellanies* 6.2.10.8

ALEXANDER

56

< ALEXANDER >

My lord, slander is a terrible thing for men. Often a man disadvantaged by ineloquence loses out to an eloquent one even though his case is just.¹

¹ Such complaints are frequent amongst Euripidean speakers, e.g. *Antiope* F 206.1-3, F 928b, *Hecuba* 1187-91.

57

< ALEXANDER? >

O vilest creatures—not slaves in name but slaves in reality.¹

¹ Or 'slaves by nature', Jacobs; 'not slaves by chance but in your/their nature', Cobet.

(58 N = 62i below)

59

Low people always marry from their own kind.

60

< PRIAM >

Time will show what you are; by that evidence I shall learn whether you are a man of worth or not.¹

¹ Cf. *Aeolus* F **38a with note.

EURIPIDES

61

†μισῶ σοφὸν ἐν λόγοισιν†, ἐς δ' ὄνησιν οὐ σοφόν.

Orion 1.3 Haffner

μισῶ σοφὸν | <ὄντ' > ἐν λόγοισιν Meineke

61a (= 47 N)

ὄθεν δὲ νικᾶν χρῆν σε, δυστυχεῖς, ἀναξ·
ὄθεν δέ σ' οὐ χρῆν, εὐτυχεῖς. δούλοισι γὰρ
τοῖς σοῖσι νικᾶς, τοῖς δ' ἐλευθέροισιν οὐ.

Stobaeus 3.4.31

61b (= 52 N)

ΧΟΡΟΣ

περισσόμυθος ὁ λόγος εὐγένειαν εἰ
βρότειον εὐλογήσομεν.

τὸ γὰρ πάλαι καὶ πρῶτον ὅτ' ἐγενόμεθα, διὰ
δ' ἔκρινεν ἅ τεκοῦσα γὰ

5 βροτούς, ὁμοίαν χθῶν ἅπασιν ἐξεπαί-
δευσεν ὄψιν ἴδιον οὐδὲν ἔσχομεν.

μία δὲ γονὰ τό τ' εὐγενὲς καὶ δυσγενές,
νόμῳ δὲ γαῦρον αὐτὸ κραίνει χρόνος.

10 τὸ φρόνιμον εὐγένεια καὶ τὸ συνετόν, ὃ δὲ
θεὸς δίδωσιν, οὐχ ὁ πλοῦτος . . .

Stobaeus 4.29.2

¹ The Chorus uses a 'scientific' account of the origins of human life to show that the distinction between 'good' and 'bad' birth is merely conventional. 'Good' birth is no guarantee

ALEXANDER

61

I detest a man who is clever in words but not clever at doing good service.¹

¹ The slightly unmetrical Greek text is best mended by Meineke.

61a (= 47 N)

You fail with those you should be winning with, my lord, and succeed with those you should not be. You win with your slaves, and not with your free men.¹

¹ If from the debate scene, a comment on Priam's decision to admit Paris to the games. But the present-tense verbs suggest that this may be the Messenger quoting someone's complaint to Priam during the games.

61b (= 52 N)

CHORUS

Our talk will be idle if we sing the praises of human good birth. For long ago at the beginning, when we came into existence and mother earth produced distinct human beings, she made us all grow up with a similar appearance; we got no special feature. Well-born and low-born are a single breed, but time through convention has made the well-born proud. Intelligence and understanding make nobility, and god bestows it, not wealth . . . ¹ 5

of true (moral) nobility, even though the same word (*eugeneia*) is commonly applied to both. For similar observations about the artificiality of human social conventions see Herodotus 3.38, Antiphon B 44(b) DK, Hippias C 1.17–20 DK (= Plato, *Protagoras* 337c–d). The equation of wealth with nobility (or poverty with the lack of it) was proverbial: see on *Aeolus* F 22.

EURIPIDES

61c (= 53 N)

ΧΟΡΟΣ

οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν κακοῖσιν εὐγένεια, παρ' ἀ-
γαθοῖσι δ' ἀνδρῶν.

Stobaeus 4.29.7

61d

remains of three lines, then:

<ΧΟΡΟΣ>

τύχη δ[...].ι πα[

<ΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ>

5 κρείσσω<ν> πεφυκῶς [

<ΧΟΡΟΣ>

ἦ καὶ στέφουσιν αὐτὸ<ν>

<ΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ>

καί φασιν εἶναί γ' ἄξιον [

<ΧΟΡΟΣ>

ὁ δ' ᾧδε μορφῇ διαφερ[

<ΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ>

ἅπανθ' ὅσ' ἀνδρα χρη[

<ΧΟΡΟΣ>

10

]γαν βουκ[ολ-

ALEXANDER

61c (= 53 N)

CHORUS

Nobility is found not in men who are bad but in those who are good.¹

¹ Possibly the beginning of an antistrophe following F 61b.

61d

remains of three lines, then:

<CHORUS>

(I credit everything?) to fortune . . .

<MESSENGER>

Being naturally superior . . .

5

<CHORUS>

And are they actually crowning him . . . ?

<MESSENGER>

Yes, and declaring him worthy . . .

<CHORUS>

And (is) he so outstanding in beauty . . . ?

<MESSENGER>

Everything that . . . a man . . .¹

<CHORUS>

. . . herdsman . . .

10

¹ 'Everything that it befits a well-born man to achieve', Crönert, Page; 'Everything that a man of worth . . .', Coles, Kannicht.

EURIPIDES

< ΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ >

traces of one line

< ΧΟΡΟΣ >

ἀγῶνα ποῦ κ[

< ΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ >

Πρίαμος τίθησιν [

< ΧΟΡΟΣ >

εἰς τόνδε νικη.[

< ΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ >

15 *remains of one line*

P. Strasbourg 2344.2

4 δ[ίδω]μι Crönert, Kannicht πάντα Lefke
 8 διαφέρ[ων] οἱ διαφέρ[ει] Crönert 9 χρή (Crönert) [τὸν
 εὐγενῆ τελείν (e.g.) Page: perhaps χρή[σιμον] Coles: χρη[στὸν
 ὄντα] Kannicht 12 κ[ρίνουσι] Crönert
 14 νικητ[ήρι(α)] Crönert

62

Ἐκάβη, τὸ θεῖον ὡς ἄελλπον ἔρχεται
 θνητοῖσιν, ἔλκει δ' οὔποτ' ἐκ ταύτου τύχας.

Stobaeus 4.47.10

ALEXANDER

<MESSENGER>

traces of one line

<CHORUS>

Where (are they deciding?) the contest . . .

<MESSENGER>

Priam is arranging . . .

<CHORUS>

To this (man?) . . . victory(-prizes?) . . .

<MESSENGER>

remains of one line

62

Hecuba, how unexpectedly divine action comes upon men, never drawing events from the same source!¹

¹ If from the Messenger scene these lines refer to Paris's victories. But they may well be a comment on the discovery of his identity near the end of the play.

EURIPIDES

62a

trace of one line, then:

<ΧΟΡΟΣ>

καὶ μὴν ὀρώ τόν]δ' Ἔκτορ' ἕξ ἀγωνίω[ν
 περῶντα μό]χθων σύγγονόν τε, παῖδε σῶ,
] εἰς δ' ἄμιλλαν ἤκουσιν λόγων.

<ΔΗΙΦΟΒΟΣ>

5 αἰνῶ μὲν οὐ]δέν' ὅστις ἐστὶ δυσχερῆς
]. κακοῖσι μαλθάσσει φρένας.

<ΕΚΤΩΡ>

ἐγὼ δέ γ' ὅσ]τις σμίκρ' ἔχων ἐγκλήματα
 μεγάλα νο]μίξει καὶ συνέστηκεν †φόβω†.

<ΔΗΙΦΟΒΟΣ>

καὶ πῶς, κα]σίγνηθ' Ἔκτορ, οὐκ ἀλγείς φρένα[ς
 10 δούλου πρὸς] ἀνδρὸς ἀθλ' ἀπεστερημέν[ος;

<ΕΚΤΩΡ>

.....]. εἰς, Δηίφοβε τί γάρ με δεῖ
 οὐ] καιρὸς ᾧδίνειν φ[ρέ]νας.

P. Strasbourg 2342.2

4 Δηίφοβον] Diggle: πρὸς οἶκον] Kannicht 6 ἀλοὺς
 δὲ τοῖ]ς Crönert (δ]ῆ Kannicht): αὐθις δὲ τοῖ]ς Diggle
 8 †φόβω†: perhaps φθόνω Collard, Cropp 11 μάτην
 ἀθυ]μείς Kannicht following Wilamowitz 12 ὀργὴν ἔχειν;
 οὐ] or δυσθυμίας; οὐ] Collard

ALEXANDER

62a

trace of one line, then:

<CHORUS>

(And now I see) Hector (here), (coming) from the exertions of the games, with his brother—your two sons—...;¹ and they have fallen into a dispute.

<DEIPHOBUS>

(I do not approve of) anyone who feels aggrieved . . . (by/ 5
to) troubles, softens his attitude.²

<HECTOR>

(Nor I) of anyone who has small complaints but reckons them (great) and is overwrought †with fear†.³

<DEIPHOBUS>

(And how,) brother Hector, can you not feel anguish, when you have been robbed of prizes (by a slave)? 10

<HECTOR>

You (are needlessly distressed?), Deiphobus. Why do I need (to feel angry/dispirted)? This is not an occasion for tormenting our spirits.

¹ 'Deiphobus', Diggle; 'to the house', Kannicht. ² 'yet even though vexed by troubles, softens his attitude', Crönert; 'yet in turn softens his attitude to his troubles', Diggle. ³ Perhaps 'with envy' (Collard-Cropp).

EURIPIDES

<ΔΗΙΦΟΒΟΣ>

.....]. ραδίως φέρεις τάδε
 Φρ]υξίν ἐμφανῆς ἔσση.

15

<ΕΚΤΩΡ?>

.....]ς νέον φῦσαι με[
 βο]ύλεται δ' οὐ σωφρ[ον-
remains of five more lines

13-14 σὺ δειλία μέ]ν . . . | ἦσσαν δὲ δούλου Φρ]υξίν . . .
 Lefke 16 σωφρ[ονεῖν Crönert

62b

col. i *extreme ends of thirteen lines with a few letters visible,
 perhaps from below F 62a*

col. ii

<ΔΗΙΦΟΒΟΣ?>

traces of one line

ἐλε]ύθεροι μὲν πα.[
 δο]ῦλοι δ' ἂν ἦσκουν [

25 πα]ντοῖ' ἐκείνων ατ[

...]ν δ' ἀπῆσαν μν[

remains of three lines, then:

<ΕΚΤΩΡ>

30 οὔ[τ' οἴκο]ν αὔξων οὔτ[ε
 πρόθυμ' ἔπρασσε δούλος ὦν απ.].[

P. Strasbourg 2343.2 (lower part)

23 παῖ]δες Crönert: πάν[τες Snell 30 οὔτ[ε πρὸς
 κέρδος βλέπων Reitzenstein (κερδαίνειν θέλων Collard)

ALEXANDER

<DEIPHOBUS>

... you bear these things lightly ... you will be plainly ... in
the eyes of the Trojans.⁴

<HECTOR?>

... to produce (a?) new (or young) ... and wants (to act?) 15
intemperate(ly) ...

remains of five more lines

4 'You bear these things lightly through lack of spirit; but you
will be plainly inferior to a slave in the eyes of the Trojans', Lefke.

62b

(col. ii)

<DEIPHOBUS?>

... free (men?)¹ ... , while slaves would be practising ... of
all kinds ... of(?) them ... and ... would be absent ... 25
remains of three lines, then:

<HECTOR>

... neither building up (his estate) nor (looking to profit?), 30
he acted resolutely, though being a slave ... not ... my own

¹ 'free sons', Crönert; 'all free men', Snell.

EURIPIDES

- ψυχῆς [ἐ]μαυτοῦ μὴ κατα[
 εἰ δ' ἐστὶ κρείσσω<ν>, σοῦ κόλαξε τὴν φύσιν,
 ὑφ' ἧς ἐνίκω· κυριώτερος γὰρ εἶ.
 35 ἐγὼ †δενε[.]ρω† κείνον· εἰ γὰρ .[
 κράτιστος [

<ΧΟΡΟΣ?>

ἀε[ὶ γὰρ] Ἔκτωρ [..]...[
 τα[.].]ι αὐτοῦ καὶ δομ[

<ΕΚΑΒΗ>

- οὔτος μὲν ἀεὶ τέκν[ο]ν[
 40 Δηΐφοβε, καὶ τᾶλλ' οὐθ[
 ῥέξεις δ' ἄ λυπούμεσθα [
 κτανόντες ἄνδρα δοῦ[λον

35 δ' ἐνε[ί]ρω Snell: δ' ἐπαινῶ Körte εἰ γὰρ ἐ[στ' ἀνήρ
 Reitzenstein

62c

(perhaps from below F 62d col. i)

<ΕΚΑΒΗ?>

beginning of one line, then:

- πάρεργον [
 νῦν οὖν ἐμοισο[
 καὶ τοὺς λαθραι..[
 5 δούλης γυναικὸς [
 μή νυν ἔτ' εἰσι τ[
 ἀλλ['] ο]ύκ, ἰώ μοι, δ[

P. Strasbourg 2342.3

ALEXANDER

spirit . . . And if he is superior, punish your own nature
which is what defeated you; for you have more authority².
(But?) I . . . him³; for if (he is?) the strongest . . . 35

<CHORUS?>

Hector always . . . his . . . and . . . house . . .

<HECUBA>

This man always . . . child . . . , Deiphobus, and (in?) other
matters . . . But you will do . . . which we feel distress at, 40
killing a man who is a slave . . .

2 Implication a little unclear: either 'you are more responsible
for your failure than he is', or 'you have more right to punish your-
self than to punish him'.

3 The papyrus seems to have 'But I
weave him', which Snell implausibly interpreted as 'I garland him'
(recognizing his victory). Körte's conjecture 'I congratulate him'
gives better sense.

62c

(perhaps from below F 62d col. i)

<HECUBA?>

. . . an incidental matter . . . so now for me (or for my) . . .
and those secret(ly?) . . . of a slave woman . . .¹ Surely they 5
are not . . . ? But . . . not—woe is me!— . . .²

¹ 'and those secretly saying that a slave-woman's child de-
feated free-born sons', Snell, Page. ² 'But it is not—woe is
me!—possible to behold this', Körte.

4 λέγοντας Snell, then καὶ τοὺς λάθρα λέγοντας ὡς
ἐλεύθερα | δούλης γυναικὸς [παῖς ἐνίκησεν τέκνα (e.g.) Page
7 δ[υνατόν ἐστ' ἰδεῖν τόδε Körte

EURIPIDES

62d

col. i *ten line-ends, perhaps from above F 62c*

col. ii

<ΕΚΑΒΗ>

22 κείνον μὲν ὄνθ' ὅς ἐστι θαυμάζειν Φρύγας,
 Πριάμου δὲ νικ.... γεραίρεσθαι δόμους.

<ΔΗΙΦΟΒΟΣ>

πῶς οὖν [...(.)]..... ὥστ' ἔχειν καλῶς;

<ΕΚΑΒΗ>

25ιδε χειρὶ δεῖ θανεῖν.

<ΔΗΙΦΟΒΟΣ>

οὐ μὲν ἄτρωτός γ' εἶσιν εἰς Ἄιδου δόμους.

<ΕΚΑΒΗ>

ποῦ νυν [ἄ]ν εἶη καλλίνικ' ἔχων στέφης;

<ΔΗΙΦΟΒΟΣ>

πᾶν ἄστν πληροῖ Τρωϊκὸν γαυρούμενος.

<ΕΚΑΒΗ>

..... δ]εῦρ', εἰς βόλον γὰρ ἂν πέσοι.

<ΔΗΙΦΟΒΟΣ>

30]ιδῆς γ' ὅτ[ι κρ]ατεῖ τῶν σῶν τέκνων.

23 νίκη μὴ Page
 Crönert, Snell, Coles

24]λει ταῦτά γ' read doubtfully by

25 τῆδε Crönert: σῆ δὲ Murray

30 μηώποτ' ἐπ]ιδῆς γ' ὅτ[ι Snell (οὐ μὴ ποτ' Lee, ε]ιδῆς Page)

ALEXANDER

62d

(*col. ii, perhaps immediately after F 62c*)

(HECUBA)

... that he, being who he is, should be admired by the Trojans, and Priam's house (not) be honoured (by) victory!

(DEIPHOBUS)

How then (can we arrange these matters?) so that they turn out well?

(HECUBA)

... he must die by (my *or* your) hand.

25

(DEIPHOBUS)

He will surely not go unwounded to Hades' halls!

(HECUBA)

Where might he be then, wearing his victor's garlands?

(DEIPHOBUS)

He is filling the whole town of Troy with his exultation.

(HECUBA)

(Let him just come) here; that way he would fall into the net.

(DEIPHOBUS)

(You shall never come to see?) that he proves superior to your sons.

30

ALEXANDER

(HECUBA?)

... inside the net ... I wish to ... you ... he is a slave, but
still ... my ... murder ... once ... shall cease (*or shall* 35
regret) ...

*traces of five more line-ends, then c. 15–20 lines missing,
then:*

... of (*or from*) a slave ...

<SEMICHORUS 1?>

Change(s?) (from misfortunes?) the house ... 44–47

<SEMICHORUS 2?>

The (*or O*) mistress ... to the master ... with (victor's)
leaves ... 48–50

<ALEXANDER?>

Where ... Hecuba, tell (me) ... the victory-song ...

EURIPIDES

<ΧΟΡΟΣ?>

πρέσβυς πε[
 55 Ἐκάβην δὲ β[
beginnings of eight more lines (speaker changes at 56, 63)

62e

]ης ἤκουσ' ἔπος
 β]ακχεύει φρένα[
remains of two more line-ends

P. Strasbourg 2344.4

*62f (= 935 N, 42a N-Sn)

ΚΑΣΣΑΝΔΡΑ

ἀλλ' ὦ φίλιπποι Τρῶες

[Longinus], *On the Sublime* 15.4

**62g (= 42b N-Sn)

ΚΑΣΣΑΝΔΡΑ

ἄκραντα γάρ μ' ἔθηκε θεοσπίζειν θεός,
 καὶ πρὸς παθόντων κὰν κακοῖσι κειμένων
 σοφῆ κέκλημαι, πρὶν παθεῖν δὲ μαίνομαι.

Plutarch, *Moralia* 821b-c; cf. Cicero, *Letters to Atticus* 8.11.3.

*62h (= 968 N, 42c N-Sn)

<ΚΑΣΣΑΝΔΡΑ>

Ἐκάτης ἄγαλμα φωσφόρον κύων ἔση.

Plutarch, *Moralia* 379d; imitated by Aristophanes F 608 PCG
 (καὶ κύων ἀκράχολος, | Ἐκάτης ἄγαλμα φωσφόρον, γενή-
 σομαι)

ALEXANDER

<CHORUS?>

The old man . . . , but Hecuba . . .
beginnings of eight more lines (speaker changes at 56, 63)

55

62e

I (or she) heard . . . pronouncement . . . she is raving . . .
remains of two more line-ends

*62f (= 935 N, 42a N-Sn)

CASSANDRA

Come now, horse-loving Trojans . . .

**62g (= 42b N-Sn)

CASSANDRA

The god caused me to make ineffectual prophecies; by those who have suffered and are beset by troubles I am called wise, but until they suffer I am mad.

*62h (= 968 N, 42c N-Sn)

<CASSANDRA>

You will be a dog, a favourite of torch-bearing Hecate.¹

¹ Hecuba was supposed to have turned into a dog and leapt into the Hellespont as the Greeks departed with their captives after the sack of Troy. She was associated with the promontory of Cynossema ('Dog's Monument'). See especially *Hecuba* 1259-73.

EURIPIDES

62i

< ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ >

οἴμοι, θανοῦμαι διὰ τὸ χρήσιμον φρενῶν,
ὁ τοῖσιν ἄλλοις γίγνεται σωτηρία.

Stobaeus 3.38.20

(64 N = 42d above)

ALEXANDER

62i

< ALEXANDER >

Ah! I am going to die because of my virtue, which for others is a source of protection.

(64 N = 42d above)

ALCMEON IN PSOPHIS
and
ALCMEON IN CORINTH

Pairs of plays with identical name-characters were almost certainly not distinguished in the earliest records at Athens, and seldom in later references or citations, although Alexandrian scholars around 200 B.C. had given some of them supplementary titles. Few quotations are therefore firmly ascribed to one or other Alcmeon (as with the two Autolycus, Melanippe and Phrixus plays).

ALCMEON IN PSOPHIS

Van Looy (1964), 78–102 and in ed. Budé VIII.1.81–116.

M. Delcourt, *Oreste et Alcmeon* (Liège–Paris, 1939), 31–54; Webster 39–43; LIMC I.i.546–52 ‘Alkmaion’; F. Jouan in F. Jouan (ed.), *Mythe et Politique* (Liège, 1990), 155–66; Gantz 522–8, esp. 526–7, cf. 507–8; M. Telò, *Materiali e Discussioni* 51 (2003), 163–78 (chiefly on F 74).

*Alcmeon's story was told in the lost epic Alcmeonis, probably of c. 500 B.C., and in passing in the similarly lost but earlier Thebais and the possibly later Epigoni ('The Descendants'). His father Amphiaraus of Argos took part in the disastrous expedition of the Seven against Thebes to recover the city for Oedipus' son Polynices (see Aeschylus' play and Euripides' Phoenician Women), although as a seer he predicted his own death there. Polynices fomented the expedition from Argos; he gave a famous necklace once owned by Harmonia, wife of Thebes' founder Cadmus, to Amphiaraus' wife Eriphyle, and in return she persuaded her husband to participate (cf. F *70). Knowing that this would cause his death, however, Amphiaraus ordered his sons to kill their mother and to attack Thebes for a second time (cf. F *69); an oracle foretold Alcmeon's victory in command of the Epigoni. These details are in Apollodorus*

EURIPIDES

3.6.2, 3.7.2 and 3.7.5 (= test. *ii (a) and (b)), where the matricide follows the victory.

For killing his mother Alcmeon was persecuted by the Furies with madness (like Orestes: see Delcourt). He fled for purification to Phegeus king of Psophis in the northern Peloponnese (cf. F 71; such recourse to a foreign king was normal, as with Bellerophon in Stheneboea). He married Phegeus' daughter Arsinoe (or Alphesiboea), and gave her the fateful necklace (cf. F 72^P); but Psophis was blighted still by his presence as a matricide (Apollodorus 3.7.5 and Pausanias 8.24.8 = test. *ii (c)). He fled and sought guidance at Apollo's Delphi (also like Orestes), which directed him for absolute purification to the river god Achelous, whose daughter Callirhoe he then married; she desired the necklace, however, and sent Alcmeon unwillingly back to Psophis to recover it. Alcmeon deceived Phegeus by telling of Apollo's prediction that his madness would end only if the necklace were dedicated to the god at Delphi; as he left Psophis his true purpose was betrayed, and he was ambushed and killed by Phegeus' sons (Apollodorus 3.7.5 and Pausanias 8.24.10 = test. *ii (d)).

A few of the certain fragments (F 69-72 above) relate to these past events. The play traced Alcmeon's adventures between the matricide and his death; it was set at Phegeus' palace in Psophis and began with excitement amongst the Chorus of young women (F 65-6) at Alcmeon's second arrival to recover the necklace. This is the view of most critics, influenced especially by Schadewaldt (who hazardously used the unassigned F 86 in reconstruction); others however begin the play with his first arrival seeking purification, so that a very long interval of dramatic time would elapse before his death. The play probably ended with a

ALCMEON IN PSOPHIS

messenger's narrative of it, and Apollo's repeated order (if he rather than another god pronounced the divine settlement) that the necklace should indeed be dedicated to him. There is one particular temptation for reconstructors: to introduce elements from the Latin Alcmeons of Ennius and Accius, and from the latter's Alpheisiboea, especially a description of his madness by Alcmeon himself from Ennius frs. 14-16 Jocelyn; the idea gains support from an apparent reference to Euripides' mad Alcmeon in the 2nd century A.D. Tatian, Oration to the Greeks 24 (= test. iii, but the text is uncertain: see Webster 40-1, Van Looy in ed. Budé 95-7).

Brief fragment: F 73, 'to whiten'. Other ascriptions: Alcmena F 88a (= Alcmeon F 67 N), Bellerophon F 304a (= Alcmeon F 68 N), F 1022; see also F 953e.

The play was produced in 438 B.C., together with Cretan Women, Telephus and the surviving Alcestis (see its hypothesis = Alcm. Psoph. test. i). The story was extremely popular with dramatists (cf. Aristotle, Poetics 1453a20 on 'family stories', and Antiphanes F 189.1-16 PCG). Sophocles handled it in his Alcmeon and Epigoni; at least six tragedies are known in title from the 4th century, and a satyr-play and two comedies. For Ennius and Accius see above; they were probably dependent on Euripides. Yet no certain representation of Alcmeon in Psophis in ancient art is known (see LIMC 'Amphiaraos' no. 74, Todisco Ap 174), and none is established for Alcmeon in Corinth (see below).

ΑΛΚΜΕΩΝ Ο ΔΙΑ ΨΩΦΙΔΟΣ

65

<ΧΟΡΟΣ>

ἤκω δ' ἀπενῆς ἀπ' οἴκων.

Hesychius α 8048 Latte

66

οὐδὲ πυνθάνεσθε ταῦτ', ὦ παρθένοι, τὰν τῆ πόλει;

Aristophanes, *Knights* 1302 and Schol.

(67 N = *Alcmene* F 88a)

(68 N = *Bellerophon* F 304a)

*69

<ΑΛΚΜΕΩΝ>

μάλιστα μὲν μ' ἐπήρ' ἐπισκήψας πατήρ,
ὄθ' ἄρματ' εἰσέβαινεν εἰς Θήβας ἰών.

Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics* 1110a26

ALCMEON IN PSOPHIS

65

<CHORUS>

I come in haste from my house.

66

And do you not enquire, young women, about these happenings in the city?¹

¹ In Aristophanes' comedy (422 B.C.) the Greek words make a trochaic tetrameter. Since tetrameters are (so far) unattested so early in Euripides, and the precise metrical shape is unparalleled anywhere in his work, Aristophanes may be parodying Euripides' original line.

(67 N = *Alcmene* F 88a)

(68 N = *Bellerophon* F 304a)

*69

<ALCMEON>

I was especially moved by my father's injunction when he mounted his chariot to go to Thebes.

EURIPIDES

*70

< ΑΛΚΜΕΩΝ >

ὄς Οἰδίπουν ἀπώλεσ', Οἰδίπους δ' ἐμέ,
 χρυσοῦν ἐνεγκῶν ὄρμον εἰς Ἄργους πόλιν.

Schol. on Pindar, *Nemean*s 4.32, and one late grammarian

71

αἶμα μητρὸς ἀπενίψατο.

Michael Italicus, in *Anecdota Oxoniensia* III.194.1 Cramer

72

ΑΛΚΜΕΩΝ

χαῖρ', ὦ γεραιέ· τήν τε παῖδ' ἐκδοὺς ἐμοὶ
 γαμβρὸς νομίζῃ καὶ πατήρ σωτήρ τ' ἐμός.

Photius, *Lexicon*, 'πενθερά' (II.74 Naber) = Suda π 963 (= Aelius Dionysius, *Attic Vocabulary* π 34 Erbse), with ascription to Alcmeon addressing Phegeus

1 χαῖρ' Meineke: καὶ σ(ἐ) Phot., Suda, retained by some editors with loss of a line after γεραιέ παῖδ' ἐκδοὺς Nauck: παῖδα μὴ δοὺς Suda (μὴ δῶς Phot.) 2 νομίζῃ Phot., Suda: -ου Valckenaer

ALCMEON IN PSOPHIS

*70

<ALCMEON>

... who destroyed Oedipus, as Oedipus destroyed me, by bringing the golden necklace to the city of Argos.¹

¹ Apollo is meant, whose oracle to Oedipus' father Laius began the family's destruction. Oedipus' curse on his sons caused Polynices to be exiled from Thebes and bring the necklace of Harmonia to Argos (see Introduction above).

71

He had his mother's blood washed from his hands.¹

¹ Alcmeon purified of Eriphyle's death by Phegeus of Phocis (cf. next fragment). The Greek (unmetrical) is a paraphrase.

72

<ALCMEON>

Greetings, old sir! In giving your daughter to me as wife you are deemed my father-in-law, and also my father and my saviour.¹

¹ For the rhetorical phrasing cf. F 866 with note.

ALCMEON IN CORINTH

Van Looy (1964), 103–31 and in ed. Budé VIII.1.81–116.

T. Zielinski, *Mnemosyne* 50 (1922), 305–27; Webster 265–8; LIMC, Jouan and Gantz under *Alcmeon in Psophis* above.

This play dealt with earlier adventures of Alcmeon than those of Alcmeon in Psophis. Apollodorus 3.7.7 (= test. ii), the only account of them, attributes them to Euripides, who perhaps developed them from the now lost Alcmeonid or another epic, or even invented them (see below). Alcmeon had two children by the unmarried Manto ('Prophetess'), daughter of the Theban seer Tiresias (F 73a), a son Amphilocheus and a daughter Tisiphone; this must have been soon after his victory at Thebes. He gave them to Creon king of Corinth to bring up; Creon's wife Merope became jealous of Tisiphone's beauty and sold her into slavery. Alcmeon bought her in ignorance; when he returned to Corinth to recover his children, she accompanied him. A typical Euripidean recognition and reunion would have followed; the son Amphilocheus was foretold as founder of Amphilocheian Argos in S. W. mainland Greece.

The plot's course can nevertheless only be guessed (cf. Van Looy in ed. Budé 100): probably Alcmeon's leaving his children with Creon and the later selling-away of

EURIPIDES

Tisiphone were narrated by Apollo in his prologue (F 73a); the action, set in Corinth, began with Alcmeon's return to reclaim his children, accompanied by *Tisiphone*, still unknown to him just as he is unrecognised by the Corinthian chorus (F 74). *Merope* must have had a speaking part so as to identify the girl, who probably had a role herself; her brother *Amphilochus* certainly did. He is addressed in F 75 in the belief that he is Creon's son (the speaker may be *Tisiphone*; hardly Alcmeon?). When *Amphilochus*' true birth comes out, Creon flees, his high hopes of a proud succession destroyed (F *76, cf. perhaps the unassigned F 80). Apollo perhaps spoke the epilogue too, rewarding the children of a mortal woman whom he had himself raped, if unsuccessfully (cf. F 73a again; compare his 'rewarding' *Creusa* in *Ion* with the boy's great future at Athens). As in Alcmeon in *Psophis*, however, the unassigned F 78–86 (and inferences from the fragments of *Ennius* and *Accius*) are too indefinite to aid reconstruction. Alcmeon's madness, which seems to fit better in Alcmeon in *Psophis*, is located with difficulty by some in Alcmeon in Corinth (*Webster* 266, following *Zielinski*).

Brief fragment: F 77, 'who knows no paean' (i.e. *Hades*). Other ascriptions: F 1084, adesp. F 641 (papyrus, 28 badly damaged lines of dialogue about a matricide); cf. also F 953e, F 1068.

The play was composed shortly before 406 B.C. and produced posthumously in 405 together with *Bacchae* and *Iphigenia in Aulis* (*Schol. on Aristophanes, Frogs* 66–7 = *Alcm. Cor. test. i*). *Jouan* (1990) strongly favours *Zielinski*'s contention that even while the Peloponnesian War made Athens' inevitable defeat imminent, Euripides devised the plot as polemic against his city's old enemy Corinth:

ALCMEON IN CORINTH

Alcmeon's son Amphiloclus, an Argive by lineage wrongly appropriated by Creon of Corinth, is revealed as the true founder of a city and of the influence in western Greece which the Corinthians had long claimed as theirs. Both Creon and Merope are portrayed unfavourably. The play was nevertheless a 'romantic' melodrama typical of Euripides' last phase, with the separation, danger and reunion of blood relatives (cf. Alexander, Hypsipyle and Antiope, but also e.g. the earlier Cresphontes). No reflection of Alcmeon in Corinth in ancient art is certainly known (see LIMC no. 19, Van Looy in ed. Budé 98-9, Todisco Ap 69 for rejection of a vase-painting used in reconstruction by Zielinski).

ΑΛΚΜΕΩΝ Ο ΔΙΑ ΚΟΡΙΝΘΟΥ

73a

< ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝ >

κάγῳ μὲν ἄτεκνος ἐγενόμην κείνης ἄπο,
Ἄλκμέωνι δ' ἔτεκε δίδυμα τέκνα παρθένος.

P. Oxy. 1611 fr. I col. iv.90-3 (a literary commentary)

74

ΧΟΡΟΣ

φίλαι φίλαι,
πρόβατε, μόλε<τε> τίς ὄδε, ποδαπὸς ὁ ξένος
Κορινθίοις ἔμολεν ἀγχιάλους;

Tzetzes, *On Tragedy*, in *Anecdota Parisiana* I.19-20 Cramer

2 πρόβατ', ἔμολε τις ὦδε Telò

75

ὦ παῖ Κρέοντος, ὡς ἀληθὲς ἦν ἄρα,
ἐσθλῶν ἀπ' ἀνδρῶν ἐσθλὰ γίγνεσθαι τέκνα,
κακῶν δ' ὁμοια τῇ φύσει τῇ τοῦ πατρός.

Stobaeus 4.30.2

ALCMEON IN CORINTH

73a

<APOLLO>

And I myself was childless by her; but the unmarried girl bore Alcmeon two children.¹

¹ Manto and Amphilochus (see Introduction). In Euripides Apollo fails to have a child by her, but Apollodorus 3.7.4 names a son Mopsus.

74

CHORUS

Friends, friends, come forward, do come! Who is this stranger here, from what country has he come to Corinth by the sea?¹

¹ Alcmeon arrives in Corinth. The Greek metre is not established, and some editors favour a text like Teld's 'come forward; some stranger has come here . . .'

75

Son of Creon, how true then it has proved, that from noble fathers noble children are born, and from base ones children resembling their father's nature.¹

¹ Amphilochus is addressed in the belief that he is Creon's son rather than Alcmeon's: see Introduction. Moral character inherited: *Antigone* F 166, *Archelaus* F 231-2, etc.; *Theognis* 183-90.

EURIPIDES

*76

*ὄρατε τὸν τύραννον ὡς ἄπαις γέρων
φεύγει· φρονεῖν δὲ θνητὸν ὄντ' οὐ χρὴ μέγα.*

Stobaeus 3.22.13

ALCMEON IN CORINTH

*76

See how the king is fleeing into exile, childless in old age;
one who is mortal should not think proudly.¹

¹ The fragment is attributed only to 'Euripides' *Alcmeon*, but 'the king' must be Creon of Corinth, for Phegeus in *Alcm. Psoph.* is neither childless (F 72) nor in exile.

ΑΛΚΜΕΩΝ Ο ΔΙΑ ΨΩΦΙΔΟΣ
or Ο ΔΙΑ ΚΟΡΙΝΘΟΥ

78

<ΧΟΡΟΣ>

γυναῖκα καὶ ὠφελίαν
καὶ νόσον ἀνδρὶ φέρειν
μεγίσταν †ἐδίδαξα τ' ἐμῶ λόγῳ†

Stobaeus 4.22.74

3 So Stob. ms. M (ἐδιδάξατ' ἐμῶ editors): ἐδίδαξα τῷ ἐμῷ
ms. A (τῷμῶ Valckenaer)

78a

<—>

ὡς ἄπεπλον, ὦ δύστηνε, σῶμ' ἔχεις σέθεν.

<ΑΛΚΜΕΩΝ>

ἐν τοῖσδ' ἄησιν καὶ θέρος διέρχομαι.

Photius, *Lexicon* a 448 Theodoridis

79

βροτοῖς τὰ μείζω τῶν μέσων τίκτει νόσους·
θεῶν δὲ θνητοὺς κόσμον οὐ πρέπει φέρειν.

Stobaeus 3.22.8

ALCMEON IN PSOPHIS
or IN CORINTH

78

<CHORUS>

That a wife brings a husband both the greatest help and
the greatest harm, †I have (both?) taught through my
words† . . .¹

¹ Text, sense and metre uncertain.

78a

<—>

How poorly dressed your body is, you poor man!

<ALCMEON>

I go through winter and summer in these things.

79

Anything beyond the middling creates trouble for men;
mortals should not wear the trappings of gods.¹

¹ If 'trappings of gods' means Harmonia's necklace, the fragment refers to the story of *Alcmeon in Psophis*, and may come from that play.

EURIPIDES

80

φεῦ <φεῦ>, τὰ μεγάλα μεγάλα καὶ πάσχει κακά.

Stobaeus 4.8.6

81

ταπεινὰ γὰρ χρῆ τοὺς κακῶς πεπραγότας
λέγειν, ἐς ὄγκον δ' οὐκ ἄνω βλέπειν τύχης.

Stobaeus 3.22.24

82

τὰ τῶν τεκόντων ὡς μετέρχεται θεὸς
μιάσματ(α).

Stobaeus 4.25.15

83

εἰ τοῦ τεκόντος οὐδὲν ἐντρέπη πατρός

Priscian, *Grammar* 3.311.14 Keil-Hertz

84

ἢ τί πλέον εἶναι παῖδας ἀνθρώποις, πάτερ,
εἰ μὴ 'πὶ τοῖς δεινοῖσιν ὠφελήσομεν;

Stobaeus 4.25.23

85

μέτεστι τοῖς δούλοισι δεσποτῶν νόσου.

Stobaeus 4.19.23

ALCMEON IN PSOPHIS *or* IN CORINTH

80

Alas, greatness also suffers great disaster!

81

Those who have fared badly should speak humbly, and not look back to their fortune in its pomp.¹

¹ Translation insecure, but the thought resembles *Hippolytus Veiled* F 437; also F 957.

82

... that god pursues for punishment foul sins committed against fathers.¹

¹ This sense partly paraphrases Stobaeus' chapter heading; also possible is '... sins committed by fathers' (when god punishes their children: F 980).

83

... if you pay no heed to the father who got you.

84

... or what advantage are children for men, father, if we are not going to help in their predicaments?

85

Slaves have a share in their masters' affliction.

col. i *a few letters from glosses on col. ii.1-3*

col. ii ἀλλ' ἔρπ' ἐς οἴκ[ους

μητου[.]εμη[

ύμῖν τ' ἀπαυδ[ῶ

εἴ τις λακοῦσα τ[

5 μή μ' αἰτιάσθ[αι

ὅστις δὲ δούλω φωτὶ πιστεύει βροτῶν,

πολλήν παρ' ἡμῖν μωρίαν ὀφλισκάνει.

<ΧΟΡΟΣ>

beginnings of 13 more lines, with some part-words preserved:

8 γλυκεια[, 9 μαινομ[, 10 ὑπὸ γαία[, 11 τέκνοις .[,

16 κυλιנד[, 20 λατρ... αλλαβίου[

PSI 1302, ed. G. Vitelli (1953), earlier W. Schadewaldt, *Hermes* 80 (1952), 46-66 = *Hellas und Hesperien* I.516-34; re-ed. Austin, *NFE* 83 (fr. 150). Assigned to *Alcm. Psoph.* by Schadewaldt, followed by Webster 41; strongly doubted by Van Looy in ed. Budé 95-6. Vv. 6-7 (= F 86 N): Stobaeus 4.19.25.

γυναῖκες, ὀρμήθητε μηδ' ἀθυμία

σχέθη τις ὑμᾶς· ταῦτα γὰρ σκεθρῶς ὄρᾶν

ἡμᾶς ἀνάγκη τοὺς νομίζοντας τέχνην.

Erotian σ 46

ALCMEON IN PSOPHIS or IN CORINTH

86

But go into the house . . . (*one line*) . . . and I forbid you . . . if
any (woman) crying out . . . to blame me Whoever 5
among men puts trust in a slave, incurs great folly in my
eyes.

<CHORUS>

. . . sweet . . . madly(?) . . . under the earth . . . (to?) children 10
. . . roll¹ . . . (be a?) lackey but(?) live . . . 20

¹ Possibly of a succession of woes: *Phrixus* F 822.7, Sophocles,
Antigone 590.

87

Women, go quickly and let no despondency hold you back;
for we who practise this skill¹ must look accurately at these
things.¹

¹ Divination (suggested by 'look accurately').

ALCMENE

H. Van Looy in ed. Budé VIII.1.117–35.

Webster 92–4, 298; Trendall–Webster III.3.6–8; *LIMC* I.i.552–6 ‘Alcmene’; R. Aélion, *Revue de Philologie* 55 (1981), 225–36; E. Stärk, *RhM* 125 (1982), 275–303; E. Lefèvre, *Maccus Vortit Barbare* (Wiesbaden, 1982); S. West, *CQ* 34 (1984), 294–5; D. M. Christenson, *Plautus: Amphitruo* (Cambridge, 2000), 45–55; E. A. Schmidt, *Museum Helveticum* 60 (2003), 80–104; Sourvinou-Inwood 471–2; Evamaria Schmidt, *Antike Kunst* 46 (2003), 56–71 with Taf. 13–14; Taplin 170–4, 263.

Alcmene granddaughter of Perseus was married to her cousin Amphitryon and went with him into exile at Thebes after he had unintentionally killed her father Electryon. Her brothers had also been killed in a feud with the Taphians or Teleboans who held the Echinades islands off the west coast of Greece, and Alcmene refused to allow Amphitryon to consummate their marriage until he had avenged their deaths. He did this, but as he returned from the campaign Zeus visited and seduced Alcmene, in some accounts taking her husband's form and reporting his achievements, and tripling the night's length so as to increase his pleasure. Alcmene became pregnant by Zeus

ALCMENE

with the demigod Heracles, and by Amphitryon with Heracles' inferior twin brother Iphicles.

*Zeus's affair with Alcmena was well known in early Greek epic (cf. Homer, Iliad 14.323-4, 19.95ff., Odyssey 11.266-8, Hesiod, Theogony 943-4), and the episode was told in full in the Hesiodic Catalogue of Women (Hes. F 195.8-63 = Shield of Heracles 1-56). The likelihood that it was the subject of Euripides' Alcmena is now strongly supported by the papyrus prologue fragment F *87b, which almost certainly belongs to this play. Neither this nor the book fragments give much guidance as to the dramatic action, but later sources—especially Apollodorus 2.4.8, Hyginus Fab. 29, the vase-paintings mentioned below, and in part Plautus' Amphitruo—seem to reflect the essentials of a plot that may well go back to Euripides and was set on the day after Zeus's visit to Alcmena (rather than the day of Heracles' birth as Webster for example prefers). Amphitryon on his return discovers that Alcmena has slept with someone else, refuses to accept her explanation that she has been deceived, and determines to kill her; Alcmena takes refuge at an altar, and Amphitryon has logs piled about the altar so as to burn her out; Zeus then saves her by causing a storm to quench the fire. Amphitryon probably learned and accepted the truth from a divine speech at the end (or perhaps from Tiresias as in Apollodorus; he appears in the most recently published vase paintings). The inclusion of the altar episode has been doubted (see Aélion), but Plautus, Rudens 86 associates a destructive wind with 'Euripides' Alcumena', and eight 4th c. South Italian vases (or fragments) portray, with varying details, Alcmena trapped on the altar-pyre and the divine inter-*

EURIPIDES

vention; the earliest is dated about 400 B.C., not much later than Euripides' play (all are discussed by Evamaria Schmidt). Some scholars think the scene must have been reported since staging the flames and the storm would have been impracticable, but they could have been simulated or imagined (like for example the earthquake in Erechtheus, F 370.45–54), and scenes of refuge at the altar were very popular in tragedy.

Within such an outline F 88 may belong with F *87b in the prologue, F 92 and 95–6 in an early scene where Amphitryon accused Alcmene of succumbing to a wealthy mortal (a gold cup and necklace given to Alcmene by Zeus may have been featured here: cf. Pausanias 5.18.3), F 88a (if from this play) in a speech of Alcmene defending herself, F 90 in the altar scene, F 89 in the god's speech at the end, and F 103 in a final choral comment welcoming the reconciliation of husband and wife. F 97–99 and F 102 suggest that at some point Amphitryon rejected an attempt to console him for being cuckolded, and F 104 perhaps refers to Zeus's 'long night' with Alcmene. Hermes, who appears with Zeus on the two earliest vases and speaks the prologue of Plautus' *Amphitruo*, may have spoken either the prologue or the god's speech at the end. Most scholars think it unlikely that Zeus himself appeared in the play or as *deus ex machina* as in Plautus' *Amphitruo* (but West and Sourvinou-Inwood argue for his appearance as *deus*). A man named Antenor who assists Amphitryon on one of the vases (LIMC no. 5, Trendall–Webster III.3.8, Todisco P 15) could have accompanied or preceded the victorious Amphitryon in the play.

Brief fragment: F 104 'gloomy night'. Other ascriptions: F 87 (see Alcmene); F 1002.

ALCMENE

*The play probably resembled Ion in combining humour with high emotions and exploring the tragic potential of human misapprehensions manipulated by uncaring gods. The metrical resolutions in F *87b.15 and (if from Alcmene) F 88a.1 hint at a date not earlier than about 420 (so Alcmene might possibly have been produced with the more 'tragic' Heracles which concerns the hero's later life and features the aged Amphitryon). Other Alcmene tragedies are recorded, with little or no detail, for Aeschylus and Ion of Chios in the 5th century, Astydamas and Dionysius of Syracuse in the 4th; Sophocles' Amphitryon and Accius' Amphitruo appear to have had different subject matter. Plautus' extant 'tragicomedy' Amphitruo has some strongly Euripidean features, but it is hard to prove a direct dependence or to use Amphitruo as a basis for reconstructing Alcmene. The comic Long Night by Aristophanes' contemporary Plato, the burlesque Amphitryon by Rhinthon of Syracuse (around 300 B.C.), and a hypothetical Latin tragedy based on Euripides have all been thought of as possible intermediaries. For recent discussions of Amphitruo and Alcmene see Stärk, Lefèvre, Christenson (a balanced survey), and E. A. Schmidt. The impact of Amphitruo on European literature has been immense: see OGCMA I.99-102; L. Shero, TAPA 87 (1956), 192-240; M. Kunze et al., Amphitryon: ein griechisches Motif in der europäischen Literatur (Münster, 1993).*

ΑΛΚΜΗΝΗ

*87b

remains of six lines

Θήβας ἐπι...μοῖς τοῖσ[

ληισταὶ γὰρ [.]νι.....[

Τάφιοι μολόντες τασα[

10 νήσους ἀλιτενεῖς, ἄς καλ[οῦσ' Ἐχινάδας.

ἢ δ' ἐξομεῖται μηδενὸ[ς

ὄς μὴ μετέλθοι συγγόν[ων

Ταφίους· λιγὺς δὲ χρησ[μὸς

Ἀμφιτρύων γὰρ ἐπὶ γά[μοις

20 *remains of one more line*

P. Hamburg 119 col. iii, ed. E. Siegmann (1954); re-ed. Austin, *NFE* 84-5 (fr. 151)

11 μηδενὸ[ς ψαύσειν γάμων (e.g.) Kassel, Snell

12 συγγόν[ων ὑπὲρ φόνου (e.g.) Siegmann

88

πολὺς δ' ἀνείρπε κισσός, εὐφυνῆς κλάδος,

ἀηδόνων μουσεῖον

Schol. on Aristophanes, *Frogs* 93 (similarly *Suda* χ 187)

2 ἀηδόνων Meineke: χελιδόνων Schol. Ar., *Sud.*

ALCMENE

*87b

(remains of six lines) . . . Thebes . . . for Taphian brigands coming . . . sea-bound islands which are called (Echinades). But she will vow not (to accept marriage with) any man who does not go after the Taphians (for the killing of her) brothers. But a clear-voiced oracle . . . For Amphitryon . . . for marriage . . . *(remains of one more line)*

88

Ivy crept up abundantly, a vigorous branch, a nightingales' place of song . . .¹

¹ Zeus may have caused ivy to enclose Alcmene's chamber while he visited her.

EURIPIDES

88a (= *Alcmeon* F 67 N)

- ὁ φόβος, ὅταν τις > σώματος μέλλῃ πέρι
λέγειν καταστὰς εἰς ἀγῶν' ἐναντίον,
τό τε στόμ' εἰς ἔκπληξιν ἀνθρώπων ἄγει
τὸν νοῦν τ' ἀπείργει μὴ λέγειν ἃ βούλεται.
5 {τῷ μὲν γὰρ ἔνι κίνδυνος, ὁ δ' ἀθῶος μένει.}
ὅμως δ' ἀγῶνα τόνδε δεῖ μ' ὑπεκδραμεῖν
ψυχὴν γὰρ ἄθλα τιθεμένην ἐμὴν ὀρώ.

Stobaeus 3.8.12 ms. S (with play title abbreviated as ἀκμί, i.e. either *Alcmene* or *Alcmeon*)

5 Verse deleted by Wilamowitz 6 ὑπεκδραμεῖν is suspect, corrected to ὑπερδραμεῖν in Stob. ms. Paris. 1985: ἤδη δραμεῖν Bergk

89

οὐ γάρ ποτ' εἶων Σθένελον εἰς τὸν εὐτυχῆ
χωροῦντα τοῖχον τῆς δίκης <σ' > ἀποστερεῖν.

Schol. on Aristophanes, *Frogs* 536

2 <σ' > Grotius

90

πόθεν δὲ πύκης πανὸν ἐξηγύρες λαβεῖν;

Pollux 10.117

ALCMENE

88a (= *Alcmeon* F 67 N)

When someone is about to speak in defence of his life and has entered into a trial face to face, fear makes him tonguetied before his audience and hinders his mind from saying what it wants to.¹ {For he is at risk, while his opponent remains unaffected.} Nevertheless I must get safely through this trial, for I see that in it my own life is at stake.

¹ The speaker may have been Alcmeone even though the argument is put in masculine terms, as such generalizations usually are (e.g. *Andromeda* F 119).

89

For I never allowed Sthenelus to get on the fortunate side¹ and deprive you of your right.

¹ The source explains that moving to the 'fortunate' (i.e. more sheltered) side of a ship in a storm was proverbial for looking-after yourself. 'You' (restored to the text by Grotius) will be Amphitryon, addressed by the god who appeared at the end of the play. Sthenelus was Amphitryon's brother and dynastic rival, and father of Eurystheus who through Hera's contrivance inherited the power that Zeus had intended for Heracles (Homer, *Iliad* 19.95ff; cf. our Introduction to *Eurystheus*). According to Apollodorus 2.4.6, Sthenelus used the killing of Electryon as a pretext for banishing Amphitryon.

90

Where did you contrive to get a pine torch?

EURIPIDES

91

<ΧΟΡΟΣ>

ἀτρέκεια δ' ἄριστον ἀνδρὸς ἐν πόλει δικαίου.

Stobaeus 4.1.24, supplying a verb πέλει at end

92

*ἴστω τ' ἄφρων ὦν ὅστις ἀνθρωπος γεγὼς
δῆμον κολουίει χρήμασιν γαυρούμενος.*

Stobaeus 4.4.9

93

*ἀεὶ δ' ἀρέσκειν τοῖς κρατοῦσι ταῦτα γὰρ
δούλοις ἄριστα· καὶ φ' ὅτῳ τεταγμένος
εἴη τις, ἀνδάνοντα δεσπότηαι ποιεῖν.*

Stobaeus 4.19.27

94

τῶν γὰρ δυναστῶν πλείστος ἐν πόλει λόγος.

Stobaeus 4.4.7

95

*ἀλλ' οὐδὲν ἠύγένεια πρὸς τὰ χρήματα·
τὸν γὰρ κάκιστον πλοῦτος εἰς πρώτους ἄγει.*

Stobaeus 4.31.35

96

σκαῖόν τι χρήμα πλοῦτος ἢ τ' ἀπειρία.

Stobaeus 4.31.72

ALCMENE

91

<CHORUS>

A just man's honesty is a city's best asset.

92

A man who is merely human yet disdains the people and prides himself on his wealth should understand that he is a fool.

93

. . . and always to please those in power—that is the best thing for slaves—and whatever job one is given, to do what gratifies one's masters.

94

What the powerful say carries the most weight in a city.

95

Good birth is nothing in comparison with money. Wealth brings the lowest of men into the highest rank.¹

¹ For the thought cf. *Danae* F 326.1–5 with note.

96

Wealth joined with ignorance¹ is a boorish thing.

¹ The word *ἀπειρία* suggests *ἀπειροκαλία*, 'unfamiliarity with the finer things of life', 'poor taste'; cf. *Auge* F 269.3.

EURIPIDES

97

ἀλλ' οὐ γὰρ ὀρθῶς ταῦτα, γενναίως <δ' > ἴσως
ἔπραξας· αἰνεῖσθαι δὲ δυστυχῶν ἐγὼ
μισῶ· λόγος γὰρ τοῦργον οὐ νικᾷ ποτε.

Stobaeus 4.35.32

3 λόγος Porson: λογισμὸς Stob. ms. S (-οὺς mss. MA)

98

ἀλλ' εὖ φέρειν χρὴ συμφορὰς τὸν εὐγενῆ.

Stobaeus 4.44.48; [Menander], *Monostichs* 721 Jaekel

99

τὸν εὐτυχοῦντα χρῆν σοφὸν πεφυκέναι.

Stobaeus 4.4.12

χρῆν Meineke: χρὴ Stob.

100

θάρσει, τάχ' ἂν γένοιτο· πολλά τοι θεὸς
κάκ τῶν ἀέλπτων εὖπορ' ἀνθρώποις τελεί.

Stobaeus 4.47.9

101

ἀλλ' ἡμέρα τοι πολλὰ καὶ μέλαινα νύξ
τίκτει βροτοῖσιν.

Stobaeus 4.34.21

ALCMENE

97

You did this improperly, though perhaps honestly. I dislike being praised when I am suffering misfortune, for what is said never overcomes the reality.

98

The well-born man should bear misfortunes well.

99

A man enjoying good fortune had best be wise.

100

Cheer up, it might happen. God brings men many good outcomes even from desperate situations.

101

Day and dark night produce many things for mortals.

EURIPIDES

102

σοφώτεροι γὰρ συμφορὰς τὰς τῶν πέλας
πάντες διαθρεῖν ἢ τύχας τὰς οἴκοθεν.

Stobaeus 4.49.4

2 διαθρεῖν Valckenaer: διαιρεῖν Stob.

103

<ΧΟΡΟΣ>

δεινόν τι τέκνων φίλτρον ἔθηκεν
θεὸς ἀνθρώποις.

Stobaeus 4.26.6

ALCMENE

102

Everyone is cleverer at analysing their neighbours' misfortunes than their own.

103

<CHORUS>

God has made children a formidable love charm for men.¹

¹ Similarly *Protesilaus* F 652, *Danae* F 323; cf. *Danae* F 316, *Dictys* F 345-6 etc.

ALOPE

H. Van Looy in ed. Budé VIII.1.137–46.

B. Borecký in *Studia antiqua A. Salač . . . oblata* (Prague, 1955), 82–9; Webster 94; LIMC I.i.572–3 ‘Alope’; Huys, *The Tale*, relevant sections; I. Karamanou, AC 72 (2003), 25–40.

*Alope was the daughter of the great wrestler Cercyon, who challenged and killed travellers on the road between Megara and Eleusis until Theseus outwrestled and killed him. Raped by Poseidon, she became the mother of Hippothoon, one of the ten tribal heroes of democratic Athens. Alope's story is known largely from Hyginus, Fab. 187 (test. *ii b below): she had her illicit child exposed to die, but he was fed by a mare and rescued by a herdsman who gave him to another herdsman to rear as his own; but the herdsmen quarrelled over the ownership of the identifying tokens left with the baby, and when they brought their quarrel before Cercyon the true origin of the child was revealed. Cercyon imprisoned Alope and ordered the child exposed again, but again he was fed by the mare and rescued. His subsequent upbringing is not described, and Hyginus' narrative ends with Theseus later killing Cercyon and restoring Hippothoon to his birthright, and with Poseidon transforming Alope into a spring.*

EURIPIDES

Earlier reconstructions attempted to fit all of Hyginus' narrative, including the later events, within Euripides' plot (and Karamanou revives the idea that the killing of Cercyon by Theseus was reported in a messenger-speech). Since Borecky's study, however, it has been widely accepted that the play's action will have proceeded only as far as the imprisonment of Alope and re-exposure of Hippothon, with the later events—or some of them—being foretold in a speech from a god (perhaps Poseidon himself) at the end; such a speech must at least have proclaimed Cercyon's error and Hippothon's heroic future. The fate of Alope remains uncertain: others in her situation survived to encounter their sons in later life (Auge in Telephus, Melanippe in Wise Melanippe or at least its sequel, Tyro in Sophocles' Tyro). Huys suggests it is unlikely that Poseidon failed to protect her, but no sequel for her is known and it seems possible that in this case Cercyon's will was fulfilled (like Theseus' in Hippolytus) and the transformation of Alope into a spring introduced as a consolation for her sad fate. The spring at Eleusis is mentioned by Hesychius α 3239, and Pausanias 1.39.3 describes a memorial of Alope on the Eleusis–Megara road, with the supposed palaestra of Cercyon nearby.

The usually accepted outline implies speaking roles at least for Alope, her Nurse, Cercyon, the two Herdsmen whose dispute leads to Cercyon's discovery of his daughter's child, and Poseidon or another god at the end. A chorus of local men associated with Cercyon and his exercise ground is introduced in F 105. Alope's predicament is the subject of F 106 (probably from a prologue narrative by Alope or the Nurse) and F 107 (perhaps likewise, but possibly a later jibe by Cercyon), while F 108 presumably refers

ALOPE

to the Nurse's assistance. F 109–111 probably belong to Cercyon's condemnation of Alope. The extant arbitration scene (vv. 218–375) of Menander's *Epitrepontes* ('Men at Arbitration'), involving a similar dispute between two countrymen over the valuables found with an exposed child, was very probably modelled on the Euripidean scene; but the degree of similarity cannot be determined (for discussion of Menander's inventive adaptation see C. Cusset, *Ménandre ou la comédie tragique* [Paris, 2003], 168–87).

Brief fragments: F **105a 'Don't be sullen'; F 112a (= 845 N) 'unwarmed by the sun'; F 113 'to sell'. Other ascription: F 1061.

The play's date is unknown, and no reliable guidance can be had from the content or metrical style of its few fragments. Pausanias 1.14.3 ascribes an *Alope* to Choerilus, one of the earliest Athenian tragedians, and Aeschylus produced a satyr play *Cercyon*, presumably about his wrestling bout with Theseus, from which a few words are preserved. We know from Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics* 1150b.6–10 of an *Alope* by Carcinus (early 4th c.) in which Cercyon's grief over his daughter's violation was sympathetically treated: see TrGF 70 F 1b.

ΑΛΟΠΗ

test. iia

Ἄλόπη· Λυκούργος ἐν τῷ περὶ τῆς ἱερείας (fr. 33 Blass, fr. VI.6 Conomis)· Κερκύνος θυγάτηρ, ἐξ ἧς καὶ Ποσειδῶνος Ἴπποθῶν ὁ τῆς Ἴπποθωντίδος φυλῆς ἐπώνυμος, ὡς Ἑλλάνικός τε ἐν β' Ἀθίδος (FGrH 4 F 43) καὶ Εὐριπίδης ἐν τῷ Ὀμωλύμῳ δράματι . . .

Harpocration, *Lexicon to the Ten Attic Orators*, A 81 Keaney

test. *iib

ALOPE. Alope Cercyonis filia formosissima cum esset, Neptunus eam compressit, qua ex compressione peperit infantem, quem inscio patre nutrici dedit exponendum. Qui cum expositus esset, equa uenit et ei lac praestabat. (2) Quidam pastor equam persecutus uidit infantem atque eum sustulit, qui ueste regia indutum cum in casam tulisset, alter compastor rogauit ut sibi eum infantem donaret. (3) Ille ei donauit sine ueste; cum autem inter eos iurgium esset, quod qui puerum acceperat insignia ingenuitatis reposceret, ille autem non daret, contententes ad regem Cercyonem uenerunt et contendere coeperunt. (4) Ille autem qui infantem donatum accepe-

Hyginus, *Fab.* 187

ALOPE

test. iia

Alope: Lycurgus in (his speech) *On the Priestess*: daughter of Cercyon, and mother by Poseidon of Hippothoon the eponymous hero of the Hippothoontid tribe, as Hellanicus (relates) in Book 2 of his *Atthis*, and Euripides in his play named after her . . .

test. *iib

ALOPE. Alope daughter of Cercyon was very beautiful, and so Neptune raped her; consequently she bore a child, and without her father's knowledge gave it to her nurse to be exposed. When he had been exposed, a mare came and supplied him with milk. (2) A herdsman who had followed the mare saw the child and took him up, and when he had taken him into his hut, dressed in royal clothing, another fellow-herdsman asked him to give him the child. (3) He gave him to him without the clothing; and when a quarrel broke out between them as the one who had received the child demanded the marks of his free birth,¹ and the other would not give them, they took their dispute to Cercyon and began to argue. (4) The one who had received the child began to demand the marks, and when

¹ Presumably a family symbol woven into the cloth.

² The name means 'Swift-horse'.

EURIPIDES

rat, repetere insignia coepit; quae cum allata essent, et agnosceret Cercyon ea esse ex ueste scissa filiae suae, Alopes nutrix timens regi indicium fecit infantem eum Alopes esse, qui filiam iussit ad necem includi, infantem autem proici. (5) Quem iterum equa nutriebat, pastores iterum inuentum sustulerunt, sentientes eum deorum numine educari, atque nutrierunt, nomenque ei imposuerunt Hippothoum. (6) Theseus cum ea iter faceret a Troezene Cercyonem interfecit. Hippothous autem ad Theseum uenit regnaque auita rogauit; cui Theseus libens dedit, cum sciret eum Neptuni filium esse, unde ipse genus ducebat. (7) Alopes autem corpus Neptunus in fontem commutauit, qui ex nomine Alopes est cognominatus.

105

ὄρω μὲν ἀνδρῶν τόνδε γυμνάδα στόλου
στείχονθ' ἑῶν ἐκ τρόχων πεπαυμένον.

Ammonius, *On Similar and Different Words* 478 (= Tryphon, *On Attic Prosody* fr. 11 von Velsen)

2 στείχονθ' ἑῶν Dindorf: στείχοντα θεωρὸν Ammon.

106

. . . γέμουσαν κύματος θεοσπόρου . . .

Eustathius on Homer, *Iliad* 6.474 (and again on *Iliad* 21.306, *Odyssey* 9.486 and 11.253), citing 'Euripides in *Cercyon*'

107

πλήσας δὲ νηδὺν οὐδ' ὄναρ κατ' εὐφρόνην
φίλοις ἔδειξεν αὐτόν.

Eustathius on Homer, *Odyssey* 21.79 (cf. on *Od.* 8.495), citing 'Euripides in *Cercyon*'

ALOPE

these had been brought, and Cercyon recognized that they had been cut from his daughter's dress, Alope's nurse in fear informed the king that the child was Alope's. Cercyon ordered his daughter to be shut away to die, and the child to be cast forth. (5) Again the mare fed him, and again the herdsmen took him up, sensing that he was being reared by divine power; they fed him, and gave him the name Hippothous.² (6) When Theseus passed that way from Troezen, he killed Cercyon, and Hippothous came to Theseus and requested his grandfather's kingdom. Theseus gladly gave it to him since he knew he was a son of Neptune, from whom he himself traced his birth. (7) Neptune transformed Alope's body into a spring which gets its name from hers.

105

I see coming here in the early morning a group of men,
stripped for exercise after finishing at the track.

106

... heavy with god-sown child ...

107

Having filled her womb he (Poseidon) did not show himself to his loved one even as a dream in the night.

EURIPIDES

108

γυνή γυναικὶ σύμμαχος πέφυκέ πως.

Stobaeus 4.22.150

109

<ΚΕΡΚΤΩΝ>

οὐ μὴν σύ γ' ἡμᾶς τοὺς τεκόντας ἠδέσω.

Etymologicum Genuinum AB 'ἠδέσθην,' cf. *Etym. Magnum*
p. 420.16 Gaisford (= Orus, *Attic Lexicon* fr. B 76 Alpers)

110

<ΚΕΡΚΤΩΝ?>

ἐγὼ δ', ὃ μὲν μέγιστον, ἄρξομαι λέγειν
ἐκ τοῦδε πρώτον· πατρὶ πείθεσθαι χρεῶν
παῖδας νομίζειν τ' αὐτὸ τοῦτ' εἶναι δίκην.

Stobaeus 4.25.29; Orion, Euripidean Appendix 12 Haffner

111

<ΚΕΡΚΤΩΝ?>

τί δῆτα μοχθεῖν δεῖ γυναικείον γάμον
φρουροῦντας; αἱ γὰρ εὖ τεθραμμέναί πλέον
σφάλλουσιν οἴκους τῶν παρημελημένων.

Stobaeus 4.23.17

(112 N = *Aeolus* F **38a)

ALOPE

108

A woman is a woman's natural ally.

109

<CERCYON?>

Yet you showed no respect for us, your own parents.¹

¹ The Greek plurals may suggest singular 'me, your own father' (cf. F 110).

110

<CERCYON?>

I shall start my argument first of all with this, the main point: children should obey their father and consider this in itself to be right conduct.

111

<CERCYON?>

Why should we exert ourselves safeguarding a woman's marriage, when the well-raised ones do their families more damage than those who have been neglected?

(112 N = *Aeolus* F **38a)

ANDROMEDA

F. Babel, *Euripides, Andromeda* (Stuttgart, 1991); R. Klimek-Winter, *Andromedatragödien* (Stuttgart, 1993: with Sophocles, Livius Andronicus, Ennius, Accius); H. Van Looy in ed. Budé VIII.1 (1998), 147–90; J. Gibert in *SFP* II.133–68.

Webster 192–9, 304–5; Rau, *Paratragodia* 65–89; Trendall–Webster III.3.10–13; *LIMC* I.i.774–90 ‘Andromeda I’ (also VI.i.6–10 ‘Kepheus I’, VII.i.342–5 ‘Perseus and Andromeda’); Aélion (1986) 171–7, 180–3; Gantz 211–2, 307–9; J. Gibert, *ICS* 24–25 (1999–2000), 75–91; M. Wright, *Euripides’ Escape Tragedies* (Oxford, 2005: on *Helen, Andromeda, Iphigenia in Tauris*); Taplin 174–84.

Perseus’ birth and his return to the island of Seriphos with the head of the Gorgon Medusa were the subjects of Euripides’ Danae and Dictys (see later in this volume). In Andromeda, produced much later in 412 B.C., Perseus while returning to Seriphos reached Ethiopia (here probably located on the western borders of the inhabited earth: F 145) and found the princess Andromeda exposed as a sacrifice to a sea monster sent by Poseidon to afflict her father Cepheus’ kingdom (his wife Cassiopeia had insulted Poseidon’s daughters the Nereids by claiming to be more beauti-

ANDROMEDA

ful than them). Perseus fell in love with Andromeda, killed the monster and released the princess, who then defied her parents' opposition and departed with him to be his bride and mother of the future kings of Mycenae. Perseus' marriage with Andromeda is attested in the Hesiodic Catalogue of Women (Hes. F 135.6), and a mid-6th c. Corinthian vase painting shows him battling against the sea monster with her help (LIMC no. 1); but very little is known about pre-Euripidean versions of the story, which included a play by Sophocles (see below). For complete accounts we rely on later sources, especially Apollodorus 2.4.3 (probably drawing on the 5th c. Athenian mythographer Pherecydes) and Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 4.668–5.238 which has Euripidean features but is also eclectic and inventive. Excerpts from astronomical handbooks concerning the constellations Andromeda, Cassiopeia and Cepheus (= test. iiiia–b, reproduced in part below) refer to Euripides' account and include a few helpful details. The play's novelties and impact are vividly attested in the parody of its opening scenes in Aristophanes' *Women at the Thesmophoria* (1008–1134), produced in the following year; here a kinsman of Euripides has joined a women's ritual gathering in order to defend the poet against the women's charges of misogyny; he is exposed in a scene parodying Euripides' *Telephus* (see our Introduction there), and Euripides in his attempts to rescue him appears first as Menelaus rescuing Helen, then as Perseus rescuing Andromeda.

Aristophanes' parody and the ancient scholia provide glimpses of the tragedy's opening scenes. Its setting was the seashore, with the heroine bound to a rock in front of a cave (the stage building). It opened, uniquely, with an

EURIPIDES

anapaestic monody of Andromeda awaiting the monster's approach (F 114–6), her laments being echoed from the cave by the offstage voice of Echo (an easy target for Aristophanes' comic parody); scholia identify F 114 as the play's first lines and indicate that Echo's responses began as early as v. 6. The monody must have been long enough to convey the information usually given in a prologue speech, but our next fragments (F 117–8) have Andromeda dismissing Echo as she greets the arriving Chorus of sympathetic friends, and F 119–20 and 122 come from a lyric dialogue between her and the Chorus (monody and lyric dialogue are similarly deployed in Electra, Ion and Hypsipyle). The next known event, Perseus' arrival, probably followed soon after; his spectacular appearance on the theatrical crane was also made much of by Aristophanes (F 124). After first mistaking her for a sculpture (F 125) and overcoming her modest reluctance to converse with him (F 126), Perseus ascertained her plight (F 127–8?) and, struck with love, undertook to save her in return for her hand (F 129, 129a, probably also F 130–1 and 135; his account of the Gorgon adventure, F 133–134a, could come here or later). His famous demand for Eros' help (F 136) came in a scene-ending speech as he departed on his mission, and his triumphant return was heralded, naturally, by a messenger's report of the slaying of the monster (F 145–6), surely delivered to the still captive Andromeda, now to be released by the returning hero.

Beyond this the play's action is very unclear, except that it involved resistance to the marriage of Perseus and Andromeda and thus had a general structural similarity with plays such as Archelaus (where the king double-crossed the hero after promising him his daughter in re-

ANDROMEDA

turn for his aid), or Alexander (where the hero's athletic successes provoked hostility from Hecuba and Deiphobus). In Ovid, Cepheus and Cassiopeia promise Andromeda to Perseus as the monster approaches, and resistance comes later from Cepheus' brother Phineus who has expected to marry Andromeda himself and is turned to stone by the Gorgon's head when he attacks Perseus. Apollodorus' summary is essentially similar (Hyginus, Fab. 64 has Cepheus plotting with a fiancé named Agenor against Perseus), but the astronomical sources suggest that in Euripides Andromeda made the promise (cf. F 129, 129a, 131) and her parents tried to undo it; there is little sign in the 4th c. vases of a substantial role for Phineus (or, for that matter, Cassiopeia). If the astronomical sources are accurate, the second half of the play would seem to have consisted largely of debates amongst parents and lovers about Andromeda's duty to her parents, her attachment to Perseus, and his suitability as a husband (cf. F 138, 138a, F 141). But a more eventful plot remains possible and not unlikely—for example, Cepheus revoking an agreement to give Perseus his daughter under pressure from his haughty wife, or Phineus intervening violently (F 147–8 might suggest Ovid's celebratory feast at which the fighting broke out). Whatever conflict there was will have been resolved by Athena's appearance at the end, validating Andromeda's departure with Perseus and her dynastic future.

Brief fragments: F 148 'final' (designating the third bowl of wine mixed at symposia and dedicated to Zeus the Preserver), F 155 'spoils of the hunt', F 155a (= 1096 N) 'dim vision', F 156 'gets in return' (= 'saves by interceding', if the text of this lexicon entry is correct). Other ascriptions: F 881, **889 (= Women at the Thesmophoria 1122),

EURIPIDES

897, **955h, 985, 1013; *adesp.* F 537 'It is better to give succour; I would rather die gloriously than live ingloriously . . . ' Further tragic-sounding bits from the scene in *Women at the Thesmophoria* have been attributed to *Andromeda* by various scholars, especially vv. 1047–55, 1056, 1058, 1059 (= F 114a N–Sn), 1105–6 (= F 125a N–Sn), 1113, 1116–8, 1122, 1128–9 (= F 139 N), 1134; but these are at least as likely to be *Aristophanes*' own inventions.

The *scholia* on *Aristophanes* (= *test.* *ii*a–c) attest that *Andromeda* was produced with *Helen* at the *Dionysia* of 412, and *Women at the Thesmophoria* in the following year (Wright suggests that *Iphigenia in Tauris* and *Cyclops* were the companion pieces of 412). The astronomical sources say that *Sophocles*' *Andromeda* treated the same story, but this play is represented only by a dozen uninformative fragments; a date near 450 is usually inferred from a group of mid-5th century Attic vases showing *Andromeda* being tied to stakes by Ethiopians under *Cepheus*' direction, or found by *Perseus* in that posture (see LIMC nos. 2–6 with *Schauenburg*'s commentary, *Trendall–Webster* III.2.1–3; J. R. Green, *Theatre in Ancient Greek Society* [London, 1994], 20–2). The continuing impact of *Euripides*' play can be seen in *Frogs* 52–4, where *Dionysus* admits a longing for the now dead playwright stirred by a reading of this play, and it must have contributed to the immense popularity of the subject in the art of the 4th century and later—but here as in *Ovid* there is a constant difficulty in disentangling the *Euripidean* details. Nothing is known of later Greek tragedies by *Lycophron* and *Phrynichus* II (*TrGF* I nos. 100 and 212) or of a comedy by *Antiphanes*, and only a little more of

ANDROMEDA

Latin tragedies by Livius Andronicus, Ennius and Accius (on these see Klimek-Winter: Ennius may have used Euripides' plot, Accius Sophocles'). The story's ancient popularity is undiminished in the art, literature and music of more recent times (OGCMA II.875-83).

ΑΝΔΡΟΜΕΔΑ

test. iiii (a)

(15) Κηφέως . . . ἦν δέ, ὡς Εὐριπίδης φησίν, Αἰθιοῶπων βασιλεύς, Ἀνδρομέδας δὲ πατήρ· τὴν δ' αὐτοῦ θυγατέρα δοκεῖ παραθεῖναι τῷ κήτει βοράν, ἣν Περσεὺς ὁ Διὸς διέσωσε· δι' ἣν καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν τοῖς ἄστροις ἐτέθη Ἀθηνᾶς γνῶμη.

(17) Ἀνδρομέδας· αὕτη κεῖται ἐν τοῖς ἄστροις διὰ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν, τῶν Περσέως ἄθλων ὑπόμνημα, διατεταμένη τὰς χεῖρας, ὡς καὶ προετέθη τῷ κήτει· ἀνθ' ὧν σωθεῖσα ὑπὸ τοῦ Περσέως οὐχ εἴλετο τῷ πατρὶ συμμένειν οὐδὲ τῇ μητρὶ, ἀλλ' αὐθαίρετος εἰς τὸ Ἄργος ἀπῆλθε μετ' ἐκείνου, εὐγενές τι φρονήσασα. λέγει δὲ καὶ Εὐριπίδης σαφῶς ἐν τῷ περὶ αὐτῆς γεγραμμένῳ δράματι.

[Eratosthenes], *Catasterisms* 15 and 17; similarly in Latin Hyginus, *Astronomy* 2.9 and 2.11, Schol. on Germanicus Caesar's translation of Aratus' *Phaenomena*, 184ff., 201ff. (pp. 77, 78 Breysig), and other derivative sources.

test. iiib

Cassiepia: De hac Euripides et Sophocles et alii complures dixerunt ut gloriata sit se forma Nereidas praestare. Pro quo facto inter sidera sedens in siliquastro constituta est . . .

ANDROMEDA

test. iiia (a)

(15) (Constellation) of Cepheus: . . . He was, as Euripides says, king of the Ethiopians and father of Andromeda. He is supposed to have offered his own daughter as food to the sea monster, and Zeus's son Perseus rescued her. Because of her he too was placed amongst the stars by the decision of Athena.

(17) (Constellation) of Andromeda: She was placed amongst the stars through Athena's agency, to commemorate Perseus' labours, with her arms stretched out just as when she was exposed to the sea monster. Because of this, when she was rescued by Perseus she refused to stay with her father and her mother and chose to go away with Perseus to Argos, making a noble decision. Euripides gives an accurate account in the play he wrote about her.

test. iiib

Cassiopeia: Euripides, Sophocles and many others have told how she boasted that she excelled the Nereids in beauty. For this reason she is placed on a throne as she sits amongst the stars . . .

EURIPIDES

114

ΑΝΔΡΟΜΕΔΑ

ὦ Νυξ ἱερά,
 ὡς μακρὸν ἵππευμα διώκεις
 ἀστεροειδέα νῶτα διφρεύουσ'
 αἰθέρος ἱερᾶς
 5 τοῦ σεμνοτάτου δι' Ὀλύμπου.

ΗΧΩ

—δι' Ὀλύμπου.

Aristophanes, *Women at the Thesmophoria* 1065–9 with Schol.; vv. 1–3: Schol. on Theocritus 2.165/166b; vv. 1–2: Schol. on Oribasius, *Medical Collections*, lib. incert. 42.1; v. 1: Schol. on Homer, *Iliad* 24.12–13

115

ΑΝΔΡΟΜΕΔΑ

τί ποτ' Ἀνδρομέδα
 περίαλλα κακῶν μέρος ἐξέλαχον,
 θανάτου τλήμων μέλλουσα τυχεῖν;

Aristophanes, *Women at the Thesmophoria* 1070–2 with Schol.

115a (= 121 N)

< ΑΝΔΡΟΜΕΔΑ >

ἐκθεῖναι κήτει φορβάν

Schol. on Aristophanes, *Birds* 348

ANDROMEDA

114

(*Opening of the play*)

ANDROMEDA

O sacred Night, how long is your chariot-drive across the
sacred heaven's starry expanse, through holiest Olympus!¹ 5

ECHO

'Olympus!'²

¹ 'Olympus', originally the mountain, came to be used of the
heaven as home of the gods. ² The echo is sung by Euripi-
des in Aristophanes' play and ascribed by the scholiast to Echo.
Some editors doubt that her interventions began so early in Eu-
ripides' play.

115

ANDROMEDA

Why have I, Andromeda, been given a share of suffering
above all others—I, who in my misery here am facing
death?

115a (= 121 N)

<ANDROMEDA>

. . . to set (me) out as food for the sea monster . . .

EURIPIDES

116

<ΑΝΔΡΟΜΕΔΑ?>

ποῖαι λιβάδες, ποῖα σειρήν . . .

Schol. on Aristophanes, *Lysistrata* 963

117

<ΑΝΔΡΟΜΕΔΑ>

φίλαι παρθένοι, φίλαι μοι . . .

Aristophanes, *Women at the Thesmophoria* 1016 with Schol.

118

ΑΝΔΡΟΜΕΔΑ

κλύεις ᾧ;

προσανδῶ σε τὰν ἐν ἄντροις,

ἀπόπαυσον, ἔασον, Ἄχοι, με σὺν

φίλαις γόου πόθον λαβεῖν

Aristophanes, *Women at the Thesmophoria* 1018–9 with Schol.

2 προσανδῶ σε τὰν Bothe, Hermann (προσανδῶσα Brunck): προσαυδοῦσαι τὰς Aristoph. and (-ουσαι) Schol.: προσάδουσ' αὐτὰς Mitsdörffer (προσάδουσ' Elmsley, αὐτὰς Burges)

ANDROMEDA

116

<ANDROMEDA?>

What tear-drops, what siren¹ . . . ?

¹ Sirens are depicted as divine mourners on Attic gravestones from the late 5th century. Helen asks them to assist her lament, *Helen* 167–73. Here the words are more likely Andromeda's than the Chorus's as in Aristophanes.

117

<ANDROMEDA>

(*to the chorus*)

Dear maidens, my friends . . .

118

ANDROMEDA

Hallo, do you hear? I appeal to you in the cave¹—leave off, Echo, and let me mourn as I long to with my friends.

¹ Or perhaps 'Do you hear, you who sing cries in the cave accompanying mine' (Mitsdörffer).

EURIPIDES

119 + 120

<ΑΝΔΡΟΜΕΔΑ>

- (119) *συνάληθσον, ὡς ὁ κάμνων*
δακρύων μεταδοὺς ἔχει
κουφοτῆτα μόχθων.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

- (120) *ἄνοικτος ὃς τεκῶν σε τὰν*
 5 *πολυπονωτάταν βροτῶν*
μεθῆκεν Ἄϊδα πάτρας ὑπερθανεῖν.

remains of five more lines in the papyrus fr. 1, and five lines in fr. 2 (= F 120a)

P. Oxy. 2628 fr. 1 (line-ends only); vv. 1–3: Stobaeus 4.48.17; vv. 4–6: Schol. on Aristophanes, *Women at the Thesmophoria* 1022

(121 N = 115a above)

122

<ΑΝΔΡΟΜΕΔΑ>

ὄρᾱς; οὐ χοροῖσιν οὐδ'
ὑφ' ἡλίκων νεανίδων (1030)
κημὸν ἔστηκ' ἔχονσ'

ἀλλ' ἐν πυκνοῖς δεσμοῖσιν ἐμπεπλεγμένη

Aristophanes, *Women at the Thesmophoria* 1029–41. The scholia suggest that the words printed in larger type are taken from Andromeda's monody, but the indications are imprecise. Most of the rest is in tragic style and may reflect the monody more or less closely, except for the comic adaptations printed with underline (italics in the translation).

ANDROMEDA

119 + 120

< ANDROMEDA >

Feel my pain with me, for the sufferer who shares his tears
has some relief from his burden.¹

CHORUS

Pitiless the man who fathered you but now has dispatched
you, most tormented of mortals, to Hades to die for your 5
homeland. . . (*further remnants*) . . .

¹ Such commonplaces are usually expressed in masculine form even by a female character. For the pleasure of lamentation and shared grief see especially Homer, *Iliad* 24.507–14; cf. *Archelaus* F 263, *Oeneus* F 563, *Oenomaus* F 573, etc.

(121 = 115a above)

122¹

< ANDROMEDA >

Do you see? Not in dancing choruses nor amongst the girls
of my age *do I stand holding my voter's funnel*,² but entangled in close
bonds I am presented as food for the monster *Glaucetes*,³ with a paean 5

¹ The fragment is a pastiche including direct quotation and parody: see note beneath the text opposite. In Aristophanes' play the monody is sung by Euripides' kinsman, who has been arrested and pilloried by a Scythian policeman ('the man' in v. 12).

² The funnel through which an Athenian juror would drop his voting-pebble into an urn to be counted. The Greek word has usually been so understood here, but a juror would not in fact 'hold' the funnel, and in their recent commentary on Aristophanes' play (2004) C. Austin and S. D. Olson take it to be a piece of female ornamentation (a sense attested in ancient lexica).

³ A glutton particularly fond of fish, cf. Aristophanes' *Peace* 1008, Plato Com. F 114 PCG.

EURIPIDES

- 5 κήτει βορὰ Γλαυκῆτη πρόκειμαι,
 γαμηλίῳ μὲν οὐ ξὺν
 παιῶνι, δεσμίῳ δὲ. (1035)
 γοᾶσθε μ', ὦ γυναῖκες, ὡς
 μέλεα μὲν πέπονθα μέλεος
- 10 - ὦ τάλας ἐγώ, τάλας -
 ἀπὸ δὲ συγγόνων ἄλλ' ἄνομα πάθεα,
 φῶτα λιτομέναν, (1040)
 πολυδάκρυτον Ἀΐδα γόον φλέγουσαν.

11 ἄλλ' ἄνομα Scaliger: ἄλλαν ἄνομα Aristoph. ms.
 13 φλέγουσαν Musgrave (-a Enger): φεύγουσαν Aristoph. ms.:
 χέουσαν Casaubon (-a Rau)

(123 N = 124.5-6 below)

124 (= 124 + adesp. 157 + 123 N)

ΠΕΡΣΕΥΣ

- ὦ θεοί, τίν' ἐς γῆν βαρβάρων ἀφίγμεθα
 ταχεῖ πεδίλῳ; διὰ μέσου γὰρ αἰθέρος
 τέμνων κέλευθον πόδα τίθημι ὑπόπτερον
 ὑπὲρ τε πόντου χεῦμι ὑπὲρ τε Πλειάδα,
 5 Περσεύς, πρὸς Ἄργος ναυστολῶν, τὸ Γοργόνοσ
 κάρα κομίζων.

vv. 1-3, 5-6: Aristophanes, *Women at the Thesmophoria*
 1098-1102 with Schol. (ascription of vv. 5-6 is unclear and de-
 bated); v. 4 (inserted here by Meineke): Eusebius, *Preparation for*
the Gospel 15.62.8

ANDROMEDA

not for my wedding *but for my binding*. Bewail me, women, for I have suffered pitiful things in my pitiful plight—*O suffering, suffering man that I am!*—and other lawless afflictions from my kin, though I implored *the man*, as I light⁴ a lament filled with tears for my death. 10

⁴ Musgrave corrected the impossible ms. 'flee' (but some editors prefer Casaubon's 'pour out'). Song is often imaged as fire or flame in Greek poetry (cf. J. Diggle, *Euripidea* [Oxford, 1994], 11–12).

(123 N = 124.5–6 below)

124 (= 124 + adesp. 157 + 123 N)

PERSEUS

(flying in above the stage)

O gods, to what barbarians' land has my swift sandal brought me? Through middle heaven I cut my path, setting winged foot over flowing sea and Pleiad¹—I, Perseus, as I voyage for Argos bearing the Gorgon's head.² 5

¹ The Pleiades represent stars in general: cf. *Phaethon* 65–6. Perseus flies amongst the stars in Ovid, *Met.* 4.623–4, 789.

² Vv. 5–6 are uncertainly included in the fragment: see apparatus opposite.

EURIPIDES

125

< ΠΕΡΣΕΤΣ >

ἔα· τίν' ὄχθον τόνδ' ὀρώ περίρρυτον
 ἀφρῶ θαλάσσης, παρθένου δ' εἰκὼ τίνα,
 ἔξ αὐτομόρφων λαΐνων τυκισμάτων
 σοφῆς ἄγαλμα χειρός;

vv. 1-2: Schol. on Aristophanes, *Women at the Thesmophoria* 1105; vv. 2-4 (παρθένου . . . χειρός): Maximus Confessor, *Scholia on Works of Dionysius the Areopagite* 234 (PG 4.424a)

126

< ΠΕΡΣΕΤΣ? >

σιγᾶς; σιωπῆ δ' ἄπορος ἔρμηνεύς λόγων.

Stobaeus 3.34.12

127

< ΠΕΡΣΕΤΣ >

ὦ παρθέν', οἰκτίρω σε κρεμαμένην ὀρών.

Aristophanes, *Women at the Thesmophoria* 1110, attributed to *Andromeda* by Barnes but perhaps only paratragic (see Rau, *Paratragodia* 86-7).

128

< ΑΝΔΡΟΜΕΔΑ >

ὦ ξένε, κατοίκτιρόν με, τὴν παναθλίαν.

Aristophanes, *Women at the Thesmophoria* 1107-8, attributed to *Andromeda* by Canter (questionably: cf. on F 127 above); some editors add the next three words, λῦσόν με δεσμῶν ('free me from my bonds!').

140

ANDROMEDA

125

<PERSEUS>

Hold—what promontory do I see here, lapped by sea-foam, and what maiden's likeness, a statue carved by an expert hand to her very form in stone?¹

¹ Ovid, *Met.* 4.673–5: 'Had a light breeze not stirred her locks and warm tears welled in her eyes, he would have thought her a work of marble.'

126

<PERSEUS?>

You do not speak? But silence is a poor interpreter of words.¹

¹ Ovid, *Met.* 4.682–4: 'At first the maid is mute, nor dares to address a man; she would have hidden her face with her hands for modesty, had she not been bound.'

127¹

<PERSEUS>

Maiden, I pity you seeing you hanging there.

¹ Doubtful fragment: see opposite.

128¹

<ANDROMEDA>

Stranger, take pity on me, all wretched as I am.

¹ Doubtful fragment: see opposite.

EURIPIDES

129

ΠΕΡΣΕΥΣ

ὦ παρθέν', εἰ σώσαιμί σ', εἴσῃ μοι χάριν;

Diogenes Laertius 4.29 (cf. Suda εἰ 258); Schol. on Homer, *Iliad* 14.235c; Eubulus F 26 PCG

129a (= 132 N)

ΑΝΔΡΟΜΕΔΑ

ἄγου δέ μ', ὦ ξείν', εἴτε πρόσπολον θέλεις
εἴτ' ἄλοχον εἴτε δμῶϊδ' . . .

Herodian, *On Figures* 45; Diogenes Laertius 4.29 (following F 129)

130

ΠΕΡΣΕΥΣ

τὰς συμφορὰς γὰρ τῶν κακῶς πεπραγόντων
οὐ πρόποθ' ὕβρισ', αὐτὸς ὀρρωδῶν παθεῖν.

Stobaeus 4.48.2 and 3.3.39; Ammonius, *On Similar and Different Words* 80

131

<ΑΝΔΡΟΜΕΔΑ>

μή μοι προτείνων ἐλπίδ' ἐξάγου δάκρυ
γένοιτό τ' ἂν πόλλ' ὧν δόκησις οὐκ ἔνι.

Stobaeus 4.47.2; vv. 1 and 2 assigned to different speakers by Grotius (to Andromeda and Perseus by Matthiae).

ANDROMEDA

129

PERSEUS

Maiden, if I should rescue you, will you show me gratitude?¹

¹ In the Greek, 'gratitude' may suggest a sexual response (e.g. *Hecuba* 830; LSJ *χάρις* III.2).

129a (= 132 N)

ANDROMEDA

Take me with you, stranger, whether you want me as a servant, a wife, or a slave.

130

PERSEUS

I have never abused the unfortunate in their adversity, for I fear I may suffer adversity myself.

131

<ANDROMEDA>

Do not bring me to tears by offering me hope; many things may happen that are unanticipated.¹

¹ If Andromeda speaks both lines, she is rejecting a hope that may prove to be unfounded (similar wording in [Aeschylus], *Prometheus Bound* 777). If v. 2 is someone else's reply (see opposite), it is a reassurance against despair.

EURIPIDES

(132 N = 129a above)

133

<ΠΕΡΣΕΤΣ?>

ἀλλ' ἡδύ τοι σωθέντα μεμνήσθαι πόνων.

Stobaeus 3.29.57; Aristotle, *Rhetoric* 1370b4 with Schol. (CAG XXI.ii.65.17); Plutarch, *Moralia* 630e; Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 7.2.9; repeated, translated or paraphrased elsewhere as a commonplace.

134

<ΠΕΡΣΕΤΣ?>

εὐκλειαν ἔλαβον οὐκ ἄνευ πολλῶν πόνων.

Stobaeus 3.29.20

134a (= 149 N)

<ΠΕΡΣΕΤΣ?>

νεότης μ' ἐπῆρε καὶ θράσος τοῦ νοῦ πλέον.

Stobaeus 4.11.4; Lucian 38.1

135

ἦ που τὸ μέλλον ἐκφοβεῖ καθ' ἡμέραν·
ὥς τοῦ γε πάσχειν τοῦπιὸν μείζον κακόν.

Stobaeus 4.35.22

ANDROMEDA

(132 N = 129a above)

133

<PERSEUS?>

But it's pleasant to remember one's trials once one has been saved.¹

¹ For the thought cf. Homer, *Odyssey* 15.400–1 (quoted by Aristotle together with this fragment). Euripides' verse was much re-used (see opposite).

134

<PERSEUS?>

I gained glory, not without many trials.

134a (= 149 N)

<PERSEUS?>

Youth and rashness incited me more than my good sense.

135

For sure, the future puts one in daily fear; for an evil seems greater in anticipation than in the experience.

EURIPIDES

136

ΠΕΡΣΕΥΣ

- σὺ δ' ὦ θεῶν τύραννε κἀνθρώπων Ἔρως,
 ἢ μὴ δίδασκε τὰ καλὰ φαίνεσθαι καλά,
 ἢ τοῖς ἐρώσιν ὦν σὺ δημιουργὸς εἶ
 μοχθοῦσι μόχθους εὐτυχῶς συνεκπώνει.
 5 καὶ ταῦτα μὲν δρῶν τίμιος θνητοῖς ἔσση,
 μὴ δρῶν δ' ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ διδάσκεσθαι φιλεῖν
 ἀφαιρεθήσῃ χάριτας αἷς τιμῶσί σε.

Athenaeus 13.561b; vv. 1-4: Stobaeus 4.20.42; v. 1: Lucian 59.1

3-4 as a single verse, ἢ τοῖς ἐρώσιν εὐμενῆς παρίστασο Stob.
 5 θνητοῖς (or βροτοῖς) Dobree: θεοῖς Ath.

137

<ΧΟΡΟΣ>

τῶν γὰρ πλούτων ὄδ' ἄριστος
 γενναίου λέχος εὐρεῖν.

Stobaeus 4.22.11

138

ὅσοι γὰρ εἰς ἔρωτα πίπτουσι βροτῶν,
 ἐσθλῶν ὅταν τύχῳσι τῶν ἐρωμένων,
 οὐκ ἔσθ' ὁποίας λείπεται τόδ' ἠδονῆς.

Stobaeus 4.20.22

ANDROMEDA

136

PERSEUS

And you, Eros, tyrant over gods and men—either don't teach us to see beauty in what is beautiful, or help those who are in love to succeed in their efforts as they suffer the toils that you yourself have crafted.¹ If you do this, you will be honoured by mortals,² but if you do not, their learning to love will itself deprive you of the thanks with which they honour you. 5

¹ In other words, 'either stop making people fall in love, or help those who do fall in love to achieve fulfilment'. Stobaeus simplifies vv. 3–4 as 'or stand benevolently by those who are in love'. ² Athenaeus has 'by the gods'; Dobree's 'by mortals', or something similar, is clearly needed.

137

<CHORUS>

This is the best kind of wealth, to find a noble spouse.

138

Whenever mortals who have fallen in love find their loved one is virtuous, no joy exceeds the joy of it.

EURIPIDES

138a (= 1054 N)

ἔρωτα δεινὸν ἔχομεν, ἐκ δὲ τῶν λόγων
ἔλου τὰ βέλτισθ'· ὡς ἄπιστόν ἐστ' ἔρωσ,
κὰν τῷ κακίστῳ τῶν φρενῶν οἰκεῖν φιλεῖ.

Stobaeus 4.20.44 (with attribution to Eur. *Andromeda*, questioned by Fritzsche)

(139N: see Introduction)

140

ὦ τλήμον, ὡς σοι τὰς τύχας μὲν ἀσθενεῖς
ἔδωχ' ὁ δαίμων, μέγα φρονούσι δ' οἱ λόγοι.

Stobaeus 2.4.7; PSI 1476 (a gnology) has parts of each verse.

141

ἐγὼ δὲ παῖδας οὐκ ἐὼ νόθους λαβεῖν
τῶν γνησίων γὰρ οὐδὲν ὄντες ἐνδεεῖς
νόμῳ νοσοῦσιν· ὃ σε φυλάξασθαι χρεών.

Stobaeus 4.24.45

1 παῖδας <σ'> Mekler

ANDROMEDA

138a (= 1054 N)

We have a terrible love;¹ but you must choose the best course from rational consideration; for love is unreliable and tends to occupy the poorest part of the mind.

¹ Sense and speaker are unclear without a context. Possibly Perseus to Andromeda ('We are terribly in love'), possibly Cepheus counselling Andromeda ('Love is a terrible influence on us humans'). The rest is clear enough: 'Don't be guided by love, for it makes us think irrationally and act against our own best interests'.

(139N: see Introduction)

140

Daring (or foolhardy?) man! Your fortune has put you in a weak situation, but your words are high-spirited.

141

I forbid the acquiring of illegitimate sons. Though in no way inferior to legitimate ones, they are handicapped by convention, and this is something you must beware of.¹

¹ 'I forbid <you> to acquire . . .', Mekler: but a general prohibition has more force. For the 'natural' equality of illegitimate sons cf. *Antigone* F 168, *Eurystheus* F 377, *Sophocles* F 84 (all cited together with this fragment by Stobaeus). Here Cepheus or Cassiopeia might be warning Andromeda against bearing non-Ethiopian sons through marrying Perseus, but 'acquire' is an unlikely term for this (so various alternatives for λαβεῖν, such as τεκεῖν 'bear' or 'beget', have been proposed; cf. φυτεύειν in F 377.2). In some accounts Cepheus had no sons of his own, so one might think of Cassiopeia discouraging him from adopting a son, as Praxithea warns Erechtheus in *Erechtheus* F 359.

EURIPIDES

142

χρυσὸν μάλιστα βούλομαι δόμοις ἔχειν·
καὶ δούλος ὦν γὰρ τίμιος πλουτῶν ἀνήρ,
ἐλεύθερος δὲ χρεῖος ὦν οὐδὲν σθένει.
χρυσοῦ νόμιζε σαντὸν οὔνεκ' εὐτυχεῖν.

Stobaeus 4.31.21 and 22; Hense following Musgrave printed v. 4 (= his no. 22) as a separate extract from an unidentified work.

143

χρήμασιν γὰρ εὐτυχῶ·
ταῖς συμφοραῖσι δ', ὡς ὀρᾶς, οὐκ εὐτυχῶ.

Stobaeus 4.34.30

*144

μὴ τὸν ἐμὸν οἴκει νοῦν· ἐγὼ γὰρ ἀρκέσω.

Aristophanes, *Frogs* 105 with Schol. (whence Suda μ 1000), attributing the verse to *Andromache* (*Andromeda*: Matthiae)

145

〈 ΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ 〉

ὄρῳ δὲ πρὸς τὰ παρθένου θοινάματα
κῆτος θοάζων ἐξ Ἀτλαντικῆς ἁλός.

v. 1: Tiberius, *On Demosthenic Figures* 47 (= Caecilius of Calacte F 75 Ofenloch); v. 2: Plutarch, *Moralia* 22e; v. 2 (κῆτος θοάζων [sic]): Schol. on *Orestes* 335

150

ANDROMEDA

142

Gold is what I most desire to have in my house. A man who is rich gets respect even if he is a slave, while a free man who is needy has no power. You'd better believe that gold is what makes you successful.¹

¹ The last sentence may be a separate fragment (see opposite).

143

I am well off for money but not, as you can see, in my fortunes.

*144

Don't try to govern my mind: I can handle that myself.

145

<MESSENGER>

I saw the monster hurrying from the Atlantic water towards its maiden-feast.¹

¹ Mention of the Atlantic suggests that Euripides' play was set in the far west, where the Gorgons also lived. Homer, *Odyssey* 1.23-4 locates Ethiopians in the land of the setting sun as well as the rising sun.

EURIPIDES

146

< ΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ >

. . . πᾶς δὲ ποιμένων ἔρρει λεώς,
ὁ μὲν γάλακτος κίσσινον φέρων σκύφος
πόνων ἀναψυκτῆρ', ὁ δ' ἀμπέλων γάνος.

Athenaeus 11.477a; Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 5.21.13

147

ἄγορος· καὶ ἄγοροι· Εὐριπίδης Ἀνδρομέδα· οἱ κατ' οἶκον
ἀμφὶ δαίτα καὶ τράπεζαν †Αἰθίοπες σημαίνει†.

Anecdota Graeca I.339.5 Bekker

(149N = 134a above)

150

οὐκ ἔστιν ὅστις εὐτυχῆς ἔφν βροτῶν,
†ὄν μὴ τὸ θεῖον ὡς τὰ πολλὰ συνθέλει†.

Stobaeus 4.41.32

2 ὄν Stob.: φ̄ Porson: ἄν . . . συνθέλη Blaydes, Klimek-
Winter: ὄν . . . συστελεῖ Hense

151

τήν τοι Δίκην λέγουσι παῖδ' εἶναι Διὸς
ἐγγύς τε ναίειν τῆς βροτῶν ἀμαρτίας.

Stobaeus 1.3.23 with attribution to Euripides' *Andromachus*
(*Andromeda*: Musgrave); Orion, Euripidean Appendix 17 Haffner

1 Διὸς Stob.: χρόνου Orion (the verse is then identical with
Antiope F 222) 2 ἀμαρτίας Orion: τιμωρίας Stob.

152

ANDROMEDA

146

<MESSENGER>

... and all the herding folk came, one bearing an ivywood cup of milk to refresh him from his labours, and another lustrous grape-juice.

147

'Gathering', and 'gatherings': Euripides in *Andromeda*: those in the house around feast and table †denotes Ethiopians(?)†.¹

¹ A corrupt lexicon entry (grammatically incoherent at the end) perhaps showing that Euripides used the word 'gathering(s)' in a description of Ethiopians gathered for a feast. In the Greek, 'those in the house around feast and table' makes the greater part of a trochaic tetrameter.

(149N = 134a above)

150

No mortal is successful †whom divine power does not for the most part consent.†¹

¹ Perhaps 'consent <should be well off>' can be understood, but the syntax is difficult: 'to whom the divine power does not . . . consent', Porson; 'if the divine power . . .', Blaydes; 'whom the divine power will not . . . bring low' Hense.

151

They say that Justice is the daughter of Zeus and dwells close to mortal wrongdoing.¹

¹ Cf. especially Hesiod, *Works and Days* 222–4, 256; contrast *Melanippe* F 506.7–8 with our note. Orion's 'wrongdoing' is better than Stobaeus' 'punishment', but his 'daughter of Time' is probably due to confusion with *Antiope* F 222.

EURIPIDES

152

<ΧΟΡΟΣ>

τὸ δαιμόνιον οὐχ ὄρῳς
 ὄπη μοίρας> διεξέρχεται;
 στρέφει δ' ἄλλους ἄλλως εἰς ἀμέραν.

Stobaeus 1.5.2

2 μοίρας> Grotius: μοίρα or μοῖρα Stob.: μοῖρα<ν>
 Meineke 3 ἄλλους ἄλλως Stob.: ἄλλον ἄλλοσ' Fritzsche:
 ἄλλοσ' ἄλλους Ellis

153

<ΧΟΡΟΣ>

ὁ μὲν ὄλβιος ἦν, τὸ δ' ἀπέκρυσεν
 θεὸς ἐκ> κείνων τῶν ποτε λαμπρῶν
 νεύει βίωτος, νεύει δὲ τύχη
 κατὰ πνεῦμ' ἀνέμων.

Stobaeus 4.41.17

1 τὸ Stob.: τὸν Valckenaer

154

τὸ ζῆν ἀφέντες τὸ κατὰ γῆς τιμῶσί τ' σου† –
 κενόν γ' ὅταν γὰρ ζῆ τις εὐτυχεῖν χρεών.

Stobaeus 4.55.4

1 τὸ ζῆν Stob.: τὸ ζῶν Tucker σου Stob.: πον Collard
 2 εὐτυχεῖν χρεών Musgrave (perhaps εὐσεβεῖν Cropp): εὐτυχεῖ
 κρέων Stob. (κρεῶν ms. M)

¹ Text slightly confused, but the point is probably that giving expensive honours to the dead is futile (cf. *Polyidus* F 640, cited

ANDROMEDA

152

<CHORUS>

Do you not see in what destined way¹ the divine power reaches completion? Each day it turns different men in different ways.

¹ Literally, 'in what way of destiny'. The transmitted text is slightly incoherent: 'Do you not see the divine power, in what way destiny reaches completion'. Meineke suggested 'Do you not see in what way the divine power brings destiny to completion'. In v. 3 Fritzsche and Ellis adjusted 'in different ways' to 'in different directions'.

153

<CHORUS>

He was blessed with good fortune, but god hid it away¹ after that erstwhile splendour. Life sways, and fortune sways, as the wind blows.

¹ Valckenaer's widely accepted conjecture gives 'One man was blessed with good fortune, another (or the other) god hid away etc.'; but what follows seems to be a reflection on a single man's fall.

154

Dismissing life, they give honour to what is †of you† beneath the earth—vainly, for it is when a man lives that he should prosper.¹

with this fragment in Stobaeus' chapter 'On Burial'; also *Trojan Women* 1248–50). If so, 'he should prosper' (Musgrave's adjustment of Stobaeus' meaningless final phrase) makes a contrast between wealth in life and wealth in the form of funeral offerings etc. Tucker suggested 'Dismissing what is alive . . .', and Collard ' . . . to what is beneath the earth, I suppose' (with ironic tone). At the end Cropp suggests ' . . . that one should show him respect' (cf. *Suppliant Women* 559).

ANTIGONE

H. Van Looy in ed. Budé VIII.1.191–212.

J. M. Paton, *HSCP* 12 (1901), 267–76; J. Mesk, *Wiener Studien* 49 (1931), 1–11; Webster 181–4; *LIMC* I.i.818–28 ‘Antigone’; Aélion (1986) 71–5; L. Inglese, *Rivista di Cultura Classica e Medioevale* 34 (1992), 175–90; Gantz 519–21; C. Zimmermann, *Der Antigone-Mythos in der antiken Literatur und Kunst* (Mainz, 1993), esp. 161–88, 217–22; Taplin 185–6.

Sophocles’ surviving Antigone is the earliest evidence we have for its heroine’s famous story, for the ending of Aeschylus’ Seven Against Thebes (467 B.C.) is spurious. In fact we have only one previous record even of Antigone’s name as daughter of Oedipus (Pherecydes FGrH 3 F 95: see Gantz 519–20). Sophocles’ play canonized Antigone: after her brothers Eteocles and Polynices had killed each other disputing the throne of Thebes, the new king Creon forbade burial for Polynices as a traitor (for he had led the Seven against Thebes to attack his native city: see under Alcmeon in Psophis). Antigone defied the interdict, was detected giving Polynices symbolic burial, and was sentenced to death. She was however the expected bride of Creon’s son Haemon, who killed himself upon her body after she had hanged herself. Creon was left broken.

The Aristophanic hypothesis to Sophocles’ play states

ANTIGONE

that Euripides' *Antigone* told the same story except that *Antigone* was detected at the burial together with *Haemon*; she was given in marriage to him, and bore a son *Maeon* (see test. iia below, paraphrased by the derivative sources in test. iib but without the detail of *Maeon*). Most recent scholars agree on the implication of this, that not just *Haemon's* love for *Antigone*, but his sharing or at least awareness of her action, led to their marriage. The play must therefore have developed something at least of the moral and paternal tensions found in *Sophocles*, while resolving them happily rather than concluding with the tragic *Sophoclean* ending. The only other hard evidence for Euripides' play consists in the fragments themselves, which are almost all sententious, and come without context.

Amid many speculative reconstructions, a few things are clear and agreed. F 157–8 begins the play, but the speaker is unknown. F 159 is from choral lyric recounting the deaths of the Seven; it names *Capaneus*. F 177 is addressed to *Dionysus*, possibly as the *deus ex machina* who has saved *Antigone* and *Haemon* from death ('you are in no way to be resisted by mortal men'), and who forecasts the birth of *Maeon* (but some think that this fragment is an ordinary apostrophe of the god). Of the other fragments, some may relate to an argument about *Creon's* edict (F 173 and 176 look certain, 171 and 172 probable), some to *Haemon's* love for *Antigone* and its difficulty for *Creon* (F 161, 162, 162a; cf. on *Antiope* F 212–215 in the next paragraph).

A special difficulty is the seeming coincidence of the book-fragment F 175, two gnomic verses attributed to *Antigone*, with the end of P. Oxy. 3317, an unattributed and damaged scene of hostility apparently in a *Dionysiac*

EURIPIDES

*setting. While F 177 and *178 offer some Dionysiac reference in Antigone, no explanation of how F 175 and the papyrus might have fitted in the play convinces, and it is safer to assign them to Antiope (see there before F 221, with note 1 to the translation). Ancient scribes regularly confuse the titles Antigone and Antiope, so that the attributions to one or other play of Antigone F 162a, 166, 175 itself, 177, *178 and Antiope F 212–5 (four fragments apparently from a debate about marriage) are disputed.*

*F 164 and 174 are lost except for their headings in Stobaeus 4.22.13 (see Hippothous, TrGF 210 F 3a) and 4.44.4. Other ascriptions: Andromeda F 154; adesp. F 553 'I do have (a response), for the action being good in itself will furnish me good arguments'; for F **164a N–Sn (= adesp. F 84 N), 'the spear carried by the earth-born' (i.e. the birthmark on descendants of the legendary Theban Sown Men), see under Carcinus II, TrGF 70 F 1.*

Hyginus, Fab. 72 recounts Antigone's story so very differently from Sophocles that it cannot be considered for reconstructing Euripides (cf. Jebb in his Antigone p. xxxvii and Paton [1901], followed by most editors). It is now widely agreed that Hyginus and one or two 4th c. vases reflect the Antigone of Astydamos the Younger (TrGF 1 60 T 5), although Taplin keeps open their possible relation to Euripides' play.¹

¹ M. Huys, APF 43 (1997), 18–19 observes that Hyginus repeats the typical Euripidean motif of happy love, but this may well be due to Euripidean influence upon Astydamos. For bibliography on this whole issue see TrGF 5, 262–3, esp. Inglese; for the vases also LIMC nos. 14–15 = Todisco Ap 89, Ap 136 (no. 14 = Taplin no. 63).

ANTIGONE

Metrical criteria point to composition in the years 420–406 (Cropp–Fick 74), the period also of Euripides' Oedipus and Phoenician Women; both show yet further Euripidean innovations in the myth, and in Phoenician Women Antigone has a minor part but rejects marriage to Haemon, resolving instead to accompany Oedipus into exile (1679ff., if the text is genuinely Euripidean; cf. Sophocles' Oedipus at Colonus). There is no other evidence of date; Zimmermann 189–90 links the theme of Polynices as traitor denied burial with similar measures against Archeptolemus and Antiphon in the events at Athens in 411.

Sophocles' play rather than Euripides' was probably a source for Accius' Latin tragedy; on Astydamas see above. For Antigone in classical literature and art see Zimmermann, and in post-classical art and thought OGCMA I.105–9 and G. Steiner, Antigones (Oxford, 1984²).

ANTIGONH

test. iia

Ἀντιγόνη παρὰ τὴν πρόσταξιν τῆς πόλεως θάψασα τὸν Πολυνείκην ἐφωράθη καὶ εἰς μνημεῖον κατάγειον ἐντεθείσα παρὰ τοῦ Κρέοντος ἀνήρηται. ἐφ' ἧ καὶ Αἴμων δυσπαθήσας διὰ τὸν εἰς αὐτὴν ἔρωτα ξίφει ἑαυτὸν διεχειρίσατο . . . κείται ἢ μυθοποιία καὶ παρὰ Εὐριπίδῃ ἐν Ἀντιγόῃ· πλὴν ἐκεῖ φωραθείσα μετὰ τοῦ Αἴμονος δίδονται πρὸς γάμον κοινωμίαν· καὶ τέκνον τίκτει τὸν Μαίονα.

Aristophanes of Byzantium, hypothesis to Sophocles' *Antigone*. Nearly the same details, except for the birth of Maeon, in Sallustius' hypothesis to *Antigone* with Schol. *Ant.* 1351 (= test. iib).

Μαίονα Nauck: Αἴμονα or Μαίμονα mss.

157 + 158

Ἦν Οἰδίπους τὸ πρῶτον εὐτυχῆς ἀνὴρ,
εἶτ' ἐγένετ' αὐθις ἀθλιώτατος βροτῶν.

Aristophanes, *Frogs* 1182 (= v. 1) and 1187 (= v. 2), both attributed by the scholia to *Antigone*; joined by D. Canter, and later found linked in Favorinus, *On Exile* col. ii.39 Barigazzi. Both lines are attested separately elsewhere.

ANTIGONE

test. iia

Antigone buried Polynices against the city's injunction. She was detected, put into an underground tomb by Creon, and her life taken. Haemon too, distraught because of his love for her, slew himself over her body with a sword . . . The plot is found also in Euripides in *Antigone*, except that there Antigone is detected in company with Haemon and is joined with him in marriage; and she gives birth to a child, Maeon.¹

¹ The name Maeon and his birth were thought by Mesk to be a commentator's addition on the basis of Homer, *Iliad* 4.394.

157 + 158

Oedipus was at first a man of happy fortune; then he became in turn the most wretched of mortal men.¹

¹ The play's opening lines, as Aristophanes indicates.

¹ *εὐτυχῆς* *Frogs* 1182, other witnesses: *εὐδαίμων* some mss. of Aristophanes, one other witness

EURIPIDES

159

<ΧΟΡΟΣ>

ἐπὶ χρυσεόνωτον ἀσπίδα τὰν Καπανέως

Schol. on *Phoenician Women* 1130

160

νέοι νέοισι συννοσοῦσι τὰφανῆ . . .

Stobaeus 2.33.5 (sentence probably incomplete)

τὰφανῆ Stob.: τᾶφρονα Usener

161

ἤρων τὸ μαίνεσθαι δ' ἄρ' ἦν ἔρωσ βροτοῖς.

Stobaeus 4.20.38; Plutarch fr. 136 Sandbach (from Stobaeus 4.20.68)

162

ἀνδρὸς δ' ὀρώντος εἰς Κύπριν νεανίου
ἀφύλακτος ἢ τήρησις, ὡς κἂν φαῦλος ἦ
τᾶλλ', εἰς ἔρωτα πᾶς ἀνὴρ σοφώτατος.
†ἦν δ' ἂν προσῆται Κύπρις, ἥδιστον λαβεῖν†

Stobaeus 4.20.4

2 ὡς κἂν Nauck: κἂν γὰρ Stobaeus 3 σοφώτατος
Herwerden, Meineke: σοφώτερος Stob.

ANTIGONE

159

<CHORUS>

... on to the golden-backed shield of Capaneus . . .¹

¹ The Chorus evokes the attack of the Seven against Thebes; Capaneus' gold-lettered shield appears first at Aeschylus, *Seven against Thebes* 430-4.

160

Young share their faults with young . . . in their uncertainties(?)¹

¹ The sentence appears incomplete; but Usener read 'with young in their follies'.

161

I was (*or they were?*) in love; and that showed love is madness for mortals.¹

¹ Haemon is the probable speaker, as also of F 162a, and F 162 is spoken about him; but the translation is insecure, and 'they were in love' might refer to the mutual love of Antigone and Haemon.

162

When a young man looks to Aphrodite, there's no watch can be kept on him; for even if he's bad at other things, every man is very clever in the pursuit of love. †If Aphrodite approves (love? *or* allows love to come), it is very sweet to seize it. †¹

¹ The Greek is corrupt and the sense not certain.

EURIPIDES

162a (= 1058 N)

ἐγὼ γὰρ ἔξω λέκτρ' ἅ τοι καλῶς ἔχειν
δίκαιόν ἐστιν οἴσι συγγηράσομαι.

P. Oxy. 3214.2-4 (very damaged); Stobaeus 4.22.113

1 ἅ τοι P. Oxy.: αὐτοῖς Stob.

163

ἄνδρὸς †φίλου† δὲ χρυσὸς ἀμαθίας μέτα
ἄχρηστος, εἰ μὴ κἀρετὴν ἔχων τύχοι.

Stobaeus 4.31.70

(**164a N-Sn: see Introduction)

165

ἄκουσον· οὐ γὰρ οἱ κακῶς πεπραγότες
σὺν ταῖς τύχαισι τοὺς λόγους ἀπώλεσαν.

Stobaeus 3.13.7

166

τὸ μῶρον αὐτῷ τοῦ πατρὸς νόσημ' ἐνι
φιλεῖ γὰρ οὕτως ἐκ κακῶν εἶναι κακούς.

Stobaeus 4.30.1

1 αὐτῷ Stob.: αὐτῇ Süvern

167

ἦ γὰρ δόκησις πατράσι παιδᾶς εἰκέναι·
τὰ πολλὰ ταύτῃ γίγνεται τέκνων πέρι.

Stobaeus 4.29.7

1 πατράσι Gesner: ἅπασι Stob.

ANTIGONE

162a (= 1058 N)

For I shall have a marriage which it is right should do well,
I tell you, with a wife with whom I shall grow old.¹

¹ The translation slightly expands the Greek, for clarity. Stobaeus' chapter is headed 'The need to consider similar ages in those who marry'.

163

Gold coupled with ignorance in a †friendly† man is useless, unless he should happen to possess virtue too.¹

¹ No plausible context in the play for a rich but ignorant 'friend' has been suggested.

(**164a N-Sn: see Introduction)

165

Listen: for those who have come off badly do not lose their power of argument together with their luck.

166

His father's folly is a weakness in him; bad men usually come from bad this way.¹

¹ Spoken of Haemon, perhaps, but by whom? Süvern's alteration gives 'Her father's folly in her', i.e. Antigone as daughter of Oedipus (cf. Sophocles, *Antigone* 469-72). For moral character inherited see on *Alcmeon in Corinth* F 75.

167

Opinion is, sons resemble fathers; this is generally the way with children.¹

¹ Text suspect; without a context, both meaning and point are uncertain.

EURIPIDES

168

ὄνόματι μεμπτόν τὸ νόθον, ἢ φύσις δ' ἴση.

Stobaeus 4.24.43; Clement of Alexandria, *Miscellanies* 6.2.10.4

169

. . . ἐπ' ἄκραν ἤκομεν γραμμὴν κακῶν.

Stobaeus 4.40.8

170

οὐκ ἔστι Πειθοῦς ἱερὸν ἄλλο πλὴν λόγος,
καὶ βωμὸς αὐτῆς ἔστ' ἐν ἀνθρώπου φύσει.

Orion 1.1 Haffner; v. 1: Aristophanes, *Frogs* 1391; other citations and allusions

171

δεῖ τοῖσι πολλοῖς τὸν τύραννον ἀνδάνειν.

Stobaeus 4.7.6

172

οὔτ' εἰκὸς ἄρχειν οὔτ' ἐχρῆν ἄνευ νόμων
τύραννον εἶναι· μωρία δὲ καὶ θέλειν

<

>

ὅς τῶν ὁμοίων βούλεται κρατεῖν μόνος.

Stobaeus 4.8.5

1 ἄνευ νόμων Bothe: εἶναι νόμον Stob.
2 lacuna between 2 and 3, Dindorf

2 lacuna between 2 and 3, Dindorf

ANTIGONE

168

Bastardy is open to censure in name, but has equality in nature.¹

¹ Possibly a reference to Polynices, deemed 'illegitimate' because the child of incest. For the thought see on *Andromeda* F 141.

169

We have reached the furthest limit¹ of our troubles.

¹ In the Greek, a metaphor from the finishing line of a foot-race.

170

Persuasion has no other temple than speech, and her altar is in human nature.

171

The king must please the many.

172

It is neither reasonable to rule, nor ought there to be a king, without laws. It is folly (for a man) even to want < . . . > who wishes to hold sole power over his peers.¹

¹ Cf. *Suppliant Women* 429–32, 'nothing is more inimical to a city than an absolute ruler, where in the first place there are no laws in common, and one man has power after taking the law into his own hands.'

EURIPIDES

173

οἰκέϊος ἀνθρώποισι γίγνεσθαι φιλεῖ
πόλεμος ἐν ἀστοῖς, ἦν διχοστατῆ πόλις.

Stobaeus 4.1.22

(175 with P. Oxy. 3317: see *Antiope*, before F 221)

176

θάνατος γὰρ ἀνθρώποισι νεικέων τέλος
ἔχει· μαθεῖν δὲ πᾶσιν ἔστιν εὐμαρές.
τίς γὰρ πετραῖον σκόπελον οὐτάζων δορὶ
ὀδύνας δώσει, τίς δ' ἀτιμάζων νέκυν,
5 εἰ μηδὲν αἰσθάνοιντο τῶν παθημάτων;

Stobaeus 4.57.5 and (vv. 1–2) 4.52.23

2 so Stob. 4.52: ἔχει· τί γὰρ τῶνδ' ἔστι μείζον ἐν βροτοῖς;
Stob. 4.57: verse deleted by Weil

177

ὦ παῖ Διώνης, ὡς ἔφυς μέγας θεός,
Διόνυσε, θνητοῖς τ' οὐδαμῶς ὑποστατός.

Schol. on Pindar, *Pythians* 3.99

*178

τὴν Σφίγγα ὁ Διόνυσος ἔπεμψε τοῖς Θηβαίοις, ὡς ἐν
Ἀντιγόνη λέγει.

Schol. on *Phoenician Women* 1031

ANTIGONE

173

Men usually have internal feudings occur among citizens,
if their city is divided.

(175 with P. Oxy. 3317: see *Antiope*, before F 221)

176

Death is the end of their quarrels for men; and this is easy
for everyone to understand.¹ For who will inflict pain on a
lofty crag by wounding it with a spear, and who on a corpse
by dishonouring it, if these felt nothing of what they under-
went?²

¹ V. 2 in Stobaeus 4.52 is judged by many to be a facile interpolation; in 4.57 it is senseless ('For what is greater than this among mortal men?'). Weil's deletion is attractive. ² A protest at the folly of punishing Polynices by refusing to bury his corpse; cf. Sophocles, *Antigone* 1029-30.

177

O son of Dione, Dionysus, how great a god you are, and in
no way to be resisted by mortal men.¹

¹ Dione is the mother of Dionysus elsewhere only at adesp. F 204, otherwise of Aphrodite. Euripides may associate the two names (so Kannicht); there is another such play at *Archelaus* F 228a.21-2. On the fragment itself see Introduction.

*178

Dionysus sent the Sphinx to the Thebans, as (Euripides) says
in *Antigone*.¹

¹ Euripides may have been alone in naming Dionysus (cf. Schol. on *Phoenician Women* 934, where Euripides speaks also of Ares' ancient anger against Thebes): the Sphinx is usually one further affliction from Apollo (cf. *Oedipus* F 539a), and its riddle (F 540a) a reflex of the god's enigmatic oracular voice.

ANTIOPE

H. Schaal, *De Euripidis Antiopa* (Berlin, 1914); J. Kambitsis, *L'Antiope d'Euripide* (Athens, 1972); Diggle, *TrGFS* 85–93 (F 187–8, 206, 175, 223); Van Looy in ed. Budé VIII.1.213–74; C. Collard in *SFP* II.259–329. V. di Benedetto in Bastianini–Casanova, *Euripide e i papiri*, 97–122 discusses many fragments, esp. F 185, 196, 202, and the uncertain F 910. See also under F 175 (after F 220) and F 223 below.

N. Wecklein, *Philologus* 79 (1923), 51–69; F. Solmsen, *Hermes* 69 (1934), 410–5; U. Haussman, *MDAI(A)* 73 (1958 [1962]), 50–72 with Plates 53–7; Webster 205–11, 305; B. Snell, *Szenen aus griechischen Dramen* (Berlin, 1971), 76–103; Trendall–Webster III.3.14–15; P. A. de Nicola, *RAAN* 48 (1973), 195–236; *LIMC* I.i.718–22 ‘Amphion’, I.i.854–7 ‘Antiope’, III.i.635–44 ‘Dirke’; A. D. Trendall in H. Brijder et al., *Enthousiasmos . . . Essays . . . Hemelrijk* (Amsterdam, 1986), 157–66; Gantz 483–8; Huys, *The Tale*, relevant sections; A. J. Podlecki, *Ancient World* 27 (1996), 131–46; O. Taplin, *Antike Kunst* 41 (1998), 33–9, and *Pots and Plays* 187–91; B. S. Ridgeon, *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 12 (1999), 512–20; P. Wilson, *ICS* 24–25 (1999–2000), 440–9; L. B. Joyce, *Classical Antiquity* 20 (2001), 221–39; Matthiessen 253–6.

ANTIOPE

The beautiful Antiope, daughter of Nycteus king of Boeotia, attracted Zeus's eye, and he impregnated her. To escape her father's anger when she gave birth, she fled, encountered Epopeus of nearby Sicyon, and became his wife. Nycteus, broken and dying, ordered his brother and successor as king, Lycus, to attack Epopeus and recover Antiope, and to punish her; and this he did. On her way back to Boeotia as a captive, Antiope gave birth to twin sons by Zeus, Zethus and Amphion, at Eleutheræ on the Attic-Boeotian border, near the god Dionysus' shrine (cf. F 207). She had to abandon the twins, but a herdsman found them and brought them up to young manhood (cf. F 179-182); Zethus was physically strong and active, while Amphion devoted himself to quiet pursuits, especially music. All this time, Antiope was kept in servitude to Lycus' wife Dirce.

This story is the background to Euripides' play; it is told, and the plot itself largely summarized, in three accounts all dependent upon a lost narrative hypothesis: Hyginus, Fab. 8, Apollodorus 3.5.5, and Scholia on Apollonius of Rhodes 4.1090 (= test. iii (a)-(c), of which test. iii (a) is printed below; see especially Luppe noted there, Gantz 232, 483-6, Huys, The Tale 104-7 and APF 42 [1996], 171-2). Incidental details, some corroborative, others discrepant, are found or inferred from many other sources, in particular some certain or probable fragments of Pacuvius' Latin adaptation Antiope (= test. viib, printed in TrGF, ed. Budé 272-4, SFP II.326-9), which give some help in reconstruction.

The play's outline is fairly secure therefore, but its overall structure and centre are not at all clear. It is set at

EURIPIDES

Eleutherae, outside a cave which seems to double as the Herdsman's home and Dionysus' shrine (F 203, 223.19, 29-33). In his prologue speech the Herdsman appears anxious, for he prays to Dionysus (F 179); he may have had a dream (Pacuvius fr. 12 d'Anna), for Antiope, it later emerges, has escaped from captivity and fled to Eleutherae—and will be pursued, bringing danger for all there. The Herdsman relates how he long ago found and named the abandoned twins (F 181-2). This is all we have of the prologue, for the fragments plunge us almost at once into a debate between Zethus and Amphion which contrasts activity and quietude as social or political philosophies; this was famous in antiquity after Plato cited it in his Gorgias 485e-6d (cf. F 182b.1a). Amphion has entered singing (F 182a; F 195^p), possibly even before the Chorus (perhaps of elderly Athenian countrymen: Schol. Eur. Hippolytus 58 = test. v, cf. F 223.17-18); he explains to the Chorus the history of the lyre (F 190, 192 and perhaps 191 probably belong here, cf. Pacuvius fr. 1 d'Anna). Zethus interrupts Amphion to upbraid his idleness (F 183). The debate formed the first episode and encompassed F 183-9, 193-202, and perhaps 191, 219-20; cf. Pacuvius frs. 2, 4, 5 d'Anna). Amphion's later prominence in the action (F 210, 223) suggests that his quietude 'won' the argument, for his calm and steely intelligence directs the punishments of Dirce and Lycus (F 223.1-16, 60-6, cf. F 175.1-8, printed before F 221); these, together with the god Hermes' intervention to save Lycus and ordain the future (F 223.67-end), conclude the play. The first choral ode, following Amphion's 'victory', is thought by many editors to have been introduced by the chanted anapaestic system F 910

ANTIOPE

(*Uncertain Fragment, below at end*). It celebrates metaphysical speculation by a thinking man who avoids political or moral wrongdoing; but some locate it later in the play.

The central scenes dramatized (1) Antiope's arrival: in some accounts, e.g. Apollodorus 3.5.5 (test. iii (b)), she has escaped miraculously when Dionysus loosed her bonds. She meets the Chorus and narrates her torment under Dirce (F 204-5, cf. Pacuvius frs. 7, 16-18 d'Anna); she seeks sanctuary. If the twins are present, Zethus may have rejected her, while Amphion was more sympathetic (cf. Hyginus 8.4, Propertius 3.15.29ff.). In such a scene, rather than later, Amphion may have scorned her assertion that she gave birth to Zeus's sons (F 206-8, 210) and gone off with Zethus, leaving Antiope to herself, with no 'recognition and reunion' (for the Herdsman seems never to have told the twins the story of their finding). The Chorus comments sadly on her extreme misfortune (F 211).

(2) Dirce enters, accompanied by a secondary chorus (test. v: see also Alexander test. v), comprised almost certainly of her women; they come possessed by Dionysus, to worship him (Hyginus 8.4, cf. Pacuvius fr. 10 d'Anna), and the women probably sang in his praise on entering (compare the secondary choruses at Hipp. 61-71 and Phaethon 227-44). It looks as if Dionysus answers the Herdsman's prayer (F 179) for a second time. Dirce and Antiope perhaps argue (F 216-8 on slavery may belong here); the Herdsman probably returns to the cave, told by the twins of the woman seeking sanctuary; he may try to drive Dirce's noisy band away (cf. Pacuvius fr. 13 d'Anna). Presumably he identifies Antiope, and goes to fetch the twins,

EURIPIDES

to save their mother, while Dirce and her women prepare to drag Antiope away to be killed (Hyginus 8.4).

(3) *Either the twins come quickly and halt Dirce at once or, in a new episode or scene, return with her as captive. They are now reunited with their mother and intend to avenge her by killing Dirce (from this point onward Zethus will have been played by a mute). F 175 (= P. Oxy. 3317), if from this play, belongs here, with Amphion(?) accusing Dirce of presuming upon the god (1-8) and Dirce defiantly anticipating death (9-15; Kannicht argues that P. Oxy. can belong only if Dirce is brought back in a second entry, and unaccompanied).¹ She is taken away, to be tied to a bull, like Mazeppa to a horse, and torn or trampled to death (Hyginus 8.5).*

(4) *A messenger reports Dirce's terrible end (F 221, cf. the Chorus(?) in F 222).*

This last scene perhaps ran quickly into the exodos if the messenger also reported the approach of Lycus with armed men, aiming to recover Antiope and perhaps also the absent Dirce. Almost the whole exodos survives as F 223: Amphion proclaims 'triumph over Lycus or our own deaths' (1-16), before he, Zethus and Antiope enter the cave. Lycus arrives, and the Herdsman lures him inside, without guards, where he is seized and brought out again for execution (17-65); Hermes the god prevents it and orders Lycus to hand over his kingdom to the twins, for them to build the new Thebes (66-103); Lycus submits (104-16).

F 209 and F 212-5 (on marriage) cannot be located

¹ F 175 is here ascribed to *Antiope* rather than *Antigone*, and printed below after F 220. See note 1 there on the question of attribution.

ANTIOPE

in this action; they are sometimes ascribed to Antigone (see Introduction there). Brief fragments: F 180 'Hysiae' (a place near Eleutheræ, Antiope's birthplace), F 226 'to have a weakness (of character)'?, F 227 'a straightforward citizen'. Other ascriptions: Andromeda F 144, Antigone F 177, F 853, 911, 941, 1028, adesp. F 88a 'There's no city-leader in you'. (On F 175 and 910 see above.)

The Scholia on Aristophanes, Frogs 53 (= test. ii) seem to date Antiope, Hypsipyle and Phoenician Women all later than 412, although metrical criteria suggest a date for Antiope before 418 (Cropp-Fick 74-6). Dramatic elements like reunion and a luring plot leading to revenge are familiar in earlier plays, and there are marked similarities between Antiope and Ion (c. 414-410?) in their heroines' fortunes. 'Antiope' in the Frogs scholion could be another error for Antigone as Cropp-Fick suggest, but a date near 410 still seems most likely.

Euripides' tragedy seems to have been unique. Performances of it may have inspired three 4th c. South Italian vases depicting the killing of Dirce and in one case the attack on Lycus (LIMC 'Antiope' nos. 4-6, Todisco L 11, S 5, Ap 214: see Haussmann, Taplin, Ridgeon, Joyce). Eubulus in the mid-4th c. may have popularized it through his burlesque Antiope (F 9 PCG). Pacuvius' Latin adaptation has been mentioned above. Two later famous works of sculpture are the late Roman 'Farnese Bull', recovered in the 1540's (see Taplin [1998], 33), and Canova's 'Dirce' of 1819; see also OGCMA I.109-12.

ANTIOPH

test. iii (a)

EADEM (i.e. ANTIOPA) EURIPIDIS. Nyctei regis in Boeotia fuit filia Antiopa; eius formae bonitate Iuppiter adductus grauidam fecit. (2) Quam pater cum punire uellet propter stuprum, minitans periculum Antiopa effugit. Casu in eodem loco quo illa peruenerat Epopeus Sicyonius stabat; is mulierem aduectam domo matrimonio suo iunxit. (3) Id Nycteus aegre ferens cum moreretur Lyco fratri suo per obtestationem mandat, cui tum regnum relinquebat, ne impune Antiopa ferret. Huius post mortem Lycus Sicyonem uenit; interfecto Epopeo Antiopam uinctam adduxit. In Cithaerone parit geminos et reliquit, quos pastor educauit, Zetum et Amphionem nominauit. (4) Antiopa Dirce uxori Lyci data erat in cruciatum; ea occasione nacta fugae se mandauit; deuenit ad filios suos, ex quibus Zetus existimans fugitiuam non recepit. In

Hyginus, *Fab.* 8 (the title is transmitted as *Eadem Euripidis quam scribit Ennius*); largely similar accounts, also derived from a narrative hypothesis, in Apollodorus 3.5.5 and Schol. on Apollonius of Rhodes 4.1090 (= test. iii (b) and (c)): see especially W. Luppe, *Philologus* 128 (1984), 41–57, and note on the translation.

ANTIOPE

test. iii (a)

THE SAME (i.e. ANTIOPE) BY EURIPIDES.¹ Antiope was the daughter of Nycteus king of Boeotia. Jupiter was attracted by her shapely beauty and made her pregnant. (2) When her father was meaning to punish her because of this shaming violation, Antiope fled from the threatening danger. By chance Epaphus of Sicyon was staying in the same place that she had reached; he took the woman home and married her as his wife. (3) Nycteus was angry; when he was dying, before witnesses he charged his brother Lycus, to whom he was leaving his kingdom, that Antiope should not go unscathed. After Nycteus' death Lycus came to Sicyon; he killed Epaphus and took Antiope back in bonds. On Mt. Cithaeron she gave birth to twins and abandoned them; they were brought up by a herdsman who named them Zethus and Amphion. (4) Antiope was given to Dirce the wife of Lycus to torture; she got an opportunity to escape and committed herself to it. She reached her sons, but Zethus thought her a fugitive and would not re-

¹ Hyginus has a more concise summary in *Fab.* 7 headed simply 'Antiope', then *Fab.* 8 headed 'The same by Euripides, which Ennius wrote' (the reference to Ennius is probably due to a confusion). Cf. *Fab.* 4 (= *Ino* test. iii) headed 'Euripides' *Ino*'. The aetiology of Dirce's spring given in F 223.76-7 is omitted in *Fab.* 8 but appears in the more concise *Fab.* 7: cf. M. Huys, *APF* 42 (1996), 171-2 and the apparatus opposite.

EURIPIDES

eundem locum Dirce per bacchationem Liberi ilico delata est; ibi Antiopam repertam ad mortem extrahebat. (5) Sed ab educatore pastore adulescentes certiores facti eam esse matrem suam, celeriter consecuti matrem eripuerunt, Dirce ad taurum crinibus religatam necant. (6) Lycum cum occidere uellent, uetuit eos Mercurius, et simul iussit Lycum concedere regnum Amphioni.

(4) *ilico* Kannicht: *illuc* Hyginus

179

<ΒΟΤΚΟΛΟΣ>

. . . ἔχεις,

εἶ μοι διδοίης δεσπότη θ' ὅς Οἰνός
σύγχορτα ναίει πεδία ταῖσδ' Ἐλευθεραῖς.

Strabo 8.6.16; v. 3: Schol. on Homer, *Iliad* 11.774; lexicographers

3 ναίει Strabo ms. P (-ειν other mss.): ναίω other sources

181-182

<ΒΟΤΚΟΛΟΣ>

181 τὸν μὲν κικλήσκω Ζῆθον· ἐζήτησε γὰρ
τόκοισιν εὐμάρειαν ἢ τεκοῦσά νιν . . .

182 (τὸν δὲ . . . Ἀμφίονα) . . . παρὰ τὸ ἀμφ' ὁδὸν . . .
γεννηθῆναι.

F 181: *Etymologicum Gudianum* in *Etym. Magnum* p. 411.12 Gaisford; v. 1 (end)-2: *Etym. Gudianum* p. 230.57 Sturz. F 182 is drawn from a paraphrase in *Etym. Gudianum* α 746 Lasserre-Livadaras (= *Etym. Magnum* p. 92.24 Gaisford). Both fragments are reflected in Hyginus, *Fab.* 7.3-4.

1 κικλήσκω Bothe: κίκλησκέ (imperative, probably a mere copying error) *Et. Gud.*

ANTIOPE

ceive her. There and then² Dirce was brought to the same spot through her ecstatic possession by Dionysus; she found Antiope there and began to drag her away to death. (5) The young men however were informed by the herdsman who had brought them up that she was their mother; they quickly pursued Dirce and tore their mother free; they killed Dirce by tying her bodily by her hair to a bull. (6) When they were meaning to kill Lycus, Hermes forbade them, and at the same time ordered Lycus to cede his kingdom to Amphion.

² Kannicht's 'there and then' replaces a redundant 'to that place' in Hyginus.

179

<HERDSMAN>

. . . you (who?) hold . . . , may you grant me good fortune, and my master who lives on the plain of Oenoe with its pastures bordering Eleutheræ here!¹

¹ Lines very near the play's beginning, addressed to Dionysus whose famous shrine lay at Eleutheræ on the Attic-Boeotian border. For 'you hold . . .' in an opening address to a god cf. *Sciron* F 674a. 'My master . . . Oenoe' plays on his name, Oeneus.

181-182

<HERDSMAN>

I call the one Zethus; for his mother sought a place of comfort for his birthing . . . (and the other Amphion) . . . from his being born by the roadside.¹

¹ The Herdsman named the twins after Antiope abandoned them (cf. F 207, 208). English cannot reproduce the etymological plays here, which derive Zethus' name from the Greek verb 'sought' (*zet-*) and Amphion's from Greek 'by the roadside' (*amphi hodon*). For such etymologies see on *Alexander* F 42d.

EURIPIDES

182a (= 225 + 1023 N)

ΑΜΦΙΩΝ

Αἰθέρα καὶ Γαῖαν πάντων γενέτειραν αἰίδω . . .

Sextus Empiricus, *Against the Experts* 10.314–5 (= F 1023 N); also reflected in Probus on Virgil, *Eclogues* 6.31 (Servius III.2, p. 343.24 Thilo-Hagen) (= F 225 N); two other late citations.

(182b–189: see below after F 192)

190

< ΑΜΦΙΩΝ >

λύρα βοῶν < γὰρ > ῥύσι' ἐξερρύσατο.

Anon., *On Lyric Poets*, in Appendix to *Lexicon Vindobonense* p. 322.18 Nauck

λυρᾶ . . . < γὰρ > . . . ἐξελύσατο Schneidewin

191

< ΑΜΦΙΩΝ >

(μελετή) . . . κρείσσον ὄλβου κτήμα . . .

Philostratus, *Lives of the Sophists* 2.27.4

192

ΑΜΦΙΩΝ

χρόνος θεῶν < τε > πνεῦμ' ἔρωσ θ' ὑμνωδίας

Julian, *Letters* 30; Suda α 1751

(182b: see opposite)

ANTIOPE

182a (= 225 + 1023 N)

AMPHION

I sing of Heaven, and Earth the mother of all . . . ¹

¹ Amphion enters singing to his lyre (F 190, cf. F 223.91 and Pacuvius, *Antiopa* fr. 1 d'Anna). For 'Heaven and Earth' cf. *Chrysippus* F 839 and note, and for 'Earth the mother of all', F 195 below.

(182b–189: see below after F 192)

190

<AMPHION>

(For) the lyre discharged the penalty for the cattle.¹

¹ The trickster god Hermes as a miraculous baby stole Apollo's cattle, and in recompense gave Apollo the lyre he had invented by stringing a tortoiseshell. There is a hidden etymological play between Greek *lura* 'lyre' and *lutron* 'recompense', which induced Schneidewin's conjecture 'For with the lyre (Hermes) paid off (*exelusato*) the recompense for the cattle'.

191

<AMPHION>

(practice) . . . a possession better than wealth . . .

192

AMPHION

. . . time and the gods' inspiration and a love of singing praise . . .

(F 182b in *TrGF* gathers evidence for the debate between Zethus and Amphion to which F 183–9 and 193–202 are assigned.)

EURIPIDES

183

ΖΗΘΟΣ

κακῶν κατάρχεις τήνδε μούσαν εἰσάγων
ἀργόν, φίλοιον, χρημάτων ἀτημελή.

Dio Chrysostom, *Orations* 73.10 (paraphrase); v. 1 was altered for parody by Plutarch, *Moralia* 634e = Athenaeus 14.616c; v. 2 is differently worded in Sextus Empiricus, *Against the Experts* 6.27; fragment reconstructed by Porson, Wilamowitz

1 end: ἄτοπον, ἀσύμφορόν τι inserted by Hartung as an incomplete verse, from Dio and Sextus

184

ΖΗΘΟΣ

ἐν τούτῳ <γέ τοι>

λαμπρός θ' ἕκαστος καπὶ τοῦτ' ἐπείγεται,
νέμων τὸ πλείστον ἡμέρας τούτῳ μέρος,
ἴν' αὐτὸς αὐτοῦ τυγχάνει βέλτιστος ὦν.

Plato, *Gorgias* 484d–e (vv. 1–2 in paraphrase) and Schol.; v. 2 (καπὶ)—4: Aristotle, *Rhetoric* 1371b31, [Aristotle], *Problems* 917a13; vv. 3–4: Plato, *Alcibiades II* 146a (τούτῳ . . . μέρος), Plutarch, *Moralia* 514a; v. 4 alone: Plut. *Mor.* 622a, 630b and 43b

4 βέλτιστος Pl. *Gorg.*, Aristotle: κράτιστος others

ANTIOPE

183

ZETHUS

You start the trouble by introducing music here: it's idle, it loves wine, it neglects affairs.¹

¹ Before 'it's idle' Hartung's insertion adds 'it's out of place, it's disadvantageous . . .'

184

ZETHUS

It's in this (I tell you) that each man is distinguished, and for this that he is eager, giving the most part of his day to this—where he himself is actually at his best.

ΖΗΘΟΣ

(ἀμελείς ὦν δεῖ σε ἐπιμελείσθαι)

ψυχῆς φύσιν <γὰρ> ὧδε γενναίαν <λαχῶν>

γυναικομίμῳ διαπρέπεις μορφώματι

κοῦτ' ἂν δίκης βουλαῖσι προσθεῖ' ἂν λόγον

5 οὔτ' εἰκὸς ἂν καὶ πιθανὸν <οὐδὲν> ἂν λάκοις

..... κοῦτ' ἂν ἀσπίδος κύτει

<καλῶς> ὁμιλήσει<α>ς οὔτ' ἄλλων ὑπερ

νεανικὸν βούλευμα βουλεύσαιό <τι>.

Vv. 1–5, 7–8 partly paraphrased, partly cited by Plato, *Gorgias* 485e–6a (cf. Schol. on 485e, p. 150 Greene); v. 3 (without διαπρέπεις): Philostratus, *Life of Apollonius* 4.21; vv. 4–7 in part: Olympiodorus, *On Plato's Gorgias* 26.22 (on 486a1). Di Benedetto (2004) constructs from Plato and Olympiodorus a very different text of this fragment.

4–5 so Dodds: as one verse, κοῦτ' ἂν δίκης βουλαῖσι πιθανὸν ἂν λάκοις Merkelbach λάκοις Bonitz: λάβοις Plato 7 <καλῶς> Nauck

ΖΗΘΟΣ

καὶ πῶς σοφὸν τοῦτ' ἐστίν, ἥτις εὐφῶα

λαβοῦσα τέχνη φῶτ' ἔθηκε χείρονα;

Plato, *Gorgias* 486b4–5

ANTIOPE

185

ZETHUS

(You neglect things which should be your concern.) (For) though naturally (endowed) with a noble spirit you stand out with an appearance imitating a woman's! You'd neither contribute a word to deliberations about justice nor voice anything likely or persuasive¹ . . . neither would you keep (bravely) close to a shield's hollow nor offer (any) forceful counsel on others' behalf. 5

¹ 'Likely' is a catch-word of contemporary rhetoric (e.g. *Cre-tans* F 472e.11, 19). For 'persuasive' cf. *Antigone* F 170. Dodds's reconstruction of vv. 4-5 takes fuller account of Plato's paraphrase than Merkelbach's 'nor have a persuasive voice in deliberations about justice'.

186

ZETHUS

And how is this wise—an art that takes a naturally robust man and makes him inferior?

EURIPIDES

187

<ΖΗΘΟΣ>

- ἀνὴρ γὰρ ὅστις εὖ βίον κεκτημένος
 τὰ μὲν κατ' οἴκους ἀμελία παρείς ἐᾷ,
 μολπαῖσι δ' ἤσθεις τοῦτ' αἰεὶ θηρεύεται,
 ἀργὸς μὲν οἴκοι κἂν πόλει γενήσεται,
 5 φίλοισι δ' οὐδέεις· ἡ φύσις γὰρ οἴχεται,
 ὅταν γλυκείας ἠδονῆς ἤσσω τισ ᾗ.

Stobaeus 3.30.1; v. 1 = Diphilus F 74.4 PCG; vv. 3–6: Sextus Empiricus, *Against the Experts* 6.35

4 οἴκοι κἂν πόλει Walker, Diggle: οἴκοις καὶ πόλει Stob., Sext. 5 end ἀλλ' ἄφαντος οἴχεται (= *Orestes* 1557) Sext.

*187a

<ΖΗΘΟΣ>

- (i) ῥῦψον τὴν λύραν, κέχρησο δὲ ὄπλοις.
 (ii) μάτην κιθαρίζεις μηδὲν ὠφελῶν, ἀλλὰ ἔξελθε στρα-
 τιωτικὸν βίον ζῆσον καὶ <εὖ>πόρησον καὶ τυράννησον.

Paraphrases in (i) Schol. on Plato, *Gorgias* 485e and (ii) Olympiodorus, *On Plato's Gorgias* 34.4, both attributing these sentiments to 'Zethus abusing Amphion's music'; clarified by Borthwick.

ANTIOPE

187

<ZETHUS>

A man who possesses a good livelihood but neglects matters in his own house and lets them slip, and from his pleasure in singing pursues this all the time, will become idle at home and in his city, and a nobody for those close to him: a man's nature is lost and gone when he is overcome by pleasure's sweetness.

*187a

<ZETHUS>

- (i) Throw away the lyre, and use weapons!
- (ii) Your singing to the lyre is useless, you do no good! Rather, go out of doors: live a soldier's life, and be well provided, and be a ruler!

EURIPIDES

188

ΖΗΘΟΣ

ἀλλ' ἔμοι πιθοῦ·

παῦσαι ματάζων καὶ πόνων εὐμουσίαν
 ἄσκει· τοιαῦτ' αἶδε καὶ δόξεις φρονεῖν,
 σκάπτων, ἀρῶν γῆν, ποιμνίους ἐπιστατῶν,
 5 ἄλλοις τὰ κομψὰ ταῦτ' ἀφείς σοφίσματα,
 ἐξ ὧν κενοῖσιν ἐγκατοικήσεις δόμοις.

Plato, *Gorgias* 486c, partly paraphrased; vv. 2–3 and 6: Olympiodorus, *On Plato's Gorgias* 26.24–5; vv. 3 (τοιαῦτα)–5: Stobaeus 4.15.13; v. 6: Dio Chrysostom, *Orations* 73.10

2 ματάζων Plato some mss.: δ' ἐλέγχων others καὶ πόνων Borthwick: πραγμάτων δ' Plato: πολέμων δ' Olympiod.

189

<ΧΟΡΟΣ?>

ἐκ παντὸς ἄν τις πράγματος δισσωὼν λόγων
 ἀγῶνα θεῖτ' ἄν, εἰ λέγειν εἴη σοφός.

Stobaeus 2.2.9, Athenaeus 15.677b

(190–2: see above after F 182a)

193

<ΑΜΦΙΩΝ>

ὅστις δὲ πράσσει πολλὰ μὴ πράσσειν παρόν,
 μῶρος, παρόν ζῆν ἠδέως ἀπράγμονα.

Stobaeus 4.16.2

2 the second παρόν is suspect

ANTIOPE

188

ZETHUS

No, let me persuade you! Cease this idle folly, and practise the fine music of hard work! Make this your song, and you will seem sensible, digging, ploughing the land, watching over flocks, leaving to others these pretty arts of yours which will have you keeping house in a bare home.

189

<CHORUS?>

A man could make a contest between two arguments from any matter, if he were a clever speaker.¹

¹ An axiom originating with the Sophist Protagoras (Diogenes Laertius 9.51), with many echoes in Euripides.

(190-2: see above after F 182a)

193

<AMPHION>

Whoever is very active when he may be inactive, is a fool, when he may live pleasantly without activity.¹

¹ Amphion taking the offensive, rather than maintaining his defence (cf. F 196)? For the general idea cf. *Philoctetes* F 787.

EURIPIDES

194

<ΑΜΦΙΩΝ>

ὁ δ' ἥσυχος φίλοισί τ' ἀσφαλῆς φίλος
 πόλει τ' ἄριστος. μὴ τὰ κινδυνεύματα
 αἰνεῖτ'· ἐγὼ γὰρ οὔτε ναυτίλον φιλῶ
 τολμῶντα λίαν οὔτε προστάτην χθονός.

Stobaeus 4.7.10

195

<ΑΜΦΙΩΝ?>

ἅπαντα τίκτει χθὼν πάλιν τε λαμβάνει.

Orion 2.1 Haffner

196

<ΑΜΦΙΩΝ?>

τοιόσδε θνητῶν τῶν τάλαιπάρων βίος·
 οὔτ' εὐτυχεῖ τὸ πάμπαν οὔτε δυστυχεῖ.
 {εὐδαιμονεῖ τε καὐθις οὐκ εὐδαιμονεῖ.}
 τί δῆτ' ἐν ὄλβῳ μὴ σαφεῖ βεβηκότες
 5 οὐ ζῶμεν ὡς ἥδιστα μὴ λυπούμενοι;

Stobaeus 4.41.11; v. 2: *Comparison of Menander and Philistion* 1.29 Jaekel; vv. 4-5: Clement of Alexandria, *Miscellanies* 6.2.13.4

3 deleted by Nauck

ANTIOPE

194

< AMPHION >

The quiet man is a sure friend for friends, and best for a city. Don't praise risky undertakings:¹ I love neither a sailor nor a city leader who is too venturesome.²

¹ A response to Zethus' F 187a (ii). ² Cf. *Suppliant Women* 508-9.

195

< AMPHION? >

The earth gives birth to all things, and takes them back again.¹

¹ The fragment could belong with F 190; its inclusion in the debate is disputed.

196

< AMPHION? >

Such is the life of wretched mortals: a man is neither completely fortunate nor unfortunate. {He prospers under god's blessing, and then again does not prosper}. Why then, when we have entered upon an insecure prosperity, do we not live as pleasantly as possible, causing ourselves no distress?¹

¹ Cf. *Telephus* F 714, *Heracles* 503-5.

EURIPIDES

197

< ΑΜΦΙΩΝ? >

... βροτοῖσιν εὐκράς οὐ γένοιτ' ἄν ἠδέως . . .

Photius, *Lexicon* ε 2231 Theodoridis; other lexica cite the whole line or the single word εὐκράς or εὐκρας (some offer the form εὐκρατος)

ἠδέως Phot.: ἠδονή Lobeck

198

< ΑΜΦΙΩΝ >

εἰ δ' εὐτυχῶν τις καὶ βίον κεκτημένος
μηδὲν δόμοισι τῶν καλῶν θηράσεται,
ἐγὼ μὲν αὐτὸν οὔποτ' ὄλβιον καλῶ,
φύλακα δὲ μᾶλλον χρημάτων εὐδαίμονα.

Stobaeus 3.16.4; P. Petrie 3 (= P. Lit. Lond. 57 and 71) 6-9 has the lines with defective beginnings and ends, but assigned to Epicharmus (F 272 PCG).

2 θηρασετ[P. Petrie: πειράσεται Stob.

199

< ΑΜΦΙΩΝ >

τὸ δ' ἀσθενές μου καὶ τὸ θῆλυ σώματος
κακῶς ἐμέμφθης· εἰ γὰρ εὖ φρονεῖν ἔχω,
κρείσσον τόδ' ἐστὶ καρτεροῦ βραχίονος.

Stobaeus 3.3.2

ANTIOPE

197

<AMPHION?>

... men's (life?) would not be well-mixed, pleasurably...¹

¹ The fragment seems to cohere with F 196, cf. F 198. Lobeck's conjecture would separate it, 'pleasure would not be well-mixed for men'.

198

<AMPHION>

If someone who has good fortune and possesses a livelihood is going to pursue none of the finer things¹ in his house, I shall myself never call him blessed with prosperity but rather a fortunate guardian of wealth.

¹ The arts, especially Amphion's own music.

199

<AMPHION>

You were wrong to blame my body's weakness and femininity: for if I have sound thinking, this is superior to a strong arm.

EURIPIDES

200

< ΑΜΦΙΩΝ >

γνώμαις γὰρ ἀνδρὸς εὖ μὲν οἰκοῦνται πόλεις,
 εὖ δ' οἶκος, εἷς τ' αὖ πόλεμον ἰσχύει μέγα·
 σοφὸν γὰρ ἐν βούλευμα τὰς πολλὰς χέρας
 νικᾷ, σὺν ὄχλῳ δ' ἀμαθία πλείστον κακόν.

Stobaeus 4.13.3; Orion, Euripidean Appendix 18a–b Haffner (with punctuation suggesting vv. 3–4 may be a separate fragment); [Plutarch,] *On Homer* 156.2; vv. 1–2 (οἶκος) or v. 1 alone are cited, sometimes in adaptation, in three further sources; vv. 3–4 are cited in whole or part in many sources.

1 γνώμαις Orion, others: γνώμη Stob.: βουλαῖς Clement of Alexandria, *Miscellanies* 2.19.102.7 ἀνδρὸς Stob., [Plut.]: -ῶν others

201

< ΑΜΦΙΩΝ >

καὶ μὴν ὅσοι μὲν σαρκὸς εἰς εὐεξίαν
 ἀσκοῦσι βίοτον, ἦν σφαλῶσι χρημάτων,
 κακοὶ πολῖται· δεῖ γὰρ ἄνδρ' εἰθισμένον
 ἀκόλαστον ἦθος γαστρὸς ἐν ταύτῳ μένειν.

Stobaeus 3.6.1

202

< ΑΜΦΙΩΝ >

ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν ᾄδοιμι καὶ λέγοιμί τι
 σοφόν, ταρασσῶν μηδὲν ὧν πόλις νοσεῖ.

Stobaeus 3.1.63

ANTIOPE

200

< AMPHION >

Cities are well managed by a man's judgements, and his house well, and he is a great resource in war;¹ for one wise counsel defeats many hands,² and crassness partnered with a mob is the greatest evil.

¹ Some editors prefer Stobaeus' singular 'judgement', then 'it (judgement) is a great resource'. ² Alluding to a mass vote in a political gathering.

201

< AMPHION >

Look! All those whose regimen of life is to acquire a fine physique are bad citizens if ever their money fails; for once a man is accustomed to undisciplined habits of appetite, he inevitably stays in that condition.¹

¹ A similar but even stronger attack on athletes in *Autolycus* F 282, esp. 1-9.

202

< AMPHION >

No, rather may I myself sing and say something wise, without stirring up any of the city's ills.

EURIPIDES

203

ἔνδον δὲ θαλάμοις βουκόλου . . . (text lost) . . .
κομῶντα κισσῶ στυλον εὐίου θεοῦ . . .

Clement of Alexandria, *Miscellanies* 1.24.163.5

1 ἔνδον Clem.: εἶδον Bothe; other editors also supplement the defective text with a verb of seeing βουκόλου Tourp: -ον Clem.

204

<ΑΝΤΙΟΠΗ?>

πόλλ' ἐστὶν ἀνθρώποισιν, ὧ ξένοι, κακά.

Stobaeus 4.34.35

205

<ΑΝΤΙΟΠΗ>

φρονῶ δ' ἂ πάσχω, καὶ τόδ' οὐ σμικρὸν κακόν·
τὸ μὴ εἶδέναι γὰρ ἡδονὴν ἔχει τινα
νοσοῦντα, κέρδος δ' ἐν κακοῖς ἀγνωσία.

Stobaeus 4.35.24; v. 1: Erotian κ 22

206

<ΑΝΤΙΟΠΗ?>

ὦ παῖ, γένοιτ' ἂν εὖ λελεγμένοι λόγοι
ψευδεῖς, ἐπῶν δὲ κάλλεσιν νικῶεν ἂν
τάληθές· ἀλλ' οὐ τοῦτο τὰκριβέστατον,
ἀλλ' ἡ φύσις καὶ τοῦρθόν· ὅς δ' εὐγλωσσία
5 νικᾷ, σοφὸς μὲν, ἀλλ' ἐγὼ τὰ πράγματα
κρείσσω νομίζω τῶν λόγων αἰεί ποτε.

ANTIOPE

203

. . . and inside in the herdsman's dwelling (I saw) a pillar festooned with ivy for the god of celebration . . . ¹

¹ Dionysus, inspiring ecstasy and cries of *Euoi* in his celebrants. Ivy, an evergreen, symbolizes the vitality of nature in the god's gift; it was worn or carried by his worshippers. For the dwelling, see Introduction above.

204

<ANTIOPE?>

Mankind has many troubles, strangers.

205

<ANTIOPE>

I realise what I suffer, and this is no small misery; for not knowing that one is in trouble has a certain pleasure, and ignorance amid misery is a gain.

206

<ANTIOPE?>

My son,¹ speeches well phrased might be false, and overcome the truth through the beauties of words; but this is not the surest criterion: nature and right are that. The man who overcomes through eloquence is clever, but I consider the facts to be stronger than speeches every time.

5

¹ Addressed to Amphion by Antiope, most probably; 'my son' then need not be dramatic irony before his identity is made known, but means just 'listen: you are younger'. But some editors infer that the speaker is the Herdsman, Amphion's surrogate father. For the complaint in the first sentence cf. *Alexander* F 56 with note.

Clement of Alexandria, *Miscellanies* 1.8.41.5; vv. 4-6:
Stobaeus 2.15.12

EURIPIDES

207

ΑΝΤΙΟΠΗ

ἤνικ' ἠγόμην πάλιν,

κύουσα τίκτω.

Ammonius, *On Similar and Different Words* 288; v. 2: Eustathius on Homer, *Odyssey* 16.190

208

ΑΝΤΙΟΠΗ

εἰ δ' ἠμελήθην ἐκ θεῶν καὶ παιδ' ἐμῶ,
ἔχει λόγον καὶ τοῦτο τῶν πολλῶν βροτῶν
δεῖ τοὺς μὲν εἶναι δυστυχεῖς, τοὺς δ' εὐτυχεῖς.

Stobaeus 4.34.37; vv. 1-2: Marcus Aurelius, *Meditations* 7.41 and 11.6; v. 3 = [Menander], *Monostichs* 187 Jaekel

209

οὐ σωφρονίζειν ἔμαθον αἰδεῖσθαι δὲ χρή,
γύναι, τὸ λίαν καὶ φυλάσσεσθαι φθόνον.

Stobaeus 4.23.18

210

ΑΜΦΙΩΝ

οὐδὲ γὰρ λάθρα δοκῶ
θηρὸς κακούργου σχήματ' ἐκμιμούμενον
σοὶ Ζῆν' ἐς εὐνήν ὥσπερ ἄνθρωπον μολεῖν.

Clement of Alexandria, *Miscellanies* 5.14.111.2, whence Eusebius, *Preparation for the Gospel* 13.13.28; v. 2: John of Damascus, *PG* XCVI.825c

ANTIOPE

207

ANTIOPE

... when I was being brought back again, I was pregnant and gave birth.

208

ANTIOPE

If I and my two sons were neglected by the gods,¹ this too has reason: out of the great number of mortal men, some must be unfortunate, others fortunate.

¹ Antiope is thinking of Zeus himself as their father, but Zethus and Amphion have yet to learn of this (F 210, cf. F 223.2, 11-13).

209

I did not learn to teach moderation; but one must fight shy of excess, woman, and guard oneself against envy.

210

AMPHION

Nor do I think that Zeus secretly imitated the form of an evil beast and came into your bed just like a man.¹

¹ See on F 208. The Scholia on Apollonius of Rhodes (test. iii (c) [1]) and John Malalas, *Chronicles* 2.16 Thurn = 2.35 Jeffreys-Scott (test. ivc) record a story that Zeus disguised himself as a satyr when making love to Antiope.

2 θῆρὸς John: φωτὸς Clem.
Clem.

3 Ζῆν' Valckenaer: τήνδ'

EURIPIDES

211

<ΧΟΡΟΣ>

φεῦ φεῦ, βροτείων πημάτων ὅσαι τύχαι
ὅσαι τε μορφαί· τέρμα δ' οὐκ εἶποι τις ἄν.

Stobaeus 4.34.33, Clement of Alexandria, *Miscellanies*
3.3.23.2

(F 212–6: see below after F 223)

217

... τὸ δούλον οὐχ ὄρᾶς ὅσον κακόν;

Stobaeus 4.19.12

218

<ΧΟΡΟΣ?>

φεῦ, φεῦ, τὸ δούλον ὡς ἀπανταχῆ γένος
πρὸς τὴν ἐλάσσω μοῖραν ὤρισεν θεός.

Stobaeus 4.19.41

219

κόσμος δὲ σιγή, στέφανος ἀνδρὸς οὐ κακοῦ·
τὸ δ' ἐκλαλοῦν τοῦθ' ἡδονῆς μὲν ἄπτεται,
κακὸν δ' ὀμίλημ', ἀσθενὲς δὲ καὶ πόλει.

Stobaeus 3.36.10

1 σιγή, στέφανος Ellis: σιγῆς στέφανος Stob.

ANTIOPE

211

<CHORUS>

Oh, alas! How many are the accidents, and how many the forms, of mankind's sufferings! One could not speak of an end to them.

(F 212-6: see below after F 223)

217

... do you not see how great an evil the condition of slavery is?

218

<CHORUS?>

Oh, alas! How completely god has marked out slaves as a class for the inferior estate!

219

Silence is an ornament, a crown for a man without vice; while chattering of this kind fastens upon pleasure, and makes bad company, and is a weakness too for a city.¹

¹ Either the Herdsman defends his not having told the twins of their descent, or Zethus in the debate faults Amphion's 'political' uselessness: see Introduction. Stobaeus is slightly less good: 'Decorous silence is a crown, etc.'

EURIPIDES

220

<ΑΜΦΙΩΝ?>

πολλοὶ δὲ θνητῶν τοῦτο πάσχουσιν κακόν·
γνώμη φρονούντες οὐ θέλουσ' ὑπηρετεῖν
ψυχῇ τὰ πολλὰ πρὸς φίλων νικώμενοι.

Stobaeus 3.30.9

175

(assigned to *Antigone* in *TrGF*)

ANTIOPE

220

<AMPHION?¹>

Many men experience this trouble: despite good sense they are generally unwilling to obey their judgement, their heart being overcome by friends.¹

¹ This straightforward translation gives good sense, but both text and meaning are disputed. The fragment is often assigned to the debate (after F 202).

175

(assigned to *Antigone* in *TrGF*)¹

Dirce has come to Eleutherae to honour Dionysus, attended by fellow-worshippers who form a second chorus (see Introduction). She is costumed as a bacchant, a free-ranging celebrant of the god (5–7); she is threatened with forcible removal from the shrine, for as a tormentor of Antiope her presence there is impure (8: for this reason Amphion is a more likely speaker than Antiope herself). She strikes an attitude of noble acceptance of imminent death, however (9–15).

¹ The ascription of this fragment to *Antiope* is disputed. Vv. 14–15 of the papyrus are cited in Stobaeus as coming from *Antigone*. Ascription of the whole to *Antiope* was suggested by Luppe in 1981, and is supported by Diggle (most recently in *TrGFS* 87), Taplin (1998) 37–9 and *Pots and Plays* 285 n.70, and Collard (*SFP* II.311), because the ‘Dionysiac’ content suits *Antiope* much more easily: in Hyginus, *Fab.* 8.4 (= test. iii (a) above), *Dirce* is brought to Eleutherae ‘through possession by Bacchus’. The fragment is retained for *Antigone* by R. Scodel, *ZPE* 46 (1982), 37–42, Inglese 180–4, Zimmermann 165–8, Van Looy in ed. Budé, and Kannicht in *TrGF* (for Inglese and Zimmermann see our bibliography for *Antigone*).

EURIPIDES

<ΑΜΦΙΩΝ?>

- οὔκουν] ἐκοῦσα τήνδ' ἐρημώσ[εις ἔδραν,
 μὴ χειρία]ν ἔλκωσί σ' οἶδε προσπ[
 6-7 letters ἐ]θείρας; οὐ γὰρ ἐν τρυφαῖ[ς ἔτι
 μέλαθρα] ναίεις Ἡράκλει' οὐδεστ[
 5 7-8 letters]δ' ἦκεις ἢ δι' οἰωνῶν πλ[άκας
 7-8 letters] πεδία δι[ε]φοροῦ χωρὶς μ[
 6-7 letters ν]εβρίδος ἔξανημμένη[
 7-8 letters]ν· ἱερὰ γὰρ τάδ' οὐ σαυτῆς ἔ[χεις.

<ΔΙΡΚΗ?>

- 7-8 letters]μελλον συνθανεῖν πρε[
 10 μηδεῖς θί]γη μου δούλος ὦν ἐλε[υθέρως
 7-8 letters].. χρῶτ'· ἀλλ' ἐκοῦσα πε[ίσομαι.
 ἐν τοῖς κακοῖς γὰρ ἠύγένει' ὄτω παρῆ
 τραχεῖα κῶξύθυμος ἀμαθίαν ἔχει·
 ὅστις δὲ πρὸς τὸ πίπτον εὐόργως φέρει
 15 τὸν δαίμον', οὗτος ῥᾶον ἀθλιωτ[

P. Oxy. 3317, ed. D. Hughes (1980); re-ed. W. Luppe, *ZPE* 42 (1981), 27-30; Diggle, *TrGFS* 87 (previously *APF* 42 (1996), 164-7); vv. 12-13: Stobaeus 3.20.39, unattributed (= adesp. F 524 N); vv. 14-15: Stobaeus 4.44.14, attributed to *Antigone*. On the disputed attribution see note 1 to the translation, and introductions to *Antiope* and *Antigone*.

1 or <ΑΝΤΙΟΠΗ> Luppe 2 πρόσπ[ολοι ed. pr.
 4-5 οὐδὲ στ[έγος | φίλον τό]δ' ἦκεις (e.g.) Diggle 5 ἦ
 Mette: ἦ editors 6 δι[ε]φοροῦ is uncertain 8 οὐχ
 ὄσιο]ν Collard 9 σαφὲς τὸ] μέλλον· συνθανεῖν πρέ[πει
 φίλοις (e.g.) Luppe 12 ὄτω P. Oxy.: ὅταν Stob.

ANTIOPE

< AMPHION? >

Leave your (place) here willingly (then, so) these (attendants? won't) drag you (forcibly) . . . by your . . . hair. You are no (longer) living in luxury in Heracles' (palace),² nor . . . have you come . . .³ you who ranged(?) the (open fields) of birds . . . plains without . . . with . . . of a fawnskin (draped?) from you . . .⁴ These sacred emblems are not yours (to have). 5

< DIRCE? >

. . . (the?) future . . . to die with⁵ . . . Let (no one) who is a slave touch me: I am (free)! . . . (my) body; but I (shall suffer) willingly: for amid disaster for any woman of high birth to become harsh and quick to temper, is crass folly; but whoever bears their fate with equanimity in the face of what befalls, more easily . . . the most wretched . . .⁶ 10 15

² In Thebes; the detail is allusive rather than accurate, for Heracles became king of Thebes after Dirce's husband Lycus.

³ 'nor have you come to a (friendly roof) here', Diggle. ⁴ '(It is irreligious)', Collard.

⁵ The phrase is a major problem in accepting this fragment for *Antiope*, with or without Luppe's '(The) future (is clear: it is fitting) to die with (friends)'. Who is present to share Dirce's death, except her women?

⁶ 'more easily (endures) the most wretched (sufferings)', Kannicht.

14 εὐόργως P. Oxy.: εὐλόγως Stob. 15 τὸν δαίμονα δ' οὗτος ἦσσόν ἐστιν ὄλβιος (corrupt) Stob.; ἀθλιω[τάτους] | πόνονος διαντλεῖ (e.g.) Kannicht

EURIPIDES

221

< ΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ >

εἰ δέ που τύχοι
 πέριξ ἐλίξας < > εἶλχ' ὁμοῦ λαβῶν
 γυναῖκα πέτραν δρῦν μεταλλάσσων ἀεί.

[Longinus] *On the Sublime* 40.4

2 <ταῦρος> Valckenaer: <εἶλκεν> Adam: ἐλίξας εἶλκε
 <πάνθ'> Bergk

222

τήν τοι Δίκην λέγουσι παῖδ' εἶναι Χρόνου,
 δείκνυσι δ' ἡμῶν ὅστις ἐστὶ μὴ κακός.

Stobaeus 1.3.33; see note opposite

223

< ΑΜΦΙΩΝ >

fr. a col. i

7 letters το]ύσδε μηδ' ὅπως φευξόμεθα.
 εἴπερ γὰρ ἡ]μᾶς Ζεὺς ἐγέννησεν πατήρ,

P. Petrie 1 and 2 (= P. Lit. Lond. 70), ed. J. Mahaffy (with J. B. Bury, H. Weil), *Hermathena* 8 (1891), 38–51 and *Flinders Petrie Papyri* I (1891); re-ed. A. W. Pickard-Cambridge in J. U. Powell, *New Chapters in the History of Greek Literature: Third Series* (Oxford, 1933) 105–13; C. Roberts, *CQ* 29 (1935), 164–6; Kambitsis (1972); Diggle, *TrGFS* 88–93 (previously *PCPS* 42 (1996), 106–26); vv. 57–8: Stobaeus 1.3.25 (= F 223 N). The text here is almost wholly as edited by Diggle in *TrGFS* (Kannicht in *TrGF* hardly differs). The numbering of vv. 28–116 is that most commonly adopted now, but some editors (including Kannicht in *TrGF*) number vv. 28–116 as 57–145, allowing for the twenty-nine lines missing after v. 27.

ANTIOPE

221

<MESSENGER>

If (the bull) happened to twist round anywhere (it) . . . dragged woman, rock, oak-tree along with it as it kept shifting about.¹

¹ Dirce dragged to her death by the bull (F 223.59). The missing word is a free guess: '<the bull> dragged' Valckenaer; 'dragged, <dragged>' (emphatic) Adam; 'dragged <everything,> woman etc.' Bergk.

222

They say, indeed, that Justice is the child of Time, and shows which of us is not bad.¹

¹ Compare F 223.57-8, Justice's eventual revelation of the *impious* man (some editors alter to that sense here); also F 223.107-8, *Aeolus* F **38a with note. Wilamowitz suggested a connection with F 216-8, on the condition of slaves.

223

From the play's final scene: Amphion (68) is with Antiope (10) and Zethus (87 etc.); the three are menaced by the arrival of Lycus with armed men (17). Antiope and Zethus seem to be played now by mutes, unless they have spoken before the fragment begins and leave before Lycus enters (thus freeing an actor to play Lycus); certainly Zethus returns at 59 with Amphion, and Antiope may do so too.

<AMPHION>

. . . these men, nor how we shall escape them. (If) Zeus is (really) our father and sired us, he will (save) us, and with

EURIPIDES

- σώσ]ει μεθ' ἡμῶν τ' ἐχθρὸν ἄνδρα τείσεται.
 ἴ]κται δὲ πάντως εἰς τοσόνδε συμφορᾶς
 5 ὦστ' οὐδ' ἂν ἐκφύγοιμεν εἰ βουλοίμεθα
 Δί]ρκης νεῶρες αἶμα μὴ δοῦναι δίκην.
 μένου]σι δ' ἡμῖν εἰς τόδ' ἔρχεται τύχη
 ὦστ' ἦ] θανεῖν δεῖ τῶδ' ἐν ἡμέρας φάει
 ἦ καὶ] τροπαῖα πολεμίων στηῆσαι χερί.
 10(,) μ]έν οὕτω, μήτηρ, ἐξαυδῶ τάδε·
 σοὶ δ' ὄς τ]ὸ λαμπρὸν αἰθέρος ναίεις πέδον,
 λέγω τ]οσοῦτον, μὴ γαμείν μὲν ἠδέως,
 γήμαν]τα δ' εἶναι σοῖς τέκνοις ἀνωφελῆ·
 οὐ γὰρ κ]αλὸν τόδ', ἀλλὰ συμμαχεῖν φίλοις.
 15] πρὸς ἄγραν τ' εὐτυχῶς εἶη μολεῖν,
 ὅπως ἔ]λωμεν ἄνδρα δυσσεβέστατον.

<ΧΟΡΟΣ>

ὄδ'] αὐ[τ]ός, εἰ χρῆ δοξάσαι τυραννικῶ
 σκήπτρω, Δύκος πάρεστι σιγῶμεν, φίλοι.

<ΛΤΚΟΣ>

- ποῦ σ[traces of 22–23 letters]αι πέτραν
 20 δρασμοῖς ε[traces of 22–23 letters
 τίνες δὲ καὶ ... δρῶντες; ἐκ ποίας χθο[νός;
 σημήματ', εἶπατ' ε[traces of at least 16–17 letters
 δεινὸν νομίζων αὐτὸς οὐκ ἀτιμάσας

4 beg. Bury; πάντως Weil, others: πάντων P. Petrie
 10 πᾶσιν μ]έν Diggle: ἡμῖν μ]έν Cropp 15 πιθοῦ] Schaal
 21 Such obvious supplements as [πῶς] and [τί] seem not to fit
 the traces.

ANTIOPE

us punish the man who is our enemy. Things have (come)
to so great a pass that even if we wanted we could not es-
cape penalty for Dirce's newly shed blood. (If we stay,) our 5
fortunes come to this: (either) we must die within this day's
light (or in fact) triumph over our foes by action. I state this
. . . ,¹ mother; (but to you who) dwell in heaven's bright 10
expanse,² (I say) this much: do not lie with a woman for
pleasure and after doing so fail to help your children. That
is (not) honourable, while aiding one's family is . . .³ and
may we go after our quarry successfully, (to trap) a most 15
impious man!

(The twins and Antiope withdraw into the cave.)

<CHORUS>

(Here) is Lycus himself, to judge by his ruler's sceptre! Let
us keep silent, my friends.

<LYCUS>

(entering with his men)

Where . . . cave(?) . . . runnings . . . ? Who and . . . acting 20
. . . ?⁴ From what country? (*to his men*) Show me! Tell me
. . . In my anger I have myself not disdained . . . 23

¹ Perhaps 'to all' (i.e. those within hearing), Diggle; or 'to us' (himself, Antiope, Zethus), Cropp. ² I.e. Zeus, their father.

³ To fill the gap Schaal suggested 'Accept my words' (addressed to Zeus).

⁴ Obvious supplements such as '(how) acting' or 'doing (what)' seem not to match the traces. Lycus seems to know of suspicious activity near Eleutherae, by the strangers of 34 or 38; these are apparently the persons whom the Herdsman refers to as 'those men' in 30, where he begins his false reassurance of Lycus; alternatively, Lycus is pursuing Dirce's ecstatic 'runnings' (20, cf. F 175.5-6 before F 221 above).

EURIPIDES

fragments of four lines, then about twenty-nine lines missing at the foot of this column and top of the next, then:

<ΒΟΥΚΟΛΟΣ>

fr. b col. i *about 13 letters*]σας ἦδομαι κακὸν ..α.[

<ΛΥΚΟΣ>

οὐκ ἀσφαλὲς τόδ' εἶπας, ἄνθρωπε, στέγ[ος.

<ΒΟΥΚΟΛΟΣ>

30 δρᾶν δεῖ τι κείνους δ' οἶδ' ἐγὼ τεθνηκό[τας.

<ΛΥΚΟΣ>

καλῶς ἄρ', εἶπερ οἶσθα, ταξόμεσθα νῦν.

<ΒΟΥΚΟΛΟΣ>

τάξι]ν τίν' ἄλλην ἢ δόμων στείχει[ν] ἔσω;

about 14 letters] καὶ πρὶν οἰκοῦμεν [

about 14 letters] τοὺς ξένους ἐὼν μ.[.].[

35 *about 14 letters*] δορυφόρους ἔξω πέτ[ρας

remains of one line

c. 11-12 letters ἡμ]εῖς καὶ σὺ θήσομεν καλῶς.

<ΛΥΚΟΣ>

πόσοι δὲ δὴ τὸ πλ]ῆθός εἰσιν οἱ ξένοι;

<ΒΟΥΚΟΛΟΣ>

εἷς ἢ δύο· ἔγχη] δ' οὐκ ἔχουσιν ἐν χεροῖν.

30 τι P. Petrie: τί; West

31 ταξόμεσθα Diggle: ταξώ-

μεσθα P. Petrie

32-7 stichomythia may continue through-

out, perhaps irregularly

ANTIOPE

(The Herdsman may have heard Lycus' words from within the cave. During the next very fragmentary or missing thirty or more lines he has come out of the cave and been roughly addressed [cf. 29] by Lycus; but he sets about luring him into the cave unguarded.)

<HERDSMAN>

... I am glad ... trouble ... 28

<LYCUS>

You mean this house is not safe, fellow!

<HERDSMAN>

Something must be done;⁵ I know those men are dead. 30

<LYCUS>

Then since you know it, we shall now make⁶ good arrangements.

<HERDSMAN>⁷

What (arrangements), other than to go inside the house?
... and we have been living here before(?) ... allowing the
strangers ... armed men outside (the cave) ... (*one line*) ... 35
we and you will arrange ... well.

<LYCUS>

(And how many in fact) in number are the strangers?

<HERDSMAN>

(One or two;) and they don't have (weapons) in their hands.

⁵ 'What must be done', West.
us make' from P. Petrie.

⁶ Some editors retain 'let
⁷ Vv. 32-7 may continue the
stichomythic exchange, or the Herdsman may speak all of them.

EURIPIDES

<ΛΥΚΟΣ>

- 40 ὄπλοισί νυν φ]ρουρεῖτε περίβολον πέτρας
about 11 letters]ντες, κᾶν τι[ς ἐ]κπίπτη δόμων,
 λάζυσθ'· ἐγ]ὼ δὲ παῖδα Νυκτέως ἐμῇ
about 10 letters]σαι χειρὶ καὶ τάχ' εἴσεται
 fr. c col. i *about 14 letters*]ντας ὡς μάτην λόγων
 45 *about 12 letters* σ]υμμάχους ἀνωφελεῖς.

<ΒΟΤΚΟΛΟΣ>

- about 13 letters*] .ος ἦν θεὸς θέλη
about 14 letters] τήνδ' ἀνὰ στέγην τάχα.

<ΧΟΡΟΣ>

- about 14 letters*]ριων σθένος βρόχοισι κατα-
 10–11 letters] βροτῶν δ' αὖ τέχναις
 50a *remains of one half-line*

<ΛΥΚΟΣ>

- 50b *ἰὼ μοί μοι.*

<ΧΟΡΟΣ>

- ἔ]α ἔα·
 καὶ δὴ [πρὸς ἔργω] τῶν νεανιῶν χέρες.

<ΛΥΚΟΣ>

- ὦ πρόσπ[ολοι]ντες οὐκ ἀρήξετε;

<ΧΟΡΟΣ>

- ἀλαλάζετα[ι ἄ στ]έγα· βοᾷ
 θανάσιμον μέλος.

46 <ΒΟΤΚΟΛΟΣ> von Arnim: <ΧΟΡΟΣ> Blass ἦν Diggle: αν
 P. Petrie 52 κλυό]ντες Snell

ANTIOPE

<LYCUS>

(*to his men*)

Keep (armed) watch on the cave's surroundings (now) . . . 40
and if anyone bursts from the house, (seize him; I) . . .
Nycteus' daughter with my hand, and she'll soon know . . .
that . . . in vain . . . of words . . . useless allies. 45

(*Lycus' men disperse and he enters the cave alone.*)

<HERDSMAN>

. . . if god be willing . . . up into this house soon!

(*The Herdsman too enters the cave.*)

<CHORUS>

. . . strength . . . with nooses . . . and through the arts of men,
moreover . . . ⁸ 50

<LYCUS>

(*shouting from inside*)

Oh me, no!

<CHORUS>

Listen, there it is! The young men's hands are indeed (at
work)!

<LYCUS>

Attendants, there! Will you not . . . and help?⁹

<CHORUS>

(The house) is loud with shouting; it cries a song of death!

⁸ Some editors take 'strength' and 'nooses' to evoke the means by which gods ensnare men no less than 'the arts of men' which ensnare Lycus here. ⁹ 'Did you not hear and will you not help', Snell.

EURIPIDES

<ΛΤΚΟΣ>

55 ᾦ] γαῖα Κάδ[μου κ]αὶ πόλισμ' Ἀσωπικόν.

<ΧΟΡΟΣ>

κλύεις ὀργᾶς);
πα[ρα]καλεῖ πόλιν φοβερὸς αἵματος
Δίκα τοι Δίκα χρόνιος ἀλλ' ὁμως
ἐπιπεσοῦσ' ἔλαθεν ἔλαβεν ὅταν ἴ[δ]ῃ
τιν' ἀσεβῆ βροτῶν.

<ΛΤΚΟΣ>

οἴμοι θανούμαι πρὸς δυοῖν ἀσύμμαχος.

<ΑΜΦΙΩΝ>

60 τὴν δ' ἐν νεκροῖσιν οὐ στένεις δάμαρτα σήν;

<ΛΤΚΟΣ>

ἦ γὰρ τέθνηκε; καινὸν αὖ λέγεις κακόν.

<ΑΜΦΙΩΝ>

ὄλκοῖς γε ταυρείοισι διαφορουμένη.

<ΛΤΚΟΣ>

πρὸς τοῦ; πρὸς ὑμῶν; τοῦτο γὰρ θέλω μαθεῖν.

<ΑΜΦΙΩΝ>

ἐκμανθάνοις ἂν ὡς ὄλωλ' ἡμῶν ὑπο.

<ΛΤΚΟΣ>

65 ἀλλ' ἦ τινω[ν] πεφύκαθ' ᾧν οὐκ οἶδ' ἐγώ;

56-8 text most uncertain 58 ἐπιπεσοῦσ' Heeren (ὑπο-
Stob.); ἔπεσεν (at line end) P. Petrie ἔλαθεν ἔλαβεν Wecklein;
ἔλαθεν alone Stob.; ἔλαβεν alone P. Petrie

ANTIOPE

<LYCUS>

(O) Cadmus' land and Asopus' city!¹⁰ 55

<CHORUS>

Do you hear, do you see? He calls on the city for aid, in fear of bloodshed! Justice, I tell you, Justice delays but still falls on any impious mortal unawares when she sees him, and seizes him.

(Lycus is brought out of the cave by Amphion and Zethus.)

<LYCUS>

Oh me! I shall be killed by two men, without my allies!

<AMPHION>

But do you not lament your wife, who is among the dead? 60

<LYCUS>

Why, is she dead? Unexpected and further disaster there, in your words!

<AMPHION>

Yes, dragged about and torn apart by a bull.

<LYCUS>

At whose hands? At yours, the two of you? I want to know this!

<AMPHION>

You're welcome to learn, if you wish, that we caused her death.

<LYCUS>

Then you are the sons of parents unknown to me—yes?¹¹ 65

¹⁰ Cadmus founded Thebes (cf. 86, 110), with its rivers Asopus and (cf. 87) Ismenus.

¹¹ The needs of stichomythia create an awkwardly compressed allusion, i.e. 'You are not the mere slaves I took you for'.

EURIPIDES

< ΑΜΦΙΩΝ >

τί τοῦτ' ἐρευν[ᾶ]ς; ἐν νεκροῖς π[ε]ύση θανών.

< ΕΡΜΗΣ >

- fr. b col. ii c. 13–14 letters]ιον ἐξορμωμένους
 5–6 letters ἄνα]ξ Ἀμφίον· ἐντολὰς δὲ σοὶ
 Ἑρμῆς ὁ] Μαΐας τ[c. 11–12 letters] ενος
 70] Διὸς κήρυγ[μ c. 8 letters]ν φέρων.
 καὶ πρῶτα μὲν σφ[ῶν μητ]ρὸ[s] ἐξερῶ πέρι,
 ὡς Ζεὺς ἐμίχθη κ[οῦκ ἀ]παρνεῖται τάδε.
 τί δητανε[a few letters legible at line-end
 Ζηνὸς μολούσα λέ[κτρα a few letters legible
 75 ἐπεὶ δ' ὀρίζει καὶ δι[c. 8 letters] κακά,
 αὐτὴ τε δεινῆς [συμφορᾶς ἀπη]λλάγη
 παιδᾶς τε τοῦσδ' [ἀνηῦρε]ν ὄντας ἐκ Διός.
 ὦν χρή σ' ἀκούειν [καὶ χ]θονὸς μοναρχίαν
 ἐκόντα δοῦνα[ι τοῖσδε K]αδμείας, ἄναξ.
 fr. c col. ii ὅταν δὲ θάπτῃς ἄλοχον εἰς πυρὰν τιθείς,
 81 σαρκῶν ἀθροίσας τῆς τάλαιπώρου φύσιν
 ὅστᾶ πυρώσας Ἄρεος εἰς κρήνην βαλεῖν,
 ὡς ἂν τὸ Δίρκης ὄνομ' ἐπώνυμον λάβῃ
 κρήνης ἀπόρρους ὃς δίεισιν ἄστεως
 85 πεδία τ[ἀ Θή]βης ὕδασιν ἐξάρδων αἰί.

70 φέρων is uncertainly read
 Schaal, Page: K]αδμείοις P. Petrie

79 τοῖσδε K]αδμείας

ANTIOPE

<AMPHION>

Why ask this question? You will find out among the dead,
after you are killed.

(The god *Hermes* suddenly intervenes, probably from the
theatrical 'crane'.)

<HERMES>

. . . in your hasty purpose . . . (lord) Amphion: I am (Her-
mes the son) of Maia . . . instructions for you . . . bringing
Zeus's proclamation. 70

First I shall speak openly to (both of) you about your
(mother): Zeus lay with her and does (not) deny it. Why
indeed(?) . . . when she had come to Zeus's (bed) . . . ? Since
he limits and . . . misery, she was herself released from 75
dreadful (misfortune), and (discovered) that these are in-
deed her sons from Zeus.

(To *Lycus*) You must obey them (and) willingly give
(them) sovereignty over Cadmus' land, my lord. Also, 80
when you bury your wife and place her on a pyre, you are to
gather the substance of the wretched woman's body, and
from the fire throw her bones into Ares' spring, so that its
outflow may be called Dirce to mark her name, the spring
which goes through the city and continually soaks Thebe's
plain with its waters.¹² 85

¹² The spring is called Ares' spring at *Suppliant Women* 660, but is renamed here for a typical Euripidean cult aetiology (repeated in 112–5): cf. the Hyacinthides at *Erechtheus* F 370.73–80. For Dirce and Thebes see D. W. Berman, *Greece and Rome* 54 (2007), 18–39, esp. 28–39 for Euripides. 'Thebe' is the archaic name, a nymph's: she is to marry Zethus (100, cf. Apollodorus 3.5.6).

EURIPIDES

ὕμεις δ', [ἐπ]ειδὰν ὅσιος ἦ Κάδμου πόλις,
χωρεῖτε, [παῖδ]ες, ἄστυ δ' Ἴσμηνὸν πάρα
ἐπτάσ[το]μον πύλαισιν ἐξαρτύετε.

σὺ μὲν [.].το. ἔρυμα πολεμίων λαβὼν
(one or more lines missing)

- 90 Ζήθῳ τάδ' εἶπον· δεύτερον δ' Ἀμφίονα
λύραν ἄνωγα διὰ χερῶν ὀπλισμένον
μέλπειν θεοὺς ὠδαῖσιν ἔψονται δέ σοι
πέτραι τ' ἔρυμναι μουσικῇ κηλούμεναι
δένδρη τε μητρὸς ἐκλιπόνθ' ἐδώλια,
95 ὥστ' εὐμ[ά]ρειαν τεκτόνων θήσῃ χερί.
Ζεὺς τήνδε τιμῆν σὺν δ' ἐγὼ δίδωμί σοι,
οὐπερ τόδ' εὖρημ' ἔσχες, Ἀμφίων ἄναξ.
λευκῶ δὲ πῶλω τῷ Διὸς κεκλημένοι
τιμὰς μεγίστας ἔξετ' ἐν Κάδμου πόλει.
100 καὶ λέκτρ' ὃ μὲν Θηβαῖα λή[ψ]εται γάμων,
ὃ] δ' ἐκ Φρυγῶν κάλλιστον εὐνατήριον,
τὴν Ταντάλου παῖδ'· ἀλλ' ὅσον τάχιστα χρῆ
σπεύδειν θεοῦ πέμψαντος οἶα βούλεται.

<ΛΥΚΟΣ>

- ὦ πόλλ' ἄελπτα Ζεῦ τιθεῖς καθ' ἡμέραν,
105 ἔδειξας [5-6 letters] τάσδ' ἀβουλίας ἐμὰς

89 ἔρυμα uncertain in P. Petrie (previously conjectured by Ellis)

ANTIOPE

You (sons of Antiope), when you may enter Cadmus' city without pollution, are to go and build by the Ismenus a complete city with seven gated openings. (*To Zethus*) You . . . taking (as?) a stout defence against foes¹³ . . . (*one or more lines missing*). . . To Zethus I say that; and secondly I bid Amphion, hands armed with his lyre, to sing the gods' praise; solid rocks charmed by the music will follow you, and trees leaving their seats in mother earth, so that you will make light work for builders' hands.¹⁴ Zeus gives you this honour, and I with him, from whom you had this invention, lord Amphion.¹⁵ You shall be called the two white colts¹⁶ of Zeus, and have the greatest honours in Cadmus' city. Marriages too: Zethus will have a Theban bride, and Amphion a most beautiful partner for his bed from among the Phrygians, the daughter of Tantalus¹⁷—but you must hasten with all speed, now the god has sent to tell you the nature of his wishes.

90

95

100

(Hermes leaves as abruptly as he came.)

<LYCUS>

O Zeus, you who daily bring about much that is unexpected, you have shown . . . these follies of mine . . . who

105

¹³ As Zethus the soldier, F *187a. Text and translation are insecure.

¹⁴ Or perhaps 'they (rocks and trees) will make . . .'.

¹⁵ Hermes invented the lyre as a miraculous child: F 190 with note.

¹⁶ A hieratic name for twin sons; cf. *Heracles* 29. The better known 'white colts of Zeus' were Castor and Pollux (*Helen* 639 etc.).

¹⁷ I.e. Niobe: Hermes leaves unsaid the future disasters to her children when she boasted of them and Apollo, or Apollo and Artemis together, killed them (cf. *Cresphontes* F 455).

EURIPIDES

- ἔσοφ[7 letters] δοκούντας οὐκ εἶναι Διός.
 πάρεστε καὶ ζῆθ'. ἠῦρε μηνυτῆς χρόνος
 ψευδεῖς μὲν ἡμᾶς, σφῶν δὲ μητέρ' εὐτυχή.
 ἴτε νυν, κρατύνετ' ἀντ' ἐμοῦ τῆσδε χθονός
 110 λαβόντε Κάδμου σκῆπτρα· τὴν γὰρ ἀξίαν
 σφῶν προστίθησι Ζεὺς ἐγώ τε σὺν Δί.
 Ἑρμῆ [δὲ πίσυνος] Ἄρεος εἰς κρήνην [β]αλῶ
 γυναῖκα θάψας, τῆσδ' ὄπ[ως] ξυνοῦσα γῆς
 νασμοῖσι τέγγη πεδία Θηβαίας χθονός,
 115 Δίρκη πρὸς ἀνδρῶν ὑστέρων κεκλημένη.
 λύω δὲ νείκη καὶ τὰ πρὶν πεπραγμένα . . .

106 ἔσοφ[ραγίσας] suggested in ed. pr., discerned in P. Petrie by Roberts. Lacuna after 106 suggested by Milne.

108 εὐτυχή Nauck: -εῖν P. Petrie 112 [δὲ πίσυνος] Page, perhaps fitting the traces

(224 N = Eubulus F 9.1-2, 4-5 PCG)

(225 N: see F 182a above)

ANTIOPE

seemed not to be Zeus's sons.¹⁸ (*To Amphion and Zethus*)
 You are here and living: time the revealer¹⁹ has discovered
 me to be deceived, but your mother happy in her fortune.
 Go now, rule this land instead of me, the two of you taking
 Cadmus' sceptre; Zeus accords you this your due, and I
 with him.²⁰ (Obedient) to Hermes I shall throw my wife 110
 into Ares' spring after her funeral, so she may unite with
 this land's streams and water the plains of Theban terri-
 tory, and be called Dirce by men of later times. I end my 115
 feuds and . . . what was done before . . .²¹

¹⁸ Mahaffy and Roberts thought they read 'setting your seal upon (i.e. authenticating) those who seemed etc.', Lycus echoing Hermes' words at 77. It is quite possible that text has been lost after 106 (Milne). ¹⁹ Cf. F 222, *Aeolus* F **38a with note.

²⁰ Lycus echoes Hermes' words at 96, here with solemnity.

²¹ Perhaps a complete sentence, 'I am done with feuds and (my) former actions'; and just possibly the last spoken words of the play, before the Chorus' formal ending.

(224 N = Eubulus F 9.1-2, 4-5 PCG)

(225 N: see F 182a above)

ANTIOPE or ANTIGONE

212

εἰ νοῦς ἔνεστιν· εἰ δὲ μή, τί δεῖ καλῆς
γυναικός, εἰ μὴ τὰς φρένας χρηστὰς ἔχοι;

Stobaeus 4.22.127

213

κόρος δὲ πάντων· καὶ γὰρ ἐκ καλλιόνων
λέκτροις ἐπ' αἰσχροῖς εἶδον ἐκπεπληγμένους,
δαιτὸς δὲ πληρωθεῖς τις ἄσμενος πάλιν
φαύλη διαίτη προσβαλὼν ἤσθη στόμα.

Stobaeus 4.20.2; v. 4: Athenaeus 10.421f (adapted)

214

κῆδος καθ' αὐτὸν τὸν σοφὸν κτᾶσθαι χρεών.

P. Oxy. 3214.5-6 (damaged); Stobaeus 4.22.93

ANTIOPE or ANTIGONE

212

... if there is sense in her—if not, what need of a beautiful wife, unless she had good sense?

213

There is satiety in all things—truly, for I have seen men driven beside themselves for an ill-looking wife after having a more beautiful one, and a man filled with a banquet in turn happily taking pleasure in putting his mouth to simple fare.

214

The wise man should get himself a marriage at his own level.¹

¹ Cf. *Melanippe* F 502 with note.

EURIPIDES

215

πάσι δ' ἀγγέλλω βροτοῖς
 ἐσθλῶν ἀπ' ἀνδρῶν εὐγενῆ σπείρειν τέκνα
 (one or more lines lost?)
 οὐ γάρ ποτ' ἄν πράξειαν ἐς τέλος κακῶς.

Stobaeus 4.22.100; v. 3 = *Andromache* 1283 (see note opposite)

216

οὐ χρῆ ποτ' ἄνδρα δούλον ὄντ' ἐλευθέρας
 γνώμας διώκειν οὐδ' ἐς ἀργίαν βλέπειν.

P. Berlin 21144.8-9 (badly damaged); Stobaeus 4.19.4

ANTIOPE

215

I proclaim to all mankind: father well-born children from
(wives of) noble stock . . . They would never do well to the
end.¹

¹ V. 3 follows vv. 1-2 unsatisfactorily; an almost identical verse
occurs as *Andromache* 1283, where it follows 1282 unsatisfacto-
rily. Here, either text is lost or the three lines have been errone-
ously combined in Stobaeus.

216

No man who is a slave should ever pursue free thought, nor
look to laziness.¹

¹ Perhaps from the confrontation between Dirce and Antiope:
see Introduction above.

ANTIOPE, UNCERTAIN
FRAGMENT

910

ὄλβιος ὅστις τῆς ἱστορίας
ἔσχε μάθησιν,
μήτε πολιτῶν ἐπὶ πημοσύνην
μήτ' εἰς ἀδίκους πράξεις ὄρμῶν,
5 ἀλλ' ἀθανάτου καθορῶν φύσεως
κόσμον ἀγήρων, πῆ τε συνέστη
καὶ ὄθεν καὶ ὅπως.
τοῖς δὲ τοιούτοις οὐδέποτ' αἰσχροῶν
ἔργων μελέτημα προσίξει.

Clement of Alexandria, *Miscellanies* 4.25.155.1; vv. 3–6
adapted in Themistius, *Oration* 24, 307d. First assigned to
Antiope by Wecklein.

7 ὄθεν Wilamowitz: ὄπη Clement

ANTIOPE, UNCERTAIN FRAGMENT

910

Happy the man who has gained knowledge through inquiry, not aiming to trouble his fellow citizens, nor to act unjustly, but observing eternal nature's ageless order, the way it was formed, and whence and how. Such men are never inclined to practise shameful deeds.¹ 5

¹ On the attribution of this fragment see Introduction above and especially Di Benedetto 102–6. It may have preceded a full choral ode, as perhaps did *Chrysippus* F 839, which has a similar philosophical and cosmogonical content, and like this fragment can be linked with contemporary Greek speculation. On these topics in F 910 see now R. Hannah, *Ramus* 31 (2002), 19–32.

ARCHELAUS

Austin, *NFE* 11–21; A. Harder, *Euripides' Kresphontes and Archelaos* (Leiden, 1985), 125–290; H. Van Looy in ed. Budé VIII.1.275–307; Diggle, *TrGFS* 94–5 (F 228, 228a); J. Gibert in *SFP* II.330–62.

Webster 255–7; L. di Gregorio, *CCC* 8 (1987), 279–318 and *Aevum* 62 (1988), 16–49; J. M. Bremer in H. Hofmann and A. Harder, *Fragmenta Dramatica* (Göttingen, 1991), 39–60, esp. 42–4; G. Xanthakis-Karamanos, *Parnassos* 35 (1993), 510–33, reprinted in her *Dramatica* (Athens, 2002), 21–46; M. Huys, *APF* 43 (1997), 28–9; Matthiessen 256–8; Sourvinou-Inwood 41–5; S. Scullion, *CQ* 53 (2003), 389–400 and in D. Cairns and V. Liapis (eds.) *Dionysalexandros: Essays . . . in honour of A. F. Garvie* (Swansea, 2006), 185–200; A. Katsouris in Bastianini–Casanova, *Euripide e i papiri* 205–26.

The Archelaus of this story was a son of Temenus, one of the great-great-grandsons of Heracles (but in this play, grandsons: F 228a.17) who were said to have reconquered the Peloponnese, divided it amongst them, and established the Dorian kingdoms of Argos under Temenus, Messenia under his brother Cresphontes (see Introduction to Cresphontes), and Sparta under the sons of a third brother Aristodemus. Euripides treated the story of Temenus and

his sons in *Temenus and Temenidae*, and seems to have gone out of his way to give Archelaus an important role in the story of the reconquest: in *Temenidae/Temenus* test. vi he is said to have 'reassigned the exploits of Temenus to Archelaus', and in test. iv there it is Archelaus who distinguishes himself in the crucial battle and earns the right to inherit Temenus' kingdom (his name also appears in the very fragmentary test. i). It is very probable, in fact, that Euripides invented this Archelaus in order to provide the late 5th c. Macedonian ruler Archelaus with a mythical ancestor, and that the stories of the three plays were at least loosely interconnected (see below on the circumstances of the play's production and on the question of a trilogy).

The plot of Archelaus is probably reflected in Hyginus, Fab. 219 (= test. *iia below; this is questioned by Huys, but there is no obvious alternative to Euripides as Hyginus' ultimate source). Archelaus, exiled by his brothers (and so perhaps cheated of the rightful inheritance mentioned above), arrived at the palace of the Thracian King Cisseus. The king was in need of an ally against his hostile neighbours and promised Archelaus his kingdom and his daughter in return for his aid; Archelaus agreed and won a great victory; Cisseus, persuaded by 'friends' to double-cross him, tried to kill him by luring him into a fiery pit, but Archelaus, warned by a royal servant, threw Cisseus into the pit instead; afterwards, instructed by Apollo, he followed a goat into Macedonia and founded the city of Aegae ('Goat-town'). The main features of the drama, then, will have been Archelaus' initial encounter with Cisseus leading to his agreement to lead the army, a report of his great victory, Cisseus' change of mind and preparation of the trap (whether before or after Archelaus' return

ARCHELAUS

from the battle), the servant's warning and the reversal of Cisseus' plot, and an appearance of Apollo justifying Archelaus' action and directing his destiny.

Few of the fragments can be placed with certainty, but many can be distributed tentatively within this outline. F 228 and 228a come from a prologue speech spoken by the arriving Archelaus (but there is doubt whether F 228 was the original beginning: see notes there and on F 846). F 229 and 230 are from the choral parodos (the chorus being probably Thracian elders) in which the threat to Cisseus and his people was described. A series of gnomic fragments could well come from the negotiations between Cisseus and Archelaus, in which the latter's inherited nobility and devotion to toil and glory were emphasized (F 231-4, 236-40, 242-4). In F 241 Cisseus presumably addresses Archelaus, probably after his victory but possibly earlier on his appointment as general. F 246-251 would fit well enough in a scene in which a plot against Archelaus was proposed and debated. The largely papyrus fragment F 245, with the end of a scene in trochaic tetrameters and the beginning of a presumably choral lyric, probably represents a moment of crisis as the servant(?) urges Archelaus to retaliate against Cisseus. F 252-5 (and F 235?) could represent a scene of recrimination between Archelaus and Cisseus before the latter went to his death, and F 262 a chorus-leader's comment on that outcome. The lyric fragment F 263 may well be the chorus regretting Cisseus' death, and the anapaestic F 264 is surely from its play-closing comments. The remaining fragments are harder to locate even speculatively: F 256 on respect for god, F 257-9 on controlling anger (someone tries to restrain Archelaus' vengeance?), F 260 and 261 (see notes below on these). It has been suggested

EURIPIDES

that Cisseus' daughter had a role in the play, but Hyginus' summary offers no support for this and the only fragments that might hint at it (F 232, 234) are easily accounted for in other ways.

*Brief fragments: none. Other ascriptions: F 846 (see above), 850, 911, 956, 969, 1038, 1045, 1052, 1053; adesp. F *108 'be gone; do not put a wreath on my head' (cf. F 241); adesp. F *193 'to honour the Macedonians for their valour'; adesp. F *638 (damaged papyrus lines: someone consoled after a betrayal by false friends?); adesp. F 646 (damaged papyrus lines of uncertain content, including 'sons of the Macedonians'); Diogenes of Sinope TrGF 88 F 6 (= adesp. F 522 N).*

According to the ancient biographical tradition (test. iia) Euripides composed Archelaus after leaving Athens in 408/7 to live at the court of Archelaus, who had seized the Macedonian throne violently in 413 and was in turn assassinated in 399; the tradition adds that Euripides died (in 406) in Macedonia. The essential point here, that the play was composed for Archelaus and first performed in Macedonia, seems reliable; Euripides will have adapted existing traditions which linked the Argead dynasty of Macedonia with descendants of Temenus of Argos (e.g. Herodotus 8.137–8) in order to give the founder's role to a heroic and 'Heraclean' son of Temenus named Archelaus (note the emphasis on ancestry and on the achievement of glory through toil in F 228a, 231–3, 236–40). Scullion (2003) however provides strong reasons for doubting the tradition of Euripides' 'exile' and death in Macedonia, and argues that the parody in Aristophanes, Frogs 1206–8 (= F 846) points to a subsequent production before an Athenian audience. Scullion argues further (2006) that Temenus,

ARCHELAUS

Temenidae and Archelaus may well have formed a connected trilogy (an idea proposed by Zielinski in 1925, rejected by recent editors; but see also Webster 252-3, Di Gregorio, Katsouris 206-8).

*The first performance has been linked with Archelaus' foundation of a dramatic festival at Dion beneath Mount Olympus (Diodorus 17.16.3), or with Aegeae (modern Vergina), the old Macedonian capital, in view of the mention of its foundation at the end of the play (test. *iii(5)); for discussion see Sourvinou-Inwood, who favours Aegeae. We happen to have inscriptional evidence of 3rd c. performances at Argos and Dodona (test. iib), but the play seems to have had no literary influence. The historical Archelaus became a byword for tyrannical cruelty and excess (see especially Plato, Gorgias 471a-c, 525b-c).*

ΑΡΧΕΛΑΟΣ

test. *iia

ARCHELAUS. Archelaus Temeni filius exsul a fratribus eiectus in Thraciam ad regem Cisseum uenit, qui cum a finitimis oppugnaretur Archelao regnum et filiam in coniugium dare pollicetur si se ab hoste tutatus esset Archelaus, quia ab Hercule esset oriundus; nam Temenus Herculis filius fuit. (2) Qui hostes uno proelio fugauit et ab rege pollicita petit. Ille ab amicis dissuasus fidem fraudauit eumque per dolum interficere uoluit. (3) Itaque foueam iussit fieri et multos carbones eo ingeri et incendi et super uirgulta tenuia poni, quo cum Archelaus uenisset ut decideret. (4) Hoc regis seruus Archelao patefecit; qui re cognita dicit se cum rege colloqui uelle secreto; arbitris semotis Archelaus regem arreptum in foueam coniecit atque ita eum perdidit. (5) Inde profugit ex responso Apollinis in Macedoniam capra duce, oppidumque ex nomine caprae Aegeas constituit.

Hyginus, *Fab.* 219

(1) *Thraciam* Robert: *Macedoniam* Hyginus

F 228 below was the beginning of the play in the text known to Alexandrian and later scholars, but F 846 (= Aristophanes, Frogs 1206–8) may have been its original beginning: see further on F 846.

ARCHELAUS

test. *iia

ARCHELAUS. Archelaus, son of Temenus, was cast into exile by his brothers and came to king Cisseus in Thrace. Since Cisseus was being attacked by his neighbours, he promised to give Archelaus his kingdom and his daughter in marriage if Archelaus rescued him from his enemy, as Archelaus could claim descent from Hercules; for Temenus was a son of Hercules. (2) Archelaus routed the enemy in a single battle and sought from the king what he had promised. But the king, persuaded otherwise by his friends, betrayed his pledge and decided to kill Archelaus by deceit. (3) So he ordered a pit to be made and many coals to be piled in it and lit, and light branches to be laid over it, so that when Archelaus came to it he would fall in. (4) A servant of the king revealed this to Archelaus, and he on learning of it said that he wished to speak with the king in secret. After removing all witnesses he seized the king and threw him into the pit, and thus killed him. (5) Then, instructed by an oracle of Apollo, he fled from that place into Macedonia, led by a goat, and founded the city of Aegeae which he named after the goat.

ΑΡΧΕΛΑΟΣ

Δαναὸς ὁ πεντήκοντα θυγατέρων πατὴρ
 Νείλου λιπὼν κάλλιστον †ἐκ γαίας† ὕδωρ,
 {ὄς ἐκ μελαμβρότοιο πληροῦται ροὰς
 Αἰθιοπίδος γῆς, ἥνικ' ἀν τακῇ χιῶν
 5 †τεθριππεύοντος† ἡλίου κατ' αἰθέρα,}
 ἐλθὼν ἐς Ἄργος ᾤκισ' Ἰνάχου πόλιν·
 Πελασγίωτας δ' ὠνομασμένους τὸ πρὶν
 Δαναοὺς καλεῖσθαι νόμον ἔθηκ' ἀν' Ἑλλάδα.

(F 228a follows almost immediately)

Vv. 1-6: Tiberius, *On Figures* 48; vv. 1-5: Anon., *On the Flooding of the Nile* (= FGrH 647 F 1) 2; Tzetzes on *Iliad* 1.426; vv. 1, 6-8: Strabo 5.2.4 (7-8 again in 8.6.9); vv. 2-4: Diodorus Siculus 1.38.4 and derivatives; vv. 1 and 4 cited variously elsewhere ([Plutarch], *Moralia* 837e identifies v. 1 as the play's first line).

2 ἐκ γαίας most sources: ἐν γαίας West 3-5 Deleted
 by Diggle (previously suspected by others) as an interpolation
 5 τεθριππεύοντος sources: τέθριππ' ἄγοντος F. W. Schmidt

¹ See however the note preceding F 228, on p. 234.

² Danaus was a descendant of Zeus and Io, daughter of the Argive river-god Inachus. He fled from Egypt to Argos with his fifty daughters (the Danaids) in an attempt to save them from marriages with the fifty sons of his brother Aegyptus. Forced into these marriages, all but one of the Danaids killed their husbands on their wedding night. The fiftieth couple, Hypermestra and

ARCHELAUS

228

(*Beginning of the play*)¹

ARCHELAUS

Danaus, who fathered fifty daughters,² left the most lovely water †in the world†³ of the Nile {which fills its streams from the dark-peopled land of Ethiopia when the snow melts as the sun †drives his chariot† through the sky}⁴ and reaching Argos founded Inachus' city,⁵ laying down the rule that those once named Pelasgians should now be known as Danaans all over Hellas.⁶ 5

(*F 228a follows almost immediately, continuing Archelaus' prologue speech*)

Lynceus, were the great-grandparents of Danae (see F 228a). A lost archaic epic, the *Danaïd*, told this story at length. Aeschylus' *Suppliant Women* is (probably) the first play of a tetralogy which also told the story extensively. ³ 'The world's single most lovely water', West. ⁴ Interruption of the main sentence and some linguistic peculiarities make it likely that vv. 3–5 are an interpolation (but Scullion [2006] notes that they could be part of the revised version of the play's opening that he envisages). In v. 5 Schmidt's conjecture offers the same sense as the sources' unmetrical and otherwise unattested word. ⁵ The city is identified with its local god (see note 1). In Aeschylus' play the city of Argos already exists when the refugees arrive, and its king Pelasgus persuades his people to protect them. According to other sources Danaus succeeded Pelasgus as king. Strabo 8.6.9 makes him the builder of the Argive acropolis. ⁶ The Pelasgians usually appear in Greek legend as a pre-Greek population. 'Danaans' is a Homeric term, equivalent to 'Argives' or more generally 'Achaean'.

three lines almost entirely lost, then:

- οὐκ ἔψαυσε· Λυγκέως
- 5 Ἄ[β]ας ἐγένετο· τοῦ δὲ δίπτυχον γένο[ς]
 Προΐτος μανε[ι]σῶν θυγατέρων τρισσῶν πατήρ,
 ὅς τ' ἐγκατῆγεν χαλκῶ νυμφεύματ[ι]
 Δανάην ...θεῖα Ἀκρίσιός ποτε.
 Δανάης δὲ Περσεὺς ἐγένετ' ἐκ χρυσορρῦτων
- 10 σταγόνων, ὃς ἔλθων Γοργόνος κατατόμος
 Αἰθίοπ' ἔγημεν Ἄνδρομέδαν τὴν Κηφέως,
 ἣ τριπτύχους ἐγείνατ' ἐκ Περσέως κόρους,
 Ἄλκαϊον ἠδὲ Σθένελον ὅς τ' Ἄργους πόλι
 ε[ῖ]χεν Μυκήνας, πατέρα δ' Ἀλκμήνης τρίτον
- 15 Ἡλεκτρύωνα· Ζ[ε]ὺς δ' ἐς Ἀλκμήνης λέχος
 πε[σ]ῶν τὸ κλειν[ὸ]ν Ἡρακλέους σπείρει δέμας.
 Ὅλλος δὲ τοῦδ[ε], Τήμενος δ' Ὅλλου πατρός,
 ὃς Ἄργος ᾤκησ' Ἡρακλέους γεγῶς ἄπο.
 ἀπαιδία δὲ χρώμενος πατήρ ἐμὸς
- 20 Τήμενος ἐς ἀγνῆς ἦλθε Δωδώνης πτύχας
 τέκνων ἔρωτι· τῆς δ' ὁμωνύμου Διὸς
 πρόπολ[ο]ς Διώνης εἶπε Τημένῳ τάδε·
 ὦ παῖ πεφυκῶς ἐκ γονῶν Ἡρακλέους,
 Ζεὺς σ[οι] δίδωσι παῖδ', ἐγὼ μαντεύομαι,
- 25 ὃν Ἀρχ[έ]λαιον χρῆ καλεῖν ... α[.].[.].[.]

A further column has fourteen line-beginnings perhaps continuing this speech.

P. Hamburg. 118a col. ii, ed. E. Siegmann (1954)

14 ε[ῖ]χεν or ἔ[σ]χεν P. Hamb.

ARCHELAUS

228a

... (three lines almost entirely lost) ... did not touch (her):
 from Lynceus ... Abas was born, and his offspring was two-
 fold: Proetus, the father of three maddened daughters, 5
 and Acrisius, who once led Danae ... down into a bronze
 bridal chamber.¹ Danae's son, conceived from the shower
 of gold, was Perseus, who after cutting off the Gorgon's
 head came to Ethiopia and married Cepheus' daughter 10
 Andromeda.² She had three sons by Perseus: Alcaeus,
 Sthenelus, and thirdly Alcmena's father Electryon, who
 held the city of Mycenae in the Argolid.³ Zeus entered
 Alcmena's bed and sired glorious Heracles. Heracles fa- 15
 thered Hyllus, and Hyllus fathered Temenus, who reset-
 tled Argos being from Heracles' stock.⁴

Temenus, my father, was without offspring, so he went
 to holy Dodona's vales in his desire for children; and the 20
 priestess of Dione, Zeus's namesake,⁵ said to him: 'You son
 of Heracles' stock, Zeus will give you a son, I prophesy,
 whom you must call Archelaus ...' 25

¹ For Lynceus and Hypermetra see on F 228. The daughters
 of Proetus were driven mad by Hera or Dionysus because of their
 disrespect, and were later cured by the seer Melampus. Danae's
 story was the subject of Euripides' *Danae* (later in this volume).

² The story of Perseus and Andromeda was the subject of Euripi-
 des' *Andromeda* (above).

³ For Electryon, Alcmena and
 the siring of Heracles see *Alcmena*, Introduction.

⁴ For
 Temenus see further on *Temenidae* and *Temenus*. He was usually
 said to be not Hyllus' son but his great-grandson, invading the
 Peloponnese 100 years after Hyllus' failed attempt (see Intro-
 duction above).

⁵ 'Dione' is the feminine equivalent of the
 name Zeus (root 'Di-'). She was worshipped as his wife at the orac-
 ular sanctuary of Dodona in Epirus. See also on *Antigone* F 177.

EURIPIDES

229 + 230

ΧΟΡΟΣ

229 βασιλεῦ χώρας τῆς πολυβώλου,
Κισσεῦ, πεδῖον πυρὶ μαρμαίρει.

* * *

230 οὐ γὰρ ὑπερθεῖν κύματος ἄκραν
δυνάμεσθ'· ἔτι γὰρ θάλλει πενία
κακὸν ἔχθιστον, φεύγει δ' ὄλβος.

F 229: Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *On Arrangement of Words*
25.203 F 230: Stobaeus 4.32.39

231

<ΑΡΧΕΑΛΟΣ?>

ἡμῶν τί δῆτα τυγχάνεις χρείαν ἔχων;

<ΚΙΣΣΕΤΣ?>

πατέρων γὰρ ἐσθλῶν ἐλπίδας δίδως γεγώς.

Stobaeus 4.29.42; divided between two speakers by Musgrave

232

ἐν τοῖς τέκνοις γὰρ ἀρετὴ τῶν εὐγενῶν
ἔλαμψε κρείσσων τ' ἐστὶ πλουσίου γάμου·
πένης <ἀνῆρ> γὰρ οὐκ ἐκεῖν' ἀπώλεσεν,
τὸ τοῦ πατρὸς γενναῖον.

Stobaeus 4.29.44

2 ἔλαμψε Nauck (ἐνέλαμψε Valckenaer): ἐν ἔλαβε Stob. mss.
SM (ἔλαβε ms. A) 3 <ἀνῆρ> Harder

ARCHELAUS

229 + 230

CHORUS

King of this fertile land, Cisseus, the plain is glinting with fire¹ . . . (*some lines lost*) . . . We cannot surmount the wave-crest; poverty still thrives—that most hateful evil—and prosperity is banished.

¹ I.e. full of men armed with glinting shields and weapons: cf. Homer, *Iliad* 20.156, Eur. *Phoenician Women* 110–1, *Hypsipyle* F 752f.30–1. These may be the chorus's opening words.

231

<ARCHELAUS?>

Well then, what need do you have of me?

<CISSEUS?>

You give me hopes since you have distinguished forebears.

232

The excellence of noble men shines in their children, and is superior to a wealthy marriage. A man may be poor, but his father's nobility is something he does not lose.¹

¹ Cf. *Temenidae* F 739; F 1066.

EURIPIDES

233

σοὶ δ' εἶπον, ὦ παῖ, τὰς τύχας ἐκ τῶν πόνων
θηρᾶν ὄρᾳς γὰρ σὸν πατέρα τιμώμενον . . .

Stobaeus 3.29.13

234

πατρὸς δ' ἀνάγκη παισὶ πείθεσθαι λόγῳ.

Stobaeus 4.25.19

235

πλουτεῖς ὁ πλοῦτος δ' ἀμαθία δειλὸν θ' ἅμα.

Stobaeus 4.31.69

236

σὺν μυρίοισι τὰ καλὰ γίγνεται πόνοις.

Stobaeus 3.29.44; [Menander], *Monostichs* 252 Jaekel

237

νεανίαν γὰρ ἄνδρα χρὴ τολμᾶν αἰεῖ·
οὔδεις γὰρ ὦν ῥάθυμος εὐκλεῆς ἀνήρ,
ἀλλ' οἱ πόνοι τίκτουσι τὴν εὐανδρίαν.

Stobaeus 4.10.4; Orion, *Euripidean Appendix* 22b Haffner;
vv. 2–3: Stobaeus 3.29.32

3 εὐανδρίαν Stob. 3.29.32, Orion: εὐδοξίαν Stob. 4.10.4: cf.
Eur. F 1052.7

(238 N = Stobaeus 3.29.14, falsely ascribed
to Eur. *Archelaus*)

ARCHELAUS

233

I tell you, boy: seek your fortunes from hard work. You can see your father is honoured . . . ¹

¹ Perhaps Temenus quoted by his son Archelaus in conversation with Cisseus.

234

Children must obey their father's word.¹

¹ Archelaus referring to his father's advice (F 233)?

235

You are rich: but wealth is both ignorant and mean-spirited.

236

Fine things are achieved through countless toils.

237

A young man should constantly act boldly. No man gets glory by being idle; it's toil that brings about manly achievement.

(238 N = Stobaeus 3.29.14, falsely ascribed to Euripides' *Archelaus*)

EURIPIDES

239

ὁ δ' ἠδὺς αἰὼν ἢ κακὴ τ' ἀνανδρία
οὔτ' οἶκον οὔτε πόλιν ἀνορθώσειεν ἄν.

Stobaeus 3.8.13; appended (with variations) to *Erechtheus*
F 364 in Stobaeus 3.29.22 and Orion 7.2 Haffner

240

<ΑΡΧΕΛΛΑΟΣ?>

ἐμέ δ' ἄρ' οὐ
μοχθεῖν δίκαιον; τίς δ' ἄμοχθος εὐκλεής;
τίς τῶν μεγίστων δειλὸς ὦν ὠρέξατο;

Stobaeus 4.10.8; v. 3 may be a separate fragment (Badham)

241

ἐγὼ δὲ τὸν σὸν κράτ' ἀναστέψαι θέλω.

Schol. on *Phoenician Women* 1149

242

φέρει δὲ καὶ τοῦτ' οὐχὶ μικρόν, εὐγενῆς
ἀνὴρ στρατηγῶν εὐκλεᾶ τ' ἔχων φάτιν.

Stobaeus 4.13.11 and 4.29.43

1 φέρει Stob. 4.29.43: ἔχει Stob. 4.13.11

243

ὀλίγον ἄλκιμον δόρυ
κρείσσον στρατηγῶ μυρίου στρατεύματος.

Stobaeus 4.13.10

244

ARCHELAUS

239

A pleasant life and base unmanliness cannot restore a family or a city.

240

< ARCHELAUS? >

Shall I not rightly strive then? Who can get glory without striving for it? What shirker ever reached for the greatest prizes?

241

I want to place a wreath upon your head.

242

This too brings no small benefit—a well-born man of fine repute in command.

243

A small but valiant force is worth more to a general than a vast army.

EURIPIDES

244

ὀλίγοι γὰρ ἔσθλοὶ κρείσσονες πολλῶν κακῶν.

Stobaeus 4.10.11; Orion 7.3 Haffner

245

remains of five lines, then:

- υ Φοῖ]β' ἀναξ, κάθιζε π[

- υ -]τ', ὦ παῖ, προβαλλ[

ἐν δέ σοι μόνου προφωνῶ· μὴ 'πὶ δουλείαν ποτὲ
ζῶν ἐκὼν ἔλθης παρόν σοι καταναεῖν ἐλευθέρως

10 - υ]των ἔσωθε κα[

- υ -]ν· εἰ δ' εὐτυχήσουσ['

- υ -]εστω τὸ λοιπὸν [

<ΧΟΡΟΣ?>

ἄ]νδρα χρῆ διατων[

]ν ἀμέραν·

15]εἰ γὰρ αἰ τύχα[ι

*remains of one more line*P. Oxy. 419, ed. B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt (1903); vv. 8-9;
Stobaeus 3.7.4

246

νεανίας τε καὶ πένης σοφός θ' ἄμα·
ταῦτ' εἰς ἐν ἐλθόντ' ἄξι' ἐνθυμήσεως.

Stobaeus 4.11.9

ARCHELAUS

244

A few good men are worth more than many cowards.

245

... (*remains of five lines*) ... , lord Phoebus, set ... (O) son
... just one thing I urge upon you: never consent to live and
go into slavery when you can choose to die as befits a free
man ... inside ... but if they succeed ... in the future ... 10

(CHORUS?)

... a man must ... day ... for fortunes ... 15

246

He is young and poor, and clever as well: when these things
are united, they are worth taking seriously.

247

EURIPIDES

247

τί δ' οὐκ ἂν εἴη χρηστὸς ὄλβιος γεγώς;

Stobaeus 4.31.17

248

οὐκ ἔστι Πενίας ἱερὸν αἰσχίστης θεοῦ.
μισῶ γὰρ ὄντως οἴτινες φρονούσι μὲν,
φρονούσι δ' τοῦδενός τει χρημάτων ὑπερ.

Stobaeus 4.32.41; vv. 1 and 2-3 are probably separate fragments (Musgrave)

3 οὐδὲν τῶν γε Düntzer

249

μὴ πλούσιον θῆς· ἐνδέεστερος γὰρ ὦν
ταπεινὸς ἔσται· κείνο δ' ἰσχύει μέγα,
πλοῦτος λαβῶν <τε> τοῦτον εὐγενῆς ἀνήρ.

Stobaeus 4.31.19

250

...
τυραννίδ' ἢ θεῶν δευτέρα νομίζεται·
τὸ μὴ θανεῖν γὰρ οὐκ ἔχει, τὰ δ' ἄλλ' ἔχει.

Stobaeus 4.6.5

251

κρείσσω γὰρ οὔτε δοῦλον οὔτ' ἐλεύθερον
τρέφειν ἐν οἴκοις ἀσφαλὲς τοῖς σώφροσιν.

Stobaeus 4.19.11

248

ARCHELAUS

247

Why would he not give good service once he is wealthy?

248

There is no shrine of Poverty, that vilest of deities. I truly detest those who are capable of thought, but think . . . over money.¹

¹ The Greek in v. 3 does not make sense. Vv. 2–3 may well be a separate fragment, but in any case the sense should fit the topic of Stobaeus' chapter, 'Condemnation of Poverty'; so something like Düntzer's 'but have no thought at all for material possessions' seems needed.

249

Don't make him rich; if he's poor, he'll be submissive—but wealth with a well-born man in possession of it is a very powerful thing.

250

. . . tyranny, which is rated second only to the gods. It does not have immortality, but it has the rest.¹

¹ For tyranny rhetorically deified see *Phoenician Women* 506.

251

Sensible people find it safe not to keep anyone superior in their house, whether slave or free.

EURIPIDES

252

ἐκ τῶν δικαίων γὰρ νόμοι ταυξήματα
μεγάλα φέρουσι, πάντα δ' ἀνθρώποις <καλά>.
τάδ' ἐστὶ χρήματ', ἣν τις εὖσεβῆ θεόν.

Orion 3.1 Haffner; v. 3 could be a separate fragment
(Meineke)

2 <καλά> Blaydes

253

ἀπλοῦς ὁ μῦθος· μὴ λέγ' εὖ. τὸ γὰρ λέγειν
εὖ δεινὸν ἐστίν, εἰ φέρει τινὰ βλάβην.

Stobaeus 3.34.2 and (unattributed) 3.13.9

254

<—>

πόλλ', ὦ τέκνον, σφάλλουσιν ἀνθρώπους θεοί.

<—>

τὸ ῥᾶστον εἶπας, αἰτιάσασθαι θεούς.

Plutarch, *Moralia* 20d; v. 1: [Justin], *On Monarchy* 5.6; v. 2:
Plutarch, *Moralia* 1049e and 1049f.; vv. 1 and 2 assigned to differ-
ent speakers by Grotius.

ARCHELAUS

252

Laws bring about great increase as a result of just actions, and thus make everything (good?) for mortals. This is genuine wealth: respect for god.¹

¹ 'God' simply means 'divine power', as in F 256 and often elsewhere. V. 3 is perhaps a separate fragment (Meineke).

253

It can be simply said: do not speak well. Eloquence is a terrible thing if it brings any harm.¹

¹ A common warning about rhetoric misused, e.g. *Alexander* F 56.

254

<—>

Child, the gods often cause men to slip.

<—>

You've used the easiest excuse—blaming the gods.

EURIPIDES

255

δοκείς τὰ τῶν θεῶν ξυνετὰ νικήσειν ποτὲ
καὶ τὴν Δίκην που μάκρ' ἀπωκίσθαι βροτῶν;
ἤδ' ἐγγύς ἐστιν, οὐχ ὀρωμένη δ' ὄρα,
ὄν χρὴ κολάζειν τ' οἶδεν· ἀλλ' οὐκ οἶσθα σύ,
5 ὀπόταν ἄφνω μολοῦσα διολέσῃ κακούς.

Stobaeus 1.3.47; vv. 1-3: Orion 5.1 Haffner

2 μάκρ' Grotius (questioned by Harder): μακρὰν Stob.,
Orion: {που} μακράν <γ> Schneidewin 3 ἤδ' Orion: ἡ δ'
Stob. 5 ὀπόταν is suspect: ἕως Wecklein

256

μακάριος ὅστις νοῦν ἔχων τιμᾶ θεὸν
καὶ κέρδος αὐτῷ τοῦτο ποιεῖται μέγα.

Orion 3.2 Haffner

257

πολλοὺς δ' ὁ θυμὸς ὁ μέγας ὤλεσεν βροτῶν
ἢ τ' ἀξυνεσία, δύο κακῶ τοῖς χρωμένοις.

Stobaeus 3.20.11

258

τῷ γὰρ βιαίῳ κἀγρίῳ τὸ μαλθακὸν
εἰς ταῦτ' ἔλθον τοῦ λίαν παρείλετο.

Stobaeus 3.20.25

259

ὀργῇ δὲ φαύλῃ πόλλ' ἔνεστ' ἀσχήμονα.

Stobaeus 3.20.12

252

ARCHELAUS

255

Do you think you will ever get the better of the wisdom of the gods, and that Justice is settled somewhere far from mortals? She is here nearby, and though unseen she sees, and knows whom she should punish, while you remain unaware each time she suddenly arrives and destroys the wicked.¹

¹ The thought here is traditional: cf. Hesiod, *Works and Days* 220–4, *Antiope* F 223.57–8. *Melanippe* F 506 puts a more sophisticated view in similar language. In v. 5 Wecklein's 'until' improves the sense but supposes an unlikely corruption.

256

Happy the man who has the good sense to honour god and to turn this to great advantage for himself.

257

Many men have been ruined by great anger and lack of insight—a pair of evils for those who suffer them.

258

When gentleness meets violence and savagery, it restrains them from going too far.

259

Petty anger gives rise to much unseemly behaviour.

EURIPIDES

260

ἔπανσ' ὄδουρούς λυμεῶνας . . .

Schol. on Pindar, *Pythians* 2.57

261

ἔσωσα δούλην οὔσαν· οἱ γὰρ ἤσσονες
τοῖς κρείσσοσιν φιλοῦσι δουλεύειν βροτῶν.

Stobaeus 4.19.13 (assigned improbably to the Chorus in ms. S)

262

πάλαι σκοποῦμαι τὰς †τύχας τῶν βροτῶν†
ὡς εὖ μεταλλάσσουσιν· ὃς γὰρ ἂν σφαλῆ,
εἰς ὀρθὸν ἔστη, χῶ πρὶν εὐτυχῶν πίτνει.

Stobaeus 4.41.31; Orion 8.2 Haffner

1 τύχας <τὰς> τῶν βροτῶν conjectured in Stob. ms. Paris.
1985: τὰς βροτησίας τύχας Busche (τύχ- βροτ- Collard)

263

<ΧΟΡΟΣ>

ἔστι <τι> καὶ παρὰ δάκρυσι κείμενον
ἦδὺν βροτοῖς, ὅταν ἄνδρα φίλον στενά-
χη τις ἐν οἴκῳ.

Stobaeus 4.54.7

1 <τι> Meineke: <δὲ> Herwerden, Wilamowitz 2 οἴκῳ
Stob. ms. S: οἴκῳ mss. MA

ARCHELAUS

260

I (*or he*) checked wayside molesters . . . ¹

¹ 'I' might be Archelaus stating his record of achievement before reaching Cisseus' court. 'He' might be Theseus or Heracles mentioned as exemplars of heroic achievement (cf. *Busiris, Sciron, Syleus*).

261

I rescued her when she was enslaved.¹ The weaker amongst us tend to be enslaved by the stronger.

¹ Reference obscure: possibly 'she' is Cisseus' land, and the speaker Cisseus or Archelaus.

262

I have long observed how easily mortals' fortunes change. The one who has slipped gets up, and the one who was prospering falls.

263

<CHORUS>

There's a pleasure that accompanies tears, when we mourn a friend with lamentation.¹

¹ Cf. *Andromeda* F 119 with note. Metre (dactylic) and phrasing suggest these lines belong to the Chorus, perhaps expressing some regret at Cisseus' death. Mss. MA of Stobaeus have 'in one's house' rather than 'with lamentation', probably through a simple corruption (so the topic need not be a family member's death).

EURIPIDES

264

<ΧΟΡΟΣ>

*τὰ γὰρ οὐκ ὀρθῶς πρᾶσσόμεν' ὀρθῶς
τοῖς πρᾶσσουσιν κακὸν ἦλθε.*

Stobaeus 1.3.35

ARCHELAUS

264

<CHORUS>

Deeds done not rightly have rightly come out badly for
those that did them.¹

¹ Almost certainly from the Chorus's play-closing reflections.

AUGE

H. Van Looy in ed. Budé VIII.1.309–28.

Wilamowitz, *Analecta* 186–93; T. Zielinski, *Eos* 30 (1927), 33–53, 416; Webster 238–41; L. Koenen, *ZPE* 4 (1969), 7–18; W. S. Anderson, *GRBS* 23 (1982), 165–77; *LIMC* III.i.45–51 'Auge'; M. Huys, *Sacris Erudiri* 31 (1989–90), 169–85, and *The Tale*, relevant sections; Gantz 429–32; P. Brulé in C. Jourdain-Annequin and C. Bonnet (eds.), *Héraclès, les femmes et le féminin* (Brussels, 1996), 35–49.

Auge, daughter of Aleus and virgin priestess of Athena Alea at Tegea in Arcadia, was raped by her father's guest Heracles and gave birth to Telephus (his later story was the subject of Euripides' Telephus: see our Introduction there). In some accounts of Telephus' birth Aleus discovers Auge's pregnancy and commissions Nauplius to drown her (as Catreus seems to have ordered Aerope drowned in Cretan Women), and she gives birth to Telephus on Mount Parthenion between Tegea and Nauplion; in others Auge bears Telephus secretly in the temple at Tegea, and Aleus discovering this tries to kill them both. Aleus' hostility is sometimes attributed to his fear that a son of Auge will kill him (cf. Danae), sometimes simply to his daughter's disgrace and the pollution caused by the birth in the temple. Accounts of Telephus' and Auge's survival also vary: in

EURIPIDES

some, the child is raised by herdsmen in Arcadia while the mother escapes death but is shipped to Mysia (sometimes in a chest like Danae) where Telephus finds her years later; in others, mother and child are both cast adrift and so reach Mysia together. Nearly always Auge becomes the wife of the Mysian king Teuthras, and Telephus sooner or later becomes his adopted son; thus through Telephus the historical rulers of Mysia—notably the Attalids of Pergamum in the Hellenistic period—could claim descent from Heracles.

In Euripides' play Auge has given birth in the temple (see test. iii and F 266 below). Most scholars accept Wilamowitz's view that the essentials of the plot can be found in a narrative summary by the Armenian rhetorician Moses of Chorene (8th c. A.D.^p) based on late Greek sources (= test. iib below), with the addition of a detail from Apollodorus 2.7.4 (cf. 3.9.1) where pollution and famine caused by the birth in the temple are said to have led to the child's discovery. The very fragmentary papyrus hypothesis (test. iia below) appears to add the important detail that Auge was raped during a festival of Athena, perhaps as she washed the goddess's robe at a spring near the temple (see test. ii, note 2). If this is a reliable basis, we can surmise that the play began (like Alope and Melanippe Wise) with a prologue speech explaining the rape, the birth and concealment of the baby, the resulting pollution, and Aleus' search for its cause. In F 266 Auge complains to Athena about the goddess's unfair attitude to pollution, and F 267 might refer to the city's need to find the pollution's cause. In F 271, 271a and 271b Auge, advised perhaps by her nurse, seems to be looking for a means of keeping her child concealed; but her efforts were probably forestalled by the discovery of the baby and Auge's ar-

raignment (for a comparable sequence see Hypsipyle F 754 b-c). Aleus will then have dispatched the baby to be exposed and condemned Auge to death, but Auge may have been still at hand when Heracles later appeared with the baby after finding it being suckled by a doe in the countryside (cf. Moses' summary: the suckling was a very popular subject in later classical art); this will have led to the recognition of Telephus as Heracles' son with the aid of a ring (cf. Moses again) lost by Heracles during the rape and attached by Auge to the baby as a mark of his identity. F 272 and *272a have Heracles playing with the baby before or after the recognition. F 265a and 272b probably come from his apology in a subsequent scene, and F 269 might do so but could be someone else's comment. F 268 may come from Heracles' plea to his guest-friend Aleus for understanding, and F 272c and 274 may be Aleus responding, first censoriously then with more consideration. The sentiments in F 273 and 275 cannot be placed. Probably Aleus was persuaded by Heracles to relent, so that a divine intervention to save Auge was not needed; but a god may have directed Auge and Telephus to Mysia at the end. Strabo (= test. *iv* below) says that according to Euripides Auge and Telephus were cast adrift in a chest and floated to Mysia, whereas Moses says only that Teuthras took Auge as his wife and Telephus as his son in obedience to an oracle of Apollo. The voyage might perhaps have been decreed so as to satisfy the continuing resentment of Aleus (Webster) or of Athena (Huys), but it seems more likely that Strabo is inaccurate and the pair were simply told by a god that they would find their destiny with Teuthras in Mysia.

Brief fragments: F 278 'an upright horn' (perhaps a euphemism for Heracles' erect penis); F 279 'you cast aside

EURIPIDES

(sorrows[?]); F 280 'he spent/wasted time'[?]; F 281 'fond of nurturing' (the doe that suckled Telephus[?]). A verse identical with Eur. *Electra* 379, 'It's best to dismiss these things (i.e. uncertainties in assessing virtue) and leave them in confusion', seems to be ascribed to Auge in *Diogenes Laertius* 2.33, and Wilamowitz therefore ascribed all of *Electra* 373-9 to Auge; but the case for denying these lines to *Electra* is much debated. Other proposed ascriptions: adesp. F 399 'to nurture this child in a way that is worthy of Heracles and of myself'; adesp. F 402 'Did you (i.e. Heracles) get your pleasure by force or by persuading the girl?'; adesp. F 570 'Wine, the highest of gods, persuaded me (i.e. Heracles?)'.

The metrical character of the fragments makes it almost certain that this was a very late play, probably from the last few years of Euripides' life. It no doubt shared the sentimental and melodramatic features of such plays as *Ion* and *Hypsipyle*, including the threat to the heroine's life, a baby on stage, the recognition, and a 'human' Heracles mending the consequences of his drunken crime.

Another tragic Auge was produced by Isocrates' adoptive son Aphareus at the *Dionysia* of 341 (TrGF 73 F 1), and comic ones, perhaps burlesquing Euripides, by *Philyllius* (5th-4th c.: three fragments) and *Eubulus* (4th c.: one fragment). A Sicilian vase-painting of the 330s (LIMC no. 6) shows a comic play with Heracles accosting Auge in the sanctuary. Four murals from Pompeii (LIMC nos. 12-15) showing Heracles assaulting her as she washes the robe at the spring seem to reflect Euripides' account (test. ii a with note 2). The influence of Auge is also evident in *Menander's Epitrepontes* ('Men at Arbitration', which also drew on Euripides' *Alope*), where a child born after a

AUGE

rape at a nocturnal festival is recognized by means of a ring and its parents (married in the meantime but estranged) are reunited; F 265a is quoted explicitly at a critical moment in Menander's play (vv. 1123–4). For discussions of Menander's adaptation see J. R. Porter, ICS 24–25 (1999–2000), 157–73; C. Cusset, Ménandre ou la comédie tragique (Paris, 2003), 158–62.

ΑΤΓΗ

test. iia (Hypothesis)

Αὔγη,] ἦς ἡ ἀρχή·

Ἄλέας Ἀθά]νας ὄδε πολ[ύχρυσος δόμος·

ἡ δ' ὑπό]θεσις·

Ἄλεος ὁ τῆ]ς Ἀρκαδίας δ[υνάστης ἔχων θυγατέ-

5 ρα Αὔγην π]άσας κάλλει[τε καὶ σωφροσύνη ὑ-
περέχουσ]αν τῆς Ἀλέα[ς Ἀθηνᾶς ἰέριαν αὐτὴν
ἐποίησεν.] ἡ δὲ τῆς πα[ννυχίδος

]στάσης χορ[

]ς ὤλισθεν [

10 ἐσθ]ῆτα πλύν[ουσι-

πλ]ησίον κρή[νη

P. Köln 1, ed. B. Krämer (1976) after L. Koenen, *ZPE* 4 (1969), 7–18; cf. W. Luppe, *APF* 29 (1983), 19–23, van Rossum-Steenbeek 188, W. S. Barrett, *Greek Lyric, Tragedy, and Textual Criticism* (Oxford, 2007), 454–65.

2 See on F 264a below 4–7 Luppe (e.g.), adapting Koenen
7–11 See note on the translation opposite. For plausible supplements see Luppe (adapting Koenen), Kannicht *ad loc.*, and Barrett.

AUGE

test. iia (Hypothesis)

(*Auge*), which begins, 'This (is the house of Athena Alea, rich in gold' [F 264a]; the) plot is as follows: (Aleus, ruler) of Arcadia, (had a daughter Auge who excelled) all women in beauty (and virtue; and he made her priestess of Athena) Alea. But she, when the (all-night festival) . . . chorus(es?) . . . fell (into disgrace?)¹ . . . wash(ing . . . clothing) . . . (the) nearby spring (or near the spring)² . . . by (or according to) the . . . (he) being

¹ The same Greek verb is used in the narrative hypothesis to *Hippolytus*, where Phaedra 'fell into desire' for Hippolytus. Barrett however supplements here so that Auge simply slipped and fell on muddy ground while dancing, and so hurried to the spring to wash her own dress, not the goddess's (see note 2).

² The damaged text suggests that Auge was raped by a drunken Heracles at a spring near the temple as she washed some clothing during a festival which included maidens' dances and an all-night revel. Pausanias 8.47.4 mentions the spring, and the wall-paintings at Pompeii (see Introduction above) depict the rape in these terms. Koenen connected the festival with the widely known 'Plynteria' type in which maidens purified the goddess's sanctuary, image and robe. Barrett's supplement (see note 1) provides a different interpretation. The revel involved a degree of licensed sexual freedom which is reflected in the ultimately 'justified' rapes in both *Auge* and Menander's *Men at Arbitration*. On the ritual see also Brulé, and on the location of the rape in Euripides, O. Musso in Bastianini-Casanova, *Euripide e i papiri* 123-6.

EURIPIDES

]δε κατὰ τῆ[ν
] οἰνωμένο[s

remains of one more line

13] οἰνωμένο[s West, Barrett: θ]οινωμενο[Koenen, Luppe

test. iib

Dum in Arcadiae quadam urbe festum Mineruae celebraretur, cum eiusdem sacerdote Augea Alei filia choreas in nocturnis sacris agitante rem Hercules habuit, qui et huius furti testem relinquens ei anulum porro migravit. Illa ex eo grauida Telephum peperit, quod nomen ex euentu adhaesit. Iam Augeae pater stupro cognito excandescens Telephum quidem deserto loco abici, ubi is cerua nutritus est, Augeam autem abyssu submergi mandavit. Interim Hercules ad eam regionem delatus deque re gesta sua ex anulo admonitus et puerum ex se genitum sibi imposuit et parentem ipsam ab instante mortis discrimine expediuit. Tum rursus pronuntiant Teuthrantem ex oraculo Apollinis Augeam deinde uxorem duxisse Telephumque in filii loco habuisse.

Moses of Chorene, *Progymnasmata* 3.3 (in Armenian: Latin translation by A. Mai and J. Zohrab, 1818), followed by a summary of *Peliades* (*Pel.* test. iib) explicitly ascribed to Euripides.

test. iii

Αὔγη, ἡ Ἀλέου θυγατήρ, ἰέρεια δ' Ἀθηναῖς, ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ
γεννᾷ Τήλεφον.

Tzetzes on Aristophanes, *Frogs* 1080 ('and did he (Euripides) not show women giving birth in sanctuaries?')

AUGE

drunk with wine³ . . . (*remains of one more line*) . . .

³ Or possibly 'banqueting' (Koenen, Luppe).

test. iib

While a festival of Athena was being celebrated in a certain city in Arcadia, Heracles had his way with Athena's priestess Auge, daughter of Aleus, as she conducted the dances during the nocturnal rites. He left her a ring as evidence of his offence, and then travelled far away. Auge became pregnant by him and gave birth to Telephus—this name became attached to him because of what happened.¹ Auge's father now learned of her violation and in his anger ordered Telephus to be cast out in a deserted place, where he was suckled by a doe, and Auge to be drowned in the ocean. Meanwhile Heracles had returned to that region and was informed by means of the ring² of what he had done. He acknowledged that he had fathered the child, and rescued the mother from the imminent danger of death. They also say that Teuthras, instructed by an oracle of Apollo, then took Auge as his wife and adopted Telephus as his son.

¹ The name Telephus was sometimes explained by reference to his suckling at the teat (*thêlê*) of a doe (*elaphos*), as narrated in the next sentence. For an alternative etymology see *Telephus* F 696.11–13.

² Probably Heracles' ring, torn by Auge from his finger during the rape and left by her with the exposed baby as a proof of his paternity (like Charisius' ring in Menander's *Men at Arbitration*).

test. iii

Auge, daughter of Aleus and priestess of Athena, gives birth to Telephus in the sanctuary.

EURIPIDES

test. iv

Εὐριπίδης δ' ὑπὸ Ἀλέου φησὶ τοῦ τῆς Αὔγης πατρὸς εἰς
 λάρνακα τὴν Αὔγην κατατεθείσαν ἅμα τῷ παιδί Τηλέφῳ
 καταποντωθῆναι, φωράσαντος τὴν ἐξ Ἑρακλέους φθο-
 ράν· Ἀθηναῖς δὲ προνοίᾳ τὴν λάρνακα περαιωθείσαν
 ἐκπεσεῖν εἰς τὸ στόμα τοῦ Καΐκου, τὸν δὲ Τεύθραντα
 ἀναλαβόντα τὰ σώματα τῇ μὲν ὡς γαμετῇ χρήσασθαι,
 τῷ δ' ὡς ἑαυτοῦ παιδί.

Strabo 13.1.69

264a

Ἀλέας Ἀθά]νας ὄδε πολ[ύχρυσος δόμος

The play's opening line (= test. iia.2 above), reconstructed by Merkelbach with ref. to Menander, *Hero* 84 (Ἀλέας Ἀθάνας) and Favorinus, *On Exile* col. 2.43, p. 378 Barigazzi (πολύχρυσος δόμος).

(265 N = 272b below)

265a (= 920 N)

ἢ φύσις ἐβούλεθ', ἦ νόμων οὐδὲν μέλει·
 γυνὴ δ' ἐπ' αὐτῷ τῷδ' ἔφν . . .

Menander, *Men at Arbitration* 1123–4; v. 1 is quoted or adapted several times elsewhere, and parodied in Anaxandrides F 66 PCG.

AUGE

test. iv

Euripides says that Auge was put in a chest with her son Telephus and cast into the sea by her father Aleus, after he detected her rape by Heracles; but by Athena's providence the chest was carried across the sea and landed at the mouth of the Caicus river. Teuthras then rescued them and made Auge his wife and Telephus his own son.¹

¹ Strabo's attribution of this story to Euripides seems questionable: see Introduction above.

264a

This (is the house of Athena Alea, rich in gold) . . .

(265 N = 272b below)

265a (= 920 N)

Nature willed it, which cares nothing for convention. A woman was created by nature for this very purpose . . . ¹

¹ That is, for sexual submission to a man. In Menander's *Men at Arbitration* a slave quotes these words in order to persuade Smicrines to accept the fact that his daughter Pamphile was raped and made pregnant at a nocturnal festival.

EURIPIDES

266

ΑΤΓΗ

σκύλα μὲν βροτοφθόρα
 χαίρεις ὀρώσα καὶ νεκρῶν ἐρείπια,
 κοῦ μιὰρά σοι ταῦτ' ἐστίν· εἰ δ' ἐγὼ 'τεκον,
 δεινὸν τόδ' ἡγή;

Clement of Alexandria, *Miscellanies* 7.3.23.4, with ascription to 'Auge justifying herself to Athena over Athena's displeasure at her having given birth in the sanctuary'.

267

δεινὴ πόλις νοσοῦσ' ἀνευρίσκειν κακά.

Stobaeus 4.1.12

268

καὶ βουθυτεῖν γὰρ ἡξίους ἐμὴν χάριν.

Apollonius Dyscolus, *On Conjunctions*, in *Gramm. Gr.* II.i.247.3 (= Tryphon fr. 56 von Velsen)

269

Ἔρωτα δ' ὅστις μὴ θεὸν κρίνει μέγαν
 {καὶ τῶν ἀπάντων δαιμόνων ὑπέρτατον}
 ἢ σκαιός ἐστιν ἢ καλῶν ἄπειρος ὣν
 οὐκ οἶδε τὸν μέγιστον ἀνθρώποις θεόν.

Stobaeus 4.20.11; vv. 1, 3-4: Athenaeus 13.600d; vv. 1, 3 are imitated in Latin by Caecilius Statius fr. incert. fab. 15 Ribbeck (= Cicero, *Tusculan Disputations* 4.32.68).

1 μὴ θεὸν κρίνει μέγαν Stob.: μὴ μόνον κρίνει θεὸν Ath.
 2 omitted by Athenaeus, deleted by Wilamowitz

270

AUGE

266

AUGE

You enjoy looking on spoils stripped from the dead and the wreckage of corpses; these do not pollute you. Yet you think it a dreadful thing if I have given birth?

267

A city that is sick is clever at seeking out wrongs.¹

¹ Possibly referring to the search for the cause of pollution and famine in Tegea (see Introduction above).

268

In fact you thought it proper to sacrifice oxen for my sake.¹

¹ Probably Heracles reminding Aleus of his earlier hospitality towards him.

269

Anyone who does not count Love a great god {and highest of all the divine powers} is either obtuse or, lacking experience in his delights, is unacquainted with men's greatest god.

EURIPIDES

(270 N = 272c below)

271

<ΤΡΟΦΟΣ?>

πηγνὰς διώκεις, ὦ τέκνον, τὰς ἐλπίδας.

<ΑΤΓΗ?>

† οὐχ ἢ τύχη γε·† τῆς τύχης δ' οὐχ εἰς τρόποσ.

Stobaeus 4.47.1 (attributed to *Auge* in ms. S, to *Aegeus* in ms. A)

1, 2 assigned to different speakers by Herwerden 2 οὐκ
 ηὐτύχησα Herwerden: οὐκ ἦν τύχῳ γε Zielinski

271a (= 276 N)

<ΑΤΓΗ?>

γυναϊκές ἐσμεν· τὰ μὲν ὄκνη νικώμεθα,
 τὰ δ' οὐκ ἂν ἡμῶν θράσος ὑπερβάλοιτό τις.

Stobaeus 4.22.153

271b (= 277 N)

<ΤΡΟΦΟΣ ἢ ΑΤΓΗ?>

ποῖ; πῶς δὲ λήσει; τίς δὲ νῶν πιστὸς φίλος;

Stobaeus 3.22.7. Identified as dialogue by Enger, assigning vv.
 1 and 3 to *Auge*: *vice versa* Zielinski

1 λήσω or λήσεις Meineke

AUGE

(270 N = 272c below)

271

<NURSE?>

These hopes you chase are flighty, my child.

<AUGE?>

†Not fortune at least†,¹ but fortune is not unchanging.

¹ The transmitted text makes no sense. Herwerden suggested 'I have been unfortunate', Zielinski 'Not if I succeed'.

271a (= 276 N)

<AUGE?>

We are women. In some things timidity overcomes us, but in others no one could exceed our courage.¹

¹ Cf. *Medea* 263–6: 'In other matters a woman is full of fear, and bad at facing up to boldness and steel; but when she finds herself wronged with regard to her marriage-bed, there is no other mind more murderous.'

271b (= 277 N)

<NURSE or AUGÉ?>

Where? How will he¹ escape notice? What loyal friend do we have?

¹ The new-born Telephus, if the Greek text is correct. Meineke suggested 'I escape' (if Auge speaks vv. 1 and 3), or 'you escape' (if the Nurse does). F 271 (and 272?) suggests that Auge is for action and the Nurse for caution: cf. Hypsipyle and the Chorus-leader in *Hypsipyle* F 754b. In Sophocles, *Women of Trachis* 590–3 the Chorus-leader urges action on Deianeira in similar terms, but there the point is that Deianeira is persuaded, with disastrous results.

EURIPIDES

<ΑΤΓΗ ἢ ΤΡΟΦΟΣ?>

ζητῶμεν ἢ δόκησις ἀνθρώποις κακόν.

<ΤΡΟΦΟΣ ἢ ΑΤΓΗ?>

καὶ τοῦπιχειρεῖν γ' ἔξαμαρτάνειν φιλεῖ.

272

<ΗΡΑΚΛΗΣ?>

τίς δ' οὐχὶ χαίρει νηπίοις ἀθύρμασιν;

Stobaeus 4.24.49

*272a (= 864 N)

ΗΡΑΚΛΗΣ

παίζω μεταβολὰς γὰρ πόνων ἀεὶ φιλῶ.

Aelian, *Miscellany* 12.15, with attribution to Heracles 'while holding a baby'

272b (= 265 N)

<ΗΡΑΚΛΗΣ>

νῦν δ' οἶνος ἐξέστησέ μ'· ὁμολογῶ δέ σε
ἀδικεῖν, τὸ δ' ἀδίκημ' ἐγένετ' οὐχ ἐκούσιον.

Stobaeus 3.18.19

272c (= 270 N)

οὐ τῶν κακούργων οἶκτος ἀλλὰ τῆς δίκης.

Stobaeus 4.5.5

AUGE

<AUGE or NURSE?>

Let's try to find one one. Mere supposition does people no good.

<NURSE or AUGE?>

And action attempted also tends to go wrong.

272

<HERACLES?>

Who does not take pleasure in childish toys?

*272a (= 864 N)

<HERACLES>

(holding the baby)

I'm playing; I always like a change from my labours.

272b (= 265 N)

<HERACLES>

As it is, wine made me lose control. I admit I wronged you, but the wrong was not intentional.

272c (= 270 N)

Pity is not for criminals but for those in the right.

EURIPIDES

273

πάσιν γὰρ ἀνθρώποισιν, οὐχ ἡμῖν μόνον,
ἢ καὶ παραντίκ' ἢ χρόνῳ δαίμων βίον
ἔσφηλε, κούδεις διὰ τέλους εὐδαιμονεῖ.

Stobaeus 4.41.15

274

. . . τὸ δ' ἐπιεικὲς ὠφελεῖ τὰς ξυμφοράς.

Stobaeus 3.37.19

275

κακῶς δ' ὄλοιτο πάντες οἱ μοναρχία
χαίρουσιν ὀλίγων τ' ἐν πόλει τυραννίδι.
τοῦλεύθερον γὰρ ὄνομα παντὸς ἄξιον
κἂν σμίκρ' ἔχη τις, μεγάλ' ἔχειν νομίζεται.

Stobaeus 4.8.3; vv. 3-4: Philo, *That Every Good Man is Free*
141

1-2 μοναρχία . . . τυραννίδι Hense: τυραννίδι . . .
μοναρχία Stob. 4 νομίζεται Stob.: νομίζετω Philo

(276, 277 N = 271a, 271b above)

AUGE

273

It happens to everyone, not just to us: sooner or later fortune spoils our life, and no one has good fortune right through to the end.

274

. . . decency helps us in our misfortunes.

275

A miserable death to all those who are happy with monarchy, or with the tyranny of a few in their city! The title 'free' is worth everything; (with this) even a man who has little is reckoned to have much.

(276, 277 N = 271a, 271b above)

AUTOLYCUS A and B

Pechstein 39–122; Krumeich 403–12; H. Van Looy in ed. Budé VIII.1.329–40; I. Mangidis, *Euripides' Satyrspiel Autolyokos* (Bern, 2003).

LIMC III.i.55–6 'Autolykos I'; V. Masciadri, *Museum Helveticum* 44 (1987), 1–7; R. Kannicht, *Dioniso* 61.2 (1991), 91–9; F. Angiò, *Dioniso* 62.2 (1992), 83–94; Gantz 109–10, 176; Voelke 71, 264–7 (F 282), 364–5.

For pairs of plays named for the same main character see Alcmeon (introductory note).

Autolykus was a son of Hermes the patron god of thieves, from whom he learned trickery and perjury (Homer, Odyssey 19.395); his special ability was to make substitutes for what he stole and thus deceive owners that they had lost nothing (Ovid, Metamorphoses 11.313–5; Hyginus, Fab. 201.1), or to make it disappear altogether (Hesiod fr. 67: see test. iv below, and for the entire mythical background Gantz and Mangidis 71–107). Autolykus was ideal for the sly world of satyr drama.

A 2nd c. A.D. papyrus first published in 1939 (P. Vindob. 19766 = P. Rain. 3.32 = test. iiib) preserves just enough of a 'narrative' hypothesis to confirm a long-doubted ancient testimony that Euripides wrote a 'first', and so presumably also a second, play of this name (Athenaeus 10.413c = test.

AUTOLYCUS

iiia; a similar doubt long existed about Phrixus A and B); Mangidis 110–8, cf. 205, argues however, following a suggestion of Reichenbach in 1889, that the papyrus confirms that Athenaeus meant two performances, or a reperformance, rather than two versions of the play. The plot of one play had been conjectured from Hyginus, Fab. 201 (= test. *va), supported by a now lost 2nd c. B.C. Boeotian jug (LIMC 'Antikleia' no. 2 = test. *vb): Autolycus stole cattle from Sisyphus, himself a trickster (see Sisyphus, Introduction; Voelke 358–64); Sisyphus suspected the theft and marked the hooves of his other cattle, enabling him to challenge Autolycus and recover them when they too were stolen; but he also raped Autolycus' daughter Anticlea (and so 'shared' with Laertes the fathering of the wily Odysseus). The jug has Autolycus arguing with Sisyphus about cattle, Sisyphus managing two yoked cattle near Autolycus and Laertes (who is exclaiming), and Sisyphus about to rape Anticlea, all being named (O. Touchefeu in LIMC however doubts the association with such a plot, as does Pechstein in Krumeich 409). A very different and broad content for the second play has been conjectured by Masciadri from Tzetzes, Chiliades 8.435–53 (= test. iv below), a view shared by Pechstein and by Kannicht (1991): Tzetzes tells how Autolycus in two other thefts or abductions substituted for them a creature or person inferior but not recognized by his victims, an ass for a horse, an ugly male satyr for a young daughter; this would provide material for at least two play-scenes or episodes, and the ugly/young contrast would suit a light play. Mangidis's reconstruction of his single play (summary on 201–2, cf. 206–8) accommodates everything from Hyginus, Tzetzes and the two vases (170–82, augmented by a recently found cup from Pella,

EURIPIDES

which Kannicht, TrGF 5.344 allows may relate to Autolycus rather than Sisyphus: details at TrGF 5.658).

In content F 282a (see note), 283 and 284 could belong to either play. We cannot know to which of the two supposed plots we should refer F 282 in the light of Athenaeus' attribution to the 'first' play. This is a long criticism of selfish and socially unproductive athletes. Athletics as a topic is not rare in satyr drama (see R. Seaford, *Euripides: Cyclops* [Oxford, 1984], 39–40; Voelke 261–72); one of Pratinas' satyr plays was titled *Wrestlers* and one of Aeschylus' *Contestants* (or *Visitors*) at the Isthmian Games. Perhaps the regular over-eating and over-drinking of the satyrs (e.g. *Cyclops* 139–61, 545–65; Voelke 183–202) drew the criticism in F 282; and perhaps it came from the crafty Autolycus himself when he was persuading the father of the young girl to trust his assertions against those of the satyrs who witnessed his attempted deception (cf. Pechstein 82–5). The length and rhetorical tone of F 282 are also not impossible for a satyr play (cf. the *Cyclops*' speech defending his voracity, *Cyc.* 315–46). Nevertheless Angiò and others have thought the fragment tragic in style, and one of the two plays therefore to have been a tragedy; of this possibility Pechstein 39–40 and 114 asks whether the play containing F 282 may have been 'pro-satyrical', like *Alcestis* in Euripides' production of 438. Conversely Voelke 71, 264, 364 holds that only one play was certainly satyric, and that F 282 belonged to it.

No other satyr play about Autolycus is known (unless he figured in the *Sisyphus* or in other dramatists' plays of that name). The comedian Eupolis may have used the myth to tease the victorious Athenian boy athlete Autolycus in 420 B.C., in the first version of his *Autolycus* (F 48–75

AUTOLYCUS

PCG: see I. Storey, *Eupolis* [Oxford, 2003] 84–6, who debates inconclusively the question whether Euripides' F 282 also 'reflects' the boy or Eupolis, and in what order of time; if this link can be established, Euripides' play is dated. Mangidis 134–54 concludes that Eupolis' play, or 422, provides the latest date for the first performance of his single play). Autolycus' most famous dramatic descendant is the thief in *The Winter's Tale* (see especially 4.3.24–7); Shakespeare would have known both Ovid and Hyginus.

ΑΥΤΟΛΥΚΟΣ Α, Β

test. iv

- 435 Ἑρμοῦ παῖς ὁ Αὐτόλυκος . . .
 . . . πένης δὲ ὑπάρχων ἄγαν,
 ἐκ τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ χαρίζεται τὴν κλεπτικὴν τὴν τέχνην,
- 438 ὡς . . .
- 442 . . . πάντα νικᾶν κλέπτῃν.
 κλέπτων καὶ γὰρ μετήμειβεν ἄλλα διδοὺς ἀντ' ἄλλων.
 ἐδόκουν δ' οἱ λαμβάνοντες τὰ σφῶν λαμβάνειν πάλιν,
- 445 οὐκ ἠπατήσθαι τούτῳ δὲ καὶ ἕτερα λαμβάνειν.
 ἵππον γὰρ κλέπτων ἄριστον ὄνον τῶν ψωριῶντων
 διδοὺς ἐποίει δόκησιν ἐκείνου δεδωκένας
 καὶ κόρην νύμφην νεαρὰν κλέπτων ἐδίδου πάλιν
 ἢ σειληνὸν ἢ σάτυρον, γερόντιον σαπρὸν τι,
- 450 σιμόν, νωδόν, καὶ φαλακρόν, μυξῶδες, τῶν δυσμόρφων.
 καὶ ὁ πατὴρ ἐνόμιζε τοῦτον ὡς θυγατέρα.
 ἐν Αὐτολύκῳ δράματι σατυρικῶ τὰ πάντα
 ὁ Εὐριπίδης ἀκριβῶς τὰ περὶ τούτου γράφει.

Tzetzes, *Chiliades* 8.435–53 Leone

AUTOLYCUS A and B

test. iv

Autolycus was a son of Hermes . . . and being born extremely
poor, was favoured by Hermes with the art of stealing, so as . . . 437
to surpass every thief. Whenever he stole, he did an exchange 442
and returned one thing for another; the receivers thought they
were getting their own things back again, not that they had 445
been deceived by him and were getting different things. He
would steal a very good horse and give (back) an ass, one of the
mangy sort, and made it seem he had returned the former;¹
and when he stole a marriageable young girl, he gave back
again either a silenus or a satyr, some decrepit little old man,
snub-nosed, toothless and bald, all snotty, one of the uglies² — 450
and her father thought of him as his daughter. In his satyr-play
Autolycus Euripides has written the whole story about him
accurately.

¹ Cf. F 283, 284.

² See F 282a below with note.

- κακῶν γὰρ ὄντων μυρίων καθ' Ἑλλάδα
οὐδὲν κάκιόν ἐστιν ἀθλητῶν γένους.
οἱ πρῶτον οἰκεῖν οὔτε μανθάνουσιν εὖ
οὔτ' ἂν δύναιτο· πῶς γὰρ ὅστις ἔστ' ἀνήρ
5 γνάθου τε δούλος νηδύος θ' ἠσσημένος
κτῆσαιτ' ἂν ὄλβον εἰς ὑπερβολὴν πατρός;
οὐδ' αὖ πένεσθαι κάξυπηρετεῖν τύχαις
οἰοί τ'· ἔθη γὰρ οὐκ ἔθισθέντες καλὰ
σκληρῶς μεταλλάσσουσιν εἰς τὰμήχανον.
10 λαμπροὶ δ' ἐν ἤβῃ καὶ πόλεως ἀγάλματα
φοιτῶσ'· ὅταν δὲ προσπέσῃ γῆρας πικρόν,
τρίβωνες ἐκβαλόντες οἷχονται κρόκας.
ἐμεμφάμην δὲ καὶ τὸν Ἑλλήνων νόμον,
οἱ τῶνδ' ἕκατι σύλλογον ποιούμενοι
15 τιμῶσ' ἀχρείους ἠδονὰς δαιτὸς χάριν.
τίς γὰρ παλαίσας εὖ, τίς ὠκύπους ἀνήρ
ἢ δίσκον ἄρας ἢ γνάθον παίσας καλῶς
πόλει πατρώῃ στέφανον ἤρκεσεν λαβῶν;
πότερα μαχοῦνται πολεμίοισιν ἐν χεροῖν

Athenaeus 10.413c; vv. 1-9: P. Oxy. 3699 (badly damaged); vv. 1-9 and 16-22: Galen, *Protrepticus* 10 and 13; v. 12: Diogenes Laertius 1.56; v. 22: Plutarch, *Moralia* 581f

3 πρῶτον οἰκεῖν P. Oxy., Galen: πρῶτα μὲν ζῆν Ath.
6 εἰς ὑπερβολὴν πατρός Ath.: εἰς ὑπεκτροφήν πάτρας Galen
(P. Oxy. defective) 7 κάξυπηρετεῖν Galen: κάξυπηρετεμῖν
Ath. (P. Oxy. defective) 12 ἐκβαλόντες Ath.: ἐκλείποντες
(οἱ -λιπ-) Diog.

AUTOLYCUS

282

Of countless bad things existing throughout Greece none is worse than athletes as a breed. First, they neither learn well how to manage a household, nor would they be able to learn—for how could a man who is a slave to eating and dominated by his belly acquire wealth to exceed his father's?¹ Moreover they cannot manage poverty or cope with misfortunes: because they have not learned good habits, a change towards difficulties is hard on them. They are splendid in their prime and go proudly about as ornaments to a city; but when old age in its harshness falls upon them, they fade away like cloaks that have lost their threads. I blame too the Greeks' custom of gathering because of these men to value useless pleasures for the sake of a feast.² Why—what man who has wrestled well, what man fleet of foot or that has thrown a discus or boxed a jaw well, has defended his ancestral city by winning a wreath? Are

¹ Perhaps 'to support his country's future generations' (Galen). ² Victorious athletes sometimes threw a public feast, or were themselves publicly feasted—both to no civic benefit (similar phenomena are not unknown in modern times). For the strictures on diet, regimen and civic obligation cf. *Antiope* F 201.3–4.

EURIPIDES

- 20 δίσκους ἔχοντες ἢ δι' ἀσπίδων χερὶ
 θείνοντες ἐκβαλοῦσι πολεμίους πάτρας;
 οὐδεὶς σιδήρου ταῦτα μῶραίνει πέλας
 ἴστασ†. ἄνδρας χρῆ σοφούς τε κάγαθούς
 φύλλοις στέφεσθαι, χῶστις ἡγείται πόλει
- 25 κάλλιστα σάφρων καὶ δίκαιος ὦν ἀνὴρ,
 ὅστις τε μύθοις ἔργ' ἀπαλλάσσει κακὰ
 μάχας τ' ἀφαιρῶν καὶ στάσεις· τοιαῦτα γὰρ
 πόλει τε πάσῃ πᾶσί θ' Ἑλλησιν καλά.

23 beg. ἰστάμενος Pechstein: στάς. ἄνδρας <οὖν> χρῆ<ν
 τοὺς> σοφούς Dobree (<οὖν> Grotius)

282a

μηδὲν τῷ πατρὶ
 μέμφεσθ' ἄωρον ἀποκαλοῦντες ἀνδρίον.

Photius, *Lexicon* a 1760 Theodoridis

283

. . . τοὺς ὄνους
 τοὺς λαρκαγωγούς ἐξ ὄρους οἴσειν ξύλα . . .

Pollux 10.111 (printed here as iambic trimeters, but the words
 also make a single trochaic tetrameter. F 284 presents a similar
 difficulty: see note on translation.)

284

†σχοινίνας γὰρ ἵπποισι φλοῖνας ἡνίας πλέκει†

Pollux 10.178

AUTOLYCUS

they going to fight enemies with a discus in their hands, or 20
 drive enemies from a fatherland by punching through
 shields with a fist? No one is this stupid †when standing†³
 near a sword! Wreathing with leaves⁴ should be for men
 who are wise and brave, and for the man who leads a city
 best through being prudent and just, and whose words de- 25
 liver it from evil acts by removing feuds and factions: such
 are the things good for every city and all Greeks.⁵

³ The Greek is unmetrical; Pechstein conjectured 'when taking his stand' (same sense). ⁴ Victorious athletes wreathed:

Alexander F 61d.6, *Electra* 862; cf. *Hecuba* 574 (metaphor).

⁵ The fragment is discussed at length by Mangidis 19–39, 190–200, cf. 41–63 (with full bibliography for athletics).

282a

Don't criticize our father,¹ calling him an ugly little man.

¹ Silenus, 'father' of the satyrs ('old man' in *Eurystheus* F 372).

283

... that the asses which carry charcoal-baskets will bring
 wood from the mountain ...

284

† ... weaves reins for horses made of rushes of bark ... †¹

¹ Text unmetrical and corrupt; probably either 'of rushes' or 'of bark' has intruded.

BELLEROPHON

C. Collard in *SFP* I.98–120, 285–6 (~ II.365–6); Diggle, *TrGFS* 98–100 (F 285, 286, 286b); F. Jouan in ed. Budé VIII.2.1–35; M. Curnis, *Il Bellerofonte di Euripide* (Torino, 2003).

A. Caputi, *Rendiconti dell'Accademia dei Lincei* 18 (1909), 509–26 (with older bibliography); Rau, *Paratragodia* 89–97; Webster 109–11; L. di Gregorio, *CCC* 4 (1983), 159–213, 365–82; Aélion (1986) 192–6; J. A. White, *AJP* 103 (1982), 119–27 (mythical and Biblical analogies); Gantz 313–6; *LIMC* VII.i.214–30 'Pegasus'; G. W. Dobrov, *Figures of Play* (Oxford, 2001), 89–104, esp. 91–7; D. Milo, *Vichiana* 6.2 (2004), 304–11. See also the notes to F 286, 286b, 289, 304a.

The handsome hero Bellerophon of Corinth is in some accounts a god's son; he mastered the winged horse Pegasus through the power of the goddess Athena (Pindar, Olympians 13.60–86). He had early dangerous adventures, escaping from the amorous Stheneboea and her vengeful husband Proetus at Tiryns; with the aid of Pegasus, he survived Proetus' plot, carried out in Lycia by Proetus' brother-in-law Iobates, to have him killed by monstrous opponents (Homer, Iliad 6.160–89); then he took vengeance by killing Stheneboea: this story forms the plot of

EURIPIDES

*Stheneboea. For a time Bellerophon enjoyed happiness (cf. F 285.19–20), for he had returned to Lycia and married Iobates' other daughter when that king realised that his feats meant he was a god's son; Bellerophon was expecting to inherit the kingdom, and his children were splendid (Iliad 6.196–9). Then he incurred the gods' hatred (6.200; the reason is not stated) and became embittered to the point of lonely wandering, 'eating out his heart' (6.201–2), and enduring 'melancholia' (Aristotle, Problems in Physics 953a21 = test. *iv); the Scholia on Iliad 6.200–5 prefer as the cause of his embitterment the death of two children (the name of one, Isander, is insecurely read in the narrative hypothesis, test. iiii.13 below). It is disappointing that this hypothesis and the even scrappier test. *iiib (P. Oxy. 4017, a few words only) describe mostly the play's background rather than its plot, and both include problematic details: see below on F 304a and 305, and the note to the translation of F 304a.*

Euripides' play is set in Lycia, perhaps on the plain where Bellerophon is wandering. It begins with his anger against the gods for his sufferings (two long fragments, F 285 and 286, the first at least from his prologue speech; cf. F 286a and 286b.7). Later he resolves to climb heaven on Pegasus (cf. F 306–309a; Pindar, Isthmians 7.43–8 and scholia), either to disprove the existence of gods so unjust, or perhaps to remonstrate with them. Zeus blocks his presumption, however, by having Pegasus throw him off (Pindar, Isthm. 7, cf. Olympians 13.91–3 and scholia); the disastrous flight is narrated either by a messenger or by Bellerophon himself (F 309, 309a). He falls to earth and is brought on stage mortally wounded (F 310–311; compare Phaethon's similar rashness and catastrophe, and

BELLEROPHON

Hippolytus in the name play). A god ends the play, announcing that Pegasus now draws Zeus's 'chariot of lightning' (F 312, cf. *Olympians* 13.92–3). *Aristophanes* parodied Bellerophon's ragged dress and lameness in this play (*Acharnians* 426–9 = *test. iic*); sources such as *Schol. on Aristophanes*, *Peace* 136 say that these were consequences of his flight, but they may have registered Bellerophon's abject misery at the play's start, for they would be rather pointless if seen first in his death scene (*Aristophanes* also parodied the flight on Pegasus in *Peace* 135–48 = *test. iia*; on both parodies see *Rau, Dobrov*).

Beginning and end are thus clear in content, but the many intervening fragments (F 287–304) reveal little of the play's development and structure; they are sententious and their sources give no context. F 287–302 come from an early scene or episode, possibly more than one (*Jouan* 9–10, 14), in which a voice or voices try to comfort or dissuade Bellerophon; *Iobates* or Bellerophon's surviving son *Glaucus* are often suggested. F 303–4 are choral commonplaces on man's uncertain fortune, probably from two separate odes (the chorus were probably Lycians: cf. the Attic farmers in *Antiope*). Reconstructors have arranged these fragments as persuasively as possible (*Caputi, Di Gregorio, Aélion* and *Jouan* in particular), but invariably quite differently: the best policy is restraint (e.g. *Curnis, Kannicht* in *TrGF*), and many scholars have therefore concentrated on interpreting a few very difficult fragments (see *Bibliography*).

A special problem is whether F 304a and 305 belong at all. If authentic, they introduce a sequel to *Sitheneboea's* killing by Bellerophon (F 304a): her son *Megapenthes* has pursued him to Lycia for vengeance after judicial prosecu-

EURIPIDES

tion in Argos (F 305: cf. the 'trial' in *Orestes* 844–956). The prose introduction to *Palatine Anthology* 3.15, a poem describing a sculptured scene of this myth's figures, states *Megapenthes'* intention; early reconstructors related the passage to the play, and recent scholars use it more and more confidently (after *Carlini* [see under F 304a], e.g. *Di Gregorio*, *Aélion*, *Jouan* 10, 14–15 and *Curnis* 256–60); *Webster*, *Collard* and *Kannicht* have been more cautious. Such a scene—certainly before the *Pegasus* flight—would at least exacerbate *Bellerophon's* sense of persecution (cf. *Jouan* 15). *Stheneboea's* name occurs in a very scrappy narrative hypothesis, *P. Oxy.* 4017, and may indicate that it relates to her name-play; the mention of a 'ship' at test. *iiia.21* (the other hypothesis) may relate to *Megapenthes'* journey from Argos to Lycia.

Brief fragment: F 286a (damaged papyrus) 'the gods . . . lawful(?) . . .' Some fragments of *Stheneboea* are erroneously attributed in their sources to *Bellerophon*: F 661.4–5 (= 662 N), 666, 669; cf. *Danae* F 324. Other ascriptions: F 911 (also ascribed to *Antiope*), *adesp.* F 60 'But what if (s)he falls into the sea's watery depth?' (also to *Cretans* and *Stheneboea*), *adesp.* F 129 (choral verses on the godlike powers of gold), *adesp.* F 181 (wealth and a bad reputation better than poverty and a good one), *adesp.* F 513 'Once I am dead let the earth be consumed by fire. It doesn't matter to me, for I'm all right.'

In this play *Euripides* completed, or at least complemented, the hero's story in *Stheneboea*, but his characterization is quite different and resembles such god-defiers as *Heracles* (compare *Heracles* 1313–46 with F 286b.6–7) or *Pentheus* (*Bacchae*). The two plays must come from different years, and *Bellerophon* was certainly earlier than 425,

BELLEROPHON

the year of Aristophanes' parody in Acharnians (above). Milo 307–8, following Curnis, relates F 286.10–12 'small cities honouring the gods . . . subject to greater, more impious ones' to the siege and capture of Plataea in 429–7 B.C. by the Thebans (whom he finds alluded to in F 295), and dates the play to that period. Both Bellerophon and Stheneboea have elements common in other plays of the 430s and 420s which examine the duties and failings of hosts, guests, friends and allies (Alcestis, Medea, Children of Heracles, Hecuba, Suppliants). The two long fragments 285 and 286 in their style of rhetorical analysis anticipate the later Suppliant Women 195–249 (late 420's) and Electra 367–85.

The plot of Sophocles' Iobates is not known. Astydamas the Younger wrote a Bellerophon in the middle of the 4th century (a mere title for us); like Aristophanes, the comedian Eubulus exploited Euripides for parody in his own Bellerophon (F 15 PCG). For the modern era see OGCMA I.274–6.

ΒΕΛΛΕΡΟΦΟΝΤΗΣ

test. iia

ΠΑΙΔΙΟΝ

- 136 οὐκοῦν ἐχρήν σε Πηγάσου ζευῆσαι πτερόν,
ὅπως ἐφαίνου τοῖς θεοῖς τραγικώτερος;

* * *

- 146 ἐκεῖνο τήρει, μὴ σφαλεῖς καταρρνῆς
ἐντεῦθεν, εἶτα χωλὸς ὦν Εὐριπίδη
λόγον παράσχησ καὶ τραγωδία γένη.

Aristophanes, *Peace* 135–6, 146–8

test. iiaa (Hypothesis)

Beginnings of 22 lines from a narrative hypothesis:

1 διεγνωκότος 2 -σθαι προσελθῶ[ν 3 ἰδίου καὶ ἀδελφ[
4 Βελλεροφόντη[5 τὴν πρέπουσα[6 αὐ[τ]ὸς
[σ]υνέπε[ται 7 -θη νεκρὸν .[8 -πειν τὸν ἐχθ[ρὸν

P. Oxy. 3651.1–22, ed. H. M. Cockle (1984); re-ed. W. Luppe, *Eikasmos* 1 (1990), 171–7, van Rossum-Steenbeek 192–3

4–5 τιμωρίαν | τὴν πρέπουσα[ν (e.g.) Kannicht (δίκην Luppe)

BELLEROPHON

test. iia

TRYGAEUS' DAUGHTER

(to Trygaeus)

So shouldn't you have harnessed winged Pegasus, to make yourself seem more tragic to the gods?

* * *

Keep a look-out, so you don't slip and then fall off downwards, and then in your lameness provide Euripides with a plot, and become a tragedy!

test. iii a (Hypothesis)

... having decided... Having come to... his own(?)... and... brother¹... Bellerophon... the appropriate...² himself follows(?)... corpse... the (his?) enemy... from the... 6

¹ Perhaps a reference to Bellerophon's fratricide before taking refuge with Proetus in Tiryns (*Stheneboea* test. iia.8, F 661.7 and 16-18).

² Perhaps 'the appropriate (penalty)' (Kannicht, Luppe), referring to Bellerophon's vengeful killing of Stheneboea (*Sthen.* test. Iiia.23-9).

EURIPIDES

9 ἀπὸ τῶν {σ}ταυ. [10 σαντα ὑπολ[
 11 Βελ]λερο]φόντην[12 ...].. δρυ [ποτα[μ
 13 ...]νδρον ἐξε[14, 15 a few letters each 16] ..a τὴν
 χά[ραν 17 a few letters 18 τ]ὰς ποιναὺς δ[19]αι τὸν
 Βελλερ[οφόντην 20 ..]..... Λυκία[s 21 ...] τὴν ναῦν [22 a few letters

12 ποτα[μ inserted above line by a later hand; possibly a gloss
 (see note on translation) 13 Ἴσα]νδρον or Μαία]νδρον
 Cockle

285

ΒΕΛΛΕΡΟΦΟΝΤΗΣ

ἐγὼ τὸ μὲν δὴ πανταχοῦ θρυλούμενον
 κράτιστον εἶναι φημι μὴ φῦναι βροτῶ·
 τρισσῶν δὲ μοιρῶν ἐγκρινῶ νικᾶν μίαν,
 πλούτου τε χῶτῳ σπέρμα γενναίου προσῆ
 5 πενίας τ'· ἀριθμὸν γὰρ τοσόνδε προυθέμην.
 ὁ μὲν ζάπλουτος, εἰς γένος δ' οὐκ εὐτυχής,
 ἀλγεί μὲν ἀλγεί, παγκαλῶς δ' ἀλγύνεται
 ὄλβου διοίγων θάλαμον ἠδιστον χερί·
 ἔξω δὲ βαίνων τοῦδε, τὸν πάρος χρόνον
 10 πλουτῶν, ὑπ' ἄτης ζεύγλαν ἀσχάλλει πεσών.
 ὅστις δὲ γαῦρον σπέρμα γενναῖόν τ' ἔχων
 βίου σπανίζει, τῷ γένει μὲν εὐτυχεῖ,

Vv. 1-18: Stobaeus 4.33.16; vv. 1-2: Stob. 4.34.38; v. 8: Plu-
 tarch, *Moralia* 1069b; vv. 11-14: Stob. 4.32b.23; vv. 15-20: Stob.
 4.33.9a; v. 20: Stob. 3.32.3 without attribution

3 ἐγκρινῶ Matthiae (-ίνω Pierson): ἐν κρίνω Stob.
 10 ζεύγλαν ἀ(ν)σχάλλει Salmasius: ζεύς τ' ἀνασχάλλει Stob.

BELLEROPHON

Bellerophon . . . river³ . . . the land . . . the penalty . . . 18
 Bellerophon . . . Lycia(n?) . . . the ship . . . ⁴

³ In line 13 the names 'Isa]nder' (a son of Bellerophon: Homer, *Iliad* 6.197) or 'Mea]nder' (the chief river of Lycia) have been supplied: see Introduction. ⁴ For 'Lycia' and 'the ship', see Introduction on F 304a and 305.

285

BELLEROPHON

I myself affirm what is of course a common word everywhere, that it is best for a man not to be born;¹ but of (life's) three estates I'll judge one superior—wealth, noble blood in a man, and poverty: that is the total number I advance. 5
 The man with great wealth, but unlucky in his birth, hurts at this, he hurts, but it is a quite splendid pain² for him when he opens his wealth's treasure-chamber to his hand's great pleasure; when he leaves it, however, after his riches before, he is distressed at falling under ruin's yoke. The 10
 man of proud and noble descent who wants for a livelihood, has the good fortune of birth but is diminished by

¹ An axiom found first in Theognis 425 (6th c.) and most famously at Sophocles, *Oedipus at Colonus* 1224-5. ² An oxymoron like *Trojan Women* 727 εὐγενῶς ἄλγει κακοῖς, 'feel the hurt nobly!'

EURIPIDES

- πενία δ' ἐλάσσων ἐστίν, ἐν δ' ἀλγύνεται
 φρονῶν, ὑπ' αἰδοῦς δ' ἔργ' ἀπωθεῖται χερῶν.
 15 ὁ δ' οὐδὲν οὐδέεις, διὰ τέλους δὲ δυστυχῶν,
 τοσῶδε νικᾷ· τοῦ γὰρ εὖ τητῶμενος
 οὐκ οἶδεν, αἰεὶ δυστυχῶν κακῶς τ' ἔχων.
 οὕτως ἄριστον μὴ πεπειρᾶσθαι καλῶν.
 ἐκείνο γὰρ μεμνήμεθ', οἶος ἦ ποτε
 20 καὶ γὰρ μετ' ἀνδρῶν ἡνίκ' ἠτύχουν βίῳ . . .

13–14 ἐν δ' ἀλγύνεται | φρονῶν Stob. 4.32b.23, obelized by
 editors, defended by Kannicht (ἐνθ' Bothe): κεί βαρύνεται |
 φρενῶν Stob. 4.33.16: ἦν ἀλγύνεται | φέρων F. W. Schmidt:
 {ἐστίν} ἔνδοθεν δ' ἀλγύνεται | φρενῶν Curnis (... φέρων Milo)
 14 ὑπ' αἰδοῦς δ' Stob. 4.33.16: δ' ὑπ' αἰδοῦς 4.32b.33
 20 βίῳ Stob. 3.32.3: ποτε 4.33.9a

286

ΒΕΛΛΕΡΟΦΟΝΤΗΣ

- φησὶν τις εἶναι δῆτ' ἐν οὐρανῷ θεοῦς;
 οὐκ εἰσίν, οὐκ εἶσ', εἴ τις ἀνθρώπων θέλει
 μὴ τῷ παλαιῷ μῶρος ὦν χρῆσθαι λόγῳ.
 σκέψασθε δ' αὐτοί, μὴ 'πὶ τοῖς ἐμοῖς λόγοις
 5 γνώμην ἔχοντες. φήμ' ἐγὼ τυραννίδα
 κτείνειν τε πλείστους κτημάτων τ' ἀποστερεῖν
 ὄρκους τε παραβαίνοντας ἐκπορθεῖν πόλεις·
 καὶ ταῦτα δρῶντες μᾶλλον εἰς' εὐδαίμονες
 τῶν εὐσεβούντων ἡσυχῇ καθ' ἡμέραν.
 10 πόλεις τε μικρὰς οἶδα τιμώσας θεοῦς,
 αἱ μειζόνων κλύουσι δυσσεβεστέρων
 λόγῃς ἀριθμῷ πλείονος κρατούμεναι.

BELLEROPHON

poverty, and is pained moreover by thinking of it;³ but out of shame he rejects manual work. The absolute nobody, however, in continual misfortune, is superior inasmuch as his deprivation of good keeps him unaware of it, being in constant misfortune and evilly situated. Best therefore to have no experience of good things! For this is what I remember—what I too once was like among men when I had good fortune in my life.⁴ 15

³ The Greek expression is foreign to Euripides' idiom and much doubted; Bothe gives 'poverty, where he is pained by thinking of it', Schmidt 'poverty which he bears with pain', Curnis 'is pained inside his heart', Milo 'is pained inside as he bears it'. Stobaeus' text in both places is corrupt. ⁴ Cf. F 310 and Homer, *Iliad* 6.155-99 (Introduction above).

286

BELLEROPHON

Does then anyone say there are gods in heaven? There are not, there are not, if a man is willing not to give foolish credence to the ancient story. Consider for yourselves, don't form an opinion on the basis of my words! I say that tyranny kills very many men and deprives them of possessions, and that tyrants break oaths in sacking cities; and in doing this they prosper more than those who day by day quietly practise piety. I know too of small cities honouring the gods which are subject to greater, more impious ones because they are dominated by more numerous arms. I 5
10

EURIPIDES

οἶμαι δ' ἂν ὑμᾶς, εἴ τις ἀργὸς ὢν θεοῖς
εὐχοῖτο καὶ μὴ χειρὶ συλλέγοι βίον

< >

15 τὰ θεῖα πυργούσ' αἰ κακαί τε συμφοραί . . .

[Justin], *On Monarchy* 5.6, following citation of F 286b.7

14–15 lacuna marked by Grotius (see note opposite); others emend 15.

286b (= 292 N)

πρὸς τὴν νόσον τοι καὶ τὸν ἰατρὸν χρεῶν
ιδόντ' ἀκείσθαι, μὴ ἐπιτάξ τὰ φάρμακα
διδόντ', εἰ μὴ ταῦτα τῇ νόσῳ πρέπη.

νόσοι δὲ θνητῶν αἰ μὲν εἰς' αὐθαίρετοι,
5 αἰ δ' ἐκ θεῶν πάρεσιν, ἀλλὰ τῷ νόμῳ
ἰώμεθ' αὐτάς. ἀλλ', ὅ σοι λέξαι θέλω,
εἰ θεοί τι δρῶσιν αἰσχρόν, οὐκ εἰσὶν θεοί.

Stobaeus 4.36.7; vv. 1–3: Stob. 4.36.5; v. 7: Plutarch, *Moralia*
21a and 1049f, [Justin], *On Monarchy* 5.6

2 ἀκείσθαι Stob. 4.36.5: ἰᾶσθαι 4.36.7 ἐπιτάξ Nauck:
ἐπιτακτὰ Stob. 5 ἀλλὰ τῷ νόμῳ obelized by Diggle

6 lacuna of two half-lines after αὐτάς C. W. Müller ἀλλ', ὅ
West: ἀλλὰ Stob. 7 αἰσχρόν Stob., Plut. 1049f: φαῦλον

Plut. 21a (φλαῦρον some mss.), [Justin]

¹ Translation of Nauck's textual emendation as 'continually' or 'summarily' rather than 'by rote' also has ancient support. Stobaeus' text yields 'giving prescribed remedies'. ² This famously difficult fragment was illuminated by C. W. Müller, *RhM* 136 (1993), 116–21 and W. Luppe in C. F. Collatz et al. (eds.),

BELLEROPHON

think that, if someone lazy were to pray to the gods for a living and not gather it by hand,¹ you would . . . (*text lost*) . . . they exaggerate divine powers tower-high, and their bad disasters . . .²

¹ This may rely on the identity of the Chorus as farmers: see Introduction. Piety is correlated with industrious farmwork in *Electra* 79–81, cf. *Hippolytus Veiled* F 432.2. ² The loss of text makes translation of 15 unsafe; the sense may be '(missing subject) exaggerate divine powers tower-high, as do bad disasters'; for the expression cf. *Bacchae* 887 'magnify the gods'. Perhaps 15 belongs elsewhere (Collard). The whole fragment is interpreted at length by C. Riedweg, *ICS* 15 (1990), 39–53.

286b (= 292 N)

As to illness, a doctor too must cure it after examining it, not by giving remedies by rote,¹ in case these do not suit the illness. Human illnesses are some of them self-inflicted, others come from the gods, but we treat them by the rule of practice. This is what I want to say to you, however: if gods do anything shameful, they are not gods.² 5

Dissertationunculae criticae. Festschrift . . . Hansen (Würzburg, 1998), 123–6. The speaker argues that self-inflicted diseases can, and should only, be treated by men and method (v. 2, and v. 5 'by the rule of practice'), while only gods can cure the afflictions which gods themselves cause—and if they do not cure men who revere them, they are not gods (cf. Sophocles, *Philoctetes* 451–2). The relation and progression of the medical analogy ('As to . . . of practice') to the main point ('This is what etc.') is unclear; textual corruption has been supposed (in 'by the rule of practice', Diggle) or loss of text between them conjectured (most lately by Müller). Kannicht moved the fragment closer to F 285 on ground of its affinity.

EURIPIDES

287

*τοῖς πράγμασιν γὰρ οὐχὶ θυμοῦσθαι χρεών·
μέλει γὰρ αὐτοῖς οὐδέν· ἀλλ' οὐντυγχάνων
τὰ πράγματ' ὀρθῶς ἦν τιθῆ, πρᾶσσει καλῶς.*

Stobaeus 4.13.14b and 4.44.39, Plutarch, *Moralia* 467a, [Plutarch], *Life of Homer* 153; vv. 1–2: M. Aurelius Antoninus 7.38 and (v. 1 only) 11.6

288

<ΒΕΛΛΕΡΟΦΟΝΤΗΣ?>

*δόλοι δὲ καὶ σκοτεινὰ μηχανήματα
χρείας ἄνανδρα φάρμαχ' ἠῦρηται βροτοῖς.*

Stobaeus 3.8.1

2 ἄνανδρα Herwerden: ἀνάνδρου Stob.

289

<ΒΕΛΛΕΡΟΦΟΝΤΗΣ?>

*νείκη γὰρ ἀνδρῶν φόνια καὶ μάχας χρεῶν
δόλοισι κλέπτειν· τῆς δ' ἀληθείας ὁδὸς
φαύλη τίς ἐστι· ψεύδεσιν δ' Ἄρης φίλος.*

Stobaeus 4.13.20

1 χρεῶν Meineke: χερῶν Stob.

290

<ΒΕΛΛΕΡΟΦΟΝΤΗΣ?>

*ἀεὶ γὰρ ἄνδρα σκαιὸν ἰσχυρὸν φύσει
ἦσσον δέδοικα τὰσθενούς τε καὶ σοφοῦ.*

Stobaeus 4.13.5

BELLEROPHON

287

One should not get angry at circumstances: they have no concern for anything; but if the person encountering them deals with them correctly, he comes off well.

288

<BELLEROPHON?>

Men have invented underhand means and dark devices as unmanly remedies for need.¹

¹ Stobaeus translates with difficulty, 'as remedies for cowardly need'.

289

<BELLEROPHON?>

Men's bloody feuds and battles should be settled by underhand means. The path of truth is a feeble one, and War is a friend to lies.¹

¹ Most editors suggest Bellerophon as the speaker, in particular A.-M. Mesturini, *Helikon* 20-21 (1980-1), 301-7, who postpones the fragment (together with F 285 and 286b, remarkably) to his words at play-end.

290

<BELLEROPHON?>

I always fear a stupid man with natural strength less than a weak and clever one.

EURIPIDES

291

ὦ παῖ, νέων τοι δρᾶν μὲν ἔντονοι χέρες,
 γνῶμαι δ' ἀμείνους εἰσὶ τῶν γεραιτέρων·
 ὁ γὰρ χρόνος δίδαγμα ποικιλώτατον.

Stobaeus 4.50.2; vv. 1–2 paraphrased by Cornutus, *Compendium of Greek Theology* 31; v. 2 = [Menander], *Monostichs* 158 Jaekel

1 ἔντονοι Stob.: εὔτονοι Nauck (εὐτονώτεροι χέρες Cornutus)

(292 N = 286b above)

293

τιμὴ σ' ἐπαίρει τῶν πέλας μείζον φρονεῖν.
 < >
 θνήσκοιμ' ἄν· οὐ γὰρ ἄξιον λεύσσειν φάος
 κακοῦς ὁρῶντας ἐκδίκως τιμωμένους.

Stobaeus 4.42.1; lacuna marked by Meineke, who considered vv. 1 and 2–3 separate fragments: see note opposite.

1 μείζον Cobet: μάλλον Stob.

294

φθονούσιν αὐτοὶ χείρονες πεφυκότες·
 εἰς τὰπίσημα δ' ὁ φθόνος πηδᾶν φιλεῖ.

Stobaeus 3.38.13 mss. MA; ms. S has only v. 2, attached to 3.38.12; v. 2 is repeated by ms. M after 3.38.18; Meineke and Hense considered vv. 1 and 2 separate fragments.

BELLEROPHON

291

My son, young men's hands are eager¹ for action, true, but the judgement of their elders is better; for time's teaching is the most subtle.

¹ Or 'well-strung' (Nauck, cf. Cornutus). The thought here is proverbial: cf. *Melanippe* F 508 with note.

(292 N = 286b above)

293

Privilege stirs you to despise your neighbours . . . (*text lost*)
. . . If so, I'd gladly die; for it's not worth people's living when they see bad men unjustly privileged.¹

¹ Even if vv. 1 and 2-3 are given to different speakers (*Matthiae*), there is no obvious sequence of thought.

294

They are envious, being naturally inferior themselves; envy usually leaps upon distinction.

EURIPIDES

295

ἤδη γὰρ εἶδον καὶ δίκης παραστάτας
ἔσθλους πονηρῶ τῷ φθόνῳ νικωμένους.

Stobaeus 3.38.19

296

ἀνὴρ δὲ χρηστὸς χρηστὸν οὐ μισεῖ ποτε,
κακὸς κακῷ δὲ συντέτηκεν ἡδονῇ·
φιλεῖ δὲ θουμόφυλον ἀνθρώπουσ ἄγειν.

Stobaeus 2.33.2; v. 1 = [Menander], *Monostichs* 29 Jaekel; v. 2:
Aristotle, *Eudemian Ethics* 1238a34 and 1239b22, cf. [Aristotle],
Magna Moralia 1209b36

297

ὡς ἔμφυτος μὲν πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις κάκη
ὅστις δὲ πλείστον μισθὸν εἰς χεῖρας λαβῶν
κακὸς γένηται, τῷδε συγγνώμη μὲν οὐ,
πλείω δὲ μισθὸν μείζονος τόλμης ἔχων
5 τὸν τῶν ψεγόντων ῥῆον ἂν φέροι λόγον.

Stobaeus 3.10.17

2 πλείστον suspect: μικρὸν Heath: μείω Jouan
5 ψεγόντων . . . λόγον Jacobs: λεγόντων . . . ψόγον Stobaeus

BELLEROPHON

295

In the past I've seen even honourable supporters¹ of justice overcome by that base thing, envy.

¹ A military term (*Children of Heracles* 88, 125) used metaphorically.

296

A good man never hates a good man, and a bad one is pleased to merge with bad. Kinship usually attracts men.

297

Cowardice is innate in all men. Whoever takes a great deal of pay into his hands and proves cowardly, is not condoned; but if he had more pay for greater audacity, he would endure men's censorious talk more easily.¹

¹ The conjectures 'little' or 'rather little' (pay) in v. 2 create a simpler but much flatter contrast.

EURIPIDES

298

οὐκ ἂν γένοιτο τραῦμ', εἴαν τις ἐγξέση
θάμνους ἐλείους, οὐδ' ἂν ἐκ μητρὸς κακῆς
ἔσθλοὶ γένοιτο παῖδες εἰς ἀλκὴν δορός.

Stobaeus 4.30.10

1 τραῦμ', εἴαν τις Nauck: τραῦμα εἰ Stob.: τραύματ' ἦν
Hense; ἐγξέση Heath: ἐγξύση Stob. 2 θάμνους ἐλείους
Stob.: θάλλους ἐλείους Cropp: θαλλοῖς ἐλαίας Diels, Housman

299

πρὸς τὴν ἀνάγκην πάντα τᾶλλ' ἔστ' ἀσθενῆ.

Stobaeus 1.4.2b

300

<ΒΕΛΛΕΡΟΦΟΝΤΗΣ>

οἴμοι· τί δ' οἴμοι; θνητά τοι πεπόνθαμεν.

Diogenes Laertius 4.26, Suda οἰ 101, Plutarch, *Moralia* 475c,
Synesius, *Letters* 126

301

ὄρᾱς δ' ἀέλπτους μυρίων ἀναστροφάς·
πολλοὶ μὲν οἶδμα διέφυγον θαλάσσιον,
πολλοὶ δὲ λόγχαις πολεμίων ἀμείνονες
ἦσσοις γεγῶτες κρείσσοι' ἦλθον εἰς τύχην.

Stobaeus 4.47.11

1 ἀέλπτους Nauck: -ων Stob. 2 lacuna after v. 2, Kannicht

BELLEROPHON

298

No wounding would come of it if one whittles in marshy thickets, and a bad mother wouldn't bear fine sons for spear-fighting.¹

¹Apparently: as trimmed sapwood from a marsh will yield no spear-shafts sturdy enough to wound, so poor breeding-stock will mother no sons sturdy enough to stand their ground in battle. The conjectures cited for v. 2 attempt to reinforce the first image ('whittles marshy shoots' Cropp, 'whittles with shoots of olive' Diels, Housman). Jouan thinks a proverb may link the two halves, citing *Children of Heracles* 684 'sight (of an enemy) produces no wound if hands do not act'.

299

In the face of necessity everything else is weak.

300

<BELLEROPHON>

Oh me—but why 'Oh me'? For sure, my suffering is human.

301

You see unexpected reversals for countless men: many escape the swelling sea; and many better than their enemies with the spear have been defeated, but come to greater fortune.¹

¹ Text and translation insecure; v. 1 may mean 'unexpected reversals in countless things' or, with Stobaeus, 'reversals in countless unexpected things'. Some editors think the first term of the antithesis (v. 2) is incomplete, and Kannicht suggests a verse has been lost after it. The accumulation of comparatives in vv. 3-4 is suspicious.

EURIPIDES

302

θάρασος δὲ πρὸς τὰς συμφορὰς μέγα σθένει.

Stobaeus 3.7.1

303

<ΧΟΡΟΣ>

οὐδέποτ' εὐτυχίαν κακοῦ ἀνδρὸς ὑπέρφρονά τ'

ᾄλβον

βέβαιον εἰκάσαι χρεῶν,

οὐδ' ἀδίκων γενεάν· ὁ γὰρ οὐδενὸς ἐκφύς

χρόνος δικαίους ἐπάγων κανόνας

5 δείκνυσιν ἀνθρώπων κακότητος ὅμως.

Stobaeus 3.2.13; Theophilus, *To Autolytus* 2.37, omitting
δικαίους . . . κανόνας and ending at κακότητος

5 ὅμως West: ἐμοί Stob.

304

<ΧΟΡΟΣ>

ποῦ δὴ τὸ σαφὲς θνατοῖς βιοτᾶς;

θραῖσι μὲν ναυσὶ πόρον πνοαὶ

κατὰ βένθος †ἄλιον†

ἰθύνουσι τύχας δὲ θνατῶν

τὸ μὲν μέγ' ἐς οὐδὲν ὁ πολὺς χρόνος

5 μεθίστησιν, τὸ δὲ μείον αὖξων . . .

Stobaeus 4.42.12

2 βένθος Grotius: -ous Stob. ἄλιον Stob. mss. SM: ἄλαι
ms. A: ἀλὸς Jouan (the metre is not surely identified)

BELLEROPHON

302

Courage has great strength against disasters.

303

<CHORUS>

One should never imagine a bad man's good fortune and arrogant prosperity as secure, nor the lineage of unjust men; for Time which has no father applies just standards and demonstrates mankind's villainy all the same.¹

¹ Time 'has no father' but itself fathers Justice, revealing the bad man (*Antiope* F 222; cf. on *Aeolus* F **38a). This may be the start of an ode, but which 'bad man' is meant: Iobates?

304

<CHORUS>

Where indeed is the certainty in life for mortal men?
Winds steer a path for swift ships over the †ocean's† deep;
but as for mortals' fortunes, time in its length changes what
is great to nothing, and by increasing what is less . . .

EURIPIDES

304a (= *Alcmeon in Psophis* F 68 N)

<ΜΕΓΑΠΕΝΘΗΣ?>

μητέρα κατέκτα τὴν ἐμήν· βραχὺς λόγος.

<—>

ἐκὼν ἐκούσαν ἢ <οὐ> θέλουσαν οὐχ ἐκὼν;

Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics* 1136a13 and two late commentators on Aristotle; assigned to *Bellerophon* by Wagner, earlier to *Alcmeon* by Welcker.

305

καὶ ξεστὸν ὄχθον Δαναϊδῶν ἐδρασμάτων
στὰς ἐν μέσοισιν εἶπε κηρύκων . . .

Schol. on Euripides, *Orestes* 872

1-2 κάς ξεστὸν . . . στὰς, Ellis 2 κηρύκων <ὑπο>
Cobet

306

<ΒΕΛΛΕΡΟΦΟΝΤΗΣ>

ἄγ', ὦ φίλον μοι Πηγάσου ταχὺ πτερόν . . .

Schol. on Aristophanes, *Peace* 76b (cf. *Peace* 135), Suda ε 1897

BELLEROPHON

304a (= *Alcmeon in Psophis* F 68 N)

<MEGAPENTHES?>

He killed my mother; it's briefly said.

<—>

Willingly, and with her will, or unwillingly, and against her will?¹

¹ 'My mother' will be Stheneboea. For the problematic ascription of this and the next fragment see the Introduction and especially A. Carlini, *Studi Classici e Orientali* 14 (1965), 201–5, cf. Carlini in M. Cannatà Fera, S. Grandolini (eds.), *Poesia e Religione in Grecia. Studi . . . Privitera* (Naples, 2000), 179–84. The verbal conceit in v. 2 was a Euripidean foible.

305

. . . and the chiselled stone of the lofty Argive tribunal, he stood in their midst and spoke (at the) heralds' (word) . . .¹

¹ The fragment as transmitted seems to be the end of a sentence (but Ellis made it a beginning with 'Standing at the . . . tribunal, he spoke in the heralds' midst . . .'); '(at the) heralds' (word)' translates Cobet's conjecture, i.e. after they proclaimed silence as Talthybius does at *Hecuba* 531.

F 306–8 have Bellerophon preparing to fly heavenwards, on the theatrical 'crane':

306

<BELLEROPHON>

Come, my dear Pegasus with your swift wings . . .

EURIPIDES

307, **307a, 308

<ΒΕΛΛΕΡΟΦΟΝΤΗΣ>

307 ἴθι χρυσοχάλιν' αἴρων πτέρυγας . . .

* * *

**307a σπεῦδ', ὦ ψυχή . . .

* * *

308 πάρες, ὦ σκιερὰ φυλλάς, ὑπερβῶ
κρηναῖα νάπη· τὸν ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς
αἰθέρ' ἰδέσθαι σπεύδω, τίν' ἔχει
στάσιω εὐοδίας.

F 307: Schol. on Aristophanes, *Peace* 154d F **307a:
Aristophanes, *Wasps* 756 (separated from F 308 by Wilamowitz)
F 308: Aristophanes, *Wasps* 757 (v. 1) and Schol. on 757b (vv. 1-4)

309

ἔπτησσο' ὑπέικων μᾶλλον †ἢ μᾶλλον θέλοισι†

Plutarch, *Moralia* 529e and 807e

ἦ: εἰ a few mss. at Plut. 529e, Nauck: ἦ Munro second
μᾶλλον omitted by Plut. 529e and most mss. at 807e

309a

τῷ δ' ἐξ ὑδρηλῶν αἰθέρος προσφθεγμάτων . . .

Herodian, *General Prosody* ms. Vienna Hist. Gr. 10.5 ed. H.
Hunger (1967)

ὑδρηλῶν Diggle: ὑδρηρῶν Herodian

BELLEROPHON

307, **307a, 308

<BELLEROPHON>

(307) Go, my golden-bridled one, lift your wings . . .
(*307a) Hurry, my heart! . . . (308) Give way, shadowy foliage! Let me cross the valleys with their springs! I hurry to see what state the sky overhead has for a good journey.¹

¹ It was to become rainy: F 309a with note.

The next two fragments appear to come from a description of Bellerophon's flight, either his own or a messenger's:

309

(Pegasus) crouched yielding more . . . (*text corrupt*) . . .¹

¹ Possibly 'if ever he (Pegasus) was more willing' (Nauck); or 'where he (Bellerophon) preferred' (Munro).

309a

. . . but for Pegasus, beneath heaven's watery greetings . . .¹

¹ Rain—perhaps after Zeus maddens the horse (Jouan).

EURIPIDES

310 (= 311 N)

<ΒΕΛΛΕΡΟΦΟΝΤΗΣ?>

ἦσθ' εἰς θεοὺς μὲν εὐσεβής, ὅτ' ἦσθ', ἀεὶ
ξένοις τ' ἐπήρκεις οὐδ' ἔκαμνες εἰς φίλους.

Aelian, *Nature of Animals* 5.34

311 (= 310 N)

κομίζετ' εἴσω τόνδε τὸν δυσδαίμονα.

Schol. on Aristophanes, *Knights* 1249a

κομίζετ': κυλίνδετ' Aristophanes in 1249

312

ὕφ' ἄρματ' ἐλθὼν Ζηνὸς ἀστραπηφορεῖ.

Schol. on Aristophanes, *Peace* 722 and Schol. on Hesiod, *Theogony* 286

ἀστραπηφορεῖ Schol. Ar.: ἀστραπήν φέρει Schol. Hes.

BELLEROPHON

310 (= 311 N)

<BELLEROPHON?¹>

You were always reverent towards the gods, when you lived, and stoutly helped strangers, and did not fail for your friends.¹

¹ The dying Bellerophon addresses his 'soul' heroically (so Aelian, the source—but Milo 309–10 suggests someone else may have addressed the words to him): contrast F **307a. His imminent death restores him to piety: contrast F 286.

311 (= 310 N)

Carry this ill-fated man inside.¹

¹ For such a 'stage-direction' cf. *Stheneboea* F 671. Aristophanes' 'wheel' for 'carry' makes fun of Euripides' perceived indulgence in stage machinery: here (by implication) the wheeled platform (*eccyclema*), earlier the 'crane' for Pegasus (F 306–8).

312

(Pegasus) is harnessed to Zeus's chariot and carries his lightning.¹

¹ See Introduction. This future for Pegasus occurs as early as Hesiod, *Theogony* 285–6; cf. Pindar, *Olympians* 13.92.

BUSIRIS

Pechstein 123-40; Krumeich 413-9; H. Van Looy in ed. Budé VIII.2.37-44.

LIMC III.i.147-52 'Bousiris'; Gantz 418.

*Busiris was a cruel tyrant in 'Egypt' (i.e. the savage East). His habit was to sacrifice strangers to the gods (like the barbarous Thoas in Iphigenia in Tauris). Heracles came to Egypt after recovering the golden apples of the Hesperides, was fettered by Busiris for sacrifice, but broke free and killed the tyrant and his son. These details are found in Pherecydes FGrH 3 F 17, and more fully in Apollodorus 2.5.11 (neither with attribution to Euripides; both = test. *iii b below; cf. Gantz). The popularity of this story is proved by the survival of twenty or so vase-paintings from the mid-6th to the early 4th centuries B.C., concentrated in the 5th, which show the death of Busiris. Scholars single out LIMC no. 9, a Caeretan hydria of c. 530 B.C. showing Heracles killing Busiris' men and the tyrant himself in bonds, and LIMC no. 2, an Attic red-figure cup of c. 450 B.C. whose outside has Heracles in bonds being taken by black men (i.e. 'Egyptians') to Busiris while its inside shows Heracles with a satyr: for both see TrGF 5.369. The words 'golden apples' and 'satyrs' in the very scrappy hypothesis P. Oxy. 3651 (= test. iiiia) seem to confirm the*

BUSIRIS

above plot, but nothing further can be known. F 313 gives no clue, for the word 'slave' there only reflects the self-portrayal of satyrs common in their plays, e.g. Eurystheus F 375, Cyclops 31.

Brief fragments: F 312b 'O deity' (or 'O . . . of the deity': the play's opening words, from the hypothesis), F 314 'offer a holy sacrifice', F 315 'making exact'; F 313a² is missing except for a damaged heading in Stobaeus. Other proposed ascriptions: F 879, 907 (also ascribed to Syleus), 955h (see note there); adesp. F 33 (Heracles' 'blazing eyes').

Krumeich 416-7 wonders whether the 'satyric' Heracles of the Attic cup reflects Euripides' Busiris; if so, it will have been one of his earliest productions. No other satyr-play with this subject is known, but there were five comedies entitled Busiris in the 5th and 4th centuries. For Isocrates' propaedeutic 'speech' Busiris (4th. c.) and its mythical and contemporary background, see N. Livingstone, *A Commentary on Isocrates' Busiris* (Leiden, 2001), 73-90, especially 80-1 on Euripides.

ΒΟΥΣΙΡΙΣ

test. iiib

ὁ δὲ ἔρχεται . . . ἐπὶ τὰ χρυσᾶ μῆλα. ἀφικόμενος δὲ εἰς
Ταρτησσοῦν, πορεύεται εἰς Λιβύην, ἔνθα ἀναιρεῖ Ἀνταῖον
τὸν Ποσειδῶνος, ὑβριστὴν ὄντα. εἶτα ἀφικνεῖται ἐπὶ τὸν
Νεῖλον εἰς Μέμφιν παρὰ Βούσιριν τὸν Ποσειδῶνος, ὃν
κτείνει καὶ τὸν παῖδα αὐτοῦ Ἰφιδάμαντα καὶ τὸν κήρυκα
Χάλβην καὶ τοὺς ὀπάοντας πρὸς τῷ βωμῷ τοῦ Διός, ἔνθα
ἔξενοκτόνει.

Pherecydes *FrGH* 3 F 17 (from Schol. on Apollonius of
Rhodes 4.1396–9b); slightly expanded in Apollodorus 2.5.11

(312a N–Sn = *Lamia* F 472m)

313

δούλω γὰρ οὐχ οἶόν τε τᾶληθῆ λέγειν,
εἰ δεσπότησι μὴ πρόποντα τυγχάνοι.

Stobaeus 4.19.24

BUSIRIS

test. iiib

(Heracles) goes . . . after the golden apples (of the Hesperides). Reaching Tartessus he makes his way to Libya, where he kills Poseidon's son Antaeus, who was wantonly violent. Then he comes to the Nile and Memphis, to Poseidon's son Busiris, whom he kills with his son Iphidamas, his herald Chalbes, and his servants, at Zeus's altar where Busiris put strangers to death . . .

(312a N-Sn = *Lamia F 472m*)

313

It is not possible for a slave to speak the truth if it happens not to suit his master (*or* 'if things happen which may not suit his master').

DANAE

H. Van Looy in ed. Budé VIII.2.47–71; I. Karamanou, *Euripides. Danae and Dictys* (Munich–Leipzig, 2006).

Webster 94–5; Aéliion (1986) 151–7; *LIMC* III.i.325–37 ‘Danae’; Gantz 299–303; Huys, *The Tale*, relevant sections.

Danae was the virgin daughter of Acrisius, a king of Argos. Because he had no sons, he consulted an oracle and was prophesied death at the hands of his daughter's son; he therefore shut Danae into an underground room to prevent men's access. Zeus however inseminated her after changing himself into a shower of gold and so entering the chamber. The baby was Perseus, the future slayer of the Gorgon and rescuer of Andromeda (see Andromeda above). Unaware of this parentage, Acrisius in his anger and fear set mother and child adrift in a chest, but they came safely ashore on the island of Seriphos, south of the Attic promontory. This is the myth's outline in Apollodorus 2.4.1, probably derived from Pherecydes, FGrH 3 F 10 (early 5th c.) as paraphrased by the Scholia on Apollonius of Rhodes 4.1091 (TrGF 5, 371; cf. Gantz). John Malalas (test. ii below) says of Euripides' plot only (and differently from above) that Acrisius put Danae in the chest because she had been raped by Zeus. Danae and Perseus afloat in

the chest were evoked by the 6th c. lyric poet Simonides (F 543 PMG), and Aeschylus dramatized some of Perseus' adventures (see Dictys, Introduction). Euripides continued the story of Danae and Perseus in Dictys. Myth had it that Acrisius indeed lost his life at Perseus' hands, but long afterwards, and accidentally during an athletic contest.

Although almost all the fragments are sententious, some can be located well enough in Apollodorus. F 316-8 relate to Acrisius' longing for sons; he addresses his wife (F 316). F 320 and perhaps 321 concern his fears of Danae's conceiving a child, no doubt after learning the prophecy (F 330a has the one word 'oracle': for this recurrent narrative motif see Huys, The Tale 130). F 322, certainly 324 and probably 325-8 seem to relate to the discovery of gold in Danae's prison chamber. In F 323 Danae(?) is fantasizing to her father about the joy a baby would bring her; this could be either after the oracle is known or after Zeus has visited her. The mention of Danae's nurse by Pherecydes, and her appearance on an Attic hydria of about 430 B.C. approaching Danae after the shower of gold (LIMC no. 6), have prompted suggestions that the two women attempted to conceal the incident, and possibly also the baby, from Acrisius (a common motif, cf. Aeolus, Alope, Auge etc.; see Karamanou 24-9, who adduces F 321 on women's guile). The chorus was of women, who delivered F 329 and possibly F 319; Pollux 4.111 (test. iii below) says that Euripides used them like the chorus of a comedy, to speak in a male voice out of the play directly to the audience. F 330 may be a reflection near the play's end on its ups and downs. While the setting adrift was perhaps reported (by a messenger?), it is wholly uncertain whether the coming ashore on Seriphos, or Perseus' destiny, was prophesied by a god

DANAE

(see especially Karamanou 20–2). The Byzantine 'hypothesis' which precedes the spurious beginning of the play in F 1132 (printed below after the genuine fragments) gives as its final details that the Nereids out of pity put the chest into the nets of Seriphian fishermen, and so both mother and baby were saved for Perseus to grow to manhood; but whether this derives from an authentic ancient hypothesis is an unresolved question (see introductory note on F 1132 below).

Brief fragments: F 325a 'exceptional' (see note on F 325), F 330a 'oracle' (see above). Other ascriptions: F 1007e+f (cf. F 317); F 1061 (cf. F 320).

Some of the plot's presumable motifs are frequent in myth and in tragedy of all dates, in Euripides especially, e.g. death prophesied at the hand of a descendant and its avoidance attempted (cf. *Catreus in Cretan Women*), or an infant with a great destiny rescued along with his mother against the odds (e.g. *Telephus in Auge*).

The metrical criteria indicate a date anywhere between 455 and 425 (Cropp–Fick 78). It is impossible to know the relation in time between this play and Sophocles' *Danae* and *Acrisius* (their fragments may in fact all belong to a single play, whether tragedy or satyr-drama). Greek comedy exploited both the golden Zeus and the sea-chest, notably in *Eubulus' Danae* (4th c.). Livius Andronicus and Naevius produced early Latin adaptations. The rape of *Danae* by Zeus became a favourite subject for painters (LIMC nos. 1–36), and for artists of all kinds into the modern period (OGCMA I.319–22).

ΔΑΝΑΗ

test. ii

. . . Δανάης . . . περι ἧς ἐμυθολόγησεν Εὐριπίδης ὁ σοφώτατος ἐν τῇ συντάξει τοῦ αὐτοῦ δράματος ἐν κιβωτίῳ τινὶ βληθεῖσαν καὶ ριφείσαν τὴν Δανάην, ὡς φθαρεῖσαν ὑπὸ Διὸς μεταβληθέντος εἰς χρυσόν.

John Malalas, *Chronicles* 2.11 Thurn = 2.13 Jeffreys-Scott

test. iii

τῶν δὲ χορικῶν ἁσμάτων τῶν κωμικῶν ἔν τι καὶ ἡ παράβασις, ὅταν ἂ ὁ ποιητὴς πρὸς τὸ θέατρον βούλεται λέγειν, ὁ χορὸς παρελθὼν λέγει. ἐπιεικῶς δ' αὐτὸ ποιούσιν οἱ κωμωδοποιηταί, τραγικὸν δ' οὐκ ἔστιν. ἀλλ' Εὐριπίδης αὐτὸ πεποίηκεν ἐν πολλοῖς δράμασιν. ἐν μὲν γε τῇ Δανάῃ τὸν χορὸν {τὰς γυναῖκας} ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τι ποιήσας παράδειν, ἐκλαθόμενος ὡς ἄνδρας λέγειν ἐποίησε τῷ σχήματι τῆς λέξεως τὰς γυναῖκας.

Pollux 4.111

DANAE

test. ii

Danae . . . The very learned Euripides told the myth about her in the plot of the same play, that she was put into a chest and thrown (into the sea), because she had been violated by Zeus transformed into gold.

test. iii

One part too of the choral songs of comedy is the parabasis, when the chorus comes forward and says what the poet wishes to say to the theatre audience. The comic poets do this with good reason, but it is not tragic practice; yet Euripides has done it in many plays—indeed, in the *Danae*, when he made the chorus come forward and sing something on his own account, he forgot himself and made the women talk like men in the manner of their diction.¹

¹ Cf. Schol. on the choral ode *Alcestis* 962–1005, at 962, ‘the poet wishes to show, through the *persona* of the chorus, how large a share in education he himself had’ (the issue is discussed by D. Bain, *CQ* 25 [1975], 14–15); ‘in the manner of their diction’ has suggested to some scholars that Euripides may have used masculine participles for the women, as some editors allege in the disputed text and voice-division of the ode *Hippolytus* 1102–52. Nothing of such a choral passage survives in the fragments of *Danae*.

EURIPIDES

316

< ΑΚΡΙΣΙΟΣ >

- γύναι, καλὸν μὲν φέγγος ἡλίου τόδε,
 καλὸν δὲ πόντου χεῦμ' ἰδεῖν εὐήμεμον,
 γῆ τ' ἠρινὸν θάλλουσα πλούσιόν θ' ὕδωρ,
 πολλῶν τ' ἔπαινον ἔστι μοι λέξαι καλῶν
 5 ἀλλ' οὐδὲν οὕτω λαμπρὸν οὐδ' ἰδεῖν καλὸν
 ὡς τοῖς ἄπαισι καὶ πόθῳ δεδηγμένοις
 παίδων νεογνῶν ἐν δόμοις ἰδεῖν φάος.

Stobaeus 4.24.5

1 καλὸν Herwerden: φίλον Stob.

317

- καὶ νῦν παραινῶ πᾶσι τοῖς νεωτέροις
 μὴ πρὸς τὸ γῆρας ἀναβολὰς ποιουμένους
 σχολῇ τεκνοῦσθαι παῖδας—οὐ γὰρ ἡδονή,
 γυναικί τ' ἐχθρὸν χρήμα πρεσβύτης ἀνῆρ—
 5 ἀλλ' ὡς τάχιστα· καὶ γὰρ ἐκτροφαὶ καλαὶ
 καὶ συννεάζων ἡδὺ παῖς νέφ πατρί.

Stobaeus 4.22.155; v. 2 is adapted in Menander F 198.8 PCG

2 ἀναβολὰς Körte (from Menander): τοὺς γάμους Stob.

318

- γυνὴ γὰρ ἐξελθοῦσα πατρῶων δόμων
 οὐ τῶν τεκόντων ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ τοῦ λέχους·
 τὸ δ' ἄρσεν ἔστηκε' ἐν δόμοις αἰεὶ γένος
 θεῶν πατρῶων καὶ τάφων τιμάορον.

Stobaeus 4.22.148 and 4.24.34

328

DANAE

316

<ACRISIUS>

Wife, this sunlight is beautiful to see,¹ as beautiful as the sea's flow in a calm, and the earth flowering in spring, and water rich with fertility;² and I can speak the praise of many beautiful things—but nothing is so brilliant or beautiful to see as is the light of newborn children for those to see in their houses who are childless and gnawed by long-
ing. 5

¹ Herwerden's 'beautiful' in v. 1 gives a fuller unity to the passage's repeated theme of beauty than Stobaeus's 'precious'. The passage is a 'priamel', in which illustrative analogies precede the statement to be illustrated; F 1059 is a good example, and F 320 below one in miniature; F 324 and 330 are less formal in style.

² Praise of rivers' enriching fertility was common.

317

And now I advise all younger men not to delay until old age and be leisurely in fathering children—for it gives no pleasure, and an elderly husband is a hateful thing to a wife¹—but (to do it) as soon as possible. For rearing children is truly good, and a son who shares his youth with a young father is a pleasing thing. 5

¹ For the thought cf. *Aeolus* F 23, *Phoenix* F 804 with note.

318

When a woman has left her ancestral home she belongs not to her parents but to her marriage-bed; but male children stand always in a house to protect ancestral gods and tombs.¹

¹ A similar sentiment at *Iphigenia in Tauris* 57.

EURIPIDES

319

<ΧΟΡΟΣ?>

συμμαρτυρῶ σοι πανταχοῦ λελείμμεθα
πᾶσαι γυναῖκες ἀρσένων αἰεὶ δίχα.

Stobaeus 4.22.174

320

οὐκ ἔστιν οὔτε τείχος οὔτε χρήματα
οὔτ' ἄλλο δυσφύλακτον οὐδὲν ὡς γυνή.

Stobaeus 4.23.13 (but at 4.22.154 attributed to Alexis, fr. dub.
340 PCG)

321

ἦν γὰρ τις αἴνος, ὡς γυναιξὶ μὲν τέχναι
μέλουσι, λόγῃ δ' ἄνδρες εὐστοχώτεροι.
εἰ γὰρ δόλοισιν ἦν τὸ νικητήριον,
ἡμεῖς ἂν ἀνδρῶν εἴχομεν τυραννίδα.

Stobaeus 4.22.172

322

ἔρωσ γὰρ ἀργὸν κἀπὶ τοιούτοις ἔφν
φιλεῖ κάτοπτρα καὶ κόμης ξανθίσματα,
φεύγει δὲ μόχθους. ἐν δέ μοι τεκμήριον
οὐδεὶς προσαιτῶν βίοτον ἠράσθη βροτῶν,
5 ἐν τοῖς δ' ἔχουσιν τήβητηστ' πέφυχ' ὄδε.

Stobaeus 4.20.30; v. 1: Plutarch, *Moralia* 757a (with allusion at
760d)

330

DANAE

319

<CHORUS?>

I support what you say: everywhere we women are in second place, always at a distance from men.¹

¹ Almost certainly a choral couplet separating two long speeches. For the idea cf. *Ino* F 401.

320

There is no wall, no wealth, nothing else so difficult to guard as a woman.

321

Now, there was a saying that artful ways are women's concern, while men achieve their aim better with the spear. So if victory's prize had lain with guile, we would possess absolute rule over men.

322

For love is naturally idle and inclined to such things: it likes mirrors and hair dyed blond, and it avoids effort. I have a single proof: no man asking for a livelihood falls in love, but this is naturally †in its prime†¹ among the rich.

¹ For 'in its prime' (unmetrical) Müller cleverly suggested 'a worker', i.e. love is active among the idle rich (v. 1) but the poor cannot entertain it.

¹ τοιούτοις Plut. 757a: τοῖς ἔργοις Stob.
unmetrical: ἐργάτης G. Müller

ἡ βητῆς is

EURIPIDES

323

<ΔΑΝΑΗ?>

τάχ' ἂν πρὸς ἀγκάλαισι καὶ στέρνοις ἐμοῖς
πίτνων ἀθύροι καὶ φιλημάτων ὄχλω
ψυχὴν ἐμὴν κτήσαιο· ταῦτα γὰρ βροτοῖς
φίλτρον μέγιστον, αἱ ξυνουσίαι, πάτερ.

Stobaeus 4.24.53

2 πίτνων (or πεσῶν) Nauck: πηδῶν Stob.

324

ᾧ χρυσέ, δεξίωμα κάλλιστον βροτοῖς,
ὡς οὔτε μήτηρ ἠδονὰς τοίας ἔχει,
οὐ παῖδες ἀνθρώποισιν, οὐ φίλος πατήρ,
οἷας σὺ χοῖ σέ δώμασιν κεκτημένοι.
5 εἰ δ' ἡ Κύπρις τοιοῦτον ὀφθαλμοῖς ὄρᾳ,
οὐ θαῦμ' ἔρωτας μυρίους αὐτὴν τρέφειν.

P. Ross. Georg. 9 (an anthology, damaged and lacking v. 4),
Stobaeus 4.31.4, Athenaeus 4.159b; vv. 1-4: Sextus Empiricus,
Against the Experts 1.279; vv. 1-3 cited in whole or part else-
where. The fragment is 'translated' by Seneca, *Letters* 115.14
(omitting v. 4) but ascribed to Bellerophon, apparently in
Bellerophon.

3 ἀνθρώποισιν all sources, except ἐν δόμοισιν Ath.

325

κρείσσω γὰρ οὐδεὶς χρημάτων πέφυκ' ἀνὴρ,
πλὴν εἴ τις—ὅστις δ' οὗτός ἐστιν οὐχ ὀρῶ.

Stobaeus 3.10.18

2 εἴ τις . . . οὐχ ὀρῶ Stob.: εἰς τις (Porson) . . . οὐκ ἐρῶ
(Badham) Cobet

332

DANAE

323

<DANAE?>

Perhaps (he) would fall into and play in my arms and at my breast, and win my heart with a host of kisses: for these things hold the biggest spell over people, their intimacies, father.¹

¹ A fantasy of a baby son, probably from Danae; 'fall' is due to Nauck, but 'jump about, frolic' in Stobaeus is hardly less apt. For the thought in vv. 3-4 cf. *Alcmene* F 103 with note.

324

O gold, you give mortal man the finest welcome! No mother holds such pleasure for mankind,¹ nor their children, nor a loving father, as you hold for those who possess you in their houses; and if Cypris has a look like gold's in her eyes, it is no wonder she feeds countless passions.²

¹ The variant reading in Athenaeus can be defended: Euripides deliberately emphasizes the single location of family joys and the exceptional pleasure of possessing gold 'in their homes'.

² Probably Acrisius is speaking, and assuming that a rich man has somehow bribed his way past guards into Danae's prison, and left her some gold as reward or compensation (compare F 325); cf. Huys, *The Tale* 109-10. For the style of this fragment see note on F 316 above.

325

No one is born superior to money, unless (there is) someone—but who this is, I do not see.¹

¹ Cobet suggested '... except one single person—but who this is, I will not say', supposing this fragment to have been lost from Satyrus' *Life of Euripides* where *Danae* is cited for an alleged allusion to Socrates ('one single person') as 'exceptional' in his indifference to gain (this is F 325a: see Introduction, 'Brief fragments').

- ἀρ' οἴσθ' ὀθούνεχ' οἱ μὲν εὐγενεῖς βροτῶν
 πένητες ὄντες οὐδὲν ἀλφάνουσ' ἔτι,
 οἱ δ' οὐδὲν ἦσαν πρόσθεν, ὄλβιοι δὲ νῦν,
 δόξαν φέρονται τοῦ νομίσματος χάριν
 5 καὶ συμπλέκοντες σπέρμα καὶ γάμου τέκνων;
 δοῦναι δὲ πᾶς τις μᾶλλον ὀλβίῳ κακῶ
 πρόθυμός ἐστιν ἢ πένητι κάγαθῶ.
 κακὸς δ' ὁ μὴ ἔχων, οἱ δ' ἔχοντες †ὄλβιοι†.

Stobaeus 4.31.29 and (with some differences and attribution to *Hecuba*) 4.31.41

8 †ὄλβιοι†: οὐ κακοί Blaydes: οὐκέτι West: εὐγενεῖς Hense:
 verse omitted by Stobaeus 29 mss. MA

- φιλοῦσι γάρ τοι τῶν μὲν ὀλβίων βροτοὶ
 σοφοὺς †ἡγείσθαι† τοὺς λόγους, ὅταν δέ τις
 λεπτῶν ἀπ' οἴκων εὖ λέγη πένης ἀνήρ,
 γελᾶν ἐγὼ δὲ πολλάκις σοφωτέρους
 5 πένητας ἀνδρας εἰσορῶ τῶν πλουσίων
 καὶ <τοὺς> θεοῖσι μικρὰ θύοντας τέλη
 τῶν βουθυτούντων ὄντας εὐσεβεστέρους.

Stobaeus 4.33.14; vv. 6–7: Athenaeus 2.40d

2 †ἡγείσθαι† (unmetrical): τίθεσθαι Valckenaer
 6 <τοὺς> Meineke: καὶ θεοῖς μικρῶ (or -ὰ) χειρὶ θύοντας Stob.:
 θεοῖσι μικρὰ θύοντας Ath. (omitting beginning of line)

DANAE

326

Do you know why, among mankind, those of noble birth who are poor no longer get any increase, while those who were nothing before, but are prosperous now, win repute thanks to their money, and by binding together alliances for their offspring and marriages for their children?¹ 5
 Everyone is more eager to give to a bad man who is prosperous than to one who is poor and virtuous. The man without money is bad, while those who have it are †prosperous†.²

¹ For money as a guarantee of 'nobility' and good marriages cf. *Alcmene* F 95, *Erechtheus* F 362.14–15, *Thyestes* F 395.

² 'Prosperous' makes a false contrast: 'not bad' (Blaydes) suits 6–7; 'no longer (bad)' (West) echoes 3 and suits 6–7 too; for Hense's 'noble', recalling v. 1, cf. *Aeolus* F 22 with note.

327

The truth is, men usually †regard† the words of the prosperous as wise, but when some poor man from a modest house speaks well, they laugh. I often observe that poor men are wiser than the rich, however, and that those who offer small sacrifices to the gods are more reverent than those who sacrifice oxen.¹ 5

¹ With vv. 4–7 compare *Bellerophon* F 286.10–12 and F 986. In v. 1 'regard' translates both the corrupt verb in Stobaeus and Valckenaer's conjecture.

EURIPIDES

328

ὅστις δόμοις μὲν ἤδεται πληρουμένοις,
 γαστρὸς δ' ἀφαιρῶν σῶμα δύστηνος κακοῖ,
 τοῦτον νομίζω κἂν θεῶν συλᾶν βρέτη
 τοῖς φιλτάτοις τε πολέμιον πεφυκέναι.

Stobaeus 3.16.6

329

ΧΟΡΟΣ

φεῦ, τοῖσι γενναίοισιν ὡς ἀπανταχοῦ
 πρέπει χαρακτήρ χρηστὸς εἰς εὐψυχίαν.

Stobaeus 3.7.5

330

ἔς ταῦτόν ἤκειν φημὶ τὰς βροτῶν τύχας
 τῷδ', ὃν καλοῦσιν αἰθέρ', ὅστις ἔστι δῆ.
 οὔτος θέρουσ τε λαμπρὸν ἐκλάμπει σέλας,
 χειμῶνά τ' αὔξει συντιθεὶς πυκνὸν νέφος,
 5 θάλλειν τε καὶ μῆ, ζῆν τε καὶ φθίνειν ποιεῖ.
 οὔτω δὲ θνητῶν σπέρμα· τῶν μὲν εὐτυχεῖ
 λαμπρᾷ γαλήνῃ, τῶν δὲ συννέφει πάλιν,
 ζῶσιν τε σὺν κακοῖσιν, οἳ δ' ὄλβον μέτα
 φθίνουσ' ἐτείοις προσφερέϊς μεταλλαγαῖς.

Stobaeus 1.7.8

2 ὅστις ἔστι δῆ Porson: ᾧ τὰδ' ἔστι δῆ Stob.

DANAE

328

Whoever delights in a plentiful household but starves his stomach and harms his body, the wretch, I think would even plunder god's images;¹ and he is an enemy to his closest kin.

¹ I.e., rob the gods of their rich ornaments or dedications. The comparison from sacrilege is extreme.

329

CHORUS

Oh! The noble are everywhere distinguished by an excellent character for courage.¹

¹ Perhaps admiring Danae's courage.

330

I assert that men's fortunes come to the same thing as what they call the heaven here—whatever indeed it is.¹ This both shines out summer's bright gleam and gathers thick cloud to increase winter, and it makes things flourish or not, to live as well as to die. So it is with the offspring of men: some have theirs prosper in bright calm, some have theirs back under clouds again; some live with troubles, others in prosperity die away like the year's changes.² 5

¹ For the nature and naming of 'heaven' cf. F 877, 941.

² The natural cycles of fortune and nature compared: *Ino* F 415, cf. *Chrysippus* F 839.

DANAE, APPENDIX: F 1132

The following appears in a manuscript in the Vatican Library, cod. Pal. Gr. 287 (early 14th c.), fols. 174–8, added by the rubricator who immediately before had added Iphigenia at Aulis 1570–1629 (the final part of its inauthentic Byzantine ending). It has been republished most recently by Kannicht in TrGF 5.1030–4 and Karamanou (2006), 45–56, cf. 225–7. The 65 verses were first condemned by Elmsley in 1811, and were held to be ‘medieval’ until M. L. West, BICS 28 (1981), 74–6 showed that their vocabulary, style and versification point clearly to the 5th–6th c. A.D. We reproduce the ms. text except for a few minor corrections. See also the introductory note to the translation opposite.

ΔΑΝΑΗ

Ἐπιθέσις Δανάης· Ἀκρίσιος Ἄργους ὢν βασιλεὺς κατὰ
χρησμὸν δὴ τινα παῖδα Δανάην κατάκλειστον ἐν τοῖς
παρθενῶσι ἐφύλαττε καλλίστην οὖσαν· ἧς ἐρασθεὶς ὁ
Ζεὺς, ἐπεὶ οὐκ εἶχεν ὅπως μυχθείη αὐτῇ, χρυσὸς γενό-
5 μενος καὶ ῥυεὶς διὰ τοῦ τέγους εἰς τὸν κόλπον τῆς
παρθένου ἐγκύμον’ ἐποίησεν. ἐξήκοντος δὲ τοῦ χρόνου
βρέφος τὸν Περσέα ἀπέτεκε. τοῦτο μαθὼν Ἀκρίσιος εἰς

DANAE, APPENDIX: F 1132

This extraordinary confection has a disputed bearing on the plot and reconstruction of the authentic play. The play-opening (vv. 1–65) has been dated almost certainly to the 5th–6th c. A.D. on grounds of its style and versification, but there is an unresolved argument about the origin, and therefore credibility, of the ‘hypothesis’ that precedes it; this is very similar to the narrative in Lucian 78.12 telling how the Nereids rescued the chest containing Danae and the infant Perseus. W. Luppe, ZPE 87 (1991), 1–7 and 95 (1993), 65–9 argues that it goes back to the ‘Tales from Euripides’ (see General Introduction). H. Van Looy does not expressly dissent (ed. Budé VIII.2.55–8), but R. Kannicht, ZPE 90 (1992), 33–4 and TrGF 5.1030 maintains that its detail indeed derives from Lucian and cannot safely be used in reconstructing Euripides’ play.

DANAE

Hypothesis of *Danae*: Acrisius a king of Argos, responding (as he would) to some oracle, shut up his daughter Danae in her maiden’s quarters and kept watch on her; she was very beautiful. Zeus fell in love with her, and as he had no way of having intercourse with her, he changed himself into gold and poured through the roof into the maiden’s embrace, and made her pregnant. When her time came, Danae gave birth to a child, Perseus. On learning this Acrisius put both mother and baby

EURIPIDES

- κιβωτὸν ἀμφοτέρους, τὴν τε μητέρα καὶ τὸ βρέφος,
 ἐνέβαλε καὶ κελεύει ῥίπτειν κατὰ τῆς θαλάσσης. ἰδοῦσαι
 10 δὲ ταῦθ' αἱ Νηρηίδες καὶ κατελεήσασαι τὸ γεγονός,
 ἐμβάλλουσι τὸν κιβωτὸν εἰς δίκτυα Σεριφίων ἀλιέων,
 κἀντεύθεν περιεσώθη ἡ τε μήτηρ καὶ τὸ βρέφος, ὅπερ
 ἀνδρωθὲν Περσεὺς ὠνομάσθη.
- Τὰ τοῦ δράματος πρόσωπα· Ἑρμῆς Δανάη Τροφὸς
 15 Ἀκρίσιος Ἄγγελος Χορὸς Ἀθηνᾶ.

ΕΡΜΗΣ

- Δόμοι μὲν οἷδ' εὐπυργά τ' ἐρύματα χθονὸς
 οὐκ ἐν πολυχρύσοισιν ἤσκηται χλιδαῖς·
 ἀρχὴν δὲ τῶνδε καὶ θεῶν ἰδρύματα
 Ἀκρίσιος εἶληχεν τύραννος τῆσδε γῆς·
 5 Ἑλλησι δ' Ἄργος ἡ πόλις κικλήσκειται.
 οὗτος δ' ἔρωτι παιδὸς ἄρσενος σχεθεῖς
 Πυθῶδ' ἀφίκτο, καὶ λέγει Φοίβῳ τάδε·
 'πῶς ἂν γένοιτο σπέρμα παιδὸς ἐν δόμῳ,
 τίνος θεῶν βροτῶν τε πρευμενοῦς τυχῶν;'
- 10 κείνος δὲ δυσζύμβλητον ἐξήνεγκ' ὅπα·
 ἔσται μὲν ἔσται παιδὸς ἄρσενος τόκος
 οὐκ ἐξ ἐκείνου· πρῶτα γὰρ θῆλυν σπορὰν
 φῦσαι δεήσει. κατὰ πῶς κείνη ποτέ
 εὐνήν κρυφαίαν γνοῦσα καὶ μὴ γνοῦσα δὴ
- 15 ὑπόπετρον λέοντα τέξεται πατρί,
 ὃς τῆσδέ γ' ἄρξει χατέρας πολλῆς χθονός·
 τοιαῦτ' ἀκούσας Λοξίου μαντεύματα
 γάμων ἀπέχεθ'· ὅμως δέ γε τίκτει λαθῶν,
 πρὸς τοῦ παρόντος ἡμέρου νικῶμενος.

DANAE

into a chest, and ordered it thrown into the sea. The Nereids saw this and, from pity at what had happened, put the chest into the nets of fishermen of Seriphos; and then the mother was saved together with her baby, which when it reached manhood was named Perseus. 10

Characters of the play: Hermes, Danae, Nurse, Acrisius, Messenger, Chorus, Athena. 15

HERMES

This house, and the land's well-fortified bulwarks, are not fashioned with extravagant gold. Rule over them, and over the gods' shrines, belongs to Acrisius this land's sovereign; Argos is the city's name among the Greeks. Possessed by desire for a male child Acrisius went to Delphi and said to Phoebus: 'How might a son be born in my house? Whom among gods or men might I get to favour me?' The god returned words hard to comprehend: 'A male child shall come, shall come to birth, but not from that man: for first he will have to get a daughter as offspring; and then she eventually will know and not know a secret union, and bear for her father a lion beneath stone,¹ who will rule this land and much else besides.' After hearing this oracle of Loxias Acrisius refrained from having intercourse with his wife, but overcome in a moment of desire in- 5
10
15

¹ 'Lion' because Perseus was the bold and fierce son of Zeus; 'beneath stone' because conceived and born in Danae's stone-roofed prison (vv. 39-40); but Bentley altered 'lion beneath stone' to 'winged lion', to restore normal metre and create an allusion to Perseus in his winged sandals.

EURIPIDES

- 20 Δανάην δέ πως ὠνόμασε τήνδ', ὀθούνεκα
πολὺς παρῆλθεν εἰς γονὴν παίδων χρόνος.
ἐν παρθενῶσι δ' εὐθύς οἷς ἔδειματο
δίδωσιν Ἀργείαισιν ἔμφρουρον κόραις,
εἰς ἀνδρὸς ὄψιν εὐλαβούμενος μολεῖν.
- 25 εἶθ' ὡς ὁ μακρὸς ἠΰξανε ταύτην χρόνος,
καὶ κάλλος εἶχεν ἕξοχον καθ' Ἑλλάδα,
φίλτροις ἀφύκτοις Ζεὺς κατασχεθεῖς πατῆρ
εὐνή συνελθεῖν λάθρα πως ἠβούλετο.
σαφῶς δὲ πείθειν οὐκ ἔχων, εἰς μηχανὴν
- 30 τοιάνδ' ἐχώρησ', ὡς ἄπυρος χρυσὸς γεγῶς—
ποθεινὸν εἰδὼς κτήμα τοῦτο τοῖς βροτοῖς—
διὰ στέγους ρεύσειεν ἐν χερσὶν κόρης.
ἦ δ' αὖ μὴ γνοῦσα τὸν κεκρυμμένον δόλον
κόλποισι τὸν θεὸν εἰσρέοντ' ἐδέξατο.
- 35 χρόνῳ δ' ἑαυτὴν ὡς κατεῖδ' ἐγκύμονα,
εἰς θαῦμ' ἐσῆει κάζεπέπληκτο σαφῶς,
ὡς εἰς τόδ' ἦλθε, μέμψιν εὐλαβουμένη.
φυγῇ δὲ λάθρα τῆσδε γῆς ὀρμωμένην
μαθῶν πατῆρ νιν ἐγκατάκλειστον δόμοις
- 40 ὀργῇ χολωθεὶς καὶ σκότῳ κρύψας ἔχει,
τάληθές ὄψει προσκοπούμενος μαθεῖν
κἂν ταῦτ' ἀληθῆ καὶ σαφῶς ἔχοντ' ἴδη,
ἔγνωκεν ἄμφω ποντίους ἀφιέναι,
τὴν παῖδα καὶ τὸ τεχθέν. ὦν δέ γ' ἐστάλην,
- 45 μύθους Δανάη τούσδ' εὐπροσηγόρους ἄγων
ἐκ Διός, ἀφίξομαι τάχιστα σημανῶν.
ὑπηρέτην γὰρ ὄντα τᾶπεσταλμένα
πράσσειν προθύμως, ὅστις ἂν γ' ἦ νουεχῆς.

DANAE

advertently became a father. He named this daughter Danae, 20
because a great time had passed before the birth of his child.²
He at once gave her to Argive girls to guard safely in maidens'
quarters which he built, taking care that she should not come
into a man's sight. Then, after the long passage of time to her 25
adulthood, and possession of a beauty beyond all others in
Greece, father Zeus was seized by her irresistible charms and
wished somehow to lie secretly with her. Having no way to
persuade her openly, he turned to the following means: he
changed himself into unfired gold-dust—knowing that this is 30
a possession desired by men—so as to pour through the roof
into the girl's arms. Not perceiving the hidden trick Danae
welcomed the god in her embrace as he poured in. When after
a time she realised herself to be pregnant, she was astonished 35
and openly distressed that she had come to this, despite her
precautions to avoid blame. She set out to escape secretly
from Argos, but her father learned of it; enraged by anger he
shut her up in the house and kept her hidden in the dark, look- 40
ing to learn the truth through watching her.³ In case he should
see the truth and certainty of it all, he has determined to set
both mother and child loose on the sea.

As to my errand, however, with comforting words here for 45
Danae from Zeus, I will go and reveal them to her at once. It is
the part of any servant to carry out instructions eagerly, at least
if he has sense.

² A play upon Danae's name as meaning 'after a long time' (Greek *dāna-*); cf. e.g. the plays upon names at *Alexander* F 42d (Alexander), *Antiope* F 181-2 (Zethus and Amphion), *Melanippe* F *489 (Boeotus), etc. ³ Note that in this version of the story Zeus makes Danae pregnant before Acrisius imprisons her; he keeps watch to see if her lover returns.

EURIPIDES

ΧΟΡΟΣ

- 50 τίς ὁ καινοτρόπος οὔτος μῦθος
 κατ' ἐμὰν ἦκεν ἀκουάν;
 ἔνθ' ἀσπερχές μενεαίνουσα
 τοῖσδε δώμασι κοιράνου ἀμφίδοξος πελάζω
 τίς δεσπότην ἐμὴν Δανάην
 βάξις ἔχει κατὰ πτόλιν;
 55 ἦν μήποτ' ὄφελ' εἰς ὧτα φέρειν
 ὁ πρῶτος τάδε φράσαι τολμήσας,
 ὡς ἐγκύμων εἴληπται χρανθείσα λέκτροις
 ἀνδρός· πατήρ δέ μιν κλήσας
 ἐν παρθενῶσι σφραγίσι δέμας φυλάσσει.
 60 ταῦτ' ἐτήτυμα μαθεῖν θέλω.
 ἀλλ' εἰσορῶ γὰρ τύραννον χθονὸς τῆσδ'
 Ἀργείας Ἀκρίσιον πρὸ δόμων στείχοντα·
 ὀργῇ βαρύς, ὡς δόξαι, κέαρ.

ΑΚΡΙΣΙΟΣ

- 65 σὺ δ' εἰ κατ' οἴκουσ εὐνοῶν ἐτύγχανες,
 οὐκ ἄν ποτ' ἦλθες εἰς τόδε θράσους . . .

DANAE

CHORUS

(*singing*)

What extraordinary story is this that has come to my hearing? 50
It is why I am keenly eager to approach the king's house here
with my doubts. What is this rumour filling the city about my
mistress Danae? If only the first to dare voice it had never
brought it to my ears! — that she has been found pregnant 55
after a defiling union with a man;⁴ and that her father has shut
her away in the maidens' quarters and keeps her under sealed
guard. I want to know the truth of this. 60

But now I see Acrisius, this land's ruler, coming out in front
of his house; he is heavy at heart with anger, it would seem.

ACRISIUS

(*addressing a male companion*)

You there: if you really were well-intentioned towards the
house, you would never have been this bold . . . ⁵

⁴ 'Defiling union': the rumour hinted therefore at her acquiescence.
⁵ Acrisius addresses a male: not, therefore, the Chorus, who almost certainly are women (they speak of the segregated Danae as their mistress, 53), and probably not Hermes (whose message is for Danae alone, 45), unless he has taken human disguise; and yet the list of characters names only one other male, the Messenger.

DICTYS

H. Van Looy in ed. Budé VIII.2.73–92; I. Karamanou, *Euripides. Danae and Dictys* (Munich–Leipzig, 2006).

Webster 61–4; Aéliou (1983), I.263–70 and (1986), 157–60; Gantz 303–4, 309–10; *LIMC* VII.i.427–8 ‘Polydektes’, cf. III.i.325–37 ‘Danae’; I. Karamanou, *BICS* 46 (2002–03), 167–75.

The background and outline of the play are safely enough inferred from mythographers who make no express reference to Euripides (Pherecydes FGrH 3 F 10–11, and in more detail Apollodorus 2.4.2–3, duplicated in part in P. Oxy. 2536, a fragmentary commentary by Theon on Pindar, Pythians 12.14), from the fragments themselves (especially F 330b, 332, 342), and from an early 4th c. Apulian volute-crater (LIMC ‘Polydektes’ no. 6, Todisco Ap 67, Taplin no. 67).¹ The entire mythical background is reviewed by Gantz and by Karamanou (2006), 119–26.

Dictys continues Danae’s story, but many years later than the events in Danae. When the chest containing her and the infant Perseus had been cast up on Seriphos, they

¹ On this see Karamanou (2003). The identification of Perseus in a similar scene on a second and slightly earlier Apulian crater (*LIMC* ‘Danae’ no. 71, Todisco Ap 69) is quite uncertain.

DICTYS

were cared for by Dictys, probably a fisherman (his name means 'Mr. Net': see below on Aeschylus' Dictyulci), but a son nevertheless of Zeus (cf. Hesiod fr. 7 + 8), the very god who is Perseus' father. The scene was set at his hut (Webster; Kannicht in TrGF 5.382) or alternatively in front of the palace on Seriphos with the hut imagined in the foreground (Karamanou [2006], 139–41). His half-brother Polydectes became king of Seriphos, and desired Danae as his wife; but the now grown-up Perseus prevented him. Polydectes then pretended he would marry Hippodamia daughter of Oenomaus instead, and asked for wedding gifts; Perseus said he would not refuse him even the Gorgon's head as a gift, with the clear intention of using it against him. Polydectes charged him to fetch the head, no doubt thinking the challenge would kill him and leave himself free to take Danae (compare the challenge to Bellerophon to kill the Chimaera in Stheneboea). With the aid of his winged sandals and mirror Perseus speedily killed the Gorgon and returned with her head in a bag. He found Danae and Dictys in sanctuary, for Polydectes had attempted violence. They were at a god's shrine, as is narrated by Theon (above), whose damaged text however lacks the god's name (Karamanou [2003] and [2006], 155–6 argues that this was Poseidon as the sea-god who had saved them, using the Apulian crater and her extremely insecure restoration of the name in PSI 1286 fr. B.2, a collection of hypotheses). Perseus showed the head to Polydectes in front of the king's supporters, who were all turned to stone, and installed Dictys as king; just possibly Danae became his queen.

Reconstructions of the plot can offer only a sequence of likely scenes, but a context can be hazarded for some frag-

ments. F 330b, if indeed from this play, began the prologue speech, which narrated how Danae and Perseus came to Seriphos long ago; so the play's action began with a description of Polydectes' intentions for Danae. In F 331 she may express her dependence upon Dictys, and in F 332 Dictys is consoling her against Perseus' expected death when facing the Gorgon; F 344 may just belong here too. These fragments suit either Perseus' absence at the play's beginning (cf. the opening of *Heracles with the hero absent in Hades*, and especially F 332 with note), or his departure during the play; but Webster 63 gives F 331 to Perseus wishing a life for himself free of troublesome love. F 333–7 appear to come from an *agôn* scene when Polydectes demands obedience from his 'inferior' brother; the 'old man' addressed in F 337 is Dictys (cf. F 342). This exchange probably preceded a scene including F 338–341, a discussion of Danae's marriage perhaps between Polydectes and an unidentified man: Dictys again, or a courtier, or Perseus' old tutor have all been suggested. F 342 must relate to Perseus' rescue of Danae and Dictys from their sanctuary; Dictys raises her to her feet, and may have offered her marriage (especially if her feelings had been revealed in F 331; but Aéliou [1986], 159–60 is notably unconfident of the *dénouement*). Whether F 343, an exhortation to courage, related to this scene is wholly conjectural. There was almost certainly a role for a messenger, to narrate how Polydectes and his courtiers were turned to stone by the Gorgon's head; and there may have been a final role for a god to announce or sanction the various destinies of Dictys and Danae (marriage and the throne of Seriphos), and of Perseus (a dynasty at Argos); Karamanou (2006), 133–4 again favours Poseidon. No fragment can certainly be at-

DICTYS

tributed to the chorus, and its composition is a guess (*Danae was too humble to have her own women servants*). F 345 and 346 may bear on Perseus' sense of duty to his mother, but their location is unknowable; F 347 is entirely opaque.

Brief fragment: F 348 ('I would groan?'). Other ascriptions: F 1048a (cf. F 337 and 334.3), F 1107.

The play was produced in 431 B.C. together with *Medea* (of which the hypothesis by Aristophanes of Byzantium survives, giving this date), *Philoctetes* and the satyr-play *Theristae* ('Harvesters'). *Dictys* is the name-character because the play traced his noble defence of Danae both past and present, his rescue with her at the last moment, and his happy future. Rescue from sanctuary is a frequent motif in Euripides' plays, like the combination of melodramatic danger and 'passion'.

No other Greek tragedy of this title is known, but the coming ashore of Danae and Perseus was burlesqued in Aeschylus' satyr-play *Dictyulci* ('Net-fishers'), of which about 100 fragmentary lines survive on papyrus (Aesch. F 46a-47c): *Dictys* may have 'rescued' Danae and the baby Perseus from the satyrs ('fishermen') who found the chest. This play may have completed a tetralogy containing a *Polydectes* (unfortunately a blank). There are fragments of Cratinus' comedy *Seriphians*, perhaps from the late 420's, only a few years after Euripides' play.

ΔΙΚΤΥΣ

**330b

Σέριφος ἄλμη ποντία περιόρυτος . . .

Philodemus, *On Poems* P. Herc. 1676 fr. xi col. vii.7–12
Heidmann; assigned to *Dictys* by Koerte, but Aeschylus' tragedy
Polydectes and satyr-play *Dictyulci* ('Net-fishers') have also been
suggested.

331

† φίλος γὰρ ἦν μοι, † καὶ μ' ἔρωσ ἔλοι ποτὲ
οὐκ εἰς τὸ μῶρον οὐδέ μ' εἰς Κύπριον τρέπων.

Stobaeus 1.9.4a

ἦν Stob.: εἶ Wilamowitz ἔλοι Stob.: εἶλεν Herwerden

**332

ΔΙΚΤΥΣ

δοκεῖς τὸν Ἄιδην σῶν τι φροντίζειν γόων
καὶ παῖδ' ἀνήσειν τὸν σόν, εἰ θέλεις στένειν;
παῦσαι βλέπουσα δ' εἰς τὰ τῶν πέλας κακὰ
ῥάων γένοι' ἄν, εἰ λογίζεσθαι θέλεις
5 ὅσοι τε δεσμοῖς ἐκμεμόχθηνται βροτῶν
ὅσοι τε γηράσκουσιν ὀρφανοὶ τέκνων,

350

DICTYS

**330b

Seriphos surrounded by the ocean's salty flow . . . ¹

¹ The play's first line, if correctly attributed: see note opposite, and Introduction above.

331

†For he was dear to me†, and may a love one day seize me that does not turn me towards folly, or to Cypris.¹

¹ V. 1 is incoherent (Wilamowitz's 'you are dear to me' does not help, even with Herwerden's 'and love one day seized me'); and the end of v. 2 is puzzling since 'love' and 'Cypris' are synonyms. Perhaps Danae is speaking, and 'he' is Dictys (see Introduction).

**332

DICTYS

(*consoling Danae*)

Do you think that Hades is concerned at all for your laments, and will send your son back up if you will go on grieving?¹ Stop! You'd feel easier if you looked at the troubles of those near at hand, if you'd be willing to consider how many of mankind have been exhausted by struggling with bonds, how many grow old bereft of children, and

¹ Similarly *Heracles* 145-6, the tyrant Lycus taunting the family of the supposedly dead Heracles.

EURIPIDES

τοὺς δ' ἐκ μέγιστον ὀλβίας τυραννίδος
τὸ μηδὲν ὄντας· ταῦτά σε σκοπεῖν χρεῶν.

Plutarch, *Moralia* 106a

7 μέγιστον Elmsley: μεγίστης Plut.

333

φεῦ φεῦ, παλαιὸς αἶνος ὡς καλῶς ἔχει·
οὐκ ἂν γένοιτο χρηστὸς ἐκ κακοῦ πατρός.

Stobaeus 4.30.5; v. 2: Chrysippus fr. 180.15 von Arnim

334

πολλοῖς παρέστην κάφθόνησα δὴ βροτῶν
ὅστις κακοῖσιν ἐσθλὸς ὢν ὅμοιος ἦν,
λόγων ματαίων εἰς ἄμιλλαν ἐξιῶν.
τὸ δ' ἦν ἄρ' οὐκ ἀκουστὸν οὐδ' ἀνασχετόν,
5 σιγᾶν κλύοντα δεινὰ πρὸς κακιόνων.

Stobaeus 4.42.2; v. 4: *Anecdota Graeca* I.373.5 Bekker =
Photius, *Lexicon* α 818 Theodoridis

335

τυραννικόν τοι πόλλ' ἐπίστασθαι λέγειν.

Stobaeus 3.36.15

336

εἰς δ' εὐγένειαν ὀλίγ' ἔχω φράσαι καλά·
ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἐσθλὸς εὐγενῆς ἔμοιγ' ἀνήρ,
ὁ δ' οὐ δίκαιος κἂν ἀμείνονος πατρὸς
Ζητὸς πεφύκη, δυσγενῆς εἶναι δοκεῖ.

Stobaeus 4.29.1; vv. 1-2 paraphrased in Aristotle fr. 94 Rose

DICTYS

those who are nothing after ruling in the greatest prosperity: these are the things you should contemplate.

333

Alas, alas, how well the old saying has it: a good son will never be born from a bad father.

334

I've stood beside many a man, and been truly indignant at any who, though honourable, was like base men in coming out for a contest of wild words. What proved past hearing or bearing, however, was listening in silence to dreadful abuse from baser men.¹

¹ Polydectes standing on his dignity as king?

335

It is the quality of a ruler, I tell you, to know how to say much.¹

¹ For kings' god-given eloquence see Hesiod, *Theogony* 81-90.

336

When it comes to noble birth I have few good things to say. The honourable man in my eyes is the noble one, but the unjust man, even if he has a father better than Zeus, seems to me ignoble.¹

¹ Zeus is the guarantor of royalty first at Hesiod, *Theogony* 96. Dictys is probably the speaker, attacking Polydectes' rule (cf. F 337). For criticism of identifying nobility with 'good birth' see on *Alexander* F 61b.

EURIPIDES

337

μη νέικος, ὦ γεραιέ, κοιράνοις τίθου·
σέβειν δὲ τοὺς κρατοῦντας ἀρχαῖος νόμος.

Stobaeus 4.2.2

1 κοιράνοις Salmasius: τυράννοις (unmetrical) Stob.

338

ὄντων δὲ παίδων καὶ πεφνκότης γένους
καινοὺς φυτεύσαι παῖδας ἐν δόμοις θέλεις,
ἔχθραν μεγίστην σοῖσι συμβάλλων τέκνοις;

Stobaeus 4.26.21; punctuated at end as a question by Collard.

339

πατέρα τε παισὶν ἠδέως συνεκφέρειν
φίλους ἔρωτας ἐκβαλόντ' αὐθαδίαν,
παῖδάς τε πατρί· καὶ γὰρ οὐκ αὐθαίρετοι
βροτοῖς ἔρωτες οὐδ' ἔκουσία νόσος.
5 σκαιόν τι δὴ τὸ χρῆμα γίγνεσθαι φιλεῖ,
θεῶν ἀνάγκας ὅστις ἰᾶσθαι θέλει.

Stobaeus 4.26.16

340

Κύπρις γὰρ οὐδὲν νουθετουμένη χαλᾶ,
ἦν τ' αὖ βιάζῃ, μᾶλλον ἐντείνειν φιλεῖ,
κᾶπειτα τίκτει πόλεμον· εἰς δ' ἀνάστασιν
δόμων περαίνει πολλάκις τὰ τοιάδε.

Stobaeus 4.20.48; vv. 1–2: Chrysippus fr. 475 von Arnim

1 οὐδὲν Nauck: οὐδὲ Stob., Chrysipp.

DICTYS

337

Don't start a quarrel, old man, with kings: it's an ancient law to respect those in power.

338

When you have sons born, and descendants, do you want to sire fresh ones in your house, and concert great enmity between your children?

339

... a father (should) be pleased to put away stubborn objections, and help his sons achieve their fond passions, as (should) sons their father; for men's passions really aren't self-chosen, or a voluntary affliction. The thing usually becomes quite stupid when anyone wants to cure what gods impose.¹

¹ Tolerance of sons' love affairs recommended: F 951. A cure unwisely attempted for involuntary or divine affliction in the matter of love: *Bellerophon* F 286b with note.

340

Cypris, you see, relents when not admonished at all;¹ if you force her, on the other hand, she usually presses harder, and then generates conflict; and such things often end in upheaval for homes.

¹ Translation as 'does not relent at all when admonished' makes a poor contrast with 'if you force her etc.', as does Stobaeus' 'does not relent even when admonished'.

EURIPIDES

341

*μή μοί ποτ' εἶη χρημάτων νικωμένῳ
κακῶ γενέσθαι, μηδ' ὀμιλοῖην κακοῖς.*

Stobaeus 4.31.57, repeated at 4.31.96

342

ΔΑΝΑΗ

*τί μ', ὦ γέραιε, πημάτων λελησμένην
ὀρθοῖς;*

Schol. on Sophocles, *Ajax* 787–8

I restored by Kannicht: *τί μ' ἄρτι πημάτων λελησμένην |
ὀρθοῖς* Schol. ms. L: *τί μ', ὦ γέραιε, πημάτων πεπαυμένην |
ὀρθοῖς* Schol. ms. G

343

θάρσει τό τοι δίκαιον ἰσχύει μέγα.

Stobaeus 3.13.5

344

νέος, πόνοις δέ γ' οὐκ ἀγύμναστος φρένας.

Stobaeus 4.11.10

345

*ἐγὼ νομίζω πατρὶ φίλτατον τέκνα
παισίν τε τοὺς τεκόντας, οὐδὲ συμμάχους
ἄλλους γενέσθαι φήμ' ἂν ἐνδικωτέρους.*

Stobaeus 4.26.18

DICTYS

341

May it never happen to me to be mastered by money and become evil, nor to associate with evil men!

342

DANAE

(to *Dictys*)

Why make me stand up, old man, when I have forgotten my miseries?¹

¹ Compare Sophocles, *Ajax* 787–8, ‘Why make me stand up when I had just got rest from inexhaustible misery?’

343

Take heart! There is great power in justice, I tell you.

344

Young, yes, but with a mind not untested by hard tasks.¹

¹ Perseus: see Introduction. Possibly an answer in stichomythia.

345

I think myself that for a father his children are the dearest thing, and for sons their parents; and I declare that none could be more rightful allies.

EURIPIDES

346

εἷς γάρ τις ἔστι κοινὸς ἀνθρώποις νόμος—
 θεοῖσι τοῦτο δόξαν, ὡς σαφῶς λέγω—
 θηρσίν τε πᾶσι, τέκν' ἂ τίκτουσιν φιλεῖν·
 τὰ δ' ἄλλα χωρὶς χρώμεθ' ἀλλήλων νόμοις.

Stobaeus 4.26.17

2 Verse deleted by West.

347

εἰ δ' ἦσθα μὴ κάκιστος, οὔποτ' ἂν πάτραν
 τὴν σὴν ἀτίζων τήνδ' ἂν ἠυλόγεις πόλιν·
 ὡς ἔν γ' ἐμοὶ κρίνοιτ' ἂν οὐ καλῶς φρονεῖν
 ὅστις πατρώας γῆς ἀτιμάζων ὄρους
 5 ἄλλην ἐπαινεῖ καὶ τρόποισιν ἤδεται.

Stobaeus 3.39.7 (vv. 1-2) + 8 (vv. 3-5)

4 ὄρους Stob.: νόμους Nauck

DICTYS

346

There is one single law common to men—this having the gods' agreement, as I say with certainty¹—and to all beasts, to love the offspring they bear. For the rest, we have different laws from one another.

¹ West deleted v. 2 as an irrelevant intrusion.

347

If you were not very bad, you would never be slighting your fatherland and praising this city; because in my eyes at least, a man would be judged wrong-headed who scorns the confines of his ancestral land, to commend another and take pleasure in its ways.¹

¹ This fragment is impossible to locate in the play: some editors doubt even its attribution to the play.

EPEUS (ΕΠΕΙΟΣ)

Pechstein 29–34, 141–4; H. Van Looy in ed. Budé VIII.2.93–4; Krumeich 420–1.

*The play is known only through a list of Euripidean titles partially preserved in the so-called Monumentum Albanum now in the Louvre (= IG XIV.1152: see TrGF 5 pp. 57–8, T 6). Its placing in the list shows it was a satyr play, and its inclusion there should mean that the text was preserved in the Alexandrian Library; but the complete absence of other evidence suggests it may have been one of several Euripidean satyr plays that were lost before that collection was made. Epeus is best known as the builder of the Trojan Horse (Homer, *Odyssey* 8.493, 11.523). In Achilles' funeral games he excels as a boxer but not as a discus thrower, and admits to being no fighter (Homer, *Iliad* 23.664ff., 838ff.). Later he was reputed to have been a mere water-carrier for the Atreidae (Stesichorus F 200 PMGF), and became proverbial for cowardice. A suitable subject for a satyr play, then, perhaps concerning the construction of the Horse.*

For F 988, assigned by Welcker to Epeus, see Cretans, after F 472g.

ERECHTHEUS

Austin, *NFE* 22–40; A. Martínez Díez, *Euripides: Erecteo* (Madrid, 1976); P. Carrara, *Euripide: Eretteo* (Florence, 1977); M. Cropp in *SFP* I.148–94, 286–7 (~ II.366–7); Diggle, *TrGFS* 101–10 (F 360, 362, 369, 370); F. Jouan in ed. Budé VIII.2.95–132; cf. J. C. Kamerbeek, *Mnemosyne* 23 (1970), 113–26, and in H. Hofmann and A. Harder, *Fragmenta Dramatica* (Göttingen, 1991), 111–6. See also on F 370.

Webster, *Euripides*, 127–30; H. Van Looy in *Homages à Marie Delcourt* (Brussels, 1970), 115–22; V. di Benedetto, *Euripide: teatro e società* (Turin, 1971), 145–53; C. Clairmont, *GRBS* 12 (1971), 485–95; M. Treu, *Chiron* 1 (1971), 115–31; M. Lacore, *REA* 85 (1983), 215–234 and *Kentron* 11.2–12.1 (1995–6), 89–107; Aéliou (1986) 198–216; R. Parker in J. N. Bremmer (ed.), *Interpretations of Greek Mythology* (London, 1986), 187–214; E. O'Connor-Visser, *Aspects of Human Sacrifice in the Tragedies of Euripides* (Amsterdam, 1987), 148–76; *LIMC* IV.i.923–8, 938–41, 949 'Erechtheus'; E. Kearns, *The Heroes of Attica* (London, 1989), 59–63, 113–5, 160, 201–2; J. Wilkins in A. Powell (ed.), *Euripides, Women and Sexuality* (London, 1990), 177–94; Gantz 233–5, 242–4; R. E. Harder, *Die Frauenrolle bei Euripides* (Stuttgart, 1993), 172–6, 336–42; F. Jouan in V. Pirenne-Delforge and E.

ERECHTHEUS

Suárez de la Torre (eds.), *Héros et héroïnes dans les mythes et les cultes grecques* (Liège, 2000), 29–39; Matthiessen 258–60.

The Homeric Erechtheus was born from the soil of Athens, nurtured by Athena, and given cult in Athena's own temple (Iliad 2.546–51, Odyssey 7.80–1). In Athenian tradition he was to some extent identified with the semi-serpentine figure of Erichthonius, but in the 5th century he was also one of the ten tribal heroes under the Cleisthenic constitution, and remembered for defeating Eumolpus in war. Eumolpus was the legendary ancestor of the Eumolpidae, the chief priestly family at Eleusis, and in early accounts was himself an Eleusinian; the story of the war then accounted for Athens' control of Eleusis and its Mysteries (cf. Thucydides 2.15.1). In Euripides' play, however, he is a Thracian invader whose descendants will become established at Eleusis (F 370.100ff.), and his purpose is to claim control of Attica in the name of his father Poseidon, thus reversing the outcome of the legendary contest in which the Athenians chose Athena over Poseidon as their protecting deity. This version of the story, possibly invented by Euripides, conveniently changed its focus from internal strife to the repulsion of a barbarian invasion sponsored by an elemental god, with a providential outcome in the incorporation of the god and the barbarians' descendants into the Athenian state and its religious system.

The play's conclusion is now known from the extensive Sorbonne papyrus (F 370), which shows that it was set on the Acropolis and culminated with the victory of Athens at the cost of the lives of Erechtheus and his three daughters. What went before can be inferred to some extent from a

EURIPIDES

summary of the story (test. ii below) in the speech delivered in 330 by the anti-Macedonian politician Lycurgus against Leocrates, who was accused of abandoning Athens after the battle of Chaeronea. Lycurgus cites Erechtheus' obedience to the Delphic oracle in sacrificing his daughter to save the city as an ideal example of patriotism, and he goes on to quote the whole of the speech in which queen Praxithea persuaded Erechtheus of the need for the sacrifice (F 360). The speech reads as if Erechtheus was reluctant to kill his daughter (F 360.1-3, 17-18, 34-7), and other sources ([Plutarch] and 'Demaratus': see apparatus to test. ii below) speak of him discussing the oracle with Praxithea. This and other hints suggest that the play's early scenes were broadly similar to those of another patriotic play, Children of Heracles. After a prologue in which Poseidon told of Eumolpus' birth and upbringing (F 349) and gave the context of the war, Erechtheus probably returned from Delphi to find Praxithea preparing a supplication of Athena (F 350, perhaps preceded by F 351). Some or all of F 352-6 seem to come from a scene in which Erechtheus confronted a herald or some other representative of Eumolpus demanding the surrender of Athens, and F 357-8 suggest a scene in which the mutual affection of king, queen and daughters was expressed. The order of these scenes and the moment when Erechtheus revealed the oracle are unclear, but this part of the play culminated with Praxithea's speech (F 360), a subsequent dialogue (F 360a), and the decision to proceed with the sacrifice of one of the daughters.¹ After this there is more uncertainty. One

¹ 'Demaratus' (see app. to test. ii below) says the eldest of the three daughters was sacrificed, and Persephone the recipi-

ERECHTHEUS

might expect a report of the sacrifice, but there is no direct evidence of this (compare perhaps the absence of a report of the sacrifice of Heracles' daughter in *Children of Heracles*). In F 370 (36–8, 68–70) it becomes clear that the other two daughters also killed themselves after making a suicide pact with their sister,² but it is (again) possible that the pact and their deaths were only revealed to Praxithea after the battle. F 369 comes from a stasimon in which the Chorus prays for peace, probably just before the battle (cf. *Cresphontes* F 453). Most puzzling is Erechtheus' sententious farewell speech (F 362) delivered to a son who has not reached military age, and who has been ignored by Praxithea (note especially F 360.36–7). It would seem that Erechtheus has adopted an heir, perhaps recently or even in the course of the play; the dismissive remark about adopted children in F 359 may come from Praxithea, insisting on the purity of her own family and unaware that she will soon lose them all. The identity of this heir remains quite uncertain; a younger Cecrops, Xuthus and Ion all figure as heirs of Erechtheus in some versions of the highly artificial mythology of early Athens, but none fits the part well in the context of this play.

F 370 gives the arrival of a messenger with news of the battle (the report speech itself is lost), then part of Praxithea's lament for her husband and daughters, Poseidon's last assault on Athens in the form of an earthquake, and Athena's intervention and instructions concerning the

ent. Probably none of the daughters was named, although later mythographers provided a variety of names. ² Cf. Apollodorus 3.15.4 (= test. *via); Hyginus, *Fab.* 46; Aristides, *Orations* 1.85ff. (= test. *iv).

EURIPIDES

cults of the Erechtheids and Erechtheus himself (now to be known respectively as the Hyacinthids and Poseidon Erechtheus), the appointment of Praxithea as priestess of Athena Polias, and the future establishment of the Eumolpidae at Eleusis. For these details see F 370.65ff. with the accompanying notes.

*The placing and relevance of F 363–7 are unknown (but see notes on F 366 and 367). Brief fragments: F 368 'pollution of the oak', F 369a 'unbetrothed union(s)', F 369b 'without exit', F 369d 'sounds of the Asian (lyre)'. Other ascriptions: F 981 (combined with F 360.7–10 in Plutarch, *Moralia* 604d), F 1053.*

*Plutarch's citation of F 369.1 in his Life of Nicias suggests that Erechtheus was performed during the Athenian–Spartan truce of 423–2, so probably at the Dionysia of 422, but this literary allusion may be historically inaccurate, and the metrical evidence suggests a date a few years later; there are probable allusions to Erechtheus in Aristophanes' plays of 411 (*Lysistrata* 1135, cf. F 363; *Women at the Thesmophoria* 120, cf. F 369d), and in the possibly earlier *Horae* ('Seasons': F 580, 586 PCG, cf. Eur. F 357, 366). The play may have been inspired by the planning or building of the Erechtheum in this period (cf. F 370.90ff. with note), but the chronological guidance this provides is at best vague. At any rate the play can confidently be classed with other 'patriotic' plays of the Peloponnesian War period, especially the extant *Children of Heracles* and *Suppliant Women*, and its myth with others in which Athens was saved from foreign aggression by the self-sacrifice of a king (Codrus) or a group of noble daughters (those of Leos, and those of Hyacinthus with whom the Erechtheids are actually identified in F 370.73–4). It seems unlikely*

ERECHTHEUS

that in dramatizing a myth of this kind Euripides presented it in an ambivalent light (as Lacore 1995–6 amongst others has argued), although he no doubt emphasized the tragic character of the episode and its human costs.

Euripides' dramatization of the story is unique in Attic tragedy and seems to have had no impact in figurative art,³ but the account of a purely Thracian invasion of Attica led by Eumolpus son of Poseidon became influential in Athenian patriotic rhetoric (besides Lycurgus' speech mentioned above see e.g. Plato, *Menexenus* 239a–b, Isocrates 4.68: TrGF test. v) and in the later mythographic tradition. The play's only poetic descendants are Ennius' Latin *Erechtheus* (2nd c. B.C., now almost completely lost) and Swinburne's *Erechtheus* (1876).

³ The identification of the subject in a late 5th c. Lucanian vase (TrGF test. *vii) is very doubtful, as is the suggestion of J. Breton Connelly (*AJA* 100 (1996), 53–80) that the sacrifice is represented in the Parthenon Frieze.

ΕΡΕΧΘΕΥΣ

test. ii

φασὶ γὰρ Εὐμόλπον τὸν Ποσειδῶνος καὶ Χιόνης μετὰ Θρακῶν ἔλθειν τῆς χώρας ταύτης ἀμφισβητοῦντα, τυχεῖν δὲ κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους βασιλεύοντα Ἐρεχθέα, γυναῖκα ἔχοντα Πραξιθέαν τὴν Κηφισοῦ θυγατέρα. (99) μεγάλου δὲ στρατοπέδου μέλλοντος αὐτοῖς εἰσβάλλειν εἰς τὴν χώραν, εἰς Δελφοὺς ἰὼν ἠρώτα τὸν θεόν, τί ποιῶν ἂν νίκην λάβοι παρὰ τῶν πολεμίων. χρῆσαντος δ' αὐτῷ τοῦ θεοῦ, τὴν θυγατέρα εἰ θύσειε πρὸ τοῦ συμβαλεῖν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ, κρατήσειεν τῶν πολεμίων, ὁ δὲ τῷ θεῷ πιθόμενος τοῦτ' ἔπραξε, καὶ τοὺς ἐπιστρατευομένους ἐκ τῆς χώρας ἐξέβαλε. (100) διὸ καὶ δικαίως ἂν τις Εὐριπίδην ἐπαινέσειεν, ὅτι τὰ τ' ἄλλ' ἦν ἀγαθὸς ποιητής, καὶ τοῦτον τὸν μῦθον προείλετο ποιῆσαι, ἡγούμενος κάλλιστον ἂν γενέσθαι τοῖς πολίταις παράδειγμα τὰς ἐκείνων πράξεις, πρὸς ἃς ἀποβλέποντας καὶ θεωροῦντας συνεθίζεσθαι ταῖς ψυχαῖς τὸ τὴν πατρίδα

Lycurgus, *Against Leocrates* 98–101. The same story is briefly summarized and attributed to Euripides' *Erechtheus* in [Plutarch], *Moralia* 310d (= test. iiii), and without attribution in 'Demaratus', *Stories from Tragedy*, *FGrH* 42 F 4 (= test. iiib).

ERECHTHEUS

test. ii

They say that Eumolpus, son of Poseidon and Chione, came with the Thracians to lay claim to this country, and that at that time Erechtheus happened to be king, being married to Praxithea, daughter of Cephisus.¹ (99) As a great army was about to invade their land, Erechtheus went to Delphi and asked the god what he should do to get victory over his enemies. The god replied that if he sacrificed his daughter before the two armies met, he would defeat the enemy; and Erechtheus obeyed him and did this, and expelled the invaders from the country. (100) Accordingly it would be proper to praise Euripides for being a good poet in other ways, and especially for choosing to compose this story, reckoning that the deeds of those men would be an excellent example for our citizens, which they could look to and contemplate, and thus habituate their souls to love of their country. And it is of value . . .

¹ God of the local river Cephisus.

EURIPIDES

φιλεῖν. ἄξιον δὲ . . . καὶ τῶν ἰαμβείων ἀκοῦσαι ἃ πεποιήκεν λέγουσαν τὴν μητέρα τῆς παιδός . . . (F 360) . . . (101) ταῦτα ὦ ἄνδρες τοὺς πατέρας ὑμῶν ἐπαίδευε. φύσει γὰρ οὐσῶν φιλοτέκνων πασῶν τῶν γυναικῶν, ταύτην ἐποίησε τὴν πατρίδα μᾶλλον τῶν παίδων φιλοῦσαν (cf. F 360a) . . .

349

<ΠΟΣΕΙΔΩΝ>

Αἰθιοπίαν νιν ἐξέσωσ' ἐπὶ χθόνα.

Stephanus of Byzantium, 'Αἰθίοψ' (p. 47.12 Meineke)

350

<ΕΡΕΧΘΕΤΣ?>

καὶ μοι—πολὺν γὰρ πελανὸν ἐκπέμπεις δόμων—
φράσον σελήνας τάσδε πυρίμου χλόης . . .

Suda a 2082, cf. β 458

351

<ΠΡΑΞΙΘΕΑ?>

ὀλολύζετ', ὦ γυναῖκες, ὡς ἔλθη θεὰ
χρυσῆν ἔχουσα Γοργόν' ἐπίκουρος πόλει.

Schol. on Aristophanes, *Peace* 97

ERECHTHEUS

to hear also the verses which he represented the girl's mother as speaking . . . (*Lycurgus quotes F 360*) . . . (101) This, gentlemen, was what he taught your fathers; for while all women are devoted to their children, he represented this one as loving her fatherland more than her children (cf. F 360a).

349

<POSEIDON>

I took him to safety in the Ethiopian land.¹

¹ According to Apollodorus 3.15.4, Eumolpus of Thrace was the son of Poseidon and Chione ('Snow Maiden'), daughter of the North Wind. His mother threw him into the sea to conceal his birth, and Poseidon rescued him and had him raised by a sea-nymph in 'Ethiopia' (for this location see note on *Andromeda F 145*).

350

<ERECHTHEUS?>

And as you are bringing much sacred mixture from the house, tell me (why/where you are taking) these moons made from young wheat . . .¹

¹ A mixture of wheat-meal, oil and honey was used for pouring libations and for making sacrificial cakes (here 'moons' because of their special shape).

351

<PRAXITHEA?>

Raise a cry, women, so the goddess may come to the city's aid, wearing her golden Gorgon.¹

¹ Athena's protective mantle (aegis) decorated with a Gorgon's head.

EURIPIDES

352

<ΕΡΕΧΘΕΤΣ?>

ὡς σὺν θεοῖσι τοὺς σοφοὺς κινεῖν δόρυ
στρατηλάτας χρῆ, τῶν θεῶν δὲ μὴ βία.

Stobaeus 4.13.12

353

<ΕΡΕΧΘΕΤΣ?>

οὐδεὶς στρατεύσας ἄδικα σῶς ἦλθεν πάλιν.

Stobaeus 4.13.13

354

<ΕΡΕΧΘΕΤΣ?>

τὰς οὐσίας γὰρ μᾶλλον ἢ τὰς ἀρπαγὰς
τιμᾶν δίκαιον· οὔτε γὰρ πλοῦτός ποτε
βέβαιος ἄδικος . . .

Stobaeus 4.31.105

355

<ΚΗΡΤΞ?>

ναῦς ἡ μεγίστη κρεῖσσον ἢ σμικρὸν σκάφος.

Stobaeus 4.17.13

356

<ΕΡΕΧΘΕΤΣ?>

<ἐσθλοὺς ἐγὼ>

ὀλίγους ἐπαινῶ μᾶλλον ἢ πολλοὺς κακοὺς.

Stobaeus 4.10.19

<ἐσθλοὺς ἐγὼ> Hense

372

ERECHTHEUS

352

<ERECHTHEUS?>

For wise commanders should go to war with the gods on their side, not in spite of them.

353

<ERECHTHEUS?>

No one who goes to war unjustly returns unscathed.

354

<ERECHTHEUS?>

It is right to value property rather than plunder. For neither is wrongly acquired wealth ever secure . . .

355

<HERALD?>

The biggest ship is stronger than a little skiff.

356

<ERECHTHEUS?>

I (myself) approve a few (brave) men rather than a host of cowards.

EURIPIDES

357

ζεύγος τριπάρθενον

Hesychius ζ 125 Latte

358

οὐκ ἔστι μητρὸς οὐδὲν ἦδιον τέκνοις.

* * *

ἐράτε μητρός, παῖδες, ὡς οὐκ ἔστ' ἔρωσ
τοιούτος ἄλλος ὅστις ἠδίων ἐρᾶν.

Stobaeus 4.25.4; Orion, Euripidean Appendix 9–10 Haffner. Vv. 2–3 were considered a separate fragment by Ed. Fraenkel and others, and are so marked in Orion ms. V.

359

θετῶν δὲ παίδων ποῦ κράτος; τὰ φύντα γὰρ
κρείσσω νομίζειν τῶν δοκημάτων χρεῶν.

Stobaeus 4.24.28

360

ΠΡΑΞΙΘΕΑ

τὰς χάριτας ὅστις εὐγενῶς χαρίζεται,
ἦδιον ἐν βροτοῖσιν· οἱ δὲ δρῶσι μὲν,
χρόνῳ δὲ δρῶσι, δυσγενέστερον <τόδε>.
ἐγὼ δὲ δώσω παῖδα τὴν ἐμὴν κτανεῖν.

5 λογίζομαι δὲ πολλά· πρῶτα μὲν πόλιν
οὐκ ἂν τιν' ἄλλην τῆσδε βελτίω λαβεῖν

Lycurgus, *Against Leocrates* 100 (see test. ii above); vv. 7–10: Plutarch, *Moralia* 604d, with F 981 subjoined

374

ERECHTHEUS

357

a team of three maidens¹

¹ The daughters of Erechtheus and Praxithea (see Introduction).

358

Nothing brings children more joy than their mother.

* * *

Love your mother, children; no other love brings more joy than this.

359

Where is the advantage in adopted children? We should consider those truly born better than mere pretences.¹

¹ Against adoption see also *Melanippe* F 491.

360

PRAXITHEA

(to *Erechtheus*)¹

People find it more pleasing when someone gives favours generously—but to act yet take one's time is considered ill-bred. I for my part shall offer my daughter to be killed.

My reasons are many, and the first of them is that I could get no other city better than this. In the first place, 5

¹ In v. 36 'you' must be Erechtheus.

EURIPIDES

- ἢ πρῶτα μὲν λεῶς οὐκ ἐπακτὸς ἄλλοθεν,
 αὐτόχθονες δ' ἔφυμεν· αἱ δ' ἄλλαι πόλεις
 πεσσῶν ὁμοίως διαφοραῖς ἐκτισμέναι
- 10 ἄλλαι παρ' ἄλλων εἰσὶν εἰσαγώγιμοι.
 ὅστις δ' ἀπ' ἄλλης πόλεος οἰκίση πόλιν,
 ἄρμὸς πονηρὸς ὥσπερ ἐν ξύλῳ παγείς,
 λόγῳ πολίτης ἐστί, τοῖς δ' ἔργοισιν οὔ.
 ἔπειτα τέκνα τοῦδ' ἕκατι τίκτομεν,
- 15 ὡς θεῶν τε βωμοὺς πατρίδα τε ῥυώμεθα.
 πόλεως δ' ἀπάσης τοῦνομ' ἔν, πολλοὶ δέ νιν
 ναίουσι· τούτους πῶς διαφθειραί με χρή,
 ἐξὸν προπάντων μίαν ὑπερ δούναι θανεῖν;
 εἴπερ γὰρ ἀριθμὸν οἶδα καὶ τοῦλάσσοнос
- 20 τὸ μείζον, τένος† οἶκος οὐ πλέον σθένει
 πταίσας ἀπάσης πόλεος οὐδ' ἴσον φέρει.
 εἰ δ' ἦν ἐν οἴκοις ἀντὶ θηλειῶν στάχυσ
 ἄρσην, πόλιν δὲ πολεμία κατεῖχε φλόξ,
 οὐκ ἂν νιν ἐξέπεμπον εἰς μάχην δορός,
- 25 θάνατον προταρβούσ'; ἀλλ' ἔμοιγ' εἴη τέκνα
 <ἄ> καὶ μάχοιτο καὶ μετ' ἀνδράσιν πρέποι,
 μὴ σχήματ' ἄλλως ἐν πόλει πεφυκότα.
 τὰ μητέρων δὲ δάκρυ' ὅταν πέμπῃ τέκνα,
 πολλοὺς ἐθήλυν' εἰς μάχην ὀρμωμένους.
- 30 μισῶ γυναῖκας αἵτινες πρὸ τοῦ καλοῦ
 ζῆν παῖδας εἴλοντ' ἢ παρήνεσαν κακά.

20 τένος†: οὐνὸς Emperius: οὐμὸς Bekker σθένει Lycurg.:
 στένει Blass 31 εἴλοντ' ἢ Matthiae: εἴλοντο καὶ Lycurg.

ERECHTHEUS

we are not an immigrant people from elsewhere but born in our own land,² while other cities are founded as it were through board-game moves, different ones imported from different places. But someone who settles in one city from another is like a bad peg fixed in a piece of wood: he's a citizen in name, but not in reality. 10

Next, we bear our children for this reason, to protect the gods' altars and our homeland. The city as a whole has a single name, but many inhabit it: why should I destroy them when I can give one child to die for all? If I know my numbers and can tell greater from smaller, †one person's†³ family falling into misfortune does not weigh more⁴ than an entire city, nor does it have an equal impact. 15 20

If our house had a crop of males instead of females, and the flame of war was besetting our city, would I be refusing to send them out to battle for fear of their deaths? No, give me sons (who) would fight and stand out amongst the men, not mere figures raised uselessly in the city. When mothers' tears accompany their children, they soften many as they set off to battle. I detest women who choose life for their sons ahead of honour, or encourage them to coward- 25 30

² This claim of 'autochthony' was a commonplace of Athenian patriotic rhetoric, e.g. Eur. *Ion* 589–90, Thucydides 2.36.1, Isocrates 4.24. ³ This is the sense of both Stobaeus' unmetrical word and Emperius' adjustment of it; Bekker suggested 'my family'. ⁴ Some editors prefer Blass's 'does not grieve more'.

EURIPIDES

- καὶ μὴν θανόντες γ' ἐν μάχῃ πολλῶν μετὰ
τύμβον τε κοινὸν ἔλαχον εὐκλειάν τ' ἴσην·
τῆμῃ δὲ παιδὶ στέφανος εἷς μιᾷ μόνῃ
35 πόλεως θανούσῃ τῆσδ' ὕπερ δοθήσεται,
καὶ τὴν τεκούσαν καὶ σὲ δύο θ' ὁμοσπόρω
σώσει· τί τούτων οὐχὶ δέξασθαι καλόν;
τὴν οὐκ ἐμὴν <δὴ> πλὴν φύσει δώσω κόρην
θῦσαι πρὸ γαίας· εἰ γὰρ αἰρεθήσεται
40 πόλις, τί παίδων τῶν ἐμῶν μέτεστί μοι;
οὐκουν ἅπαντα τοῦν γ' ἐμοὶ σωθήσεται;
{ἄρξουσὶ τ' ἄλλοι, τήνδ' ἐγὼ σώσω πόλιν.}
- ἐκείνο δ' οὐ <τὸ> πλείστον ἐν κοινῷ μέρος,
οὐκ ἔσθ' ἐκούσης τῆς ἐμῆς ψυχῆς ἄτερ
45 προγόνων παλαιὰ θέσμι' ὅστις ἐκβαλεῖ·
οὐδ' ἀντ' ἐλαίας χρυσέας τε Γοργόνος
τρίαίναν ὀρθὴν στάσαν ἐν πόλεως βάθροις
Εὐμόλπος οὐδὲ Θρηξ' ἀναστέψει λεῶς
στεφάνοισι, Παλλὰς δ' οὐδαμοῦ τιμήσεται.
- 50 χρῆσθ', ὦ πολῖται, τοῖς ἐμοῖς λοχεύμασιν,
σῶζεσθε, νικᾶτ'· ἀντὶ γὰρ ψυχῆς μιᾶς
οὐκ ἔσθ' ὅπως οὐ τήνδ' ἐγὼ σώσω πόλιν.
ὦ πατρίς, εἴθε πάντες οἱ ναίουσὶ σε
οὕτω φιλοῖεν ὡς ἐγώ· καὶ ῥαδίως
55 οἰκοῖμεν ἄν σε κούδεν ἄν πάσχοις κακόν.

42 deleted by Busche

44 ἄτερ Stob.: ποτε Austin

ERECHTHEUS

ice. Consider this too: sons who die in battle with many others get a communal tomb and glory equally shared—but my daughter, when she dies for the city, will be given a single crown for herself alone, and will save her mother, and you, and her two sisters:⁵ which of these things is not a fine reward? 35

This girl—not mine (in fact) except in birth—I shall offer for sacrifice to defend our land. For if the city is taken, what share in my children have I then? Shall not all, then, be saved, so far as is in my power? {Others shall govern, I shall save this city.} 40

As for that duty which we share above all, no one shall without(?) my heart's consent⁶ cast out the ancient ordinances of our forefathers, nor shall Eumolpus or his Thracian folk replace the olive and the golden Gorgon⁷ by planting a trident upright in the city's foundations and crowning it with garlands, leaving Pallas dishonoured. 45

Citizens, use the offspring of my womb, be saved, be victorious! At the cost of just one life I surely shall not fail to save our city. 50

My homeland, would that all your inhabitants loved you as I do; then we could dwell in you easily, and you would suffer no harm.

⁵ Praxithea's confidence is tragically misplaced: her husband and all three daughters will die (F 370.16–44). ⁶ An oddly pleonastic phrase; Austin's 'no one shall ever with my heart's consent' is one of several suggested improvements. ⁷ The olive tree was Athena's gift to Athens when she competed for patronage of the city with Poseidon, who offered a salt spring. For the Gorgon see F 351 above.

EURIPIDES

360a

ΠΡΑΞΙΘΕΑ

φιλῶ τέκν', ἀλλὰ πατρίδ' ἐμὴν μᾶλλον φιλῶ.

Plutarch, *Moralia* 809d; paraphrased by Lycurgus, *Against Leocrates* 101 (see test. ii above), and in part by Cicero, *Letters to his Friends* 12.14.7

(361 N = 370.21–2 below)

362

<ΕΡΕΧΘΕΤΣ>

ὀρθῶς μ' ἐπήρουν βούλομαι δέ σοι, τέκνον,
(φρονεῖς γὰρ ἤδη κάποσώσαι' ἂν πατρὸς
γνώμας φράσαντος, ἣν θάνω) παραινέσαι
κειμήλι' ἐσθλά καὶ νέοισι χρήσιμα.

5 βραχεὶ δὲ μύθῳ πολλὰ συλλαβῶν ἐρῶ.

πρῶτον φρένας μὲν ἠπίους ἔχειν χρεῶν
τῷ πλουσίῳ τε τῷ τε μὴ δίδους μέρος
ἴσον σεαυτὸν εὐσεβῆ πᾶσιν δίδου.

10 δυοῖν παρόντων πραγμάτων πρὸς θάτερον
γνώμην προσάπτων τὴν ἐναντίαν μέθες.

ἀδίκως δὲ μὴ κτῶ χρήματ', ἣν βούλη πολὺν
χρόνον μελάθροις ἐμμένειν· τὰ γὰρ κακῶς
οἴκους ἐσελθόντ' οὐκ ἔχει σωτηρίαν.

Stobaeus 3.3.18; vv. 11–13: Stob. 4.31.97; vv. 14–17: Stob. 4.31.25 and 36; vv. 18–20: Plutarch, *Moralia* 63a, Stob. 3.14.3; vv. 21–3: Stob. 4.50.3; v. 21 = [Menander], *Monostichs* 572 Jaekel; vv. 24–7: Stob. 3.17.6; vv. 28–31: Stob. 4.2.4; vv. 29–31: Plut. *Mor.* 337f

ERECHTHEUS

360a

PRAXITHEA

I love my children, but I love my homeland more.

(361 N = 370.21–2 below)

362

<ERECHTHEUS>

You asked me rightly, and now I wish, my son—since you have understanding and, if I should die, will observe these father's precepts that I shall explain—to give you a store of advice that is honourable and valuable to the young. In a brief statement I shall sum up much. 5

First, you should maintain a gentle frame of mind; give equal weight to rich and poor alike, and show yourself respectful to everyone.

When two courses of action are before you, apply your mind to one and dismiss the other. 10

Do not get possessions unjustly if you want them to stay for long in your house; those that come into it dishonestly do not have security.¹ Try, though, to have possessions, for this bestows nobility and the means to make the best marriages;² poverty brings disrepute and low esteem in life, 15 even if one is wise.

¹ Cf. especially Solon F 13.7–13 *IEG*; Eur. *Ino* F 417.1–2.

² Cf. *Aeolus* F 22, *Danae* F 326.1–5 with notes.

EURIPIDES

- ἔχειν δὲ πειρῶ· τοῦτο γὰρ τό τ' εὐγενὲς
 15 καὶ τοὺς γάμους δίδωσι τοὺς πρώτους ἔχειν.
 ἐν τῷ πένεσθαι δ' ἔστιν ἢ τ' ἀδοξία,
 κἂν ἢ σοφός τις, ἢ τ' ἀτιμία βίου.
 φίλους δὲ τοὺς μὲν μὴ χαλῶντας ἐν λόγοις
 κέκτησσο· τοὺς δὲ πρὸς χάριν σὺν ἡδονῇ
 20 τῇ σῆ πονηροὺς κληῖθρον εἰργέτω στέγης.
 ὀμιλίας δὲ τὰς γεραϊτέρων φίλει,
 ἀκόλαστα δ' ἤθη λαμπρὰ συγγελᾶν μόνον
 μίσει· βραχεῖα τέρψις ἡδονῆς κακῆς.
 ἔξουσία δὲ μήποτ' ἐντρυφῶν, τέκνον,
 25 αἰσχροὺς ἔρωτας δημοτῶν διωκαθεῖν·
 ὃ καὶ σίδηρον ἀγχόνας τ' ἐφέλκεται,
 χρηστῶν πενήτων ἣν τις αἰσχύνῃ τέκνα.
 καὶ τοὺς πονηροὺς μήποτ' αὖξαν' ἐν πόλει·
 κακοὶ γὰρ ἐμπλησθέντες ἢ νομίσματος
 30 ἢ πόλεος ἐμπεσόντες εἰς ἀρχὴν τινα
 σκιρτῶσιν, ἀδόκητ' εὐτυχησάντων δόμων.
 ἀλλ' ὦ τέκνον μοι, δὸς χέρ', ὡς θίγη πατήρ,
 καὶ χαῖρ'· ὑπ' αἰδοῦς δ' οὐ λίαν <σ'> ἀσπάζομαι·
 γυναικόφρων γὰρ θυμὸς ἀνδρὸς οὐ σοφοῦ.

20 πονηροὺς Stob.: λέγοντας Herwerden

24 ἐντρυφῶν Kock: ἔξουσίαν . . . εὐτυχῶν Stob. 3.3.18: ἔξουσία
 . . . εὐτυχῶν Stob. 3.17.6, whence ἐντυχῶν Gesner (and ed.
 Trincavelli?) 30 ἀρχὴν τινα Stob.: τιμᾶς τινας Plut.

31 ἀδόκητ' Plut., Stob. 4.2.4: ἀδίκως Stob. 3.3.18

ERECHTHEUS

Make friends of those who do not give way in discussions, and bar your door to those (who are) mischievous for your gratification and pleasure.³ 20

Welcome the company of older men, and scorn unbridled behaviour which wins acclaim only by raising laughs: there's brief enjoyment in dishonourable pleasure.⁴

Never indulge your power,⁵ my son, by pursuing shameful desires for commoners; this brings in its train cold steel and knotted cords,⁶ when someone shames the children of the worthy poor. 25

Never give villains advancement in the city. Scoundrels gorged with money, or falling into some office⁷ in the city, become unruly as their house prospers unexpectedly.⁸ 30

And now, my son, give your hand to your father's touch, and fare well; restraint forbids me to embrace you excessively. It's an unwise man who shows a woman's spirit.

³ Vv. 18–20 contrast good associates who speak out for the ruler's benefit with bad ones who speak only to please him: cf. Isocrates 1.30. For 'mischievous' (*πονηροί*) associates of bad rulers cf. Xenophon, *Education of Cyrus* 5.4.36. But the syntax here is awkward, hence Herwerden's 'those speaking'. ⁴ On the influence of good and bad companions cf. *Andromache* 683–4, *Aegeus* F 7, *Peliades* F 609, *Phoenix* F 812.7–9, F 1024; and against laughter-seeking behaviour, *Melanippe Captive* F 492.

⁵ Literally 'Never, luxuriating in your power, pursue . . .' (Kock). Stob. 3.3.18 has 'Never, prospering as to power'; Gesner inferred 'Never, having chanced upon power' from Stob. 3.17.6. For the thought cf. *Suppliant Women* 452–5.

⁶ Literally 'iron and nooses': the victims of the tyrant's sexual abuse will be driven to suicide. ⁷ 'some office', Stobaeus; 'some privileges', Plutarch.

⁸ Stobaeus in one place has 'unjustly' rather than 'unexpectedly'.

EURIPIDES

363

εἷς μὲν λόγος μοι δεῦρ' αἰεὶ περαίνεται.

Aristophanes, *Lysistrata* 1135 with schol., and lexica

364

ἐκ τῶν πόνων τοι τὰγάθ' αὖξεται βροτοῖς.

Stobaeus 3.29.9 and 3.29.22; Orion 7.2 Haffner; elsewhere in several places as a proverb. Stob. 3.29.22 and Orion add two verses identified by Stobaeus elsewhere with *Archelaus* (F 239).

365

<ΕΡΕΧΘΕΤΣ?>

αἰδοῦς δὲ καὐτὸς δυσκρίτως ἔχω πέρι
καὶ δεῖ γὰρ αὐτῆς κάστιν αὖ κακὸν μέγα.

Clement of Alexandria, *Miscellanies* 6.2.9.5

366

τοῦνθένδ' ἀπίχθυσ βαρβάρους οἰκῆν δοκῶ.

Eustathius on Homer, *Odyssey* 12.251 citing Aristophanes of Byzantium F 48A Slater

367

ἐν ἀστρώτῳ πέδῳ
εὐδουσι, πηγαῖς δ' οὐχ ὑγραίνουσιν πόδας.

Clement of Alexandria, *Miscellanies* 6.2.7.1; v. 2 πηγαῖς . . .
πόδας: Eustathius on Homer, *Iliad* 16.235

ERECHTHEUS

363

One argument of mine extends thus far.

364

Men's goods increase because of their own efforts.

365

<ERECHTHEUS?>

I also am of two minds about self-restraint. It is needed, but it is also a great evil.¹

¹ The contrast between 'good' *aidôs* (proper restraint) and 'bad' *aidôs* (disabling inhibition) goes back to Hesiod, *Works & Days* 318 (cf. Homer, *Iliad* 24.44-5); cf. also the enigmatic *Hippolytus* 385-7.

366

The region beyond is inhabited, I believe, by barbarians who eat no fish.¹

¹ This seems comparable with Homer's description of men who know nothing of the sea because they live far from it (*Odyssey* 11.122-5), but the context is unknown: possibly from a description of Eumolpus' Thrace?

367

They sleep on uncovered ground and do not wet their feet with water.¹

¹ A description of the Helloi or Selloi, priests of Zeus's oracle at Dodona: cf. Homer, *Iliad* 16.233-5; Sophocles, *Women of Trachis* 1166-8. The reference here has been variously explained: Erechtheus consulting Dodona, or the Dodonaean seer Skiros assisting Eumolpus, or Erechtheus thinking of Dodona as a refuge for his daughter (cf. *Phoenician Women* 977-85)?

EURIPIDES

369

ΧΟΡΟΣ

κείσθω δόρυ μοι μίτον ἀμφιπλέκειν ἀράχλαις·
 μετὰ δ' ἠσυχίας πολὺν γῆρα συνοικῶν
 ἄδοιμι κᾶρα στεφάνοις πολὺν στεφανώσας,
 Θρηκίαν πέλταν πρὸς Ἀθάνας
 5 περικίοσιν ἀγκρεμάσας θαλάμοις,
 δελτῶν τ' ἀναπτύσσοιμι γῆ-
 ρυν ἃ σοφοὶ κλέονται.

Stobaeus 4.14.4; v. 1: Plutarch, *Life of Nicias* 9

2 συνοικῶν Cropp: συνοικοίην or -είην Stob.: σύνοικος
 Page

(370 N = 369d, brief fragment)

370

col. i *remains of two lines, then:*

<ΚΟΡΤΦΑΙΟΣ ἢ ΠΡΑΞΙΘΕΑ>

τί]ς ἂν πρὸς ἀγμοῖς Παλλάδος σταθεῖς< > ποδὶ
 κ]ῆρυξ γένοιτ' ἂν τῶν κατὰ στ<ρ>ατόν, φίλοι;

<ΧΟΡΟΣ>

5 ἦ ποτ' ἀνὰ πόλιν ἀλαλαῖς ἰῆ παιὰν
 κ]αλλίνικον βοάσω μέλος

P. Sorbonne 2328, ed. C. Austin, *Recherches de Papyrologie* 4
 (1967), 11–67 with Plates 1–2; some new readings by M. Fassino
 in *TrGF* 5.1161; vv. 21–2: Stobaeus 4.53.16

1–11 assigned to Chorus by Austin: 1–2, 5–11 to Chorus, 3–4
 to Praxithea by Martínez

ERECHTHEUS

369

CHORUS

Let my spear lie idle for spiders to entangle in their webs;
 and may I dwell peacefully with grey old age, singing my
 songs, my grey head crowned with garlands, after hanging
 a Thracian shield upon Athena's columned halls;¹ and may 5
 I unfold the voice of the tablets in which the wise are cele-
 brated.²

¹ A dedication in the Parthenon to mark retirement from mili-
 tary service at the age of sixty; 'Thracian' suggests a shield cap-
 tured from the invaders. For the association of song with old age
 cf. *Heracles* 676-9. ² An allusion to books, unusual in trag-
 edy: cf. *Alcestis* 962-9, *Hippolytus* 954.

(370 N = 369d, brief fragment)

370

remains of two lines, then:

<CHORUS LEADER or PRAXITHEA>

(Who) has stood by Pallas' cliffs,¹ my friends, and can be
 our herald of how things stand with the army?

<CHORUS>

(*chanting*)

Shall I ever shout through the city the glorious victory
 song, crying *Iē paiān*,² taking up the task of my aged hand, 5

¹ The steep north face of the Acropolis, overlooking the bat-
 tlefield. This call for news raises expectation of the theatrical mes-
 senger's arrival: cf. *Electra* 759, Aeschylus, *Seven against Thebes*
 36-8. ² A cry appealing for or celebrating deliverance, usu-
 ally directed to Apollo with whom the healing god Paieon had
 come to be identified.

EURIPIDES

ἀναλαβόμενος [ἔρ]γον γεραιᾶς χερὸς,
 Λίβυος ἀχάεντος [λω]τοῦ
 κιθάριδος βοαῖςε[...].ι τροχαλὸς
 ἐπομέναις;

10 ἄρα νέα γέροντι [κοι]νώσεται χοροῦ παρθένος;

ἀλλ' εἰσορῶ γὰρ τόνδ' ἀπὸ στρατοῦ πέλλ[ας
 (about nine lines missing)

< ΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ >

col. ii μη.[... Ἐρεχθ]εὺς ὡς τροπαῖα[
 ἔστη[σε χώρ]α τῆδε βαρβά[ρ

< ΠΡΑΞΙΘΕΑ >

καλῶ[ς ἔλεξ]ας· ἀλλὰ τίς γαριεθ[

< ΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ >

15 πέπτ[ωκε..].....π.ρευ[

< ΠΡΑΞΙΘΕΑ >

πόσις δ' Ἐρεχθεὺς ἐστὶ μοι σεσ[ωμένος];

< ΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ >

μακάριός ἐστ' ἐκεῖνος εὐδαίμων [τ' ἀνήρ.

< ΠΡΑΞΙΘΕΑ >

εἰ ζῆ γε πόλεός τ' εὐτυχῆ νίκ[ην φέρει.

13 βαρβά[ρων κατά Austin: βαρβά[ρου δορός (οἱ στρα-
 τοῦ) Reeve 15 πέπτ[ωκε δ]ῆ πρὸς ἡπαρ Εὐ[μολπος
 τυπέις (e.g.) Austin and Page 17 [τ' ἀνήρ Diggle: [θ' ἄμα
 Austin 18 φέρει Martínez, West: ἄγει Austin

ERECHTHEUS

the Libyan (lotus) pipe sounding to the cithara's cries . . .
wheeling along (with?) . . . following? Shall young girl
share with aged man in the dance? 10

<CHORUS LEADER>

But look, I see approaching here from our army . . .
(*about nine lines missing*)

<MESSENGER>

Do not(?) . . . for (Erechtheus) has set up a trophy . . . for 12
this (land over the) barbarian(s) (*or the barbarian army*).

<PRAXITHEA>

(You have spoken) well—but who . . .

<MESSENGER>

. . . has fallen . . . ³ 15

<PRAXITHEA>

And my husband Erechtheus—is he safe?

<MESSENGER>

He is a blessed and a fortunate (man).

<PRAXITHEA>

Yes, if he lives and (brings) our city's happy victory.

³ Perhaps 'Eumolpus has fallen, struck to the heart' (Austin and Page).

EURIPIDES

< ΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ >

ὥστ' αὐτὰ ταῦτα .(.)ε.λα λειφθ[ῆναι

< ΠΡΑΞΙΘΕΑ >

20 τί φῆς; τέθνηκεν ἢ φάος βλέπε[ι τόδε;

< ΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ >

τέθνηκ'. ἐγὼ δὲ τοὺς καλῶς τεθνηκότας
ζῆν φημὶ μᾶλλον †τοῦ βλέπειν τοὺς μὴ καλῶς †.

*traces of one more line, then about 8 lines missing from end
of column*

(4 columns = about 80 lines missing)

col. iii *ten lines missing at top of column, then ends of ten lines
(23–32), some or all lyric, 25 and 28 at least delivered by
Praxithea, including the words 23 δυστήνου μόρον, 25
ἐμὰς κόρας, 27 (ἐ)πίπτετε, 28 ἀπύουσα, 30 δωμάτων, 32
πρόσοψιν τέκνων*

col. iv *about ten lines missing, then:*

< ΧΟΡΟΣ >

traces of one line

35 Δηιοῦς κάρα· φερόμεθ' ἀγόμεθ' ἐπὶ δάκρυα·
σὲ δ'—αἰαῖ—διῆλθέ σ', οἴμοι.

19 .(.)ε.λα read by Fassino: σκῦλα Austin λειφθ[ῆναι
μόνον Austin (πόλει Kamerbeek, θεοῖς Cropp) 22 so
Stobaeus (κοῦ Diels, τ' οὐ Tucker): possibly ζῆν [...] μᾶλλον
καὶ οὐ[P. Sorb. 32 τέκνων read by Fassino: .ει.....Austin
34 κάρα: κόρα Diggle, Collard

ERECHTHEUS

<MESSENGER>

He brings it, so that just these . . . (have been) left . . . ⁴

<PRAXITHEA>

What are you saying? He is dead, or still sees (this) light? 20

<MESSENGER>

He is dead—but those who have died nobly, I declare, live more (than those who survive ignobly).⁵

about one hundred lines lost including four whole columns with the Messenger's report and beginning of the reaction to it; then ends of ten lyric lines of Praxithea, or perhaps Praxithea with Chorus, including 23 wretched . . . 's fate, 25 my daughters, 27 you are (or were) falling, 28 crying out (or calling on), 30 the house, 32 sight of (my) children; then about ten more lines missing; then:

<CHORUS>

. . . head(?)⁶ of Deio. We are borne, we are driven, to tears. But you—alas!—you it has pierced—o woe! 35

⁴ With Austin's reading (doubted by Fassino), 'just these spoils (alone have been) left' ('left for the city', Kamerbeek; 'left for the gods', Cropp).

⁵ This is the likely sense of the original text, but the wording is uncertain. Stobaeus has 'live more than those who have died ignobly live'. The papyrus may have had 'live more, and those who have died ignobly do not live'. For the sentiment see on *Meleager* F 518.

⁶ Perhaps part of an address to Demeter (= Deio), phrased as for example Sophocles, *Antigone* 1. But 'daughter of Deio' (Diggle, Collard) may well be right, i.e. Persephone to whom Erechtheus' daughter was probably sacrificed.

EURIPIDES

< ΠΡΑΞΙΘΕΑ >

αἰαί· τίν' ἐπὶ πρῶτον, †ἦ σέ τὰν {ἦ σέ τὰν} ἦ σέ
τὰν φίλαν

παρθένων δραμων φρ . . . μανει τάφω

. ακ . . α μέλεα προσεῖδον† . . . ι . . . ν

κάτω πόσιν ἐμὸν στένω

40 φόνια φνσῆματ'; ἦ σέ τὰν πρὸ πόλεως

τόδ' ἱερὸν ἀνίερον ὄσιον ἀνόσιον

. αι κορυφήν ἀπαταιθ[

οἰ]χόμεθ' οἰχόμεθ', ὦ π[

col. v ὡς ἄδ]ακρὺς τις ὠμόφρων <θ' > ὃς κακοῖς ἐμοῖς

οὐ στένει.

< ΧΟΡΟΣ >

45 φεῦ φε]ῦ, ἰὼ Γᾶ, φεύγετε ν

πόνων] εἶ τί μοί ποτ' εἶη τελευτά.

.]γετε χώρας χθόνιος μ νοις

]ατας· ὀρχεῖται δὲ π[ό]λεος πέδον σάλω·

ἐνοσι]ν ἐμβάλλει Ποσειδῶν πόλει

50]ηπερ δυστανοτατα εμοι

]ων πόνοι πάρεισι, συμπίπτει στέγη·

36 so read (with deletion) by Fassino: ἦ σέ τὰν πάτραν ἦ σέ
τὰν φίλαν Austin: τὰν φιλᾶν Kamerbeek 37 δραμων P.
Sorb.: δράμω Collard: φρενομανεῖ (declined by Austin) Kamer-
beek: φρενομανῆς ἀφῶ | δάκρυα Diggle 38 τακερᾶ? Aus-
tin: δάκρυα Diggle (see above) 41 τόδε read by Fassino,
τὸν by Austin ἱερὸν ἀνίερον Diggle: ἀνίερον ἀνίερον P. Sorb.
49 ἐνοσι]ν Diggle 51 βᾶθρ]ων Austin: σεισμ]ῶν Diggle

ERECHTHEUS

< PRAXITHEA >

Alas! To whom first, †to you or to you the dear one of my daughters . . . in (my) . . . funeral rite . . . I have looked upon your . . . limbs (?) . . . † (Or) shall I lament my husband below . . . murderous blasts, or you, who for the city . . . this holy and unholy, hallowed and unhallowed . . . the height . . . ?⁷ We are lost, we are lost, O . . . (how) incapable of tears, and cruel, is anyone who does not lament my sufferings. 40

(The earth trembles)

< CHORUS >

(Oh, Oh!) O Earth! Flee . . . if there could ever be any end 45
(of my sufferings) . . . the land's subterranean . . . The city's ground dances with the quaking! Poseidon is hurling (an earthquake) on the city . . . most miserabl(y?) . . . for me(?) 50
Here are tribulations . . . ⁸ the roof is falling in . . . we are

⁷ The text of vv. 36–42 is very uncertain. In 36 Austin's reading gave awkward sense, 'to you my fatherland, or to you the dear one amongst my daughters'. Probably Praxithea addresses first the two daughters who have killed themselves and whose bodies may now lie before her (36–8, cf. 68–70), then her husband Erechtheus who was swallowed up into the earth (38–40), then the daughter who was sacrificed and whose body will not have been brought back to the palace (40–2). Fassino's reading in 36 and the suggestions of Collard and Kameerbeek in 36–7 might then give: 'To which—to you, or to you—of my dear daughters shall I run in my distraught funeral rite'. Diggle suggests in 37–8 ' . . . shall I, distraught, release my tears'. In v. 41 we translate Diggle's adjustment; the papyrus has 'this unholy, unholy, hallowed and unhallowed . . .'. ⁸ 'troubles for foundations', Austin; 'troubles from quakes', Diggle.

EURIPIDES

] ασειστρααος οἰχόμεθα....πάσαις
one line largely illegible
] ας πόδα δὲ βακχεύων.

< ΑΘΗΝΑ >

- 55 αὐδῶ τρίακιν>ναν τῆσδ' ἀπο<σ>τρέφειν χθονός,
 πόντιε Πόσειδον, μηδὲ γῆν ἀναστατοῦν
 πόλιν τ' ἐρείπειν τὴν ἐμὴν ἐπήρατον·
 μὴ δευτέρον σοι δοῖενοι
 οὐχ εἶς ἄδην σ' ἐπλησεν; οὐ κατὰ χθονός
- 60 κρύψας Ἐρεχθέα τῆς ἐμῆς ἤψω φρενός;
 κᾶπε]ιτα μέλλεις ταῦταρα
 ... ν]ερτεροι[.....]..σεν θεά;
 σὺ δ',] ὦ χθονός [σώτειρα Κηφισοῦ] κόρη,
 col. vi ἄκου' Ἀθάνας τῆς ἀμήτορο[ς λό]γους·
- 65 καὶ πρῶτα μὲν σοι σημανῶ παι[δὸς] πέρι
 ἦν τῆσδε χώρας σὸς προθύεται [πόσι]ς·
 θάψον νιν οὐπερ ἐξέπνευσ' ο[ικτ]ρὸν βίου,
 καὶ τάσδ' ἀδελφὰς ἐν τάφῳ τ[αὐτ]ῷ χθονός
 γενναιότητος οὐνεχ', αἴτιν[ες φί]λης
- 70 ὄρκους ἀδελφῆς οὐκ ἐτόλμησα[ν λι]πέιν.
 ψυχαὶ μὲν οὖν τῶνδ' οὐ βεβᾶσ' [Ἄιδ]ην πάρα,
 εἰς δ' αἰθέρ' αὐτῶν πνεῦμ' ἐγὼ [κ]ατώκισα·

52 beginning so read by Fassino:] ασειν στρατός, Austin
 54 so read by Fassino: ἐν δώ]μασικιν> πάλαι βακχεύων Austin
 58 μὴ δευτέρον read by Fassino: μηδ' εὐτυχῆ, and perhaps at end
 θεοί, Austin: μὴ δευτέρον σοι δοῖεν εὐτυχεῖν θεοί Collard
 61 end δὴ τελεσφόρα? Austin: σωφρονέστερα Fassino

ERECHTHEUS

lost . . . all . . . (*one illegible line*) . . . and dancing in frenzy.⁹

(*The goddess Athena appears above*)

< ATHENA >

I call on you to avert your trident from this country, sea god 55
 Poseidon; do not uproot my land, nor ruin my fair city. May
 . . . not give you a second . . . ¹⁰ Has one (victim) not satisfied you? Have you not clutched at my heart by confining
 Erechtheus below the earth? (And) do you (then) intend 60
 (*or wait*) . . . these . . . ¹¹ (*for?*) the nether powers . . . goddess . . . ?

(And you, daughter of Cephisus),¹² saviour of this land,
 hear now the words of motherless Athena.¹³ First I shall instruct you concerning your child whom your (husband) 65
 caused to be sacrificed for this country. Bury her where
 she breathed out her (lamented) life, and these sisters also
 in (the same) earth tomb, in recognition of their nobility,
 as they did not allow themselves to forsake their pledges to
 their dear sister. Therefore these girls' souls have not gone 70
 down to (Hades), but I have lodged their spirits in the

⁹ Austin's reading gives 'dancing in frenzy long since in the palace'.

¹⁰ With Austin's readings, 'May the gods not give you a successful . . .' Collard suggests 'May the gods not permit you to succeed a second time'.

¹¹ Perhaps 'these effectual (actions)' (Austin), or 'these more temperate (actions)' (Fassino).

¹² See test. ii above with note.

¹³ Athena was born from the head of Zeus after he swallowed her mother Metis (Hesiod, *Theogony* 886-900). The reference here seems to emphasize her detachment from Praxithea's maternal grief.

EURIPIDES

ὄνομα δὲ κλεινὸν θήσομαι κα[θ' Ἑλλ]άδα
 Ἰτακινθίδας βροτοῖσι κικλή[σκε]ιν θεάς.

- 75 ἐπει κα. οἰχεται[.....]μένη
 τοῦ συ ὑακίν[θου γ]άνος
 καὶ γῆν ἔσωσε, τοῖς ἐμοῖς ἀστο[ῖς λέγ]ω
 ἐνιαυσίαις σφας μὴ λελησμ[ένους] χρόνῳ
 θυσίαισι τιμᾶν καὶ σφαγαῖσι [βουκ]τόνοις
- 80 κοσμοῦ[ντας ἱ]εροῖς παρθένων [χορεύ]μασιν
 γνον[.....] ἐ]χθρ. εἰς μάχη[ν
 κινῆ [.....]ας ἀσπίδα στρατ[
- col. vii πρώταισι θύειν πρότομα πολεμίου δορὸς
 τῆς οἰνοποιοῦ μὴ θιγόντας ἀμπέλου
- 85 μῆδ' εἰς πυρὰν σπένδοντας ἀλλὰ πολυπόνου
 καρπὸν μελίσσης ποταμίαις πηγαῖς ὁμοῦ·
 ἄβατον δὲ τέμενος παισὶ ταῖσδ' εἶναι χρεών,
 εἶργειν τε μή τις πολεμίων θύσῃ λαθῶν
 νίκην μὲν αὐτοῖς, γῆ δὲ τῆδε πημονήν.

81–2 γνόν[τας δ' ὅτ' ἐ]χθρὸς εἰς μάχη[ν ὀρμώμενος | κινῆ
 [πρὸς ὑμ]ᾶς ἀσπίδα στρατ[ηλατῶν (e.g.) Austin (γνόν[τας
 δ' Kamerbeek, ὅτ' Treu)

¹⁴ This recognition of the girls' valour recalls part of the epitaph for Athenian soldiers fallen at Poteidaia (*IG* I³ 1179), 'Heaven has received their souls, and earth their bodies'. The idea that the soul or spirit might naturally escape to the heavens after death was also current in Euripides' time; cf. *Chrysisippus* F 839.8–14 with note.

¹⁵ The Attic historian Phanodemus (4th c. B.C., cited in *TrGF* test. *vib) said the burial site was on the 'Hyacinthus Hill', perhaps the

ERECHTHEUS

heaven,¹⁴ and shall establish for them a renowned name—
 ‘Hyacinthid goddesses’—which mortals shall call them by
 throughout all Greece.¹⁵ (And) since . . . the hyacinth’s
 sheen and preserved the land, I (instruct) my citizens to
 honour them—never forgetting this over time—with an-
 nual sacrifices and slayings of (oxen), adorning these ritu-
 als with sacred maiden dances.¹⁶ (I instruct them also,
 whenever they) learn (that an) enemy (is setting forth) for
 battle and moving his army (against you on campaign), to
 offer to these maidens first the pre-campaign sacrifice, not
 touching the wine-producing vine nor pouring wine on the
 altar,¹⁷ but rather the produce of the industrious bee mixed
 with stream-water. These maidens should have a sanctuary
 that is untrodden, and no enemy should be allowed to
 make covert offerings there, getting victory for them and
 affliction for this land.¹⁸

one now known as the Hill of the Nymphs. The identification of
 the Erechtheids with the Hyacinthids replaced the identification
 of the latter as daughters of a Spartan immigrant, Hyacinthus, who
 in myth had also sacrificed themselves for Athens (cf. Apollodorus
 3.15.8). In reality Hyacinthus and Hyacinthides were originally
 names for deities promoting vegetation and perhaps child-
 growth.

¹⁶ The festival prescribed may be the Panatheaea:
 cf. *Children of Heracles* 777–83. On the rituals for the Hy-
 acinthids in vv. 79–80 and 83–6, and for Erechtheus in v. 94, see G.
 Ekroth, *The Sacrificial Rituals of Greek Hero-Cults* (Liège, 2002),
 172–6, 186–9.

¹⁷ Vine-wood and wine were excluded from
 use in the fuel and libations for sacrifices to some deities (e.g. the
 Furies in Aeschylus, *Eumenides* 107).

¹⁸ For this guarding
 of the heroized girls’ protective power cf. *Children of Heracles*
 1030–44 (Eurystheus’ tomb) and Sophocles, *Oedipus at Colonus*
 1520–35 (Oedipus’ tomb).

EURIPIDES

πόσει δὲ τῷ σῶ σῆκὸν ἐν μέσῃ πόλει
 τεύξαι κελεύω περιβόλοισι λαίνοισι·
 κεκλήσεται δὲ τοῦ κτανόντος οὔνεκα
 Σεμνὸς Ποσειδῶν ὄνομ' ἐπωνομασμένος
 ἀστοῖς Ἐρεχθεὺς ἐν φοναῖσι βουθύτοις.

σοὶ δ', ἧ πόλεως τῆσδ' ἐξανώρθωσας βάθρα,
 δίδωμι βωμοῖς τοῖς ἐμοῖσιν ἔμπυρα
 πόλει προθύειν ἱερέαν κεκλημένην.

ἂ μὲν κατ' αἶαν τήνδε <δεῖ> ἴκονεῖν κλύεις,
 ἂ δ' αὖ δικάζει Ζεὺς πατῆρ ἐν οὐρανῷ

100 λέγοιμ' ἄν· Εὐμόλπος γὰρ Εὐμόλπου γεγῶ[s
 col. viii *beginnings of 17 lines completing Athena's speech, then be-*
ginning of Praxithea's reply:

101 τοῦ κατθ[ανόντος	105 μίαν δε.[
102 Δημητρ[106 καὶ τὴν τ
103 ὄν χρὴ γεν[έσθαι	107 ἴάσιν δεμ.[
104 γήμαντ[108 ἄ..(.)ων λ.[

98 τηνδεεκ- (hence τήνδε <δεῖ>κ-) Austin: τοισιδεκ-
 (hence τοῖσδε <δεῖ>κ-) Fassino 101 end τοῦδε πέμπτος
 ἔκγονος (e.g.) West 108 ἄστρων read by Austin, ἄρων
 by Fassino

¹⁹ Athena's instructions give an origin for the 'Erechtheum', also known as the temple of Athena Polias (Pausanias 1.26.6; J. M. Hurwit, *The Acropolis in the Age of Pericles* [Cambridge, 2004], 164–80 with CD-ROM images 120–32). This complex structure in its classical form was planned or under construction when

ERECHTHEUS

For your husband I command that a precinct be built in mid-city, with stone surrounds; and on account of his killer he shall be called August Poseidon surnamed Erechtheus, by the citizens in their sacrifices of oxen.¹⁹ 90

To you, Praxithea, who have restored this city's foundations, I grant the right to make burnt sacrifices for the city on my altars, and to be called my priestess.²⁰ 95

You have heard what (must) be brought to pass in this land; and now I shall tell you the judgement that Zeus my father in heaven passes.²¹ Eumolpus, born from Eumolpus who (has died) ...²² Demeter ... he is (to become) ... marrying ... and one (*fem.*) ... and the (*fem.*) ... and to (*or for*) 100 105

Erechtheus was produced. It incorporated Athena's olive tree, Poseidon's salt spring with the marks of his trident's blow, and an altar of Erechtheus. In it the cults of Athena Polias, Poseidon and Erechtheus were all administered by the family of the Eteoboutadae. The identification of Erechtheus with Poseidon here reflects their strong association as chthonic powers in Athenian cult and ideology: cf. Lacore 1983 (bibl. above), M. Christopoulos in R. Hägg, *Ancient Greek Cult Practice from the Epigraphical Evidence* (Stockholm, 1994), 123–30. For the sacrifices of oxen see Ekroth (n. 16 above).

²⁰ Praxithea becomes the first priestess of Athena Polias (see previous note). The rituals at the beginning of the play foreshadow this (F 350–1).

²¹ Zeus's authority is needed to settle the dispute over the ownership of Attica, and to assign to Eumolpus and his descendants their destined role in connection with the cult of Demeter and Persephone at Eleusis (see Introduction above).

²² West suggests 'born as fifth descendant from Eumolpus who died here', comparing the genealogy given by Andron, *FCrH* 10 F 13.

EURIPIDES

- | | |
|-----------------------|-------------------------|
| 109 <i>Δηιοῦς</i> μι[| 114 <i>Κήρυκες</i> [|
| 110 <i>ἄρρητά</i> γε[| 115 <i>ἀλλ' ἴσχε</i> . |
| 111 <i>πόνος</i> τε.[| 116 <i>οἰκτρὰς</i> ἀν[τ |
| 112 <i>σεμνῶν</i> .[| 117 <i>καὶ ταπε</i> [|
| 113 <i>Ἐρμού</i> το[| |

<ΠΡΑΞΙΘΕΑ>

- | | |
|------------------------|------------------------|
| 118 <i>δέσποινα</i> .[| 119 <i>οἰκτροὶ</i> με[|
|------------------------|------------------------|

ERECHTHEUS

the Hyades²³ . . . ²⁴ of/from Deio²⁵ . . . (things) not to be uttered . . . toil (or trouble) . . . of/from the holy . . . of/from 110
 Hermes . . . Heralds . . . ²⁶ But restrain . . . piteous (cries?) 115
 . . . and . . .

< PRAXITHEA >

Mistress . . . (we are?) pitiable . . .

²³ According to a scholiast on Aratus, *Phaenomena* 172, Euripides here identified the Erechtheids/Hyacinthids with the Hyades (rain nymphs, and stars in the constellation Taurus). The association may validate Athena's assurance that she has 'lodged their spirits in the heaven (*aether*)', v. 72. The Hyades also had a child-nursing role similar to that of the Hyacinthides (n. 15 above): cf. Kearns 61, J. Larson, *Greek Heroine Cults* (Madison, 1995), 189–90 n. 5. ²⁴ Austin's reading 'stars' can be associated with the mention of the Hyades; Fassino's 'loaves' is less easy to accommodate. ²⁵ Demeter, as in v. 34. ²⁶ Vv. 110–4 referred to the secrets of the Eleusinian mysteries (110) and the priestly family of the Kerykes ('Heralds') who claimed descent from Keryx son of Hermes.

EURYSTHEUS

Pechstein 145-76; Krumeich 422-30; H. Van Looy in ed. Budé VIII.2.133-41.

Gantz 381, 389-90; LIMC Vi.92 (cf. 44-6) under 'Herakles' and VIII.i.580 'Eurystheus'.

Through the hostility of the goddess Hera to many irregular children of her husband Zeus, his son Heracles performed the famous Twelve Labours for Eurystheus king of Mycenae (how Hera tricked Zeus, so that a mere mortal dominated his own son, is told in Homer, Iliad 19.95-124; cf. on Alcmene F.89 above).

The satyr play Eurystheus burlesqued the story of the Twelfth Labour, the fetching from Hades of the dog Cerberus (this is part of the background to the deeply tragic Heracles, and Children of Heracles ends with Eurystheus' eventual fall and death). Eurystheus intended the task to be fatal (cf. Heracles 22-5, 610-7 etc., also Polydectes' plot against Perseus in Dictys, and Proetus' against Bellerophon in Stheneboea). F 372 has Heracles taking orders from Eurystheus, presumably soon after the play's start; but the other fragments give no clear idea of the plot, which we must guess from the outline known in myth and inferred from many vase-paintings of Heracles' feat with Cerberus (LIMC 'Herakles' nos. 2097-2136). F 371 is ad-

EURIPIDES

dressed to Silenus as 'father' of the satyrs, but this is regular in such plays (e.g. Cyclops 84). If F 377 refers not to Heracles' own 'bastardy' (for his 'mixed' parentage see Introduction to Alcmene) but to Theseus' doubtful parentage (Pechstein 158; cf. Aegaeus F 1 and 2), this hero will have figured in the play too, for myth generally had Heracles not only returning with Cerberus but at the same time saving Theseus (Heracles 619, 1169-70), who had gone there unsuccessfully to retrieve his friend Pirithous (see Pirithous in the Appendix at the end of this edition).

The scene must be Mycenae; Heracles goes to Hades (cf. F 379a, 380) and returns with Cerberus; Eurystheus is doubly thwarted in his design, perhaps comically, for the dog may have terrified him (F 372 may even point to a giant theatrical dog, perhaps two men inside a kind of 'working model' or mock-up like a pantomime horse): a Caeretan hydria of c. 530-20 B.C. has Heracles bringing Cerberus to Eurystheus, who then hides in panic in a great jar (LIMC 'Herakles' no. 2616). So Euripides may not be original in diverting to this Twelfth Labour Eurystheus' panic when Heracles brings him either the Erymanthine boar or the Nemean lion (cf. Gantz 389-90). At any rate the play would have ended probably with some means of dealing with Cerberus and certainly with Heracles' release from bondage to the humiliated Eurystheus, and with that of the satyrs themselves from their slavery to him (such release is common in satyr plays; cf. Cyclops 679, 701-9).

Brief fragments: F 379 'a deep cup' and F 380 'Tartarean'. Other ascriptions: F 863 (also ascribed to Syleus), 936 (also to Pirithous); adesp. F 658 (two damaged papyrus fragments with 24 lines relating to Heracles fetching Cerberus: see under Pirithous, Other ascriptions).

EURYSTHEUS

There is no evidence for the date, but Krumeich 430, noting that the delivery of Cerberus to Eurystheus is anticipated in Heracles (610–7, 1386–7), suggests that Eurystheus may have been the satyr play in the same production, near 415 B.C. The only other play perhaps with this subject was Sophocles' Cerberus, of which there is only one fragment and the plot is a complete blank.

ΕΥΡΥΣΘΕΥΣ

371

ΗΡΑΚΛΗΣ

πέμφεις δ' ἐς Ἄιδου ζῶντα κοῦ τεθνηκότα·
καί μοι τὸ τέρθρον δῆλον οἶ πορεύομαι.

Erotian τ 29

372

οὐκ ἔστιν, ᾧ γεραίε, μὴ δείσης τάδε·
τὰ Δαιδάλεια πάντα κινεῖσθαι δοκεῖ
βλέπειν τ' ἀγάλμαθ'· ᾧδ' ἀνὴρ κείνος σοφός.

Schol. on *Hecuba* 838: vv. 2–3: Tzetzes, *Chiliades* 1.521–2
3 βλέπειν Schmidt: λέγειν Schol.

373

πᾶς δ' ἐξεθέρισεν ὥστε πύρινον <στάχυν>
σπάθη κολούων φασγάνου μελανδέτου.

Pollux 10.145

1 πᾶς δὲ φασγάνῳ ἐξεθέρισεν ὥστε πύρινον Pollux: corr.
and suppl. Pierson: τὰς δὲ (sc. κεφαλὰς) Weil

EURYSTHEUS

371

HERACLES

You will be sending a living man into Hades, and not a dead one; and the end towards which I make my way is clear to me.

372

They are not real, old man; do not fear them: all the figures made by Daedalus seem to move and look, so clever is that man!¹

¹ Daedalus was the mythical constructor of lifelike, and seemingly alive, figures; cf. also Euripides, *Hecuba* 838, where the Scholia cite this fragment with 'move and speak', since the figures are evoked there for their artificial voices. Daedalus constructs an artificial cow for Pasiphae in *Cretans*: see Introduction with F 988 there.

373

Everyone made harvest, as if of ears (of corn), slashing with the blades of their black swords.¹

¹ A reference to the killing of the many-headed Hydra, one of Heracles' earlier Labours—but 'everyone' makes sense only if Silenus the father of the satyrs is claiming that they helped Heracles (as Dionysus does in *Cyclops* 5–8). Weil conjectured 'He made harvest of them (i.e. the heads) . . .'

EURIPIDES

374

ἢ κύαθον ἢ χαλκήλατον
ἦθμόν προσίσχων τοῖσδε τοῖς ὑπωπίοις.

Pollux 10.108

375

†πιστὸν μὲν οὖν εἶναι χρῆ τὸν διάκονον
τοιούτου τ' εἶναι† καὶ στέγειν τὰ δεσποτῶν.

Stobaeus 4.19.6 (text unmetrical and tautologous)

376

οὐκ οἶδ' ὅτω χρῆ κανόνι τὰς βροτῶν τύχας
ὀρθῶς ἀθρήσαντ' εἰδέναι τί δραστέον.

Stobaeus 4.34.41

2 τί Meineke: τὸ Stob.

377

μάτην δὲ θνητοὶ τοὺς νόθους φεύγουσ' ἄρα
παῖδας φυτεύειν· ὅς γὰρ ἂν χρηστὸς φύη,
οὐ τοῦνομ' αὐτοῦ τὴν φύσιν διαφθερεῖ.

Stobaeus 4.24.44

EURYSTHEUS

374

... applying a ladle or a hammered strainer to these black eyes of mine.¹

¹ Treatment for contusion like cupping: Aristophanes, *Peace* 541-2.

375

†So a servant must be faithful and be such† and keep his master's business secret.

376

I do not know by what measure one rightly considers the fortunes of men, and knows what is to be done.

377

So it is vain for men to avoid getting bastard sons; the name will not corrupt the nature of anyone born virtuous.¹

¹ Compare *Antigone* F 168, *Andromeda* F 141 with note.

EURIPIDES

378

νῦν δ' ἦν τις οἴκων πλουσίαν ἔχη φάτην,
 πρῶτος γέγραπται τῶν κακίωνων κράτει·
 τὰ δ' ἔργ' ἐλάσσω χρημάτων νομίζομεν.

Stobaeus 4.31.42

2 τῶν κακίωνων κράτει Stob.: τῶν τ' ἀμεινόνων κρατέῃ
 Herwerden

379a (= 933 N)

†βάσκανον μέγιστον ψυχαγωγόν†

Lexicon Vindobonense ψ 6; possibly alluded to at Photius,
Lexicon β 81 Theodoridis

EURYSTHEUS

378

Now if anyone keeps a rich board¹ at his house, he is listed first on the authority of his inferiors;² and we regard his actions less than we do his money.

¹ Literally 'manger', possibly a colloquialism: cf. *Stheneboea* F 670.2. ² Because they sponge on him; alternatively, 'he is listed first and is (judged) superior to his betters' (Herwerden).

379a (= 933 N)

† . . . sorcerer, very great, conjuring up the dead . . . †¹

¹ In this play a reference to Heracles, possibly to his recovery of Theseus from Hades (see Introduction above). The Greek is corrupt, however, and the word translated 'conjuring up the dead' is paraphrased with the adjectives 'malicious' and 'dreadful'.

THE RISTAE, 'HARVESTERS' (ΘΕΡΙΣΤΑΙ)

Pechstein 284-6; H. Van Looy in ed. Budé VIII.2.143-4; Krumeich 476.

This satyr play was lost except as a title by about 200 B.C., the approximate date of the hypothesis (by Aristophanes of Byzantium) to Medea, which notes that it was produced with Medea, Dictys and Philoctetes in the year 431 but 'is not preserved'. There have been attempts to infer its content from comparisons with (1) Sositheus' Daphnis or Lityerses (early 3rd c. B.C.: TrGF 99 F 1a-2a), a satyr play in which Lityerses compelled passers-by to join him in harvesting his crops and at the end of the day cut off their heads and bound their bodies in with the sheaves; and with (2) Euripides' satyric Syleus, in which the name-character compelled passers-by to dig up his vines before killing them and burning them with the roots. It was suggested in the 19th century that Syleus had a chorus of harvesters and acquired the name Harvesters as an alternative. For an account of such speculations see Pechstein (above).

THESEUS

H. Van Looy in ed. Budé VIII.2.145–65.

E. Simon, *Antike Kunst* 6 (1963), 14–16; Webster 105–9, 303; Trendall–Webster III.3.50–1; Aélion (1986) 223–30; Gantz 260–70; *LIMC* III.i.1050–77 ‘Ariadne’, VII.i.922–55 ‘Theseus’ (esp. 940–3); S. Mills (1997: see bibl. for *Aegeus*), 252–5.

King Minos of Crete compelled the Athenians to send him seven youths and seven maidens every ninth year as an offering to the Minotaur, the monstrous offspring of his wife Pasiphae whose story Euripides used in Cretans. On the third occasion the young Theseus volunteered himself and succeeded in killing the Minotaur and escaping from the Labyrinth with the help of Ariadne, who had fallen in love with him, and of Daedalus, architect of the Labyrinth. Theseus had promised to marry Ariadne but on the homeward voyage he left her on the island of Naxos where Dionysus claimed her as his bride; Theseus later married another daughter of Minos, Phaedra. This story is well known from mythographic summaries such as Diodorus 4.61.4–5 and Apollodorus, Epit. 1.7–9, and from the lengthy account in Plutarch, Theseus 17–23. It is mentioned in early epic, appears frequently on archaic vases, and was probably given its canonical Athenocentric shape by a 6th c. epic

EURIPIDES

Theseis (now entirely lost) and the 5th c. Athenian mythographer Pherecydes (FGrH 3 F 148). The fragmentary hypothesis in P. Oxy. 4640 (= test. *iiia* below) confirms that it was the subject of Euripides' *Theseus*.

The hypothesis and fragments suggest only a broad dramatic outline. The play was probably set before Minos' palace with the Labyrinth close by. A chorus of Cretan men or women associated with Minos or Ariadne is likely, while *Theseus*' companions (F 385–6) made a secondary chorus. The arrival of *Theseus*' ship (test. *iiia*.1) was probably reported by the Herdsman in the first episode (F 382: cf. the herdsman in *Iphigenia in Tauris*). *Theseus* and his comrades would then have been brought to Minos, and the lament of *Theseus*' companions (F 385–6) sung at some point before they were taken to the Labyrinth. How *Theseus* encountered Ariadne is unclear, but the hypothesis suggests that the two of them jointly obtained Daedalus' assistance (test. *iiia*.3–7). The action in the Labyrinth must have been reported by an eye-witness (F 386a, *386aa, **386b?), perhaps to Minos himself (test. *iiia*.8) by one of his servants. Ariadne then persuaded her angered father to accept the *fait accompli* and departed with *Theseus* (test. *iiia*.8–14; F 387?). Her separation from him and *Theseus*' later marriage with Phaedra were probably announced by a god instructing Minos at the end of the play (test. *iiia*.14–17), perhaps by Athena herself who in some accounts ordered *Theseus* to abandon Ariadne. E. Simon plausibly suggested that F 388 recommending 'temperate' love comes from Athena's speech at the end of the play, and that this ending is reflected in a late 5th c. vase (LIMC 'Ariadne' no. 94, Trendall–Webster III.3.50, Todisco A 63) which shows Athena crowning *Theseus* as he boards his

THESEUS

ship under Poseidon's supervision, while Dionysus calmly approaches Ariadne to claim her as his destined bride.

*Ascription of F **386b to Theseus is uncertain (see note there). Brief fragment: F 390 'fellow citizen' (Theseus appealing to Daedalus?). Other ascriptions: Aegeus F 7 and 7a (ascriptions confused in the sources), F 926 (see apparatus for F **386b.7), F 964. P. Oxy. 2452 has fragments of an unidentified play on the same subject which are tentatively ascribed to Sophocles' Theseus in TrGF 4 (F **730); cf. Lloyd-Jones in the Loeb Sophocles Fragments, 344–5, Mills 245–52.*

Parodies in Aristophanes' Wasps (F 385–6) place Theseus before 422 B.C. Sophocles' Theseus is a blank except perhaps for P. Oxy. 2452, and nothing is known of the plays with this title produced in the same period by Achaëus and Hera(clydes?) (TrGF nos. 20 and 37).

The character of Euripides' play is hard to establish from the fragments, but he may have given the love-struck Ariadne a pivotal role (cf. test. iiii.5–6, 10–13) while also treating her love for Theseus with some ambivalence so as to justify their final separation (see above on F 388, and Mills 254–5). Eroticization of the story is evident in art from the late 5th century onwards and in later poetry (especially Catullus 64.52–264 and Ovid, Heroides 10 and Ars Amatoria 1.527–64, all discussed by R. Armstrong, Cretan Women [Oxford, 2006], 187–260). It has inspired countless works of European art, literature and music down to the present day (OGCMA I.204–14).

ΘΗΣΕΥΣ

test. iiii (Hypothesis)

-]ν ὑπομείνας· ἐπεὶ δ' εἰς τὴν Κρήτην
 μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων π]αρεγενήθη παίδων, εἰσαχθεὶς εἰς τὸν
 λαβύριθον τὸν Μεινώταυρον ἀπέκτεινεν καὶ ῥαδί-
 ως τὴν ἔξοδον ἠῦρε]ν Δαιδάλου βοηθήσαντος αὐτῷ·
 5 ἐγένετο γὰρ ἐκεῖν]ος Ἀθηναῖος, καὶ τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως
 θυγατρὸς Ἀριάδνης] Ἐθσεὶ συναγωνιώσης πρὸς εὐσεβῆ
]υχθεὶς διακονεῖν οὐκ ἀπόκησεν·
 ὁ δὲ Μείνωσ τὴν ἀπ]ώλειαν αἰσθόμενος τοῦ Μεινωταύ-
 ρου]ω τοὺς περὶ Ἐθσεά τὸν κίνδυνον
 10]ως τῆς Ἀριάδνης ἐπιθυμίας ὑπη-
 ρέτην? ἢ δὲ τ]ὸν μὲν πατέρα πρῶτον ἔπεικσεν τὸν
 ἀ]ξιώσαι, τὸν δὲ Ἐθσεά παρεστήσατο
]εντος ἀποπλεῖν ἑαυτὴν ἀναλαβόν-
 τα· Ἐθσεὺς μὲν οὖν] Ἀθήνας εὐπλόησεν, Ἀ[ρ]ιάδην
 15 δὲ] ἔγημε· Μείνω δεθυμ.....με
] κελύσασα γάμω τὴν ὀ[ρ]γὴν μεσο-
 λαβεῖν/-όντα?] τὴν νεωτέραν θυγατέρα π[

P. Oxy. 4640 col. i.1–18 (followed by hypothesis of *Hippolytus Veiled*), ed. M. van Rossum-Steenbeek (2003) with cooperation of R. Kannicht and J. Diggle; supplements in ed. pr. (vv. 2, 5, 11 Diggle)

THESEUS

test. iiii (Hypothesis)

... enduring... And when he arrived in Crete (with the other children, after being taken into the (Labyrinth), he killed the Minotaur and easily (found the way out) with the help of Daedalus; for (Daedalus was born) Athenian, and as the king's (daughter Ariadne) was aiding Theseus in his struggle, he did not shrink from... towards a righteous... and assisting them.¹ 5
 When (Minos) learned of (the) destruction of the Minotaur (and)... (that) Theseus and his companions (had escaped) the danger... Ariadne's desire... But she first persuaded her father to consider... deserving of..., and induced Theseus... 10
 to sail away with herself on board. (Now Theseus) made a fair voyage to Athens, but... (he did not) marry (or Dionysus married?) Ariadne. And when Minos... (Athena?) ordered him 15
 (to put an end to) his anger with a marriage... his younger daughter...

¹ 'he did not shrink from being bound by an oath and assisting them towards a righteous accomplishment (or bloodshed)' van Rossum, Kannicht; 'when summoned to a righteous transgression he did not shrink from assisting them', Diggle.

7... (ἐν) ὄρκῳ ζει]υχθεῖς (e.g.) van Rossum (πρᾶξιμ or φόνον preceding, Kannicht); παρανομίαν εἰσκηρ]υχθεῖς (e.g.) Diggle 9-10 ἐπέγνω... | φυγόντας (e.g.) van Rossum 14 or (e.g.) καὶ πεμφθεῖς ὑπ' Ἀθηνᾶς Kannicht 15 ἐν Νάξῳ λιπὼν οὐκ] Diggle: ἐν Νάξῳ Διόνυσος] Kannicht

EURIPIDES

381

σχεδὸν παρ' αὐτοῖς κρασπέδοις Εὐρωπίας

Stephanus of Byzantium, 'Εὐρώπη' (p. 287.11 Meineke)

382

ΠΟΙΜΗΝ

ἐγὼ πέφυκα γραμμάτων μὲν οὐκ ἴδρις,
μορφὰς δὲ λέξω καὶ σαφῆ τεκμήρια.

κύκλος τις ὡς τόρνοισι ἐκμετρούμενος,
οὗτος δ' ἔχει σημείον ἐν μέσῳ σαφές·

5 τὸ δεύτερον δὲ πρῶτα μὲν γραμμαὶ δύο,

ταύτας διείργει δ' ἐν μέσαις ἄλλη μία·

τρίτον δὲ βόστρυχός τις ὡς εἰλιγμένος·

τὸ δ' αὖ τέταρτον ἢ μὲν εἰς ὀρθὸν μία,

λοξαὶ δ' ἐπ' αὐτῆς τρεῖς κατεστηριγμέναι

10 εἰσὶν τὸ πέμπτον δ' οὐκ ἐν εὐμαρεῖ φράσαι·

γραμμαὶ γάρ εἰσιν ἐκ διεστῶτων δύο,

αὗται δὲ συντρέχουσι εἰς μίαν βάσιν·

τὸ λοίσθιον δὲ τῷ τρίτῳ προσεμφερές.

Athenaeus 10.454b

(383 + 384 N = 386c below)

385 + 386

ΠΑΙΔΕΣ ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΙ

385 τί με δῆτ', ὦ μελέα μᾶτερ, ἔτικτες;

* * *

386 ἀνόνατον ἄγαλμ', <ὦ> πάτερ, οἴκοισι τεκῶν

Aristophanes, *Wasps* 312, 314 with Schol.

THESEUS

381

Nearly on the very fringes of Europe.¹

¹ Probably referring to Crete.

382

HERDSMAN

I am not acquainted with letters, but will tell you their shapes and identify them clearly: a circle such as is measured out with compasses, that has in its centre a conspicuous mark; the second, first of all a pair of lines, and another one holding these apart at their middles; third, something like a curly lock of hair, and then the fourth has one part standing upright, and three more that are fastened cross-wise on it; the fifth is not an easy one to explain—there are two lines that begin from separate points, and these run together into a single base; and the last of all is similar to the third.¹

¹ The letters spell Theseus' name (ΘΗΣΕΥΣ), perhaps seen on his ship as it approached the Cretan shore. Athenaeus says that this description was imitated by Agathon and Theodectas (*TrGF* 39 F 4 and 72 F 6).

(383 + 384 N = 386c below)

385 + 386

ATHENIAN CHILDREN

(*singing*)

Why, then, O my poor mother, did you bear me . . .

* * *

. . . begetting this ornament for your house in vain, O father.

EURIPIDES

386a

<ΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ?>

κάν τῶδ' ἔπεισι νυκτὸς ἀμβλωπὸν σέλας.

Photius, *Lexicon* a 1164 Theodoridis

*386aa (= 1001 N)

<ΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ?>

... λίνου κλωστήρα περιφέρει λαβών.

Pollux 7.31

**386b

<ΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ>

]θε κiónω[ν

]ατ' εἶχον [

]ακρον καὶ δα[

]ων θεατῆς ἀσφ[αλ-

5 λεύσσω] δὲ τὸν μὲν βο[ν-

ν]τα κυρτόν, εἰς κ[έρας θυμούμενον,

]ι διαψαίροντα.[

]τι θαρσοῦντ(α).[

ν]τα μηρῶν εντοσ[

10 ὁ δ' Αἰγέ]ως μὲν τῶ λόγῳ [κεκλημένος,

ἔργῳ] δὲ Θησεὺς [έ]κ Ποσειδῶνος γεγώς

]ματ' ἐκδὺς θηρὸς [

κο]ρύνη δεξιὰν ὠ[πλισμένος

P. Oxy. 3530, ed. P. J. Parsons (1983). Supplements in ed. pr.

THESEUS

386a

<MESSENGER?>

Meanwhile the sombre glow of night came on.

*386aa (= 1001 N)

<MESSENGER?>

He carries about with him a skein of thread.

**386b¹

<MESSENGER>

... (before or behind?) the pillars ... I had ... (top-most or distant) and ... a spectator ... (taking a safe position?). And (I caught sight of) the (bull, bull-formed, bull-horned?) ... curved, (tossing his horns in anger), sweeping (with his tail?) ... ² ... full of courage ... of his thighs ... (But) Theseus (who is called the son of Aegeus) in name, but (in reality is sprung from) Poseidon, threw off (his garments and approached?) the beast, (armed) with his ... club in his right hand ...

¹ Ascription to Euripides is probable on linguistic grounds. *Theseus* seems a more likely source than *Aegeus* (Theseus facing the Marathonian bull) since 'pillars' in v. 1 suggests an interior scene (cf. *Heracles* 971-80). ² Identification with F 926 (where the participle is feminine) is not likely.

1 πρόσ]θε or ὄπισ]θε (e.g.) Parsons 3 ἄκρον or
 μ]ακρὸν Parsons 4 ἀσφ[αλή λαβῶν ἔδραν (e.g.) Parsons
 (cf. *Suppl.* 653) 5 βο[ῦν or a compound Parsons
 (βο[υγενῆ, βο[υκέρων Kannicht) 6 Parsons compares
Bacchae 743, ταῦροι δ' ὑβριστὰι κὰς κέρασ θημούμενοι ...
 7 κέρκω]ι Parsons (while tentatively identifying v. 7 with F 926)
 12 τὰσθή]ματ' ἐκδὺς θηρὸς [ἔρχεται πέλας (e.g.) Parsons

EURIPIDES

386c (= 383 + 384 N)

<ΘΗΣΕΤΣ ἦ ΜΙΝΩΣ>

κάρα τε γάρ σου συγχέω κόμαις ὁμοῦ
 †ράναί τε δ'† ἐγκέφαλον ὀμμάτων δ' ἄπο
 αἰμοσταγεῖς πρηστῆρες οἴσονται κάτω.

Schol. on Aristophanes, *Frogs* 473

2 ῥανῶ τε πέδοσ' Hermann (but πέδοσ' is metrically unlikely): ῥανεῖ τε γῆν ἐγκέφαλος Kannicht (ῥανεῖ τε γῆν Grotius, ἐγκέφαλος Matthiae) 3 οἴσονται Herwerden: ρεύσονται Schol. (then πρηστῆρε ρεύσονται Barnes)

387

καίτοι φθόνου μὲν μῦθον ἄξιον φράσω.

Schol. on Euripides, *Hecuba* 288

THESEUS

386c (= 383 + 384 N)

<THESEUS or MINOS>

I will crush your head together with your hair, †and . . .
pour . . . † your brain;¹ and jets of blood will be carried
down from your eyes.²

¹ The Greek text is defective in metre and sense. Hermann's 'and I will pour your brain onto the ground' is plausible (cf. *Cyclops* 402, *Soph. Women of Trachis* 781) except for a metrical difficulty in 'onto the ground'. Kannicht suggests 'and your brain will pour to the ground'. ² The exaggerated tone of these threats is surprising, but compare e.g. *Heracles* 565–73. The scholia on *Frogs* 465–7, while quoting these lines for comparison, suggest that the Underworld Gatekeeper's speech threatening Heracles there contains further elements of Theseus' speech threatening Minos. For refutation of this see Rau, *Paratragodia* 116–7.

387

And yet I will tell you something that deserves reproach.¹

¹ Ariadne confessing her love for Theseus? The scholiast on *Hecuba* 288 cites this verse to illustrate the use of the word *φθόνος* to mean 'reproach'.

EURIPIDES

388

ἀλλ' ἔστι δὴ τις ἄλλος ἐν βροτοῖς ἔρως
 ψυχῆς δικαίας σώφρονός τε κάγαθῆς.
 καὶ χρῆν δὲ τοῖς βροτοῖσι τόνδ' εἶναι νόμον,
 τῶν εὐσεβούντων οἴτινές τε σώφρονες
 ἐρᾶν, Κύπριν δὲ τὴν Διὸς χαίρειν ἐᾶν.

Stobaeus 1.9.4b; vv. 1–2: Stobaeus 3.5.61; [Plutarch], *Moralia*
 11e

(389 N = *Aegeus* F 7a)

But there is another kind of love amongst mortals, belonging to a soul that is just and temperate and good. And indeed it would be better if this were their rule, to love those who practise piety and temperance, and leave Zeus's daughter Cypris well alone.¹

¹ Perhaps from a speech of Athena at the end of the play: see Introduction above. Plutarch gives these lines a Platonic sense as validating male homosexual love, but they probably only reformulated a commonplace distinction between moderate and uncontrolled love, the former being associated with wisdom, temperance and virtue: cf. *Melanippe* F 503, *Stheneboea* F 661.22–5, also F 897, 929a, 967, and *Medea* 627–44, 835–45, *Hippolytus* 525–42, *Iphigenia at Aulis* 543–57. Aphrodite is usually identified with both kinds but sometimes especially with uncontrolled sexual desire as in v. 5 here: cf. *Dictys* F 331, *Ino* F 400.

(389 N = *Aegeus* F 7a)

THYESTES

H. Van Looy in ed. Budé VIII.2.167–83.

A. Lesky, *Wiener Studien* 43 (1922–3), 172–98 = *Gesammelte Schriften* (Munich, 1966), 519–40; Webster 113; Aélion (1983) I.84–90; Gantz 545–52; LIMC VIII.i.20–2 ‘Thyestes’.

*Our knowledge of the story of Pelops' sons Atreus and Thyestes in early Greek literature is surprisingly incomplete, but it is clear that it was and remained subject to continual variation and elaboration. The essentials are that Thyestes seduced Atreus' wife Aerope and obtained from her a divinely sent golden-fleeced lamb which entitled its owner to the kingdom of Mycenae; but Zeus reversed the course of the sun to confirm Atreus' title (accounts of this event vary greatly: see below on F *397b), and Atreus killed Aerope and banished Thyestes. Later Thyestes returned with his sons seeking a reconciliation, or lured by Atreus into expecting one, but Atreus killed the sons, served their flesh to Thyestes at a feast, and sent the broken man again into exile. The story to this point is well known in extant 5th c. tragedies (see especially Aeschylus, Agamemnon 1217ff., 1583ff. and Euripides, Electra 699ff., Orestes 807ff., 995ff.). Thyestes' youngest son Aegisthus, who killed Atreus' son Agamemnon on his return from*

THYESTES

Troy, is said in Agamemnon 1605–6 to have escaped the banquet as a baby, but in another account he was born later out of incest between Thyestes and his daughter Pelopia and as a young man assisted Thyestes in killing Atreus. The story of his conception and/or birth must have been in some form the subject of Sophocles' Thyestes at Sicyon (the incest was located there) and is represented—not necessarily in its Sophoclean form—on a fine Apulian vase by the Darius Painter of about 340 B.C. (LIMC 'Thyestes' no. 1, Todisco Ap 144, Taplin no. 30). The slaying of Atreus by Thyestes and Aegisthus appears in another tragedy-inspired picture by the Darius Painter (LIMC 'Thyestes' no. 2, Todisco Ap 137, Taplin no. 95) and in a summary of a (perhaps later) tragic plot in Hyginus, Fab. 88.5–11. Pelopia appears in both of these vase paintings, and in Hyginus she is said to have been married to Atreus while pregnant with Aegisthus, who thus grew up believing he was Atreus' son and was recognized by his true father only when sent by Atreus to kill him; this led both to the killing of Atreus and to Pelopia's suicide on learning of her incestuous union with her father.

Sophocles composed three or four tragedies dealing with this series of stories, but there is very little direct evidence for their content, or for Euripides' plot, or for six other recorded 5th–4th c. Thyestes tragedies (including plays by Agathon, Carcinus and Chaeremon). Lesky argued plausibly that Sophocles treated the golden lamb story in his Atreus or Women of Mycenae, the banquet in a play recorded as either Thyestes or Second Thyestes, and the incest in one recorded as either Thyestes at Sicyon or First Thyestes. A Third Thyestes mentioned in one late documentary source might perhaps be identical with

EURIPIDES

Atreus, or a mirage. In Euripides' *Thyestes*, *Thyestes* was one of Euripides' ragged heroes (test. ii below), and *Atreus* was also a character (F 396, *397b), so the play presumably involved either *Thyestes'* first return from exile and the banquet, or his second return and the killing of *Atreus*. Scholars have generally favoured the first of these, and it would be confirmed if Bergk was right in supposing that a parody of *Thyestes'* reaction to the banquet in Aristophanes' *Proagon* (of 422 B.C.) alluded to Euripides' play. On the other hand, as Kannicht notes, the apparent reference to *Atreus* as an 'old man' in F 396 (cf. also F 397a?) would better suit the later event; but uncertainties over the text of F 396 and of the ancient commentary identifying its context leave some room for doubt. Some of the other fragments can be fitted well enough into either scenario, F 391-3 perhaps coming from a disillusioned and 'philosophical' *Thyestes*, and F 394 from an *Atreus* devoted to action above all. This encourages the supposition (likely enough in itself) that Euripides' *Thyestes* was something like the complicated and relatively sympathetic character that we find in Seneca's play.

Brief fragments: none. Other ascriptions: F 941, F 953b.

The play was probably produced before 425 B.C., when Aristophanes mentioned Euripides' 'Thyestean rags' in *Acharnians* (cf. test. ii); the metrical character of the fragments (no resolutions in sixteen trimeters) is consistent with this. In addition to the many Greek tragedies mentioned above, we know of eight relevant Latin tragedies (cf. Van Looy 173) all of whose antecedents are uncertain, as are their plots except in the case of Accius' *Atreus* and the extant *Thyestes* of Seneca which both focused on the

THYESTES

banquet. Lesky's view that Seneca's Thyestes contains substantial Euripidean elements is attractive but subject to the many uncertainties mentioned above. For discussions of Ennius' Thyestes (169 B.C.) see Jocelyn 412-9, of Accius' Atreus Dangel 275-83, of Varius' Thyestes (29 B.C.) E. Lefèvre, Der Thyestes des Lucius Varius Rufus (Wiesbaden, 1976), and for a concise survey of Seneca's possible antecedents R. J. Tarrant, Seneca's Thyestes (Atlanta, 1985), 40-3. A number of 17th and 18th c. tragedies deal with the quarrels of Atreus and Thyestes, most of them with the banquet under Seneca's influence (OGCMA I.256).

ΘΥΕΣΤΗΣ

test. ii (= *Cretan Women* test. iv)

‘τῶν Θυεστείων ῥακῶν’ ἢ τῶν Κρησῶν ἢ αὐτοῦ τοῦ
Θυέστου.

Schol. on Aristophanes, *Acharnians* 433

391

οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδὲν χωρὶς ἀνθρώπους θεῶν
σπουδάζομεν δὲ πόλλ’ ὑπ’ ἐλπίδων, μάτην
πόνους ἔχοντες, οὐδὲν εἰδότες σαφές.

Orion 5.7 Haffner; vv. 1 and 2–3 separately: Theophilus of Antioch, *To Autolycus* 2.8. F 391 and 397 are attributed to Euripides by Theophilus, simply to *Thyestes* by Orion; Haffner prefers to attribute them to Sophocles.

392

εἰ δ’ ἄτερ πόνων
δοκέῖς ἔσεσθαι, μῶρος εἶ, θνητὸς γεγώς.

Stobaeus 4.34.20

THYESTES

test. ii (= *Cretan Women* test. iv)

'Thyestes' rags': either in *Cretan Women* or in *Thyestes* itself.¹

¹ The reference to Thyestes' rags is made by Aristophanes' character Euripides as he helps Dicaeopolis to make himself pitiable in his forthcoming trial. The scholiast's comment suggests that Thyestes appeared in rags in both *Cretan Women* (see Introduction there) and *Thyestes*, and that both were produced before *Acharnians* (425 B.C.).

391

Nothing in human affairs is independent of the gods.
Prompted by hopes we pursue many schemes, but our toils
are in vain since we have no sure knowledge.¹

¹ This may have been the beginning of the play's prologue speech, as Kannicht suggests. It encapsulates the thought expounded at length in Solon fr. 13.33–70 *IEG*.

392

If you expect to be free of troubles you are a fool, seeing
that you are mortal.¹

¹ A commonplace of Greek ethical thought from Homer (*Iliad* 24.525–33) onwards.

EURIPIDES

393

γνώμης γὰρ οὐδὲν ἀρετῇ μονουμένη.

Orion 7.4 and Euripidean Appendix 20 Haffner

394

οὐ πάποτ' ἔργου μᾶλλον εἰλόμην λόγους.

Stobaeus 2.15.17

395

*πλούτου δ' ἀπορρυνέντος ἀσθενεῖς γάμοι·
τὴν μὲν γὰρ εὐγένειαν αἰνοῦσιν βροτοί,
μᾶλλον δὲ κηδεύουσι τοῖς εὐδαίμοσιν.*

Stobaeus 4.31.37; vv. 2–3: Aristotle fr. 92 Rose (cited in Stobaeus 4.29.25)

396

ΘΥΕΣΤΗΣ(?)

*ἀλλ' εἴπερ ἔστιν ἐν βροτοῖς ψευδῆ, γέρον,
πιθανά, νομίζειν χρή σε καὶ τὸναντίον,
ἄπιστ' ἀληθῆ πολλά συμβαίνειν βροτοῖς.*Aristotle, *Rhetoric* 1397a17, with anonymous commentary in CAG XXI.2. 133.21; the commentary seems to indicate (in a corrupt sentence) that the speaker was Thyestes addressing Atreus.

1 ψευδῆ, γέρον Nauck: ψευδηγέρον Aristot. ms. A: ψευδηγορεῖν ms. A later correction, several later mss., and anon. comm.

THYESTES

393

Excellence is worth nothing if it is not combined with judgement.

394

I have never preferred words to action.

395

People get weaker marriages when their wealth has drained away. Men pay lip-service to nobility, but they prefer to ally themselves with those who are prospering.¹

¹ Cf. *Danae* F 326.1–5 with note.

396

THYESTES

(to *Atreus*?)

But if, old man, there are falsehoods amongst men that are persuasive, you should recognize the opposite—that many truths turn out to be unpersuasive to them.¹

¹ Aristotle uses these lines to illustrate the rhetorical ploy of 'demonstration from opposites'. For a similar argument cf. *Helen* 309–10, and on persuasive falsehoods *Antiope* F 206. In v. 1 the reading 'if, old man, there are falsehoods' is supported (against the alternative 'if it is possible to speak falsely') by the word pattern 'falsehoods . . . persuasive . . . , truths . . . unpersuasive'; but the 'old man' and his likely identification as *Atreus* make an interpretative difficulty: see apparatus opposite and Introduction above.

EURIPIDES

397

θεοῦ θέλοντος κἂν ἐπὶ ῥιπὸς πλέους.

Orion 5.6 Haffner; Theophilus of Antioch, *To Autolycus* 2.8; Plutarch, *Moralia* 405b; and elsewhere as a proverb. On the attribution of this fragment to Euripides see under F 391 above.

397a

ἀμβλῶπας ἀνγὰς ὀμμάτων ἔχεις σέθεν.

Photius, *Lexicon* a 1164 Theodoridis

*397b (= 861 N)

ΑΤΡΕΤΣ

δείξας γὰρ ἄστρον τὴν ἐναντίαν ὁδόν,
δόμους τ' ἔσωσα καὶ τύραννος ἰζόμην.

Achilles, *Introduction to Aratus' Phaenomena* I and 20 (E. Maass, *Commentariorum in Aratum Reliquiae*, pp. 29.1–2 and 48.11–12)

δόμους Achill. 20: δῆμους Achill. 1

THYESTES

397

If God willed it, you could sail even on a straw mat.

397a

The brightness of your eyes is dulled.¹

¹ Literally, 'You have the rays of your eyes dull-eyed'; for the phrasing cf. *Heracles* 131–2, Sophocles, *Ajax* 69–70.

*397b (= 861 N)

ATREUS

By showing the contrary course of the stars, I saved my house and established myself as ruler.¹

¹ Achilles cites this fragment as showing that Euripides credited Atreus with discovering the retrograde 'movement' along the ecliptic of the Sun and planets ('stars' here). Atreus' discovery is mentioned also by Strabo 1.2.15 (citing Polybius) and Lucian 48.12, and seems to have become a standard part of astronomical lore. It is more accurately credited to Oenopides of Chios (41 A 7 DK) in the later 5th century. It appears then that Euripides here ascribes the validation of Atreus' kingship to a scientific revelation by Atreus himself rather than a miracle supplied by Zeus. He may have described the same phenomenon as brought about by Zeus on Atreus' behalf in *Electra* 727–36 and *Orestes* 1001–06, but the texts of these passages are corrupt and their sense uncertain. Accounts of the miracle vary greatly: Plato makes it a permanent reversal of the Sun's daily course from eastward to westward rather than a one-time event; in some later accounts it is Zeus's response to Atreus' banquet rather than to Thyestes' theft.

INO

H. Van Looy in ed. Budé VIII.2.185–209.

W. Luppe, *Philologus* 128 (1984), 41–4, 57–9; Webster 98–101; *LIMC* II.i.950–3 ‘Athamas’ and Vi.657–61 ‘Ino’; Gantz 176–9, 472–3, 478; C. Pache, *Baby and Child Heroes in Ancient Greece* (Urbana, 2004), 135–80, esp. 140–1, 148–9.

The mythography of Ino and her husband Athamas is unusually confused (Gantz 176–9, Pache 135–80; see also on Phrixus A and B), and evidence for the play itself is very limited. Apart from two brief but definite allusions in Aristophanes (below) and the quite numerous but chiefly gnomological and therefore contextless fragments, the only other matter ascribed to Euripides comes in Hyginus, Fab. 4 (= test. iii below). Headed ‘Euripides’ Ino’, its narrative is ostensibly based on the play,¹ and reconstructors have little choice but to use it, approximately as follows:

Athamas king of Thessaly (where the play is set) had two sons by Ino (his second wife, after Nephele: see on F

¹ *Fab.* 4’s relation to a narrative hypothesis is constantly debated. Luppe 57–9 is much more confident of such derivation and therefore reliability than M. Huys, *APF* 42 (1996), 172–3; Kannicht in *TrGF* (test. iii) follows Luppe. Cf. on *Antiope* with reference to Hyginus, *Fab.* 8 (= *Antiope* test. iii (a)) and 7.

**399); they were Learchus and Melicertes. She disappeared and, believing her dead, he married Themisto, who bore him twin boys; Ino's two sons were still in his house. Much later he learned that Ino had gone to Mt. Parnassus above Delphi to join the permanent rites of Dionysus; she had been the god's 'nurse' (Apollodorus 3.4.3) after his mother Semele, her sister, died when simultaneously inseminated, delivered of the child, and incinerated by Zeus's lightning (Bacchae 2-3); in anger, Zeus's jealous wife Hera maddened Ino and sent her wandering (Medea 1284-5—in fact to Delphi); Athamas recalled Ino. Thus far cf. test. iii.1-2, and for the dramatic action (next paragraph) cf. 3-5.

The play began with Ino's return (possibly F **399), following a prologue which gave the background (F *398, speaker unknown: a god is possible; but the fragment itself is doubted for the play); F 401-3 may all be Ino's, the first two early in the play, the third perhaps later. Athamas concealed Ino from Themisto, disguising her (possibly in the rags mocked by Aristophanes, Acharnians 434 = test. iia) as a captive serving-woman who was now to look after all four boys. F 404-7 come from an argument about nobility (Van Looy 194, cf. also F 414), perhaps in the same episode in which Athamas commends the disguised but 'honest' Ino to Themisto (F 410 and 412? See Webster 101). Plutarch in citing F 413.1-2 notes Ino's 'freedom of speech' in the play as a quality of noble upbringing; so this fragment too may belong here (cf. Webster 99-100)—or, rather, to the play's ensuing and critical turn. Themisto learned that Ino had returned, but could not identify her; she became jealous of Ino's two sons (a dramatic motif like Merope's jealousy in Alcmeon in Corinth or the Queen's in Melanippe Captive),

EURIPIDES

and planned their death (as if they were a 'stepmother's children', as the brief allusion in Nonnus, *Dionysiaca* 9.320 has it). She used the 'captive' Ino as her accomplice, probably enjoining secrecy upon her (F 410, 411 and 413 may refer to this), and ordering her to clothe her twins in white, and Ino's own two sons in black (symbolizing their intended death, cf. Melanippe Wise test. i.21-4). Ino interchanged the colours, however, and Themisto killed her own twins; on discovering her mistake, she took her life (despite consolation, F 415, cf. 418). Though Ino had cleverly saved her own sons, disaster now struck (possibly F *398) with cruel irony (compare the sequence in e.g. *Heracles*), for Athamas while hunting was visited by madness, a further consequence of Hera's hatred for Ino, and killed his son Learchus; furthermore, Ino in grief leapt into the sea carrying her other son Melicertes (*Hyginus* 2.4-5 and *Apollodorus* 1.9.2, cited by Kannicht on test. iii.[5]).² F 421-2 likely come from a messenger's report of Learchus' death, or of the other two deaths, or of both. It is guesswork how the play had moved from Themisto's death to Athamas' madness, but it probably ended with Dionysus foretelling Ino's deification under the name *Leucothea*, 'White Goddess', and her son's as *Palaemon* (*Webster* 101 suggests that adesp. F 100 + 101 referring to these events belongs here). It is impossible to place F 408-9, 416-7, 419.

Brief fragment (doubtful): F 423, particles meaning 'and so in fact'. *Other ascriptions:* F **953m (a woman has apparently threatened and then committed infanti-

² At *Medea* 1283-9 Ino, maddened, kills both her sons. R. M. Newton, *AJP* 106 (1985), 496-502 suggests that Euripides deliberately adapted the story to match *Medea's* double infanticide.

INO

cide, and a boy's body is brought on stage: see note there), F 972; adesp. F 100 + 101 (see above).

The play was produced before 425 B.C. (the date of Aristophanes' Acharnians: above); the metrical criteria do not help to suggest how long before (Cropp-Fick 81). The only other Ino known is Livius Andronicus' fragmentary Latin tragedy, perhaps a derivative; Ennius' Athamas may have been dependent for some incidents. Athamas' killing of Learchus and Ino's leap into the sea left marks in vase-painting and other art from the 4th century (see LIMC 'Athamas' no. 5, 'Ino' nos. 14-19). Plutarch, Moralia 556a (citing F 399) and Philostratus, Life of Apollonius 7.5 (citing F 420.1-3) attest performances of the play in the 1st century A.D., the latter at Ephesus.

INO

test. iii

INO EURIPIDIS. Athamas in Thessalia rex cum Inonem uxorem, ex qua duos filios <susceperat>, perisse putaret, duxit nymphae filiam Themistonem uxorem; ex ea geminos filios procreavit. (2) Postea rescit Inonem in Parnaso esse, quam bacchationis causa eo peruenisse; misit qui eam adducerent; quam adductam celauit. (3) Rescit Themisto eam inuentam esse, sed quae esset nesciebat. Coepit uelle filios eius necare; rei consciam quam captiuam esse credebat ipsam Inonem sumpsit, et ei dixit ut filios suos candidis uestimentis operiret, Inonis filios nigris. (4) Ino suos candidis, Themistonis pullis operuit; tunc Themisto decepta suos filios occidit; id ubi rescit, ipsa se necauit. (5) Athamas autem in uenatione per insaniam Learchum maiorem filium suum interfecit; at Ino cum minore filio Melicerte in mare se deiecit et dea est facta.

Hyginus, *Fab.* 4

(1) <susceperat> Muncker

INO

test. iii

EURIPIDES' INO. When Athamas king of Thessaly came to think that his wife Ino, by whom (he had had) two sons, had died, he took Themisto, a nymph's daughter, as wife; with her he fathered twin sons. (2) Later he discovered that Ino was on Mount Parnassus, and that she had gone there for bacchic rites;¹ he sent men to fetch her, and when that was done, disguised her. (3) Themisto discovered that the woman had been found, but did not know who she was. She formed a wish to murder Ino's sons; as accessory to the act she took Ino herself, whom she believed to be a captive, and told her to veil her own sons in white vestments, and Ino's sons in black. (4) Ino veiled her own sons in white, Themisto's in black; then Themisto was deceived and killed her own sons. When she discovered this, she slew herself. (5) Athamas moreover while hunting killed his elder son Learchus through madness; but Ino threw herself into the sea together with her younger son Melicertes, and was deified.²

¹ For Ino's bacchic wanderings on Mount Parnassus near Delphi, see Introduction above. ² The details in (5) are given more fully by Hyginus in *Fab.* 2.4, where Athamas' madness too is attributed to the goddess Hera's antipathy to Ino.

EURIPIDES

*398

εὔδουσα δ' Ἴνους συμφορὰ χρόνον πολλὸν
νῦν ὄμμ' ἐγείρει.

Schol. on Pindar, *Isthmians* 3/4.40

1 εὔδουσα . . . συμφορὰ Musgrave: ἰδοῦσα . . . συμφορὰν
Schol.

**399

INΩ

φίλοι γυναῖκες, πῶς ἂν ἐξ ἀρχῆς δόμους
Ἀθάμαντος οἰκήσαιμι τῶν πεπραγμένων
δράσασα μηδέν;

Plutarch, *Moralia* 556a

400

ὦ θνητὰ πράγματ', ὦ γυναικεῖαι φρένες·
ὅσον νόσημα τὴν Κύπριν κεκτήμεθα.

Stobaeus 4.22.183

401

φεῦ,
ὅσω τὸ θῆλυ δυστυχέστερον γένος
πέφυκεν ἀνδρῶν· ἔν τε τοῖσι γὰρ καλοῖς
πολλῶ λέλειπται κἀπὶ τοῖς αἰσχροῖς πλέον.

Stobaeus 4.22.182

INO

*398

Though for a long while asleep, Ino's misfortune¹ now wakes and stirs.

¹ The long-standing hatred of Hera (see Introduction).

**399

INO

Dear women, how I wish I could live from the beginning again in Athamas' house, and have done nothing of what I have done!¹

¹ If this fragment is from the play's opening, 'what I have done' refers either to her disappearance after bearing Athamas' two sons (test. iii.1-2 above) or to her attempt on the children of Athamas' first wife Nephele (*Phrixus A* test. iia-b, cf. *Phrixus B* test. iia-b and *Phrixus A/B* F 824). But it could well come later and refer to Ino's killing of Themisto's children (test. iii.3-4).

400

Oh, mankind's dealings! Oh, women's hearts! What a great affliction we have acquired in love!

401

Alas! How much more unfortunate the female sex is by nature than that of men: it is left far behind in good conduct, and yet further in bad.

- νόμοι γυναικῶν οὐ καλῶς κείνται πέρι·
 χρῆν γὰρ τὸν εὐτυχούνθ' ὅπως πλείστας ἔχειν
 {γυναῖκας, εἴπερ <ή> τροφή δόμοις παρήν},
 ὡς τὴν κακὴν μὲν ἐξέβαλλε δωμάτων,
 5 τὴν δ' οὔσαν ἐσθλὴν ἠδέως ἐσώζετο.
 νῦν δ' εἰς μίαν βλέπουσι, κίνδυνον μέγαν
 ῥίπτοντες· οὐ γὰρ τῶν τρόπων πειρώμενοι
 νύμφας ἐς οἴκους ἐρματίζονται βροτοί.

Stobaeus 4.22.36

2 ὅπως Erfurd: ὅτι Stobaeus 3 deleted by Mekler <ή>
 Gesner: <δη> Stob. ms. Paris 1985

- τίς ἄρα μήτηρ ἢ πατήρ κακὸν μέγα
 βροτοῖς ἔφυσε τὸν δυσώνυμον φθόνον;
 ποῦ καί ποτ' οἰκεῖ σώματος λαχὼν μέρος;
 ἐν χερσὶν ἢ σπλάγχνοισιν ἢ παρ' ὄμματα;
 5 ἔσθ' ἡμῖν ὡς ἦντ' μόχθος ἰατροῖς μέγας
 τομαῖς ἀφαιρεῖν ἢ ποτοῖς ἢ φαρμάκοις
 πασῶν μεγίστην τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις νόσων.

Stobaeus 3.38.8; vv. 3-4: Satyrus, *Life of Euripides* P. Oxy.
 1176 fr. 39 col. xvii.1-7

3 ποῦ καί ποτ' Stob.: ποῖόν ποτ' West 6 φαρμάκοις
 Stob.: χρίμασιν West

Laws are not well made concerning wives: the prosperous man should be having as many as possible (if his house could maintain them), so he could throw the bad one out of his home and be pleased at keeping the one who actually is good. Now, however, they look to one wife, and risk much on the throw; for people take wives into their houses like ballast, with no experience of their ways.¹ 5

¹ The metaphors 'on the throw' (from dicing) and 'as ballast' (from seafaring) are remarkably combined; the point of the second seems to be that no one takes care to check the content of ballast when they take it on board.

What mother or father gave life to ill-named envy, as a great evil for men? Wherever does it actually have a part in the body, and live—in the hands or entrails or close by the eyes? †There is for us as there was¹ a great labour for doctors to remove by surgery or potions or remedies this greatest of all mankind's afflictions.²

¹ The text is plainly corrupt, and unmetrical. ² I.e. external medicaments ('ointments' is substituted by West; 'or by remedial potions', Barnes).

EURIPIDES

404

τό τ' εὐγενὲς
πολλὴν δίδωσιν ἐλπίδ' ὡς ἄρξουσιν γῆς.

Stobaeus 4.29.48

405

τὴν εὐγένειαν, κἂν ἄμορφος ἦ γάμος,
τιμῶσι πολλοὶ προσλαβεῖν τέκνων χάριν,
τό τ' ἀξίωμα μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ χρήματα.

Stobaeus 4.29.49

2 πρὸς τέκνων χάριν λαβεῖν Stob., corrected by Hense

406

μὴ σκυθρωπὸς ἴσθ' ἄγαν
πρὸς τοὺς κακῶς πράσσοντας, ἄνθρωπος γεγώς.

Stobaeus 4.48.4

407

ἄμουσία τοι μῆδ' ἐπ' οἰκτροῖσιν δάκρυ
στάζειν· κακὸν δέ, χρημάτων ὄντων ἄλις,
φειδοῖ πονηρᾶ μῆδέν' εὖ ποιεῖν βροτῶν.

Stobaeus 3.16.5; vv. 1-2: Stob. 4.48.20

408

ἐν ἐλπίσιν χρὴ τοὺς σοφοὺς ἄγειν βίον.

Stobaeus 4.46.3

INO

404

Their high birth gives great hope that they will rule the land.

405

Many men value acquiring a wife of high birth, even if she is not handsome, for the children's sake,¹ and reputation more than money.

¹ 'Father well-born children from noble stock', *Antiope* F 215.2.

406

Don't scowl too much at those who do badly: you are human too.

407

Just as it's boorish, I tell you, to shed no tear even for those deserving pity, so it is bad, when there is money enough, not to help any man through cheap thriftiness.

408

The wise should live their life amid hopes.

EURIPIDES

409

μήτ' εὐτυχούσα πάσαν ἡνίαν χάλα,
κακῶς τε πρᾶσσουσ' ἐλπίδος κενδῆς ἔχου.

Stobaeus 4.46.5

410

τοιάνδε χρῆ γυναικὶ προσπολονεῖν αἰεί
ἤτις τὸ μὲν δίκαιον οὐ σιγήσεται,
τὰ δ' αἰσχρὰ μισεῖ καὶ κατ' ὀφθαλμοὺς ἔχει.

Stobaeus 4.28.2

1 προσπολεῖν Musgrave αἰεί Collard: πρόσπολον ἔαν Stob.:
πρόσπολον νέμειν Dobree

411

<ΘΕΜΙΣΤΩ?>

ἴστω δὲ μηδεὶς ταῦθ' ἄ σιγᾶσθαι χρεῶν
σμικροῦ γὰρ ἐκ λαμπτήρος Ἰδαίου λέπας
πρήσειεν ἄν τις, καὶ πρὸς ἄνδρ' εἰπὼν ἕνα
πύθουντ' ἄν ἄστοιὶ πάντες {ἄ κρύπτειν χρεῶν}.

Stobaeus 3.41.1; vv. 2-4 Plutarch, *Moralia* 507b; vv. 2-3
(μικροῦ . . . τις); Schol. on Pindar, *Pythians* 3.66

4 ἄ κρύπτειν χρεῶν (unmetrical) Stob.: omitted by Plutarch,
deleted by Herwerden.

INO

409

Neither slacken every rein in good fortune—and when you do badly, keep hold of fine hope.¹

¹ Addressed to a woman; either Themisto or Ino is possible.

410

A wife should always be served¹ by such a woman as will not be silent over what is right, but who hates what is shameful and keeps it before the eyes.

¹ Collard adapts Musgrave's 'a wife should be allowed such a maid as . . .' ('should be assigned': Dobree). Stobaeus' Greek is unmetrical.

411

<THEMISTO?>

And let no one know these things which ought to be kept quiet. Just as one could set fire to the slopes of Ida¹ from a small torch, so from one's word to a single man all citizens could find out {what one ought to conceal}.²

¹ Probably the great mountain above Troy rather than Zeus' birth place and cult site in Crete.

² The speaker may be Themisto, confiding in Ino (whom she has not identified) about killing Ino's children: see Introduction.

EURIPIDES

412

ἔμοι γὰρ εἴη πτωχός, εἰ δὲ βούλεται
 πτωχοῦ κακίων, ὅστις ὦν εὔνοος ἔμοι
 φόβον παρελθὼν τὰπὸ καρδίας ἐρεῖ.

Stobaeus 3.13.12; Plutarch, *Moralia* 63a

1 γὰρ εἴη Plut.: γένοιτο Stob.

413

INΩ

ἐπίσταμαι δὲ πάνθ' ὅσ' εὐγενῆ χρεών,
 σιγᾶν θ' ὅπου δεῖ καὶ λέγειν ἴν' ἀσφαλές,
 ὀρᾶν θ' ἃ δεῖ με κοῦχ ὀρᾶν ἃ μὴ πρέπει.

<

>

5 γαστρὸς κρατεῖν δέ· καὶ γὰρ ἐν κακοῖσιν ὦν
 ἔλευθέροισιν ἐμπεπαίδευμαι τρόποις.

Stobaeus 4.29.62; vv. 1–3: Orion 1.5 Haffner; vv. 1–2: Plutarch, *Moralia* 506c (attributing the words to Ino); v. 2 is frequently cited or paraphrased, e.g. Plutarch, *Moralia* 606a, Aulus Gellius 13.19.4.

3 *πρέπει* Orion: *χρεών* Stob. 4–5 omitted by Orion, separated from 1–3 and suggested for a different speaker by Matthiae; deleted by some editors. Kannicht suggests a lemma has been lost in Stobaeus before 4–5.

414

φειδώμεθ' ἀνδρῶν εὐγενῶν, φειδώμεθα,
 κακοὺς δ' ἀποπτύωμεν, ὥσπερ ἄξιοι.

Stobaeus 4.29.8

452

INO

412

Give me a beggarman—worse than a beggarman if he will—who has good will towards me and will set fear aside and speak what comes from the heart!

413

INO

I know all that one well-born should, to keep silent where necessary and to speak where safe, and to see what is necessary and not to see what is unfitting . . . and to control appetite; for though I am in the midst of troubles, I have been schooled in freeborn ways.¹

¹ See Introduction above on this fragment. Vv. 4–5 probably come from another fragment which has lost both lemma and beginning in Stobaeus (Kannicht). They do not cohere with vv. 1–3, and 'control appetite' is unapt to Ino's circumstances. The Greek masculine singular participle used of herself by a woman in v. 4 is very doubtful (the plural is not rare, e.g. *Cretans* F 472e.40).

414

Let us spare well-born men, yes, spare them—but spurn bad ones as they deserve.

EURIPIDES

415

ἄνασσα, πολλοῖς ἔστιν ἀνθρώπων κακά,
 τοῖς δ' ἄρτι λήγει, τοῖς δὲ κίνδυνος μολεῖν.
 κύκλος γὰρ αὐτὸς καρπίμοις τε γῆς φυτοῖς
 θνητῶν τε γενεᾷ· τῶν μὲν αὔξεται βίος,
 5 τῶν δὲ φθίνει τε καὶ θερίζεται πάλιν.

Stobaeus 4.41.19; vv. 3–5: [Plutarch], *Moralia* 104b

3 κύκλος γὰρ αὐτὸς [Plut.]: κύκλω γὰρ ἔρπει Stob. (= *Aeolus* F 22.3) 5 καὶ θερίζεται Stob.: κάκθερίζεται [Plut.]

416

πολλοί γε θνητῶν τῷ θράσει τὰς συμφορὰς
 ζητοῦσ' ἀμαυροῦν κάποκρύπτεσθαι κακά.

Stobaeus 3.4.9

417

κέκτησο δ' ὀρθῶς ἂν ἔχῃς ἄνευ ψόγου,
 κἂν σμικρὰ σφύζου τοῦνδικον σέβων αἰεί,
 μηδ' ὡς κακὸς ναύκληρος εὖ πράξας ποτὲ
 ζητῶν τὰ πλείον', εἶτα πάντ' ἀπώλεσεν.

Stobaeus 4.31.102; vv. 1–2: Stobaeus 3.9.2

1 ἂν <τ'> Madvig: ἂν <δ'> Dindorf 2 so Nauck (but reading σέβουσι: σέβων ἃ δέει Hense): καὶ (or κἂν) σμικρὰ σφύζων τοῦνεχ' ὄν σέβειν πρέπει Stob. 4.31.102: καὶ μικρὰ σφύζου τῇ δίκῃ ξυνοῦσ' αἰεί Stob. 3.9.2

415

My queen, many men have troubles; for some they have just ceased, for others there is danger of their coming. The cycle is the same for earth's green crops as for generations of men: the life of some increases, of others it dies off again and is harvested.¹

¹ For the whole sentiment cf. *Danae* F 330.

416

Many mortals seek by their audacity to keep their disasters dark and hide their troubles away.¹

¹ Reversing the usual maxim (*Cretan Women* F 460 with note).

417

Make sure that you have acquired what you have properly, without censure, and if (it be) small, preserve it while always respecting what is right, and not as a bad ship's captain after a past success seeks more, and then loses everything.¹

¹ The Greek phrasing in v. 1 is difficult, but for the sense cf. *Erechtheus* F 362.11 with note. Vv. 2-4 seem to say that one should not risk ruin by trying to increase one's wealth beyond its proper measure. In v. 2 Stobaeus has either 'saving even(?) small things for the man(?) whom it is fitting to respect' (4.31.102) or 'and save small things, keeping ever on the side of justice' (3.9.2). Nauck's restoration (adopted and slightly modified here) combines elements of both but remains insecure.

EURIPIDES

418

γίγνωσκε τάνθρώπεια μηδ' ὑπερμέτρως
 ἄλγει· κακοῖς γὰρ οὐ σὺ πρόσκεισαι μόνη.

Stobaeus 4.56.7

419

βία νυν ἔλκετ' ὧ κακοὶ τιμὰς βροτοί,
 καὶ κτᾶσθε πλοῦτον πάντοθεν θηρώμενοι,
 σύμμικτα μὴ δίκαια καὶ δίκαι' ὁμοῦ·
 ἔπειτ' ἀμᾶσθε τῶνδε δύστηνον θέρος.

Stobaeus 3.10.23 and 4.31.56

1 βία νυν ἔλκετ' Stob. 3.10.23: καὶ νῦν ἐφέλκετ' Stob.
 4.31.56

420

ὄρας τυράννους διὰ μακρῶν ηὔξημένους,
 ὡς σμικρὰ τὰ σφάλλοντα, καὶ μί' ἡμέρα
 τὰ μὲν καθεῖλεν ὑψόθεν, τὰ δ' ἦρ' ἄνω.
 ὑπόπτερος δ' ὁ πλοῦτος· οἷς γὰρ ἦν ποτε,
 5 ἐξ ἐλπίδων πίπτοντας ὑπτίους ὄρω.

Stobaeus 4.41.1; vv.1-2, 4-5: P. Cairo 65445 (badly damaged);
 many partial quotations, paraphrases and reflections in prose
 writers.

1 ηὔξημένους Grotius, sufficiently confirmed by Ariston of
 Ceos fr. 13 Wehrli: ἀυξηθέντας Philostratus, *Life of Apollonius*
 7.5: ἡσκημ(μ)ένους Stob.: P. Cair. is defective.

456

INO

418

Understand mankind's condition and do not grieve beyond measure: you are not alone in being visited by evil fortune.¹

¹ Consolation for Themisto or Ino (a woman is addressed).

419

Now use force to draw privilege your way, you wicked mankind, and possess yourselves of wealth by hunting it everywhere, through actions just and unjust mixed together—then reap their unhappy harvest!

420

Do you see how small the things are that bring down tyrants whose power has long increased, and how one day brings some down from a height, and lifts others up? Wealth has wings!¹ Those who once had it, I see dashed from their hopes, backs laid to the ground.

¹ A proverb, cf. *Meleager* F 518.2. In v. 1 Stobaeus' plausible 'promoted, preened themselves' is a mere error of transcription.

EURIPIDES

421

κοίλοις ἐν ἀντροῖς ἄλυχνος, ὥστε θήρ, μόνος

Pollux 7.178

422

πολλοὶ παρήσαν, ἀλλ' ἄπιστα Θεσσαλῶν.

Schol. on Aristophanes, *Wealth* 521; Schol. on Euripides, *Phoenician Women* 1408 cite both *Wealth* 521 and the paraphrase of Euripides' line by Demosthenes 1.21.

ἄπιστα Θεσσαλῶν Hemsterhuis: ἄπιστοι Θεσσαλοί Schol. Aristoph.: πολλοὶ γάρ εἰσιν, ἀλλ' ἄπιστα Θεσσαλοῖς Schol. Eur.

INO

421

... in a hollow cave, without a lamp, like a beast, alone ...¹

¹ The fragment describes probably Athamas, in flight or helpless imprisonment after killing his son (see Introduction).

422

... many were present, but what Thessalians say is unreliable.¹

¹ Thessalians' mendacity, especially as exploitative slave dealers, was proverbial (so the Scholia on Aristophanes).

IXION

H. Van Looy in ed. Budé VIII.2.211–9.

Webster 160–1, 303; Aélion (1983) I.273–5; LIMC Vi.857–62 'Ixion'; Gantz 718–21; Sourvinou-Inwood 472–80.

Ixion is one of Greek myth's great sinners greatly punished. He committed the first homicide when he treacherously killed his father-in-law in order to avoid paying him the bride-gifts he had promised. No human or god would purify him until Zeus did so and gave him refuge amongst the gods. He then attempted to rape Hera, but Zeus foiled him by replacing her with a cloud by whom he fathered Kentauros, the father of the Centaurs. Zeus punished Ixion by having him tied to a wheel which revolved eternally in the aether (or in some Hellenistic and later accounts, the Underworld). Ixion's story is summarized by Pindar, Pythians 2.21–48 and explained extensively in the scholia there and on Apollonius of Rhodes 3.62 (citing the mythographers Pherecydes and Asclepiades), and in Diodorus 4.69.3–5. Ixion was usually regarded as the father of Pirithous, although in the Iliad (14.317–8) Zeus claims to be the father, having seduced Ixion's wife. Pirithous himself relates his father's crime and punishment in Pirithous (F 5).

Aeschylus' Women of Perrhaebia (Ixion's homeland near Mount Olympus) and his Ixion seem to have dramatized respectively the homicide and the attempted rape and

IXION

*its punishment, perhaps as two parts of a trilogy; little survives from either play (there are also references to Ixion's purification in Aeschylus, Eumenides 441, 717-8). Nothing is known about the plots of Sophocles' Ixion (one fragment, date unknown) or Callistratus' Ixion (known only from a record of its production at the Lenaea in 418). According to the Athenian historian Philochorus (FGrH 328 F 217 = test. i), Euripides' play alluded to the death of Protagoras which occurred probably around 420, so it could be the latest of all these. Test. iii (below) shows that it culminated in the punishment of Ixion for his sins, and suggests that Ixion defended his immorality with sophistic arguments (cf. F 426, **426a?), like for example Laius in Chryseippus. F 427 speaks of his pollution inspiring fear amongst those he encountered, but this could have been a reference back to his past rather than to his condition at the time of the play's action. Some scholars infer from test. iii that Ixion was nailed to his wheel on stage at the end, and then exited on the eccyclema, or upwards to the sky on the crane. Sourvinou-Inwood suggests alternatively that the crane was used to show him already suspended on the wheel in the sky, accompanied by a god (perhaps Hephaestus) who spoke the closing speech.*

Other ascriptions: Ino F 403; adesp. F 5 (from an unattributed Ixion), 'The man is my enemy, yet I respect justice'.

Later dramatic treatments include a tragic Ixion by Timesitheus (title only, date uncertain), and a comic one by Eubulus (mid-4th c., one fragment). A few vase paintings have been speculatively associated with Aeschylus' and Euripides' plays (LIMC 'Ixion' no. 1 and nos. 2, 3, 14, 15 respectively), but none of them has theatrical features.

ΙΞΙΩΝ

test. iii

αὐται μὲν οὖν αἱ τῶν λόγων ἀποφάσεις καὶ δόξαι παντός
εἰσι· κατιδεῖν τοῦ προσέχοντος· ἑτέρας δ' ἐκ τῶν πραγμά-
των αὐτῶν παρέχουσι μαθήσεις, ὥσπερ ὁ Εὐριπίδης
εἰπεῖν λέγεται πρὸς τοὺς τὸν Ἰξίωνα λοιδοροῦντας ὡς
ἀσεβῆ καὶ μιαρὸν, 'οὐ μέντοι πρότερον αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς
σκηνῆς ἐξήγαγον ἢ τῷ τροχῷ προσηλωσαί.'

Plutarch, *Moralia* 19d–e

424

Φλεγύαντος νιέ, δέσποτ' Ἰξίων . . .

Schol. on Apollonius of Rhodes 3.62

425

ὅστις γὰρ ἀστῶν πλέον ἔχειν πέφυκ' ἀνὴρ
{οὐδὲν φρονεῖ δίκαιον οὐδὲ βούλεται}
φίλοις τ' ἄμεικτός ἐστι καὶ πάση πόλει.

Stobaeus 3.10.7 (vv. 1–3) and 3.22.2 (vv. 1, 3 without lemma).

1 ἀστῶν Stob. 3.22.2: ἐπὶ τὸ Stob. 3.10.7 ms. S (ἐπὶ τῷ mss.
MA) 2 omitted by Stob. 3.22.2, deleted by Wecklein

IXION

test. iii

Now these judgments and opinions conveyed in the words (of a poet) are easy to notice for anyone who pays attention. But they (i.e. the poets) also provide lessons from the actions themselves (that they portray). Thus Euripides is said to have answered those who criticized his Ixion for being impious and impure by saying, 'But I did not bring him off the stage before I had nailed him to the wheel.'

424

Son of Phlegyas,¹ lord Ixion . . .

¹ A son of Ares, and father of Coronis the mother of Asclepius (Pindar, *Pythians* 3.8). His name suggests 'Fiery'. Several alternative fathers of Ixion are named in ancient sources, including Zeus: see Gantz 719.

425

Anyone who is inclined to have more than his fellow-citizens {neither thinks nor wants anything just;} is uncongenial to his friends and all his community.

EURIPIDES

426

τά τοι μέγιστα πάντ' ἀπείργασται βροτοῖς
τόλμ' ὥστε νικᾶν· οὔτε γὰρ τυραννίδες
χωρὶς πόνου γένοιτ' ἂν οὔτ' οἶκος μέγας.

Stobaeus 4.10.14

1 ἀπείργασται Heath, Musgrave: ἀπεργάζεται Stob.

**426a (= adesp. 4 N)

τοῦ μὲν δικαίου τὴν δόκησιν ἄρνησο,
τὰ δ' ἔργα τοῦ πᾶν δρῶντος ἔνθα κερδανεῖ.

Plutarch, *Moralia* 18d; Stobaeus 3.3.38 (ed. Trincavelli only, without lemma)

2 τοῦ πᾶν δρῶντος ἔνθα κερδανεῖ Nauck, following Heath and Musgrave: τοῦ πᾶν δρῶντος· ἔνθα κερδανεῖς Plut., Stob.

427

οἱ δὲ τοῖς ἐναγέσι προσφθεγγόμενοι καὶ αὐτοὶ δοκοῦσι
μιαίνεσθαι, ὡς καὶ ἐν Ἡρακλεῖ καὶ Ἰξίονι δέδεικται.

Schol. on Euripides, *Orestes* 73

IXION

426

Boldness is the means for men to win all the greatest prizes. Neither tyrannies nor great domains can be gained without striving.

**426a (= adesp. 4 N)

Aim for the reputation of a just man, but the deeds of one who does anything when he will gain by it.

427

Those who address polluted people think they become polluted themselves, as is shown in *Heracles* and *Ixion*.¹

¹ Cf. *Heracles* 1155–62, 1198–1234 (where the enlightened Theseus in fact dismisses Heracles' fear of polluting him). For Ixion's pollution cf. test. iii above.

HIPPOLYTUS VEILED

W. S. Barrett, *Euripides. Hippolytos* (Oxford, 1964), 18–26; M. R. Halleran, *Euripides. Hippolytus* (Warminster, 1995), 25–37; H. Van Looy in ed. Budé VIII.2.221–48.

For the ever-expanding literature on this play and its relation to the extant *Hippolytus*, Sophocles' *Phaedra*, and Seneca's *Phaedra* see Barrett 10–45; Webster 64–71; B. Snell, *Szenen aus griechischen Dramen* (Berlin, 1971), 25–51; LIMC Vi.445–64 'Hippolytos I'; G. Danek, *Wiener Studien* 105 (1992), 19–37; O. Zwierlein, *Senecas Phaedra und ihre Vorbilder nach dem Fund der neuen Hippolytos-Papyri* (Mainz, 1987), revised in *Lucubrationes Philologicae I* (Berlin–New York, 2004), 57–136, esp. 57–90; Gantz 285–8; J. Gibert, *CQ* 47 (1997), 85–97; W. Luppe, articles cited under test. iia and F **953f below; H. Roisman, *Hermes* 127 (1999), 397–409; G. O. Hutchinson, *ZPE* 149 (2004), 15–28; M. Magnani, *Eikasmos* 15 (2004), 227–40.

There is no certain evidence for Hippolytus' story before tragedy of the mid-5th century. In Euripides' surviving play, Hippolytus, son of Theseus king of Athens and the Amazon Hippolyte, falls victim to the anger of Aphrodite because he rejects sexuality and devotes himself at Troezen to hunting and the virgin goddess Artemis. Aphrodite fills Theseus' new wife Phaedra with desire for Hippolytus;

HIPPOLYTUS VEILED

when she comes to Troezen, she fails to conceal her desire, and her nurse betrays it to Hippolytus. He rejects it violently. Although he undertakes, indeed swears, not to disclose it to Theseus, Phaedra fears he yet may; in a letter to Theseus she falsely accuses Hippolytus of making the first advance, and hangs herself. Theseus arrives, finds the letter, believes it at once, condemns Hippolytus to exile but adds a death curse in the name of Poseidon. Hippolytus will not defend himself, merely protest his innocence. As he drives away into exile, in a chariot along the seashore, the god sends a monstrous bull from the sea which bolts his horses, and he is fatally injured. When he is brought back dying, Artemis appears and discloses Aphrodite's work, and forecasts a cult in his memory. Before he dies, Hippolytus absolves the broken Theseus from blame.

That is the plot of the surviving play, known to ancient scholars as Hippolytus Stephanephoros ('Garland-bearer': he brings a garland to Artemis, Hipp. 82-3) to distinguish it from the now fragmentary play which they named Kalyptomenos ('Veiling Himself': Schol. on Theocritus 2.10 = test. iv; Pollux 9.50 citing F 442). The hypothesis of Aristophanes of Byzantium (= test. i below, about 200 B. C.) states that the extant play was the second in time (see below on the date), and that what was 'unseemly and reprehensible' in the earlier one was 'put right' in it. Modern scholars have almost all believed that the 'unseemly and reprehensible' was a direct approach to Hippolytus by Phaedra herself. Asclepiades (FGrH 12 F 28 = test. *iic (1)) has 'she decided to persuade the young man to have sex with her'; F 430 has Phaedra speaking of 'Eros . . . (my) teacher of daring': these are tones inconsistent with the initially tormented Phaedra of the extant play, in which Phaedra does

EURIPIDES

*not speak face to face with Hippolytus at all. These scholars believe too that it was this directness of Phaedra, rather than the nurse's oblique approach to Hippolytus in the extant play, that lay behind Aristophanes' depiction of Phaedra as a typical Euripidean 'whore' (Frogs 1043, 1052-4 = test. iiiia; cf. Women at the Thesmophoria 491-8). There was at least one further and major difference between the plays: in the lost play Phaedra killed herself only after the truth came out and Hippolytus had been injured or killed; this is strongly implied by Asclepiades (above) and by Apollodorus, Epit. 1.19 (= test. *iic (2)).*

Greater differences still are argued by Danek, Roisman, Luppe, Van Looy, Hutchinson and Magnani. All suggest reconstructions of various fullness, but so differently that no consensus seems achievable; for example, they are at variance over the location, nature and success of Phaedra's approach to Hippolytus (test. iia.6-15, iib throughout), the identity of the killer and victim (test. iia.1), the cause of the 'veiling' and even the identify of the 'veiler', and whether Phaedra rather than Hippolytus is punished by Aphrodite. Hutchinson and Magnani usefully review the state of the problem. Our own discussion ignores the most dangerous temptation of all: to reconstruct Euripides' play from reference to the scanty remains of Sophocles' Phaedra (date unknown) and through back-projection from Seneca's tragedy; Seneca's debt to either Greek tragedian, his independent invention, or the balance between them, cannot be surely established (see especially Zwierlein 2004).

The few fragments of Hippolytus Veiled in fact mostly suggest, or are consistent with, a plot and general character like those of the extant Hippolytus. F 428 contrasts Hippolytus' aversion to sex with Phaedra's desire, and probably is a warning to him (cf. Hipp. 88-120); F 429 (a

HIPPOLYTUS VEILED

comment from the chorus of women), F 430 (Phaedra's response^p) and F 432-4 (she may herself speak F 433-4) relate to her boldness in satisfying her desire; it is inferred from the Scholia on Theocritus 2.10 (test. iv) that she had invoked the moon in conventional love magic. F 430 and 432-4 indeed attest the very 'direct' Phaedra surmised from the Aristophanic hypothesis; so too may F 435, by which time she has approached Hippolytus; the fragment itself hints that she has either supplicated or induced an oath of silence from him (cf. the nurse's manoeuvre at Hipp. 601-15), and defies him to break it; F 436 expresses his disgust, and may be the moment when he veils himself, in the conventional gesture of shame and repudiation. F 437-8 may belong to this scene, or come already from Theseus' condemnatory argument with Hippolytus; F 439 certainly does, abusing Hippolytus' hypocrisy (cf. Hipp. 925-31); F 440 probably also belongs here, with the chorus (or a servant) protesting at Theseus' credulity, like F 441, another protest. F **953f would fit here if it belongs to the play (see after the other fragments below); it would be Theseus' sentence of banishment. F 442 is almost certainly from a messenger's report of the chariot disaster. By F 443 the truth is clear, and Phaedra (rather than Hippolytus) bids farewell to life (but some reconstructors see this fragment as a greeting to life's joys from Phaedra on her initial entry, or from Theseus returning from Hades); F 444 and 445 may be her own further bitter comments (when Plutarch, *Moralia* 28a [test. v] has Euripides' Phaedra rebuking Theseus for his sexual transgressions as the cause of her own, such a moment can come only from Hippolytus Veiled, either in this scene or in her earlier letter). F 446 is the play's end; the chorus' satisfaction at Hippolytus' cult after death implies that Artemis has come to predict it (cf.

Hipp. 1423–9). All these book fragments however contain no allusion to Phaedra's false accusation (and neither Asclepiades nor Apollodorus explicitly mentions a letter), nor to Theseus' curse which led to the fatal attack of the bull.

Filling out this action, and perhaps reshaping it, from the papyrus hypotheses is hazardous; despite their promising overlaps, they yield no certain spans of sense, even short ones, and supplementation of their many incomplete words is seldom convincing. For instance, it remains mere speculation that Phaedra killed someone as part of her attempt to seduce or incriminate Hippolytus (test. iia col. ii.1). On the other hand, that she fabricated his breaking into her chamber (test. iib.10–14) gets implicit support from Apollodorus ('Phaedra splintered the doors of her chamber and tore her dress apart and falsely accused Hippolytus of violence': test. *iic (2)(c)). It seems certain that Theseus ordered some kind of scrutiny of Phaedra's accusation and Hippolytus' real conduct, probably after condemning him to exile and in response to criticism that he was too credulous (test. iia col. ii.13–17; test. iib.34–7), but before the messenger reported the chariot disaster: this forms a major difference between the plays. P. Mich. gives an apparent role in the scrutiny to '(one of?) Hippolytus' slaves' (test. iib.21); Luppe's supplement has this man ordered to 'cover himself' in (the now absent) Hippolytus' clothing (test. iib.29–31), and he suggests that such a trick to detect Phaedra's true mind would lead to a 'sensational' reinterpretation of the play's title—rather, it must be said, an impossible one, for the title Hippolytus Veiled or Veiling Himself cannot connote an action by an impersonator. It is possible however that a 'scrutiny' was reported to Theseus and reversed his satisfaction at Hippolytus' injuries, per-

HIPPOLYTUS VEILED

haps before news of them came, whereas in the extant play the goddess Artemis herself disillusion him.

There are some similarities of motif, character, plot and sequence with Stheneboea, close in date, in which Stheneboea unsuccessfully tries to seduce the morally upright Bellerophon (but with the aid of her nurse), and fails both in this and with retaliation; but she meets her death at Bellerophon's own hands. Zwielerlein (2004) has made much of these similarities in reconstructing Hippolytus Veiled.

*Brief fragment: F 447 'ship's captain'. Other ascriptions: Theseus F 386; F 897, 898, 929a, 964, 987, 1067, and particularly **953f printed below after F 446. Sophocles, Phaedra F 684, five lines about love's universal power over men and gods, was once ascribed (= Eur. F 431 N).*

The date of the play is again in dispute, after Gibert's contention (1997) that the long-trusted test. i (below) may be unreliable in dating the lost play before the extant one, a view accepted by Hutchinson, Zwielerlein and (hesitantly) Kannicht at TrGF 5.460, but rejected by Van Looy and Luppe (most recently (2005), 111–12; see further on test. i below). Hutchinson's argument for dating the extant play much earlier than 428 on metrical grounds is rebutted by M. Cropp and G. Fick, ZPE 154 (2006), 43–5.

Apart from Sophocles' fragmentary Phaedra and Seneca's surviving Phaedra, only Lycophron's Phaedra is known, and solely by title. Fifth-century tragedy introduced the story to art; the first certain representations are from the 4th century (LIMC lists 126 all told). See R. Armstrong, Cretan Women [Oxford, 2006], 261–98 and OGCMA II.883–8 for the extraordinary life of this story in the modern era.

ΙΠΠΟΛΥΤΟΣ ΚΑΛΤΗΤΟΜΕΝΟΣ

test. i

ἡ σκῆνη τοῦ δράματος ὑποκεῖται ἐν †Θήβαις†. ἐδιδάχθη ἐπὶ Ἐπαμείνονος ἄρχοντος ὀλυμπιάδι πζ' ἔτει δ'. πρῶτος Εὐριπίδης, δεύτερος Ἰοφῶν, τρίτος Ἴων. ἔστι δὲ οὗτος Ἴππόλυτος δεύτερος, <ὁ> καὶ Στεφανίας προσαγορευόμενος. ἐμφαίνεται δὲ ὕστερος γεγραμμένος· τὸ γὰρ ἀπρεπὲς καὶ κατηγορίας ἄξιον ἐν τούτῳ διώρθωται τῷ δράματι . . .

Hypothesis of Aristophanes of Byzantium to the extant *Hippolytus*, preserved in medieval mss. W. Luppe, *Philologus* 142 (1998), 173–5 suggests that text has been lost before ἔστι δὲ οὗτος: see note opposite.

HIPPOLYTUS VEILED

test. i

Hypothesis of Aristophanes of Byzantium to the extant Hippolytus:

The play's scene is set in †Thebest†. It was produced in the archonship of Epameinon in the fourth year of the eighty-seventh Olympiad (428 B.C.). The first prize went to Euripides, the second to Iophon, the third to Ion. This *Hippolytus* is the second and is also named *The Garland-bearer*; and it is clearly written later, for what was unseemly and reprehensible has been put right in this play.¹

¹ In the first sentence 'Thebes' is usually corrected to 'Troezen', where the extant *Hippolytus* is in fact set. Luppe however (most lately, 2005) maintains that the hypotheses to two different plays are here conflated, and that the location and date given belong to an unnamed play while those for the extant *Hippolytus* have vanished.

EURIPIDES

test. iia (Hypothesis, P. Oxy.)

Beginnings from lines of 40–42 letters each (underlining marks words found also in test. iib):

col. i 19 Ἰππόλυ]τος ε[

(about seven lines lost)

col. ii 1 των κατέσφαξ[2 χαράξασα παρ. .[3 Ἰππολύτου δι[
 4 μετὰ βίας του[5 παρθενων ...[6 πλείονος γει .[
 7 πιστεύσας α[8 καὶ μετ' οὐ π[ολὸν 9 τὸν ἀσεβήσα[ντα
 10 λειπομεν[11 πον ἐκελ[ευ 12 οβον απ[
 13 ἰδ' ἀποτυχ[ἐκέ-] 14 λευσεν του[κα-] 15 θ[ί]σαι
λημ[ἐ-] 16 λεγχων ων[17 ἐζήτει π[18 (*a few letters*)

P. Oxy. 4640 col. i.19–20 and col. ii, ed. M. van Rossum-Steenbeek (2003); overlapped by a fuller version in P. Mich. inv. 6222A (= test. ii b below), ed. G. Schwendner (diss. U. Michigan, 1988), re-ed. W. Luppe, *ZPE* 102 (1994), 23–39. Both papyri are reconsidered and correlated by van Rossum; see further Hutchinson and Magnani (bibl. above) and W. Luppe, *ZPE* 151 (2005), 11–14 (cf. 156 [2006], 38) and in Bastianini–Casanova, *Euripide e i papiri* 87–96.

5 παρθενωνος .[Luppe 12 φ]όβον (eds.) seems inevitable but fits the traces uncertainly.

HIPPOLYTUS VEILED

test. iia

Remains of a narrative hypothesis, P. Oxy. 4640 (underlined words are found also in test. iib):

col. i: <i>Hippolytus . . . (about seven lines lost) . . .</i>	
<i>(Phaedra) slew . . . <u>scratching (on?)</u>¹ . . . of Hippolytus . . . violently . . . of the maidens' rooms² . . . (of?) more . . . (Theseus) trusting (Phaedra's accusation) . . . <u>not long after</u> . . . <u>the unchaste</u> (<i>i.e.</i> Hippolytus) . . . being left . . . (Theseus) ordered . . . fear(?) . . . fail(ing?) . . . (Theseus) <u>ordered</u> . . . <u>to sit (or to seat)</u> . . . scrutiny . . . <u>was seeking</u> . . .</i>	5 10 15

¹ *I.e.* on a writing tablet, a false accusation, probably of Hippolytus as in *Hipp.* 856–9. ² So Luppe: just 'of maidens' ed. pr., exactly matching the letters preserved in test. iib.13.

EURIPIDES

test. iib (Hypothesis, P. Mich.)

Three larger fragments from a single column (and three very small ones omitted here), with letters from near the ends of lines of about 30 letters each; the last two lines of fr. C appear to contain letters which originally stood early in the first two lines of fr. B. Underlining marks words found also in test. iia:

- fr. A 1-2 (*a few letters each*) 3 ἐζήτησε[4]ν τυχεῖν οὐκ
 ἤ[δύνατο 5]εμφανη[6]θειν ἀπο[7]Θεταλι[
 8 (7 letters) 9 οἰ[κετῶν κ[10]λαμοις[11]ερχαρ[
 (*two lines missing before the start of fr. C*)
- fr. C 12 (7 letters) 13]παρθενων[14]ον καὶ βοη[
 15 Τρ]οιζήν[α γ]ενομ[ε 16] ὁ Θησεὺς πιστ[εύσας
 17]κατὰ τοῦ παιδ[ὸς 18 Ποσειδ]ῶν· καὶ μετ' οὐ πολ[ὺ
 19 κα]ταξιώσας αὐτὸ[]μ[20 τὸ]ν ἀσεβήσαντα τω[
 21]τῶν δ' Ἴππολύτου δούλων ἔν[α 22 ε]ππο.[(*more traces*) 23-26 (*a few letters each*)
- fr. B 27-28 (*a few letters each*) 29 Ἴπ]πολύτου στολήν[
 30]λιαν ἐκέλευσε[31 κα]λυψάμενον το .[32]θθιας
καθίσαι λη[33]ς ἀληθῆ τῶν π[34 ἔλ]εγχεον γενομε[ν-
 35] ἢ μὲν Φαίδρα[36]ν ἐζή(τει) 37 θερ]άπων
 38-41 (*a few letters each*)

P. Mich. inv. 6222A: see on test. iia above.

10 θα]λάμοις ed. pr. 11 perhaps] ἐρχαρ[αξ-
 Kannicht 19 αὐτὸ[s] μ[έν Luppe 30 νεα]νίαν
 Luppe

HIPPOLYTUS VEILED

test. iib

Remains of a similar but fuller hypothesis, P. Mich. inv. 6222A (underlined words are found also in test. iia):

fr. A: (Theseus) ... sought ... not (able?) to achieve ... clear(?) 5
 ... from(?) ... Thessalian (or Thessaly) ... of(?) house ser-
 vants ... bedrooms(?) ... scratching (on?) ... 10

fr. C: ... of maidens ... shout(ing?) ... Troezen ... (becom-
 ing?) ... Theseus trust(ing?) ... against his son ... to (Posei- 15
 don?); and not long after ... demanding¹ ... the unchaste (i.e.
 Hippolytus) ... and (one of?) Hippolytus' slaves ... horses ... 20

fr. B: ... Hippolytus' clothing ... (Theseus) ordered ... ² ... 30
 veiling himself ... to sit (or to seat) ... truth(?) of the ... scru-
tiny (happening?) ... Phaedra ... (was) seek(ing) ... ser- 35
 vant ...

¹ 'himself demanding', Luppe.

² 'ordered (the young man)', Luppe.

EURIPIDES

428

οἱ γὰρ Κύπριν φεύγοντες ἀνθρώπων ἄγαν
νοσοῦσ' ὁμοίως τοῖς ἄγαν θηρωμένοις.

Stobaeus 4.20.3; Plutarch, *Moralia* 778b

2 τοῖς ἄγαν θηρωμένοις one late ms. of Plut.: τοῖς ἀγαθὰ
ἡρημένοις the rest: τοῖς διώκουσιν ἄγαν Stob.

429

<ΧΟΡΟΣ>

ἀντὶ πυρὸς γὰρ ἄλλο πῦρ
μείζον ἐβλάστομεν γυναι-
κες πολὺ δυσμαχώτερον.

Stobaeus 4.22.176; Clement of Alexandria, *Miscellanies*
6.2.12.1-2 (word order adapted); later allusions.

430

<ΦΑΙΔΡΑ>

ἔχω δὲ τόλμης καὶ θράσους διδάσκαλον
ἐν τοῖς ἀμηχάνοισιν εὐπορώτατον,
Ἔρωτα, πάντων δυσμαχώτατον θεόν.

Stobaeus 4.20.25

(431 N = Sophocles, *Phaedra* F 684)

HIPPOLYTUS VEILED

428

Those of mankind who flee too much from Cypris are similarly at fault to those who hunt after her too much.

429

<CHORUS>

In place of fire we women were born, a different fire, greater and much harder to fight.¹

¹ Aristophanes F 469 *PCG* employs the proverb 'adding fire to fire' to describe giving a man a Phaedra as wife, almost certainly an allusion to our fragment.

430

<PHAEDRA>

I have a teacher of daring and audacity who is most inventive amid difficulties—Eros, the hardest god of all to fight.

(431 N = Sophocles, *Phaedra* F 684)

EURIPIDES

432

αὐτός τι νῦν δρῶν εἶτα δαίμονας κάλει
τῶ γὰρ ποιοῦντι καὶ θεὸς συλλαμβάνει.

Schol. on Homer, *Iliad* 4.249; v. 1: Suda a 4525; v. 2 is frequently cited (e.g. Stobaeus 3.29.33) or alluded to: see also *Temenos* F *746a.

1 δρῶν εἶτα Sud.: δρᾶ χούτως Schol.

433

<ΦΑΙΔΡΑ?>

ἔγωγέ φημι καὶ νόμον γε μὴ σέβειν
ἐν τοῖσι δεινοῖς τῶν ἀναγκαίων πλέον.

Stobaeus 3.12.10

434

<ΦΑΙΔΡΑ?>

οὐ γὰρ κατ' εὐσέβειαν αἱ θνητῶν τύχαι,
τολμήμασιν δὲ καὶ χερῶν ὑπερβολαῖς
άλίσκεται τε πάντα καὶ θηρεύεται.

Stobaeus 4.10.13

435

τί δ', ἦν λυθείς με διαβάλης, παθεῖν σε δεῖ;

Erotian δ 7

436

ὦ πότνι' Αἰδώς, εἴθε τοῖς πᾶσιν βροτοῖς
συνούσα ταναίσχυντον ἐξηροῦ φρενῶν.

Stobaeus 3.31.3

480

HIPPOLYTUS VEILED

432

Do something *now* yourself, and then invoke the gods; for god adds his assistance to the man who strives.¹

¹ The entire sentiment is proverbial, e.g. Aeschylus, *Persians* 742.

433

< PHAEDRA? >

I myself say, do not give even law greater respect amid dangers than necessity.

434

< PHAEDRA? >

Mortal men's fortunes are not in accord with their piety, but everything falls captive when hunted down by acts of daring and superior force.

435

And what must you suffer if you are released and traduce me?¹

¹ Translation insecure: 'traduce' is the verb's normal sense in Euripides, but Erotian cites the fragment for the meaning 'deceive'. Nor is 'released' clear: is this from an oath of silence which Hippolytus swears to Phaedra (as to her Nurse in the extant *Hipp.* 611-2, 657-8), or from her supplication to secure one? See Introduction.

436

O shame our revered goddess, if only you accompanied all men and took Shame out of their hearts!

EURIPIDES

437

ὄρῳ δὲ τοῖς πολλοῖσιν ἀνθρώποις ἐγὼ
τίκτουσαν ὕβριν τὴν πάροισ' εὐπραξίαν.

Stobaeus 4.41.43

438

ὕβριν τε τίκτει πλοῦτος, οὐ φειδῶ βίον.

Stobaeus 4.31.55; [Menander], *Monostichs* 792 Jaekel

1 οὐ Nauck: ἡ Stob., [Men.]

439

<ΘΗΣΕΤΣ>

φεῦ φεῦ, τὸ μὴ τὰ πράγματ' ἀνθρώποις ἔχειν
φωνήν, ἔν' ἦσαν μηδὲν οἱ δεινοὶ λέγειν.
νῦν δ' εὐρόοισι στόμασι τάληθέστατα
κλέπτουσιν, ὥστε μὴ δοκεῖν ἂ χρὴ δοκεῖν.

Stobaeus 2.2.8; vv. 1-2: Plutarch, *Moralia* 801f; vv. 3-4 (νῦν
. . . δοκεῖν): Clement of Alexandria, *Miscellanies* 1.8.41.1

440

Θησεῦ, παραινῶ σοὶ τὸ λῶστον, <εἰ> φρονεῖς,
γυναικὶ πείθου μηδὲ τάληθῆ κλύων.

Stobaeus 4.22.180

441

χρόνος διέρπων πάντ' ἀληθεύειν φιλεῖ.

Stobaeus 1.8.25

HIPPOLYTUS VEILED

437

I can see that for many people previous success generates arrogance.¹

¹ Perhaps Theseus reproving Hippolytus' presumption after his prominence at Athens (see note on F 438 and Introduction).

438

Wealth in life, not thrift, generates arrogance.¹

¹ Perhaps Hippolytus defends himself by asserting his own probity and simplicity, as in *Hipp.* 994–1006 etc.

439

<THESEUS>

Oh alas that facts have no voice for men (to hear) so that clever speakers would be nothing! Now, as things are, these disguise the veriest truth with fluent tongues, so that what should seem so, does not.

440

Theseus, I advise you for the best, <if> you are sensible: don't trust a woman even when you hear the truth from her.

441

Time as it passes usually gives all the truth.¹

¹ Part of a warning to Theseus, and so an ironic riposte to F 439? Cf. Hippolytus to Theseus at *Hipp.* 1051–2; *Aeolus* F ** 38a with note.

EURIPIDES

442

<ΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ?>

. . . πρὸς ἵππων εὐθὺς ὀρμήσας στάσιν . . .

Pollux 9.50

443

ὦ λαμπρὸς αἰθὴρ ἡμέρας θ' ἀγνὸν φάος,
ὡς ἡδὺ λεύσσειν τοῖς τε πράσσουσιν καλῶς
καὶ τοῖσι δυστυχοῦσιν, ὦν πέφυκ' ἐγώ.

Stobaeus 4.52.12

444

ὦ δαίμων, ὡς οὐκ ἔστ' ἀποστροφή βροτοῖς
τῶν ἐμφύτων τε καὶ θεηλάτων κακῶν.

Stobaeus 4.34.50

445

ἀλλ' οὐ γὰρ ὀρθῶς ταῦτα κρίνουσιν θεοί . . .

[Justin], *On Monarchy* 5.5

446

<ΧΟΡΟΣ>

ὦ μάκαρ, οἷας ἔλαχες τιμάς,
Ἴππόλυθ' ἥρωσ, διὰ σωφροσύνην
οὔποτε θνητοῖς
ἀρετῆς ἄλλη δύναμις μείζων
ἦλθε γὰρ ἢ πρόσθ' ἢ μετόπισθεν
τῆς εὐσεβίας χάρις ἐσθλή.

Stobaeus 3.5.2

HIPPOLYTUS VEILED

442

<MESSENGER?>

. . . setting out at once towards the stables . . .

443

O bright heaven, and day's holy light, how sweet you are to see, both for those who prosper and those who are unfortunate, of whom I am one.¹

¹ For possible speakers and context see Introduction.

444

O you deity, how mortal men have no way to avert their inborn or godsent¹ troubles!

¹ 'Godsent' is used of Phaedra's mother Pasiphae's sinful passion for the bull at *Cretans* F 472e.30 (a passion deplored by Phaedra at *Hipp.* 337).

445

But as the gods are not determining this correctly . . .

446

<CHORUS>

O blessed hero Hippolytus, what honours you have won, because of your chastity! Men have no other power as great as virtue; for sooner or later pure conduct receives a fine reward.¹

¹ Almost certainly from the play's final lines; for 'hero', a reference to Hippolytus' cult after death, see Introduction.

**HIPPOLYTUS VEILED,
UNCERTAIN FRAGMENT**

**953f

r. 1 col. 1 *remnants of 7 lines (1–7)*

col. ii *beginnings of 20 dialogue trimeters, probably part of a single speech which continues into fr. 2:*

ἔατε δ' αὐτὸ[ν

ἔαθ' ὑβρίζει[ν

10 μήτ' εἰ κακ[

ὀρίζέτω πρ[

καὶ γῆς ὄπο[ν

ἱππευέτω π[

γύης ἀροτρο[

15 ἀλλ' ἔρπ' ἐς ἀγ[ροὺς

φίλωσ καταρ[

P. Oxy. 4639, ed. A. Kerkhecker (2003), frs. 1–2 (frs. 3 and 4 yield only a few letters and are omitted here). Kerkhecker suggests ascription to *Hippolytus Veiled*; Kannicht in *TrGF* ascribes it just to Euripides.

9 ὑβρίζει[ν μήτε γάρ Kannicht
or κατάρ[ξας Kerkhecker

16 κατ' ἀρ[χὴν

HIPPOLYTUS VEILED,
UNCERTAIN FRAGMENT

**953f

From an angry scene in which a king sends a man riding into exile and is then addressed by the chorus. The papyrus' editor A. Kerkhecker suggests this is Theseus banishing the chariot-driving Hippolytus (cf. Hipp. 893, 973, 1173ff.); but Kannicht in TrGF leaves the fragment unattributed:

*fr. 1 col. ii: . . . Leave him . . . leave him to be arrogant! (For let him neither . . .) nor if . . . bad . . . (but?) let him traverse 10
(or separate or define) . . . and where on the earth . . . let
him ride . . . ploughed(?) fields . . . So make your way into
the country . . . in a friendly way (from the beginning?) . . . 15*

- χῶταν παρῆ[ς
 νικᾶν ἐπιστ[α
 ἦ ταῦτα βουλ[
 20 καὶ μηδενα[
 ἄγ' εἰά μοι κ[
 ἐχθρῶν κα[
 ἦ καὶ δοκῶ σ[οι
 ἐπίσταμαι [
- 25 εἰ γὰρ παθεῖ.[
 τοῦμὸν μελ[
 ὡς οὔτε παιδ[

fr. 2 *remnants of the centres of 12 lines (28–39), including:*

- 29]ν.. κρε<ι>σσόνων[
 30]έμαντὸν ἐξεπί[σταμαι
 31]ντα καὶ καθ' ἡμέ[ραν
 32].. τρίβοντα μη[
 (*change of speaker*)
 33 (*line centre blank*)
 34]νων, δέσποτ', ἐξ[
 35]ώμεσθα· μ.[.]εστ[

18 ἐπίστ[ασ' Parsons

19 ἦ ταῦτα βούλ[η Kannicht

25 παθεῖν [or πάθει .[P. Oxy.

HIPPOLYTUS VEILED

and when (you?) are present . . . (know how?) to win . . . Is this (what you wish?) . . . and no . . . Go on, go, I tell you . . .	20
of (my?) enemies . . . Do I really seem to you . . . I know . . . For if . . . suffer (<i>or</i> by suffering) . . . my . . . since neither . . .	25
<i>fr. 2:</i> . . . of stronger . . . I know myself well . . . (daily?) . . . spending time . . .	30
(<i>Chorus?</i>) . . . , master! . . . we . . .	35

[CADMUS (ΚΑΔΜΟΣ)]

A Cadmus by Euripides is attested only in the late classical commentary of 'Probus' on Virgil, Eclogues 6.31 (Servius III.2, p. 333.29 Thilo-Hagen), in a discussion which also cites Antiope F 182a and F 941. The fragment attributed to Cadmus, F [448], is cited to illustrate the use of the word χάος 'chaos' as equivalent to ἀήρ 'air':

οὐρανὸς ὑπὲρ ἡμᾶς †καινῶς φωτῶν† ἔδος
 δαιμόνιον, τὸ δ' ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ τε καὶ
 χθονός, οἱ μὲν ὀνομάζουσι χάος . . .

'Heaven, seat of the gods † . . . † over us; and what lies between heaven and earth some call 'chaos' . . .

This is metrically defective and either very corrupt or a paraphrase rather than a direct quotation; but in any case it is not in itself sufficient to confirm that Euripides composed such a play. Valckenaer's suggestion that F 930 might be assigned to Cadmus is not persuasive (see note there). Buecheler's assignment of TrGF adesp. F 536 ('You immigrant—without even being a native you hold this <land?> in slavery!') is even less plausible.

CRESPHONTES

Austin, *NFE* 41–8; O. Musso, *Euripide: Cresfonte* (Milan, 1974); A. Harder, *Euripides' Kresphontes and Archelaos* (Leiden, 1985), 1–122; M. Cropp in *SFP* I.121–47, 286 (~II.366); Diggle, *TrGFS* 111–4 (F 448a, 449, 453.15–26); H. Van Looy in ed. Budé VIII.2.257–87. See also on F 448a below.

S. Cengarle, *Dioniso* 40 (1966), 63–76; Webster 136–43; Z. Vysoký, *Strahovská Knihovna* 5–6 (1970–1), 5–18 (German summary, 19–21); Gantz 735–6; Matthiessen 263–6. Myth, political aspects: J. N. Bremmer, *ZPE* 117 (1997), 13–17; N. Luraghi in H.-J. Gehrke (ed.), *Geschichtsbilder und Gründungsmythen* (Würzburg, 2001), 37–63, esp. 51–7.

The hero is a son of the Cresphontes who established the Dorian kingdom of Messenia after the so-called Return of the Heraclidae (see Introduction to Archelaus). According to the play, the elder Cresphontes and his two older sons were killed by a usurper Polyphontes, who forced the murdered king's widow, Merope, to become his own wife. The younger Cresphontes survived the murders, being an infant at the time, and was raised in exile by Merope's father or some other family ally. He then returned in disguise, pretending to be his own murderer and claiming the price

EURIPIDES

which Polyphontes had put on his head. The king welcomed him, but Merope, unaware of his true identity and believing his story, resolved to kill him as he slept. She entered the guest chamber with an axe and was about to strike the death blow when an old servant who had acted as messenger between Merope and her son intervened and identified Cresphontes. Mother and son now plotted to kill the usurper. Merope falsely offered reconciliation, Cresphontes attacked Polyphontes unawares as he offered a celebratory sacrifice, and so vengeance and restoration were achieved.

This plot is inferred largely from Hyginus, Fab. 137 (= test. iia below: cf. Apollodorus 2.8.5, Aristotle, Poetics 1454a4-7 and Nicomachean Ethics 1111a11-12, and Palatine Anthology 3.5, which are test. iib-d). The papyri in F 448a give the end of the prologue and beginning of the parodos: Cresphontes, who has reached Polyphontes' palace in disguise and probably spoken the prologue speech, learns the local situation from (probably) a palace servant, delivers a monologue about the challenge he faces, and then exits, making way for the Chorus of old and oppressed Messenians to enter. Other fragments certainly or probably represent Cresphontes contemplating his challenge (F 450), the false reconciliation (F 449, 454, 455, 458), the same or an earlier confrontation between Merope and Polyphontes (F 451, 452), and Merope's attack on Cresphontes (F 456). A recently published Cologne papyrus enlarges F 453 and shows that the previously known choral ode praising Peace and deploring civil strife followed the preparation of the tyrant's death; its additional text comes from a scene-closing speech in which Cresphontes addresses the exiting (and unsuspecting) Polyphontes and an-

CRESPHONTES

ticipates his attack on him at the sacrifice. The moralising F 459 probably comments on Polyphontes' death, and there may have been a divine intervention at the end (by Hercules?) confirming Cresphontes' legitimacy and the future of his dynasty.

*Brief fragments: none. Other ascription: only the papyrus fragment F **953d is worth noting, perhaps from an early scene in which Cresphontes' 'disappearance' was reported: see discussion there.*

Cresphontes has much in common with the well known tragedies of Aeschylus, Sophocles and Euripides on the return of Orestes, especially Euripides' Electra. It was probably produced in the mid-420s when Athens was fomenting the separation of Messenia from Sparta. Its plot and characters may have been invented by Euripides as a contribution to the formation of a mythical identity for Messenia after nearly three centuries of subjugation, a subjugation which was not to end until 371 (on this political aspect see Bremmer, Luraghi). The myth remained open to political manipulation, and the name of the younger Cresphontes is changed to Aepytus in some later accounts which associated the Messenian royal family with an Arcadian rather than its Heraclid ancestry (see e.g. Pausanias 4.3.8).

No other Greek plays about the younger Cresphontes are known. Ennius' Latin Cresphontes was probably based on Euripides. The story of Merope, as told by Hyginus, was remarkably popular as a basis for drama and opera in the 17th and 18th centuries; note also Matthew Arnold's Merope (1858), and see OGCMA II.659-61.

ΚΡΕΣΦΟΝΤΗΣ

test. iia

<MEROPE.> Polyphontes Messeniae rex Cresphontem Aristomachi filium cum interfecisset, eius imperium et Meropen uxorem possedit. (2) Filium autem eius infantem Merope mater absconse ad hospitem in Aetoliam mandauit. Hunc Polyphontes maxima cum industria quaerebat, aurumque pollicebatur si quis eum necasset. (3) Qui postquam ad puberem aetatem uenit, capit consilium ut exsequatur patris et fratrum mortem; itaque uenit ad regem Polyphontem aurum petitum, dicens se Cresphontis interfecisse filium et Meropes, Telephontem. (4) Interim rex eum iussit in hospitio manere, ut amplius de eo perquireret. Qui cum per lassitudinem obdormisset, senex qui inter matrem et filium internuntius erat flens ad Meropen uenit, negans eum apud hospitem esse nec comparere. (5) Merope credens eum esse filii sui interfectorem qui dormiebat, in chalcidicum cum securi uenit inscia ut filium suum interficeret. Quem senex cognouit et matrem ab scelere retraxit. (6) Merope postquam uidit occasionem sibi

Hyginus, *Fab.* 137

CRESPHONTES

test. iia

<MEROPE.> Polyphontes, king of Messenia, killed Cresphontes son of Aristomachus and took possession of his kingdom and his wife Merope. (2) Merope however secretly entrusted the infant son she had borne to Cresphontes to a family friend in Aetolia. Polyphontes sought this child very vigorously, promising gold to whoever might kill him. (3) When he had grown up, Cresphontes planned to avenge the death of his father and brothers; so he came to king Polyphontes requesting the gold and claiming to have killed the son of Cresphontes and Merope, Telephontes.¹ (4) The king told him to stay in a guest room for the moment so that he might enquire further about him. Cresphontes fell asleep through fatigue, and an old man who had been a messenger between mother and son came to Merope weeping and saying he was not with the family friend and had disappeared. (5) Merope, believing the sleeping man to be her son's murderer, came into the chamber with an axe, unwittingly intending to slay her own son. But the old man recognized him and restrained the mother from her crime. (6) Realizing that her enemy had given her the opportunity of avenging herself,

¹ The name Telephontes suggests 'Killer from afar' (while Polyphontes suggests 'Killer of many'). Perhaps Cresphontes used it to disguise his real identity, and the point has become slightly confused in the summary.

EURIPIDES

datam esse ab inimico se ulciscendi, redit cum Polyphonte in gratiam. Rex laetus cum rem diuinam faceret, hospes falso simulauit se hostiam percussisse, eumque interfecit, patriumque regnum adeptus est.

448a

P. Oxy. 1-12 *remains of line ends, then 27 lines lost*
col. i

<ΚΡΕΣΦΟΝΤΗΣ>

P. Oxy. col. ii μ[ὼν ἄδικο]ς οἴκων δε[σ]πότης περι ξένους;

<ΘΕΡΑΠΩΝ?>

ὁ [ζῶν γ'], ὁ δ' οὐκ ὦν πᾶσι προσφιλέστατος.

<ΚΡΕΣΦΟΝΤΗΣ>

15 τ[ίς δ' ἔσ]τι; τὸν δὲ μηκέτ' ὄντ' αἰθίς φράσον.

<ΘΕΡΑΠΩΝ?>

ἀ[φ' Ἡ]ρ[α]κλειδῶν, ὄνομα Πολυφόντης, ξένε.

<ΚΡΕΣΦΟΝΤΗΣ>

[ὁ κα]τθανῶν δὲ δεσπότης τίς ἦν δόμων;

<ΘΕΡΑΠΩΝ?>

ταύτου γένους τοῦδ' οἴσθα Κρεσφόντην κλύων;

<ΚΡΕΣΦΟΝΤΗΣ>

κτιστήρᾳ γ' ὄντα τῆσδε γῆς Μεσσηνία[ς].

<ΘΕΡΑΠΩΝ?>

20 τοῦτον κατακτὰς δῶμα Πολυφόντης [ἔ]χει.

Vv. 1-68, 71-81: P. Oxy. 2458, frs. 1-3 (further scraps in frs. 4-6), ed. E. G. Turner (1962); vv. 51-64, 69-93: P. Mich. Inv. 6973, ed. S. Bonnycastle and L. Koenen (forthcoming); interim texts

CRESPHONTES

Merope made things up with Polyphontes. As the joyful king was performing a religious ceremony his guest, falsely pretending to have killed the victim, killed Polyphontes and regained his father's kingdom.

448a

1-12 *remains of line ends, then 27 lines lost*

<CRESPHONTES>

You mean the master of the house (abuses) strangers?

<SERVANT?>

The (living one) does, though the one now dead was most friendly to all.

<CRESPHONTES>

Who is he? And tell me also who it was that died. 15

<SERVANT?>

One of the Heraclids; his name is Polyphontes, stranger.

<CRESPHONTES>

And the master of the house that died—who then was he?

<SERVANT?>

You have heard of Cresphontes, one of this same family?

<CRESPHONTES>

I have—the settler of this Messenian land.

<SERVANT?>

Polyphontes killed him, and now possesses his house. 20

in *SFP* I (Cropp), *TrGFS* (Diggle), ed. Budé (Van Looy), *TrGF* (Kannicht).

13-30, 52: P. Oxy. identifies the speakers as $\bar{\alpha}$ and $\bar{\gamma}$, i.e. first and third actor.

EURIPIDES

<ΚΡΕΣΦΟΝΤΗΣ>

πότερα βιαίως ἢ τύχαις ἀκουσίους;

<ΘΕΡΑΠΩΝ?>

βία δολώσας, ὡς τυραννεῖοι χθονός.

<ΚΡΕΣΦΟΝΤΗΣ>

ἄπαιδά γ' ὄντα καὶ γυναικὸς ἄζυγα;

<ΘΕΡΑΠΩΝ?>

οὐκ, ἀλλὰ δισσοὺς συγκ[ατέ]κτεινει κόρους.

<ΚΡΕΣΦΟΝΤΗΣ>

25 ἦ πᾶσ' ὄλωλε δῆτα κα[ὶ] τέκνων σπορά;

<ΘΕΡΑΠΩΝ?>

εἷς ἐστὶ παίδων λοιπ[ός], εἶπερ ἔστ' ἔτι.

<ΚΡΕΣΦΟΝΤΗΣ>

πῶς τόν γε θάνατο[ν καὶ] τύχας ὑπεκφυγών;

<ΘΕΡΑΠΩΝ?>

μαστοῦ 'πὶ θηλῆς συμ[ικρ]ὸς ὦν ἐτ[.][.][.][

<ΚΡΕΣΦΟΝΤΗΣ>

ἔκδημο[ς] ὦν τῆσ[δ' ἢ] 'πιχ]ώριος χθ[ονός];

<ΘΕΡΑΠΩΝ?>

30 μητρ[ὸ]ς [π]ατήρ νυν[

31 has traces only; then a brief gap; then 32–38 with only a few legible words; then a further brief gap before 39 (traces only) and line-ends in 40–47; the dialogue probably continued to 45, followed by the Servant's(?) exit speech 46–51, then Cresphontes' monologue:

CRESPHONTES

<CRESPHONTES>

Violently, or through some unintended accident?

<SERVANT?>

Through a violent plot, so that he could rule the land.

<CRESPHONTES>

Was the one he killed childless, not wedded to a wife?

<SERVANT?>

No; the usurper killed two sons of his with him.

<CRESPHONTES>

All of his offspring, then, are dead as well?

25

<SERVANT?>

One son remains—if indeed he still lives.

<CRESPHONTES>

And how did he escape the deadly fate of the others?

<SERVANT?>

Being a small child, (still feeding?) at the breast.

<CRESPHONTES>

Away from this country, or living here in it?

<SERVANT?>

His mother's father . . . him . . .

30

thirteen fragmentary or lost lines, then conclusion of the dialogue with exit speech of the Servant(?) probably starting at 46:

28 end ἔτ[ι][ἐν] τ[ροφᾶ]ς Radt

EURIPIDES

40 δ]άμαρτ' ἔχειν 41],, πόσιν 42]η πάρος δέρην
 43]εις ἐχθρούς ἔχει 44],as ἀντιτίσεται[ι 45]ε ἀν
 γένουτ' ἐμ[46] ἐστίας ἴθι

P. Oxy. remains of one more line-end (47), then:

col. iii γυνή δε.[
 πόσιν θ' ὑ[
 50 ξέναι δ' ε.[

P. Mich.

col. i κλαίουσα· χαίρει[]ατα

<ΚΡΕΣΦΟΝΤΗΣ>

αἰαῖ· τί δράσω; .[]
 πῶς δ' ἀθλίωσι[]..s
 δεῖ σ', ᾧ τάλαινα καρδ[ία]]η
 55 ξίφος τε θηκτόν, ᾧ ταλ[]a
 ᾧ νερτέρα χθῶν ..[].. ἄπο
 Ἄιδη θ' ὅς ἄρχει[s]..[]· κάτω
 ἔν· λεν ἐχθρα[]·[

then further line-beginnings:

59, 60 (a few letters each) 61 νῦν εἴ ποτε.[62 ὑμεῖς τ'
 ἐάσατ[63 μνησθέντες εἰ..[64 σφ[65 ᾧ φίλτατε [
 66 ..]πηστα[67 κ]αὶ νῦν μ[

traces of one line-beginning, then about five lines missing,
 then:

P. Mich.

col. ii οὐκ ἔστι τό[λ]μης τῆσδ' ὅπως ἀφέξομ[αι]
 70 σὺν μητρὶ [τ]ὸν ἐμὸν ἐχθρὸν ὥστε μὴ [κτανεῖν.

CRESPHONTES

... to have (as his?) wife ... husband ... (her?) throat be- 40
 fore that ... has enemies ... will take vengeance ... might
 come to pass (for me?) ... go (from this?) hearth ... (one 45
line) ... wife ... and (her?) husband ... but alien (women?)
 ... weeping (*sing.*). Farewell ... 50

<CRESPHONTES>

Alas, what shall I do ... and how ... wretched ... O (my)
 long-suffering heart, you must ... ¹ and a sharpened sword,
 O long-suffering ... O land below ... from ... and you, 55
 Hades, who rule ... beneath ... (whom?) hatred (*or hos-*
tile) ... (destroyed?) ... (*two lines*) ... now, if ever ... and 61
 you, permit ... remembering ... (*one line*) ... O dearest ... 65
 (*one line*) ... now too ... (*six lines*) ... Nothing shall make
 me shirk this deed of daring and fail (to kill) my foe with

¹ With the supplement suggested by Bonnycastle-Koenen: 'O (my) long-suffering heart (and arm), you must ...' (cf. esp. *Alcestis* 837); but a completion of 'you must ...' seems needed in this verse. On the reconstruction and rhetoric of Cresphontes' monologue see E. Medda, *Eikasmos* 13 (2002), 67-84.

45 end ἐμ[οί Mette 46 τῆσδ' ἀφ'] ἐστίας Koenen
 (ἀφ' Harder) 51 κλαίουσα P. Oxy.: κλαύ]σασα P. Mich.
 54 καρδ[ία καὶ χεὶρ ἐμ]ῆ (e.g.) Bonnycastle-Koenen
 58 ὄν εἶλεν Bonnycastle-Koenen 64 [[πατρός] σφ[P.
 Oxy. (πατρός perhaps belonged at the end of the previous line)

EURIPIDES

Ζεῦ, Ζεῦ, σὺ [δ'] ἡμᾶς εὐτυχεστέρους πατρὸς
θῆς ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ μονογενεῖς λελείμμεθα.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

- 73a αἰαῖ· φεῦ·
73b ὦ γεραιοί, πρόβατε τᾶδε,
βάρεα γουνάτων φέροντες
75 πολυετ[έα], μακροβίοτα
μέλεα· δίκητε βάκτρ['] ἐς οὔδας.
ἔκλαυσα τάδε μέλαθρα [...].....[.]..ιλων
τυράννου μόνα[] μόνου στερέντα
τοῦ πάλαι ποτε[.]...[..ν.[.].[.]s
80 ὁ πολυδάκρυτος·
ὄσιον ἄφατο[ν] ἔμ' αὐ[δ]ᾶ[ν].
φεῦ, φεῦ· ὦ γῆρας, ὦ πα. δι.[
τάλα[ι]να [.....].ιμως πτεροῦ[σ]σα
ἀείδο[υσ.....].η φιλοπροσῳδ[ί]α
85 ἀλεᾶ [.....]στρεφει παρα[ἀπο-
ζυγεί[σα .. παιδ]ὸς οὐ πόθῳ στ[έ]νεις·

72 ἀλλ' P. Mich.: τὰ ἄλλα above line, altered to τὰ δ'
ἄλλα P. Oxy.: θῆς τᾶλλ', ἐπειδὴ Slings: θῆς· τᾶλλ' ἐπειδὴ
Kannicht 73-81 colometry as in P. Oxy. (colometry appears
to be lacking in P. Mich.) 76 δίκητε βάκτρ[α Kannicht:
δίκη τὸ βάκτρ[ον P. Mich.: δ'ι P. Oxy.? 77 ἔκλαυσα P.
Oxy.: ἔκλυον P. Mich. 82-3 ὦ Πανδίο[νος] τάλα[ι]να
[παῖς Haslam 84 ἀείδο[υσ' ὀξέα μέ]λη (e.g.)
Bonnycastle-Koenen 85 [φωνᾶ τ' ἐπι]στρεφεῖ Haslam

CRESPHONTES

my mother's aid. Zeus, Zeus, make me more fortunate than 70
my father, now at least when I am left as his only son!²

CHORUS

Alas, woe! Old men, step forward this way . . . bearing the 75
years-old weight that loads your knees . . . long-lived limbs.
Plant your staffs on the ground. I weep for³ this house . . .
alone, deprived of its former ruler's only (son?) . . . the 80
much-weeping (*or* much-wept) one . . . a sacrosanct, un-
mentionable thing for me to utter. Alas, alas! O old age, O
wretched (daughter of Pandion?)⁴ . . . feathered, sing(ing
your shrill songs?) with vain tunefulness (and modulating
voice?) separated from your son, in yearning for whom you 85

² P. Oxy.'s wording (before its unmetrical correction: see app. opposite) could give 'Make me more fortunate than my father in other regards, seeing that I am left . . .' (Slings), or 'Make me more fortunate than my father, especially because . . .' (Kannicht).

³ P. Mich. has 'I heard that . . .' ⁴ As Haslam observed, this sentence seems to have referred to Procne, daughter of king Pandion of Athens, who became a nightingale after killing her son to punish her husband Tereus for raping and mutilating her sister (cf. *Phaethon* 67-70). Sophocles dramatized the story in his *Tereus*.

EURIPIDES

δεινα[.....]αζε. συγγόνου δι[.]δεασθε[
 χερὶ σφ[.....]ν τέκνοισι φονίω[ι
 ἄμ' αἴτ[ιος τοσῶν]δ' ἐμοὶ κακῶν ᾧ[ν.

*remains of four further lines, perhaps the beginning of
 an antistrophe, including 90 πατρὸς τέκνων, 92 τὰδ'
 ἐπαφειθ[έντα, 93 τυ]ράννων κυσίν τε*

87-88 συγγόνου δι[ὄ]δ' ἀσθεινέσι] χερὶ σφ[αγεὺς ἐπή]ν
 τέκνοισι φονίῳ Bonnycastle-Koenen

449

traces of two lines in the papyrus

ἐχρῆν γὰρ ἡμᾶς σύλλογον ποιουμένους
 τὸν φύντα θρηνείν εἰς ὅσ' ἔρχεται κακά,
 5 τὸν δ' αὖ θανόντα καὶ πόνων πεπαυμένον
 χαίρουτας εὐφημοῦντας ἐκπέμπειν δόμων.
remains of three more lines in the papyrus

P. Fayum, ed. R. A. Coles, *ZPE* 6 (1970), 247-8 (fragmentary
 lines, perhaps from an anthology, so vv. 1-2, 7-9 may not be from
Cresphontes); vv. 3-6: Sextus Empiricus, *Outlines of Pyrrhonism*
 3.230; Clement of Alexandria, *Miscellanies* 3.3.15.2; Stobaeus
 4.52.42; Schol. on Hermogenes, *On Invention*, ed. C. Walz, *Rhet.*
Gr. VII.765.17; Latin translation in Cicero, *Tusculan Disputa-*
tions 1.115; vv. 4-6: Strabo 11.11.8; Plutarch, *Moralia* 36f;
 Menander Rhetor p. 413.27-9 Spengel (p. 162 Russell-Wilson);
 and elsewhere in whole or part.

3 ἐχρῆν Sext., Stob., others: ἔδει Clement., Schol. Hermog.,
 others: *decebat* Cicero

CRESPHONTES

moan . . . But (this man) with bloody hand (stood as executioner over?) his brother's (feeble) children, (being) the cause (of these great evils) for me as well . . . father's children . . . these(?) . . . discharged at . . . tyrants' . . . and for dogs . . .

449

. . . (*traces of two lines*) . . . We would do better to assemble and bewail a newborn child for all the troubles he is entering, and when a man dies and has his rest from hardships to see him from his home with joy and cries of gladness¹ . . . (*remains of three lines*) . . .

¹ Euripides may have borrowed this idea from Herodotus 5.4, where the practice of mourning births and celebrating deaths is ascribed to the Thracian Trausi. For the sentiment 'better not to be born' cf. *Bellerophon* F 285.1-2, F 908.1, Sophocles, *Oedipus at Colonus* 1224-5.

EURIPIDES

450

ΚΡΕΣΦΟΝΤΗΣ

εἰ μὲν γὰρ οἰκεί νερτέρας ὑπὸ χθονὸς,
 ἐν τοῖσιν οὐκέτ' οὔσιν, οὐδὲν ἂν σθένοι.

[Plutarch], *Moralia* 110b

451

ΜΕΡΟΠΗ

εἰ γάρ σ' ἔμελλεν, ὡς σὺ φῆς, κτείνειν πόσις,
 χρῆν καὶ σὲ μέλλειν, ὡς χρόνος παρήλυθεν.

Aulus Gellius 6.3.28

452

<ΠΟΛΥΦΟΝΤΗΣ?>

ἐκεῖνο γὰρ πέπονθ' ὅπερ πάντες βροτοί·
 φιλῶν μάλιστ' ἑμαυτὸν οὐκ αἰσχύνομαι.

Schol. on *Medea* 84

453

Line-ends from a scene-ending speech by Cresphontes:

1] συμφορας [2].ον..φοινιο[3 μά]χαιραν ἢ σ'
 ἀποκτενεῖ 4]...ν μαθήσομαι 5] τὴν ἐμὴν

P. Köln 398, ed. M. Gronewald (2003), has vv. 1–14 and parts of vv. 15–26 (and a few further lines) without colometry; vv. 15–26: Stobaeus 4.14.1; vv. 15–22: Polybius 12.26.5 (= Timaeus *FGrH* 566 F 22); vv. 15–16 were parodied in Aristophanes, *Farmers* F 111 *PCG*



CRESPHONTES

450

CRESPHONTES

If he dwells in the land below with those who are no more,
he can have no strength.¹

¹ The source indicates that Cresphontes refers to Heracles, who could be thought of as either a ghost in the underworld or a god in heaven. Cresphontes might expect help from his ancestor if he were a god, but not if he were a ghost (cf. *Heracles* 145-6, 296-7).

451

MEROPE

If, as you claim, my husband was waiting to kill you, you
should have waited too, since time had passed.¹

¹ Merope exploits alternative meanings of the verb *μέλλειν*, either 'intend' or 'delay'. Gellius says that she 'outwitted' Polyphontes with this riposte, so it may have occurred in the false reconciliation scene.

452

<POLYPHONTES?>

My experience is the same as every man's: I feel no disgrace
in loving myself above all.

453

<CRESPHONTES>

(to Polyphontes, exiting)¹

... misfortune(s) ... bloody ... knife which will kill you ...
I shall learn ... my unmanliness ... I ... gods ... rather, and 5

¹ Polyphontes does not hear Cresphontes' words as he leaves for the sacrifice at which he expects to celebrate the death of Merope's son: cf. *Electra* 1139-46, *Heracles* 726-33, *Bacchae* 847-61.

EURIPIDES

ἀνανδρίαν 6], ἐγὼ θεοί 7] μᾶλλον ἐσθίων τε σῶν
 8] ε πρόσπολοι δόμων 9].. μαθη τὸ σωφρονεῖν
 10] τε νῦν φέρει με... 11] α παῖδα..... υσφ[
 12] γ' ἱερεύω δ' ἐγώ 13 λ] ἐγει μήτηρ ἐγώ
 14], συμβούλους θέλει.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

στρ. Εἰρήνα βαθύπλουτε καὶ
 16 καλλίστα μακάρων θεῶν,
 ζῆλός μοι σέθεν ὡς χρονίζεις.
 δέδοικα δὲ μὴ πρὶν πόνοις
 ὑπερβάλη με γῆρας,
 20 πρὶν σὰν χαρίεσσαν προσιδεῖν ὄραν
 καὶ καλλιχόρους ἀοιδὰς
 φιλοστεφάνους τε κώμους.
 ἴθι μοι, πότνια, πόλιν.
 ἀντ. τὰν δ' ἐχθρὰν Στάσιν εἶργ' ἀπ' οἴ-
 25 κων τὰν μαινομέναν τ' Ἔριν
 θηκτῶ τερπομέναν σιδάρῳ.

parts of a few more lines in the papyrus, colometry uncertain, including the words πόλεος, στάσιν, πόλιν

18 δέδοικα Stob., Polyb.: δέδια (for metre) Rupprecht
 20 προσιδεῖν χαρίεσσαν (for metre) Austin 23 <ἴθ' > ἴθι
 (for metre) Diggle πότνια (for metre) Bergk 24 τὰν δ'
 ἐχθρὰν στάσιν Stob.: ἐχθρ]ὰν δὲ στάσι[ν P. Köln

CRESPHONTES

eating (from?) your . . . servants . . . of/from the house . . . he
may learn(?) self-control . . . now carries . . . son . . . and I 10
perform the sacrifice . . . (as?) my mother says, I . . . wants
. . . advisers.

CHORUS

Peace, with your depths of wealth, fairest of the blessed 15
gods, I pine for you, so long you are in coming; I fear old
age may overwhelm me with hardships before I can
look upon your graceful beauty, your songs adorned with 20
dancing, your garland-loving revels. Come, mistress, to my
city!

Ban from our homes the hateful Discord, and raging Strife
that delights in whetted iron . . . city . . . discord . . . city . . . 25

EURIPIDES

454

ΜΕΡΟΠΗ

τεθνᾶσι παῖδες οὐκ ἐμοὶ μόνη βροτῶν
οὐδ' ἀνδρὸς ἐστερήμεθ', ἀλλὰ μυρίαί
τὸν αὐτὸν ἐξήντησαν ὡς ἐγὼ βίον.

[Plutarch], *Moralia* 110d

455

<ΜΕΡΟΠΗ>

καὶ δις ἔπτ' αὐτῆς τέκνα
Νιόβης θανόντα Λοξίου τοξεύμασιν

Schol. on *Phoenician Women* 159

456

ΜΕΡΟΠΗ

†ὠνητέραν† δὴ τήνδ' ἐγὼ δίδωμί σοι
πληγῆν.

Plutarch, *Moralia* 998e

1 †ὠνητέραν† δὴ: ὀσιωτέραν δὴ Turnebus: ὦ νέρτερ' Ἄιδη
Porson: τῷ νερτέρῳ δὴ Collard

457

αἰδῶς ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖσι γίγνεται, τέκνον.

Stobaeus 3.31.15

CRESPHONTES

454

MEROPE

I am not alone amongst mortals in having had children die, nor in being bereft of my husband. Countless women have drained the same life as I.

455

<MEROPE>

. . . and the twice seven children of Niobe herself, killed by Loxias' arrows . . .¹

¹ Niobe is an example of extreme maternal loss and grief. Her many children were killed by Apollo and (in some accounts) Artemis when she boasted of having more children than their mother, the goddess Leto. Both Aeschylus and Sophocles produced famous *Niobe* tragedies.

456

MEROPE

A . . . blow is this that I give to you!¹

¹ Plutarch describes the scene to which these words belong: 'Look at Merope in the tragedy, lifting an axe against her son in the belief that he is her son's murderer. What a commotion she causes in the theatre, bringing them all to their feet together, and what terror that she will hurt the boy before the old man gets hold of her!' The first word of the quotation as transmitted is meaningless: 'A more righteous blow is this . . .', Turnebus; 'O Hades below, to you I give this blow', Porson; 'To you below (i.e. her supposedly dead son) do I give this blow', Collard.

457

Modesty is born in the eyes, my child.¹

¹ A proverbial thought: see Aristotle, *Rhetoric* 1384a34.

EURIPIDES

458

ΜΕΡΟΠΗ

αἱ τύχαι δέ με
μισθὸν λαβοῦσαι τῶν ἐμῶν τὰ φίλτατα
σοφὴν ἔθηκαν.

Plutarch, *Moralia* 90a

459

κέρδη τοιαῦτα χρή τινα κτᾶσθαι βροτῶν,
ἐφ' οἷσι μέλλει μήποθ' ὕστερον στένειν.

Stobaeus 4.31.95 (followed without new heading by a repetition of 4.31.57 = *Dictys* F 341)

CRESPHONTES

458

MEROPE

My misfortunes, taking as their fee the dearest of my loved ones, have taught me wisdom.

459

A man should get the kind of profits that he will never lament later.

CRETAN WOMEN

H. Van Looy in ed. Budé VIII.2.289–301.

Wilamowitz, *Analecta* 255; Webster 37–9; M. Gronewald, *ZPE* 33 (1979), 1–5, and (with W. Luppe) *ZPE* 115 (1997), 47–9 (see test. *v below); Gantz 545–7, 554–6; C. Collard in McHardy, *Lost Dramas*, 52–7 (written in 1996, but taking account of Gronewald–Luppe 1997).

*Euripides' plot is summarized with extreme concision in the Scholia on Sophocles, Ajax 1297a (= test. iiia below): when the Cretan king Catreus discovered that his daughter Aerope had slept with a servant, he handed her to Nauplius to drown, but instead Nauplius married her to Pleisthenes. Aerope's behaviour in the play is described by the scholiast on Aristophanes, Frogs 849 (= test. iiib) as 'like a whore's'; since Frogs 1043 uses the word 'whore' of Phaedra (see Hippolytus Veiled) and Stheneboea (Stheneboea), who are other 'wicked' women in this early phase of Euripides' career, it looks as if Aerope was an important character here. Apollodorus 3.2.1–2 and 5 (= test. *iiic), however, tells Aerope's story differently, with no sexual wrongdoing (and without mention of Euripides): Catreus received an oracle that he would die at the hands of one of his children and tried to prevent this by giving his two daughters Aerope and Clymene to Nauplius to sell into*

CRETAN WOMEN

*slavery (see note on F 466); but Pleisthenes married Aerope and she bore him Menelaus and Agamemnon. Apollodorus is at least consistent with the Sophocles scholiast in this last detail; myth more commonly has Atreus as Aerope's husband, and Menelaus and Agamemnon their sons, not Pleisthenes as the husband and father (see further our Introduction to Pleisthenes). The fragments themselves confirm Nauplius as a character (F 466) but also Atreus (source of F 465; cf. test. *v below). Next, Aristophanes, Acharnians 433 and the scholiast there (= test. iv) attest the presence in the play of Thyestes 'in rags', as also in Thyestes (see test. ii there); Thyestes is Atreus' brother and in all accounts seduces his wife Aerope, drawing on himself the hideous retaliation of being served the flesh of his children (Aeschylus, Agamemnon 1582-1602 etc.; again, see Thyestes).*

*Catreus and Aerope are Cretan; Atreus, Thyestes and Nauplius are from (near) Argos. The presence in the plot of Atreus, let alone Thyestes (and 'in rags'), is one problem, particularly if Aerope is destined to end the play married to Pleisthenes. A second problem is the play's location: the emphasis in the Sophocles scholiast on Aerope's behaviour at home on Crete, and the play's name from its chorus, strongly suggest Crete as the scene (cf. Wilamowitz 255); but test. *v, a fragmentary papyrus commentary apparently on this play, suggests illogicalities in the dramaturgy both if Catreus sends the women away from Crete and if they leave voluntarily (i.e. go to Argos), and if the chorus fails to recognise Atreus from his royal retinue. The papyrus breaks off here, but presumably it condemned failure of recognition in either Crete or Argos.*

What can be done with all this? A plot is feasible whose

EURIPIDES

*essence is the discovery of Aerope's improper liaison (F 460?), Catreus' harsh reaction and commission to Nauplius to get rid of her (F 466: see note on the translation), and Atreus' perhaps uncomfortable presence (F 465: see note on the translation) as the father of Pleisthenes, all perhaps leading to the latter's marriage to Aerope and her happy escape (cf. Kannicht, TrGF 5.496). F 463 and 464 may be Catreus' cynical observations on the marriage. The scene would indeed be not Argos but Crete; the chorus may (illogically: test. *v) not recognise Atreus there; Nauplius and Atreus may be 'convenient' visitors to Crete, or (Kannicht suggests) Nauplius may have been summoned by Catreus and have brought Atreus with him. Thyestes would fill out this rather thin plot—but why is he in it, and in rags? Has Euripides brought him wandering to Crete after losing the throne at Argos to Atreus (Agamemnon 1585–6)? Does F 462 express his misery? Has Euripides daringly clothed him 'in rags' as the servant who in the Sophocles scholiast seduces Aerope, a seduction Euripides transfers from the time when she is Atreus' wife (Eur. Electra 720–2)? This suggestion was first made by Wilamowitz. Does Thyestes here 'leave quietly'? What then of F 467–9, an evocation of a lavish banquet, which reconstructors who locate the play in Argos, and at the seduction there, must relate to Atreus' cannibal retaliation upon Thyestes (e.g. Webster 39). F 467–9 better suit a feast on Crete celebrating Aerope's future. Lastly, F 461 and 470 cannot be located in any reconstruction.*

A succinct history of attempts on the play is given by Van Looy 294–6. His own is most cautious, but he sets the play at Argos, where Nauplius arrives with Aerope and recounts Catreus' orders to him. Van Looy discards Thyestes

CRETAN WOMEN

*altogether, and leaves Atreus' role in the obscurity of test. *v, discarding him from F 465 (but on p. 293 n. 7 he suggests intriguingly that test. *v relates not to Euripides but to Agathon or Carcinus: see below). Most questions asked here were posed, and some answered differently, by Collard (2005, but written before Van Looy and TrGF and overlooking Wilamowitz).*

Other ascription: F 470a, a now residual heading in Stobaeus from which a quotation on the instability of fortune has been lost.

The play was produced in 438 B.C. (test. ii: see on Alcmeon in Psophis). Aeschylus wrote a Cretan Women, and Agathon and Carcinus an Aerope: all are of unknown content. The apparent story of Euripides' play has left no trace in art.

ΚΡΗΣΣΑΙ

test. iiiia

‘αὐτὸς δὲ μητρὸς ἐξέφυς Κρήσσης, ἐφ’ ἧ | λαβὼν
ἐπακτὸν ἄνδρ’ ὁ φυτύσας πατήρ | ἐφῆκεν ἔλλοῖς ἰχθύσιν
διαφθοράν· ἡ ἱστορία ἐν ταῖς Κρήσσαις Εὐριπίδου, ὅτι
διαφθαρεῖσαν αὐτὴν λάθρα ὑπὸ τοῦ θεράποντος ὁ πατήρ
Ναυπλίῳ παρέδωκεν ἐντειλάμενος καταποντῶσαι· ὁ δὲ
οὐκ ἐποίησεν, ἀλλ’ ἠγγύησε Πλεισθένει.

Sophocles, *Ajax* 1295–7 and Schol. on 1297a

(test. iv: see *Thyestes* test. ii)

test. *v

(a few letters legible) ἄλογον

τὸ γυναικάς ἐκ [Κρήτης] ὑπὸ Κατρέ-
ως πέμπεσθαι, ἄ[λογον] δὲ καὶ τὸ αὐ-
τὰς ἀφ’ αὐτῶν ἀφ[ικνεῖσθαι] καταλι-
πούσας το[c. 8 letters τ]υφλὸς δὲ
κ[αὶ ὁ χορὸς c. 9 letters] τὸν Ἀτρέ[α
.], βασιλικ[c. 10 letters] καὶ δορυφό[
] ἀλλὰ καὶ [.

P. Harris 13 col. i, frs. 1 and 2, ed. M. Gronewald, *ZPE* 33
(1979), 1–5, re-ed. with W. Luppe, *ZPE* 115 (1997), 47–9

CRETAN WOMEN

test. iiii

'You (Menelaus) were yourself born from a Cretan mother, whom her own father (Catreus) caught with a man taken into her bed, and sent her to death and destruction by dumb fishes':¹ the story is in Euripides' *Cretan Women*, that when (Aerope) had been secretly violated by her servant her father handed her over to Nauplius with orders to drown her; Nauplius did not do this, however, but pledged her in marriage to Pleisthenes.

¹ 'Dumb fishes': to consume her totally, so that nothing of her disgrace should ever be told.

(test. iv: see *Thyestes* test. ii)

test. *v

... illogical that the women should be sent from (Crete) by Catreus, (illogical) too that they should (come) of their own accord leaving ... and the chorus (would be?) blind ... (not to recognise?) Atreus ... royal ... armed (i.e. guard) ...

EURIPIDES

460

λύπη μὲν ἄτη περιπεσεῖν αἰσχροῦ τινι
 εἰ δ' οὖν γένοιτο, χρὴ περιστέλλαι καλῶς
 κρύπτοντα καὶ μὴ πᾶσι κηρύσσειν τάδε·
 γέλως γὰρ ἐχθροῖς γίγνεται τὰ τοιάδε.

Stobaeus 4.45.7

461

οὐκ ἂν δύναιο μὴ καμῶν εὐδαιμονεῖν,
 αἰσχρόν τε μοχθεῖν μὴ θέλειν νεανίαν.

Stobaeus 3.29.23

462

ἐπίσταμαι δὲ καὶ πεπείραμαι σαφῶς
 ὡς τῶν ἐχόντων πάντες ἄνθρωποι φίλοι.
 οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἔρπει πρὸς τὸ μὴ τροφήν ἔχον,
 ἀλλ' εἰς τὸ πλοῦτον καὶ συνουσίαν ἔχον.
 5 καὶ τῶν ἐχόντων ἠύγένεια κρίνεται·
 ἀνὴρ δ' ἀχρήμων εἰ θάνοι πράσσει καλῶς.

Florentine Gnomology PSI 1476 no.1 Bartoletti (= Austin, *NFE* fr. 152: without attribution); vv. 1–2: Stobaeus 4.31.11; v. 2: Stobaeus 4.31.39, [Menander], *Monostichs* 854 Jaekel

1 end: [σ]αφ[ω]ς read insecurely in PSI by Kannicht ([λί]α[ν] ed. pr.): λίαν Stob.

CRETAN WOMEN

460

It is painful to have a shaming disaster befall one; but if it should happen, one must conceal and cover it well, and not proclaim it to all.¹ Such things become a mockery for one's enemies.

¹ Cf. *Cretans* F 472e.2-3, 29-33, *Oedipus* F 553, *Scyrians* F 683, and contrast *Ino* F 416.

461

You can't prosper without effort; and it is shameful for a young man to be unwilling to work hard.

462

I know, and have definite experience, that all men are friends of the rich; for no one goes where there is no sustenance, but where there is wealth and company. Also, nobility is judged a quality of the rich, while a man without property does well if he should die.¹

¹ Thyestes in the guise of a beggar ('in rags?') may be speaking. The rich credited with nobility: *Aeolus* F 22 with note. In v. 1 Stobaeus offers '(have) too much (experience)'.

EURIPIDES

463

οὐ γάρ ποτ' ἄνδρα τὸν σοφὸν γυναικὶ χρῆ
δοῦναι χαλινούς οὐδ' ἀφέντ' ἔαν κρατεῖν·
πιστὸν γὰρ οὐδέν ἐστιν· εἰ δέ τις κυρεῖ
γυναικὸς ἐσθλῆς, εὐτυχεῖ κακὸν λαβών.

Stobaeus 4.23.2

464

γαμέιτε νυν, γαμέιτε, κᾶτα θνήσκετε
ἢ φαρμάκοισιν ἐκ γυναικὸς ἢ δόλοις.

Stobaeus 4.22.121

465

ΑΤΡΕΤΣ

<Ἄιδης> κρινεῖ ταῦτ(α) . . .

Schol. on Aristophanes, *Wasps* 762–3, naming Atreus as speaking to Aerope; <K>ΑΤΡΕΤΣ Wilamowitz (see note opposite)

466

ἐγὼ χάριν σὴν παῖδά σου κατακτάνω;

Apollonius Dyscolus, *On Prepositions* p. 246.32 Schneider (*Gramm. Gr.* II.1) = Tryphon fr. 56 von Velsen

παῖδά σου Apollon.: παῖδας οὐ Bekker κατακτάνω (as question) Schmidt: κατακτενώ Apollon. (as statement or question, eds.)

CRETAN WOMEN

463

The wise man should never ease the reins on his wife, nor relax them and let her take control; for there is nothing trustworthy about her. If anyone gets a virtuous wife, he enjoys good fortune from a bad possession.¹

¹ Similarly F 1056–7.

464

Well, go on and get married, get married, and then die either through poison or plot from your wife!

465

ATREUS¹
(to Aerope)

<Hades> will judge this . . .

¹ Wilamowitz, locating the play in Crete, removed Atreus from the cast-list and assigned this fragment to Catreus; but see the Introduction, and test. *v.6.

466

Am I to kill your child as a favour to you?¹

¹ Almost certainly Nauplius addressing Catreus about the proposed killing of Aerope. If Bekker's 'I will not kill your children' is read, the children are Aerope and Clymene (cf. Apollodorus 3.2.2. = test. *iic).

EURIPIDES

467

τί γὰρ ποθεῖ τράπεζα; τῷ δ' οὐ βρίθεται;
 πλήρης μὲν ὄψων ποντίων, πάρεισι δὲ
 μόσχων τέρειναι σάρκες ἀρνεία τε δαῖς
 καὶ πεπτὰ καὶ κροτητὰ τῆς ξουθοπτέρου
 5 πελάνῳ μελίσσης ἀφθόνως δεδευμένα.

Athenaeus 14.640b; vv. 2-3 (πάρεισι . . . σάρκες): Eustathius
 on Homer, *Odyssey* 5.247; vv. 4-5: Plutarch, *Moralia* 1097d

3 ἀρνεία Meineke: χηνεία (unmetrical) Ath., Eustath.

468

τὰ δ' ἄλλα χαῖρε κύλικος ἐρπούσης κύκλω.

Athenaeus 11.504b

469

. . . νόμος δὲ λείψαν' ἐκβάλλειν κυσίν.

Athenaeus 3.97a

νόμος δὲ <δείπνου> Mekler

470

†πρὶν ἂν ἐκφλῆναί με καὶ μαθεῖν λόγον†

Etymologicum Genuinum B and (slightly varied) *Etym. Mag-*
num p. 796.6 Gaisford under the word φλήναφος 'idle babbling'.
 Syntax and meaning are faulty; one or more words have been lost.

467

What is there missing on the table? What is it not laden with? It's full of broiled seafood, and with it are tender meats of veal and a feast of lamb; and cakes and biscuits, drenched without stint in thick honey from the buzzing bee.¹

¹ Athenaeus uses the passage to illustrate the joys of 'second courses' served occasionally on feast days by masters to their servants, after themselves eating the 'first course'; he prefaces it with *Hippolytus* 436 'second thoughts are somehow wiser'. The implication for the plot may be that Catreus has had second thoughts about Aerope and was now content to marry her off (F 464?).

468

Be cheerful about the rest of things while the cup goes round.

469

It is the custom to throw the leavings . . . to the dogs.¹

¹ 'the leavings (of a meal)', Mekler.

470

†Before I should babble and learn the tale . . . †

CRETANS

Austin, *NFE* 49–58; C. Collard in *SFP* I.53–78, 282–4 (~ II.364–5); Diggle, *TrGFS* 115–9 (F 472, 472b, 472e); H. Van Looy in ed. Budé VIII.2.303–32; A.-T. Cozzoli, *Euripide: Cretesi* (Pisa–Rome, 2001), reviewed by V. di Benedetto, *RFIC* 129 (2001), 210–30. See also under F 472, 472b, 472e.

M. Croiset, *Revue des Études Grecques* 28 (1915), 217–33; A. Rivier, *Études de littérature grecque* (Geneva, 1975), 43–60 (orig. 1958); Webster 87–92, 299; M. Schmidt in H. Froning et al. (eds.), *Kotinos. Festschrift für E. Simon* (Mainz, 1992), 306–11 with Plate 69; *LIMC* VI.i.574–81 ‘Minotauros’, VII.i.193–200 ‘Pasiphae’; Gantz 260–1, 273–5; C. Abadie-Reynal, *CRAI* (Avr.–Juin 2002), 743–71, esp. 751–3 with Fig. 6; E. Simon, *Archäologischer Anzeiger* 2004.2, 419–32, esp. 429–30.

Minos claimed the kingship of Crete, asserting it was the gods' gift to him; he said that Poseidon would send him a confirmatory sign. He then prayed to the god to send a bull from the sea, vowing to sacrifice it in return. A magnificent animal appeared, and Minos took the throne; but he kept the bull and sacrificed another. Poseidon angrily punished him by afflicting his wife Pasiphae with a lust to mate with the bull. She persuaded the marvellous builder and crafts-

EURIPIDES

man Daedalus to make her an artificial cow, inside which she put herself and was served by the bull. She gave birth to the Minotaur, bull-headed upon a human body (F 472a, 472b.31).

Thus Apollodorus 3.1.3–4 (test. *iiii below), without reference to Euripides; but F 472e.21–6 summarizes Minos' offence and punishment by Poseidon through Pasiphae. The play survives in only a very few fragments, mostly on badly damaged papyrus. It was set at Minos' palace on Crete, and began—probably after an introductory prologue speech (perhaps the god Poseidon himself: Van Looy 310)—with the discovery of the Minotaur's birth. The Chorus of Cretan priests of Zeus makes a stately entry (F 472); Minos may have summoned them for consultation after learning of the monstrous birth, for their opening words are addressed to him. They appeal to Apollo for help, and are present when Minos interrogates Pasiphae's Nurse(?) about the creature (F 472b); they react with lyric alarm before Minos resumes—only for the text to break off (F 472c).

If Apollodorus 3.1.4 and Hyginus, Fab. 40.3 (together = test. *iiii) reflect the play's course, Minos then ordered Daedalus to build the famous labyrinth in which to confine the Minotaur; but these two sources hint nothing of what the one large fragment (F 472e) suggests was the play's central episode: Pasiphae's behaviour and secrecy have been uncovered, and she is arraigned before Minos. She exculpates herself by blaming his offence against Poseidon for all the misery. The Chorus nevertheless fails to prevent Minos from instantly sentencing her to death by underground imprisonment (F 472e.42–51: the fragment stops short here).

The remaining action is guesswork, for Hyginus 40.4

*continues with details apparently contradicting Pasiphae's punishment: when Minos imprisons Daedalus too for making the cow, she releases him; he then devises the famous wings to carry himself and (vainly) his son Icarus away from Crete. Some Etruscan relief-urns of c. 100 B.C. (LIMC 'Pasiphae' nos. 8, 10, 23, 28–31 = test. *iiib) seem to support Hyginus' narrative, with various scenes of Daedalus and Pasiphae supplicating at an altar or entreating Minos, or of Daedalus and Icarus in bonds; and an Apulian crater of c. 350 B.C. (Schmidt 1992; cf. under LIMC 'Pasiphae' no. 4; Todisco Ap 155; Taplin no. 90) may reflect the play in a composite scene including a named Daedalus, recognizably Icarus and Pasiphae, possibly Nurse and Minos (see also below on the Zeugma mosaic). That Euripides' play ended with on-stage roles for Daedalus and Icarus is also arguable from hints in the scholia on Aristophanes, Frogs 1356–64 that the parodic monody there drew upon one in Cretans (see F 472f); certainly F 988 (printed below after F 472g) looks like an exchange between Minos and Daedalus. Also, the scholia to Frogs 849 (= F 472g) state that 'Euripides had Icarus sing a monody in Cretans . . . his character seems to be rather bold'. This could have been before his fatal flight (although Van Looy 318 suggests he lamented Daedalus' imprisonment). The flight itself may have been shown at its start (like Bellerophon's flight with Pegasus in Bellerophon, and possibly in Stheneboea), and the disaster narrated by a messenger, or 'reported' by a god at the end. While most scholars posit such a god, at least to tell of Pasiphae's future, there is much doubt whether the play ended with Daedalus and Icarus at all, e.g. M. Huys, APF 43 (1997), 13–14; Cozzoli 13; see Kannicht, TrGF 5, 516; such an end-*

ing is however supported by Schmidt (1992) and Simon (2004). Certainly the flight is more often linked in both myth and art with Daedalus' escape after aiding Theseus and Ariadne to escape from the fully grown Minotaur (see LIMC III.i.313–21 'Daidalos et Ikaros').

Despite the play's broken outline we can appreciate how the portrayal of Minos contributed to his harsh stereotype in tragedy (Plato, *Minos* 318d and others: test. *iv, *v). His abrupt condemnation of Pasiphae is like that of Hippolytus by Theseus in *Hippolytus* 882–9, 893–8. Pasiphae's wonderful counter-attack (F 472e) shows Euripides in his early career already a master of law-court rhetoric; but we cannot know whether there was a full *agôn* scene (cf. Van Looy 313). The dramatic needs of Pasiphae's speech excluded a self-analysis like that of another early 'bad woman' of Euripides, Phaedra in *Hippolytus* (Pasiphae's own daughter), with whom scholars compare her and who fears her evil inheritance from her mother (*Hipp.* 337–8).

Other ascriptions: F 893, F 912 (also ascribed to Oedipus or Pirithous), adesp. F 60 'But what if (s)he falls into the ocean's watery depth?' (also ascribed to Bellerophon or Stheneboea).

The metrical criteria for dating (Cropp–Fick 70, 82), and particularly the anapaestic *parodos* (F 472), point before 430. No other ancient tragedy with this plot is certainly known, but there were many involving Minos (above), Daedalus and Icarus; see also Euripides' Polyidus. The comic playwright Alcaeus wrote a Pasiphae, Aristophanes and three others a Daedalus, and both Apollonophanes and Nicochares a Cretans: some of these may have used the Minotaur and Pasiphae for crude humour, and there were

CRETANS

Roman adaptations (on all these plays see Van Looy 307–8, Cozzoli 15–17). A superbly preserved Roman mosaic of about A.D. 200 at Zeugma on the upper Euphrates appears to represent Cretans and may show most of the characters.¹ The story was very popular in post-classical art: see OGCMA II.666–9, 842–4.

¹ See Abadie-Reynal (Bibl. above). Pasiphae, veiled and seated on the viewer's left, looks at other figures, all of them named, towards whom a female servant points; at Pasiphae's feet is an Eros playing with a bull's head. In the centre is a Nurse, also looking to the right where Daedalus, with carpenter's tools, looks back at Pasiphae but is moving towards Icarus, who is seated and also looking off right while shaping a branch of wood. Interpretation remains insecure; the scene may be composite and allude to the myth rather than the play, but another mosaic from the same room has composite scenes from *Menander's Women Lunching Together* (named: Abadie-Reynal 763–9 with Figures 17–19); it is possible that Pasiphae is directing Daedalus (and Icarus) to make the artificial cow.

ΚΡΗΤΕΣ

test. *iia

Ἄστεριον δὲ ἄπαιδος ἀποθανόντος Μίνως βασιλεύειν θέλων Κρήτης ἐκωλύετο. φήσας δὲ παρὰ θεῶν τὴν βασιλείαν εἰληφέναι, τοῦ πιστευθῆναι χάριν ἔφη, ὃ τι ἂν εὔξηται, γενέσθαι. καὶ Ποσειδῶνι θύων ἠΰξατο ταῦρον ἀναφανῆναι ἐκ τῶν βυθῶν, καταθύσειν ὑποσχόμενος τὸν φανέντα. τοῦ δὲ Ποσειδῶνος ταῦρον ἀνέντος αὐτῷ διαπρεπή τὴν βασιλείαν παρέλαβε, τὸν δὲ ταῦρον εἰς τὰ βουκόλια πέμψας ἔθυσεν ἕτερον . . . (4) ὀργισθεῖς δὲ αὐτῷ Ποσειδῶν ὅτι μὴ κατέθυσε τὸν ταῦρον, τοῦτον μὲν ἐξηγρίωσε, Πασιφάην δὲ ἐλθεῖν εἰς ἐπιθυμίαν αὐτοῦ παρεσκεύασεν. ἡ δὲ ἐρασθεῖσα τοῦ ταύρου συνεργὸν λαμβάνει Δαίδαλον, ὃς ἦν ἀρχιτέκτων, πεφευγὼς ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν ἐπὶ φόνο. οὗτος ξυλίην βοῦν ἐπὶ τροχῶν κατασκευάσας . . . ἐκδείρας τε βοῦν τὴν δορὰν περιέρραψε, καὶ θεὸς ἐν ᾧπερ εἴθιστο ὁ ταῦρος λειμῶνι βόσκεισθαι, τὴν Πασιφάην ἐνεβίβασεν. ἐλθὼν δὲ ὁ ταῦρος ὡς ἀληθινῇ βοῖ συνῆλθεν. ἡ δὲ Ἀστέριον ἐγέννησε τὸν κληθέντα Μινώταυρον. οὗτος εἶχε ταύρου πρόσωπον, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ ἀνδρός· Μίνως δὲ ἐν τῷ λαβυρίνθῳ κατὰ τινὰς χρησμοὺς κατακλείσας αὐτὸν ἐφύλαττεν . . .

Apollodorus 3.1.3-4

CRETANS

test. *iia

When Asterius died childless, Minos wanted to be king of Crete but was prevented. He claimed that he had received the kingship from the gods and, to gain credence, that whatever he prayed for would happen. While sacrificing to Poseidon he prayed for a bull to appear from the depths, promising to sacrifice the bull that appeared. When Poseidon sent him up a splendid bull, however, he seized the kingship but sent the bull to his herds and sacrificed another . . . (4) Angry that he had not sacrificed the bull, Poseidon maddened it and made Pasiphae come to desire it. In her passion for the bull she took Daedalus as her accomplice, who was a builder and in exile from Athens because of bloodshed. This man constructed a wooden cow on wheels . . . flaying a cow he stitched its hide round it; setting it in a meadow in which the bull was accustomed to graze, he had Pasiphae go inside it. The bull came and mounted it as if it was a real cow. Pasiphae gave birth to Asterius, called the Minotaur; he had the features of a bull, but the rest was a man. Minos in obedience to certain oracles shut him in the labyrinth and kept him secure . . .

The narrative of Apollodorus above is overlapped by Hyginus' briefer summary which ends:

EURIPIDES

. . . Minos re cognita Daedalum in custodiam coniecit, at Pausiphae eum uinculis liberauit. Itaque Daedalus pennas sibi et Icaro filio suo fecit et accommodauit, et inde auolarunt. Icarus altius uolans, a sole cera calefacta, decidit in mare, quod ex eo Icarium pelagus est appellatum. Daedalus peruolauit ad regem Cocalum in insulam Siciliam . . .

Hyginus, *Fab.* 40.4

(471 N = 472f below)

*471a

ἡ Κρήτη . . . εἶχεν ἐν μέσῳ θαλάσσης ὑπαρχούσας πόλεις ἑκατόν, καθὼς περὶ τῆς αὐτῆς νήσου ἐξέθετο ὁ σοφώτατος Εὐριπίδης.

John Malalas, *Chronicles* 14.12 Thurn = 14.12 Jeffreys–Scott

472

ΧΟΡΟΣ

Φοινικογενοῦς τέκνον Εὐρώπης
καὶ τοῦ μεγάλου Ζηνός, ἀνάσσων
Κρήτης ἑκατομπολιέθρου
ἦκω ζαθέους ναοὺς προλιπών,
5 οὺς ἀβιγενῆς στεγανοὺς παρέχει

Porphyry, *On Abstinence* 4.19; vv. 4–8 (ἦκω . . . ἀρμούς):
Erotian *a* 4 (these two texts re-edited by Cozzoli 47–50); vv. 12–
15: P. Oxy. 2461, fr. 4 (very damaged: for P. Oxy. 2461 see under F
472b below); v. 12 (in part): Hesychius *ω* 218 Schmidt

1 after Φοινικογενοῦς Porphyry has παῖ τῆς Τυρίας (deleted
by Bothe) 5 οὺς Porphyry, Erotian: οἷς Bentley

CRETANS

... Learning of the thing (i.e. the Minotaur's birth), Minos put Daedalus under guard, but Pasiphae freed him from his bonds; and so Daedalus made wings for himself and his son Icarus, and fitted them, and they flew off. Icarus flew too high, and when the wax warmed from the sun, fell into the sea, which is called the Icarian sea for him. Daedalus flew across to King Cocalus in Sicily . . .

(471 N = 472f below)

*471a

Crete . . . in mid-ocean had one hundred cities in it, as the most learned Euripides expounded about the same island.¹

¹ See F 472.3; probably dependent on Homer, *Iliad* 2.649.

472¹

CHORUS

Son of Phoenician-born Europa² and of great Zeus—you who rule Crete and its hundred cities! I have come here from the most holy temple whose roof is provided from na- 5

¹ This remarkable fragment is densely allusive; its text and interpretation generate constant discussion: see esp. B. Gallistl, *Würzburger Jahrbücher für die Altertumswissenschaft* n.s. 7 (1981), 235–47; G. Casadio, *Didattica del Classico* 2 (1990), 278–310; Collard in *SFP* I.67–70; Cozzoli 18–26, 79–93; di Benedetto 211–9; A. Bernabé in J. A. López Férez, *La tragedia griega en sus textos* (Madrid, 2004), 257–86. ² I.e. Minos. Europa was abducted by Zeus in the form of a bull (cf. *Phrixus* B F 820). Myth made her father either Agenor of Phoenician Tyre or his son Phoenix (cf. *Hypsipyle* F 752g.21).

EURIPIDES

- τμηθείσα δοκοὺς Χαλύβω πελέκει
 καὶ ταυροδέτῳ κόλλη κραθείσ'
 ἀτρεκείς ἄρμους κυπάρισσος.
 ἀγνὸν δὲ βίον τείνομεν ἐξ οὗ
 10 Διὸς Ἰδαίου μύστης γενόμεν
 καὶ νυκτιπόλου Ζαγρέως βούτης
 τὰς ὠμοφάγους δαίτας τελέσας,
 Μητρί τ' ὀρέϊα δᾶδας ἀνασχὼν
 μετὰ Κουρήτων
 15 βάκχος ἐκλήθη ὄσιωθείς.
 πάλλευκα δ' ἔχων εἴματα φεύγω
 γένεσίν τε βροτῶν καὶ νεκροθήκας
 οὐ χριμπτόμενος, τήν τ' ἐμφύχων
 βρῶσιν ἐδεστῶν πεφύλαγμαί.

5-6 word-order von Arnim, Austin: στεγανούς παρέχει after
 Χαλύβω πελέκει, Porphyry, Erotian 7 κόλλη κραθείσ'
 Hermann: κολληθείς Erotian: κρηθείσ' Porphyry
 8 κυπάρισσος Bentley: -ίσσου Porphyry 11 καὶ Grotius:
 καὶ μὴ Porphyry βούτης Diels, Nauck: βρο(ν)τὰς Porphyry
 12 τὰς Cantarella: τὰς τε Porphyry 14 μετὰ Blaydes,
 Wilamowitz: καὶ P. Oxy., Porphyry 17 νεκροθήκας
 Wecklein: -ης Porphyry: -αις, with lacuna before καὶ and τ' de-
 leted in 19, Wilamowitz 18 lacuna before οὐ χριμπτό-
 μενος Diggle

tive cypress-wood cut into beams with Chalybean axe and bonded in exact joints with ox-glue.³ Pure is the life I have led since I became an initiate of Idaean Zeus and a servitor of night-ranging Zagreus,⁴ performing his feasts of raw flesh; and raising torches high to the mountain Mother among the Curetes, I was consecrated and named a celebrant.⁵ In clothing all of white I shun the birthing of men, and the places of their dead I do not go near;⁶ against the eating of animal foods I have guarded myself.

³ Euripides describes skilled carpentry: see A. T. Hodge, *The Woodwork of Greek Roofs* (Cambridge, 1960). The Chalybeans were an iron-working people of northern Asia Minor.

⁴ In v. 11 Porphyry's apparent reading 'thunders' (instead of 'a servitor') is defended by some editors as alluding to thunder imitated during the rites of Zagreus-Dionysus, on whose birth amid lightning see *Bacchae* 3, 6-8. The reading creates very great further problems in the text.

⁵ Vv. 9-15 refer to the cult of Zeus at his birthplace on Mt. Ida in Crete. The Curetes (*Kourētes*) were '(guardians) of the boy (*kouros*)', i.e. Zeus, both divinities themselves and worshippers impersonating them. But Euripides brings in elements from other cults: Zagreus ('The Great Hunter') was a son of Zeus and seemingly merged with Dionysus; 'mountain Mother' here seems to be Rhea, Zeus' own mother, merged with an original Phrygian fertility goddess Cybele (cf. *Palamedes* F 586). Their rites were ecstatic, often nocturnal, sometimes involving dismemberment and ingestion of animals, literally or symbolically (historical at Plutarch, *Moralia* 417c; poetic cf. Eur. *Bacchae* 734-47). 'Initiate', 'servitor' (lit. 'herdsman', a metaphor from an outdoor cult) and 'celebrant' are loosely synonymous.

⁶ White clothing and the avoidance of birth (e.g. *IT* 380-3) and death were widespread religious purities. The apparent contradiction between flesh-eating (12) and vegetarianism (18-19, cf. F 1004 below) shows reality subordinated to the poetic; the latter practice was associated with Orphism (e.g. *Hippolytus* 952-4).

EURIPIDES

472a (= 996 N)

σύμμικτον εἶδος κάποφώλιον βρέφος

Plutarch, *Life of Theseus* 15.2 (with F 472b.29) and *Moralia* 520c

κάποφώλιον Plut.: κάποφύλιον Musgrave, Housman βρέφος Plut.: τρέφος Nauck

472b

fr. 2 col. i *Ends of eight lyric lines (metre uncertain):*

1 νέμ[?]εσις ὄτ' ἐπιπνεί, 2]ος Λυκίας ἄπο, 3 Λα]τώε
παί, 4]ν ὄναξ, 5]α μέλπων, 6]ψ.ασε μέγαν,
7 Δελ[?]φοις, 8 εὐ]πάτειρα

(at least twenty-seven lines missing)

fr. 2 col. ii 9–17: *beginnings of seven lines (metre unclear) with no indication of speaker, then two lines each preserving only a marginal note of the speakers 16 Xo., 17 Mi., then an unknown number of lines missing.*

fr. 1 18–28: *words from near the centres of eleven dialogue trimeters including 25 θ]εοῖσι προσβ[ολ]ήν [, then (29–43):*

P. Oxy. 2461, ed. E. G. Turner (1962); frs. 2 and 1 re-ed. H. Lloyd-Jones, *Gnomon* 35 (1963), 447–9; cf. di Benedetto (*Bibl. above*), 219–27; frs. 2 and 1 (so ordered by Turner, Lloyd-Jones and most editors) = F 472b; fr. 3 = F 472c; fr. 4 = F 472.12–15 above; fr. 5 = F 472d (exiguous, not printed here).

CRETANS

472a (= 996 N)

... an infant of mixed appearance, born to sterility ... ¹

¹ ἀποφύλιον 'born to sterility' is a rare word, used to stress through contrast the gods' own fecundity at Homer, *Odyssey* 11.249. Musgrave's ἀποφύλιον means 'sui generis, from no species, unique'.

472b

fr. 2 col. i: ... when (retribution?)¹ blasts ... from Lycia ... ,
son of Leto!² ... lord! ... singing ... great ... (at Delphi?) 5
... daughter of a splendid father³ ...

(at least twenty-seven lines missing)

fr. 2 col. ii: *beginnings of seven lines (9–15), then two lines each preserving only a marginal note of the speakers, 16 Chorus, 17 Minos, then an unknown number of lines missing before the next fragment:*

fr. 1: *remains of a dialogue in 18–28, stichomythic at least from 26; 25 preserves '(with?) the gods' ... onslaught'; then (29–43):*

¹ If 'retribution' is correctly conjectured, this refers to the punishment of Minos' offence against Poseidon through the gods 'onslaught' (25). ² Apollo, called 'Lycian', e.g. *Telephus* F 700. ³ Artemis, Apollo's sister; their father was Zeus.

1 νέμ]εις Cantarella 6 με τὰν Austin: σε μέγαν
Cantarella 7 perhaps Δελ]φοῖς Cozzoli

EURIPIDES

<ΤΡΟΦΟΣ>

ταύρου μέμεικται καὶ βροτοῦ διπλῆ φύσει.

<ΜΙΝΩΣ>

30 ἦκ]ουσα καὶ πρίν· πῶς δ' ο[

<ΤΡΟΦΟΣ>

στέ]ρνοις ἔφεδρον κράτα τ[αύρειον φέρει.

<ΜΙΝΩΣ>

τετρ]ασκελῆς γὰρ ἢ δίβαμ[ος ἔρχεται;

<ΤΡΟΦΟΣ>

δίπ]ους [μ]ελαίνη δασκ[

<ΜΙΝΩΣ>

ἦ κ]αί τι πρὸς τοῖσδ' ἄλλο [

<ΤΡΟΦΟΣ>

35 μύ]ωπος οἴστρου κέρκον [

<ΜΙΝΩΣ>

c. 10 letters]ν γῆρυν [

<ΤΡΟΦΟΣ>

c. 11 letters] φορβάδος [

29—41 <ΤΡΟΦΟΣ>, <ΜΙΝΩΣ> Cantarella: <ΤΡΟΦΟΣ>, <ΧΟΡΟΣ>
 Page; <ΧΟΡΟΣ>, <ΜΙΝΩΣ> Lloyd-Jones 29 = F 997N (see
 under F 472a) 33 δίπ]ους Page: δίπ]λους P. Oxy.?, Lloyd-
 Jones 34 ἦ κ]αί τι Barrett:]ντι Turner 35 μύ]ωπος
 οἴστρου Barrett:]ωπος ε . . . ου Turner

CRETANS

<NURSE>

It is mixed, with a twofold nature, of bull and human.

<MINOS>

I have (heard) that before too; but how . . . ?

30

<NURSE>

(It bears a bull's?) head set above its breast.

<MINOS>

So (does it go) on four legs or walk on two?

<NURSE>

On (two?) . . . dark with black . . .⁴

<MINOS>

And is there anything further . . . ?

<NURSE>

. . . a tail . . . (against?) the maddening cattle-fly.⁵

35

<MINOS>

. . . voice . . .

<NURSE>

. . . grazing . . .

⁴ 'On (two?) feet', Page; '(On two feet?) dark with black (hair?)', Lloyd-Jones. ⁵ For the Minotaur's active tail cf. *Theseus* F 386b.7.

EURIPIDES

<ΜΙΝΩΣ>

μ]αστ[ὸς] δὲ μ[η]τρὸς ἢ βοὸς .[

<ΤΡΟΦΟΣ>

τρ]έφ[ου]σιν οἱ τεκόντες ου.[

40–43: scraps of four more (stichomythic?) trimeters including 40 δωμάτων, 41 τοῖς τεκοῦσι

38 μ]αστ[ὸς] Page, then end θ[ή]λη τρέφει Diggle (τρέφει Collard): μ]αστ[ῶ] . . . βοὸς θ[η]λάζεται Luppe

472c

- fr. 3 1–3: traces of three lines ending a lyric passage (metre unclear), the last beginning ἀπείρου μί[], then the start of a dialogue episode, speaker unknown:

Κρήτης ἀπα[

- 5 φόβος τὰ θεῖ[α τοῖσι σῶφροσιν βροτῶν
πολλὴ γὰρ .[
ἐμοὶ δ...[

P. Oxy. 2461 fr. 3 (see under F 472b above); v. 5 = adesp. F 356 (so Barrett: 'perhaps', Kannicht)

CRETANS

<MINOS>

... a mother's breast, or a cow's ... ?⁶

<NURSE>

Its parent⁷ feeds it ...

Four more lines (stichomythic?) including 40 'of the house' and 41 'to its parent'.

⁶ '(Does) a mother's breast or a cow's (teat feed it)?', Diggle, Collard; '(Is it suckled by) a mother's breast or a cow's?', Luppe.

⁷ Pasiphae.

472c

Traces of three lyric lines, the last beginning 'inexperienced' (or 'limitless' or 'mainland'), then beginnings of four dialogue lines:

... of Crete ... The gods' actions are a terror (to the wise among men?). For in her greatness¹ ... but to me ...

¹ Perhaps Aphrodite (whom this phrase describes at *Hippolytus* 443, *Iphigenia at Aulis* 557), if she aided Poseidon's retribution by filling Pasiphae with desire for the bull.

EURIPIDES

472e

<ΧΟΡΟΣ>

οὐ γάρ τιν' ἄλλην φημι τολμῆσαι τάδε.
 σὺ τδ' ἐκ κακῶν†, ἄναξ,
 φρόνησον εὖ καλύψαι.

ΠΑΣΙΦΑΗ

- ἀρνουμένη μὲν οὐκέτ' ἂν πίθοιμί σε
 5 πάντως γὰρ ἤδη δῆλον ὡς ἔχει τάδε.
 ἐγ[ὼ] γὰρ εἰ μὲν ἀνδρὶ προύβαλον δέμας
 τοῦμόν, λαθραῖαν ἐμπολωμένη Κύπριν,
 ὀρθῶς ἂν ἤδη μάχ[λο]ς οὔσ' ἐφαινόμην·
 νῦν δ', ἐκ θεοῦ γὰρ προσβολῆς ἐμηνάμην,
 10 ἀλγῶ μὲν, ἐστὶ δ' οὐχ ἐκο[ύσ]ιον κακόν.
 ἔχει γὰρ οὐδὲν εἰκός· ἐς τί γὰρ βοὸς
 βλέψασ' ἐδήχθην θυμόν αἰσχίστη νόσῳ;
 ὡς εὐπρεπῆς μὲν ἐν πέπλοισιν ἦν ἰδεῖν,
 πυρσῆς δὲ χαίτης καὶ παρ' ὀμμάτων σέλας
 15 οἰνωπὸν ἐξέλαμπε περ[καί]νων γένυν;
 οὐ μὴν δέμας γ' εὖρ[υθμον ν]υμφίου·
 τοιῶνδε λέκτρο[ν οὔνεκ' εἰς] πεδοστιβῆ
 ῥινὸν καθισ []ται;
 ἀλλ' οὐδὲ παίδων [] πόσιν
 20 θέσθαι. τί δῆτα τῆ[δ' ἐμαι]νόμην νόσῳ;

P. Berlin 13217, ed. U. von Wilamowitz and W. Schubart (1907); re-ed. Page, *GLP* 70–7 (no. 11), Cozzoli 42–3 with Plates III, IV. The parchment was lost in 1945 and rediscovered in Warsaw in 1992.

CRETANS

472e

<CHORUS>

. . . for I say that no other woman dared this. Now you, my lord—think how to conceal (trouble?) following trouble!

PASIPHAË

Denials from me will no longer convince you; for the facts are now quite clear.

5

If I had thrown myself at a man in love's furtive commerce, I should rightly now be revealed as lascivious. As it is, because my madness was a god's onslaught, I hurt, but my trouble is not voluntary. Why, it has no probability! What did I see in a bull to have my heart eaten away by a most shaming affliction? Was it that it was handsome to the eye in robes, and threw out a bright gleam from its ruddy hair and eyes, the beard on its cheeks darkly red? Certainly it wasn't the (lissom *or* well-formed?) body of a bridegroom! Was it for a union like that . . . of an animal's hide¹ . . . ? Nor (to get)² children . . . to make it my husband! Why then was I (maddened) by this affliction? It was this man's

10

15

20

¹ 'Animal' is literally '(animal) walking the ground', a clear allusion to Daedalus' artificial cow; 'walking' may imply that it moved: cf. F 988 and note on *Eurystheus* F 372. Roberts' supplement gives 'Was it for a union like that that (Minos) thinks I put myself into an animal's hide?' ² 'to get' is the approximate sense of all the supplements.

1 <ΧΟΡΟΣ> ed. pr: 1 <ΜΙΝΩΣ>, 2-3 <ΧΟΡΟΣ> Körte
 2 σὺ δ' ἐκ κάκ' ἐκ κακῶν Cropp 16 εὔρ[υθμόν ἐστι ed. pr.:
 εὔ[μορφον Kannicht 18 καθιστ[άναι με σῶμ' ὄδ' οἶε]ται
 (e.g.) Roberts 19 φύτορ' εἰκὸς ἦν ed. pr. (οὔνεκ' Collard):
 εἰς σπορὰν ἔδει Cropp

EURIPIDES

- δαίμων ὁ τοῦδε κᾶμ' ἐ[νέπλησεν κα]κῶν,
 μάλιστα δ' οὗτος οἰσε[]ων·
 ταῦρον γὰρ οὐκ ἔσφαξ[εν ὄνπερ ἠῦ]ξατο
 ἐλθόντα θύσειν φάσμα [πο]ντίῳ [θε]ῶ.
 25 ἐκ τῶνδέ τοί σ' ὑπήλθ[ε κᾶ]πετείσ[ατο
 δίκην Ποσειδῶν, ἐς δ' ἔμ' ἔσκηψ[εν νόσον].
 κᾶπειτ' αὐτεῖς καὶ σὺ μαρτύρη θεοὺς
 αὐτὸς τάδ' ἔρξας καὶ καταισχύνας ἐμέ;
 κἀγὼ μὲν ἢ τεκοῦσα κούδεν αἰτία
 30 ἔκρυψα πληγὴν δαίμονος θεήλατον,
 σὺ δ', εὐπρεπῆ γὰρ κἀπιδείξασθαι καλά,
 τῆς σῆς γυναικός, ὧ κάκιστ' ἀνδρῶν φρονῶν,
 ὡς οὐ μεθέξων πᾶσι κηρύσσεις τάδε.
 σύ τοί μ' ἀπόλλυς, σὴ γὰρ ἢ ἔξ[αμ]αρτία,
 35 ἐκ σοῦ νοσοῦμεν. πρὸς τάδ' εἶτε ποντίαν
 κτείνειν δοκεῖ σοι, κτε[ί]ν'. ἐπίστασαι δέ τοι
 μαιφόν' ἔργα καὶ σφαγὰς ἀνδροκτόνους·
 εἴτ' ὠμοσίτου τῆς ἐμῆς ἐρᾶς φαγεῖν
 σαρκός, πάρεστι μὴ ἄλλιπης θινώμενος.
 40 ἐλεύθεροι γὰρ κούδεν ἠδικοκότες
 τῆς σῆς ἕκατι ζημ[ία]ς ὀλούμεθα.

22 οἴσε[ται ψόγον βροτ]ῶν Zuntz 26 νόσον Collard
 (νόσος previously Austin) 39 μὴ ἄλλιπης Murray: μὴ
 λίπης P. Berl. 41 ὀλούμεθα Kannicht: ὀνούμεθα P. Berl.:
 θανούμεθα ed. Pr.

destiny that (brought) me too (my fill) of trouble, and he especially . . . ³ since he did not slaughter (that) bull (which) he vowed to sacrifice to the sea-god when it was manifested. This is the reason, I tell you, why Poseidon undermined you and exacted punishment, but launched (the affliction) upon me.⁴ 25

And then you cry out and call the gods to witness, when you did this yourself and brought shame upon me? While I, who gave birth and was at fault in nothing, concealed the god's stroke launched by heaven, you—fine and splendid things to put on show!—you proclaimed them to all as if you want no part in your wife, you worst of men (*or husbands*) in your intention!⁵ It is you who have destroyed me! Yours was the wrongdoing! You are the cause of my affliction! So either, if you have decided to kill me by drowning, go on and kill me—indeed you understand acts of foul murder and the slaughtering of men!—or, if you desire to eat my flesh raw,⁶ here it is: don't go short⁷ on your banquet! Because of the punishment upon you, we are to die, who are free and quite innocent of wrongdoing. 40

³ 'and he especially (will bear men's blame)', Zuntz.

⁴ The essence of the plot: see Introduction. Austin preferred 'the affliction fell on me.'

⁵ Concealment of shame for sexual misbehaviour: cf. *Cretan Women* F 460 with note, and Introduction to *Hippolytus Veiled*.

⁶ A horror first found in Achilles' wish against Hector at Homer, *Iliad* 22.347; in Euripides cf. especially *Hecuba* 1072–3.

⁷ Murray's simple correction of 'Don't leave (me) as you banquet' (which Kannicht retains).

EURIPIDES

ΧΟΡΟΣ

πολλοῖσι δῆλον [ὡς θεήλατον] κακὸν
τόδ' ἐστίν· ὀργη[]s, ἀναξ.

ΜΙΝΩΣ

45 ἄρ' ἐστόμωται; [] βοᾶ.
χωρεῖτε, λόγχη[]υμειν,
λάζυσθε τὴν πανο[ύργον, ὡ]s καλῶς θάνη,
καὶ τὴν ξυνεργὸν [τήνδε, δ]ωμάτων δ' ἔσω
ἄγο]ντες αὐτὰς εἴρ[ξατ' ἐς κρυπτ]ήριον,
ὡς μ]ηκέτ' εἰσίδ[ωσιw ἡλίου κ]ύκλον.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

50 ἄ]ναξ, ἐπίσχ[εs· φρο]ντί[δος] γὰρ ἄξιον
τὸ πρ[ᾶγ]μα· [...]. δ' ο[ὔ]τις εὐβουλος βροτῶν.

ΜΙΝΩΣ

κ[αὶ δὴ] δ[έ]δοκται] μὴ ἀναβάλλεσθαι δίκην.

43 ὀργῇ [μὴ λίαν εἴξη]s ed. pr. 44 at end, s written
above -οα in P. Berl. ('perhaps a variant βοῆs or βοαῖs', Hunt)
51 [θερ]μὸs Collard: [νηλ]ῆs ed. pr. (too short?)

472f

<ΜΙΝΩΣ?>

ἀλλ', ὦ Κρήτες, Ἰδαs τέκνα . . .

Aristophanes, *Frogs* 1356 with Schol. ascribing the words to
Euripides' *Cretans*

CRETANS

CHORUS

It is clear to many that this trouble (was launched by heaven. Do not yield . . . to) anger . . . my lord!

MINOS

Has she had her tongue sharpened?⁸ . . . is/are shouting (or with shouts?) . . . (to his attendants) Come . . . spear(men?) . . . , seize this evil woman so she may get a fine death, and her accomplice here, and take them inside the palace and shut them in (a hidden prison?),⁹ so they will no longer see the orb (of the sun). 45

CHORUS

My lord, hold back! The matter deserves thought; no (hasty?)¹⁰ man is well-advised. 50

MINOS

It is (quite) decided: no deferment of penalty!

⁸ A metaphor for (over-) clever rhetoric: Aristophanes, *Clouds* 1108. ⁹ Pasiphae will be left to die (John Malalas, *Chronicles* 4a.16 Thurn = 4.21 Jeffreys-Scott), like Antigone in Sophocles' *Antigone*. ¹⁰ 'hasty', Collard; 'ruthless', Wilamowitz.

472f

<MINOS?>

You Cretans, children of Ida!¹

¹ The fragment is unlocatable, but Kannicht well observes that tragic style would not permit it to precede the Chorus' anapaestic entry-song (F 472), where most editors place it.

EURIPIDES

472g

ἐν γὰρ τοῖς Κρησὶν Ἴκαρον μονωδούντα ἐποίησεν (ὁ
Εὐριπίδης) . . . θρασύτερον γὰρ δοκεῖ εἶναι τὸ πρόσωπον.

Schol. on Aristophanes, *Frogs* 849

CRETANS

472g

For (Euripides) has Icarus singing a monody in Cretans . . . his character seems to be rather bold.¹

¹ For the importance of this fragment see Introduction, at end.

ALMOST CERTAINLY
FROM CRETANS

988

<MINΩΣ>

τέκτων γὰρ ὧν ἔπρασσεσ οὐ ξυλουργικά.

Plutarch, *Moralia* 812e

1004

. . . παντάπασιν ἂν οἰκείον εἶη καὶ συγγενὲς ἡμῖν τὸ τῶν
λοιπῶν ζώων γένος. καὶ γὰρ τροφαὶ αἱ αὐταὶ πᾶσιν
αὐτοῖς καὶ πνεύματα, ὡς Εὐριπίδης, καὶ

φοινίους ἔχει ῥοὰς

τὰ ζῶα πάντα,

καὶ κοινούς ἀπάντων δείκνυσι γονεῖς οὐρανὸν καὶ γῆν.

Porphyry, *On Abstinence* 3.25; the fragment has also been
ascribed to *Melanippe Wise* (cf. F 484).

ALMOST CERTAINLY
FROM *CRETANS*

988

<MINOS>

You are a builder but what you did was not carpentry.¹

¹ An allusion to Daedalus and the artificial cow: see Introduction.

1004

. . . the family of other living creatures would be altogether close to us, and related to us. For all of them have the same sustenance, and (all draw) breath, as Euripides (says), and

all living things have blood flowing in them,¹

and (Euripides) shows heaven and earth as parents common to all.

¹ If from *Cretans*, this may have justified abstinence from eating meat (cf. F 472.18–19, which Porphyry also cites); alternatively from *Melanippe Wise*, in association with F 484.2–6.

LAMIA

Pechstein 177–84; H. Van Looy in ed. Budé VIII.2.333–6; Krumeich 475–6. *LIMC* VI.i.189 'Lamia'.

Lamia was a beautiful Libyan girl seduced by Zeus; in jealousy Zeus's wife Hera destroyed the children she bore. Lamia's grief made her hideous, and she became a killer of others' children (Duris FGrH 76 F 17, whence Scholia to Aristophanes, Peace 758 and Wasps 1035 etc.). Such a bogey figure would suit comedy (Crates wrote a play with her name) or satyric drama.

While the Alexandrian cataloguers of Euripides' works did not list the play, there was a much repeated testimony of the 1st c. B. C. Roman antiquarian Varro about 'the second of the Sibyls, a Libyan, whom Euripides mentioned in the prologue of his Lamia' (F 56a Cardauns = test. i), and Diodorus cites two verses (F 472m below) which may have provided the basis for Varro's information. Further, Pausanias 10.12.1 records a tradition that the most ancient Sibyl at Delphi was a daughter of Zeus and Lamia, and called Sibylla by the Libyans. Whether Pausanias reflects Euripides in any way is not known, but it seems likely that there was a Euripidean satyr play of this name which was lost very early; if so, its plot can only be guessed (cf. H. W. Parke, Sibyls and Sibylline Prophecy in Classical Antiquity [London, 1988], 104–5).

ΛΑΜΙΑ

472m (= 922 N, 312a N-Sn)

< ΛΑΜΙΑ >

*τίς τοῦ μὸν ὄνομα τοῦ ποιεΐδιστον βροτοῖς
οὐκ οἶδε Λαμίας τῆς Λιβυστικῆς γένος;*

Diodorus 20.41.6

1 τοῦ μὸν ὄνομα Meineke

LAMIA

472m (= 922 N, 312a N-Sn)

<LAMIA>

Who does not know <my> name that men revile, Lamia,
the Libyan by race?¹

¹ The play's opening words (see Varro above). The fragment was for a time held by those who doubted a Euripidean *Lamia* to be the opening of the satyric *Busiris*, set in 'Egypt' (i.e. 'Libya'); but that play's first line has since been recovered: F 312b.

LICYMNIUS

H. Van Looy in ed. Budé VIII.2.337–46. Webster 36–7.

Licymnius was Electryon's son by a second wife, and survived the conflict in which his half-brothers were killed by the Taphians (see on Alcmena above). When his father was killed by Amphitryon, he went with the latter and Alcmena (his half-sister) into exile at Thebes, married a sister of Amphitryon, and later took part in some of Heracles' exploits. Two episodes involving him look like subjects for tragedy. In one of these, told in the scholia on Iliad 1.52, Licymnius allowed Heracles to take his second son Argeus on his expedition against Laomedon's Troy, but since his first son had died on a previous campaign with Heracles, he made Heracles swear that he would bring Argeus home to him. Argeus was somehow killed, and Heracles fulfilled his promise by burning his body—thus inventing cremation—and bringing Licymnius the remains. In the other episode, Licymnius in his later years was killed accidentally or in anger by Heracles' son Tlepolemus, who then went into exile and founded the Greek cities on the island of Rhodes (Homer, Iliad 2.653ff., cf. Pindar, Olympians 7.27ff.). This was the subject of a barely known Licymnius by Euripides' younger contemporary Xenocles (see TrGF 33 F 2), but the references to Heracles in F 473 (and possi-

LICYMNIUS

bly F 474 and 475) and to the region of Mysia near Troy in F 476 make the Argeus story a little more likely for Euripides; Webster offers a tentative reconstruction accordingly. All this is very uncertain, as are attempts to date the play before 448 (or at least before the late 420s) through Cratinus' use of the word ἄκομψον in his Archilochoi (see F 473, Cratinus F 15 PCG). The reference to lightning as 'Licymnian bolts' in Aristophanes, Birds 1242 (= test. *iia) might be relevant, but Callimachus (fr. 455, cited in the Aristophanes scholia = test. iib) seems to have denied this, and the one thing that is clear from the Aristophanes scholia is that ancient scholars could neither explain the phrase nor trace its source.

Brief fragments: F 477a 'will take(?)'; F 478 'to be possessed'. Other ascription: F 982.

ΔΙΚΤΜΝΙΟΣ

473

φαῦλον ἄκομψον, τὰ μέγιστ' ἀγαθόν,
πάσαν ἐν ἔργῳ περιτεμνόμενον
σοφίαν, λέσχης ἀτρίβωνα

Diogenes Laertius 3.63; v. 1: Plutarch, *Cimon* 4.5 and *Marcellus* 21.6, and frequently in lexica

474

πόνος γάρ, ὡς λέγουσιν, εὐκλείας πατήρ.

Stobaeus 3.29.7

475

τὸ τῆς ἀνάγκης οὐ λέγειν ὅσον ζυγόν

Stobaeus 1.4.6

The sentence as it stands is incomplete; perhaps add e.g. οἶός τ' ἂν εἴης, Kannicht: οὐχ ὀρᾶς for οὐ λέγειν, F. W. Schmidt

476

Τευθράντιον δὲ σχῆμα Μυσίας χθονός

Stephanus of Byzantium, 'Τευθρανία' (p. 618.15 Meineke)

LICYMNIUS

473

... plain and straightforward, virtuous in the extreme, putting aside all artfulness in action, unversed in gossip.¹

¹ The sources indicate that this was a description of Heracles.

474

Toil, as they say, is the father of fame.

475

(One could?)¹ not express how strong the yoke of compulsion is.

¹ This translates the supplement suggested by Kannicht. F. W. Schmidt's alteration gives 'Do you not see how strong' (cf. *Antiope* F 217).

476

... and Teuthrania, adornment¹ of the land of Mysia ...

¹ The sense of *σχῆμα* (lit., 'form', 'outward appearance') is uncertain: cf. Eur. *Andromache* 1, Ἀσιατίδος γῆς σχῆμα Θηβαία πόλι, 'City of Thebe, adornment(?) of the land of Asia'. Teuthrania was named after Teuthras, the Mysian king who married Auge the mother of Telephus: see Introduction to *Auge*, and *Telephus* F 696.

EURIPIDES

477

<ΧΟΡΟΣ>

δέσποτα φιλόδαφνε Βάκχε, παιὰν Ἄπολλον
εὐλυρε

Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 1.18.6

479 (= 920a N-Sn)

φιμώσ[α]τ' αὐτοῦ κάποκλείσατ[ε σ]τόμα,
δεσμοῖ[ς] δὲ [.....]ς ἀντὶ [

Demetrius Laco, *On Poems* 2, in P. Herc. 1014 col. 30.5-9
(pp. 108-9 Romeo)

LICYMNIUS

477

<CHORUS>

Laurel-loving lord Bacchus, healer Apollo skilled with the lyre . . . ¹

¹ Macrobius cites this lyric fragment as identifying Dionysus and Apollo as 'one and the same god'.

479 (= 920a N-Sn)

Muzzle him and close up his mouth, and . . . with fetters . . . instead of (*or* in return for) . . .

MELANIPPE WISE *and* MELANIPPE CAPTIVE

Van Looy (1964), 185–304 and in ed. Budé VIII.2.347–96; M. Cropp in *SFP* I.240–80, 289 (~ II.368–9); Diggle, *TrGFS* 120–7 (test. i, F 481, 484, 494–5, 506).

Wilamowitz, *Kleine Schriften* I.440–60; Z. Vysoký, *Listy Filologické* 87 (1964), 17–32; Webster 147–57; G. Mengano Cavalli, *RAAN* 52 (1977), 165–83; Gantz 734–5; *LIMC* VIII.i.829–30 ‘Melanippe I’; Matthiessen 266–8. *Mel. Capt.* myth, political aspects: D. Giacometti, *Annali della Facoltà di lettere e filosofia, Univ. di Perugia* 28 (1990–1), 277–96; M. Nafissi, *Ostraka* 6 (1997), 337–57.

For pairs of similarly named plays see the introductory note to Alcmeon. The fragments of the two Melanippe plays are followed by those which cannot be assigned with certainty to one or other (but see ‘Other ascriptions’ in the Introductions below, and notes to the translations).

MELANIPPE WISE

Melanippe ('Black-Mare') belongs to the complicated mythology of Thessaly and Boeotia, but her story is obscure in origin and varies considerably in extant accounts; her only notable appearance in Greek poetry is in Euripides' plays. According to the incomplete hypothesis and prologue of Melanippe Wise (test. i and F 481 below), she was a daughter of Aeolus (ancestor of the Aeolian Greeks) and Hippo or Hippē ('Mare', a daughter of the centaur Chiron), and mother by Poseidon of twins named Aeolus (identified with migrant Aeolians) and Boeotus (identified with Boeotia)—though in some genealogies the mother of these twins was Arne rather than Melanippe. Melanippe Wise, so called because of the wisdom its heroine inherited from Chiron and Hippo and displayed in the play (test. i, iia, F 482–4), was about the illicit birth and survival of the twins (cf. the plots of Alope, Auge, Danae, and probably Sophocles' first Tyro). Melanippe was seduced or raped by Poseidon in her father's absence, and when he returned she hid her recently born sons in a stable where herdsmen discovered them and brought them to Aeolus, superstitiously thinking they were the unnatural offspring of a cow. Aeolus' father Hellen agreed and encouraged him to destroy them, but Melanippe defended them by arguing rationally that they must be the natural children of an unidentified girl. This

early part of the play—probably the prologue and first two or three episodes—is represented by test. i-iiia and F 482-5, and by a magnificent Apulian vase published in 1986 (LIMC no. 1 = test. iv; Todisco Ap 221, Taplin no. 68) which is the only known ‘illustration’ of the play; it pictures a herdsman showing the twins to Hellen in Aeolus’ presence while Melanippe and her nurse observe from one side. The remainder of the plot is almost completely unknown, the only other certain fragments being F 486 (a choral praise of justice), F 487 (probably Melanippe protesting her innocence), and test. va mentioning a horse mask worn by Hippo, presumably in a divine intervention at the end of the play (the Apulian vase painting includes Melanippe’s half-brother Cretheus crowning a horse which may possibly represent Hippo; Kannicht includes Cretheus as a character in the play). It must be assumed that, as in other plays on this pattern, Melanippe’s guilt was somehow revealed and she and her sons subjected to further suffering. Melanippe Captive presupposes that they were all somehow brought to southern Italy, like Telephus and Auge to Mysia, Danae and Perseus to Seriphos; but this does not necessarily reflect Melanippe Wise (that the two plays were part of the same production is a possibility, but no more than that: see below on the dates of the two plays). Hyginus’ syncretic and rather confused Fab. 186 (= Melanippe Captive test. iii) begins by saying that Melanippe’s father blinded and imprisoned her and exposed her infant sons who were then suckled by a cow and raised by herdsmen, but again the relevance of this to Melanippe Wise is doubtful; it seems more likely that Hippo appeared in time to rescue both mother and sons from further violence.

MELANIPPE WISE

Brief fragments: none specifically ascribed to Melanippe Wise. Other ascriptions: Melanippe F 497, 500, 506, 508-10 (see notes to the translations below), and F 514 'Adonis gardens' (young plants allowed to die in honour of Adonis, perhaps a metaphor for the condemned babies in this play); also F 928, 1004.

Quotations in Aristophanes' plays of 411 (F 482, 487) show that Melanippe Wise was composed before that year, while its trimeter resolutions make a date earlier than the mid-420s somewhat unlikely (Cropp-Fick 83-4); it probably preceded its 'sequel' Melanippe Captive. Melanippe's cleverness and rhetorical skill made her a 'pernicious woman' for Aristophanes (Women at the Thesmophoria 546-8 = test. iiib), and an example of unsuitable characterization for Aristotle (Poetics 1454a22-31 = test. iiia). The later testimonia show that the play remained noted for these features, but there is no evidence of a wider afterlife except a Latin version by Ennius, of which six brief fragments survive.

Bibliography: see p. 567.

ΜΕΛΑΝΙΠΠΗ Η ΣΟΦΗ

test. i (Hypothesis)

Με[λανίππη ἢ Σοφή, ἧς ἀρχή·
Ζεὺς δ. [
[ἢ δὲ ὑπόθεσις·]

- Ἕλληνοσ τοῦ Διὸσ Αἰόλοσ τεκνωθεῖσ
5 ἐκ μὲν Εὐρυδικὴσ ἐγέννησε Κρηθεά καὶ
Σαλμωνέα καὶ Σίσυφον, ἐκ δὲ τῆσ Χείρωνοσ
θυγατρὸσ Ἴππησ κάλλει διαφέρουσαν
Μελανίππην. αὐτὸσ μὲν οὖν φόνου
ποιήσασ ἐπ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἀπῆλθε φυγὰσ,
10 τὴν δὲ Μελανίππην Ποσειδῶν διδύμων
παίδων ἐγκνου ἐποίησε. ἢ δὲ διὰ τὴν προσδοκίαν
τῆσ τοῦ πατρὸσ παρουσίας τοὺσ γεννηθέντασ
εἰσ τὴν βούστασιν ἔδωκε τῆ τροφῶ
θεῖναι κατὰ τὴν ἐντολὴν τοῦ κα-
15 τασπείραντοσ. ὑπὸ δὲ τὴν κάθοδου τοῦ
δυναστού τὰ βρέφη τινὲσ τῶν βουκόλων
φυλαττόμενα μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ ταύρου, θηλαζόμενα
δὲ ὑπὸ μιᾶσ τῶν βοῶν ἰδόντεσ,
ὡσ βουγενῆ τέρατα τῶ βασιλεῖ προσήνεγκαν.
ὁ δὲ τῆ τοῦ πατρὸσ Ἕλληνοσ γνώμη
20 πεισθεῖσ ὀλοκαυτοῦν τὰ βρέφη κρί-

MELANIPPE WISE

test. i (Hypothesis)

Me(lanippe Wise, which begins,) 'Zeus . . . (remainder of first line lost: cf. F 481.1 below) . . .'; (the plot is as follows):

Aeolus, son of Hellen son of Zeus, fathered Cretheus, Sal- 5
moneus and Sisyphus by Eurydice, and by Chiron's daughter
Hippe (he fathered) the exceedingly beautiful Melanippe.
Now he himself went into exile for a year after committing a
murder, and Poseidon made Melanippe pregnant with twin 10
sons. Expecting her father's return, she gave the infants she
had borne to her nurse to put in the ox-stable, as their father
(i.e. Poseidon) had instructed. About the time of the king's re- 15
turn, some of the herdsmen saw the babies being watched
over by the bull and suckled by one of the cows, and think-
ing they were the cow's monstrous offspring they brought
them to the king. He took his father Hellen's advice and de- 20
cided to burn the babies alive, and so he instructed his daugh-

P. Oxy. 2455, ed. E. Turner (1962), frs. 1-2 (parts of vv. 1-2, 5-19); P. Leiden inv. 145, ed. R. Daniel (1991: parts of vv. 18-23); vv. 4-25: Ioannes Logothetes, Commentary on [Hermogenes], *Means of Rhetorical Effectiveness* (ed. H. Rabe, *RhM* 63 [1908], 145), 28; Gregory of Corinth, Commentary on the same treatise, *Rhet. Gr.* VII.1313 Walz. See also van Rossum-Steenbeek 199, 206-7, Diggle, *TrGFS* 120. v. 2 = F 481.1

EURIPIDES

νας Μελανίππη τῇ θυγατρὶ προσέταξεν
 ἐνταφίους αὐτὰ κοσμήσαι. ἡ δὲ καὶ τὸν
 κόσμον αὐτοῖς ἐπέθηκε καὶ λόγον εἰς
 25 παραίτησιν ἐξέθηκε φιλότιμον.

test. iia

ἡ Μελανίππη σοφῆ . . . ἐπιγέγραπται μὲν Σοφῆ, ὅτι φιλοσοφεῖ, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τοιαύτης μητρός ἐστιν, ἵνα μὴ ἀπίθανος ᾖ ἡ φιλοσοφία . . . ἡ δὲ Μελανίππη ἐπεράνθη μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος, γέγονε δὲ ταύτῃ παιδία· ἐξέθη-
 κεν δὲ αὐτὰ εἰς τὰ τοῦ πατρὸς βουφόρβια. ὁ δὲ πατὴρ ἡγέεται ἐκ βοῶς εἶναι, καὶ ὡς τέρας βούλεται κατακαῦ-
 σαι. βοηθοῦσα αὐτῇ ἡ Μελανίππη ἀποφαίνεσθαι πει-
 ρᾶται, ὅτι τέρας οὐδέν ἐστιν. οὕτω τὸ δράμα ὅλον ἐσχη-
 μάτισται καὶ ἅμα διδάσκει ἡμᾶς Εὐριπίδης, ὅτι τὸν
 σχηματίζοντα ἐγγυτάτω δεῖ εἶναι τοῦ λύσαι τὸ σχῆμα
 μετὰ τῆς ἀσφαλείας τοῦ σχήματος. περιερχομένη γὰρ
 πάσας αἰτίας τοῦ σῶσαι τὰ παιδία λέγει, 'εἰ δὲ παρθένος
 φθαρέισα ἐξέθηκε τὰ παιδία . . . σὺ φόνον δράσεις;' (= F
 485)· ὥστε καὶ τὸ αὐτῆς πρᾶγμα λέγει ἐν σχήματι συμ-
 βουλῆς.

[Dionysius of Halicarnassus], *Art of Rhetoric* 9.11 (and more
 briefly in 8.10 = test. iib)

test. va

τὰ δ' ἔκσκενα πρόσωπα Ἀκταίων ἐστὶ κερασφόρος, ἡ
 Φινεὺς τυφλός . . . ἡ Ἴππη ἡ Χείρωνος ὑπαλλαττομένη
 εἰς ἵππον παρ' Εὐριπίδῃ . . .

Pollux 4.141

MELANIPPE WISE

ter Melanippe to dress them in funeral clothing. Melanippe clothed them and made a feisty speech in their defence.

test. iia

The *Melanippe Wise* has the title 'Wise' because she argues philosophically, and she is the daughter of such a mother (i.e. Hippo) so that her philosophizing will not be implausible . . . Melanippe was raped by Poseidon and gave birth to sons whom she put in her father's ox-stable. Her father thinks they are a cow's offspring and wants to burn them as a monstrosity. Melanippe defends herself and tries to show that they are no monstrosity. Thus the whole action of the play is disguised; and Euripides teaches us that the disguiser should come very close to revealing the disguise while still maintaining it. For while going through all the reasons for sparing the children she says, 'But if a girl who had been raped exposed the children . . . will you then commit murder?' (= F 485 below). Thus she actually pleads her own case in the guise of giving advice.

test. va

Special masks are Actaeon wearing horns, or Phineus blind . . . or Chiron's daughter Hippe transformed into a horse in Euripides . . .

EURIPIDES

test. vb (a) (~ F 488 N)

Ἴππος . . . Ἄρατος μὲν οὖν φησὶ τὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἑλικῶνος εἶναι ποιήσαντα κρήνην τῇ ὀπλῇ . . . , ἄλλοι δὲ τὸν Πήγασον εἶναι . . . , Εὐριπίδης δὲ ἐν τῇ Μελανίππῃ Ἴππὸν εἶναι τὴν Χείρωνος καὶ ἀπατηθεῖσαν ὑπ' Αἰόλου φθαρῆναι, καὶ ἕως μὲν τινὸς κρύπτειν, ἐπειδὴ δὲ καταφανῆς ἦν διὰ τὸν ὄγκον τῆς γαστροῦ, φυγεῖν εἰς τὰ ὄρη κάκεϊ ὠδινούσης αὐτῆς τὸν πατέρα ἐλθεῖν κατὰ ζήτησιν, τὴν δὲ εὐξασθαι καταλαμβανομένην πρὸς τὸ μὴ γνωσθῆναι μεταμορφωθῆναι καὶ οὕτως γενέσθαι Ἴππον τεκοῦσαν τὸ παιδίον· διὰ δὲ τὴν εὐσέβειαν αὐτῆς καὶ τοῦ πατρὸς εἰς τὰ ἄστρα ὑπὸ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος τεθῆναι.

Schol. on Aratus, *Phaenomena* 205; similarly [Eratosthenes], *Catasterisms* 18 and in Latin (stating Artemis' role differently: see note opposite) Hyginus, *Astronomy* 2.18 (= test. vb (b)).

480

Ζεὺς, ὅστις ὁ Ζεὺς, οὐ γὰρ οἶδα πλὴν λόγῳ . . .

Plutarch, *Moralia* 756b; Lucian 21.41; [Justin], *On Monarchy* 5.8

MELANIPPE WISE

test. vb (a) (~ F 488 N)

The Horse (i.e. the constellation): . . . Aratus says it is the horse that made the spring on Mount Helicon (i.e. Hippocrene) with its hoof . . . , others that it is Pegasus . . . , and Euripides in *Melanippe* says it is Chiron's daughter Hippo, and that she was deceived and raped by Aeolus, and concealed it for a time, but when her pregnancy became evident because of the swelling of her belly she fled to the mountains; while she was in labour there her father came in search of her, and as she was caught she prayed to be transformed so as not to be recognized; thus she became a horse after giving birth to her child, and because of her and her father's piety she was placed by Artemis amongst the stars.¹

¹ The explanation of Hippo's horse transformation is not Euripidean; contrast F 481.14–19 below. Her catasterism may be, but the mythographic sources are confused. Hyginus, *Astronomy* 2.18 attributes her prophetic activities and punishment to other authors (unnamed), and connects Artemis with Callimachus, not Euripides.

480

Zeus, whoever Zeus is—for I know this only by report . . .¹

¹ Plutarch claims this was the play's original first line and was replaced by F 481.1 because it caused offence, but it is very unlikely that such a sceptical statement (cf. *Heracles* 1263) opened this or any other tragedy.

(Beginning of the play)

ΜΕΛΑΝΙΠΠΗ

- Ζεὺς, ὡς λέλεκται τῆς ἀληθείας ὑπο,
 Ἕλλην' ἔτιχθ' ὃς ἐξέφυσεν Αἴολον
 οὐ χθών, ὅσῃν Πηνειὸς Ἀσωποῦ θ' ὕδωρ
 ὑγροῖς ὀρίζων ἐντὸς ἀγκῶσι στέγει,
 5 σκλήπτρων ἀκούει πᾶσα καὶ κικλήσκειται
 ἐπώνυμος χθῶν Αἰολὶς τοῦμοῦ πατρός.
 ἐν μὲν τόδ' ἐξέβλασται Ἕλληνας γένος·
 πτόρθον δ' ἀφήκεν ἄλλον εἰς ἄλλην πόλιν
 < >
 κλεινὰς Ἀθήνας Ξοῦθον, ᾧ νύμφη ποτὲ
 10 θυγάτηρ Ἐρεχθέως Κεκροπίας ἐπ' αὐχένι
 Ἴων' ἔτικτεν. ἀλλ' ἀνοιστέος λόγος
 †ὄνομά τε τοῦμόν† κείσ' ὅθενπερ ἠρξάμην.
 καλοῦσι Μελανίππην <με>, Χείρωνος δέ με
 ἔτικτε θυγάτηρ Αἰόλω· κείνην μὲν οὖν
 15 ξανθῇ κατεπτέρωσεν ἰππεία τριχὶ
 Ζεὺς, οὐνεχ' ὕμνους ἦδε χρησμοφδοὺς βροτοῖς
 ἄκη πόνων φράζουσα καὶ λυτήρια.

Ioannes Logothetes (see under test. i above); vv. 1–2 (ἔτικτεν):
 Gregory of Corinth (see under test. i above); v. 1: Aristophanes,
Frogs 1244 with Schol. (see also test. i.2 above); v. 11 (last three
 words): Plutarch, *Moralia* 390c and 431a (= F 970 N)

8–9 lacuna proposed by Wilamowitz 12 ἐπ' ὄνομα
 τοῦμόν Wilamowitz

MELANIPPE WISE

481

(Beginning of the play)

MELANIPPE

Zeus, as is told by reliable tradition,¹ fathered Hellen who was father to Aeolus. All of the land that Peneus and Asopus bound and enclose within their watery arms² acknowledges his rule and is named Aeolia after my father. 5
This is one of the families that descended from Hellen, and he sent forth other offspring to other areas . . . (*probably a line or two lost*) . . .³ to glorious Athens Xuthus, whose bride, Erechtheus's daughter, bore Ion to him on Cecropia's ridge.⁴ 10

But I must bring my account †and my name†⁵ back to where I started from. My name is Melanippe; Chiron's daughter bore me to Aeolus. Now Zeus gave her a coat of tawny horse-hair because she sang oracular songs to men, 15
telling them cures and ways to relieve their pains;⁶ and

¹ The first line (partially preserved at the start of test. i above) is identical with Critias' or Euripides' *Pirithous*, F 1.9 (see Appendix at the end of this edition). Such a repetition is not unlikely.

² Thessaly was bounded to the north by the river Peneus, and Boeotia to the south by the Asopus. ³ Wilamowitz's lacuna

allows for a mention of Dorus, traditionally brother of Aeolus and Xuthus, who migrated to Doris and became the ancestor of the Dorians. ⁴ The Acropolis of Athens, where the royal palace of heroic times was supposed to have been. In *Ion* Euripides made Apollo Ion's real father. ⁵ Probably corrupt, though accepted by some as '(the explanation of) my name'.

Wilamowitz's conjecture leaves the sentence slightly incoherent ('to my name, to where . . .'). ⁶ Hippo is described as an *iatromantis* or 'healing seer', like Asclepius (also punished for usurping divine prerogatives) in Pindar, *Pythians* 3.45-53.

EURIPIDES

πυκνῆ θυέλλη δ' αἰθέρος διώκεται
 Μουσεῖον ἐκλιπούσα Κωρύκιόν τ' ὄρος.
 20 νύμφη δὲ θεσπιωδὸς ἀνθρώπων ὕπο
 Ἴππῶ κέκληται σώματος δι' ἀλλαγᾶς.
 μητρὸς μὲν ᾧδε τῆς ἐμῆς ἔχει πέρι.

εἶτα λέγει καὶ ὅτι Ποσειδῶνι μιγείσα τέτοκε τοὺς διδύ-
 μους παῖδας.

482 (= 483 N)

ΜΕΛΑΝΙΠΠΗ

ἐγὼ γυνὴ μὲν εἰμι, νοῦς δ' ἔνεστί μοι.

Aristophanes, *Lysistrata* 1124 with Schol.

483 (= 482 N)

<ΜΕΛΑΝΙΠΠΗ>

ἡ πρῶτα μὲν τὰ θεῖα προμαντεύσατο
 χρησμοῖσι σαφέσιν ἀστέρων ἐπ' ἀντολαῖς.

Clement of Alexandria, *Miscellanies* 1.15.73.5; Cyril of Alex-
 andria, *Against Julian* 4 (PG LXXVI.705c)

MELANIPPE WISE

driven in a dense squall of mist she left the Corycian mountain,⁷ her place of inspiration. This young prophetess is called by men Hippo because of her change of body. 20
Such are the facts concerning my mother.

Then she adds that she (Melanippe) has had intercourse with Poseidon and borne the twin sons.

⁷ Mount Parnassus, where the Corycian Cave was sacred to the Nymphs.

F 482-5 are from Melanippe's famous speech (test. i.23-5 and test. ii above):

482 (= 483 N)

MELANIPPE

I am a woman, but I have intelligence.

483 (= 482 N)

<MELANIPPE>

. . . who first proclaimed divine knowledge in accurate prophecies based on the risings of the stars.¹

¹ One of the first references in Greek literature to astrology (actually an import from Babylonia), although astronomical observations had long been used to predict seasons and weather (Hesiod, *Works & Days* 383-7, 414ff.).

EURIPIDES

484

ΜΕΛΑΝΙΠΠΗ

κούκ ἐμὸς ὁ μῦθος, ἀλλ' ἐμῆς μητρὸς πάρα,
 ὡς οὐρανός τε γαῖά τ' ἦν μορφῇ μία,
 ἐπεὶ δ' ἐχωρίσθησαν ἀλλήλων δίχα,
 τίκτουσι πάντα κἀνέδωκαν εἰς φάος,
 5 δένδρη, πετεινά, θήρας, οὓς θ' ἄλμη τρέφει,
 γένος τε θνητῶν.

vv. 1–2: Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Art of Rhetoric* 9.11 (cf. test. iia: v. 1 also in 8.10); v. 1 adapted by Plato, *Symposium* 177a.3 (cf. Aristides, *Oration* 2.132) and often elsewhere; vv. 2–6: Diodorus 1.7.7; vv. 2–4: Tzetzes, *Exegesis of Homer's Iliad*. p. 41.18 Hermann; v. 2 (οὐρανός . . . μία) appears amongst Orphic inscriptions on a late antique alabaster bowl (R. Delbrueck, W. Vollgraft, *JHS* 54 [1934], 129–39).

485

ΜΕΛΑΝΙΠΠΗ

εἰ δὲ παρθένος φθαρεῖσα ἐξέθηκε τὰ παιδιά καὶ
 φοβουμένη τὸν πατέρα, σὺ φόνον δράσεις;

Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Art of Rhetoric* 9.11 (cf. test. iia above)

MELANIPPE WISE

484

MELANIPPE

The account is not my own, but comes from my mother,¹ that Heaven and Earth were once a single form, but when they were parted from each other into two, they bore and delivered into the light all things—trees, winged things, beasts, creatures of the sea, and the race of mortals.² 5

¹ Cf. test. iia and F 481.13–17 above. Hippo was supposed to have taught natural science to Aeolus as well: cf. Clement cited in the apparatus to F 483. ² For the separation of Sky from Earth see especially Hesiod, *Theogony* 154–206, and for Heaven and Earth jointly propagating life Aeschylus F 44, Eur. *Antiope* F 182a and elsewhere (see further on *Chrysippus* F 839).

485

MELANIPPE

But if a girl exposed the children because she had been raped and was in fear of her father, will you then commit murder?

EURIPIDES

486

<ΧΟΡΟΣ>

(a) δικαιοσύνας τὸ χρύσειον πρόσωπον

(b) οὐθ' ἔσπερος οὐθ' ἑῶος οὐτω θαυμαστός.

(a) Anonymous Commentary on Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics* 1129b28 in CAG XX.210.9; Athenaeus 12.546b (= Aristoxenus F 50 Wehrli); (b) Aristotle, *Nic. Eth.* 1129b28 with Commentary as for (a). There are several derivative adaptations of both phrases.

487

<ΜΕΛΑΝΙΠΠΗ?>

ὄμνυμι δ' ἱερὸν αἰθέρ', οἴκησιν Διός.

Aristophanes, *Women at the Thesmophoria* 272 with Schol., and Schol. on Aristophanes, *Frogs* 100

(488 N = test. vb (a) above)

MELANIPPE WISE

486

<CHORUS>

(a) . . . Justice's golden countenance . . .

(b) Neither evening nor morning (star) is so wonderful.

487

<MELANIPPE?>

I swear by sacred heaven, Zeus's dwelling.

(488 N: see test. vb (a) above)

MELANIPPE CAPTIVE

The story that Melanippe was transported to Metapontium in southern Italy and became the wife of the city's founder Metapontus exists in various forms (e.g. Diodorus 4.67, Strabo 6.1.15), but Euripides' version is not directly reflected in any of them. It must have been similar in some respects to Hyginus, Fab. 186 (= test. iii) in which, along with much ill-digested detail, Metapontus' childless wife Theano secretly adopted Melanippe's baby sons but then bore sons of her own and later encouraged them to kill Melanippe's sons during a hunting expedition; when her own sons were killed instead she committed suicide, the twins rescued their mother from imprisonment, and Metapontus married Melanippe. In Euripides' play, however, the Queen was probably called Siris (see test. iib below with note), and in F 495 it is the Queen's brothers who attack Melanippe's sons; the latter regard themselves as the Queen's sons (F 495.7, 15), and their uncles seems to be jealous of their position as Metapontus' heirs (F 495.18-21 as reconstructed). At the same time their slave birth seems to be an issue (F 495.40-3, cf. 20-3 as reconstructed; probably also F 511), as are a childless father's adoption of sons (F 491) and a husband's conflict with a wife of superior rank (probably F 502-3). All this suggests that in Euripides' play Melanippe's sons have been brought up in

EURIPIDES

Metapontus' household and adopted as his heirs, and that his high-born Queen resents this because of her own childlessness and loyalty to her natal family; this leads her to plot the attack which brings about her own brothers' deaths (F 495) and probably her suicide. Her plot may have been precipitated by the discovery that the twins were the sons of the slave Melanippe, but how they and Melanippe reached Italy, how the twins came to be adopted by the King and Queen, and how Melanippe herself has been living can only be guessed. The one certainty is that Melanippe's imprisonment gave the play its surname, but it is unclear whether she was imprisoned many years before as in Hyginus, or (more likely) only recently—even in the course of the play—by the jealous Queen in whose household she has served as a slave. Either way, Melanippe's adult sons must be unaware of her identity, and she is probably unaware of theirs; thus their rescue of her would lead to recognition and reunion. Probably a closing speech by their divine father Poseidon (who seems to protect them during the fight: F 495.27) ordered the Queen's funeral and commemoration (test. iib with note), the marriage of Metapontus and Melanippe, and the migrations of Boeotus (to Boeotia) and Aeolus (to the Aeolian Islands?).

Also unclear is the occasion for the defence of women in one of the play's most notable fragments, F 494 (cf. F 493, 498). The speaker is more likely the eloquent Melanippe than the erring Queen, and Van Looy attractively suggests that she is responding to her son Boeotus, who might then be the misogynistic speaker of F 498 (a dramatic irony if he does not yet know she is his mother: compare the likely

MELANIPPE CAPTIVE

hostility of Zethus towards his unrecognized mother in Antiope).

Brief fragments: none. Other proposed ascriptions: Melanippe F 498, 501-5, 507, 511 (see notes to the translations below).

A lower date of 412 is suggested by the coincidence of F 507.1 with a line from Eupolis' Demes (produced in that year) and by possible imitations in Aristophanes' Women at the Thesmophoria of 411 (vv. 531-2, 785ff.). The evidence of metrical resolutions allows a date as early as 426, and Nafissi sees a political context for the play in the mid-420s (cf. test. iib with note). On the other hand, its romantic plot and (presumably) happy ending seem to align it with such plays as Antiope, Hypsipyle, Ion and Sophocles' second Tyro and suggest a date closer to 412.

The play seems to have had little or no impact in later poetry and art.

Bibliography: see p. 567.

ΜΕΛΑΝΙΠΠΗ Η ΔΕΣΜΩΤΙΣ

test. iib (= F 496 N)

ὠνομάσθη δ' ἡ Σίρις, ὡς μὲν Τίμαιός φησιν καὶ Εὐριπίδης ἐν Δεσμώτιδι Μελανίππη, ἀπὸ γυναικὸς τινος Σίριδος, ὡς δ' Ἀρχίλοχος, ἀπὸ ποταμοῦ.

Athenaeus 12.523d

*489

τὸν δ' ἀμφὶ βουῶν ρίφθέντα Βοιωτὸν καλεῖν

Stephanus of Byzantium, 'Βοιωτία' (p. 173 Meineke)

MELANIPPE CAPTIVE

test. iib (= F 496 N)

Siris (the city) was named after a woman called Siris according to Timaeus and Euripides in *Melanippe Captive*, but according to Archilochus, after a river.¹

¹ Siris was probably the name of king Metapontus' wife in Euripides' play (rather than Theano as in Hyginus, *Fab.* 186); she is so identified in Schol. on Dionysius Periegetes 461. A Greek settlement at Siris (by the river of the same name) was destroyed and annexed by Achaeans from neighbouring cities including Metapontium in the early 6th century, and refounded as Heraclea in 433. The god's speech at the end of Euripides' play may have established a connection between the dead woman, the river and the future city (cf. *Antiope* F 223.80-5). On the possible political implications of this and of Metapontus' marriage with Melanippe see now Giacometti and Nafissi.

*489

... and to call the other Boeotus, as having been thrown amongst oxen.¹

¹ This connects Boeotus' name with the Greek *bo-* = 'ox', since Melanippe's sons were protected by oxen in a stable (cf. *Mel. Wise* test. i.12-14, iia.3). The etymology was probably given in the prologue of *Mel. Captive* and preceded by an etymology of Aeolus' name (cf. *Alexander* F 42d, *Antiope* F 181-2).

EURIPIDES

490

σὺν τῷ θεῷ χρηὶ τοὺς σοφοὺς ἀναστρέφειν
βουλευμάτων' αἰεὶ πρὸς τὸ χρησιμώτερον.

Orion 5.3 Haffner

491

ἴστω δ' ἄφρων ὦν ὅστις ἄτεκνος ὦν τὸ πρὶν
παῖδας θυραίους εἰς δόμους ἐκθήσατο,
τὴν μοῖραν εἰς τὸ μὴ χρεὼν παραστρέφων·
ᾧ γὰρ θεοὶ διδῶσι μὴ φῦναι τέκνα,
5 οὐ χρηὶ μάχεσθαι πρὸς τὸ θεῖον, ἀλλ' ἔαν.

Stobaeus 4.24.26

5 μάχεσθαι Conington: γλείσθαι Stob. mss. SM: τλείσθαι
ms. A

492

ἀνδρῶν δὲ πολλοὶ τοῦ γέλωτος οὐνεκα
ἀσκούσι χάριτας κερτόμους· ἐγὼ δέ πως
μισῶ γελοίους, οἷτινες τήτη σοφῶν
ἀχάλιν' ἔχουσι στόματα, κὰς ἀνδρῶν μὲν οὐ
5 τελούσιν ἀριθμόν, ἐν γέλωτι δ' εὐπρεπεῖς.

Athenaeus 14.613d (with F 494.9–10a subjoined)

MELANIPPE CAPTIVE

490

Wise people should always heed the gods' will and redirect their plans towards what is more beneficial.

491

A man who has been childless and then has adopted the children of others into his home, distorting his destined lot into what should not be, should realise he is a fool. A man who is destined by the gods to be childless should not fight their will but should let it be so.¹

¹ Against adoption see also *Erechtheus* F 359.

492

Many men practise ingratiating mockery for a joke, but I am inclined to despise these jokers who keep their mouths unbridled for want of wise things to say; they may be conspicuous for joking, but they do not count as men.¹

¹ Cf. *Erechtheus* F 362.21-3.

EURIPIDES

493

ἀλγιστόν ἐστι θῆλυ μισηθὲν γένος·
αἶ γὰρ σφαλεῖσαι ταῖσιν οὐκ ἐσφαλμέναις
αἰσχὸς γυναιξί, καὶ κεκοίνωνται ψόγον
ταῖς οὐ κακαῖσιν αἶ κακαί· τὰ δ' εἰς γάμους
5 οὐδὲν δοκοῦσιν ὑγιᾶς ἀνδράσιν φρονεῖν.

Stobaeus 4.22.86

494

<ΜΕΛΑΝΙΠΠΗ?>

μάτην ἄρ' ἐς γυναικάς ἐξ ἀνδρῶν ψόγος
ψάλλει κενὸν τόξευμα καὶ λέγει κακῶς·
αἶ δ' εἰς' ἀμείνους ἀρσένων, δείξω δ' ἐγώ.
]ι ξυμβόλαι' ἀμάρτυρα
5].. κοῦκ ἀρνούμεναι
με[]χο[] ἀλλήλας πόνους
κη[]δε[]θ[.] αἰσχ[ύ]νην φέρει
...]αν.[.....]το[.]ωτος ἐκβαλεῖ γυνή.
νέμουσι δ' οἴκους καὶ τὰ ναυστολούμενα
10 ἔ[σω] δόμων σφύζουσιν, οὐδ' ἐρημία
γυναικὸς οἴκος εὐπινῆς οὐδ' ὄλβιος.

P. Berlin 9772, ed. U. von Wilamowitz and W. Schubart (1907), cols. iii.4–v.1; see also Page, *GLP* 108–15 (no. 13(a)); Van Looy (1964), 256–71 and in ed. Budé VIII.2.385–7; R. Seider, *Palaeographie der gr. Papyri* II (Stuttgart, 1970), 49–50 with Pl. 5; Diggle, *TrGFS* 123–4. Vv. 1–3: Anonymous *Life of Euripides* IV.2 (see *TrGF* 5.51); vv. 5–16: Satyrus, *Life of Euripides*, P. Oxy.

MELANIPPE CAPTIVE

493

Hatred of womankind is a most grievous thing. Those who have fallen bring disgrace on those who have not, and the bad ones share their censure with the good; and where marriage is concerned men think they have no integrity at all.

494

<MELANIPPE?>

Vainly does censure from men twang an idle bowshot at women and denounce them. In fact they are better than men, as I shall demonstrate . . . contracts without witnesses . . . and not reneging¹ . . . (they do not bring[?]) hardships 5
(upon[?]) one another . . . brings disgrace . . . a woman will expel^(?) . . . They manage households, and save what is brought by sea within the home, and no house deprived of 10
a woman can be tidy and prosperous.

¹ Women fulfil obligations and repay loans to each other without needing formal contracts. The review of this and other female virtues in vv. 4–21 is imitated in Aristophanes, *Assemblywomen* 441–54: see J. Butrica, *CQ* 51 (2001), 610–3.

1176 fr. 39 col. XI; vv. 9–10 (νέμονοι . . . σφύζονοι): Athenaeus 14.613d (= F 492.6–7 N); vv. 27–9 (= F 494 N); Porphyry fr. 409f Smith (in Eusebius, *Preparation for the Gospel* 10.3.19); Stobaeus 4.22.78.

7 φέρει P. Berl.: ἔχε[ι P. Oxy.

EURIPIDES

- ἃ δ' εἰς θεοὺς αὖ—πρῶτα γὰρ κρίνω τάδε—
 μέρος μέγιστον ἔχομεν· ἐν Φοίβου τε γὰρ
 δόμοις προφητεύουσι Λοξίου φρένα
 15 γυναικες, ἀμφὶ δ' ἄγνὰ Δωδώνη<ς> βάθρα
 φηγῶ παρ' ἱερᾶ θήλυ τὰ[s] Διὸς φρένας
 γένος πορεύει τοῖς θέλουσιν Ἑλλάδος.
 ἃ δ' εἰς τε Μοίρας τὰς τ' ἀωνύμους θεὰς
 ἱερὰ τελεῖται, ταῦτ' ἐν ἀνδράσιν μὲν οὐ<χ>
 20 ὄσια καθέστηκε, ἐν γυναιξὶ δ' αὖξεται
 ἅπαντα. ταύτη τὰν θεοῖς ἔχει δίκη
 θήλεια. πῶς οὖν χρὴ γυναικείον γένος
 κακῶς ἀκούειν; οὐχὶ παύσεται ψόγος
 μάταιος ἀνδρῶν τοῖ τ' ἄγαν ἠγούμενοι
 25 ψέγειν γυναῖκας, εἰ μὴ ἠρέθη κακὴ,
 πάσας ὁμοίως; διοριῶ [δ' εἰ]γὼ λόγῳ·
 τῆς μὲν κακῆς κάκιον οὐδὲν γίγνεται
 γυναικός, ἐσθλῆς δ' οὐδὲν εἰς ὑπερβολὴν
 πέφυκ' ἄμεινον· διαφέρουσι δ' αἱ φύσεις.

12 ἃ δ' εἰς θεοὺς P. Berl.: τὰ δ' ἐν θε[ο]ί[σ] P. Oxy.

14 δόμοις P. Berl.: χρησιμο[ί]ς P. Oxy.

21 δίκη Cropp:

δίκης P. Berl.

MELANIPPE CAPTIVE

Now as for dealings with the gods, which I consider of prime importance, we have a very great role in them. Women proclaim Loxias' mind in Phoebus' halls, and by Dodona's holy foundations, beside the sacred oak, womankind conveys the thoughts of Zeus to those Greeks who want to know it.² Those rituals, too, which are performed for the Fates and the Nameless Goddesses³ are not open to men, but are promoted by women entirely. That is how the rights of women stand⁴ in dealings with the gods. 15
20

Why then should womankind be denigrated? Will the vain censures of men not cease †and those excessively thinking† if just one is found to be bad, to condemn all women alike? For my part I will make a distinction: on the one hand nothing is worse than a bad woman, but on the other nothing excels a good one in goodness. The natures of each are different.⁵ 25

² Oracles at Delphi and Dodona were delivered respectively by the Pythia and the three priestesses ('Doves') of Zeus; on the latter see F 1021 with note.

³ The *Semnai Theai* or August Goddesses (in their malevolent form, Erinyes or Furies) are similarly described in *Iphigenia in Tauris* 944 and Sophocles, *Oedipus at Colonus* 128–33, and linked with Fate(s) in Aeschylus, *Seven against Thebes* 975–7, *Eumenides* 961–2 etc. They are 'nameless' because it is dangerous to name them: see A. Henrichs in Hofmann–Harder, *Fragmenta Dramatica* 169–79 and *ICS* 19 (1994), 37–8.

⁴ In the papyrus, 'That is how women stand in respect of rights . . .'; but the Fem. Sing. adjective *θήλεια* can hardly mean 'women'.

⁵ For the thought in the last few lines cf. *Protesilaus* F 657.

< ΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ >

- 'τίς ἦν ὁ . . . [c. 12 letters μ]εθεῖς ἐμοί;'
 ὡς δ' οὐκ ἐφαινόμεσθα, σίγα δ' εἶχομεν,
 πρόσω πρὸς αὐτὸν πάλιν ὑποστρέψας πόδα
 χωρεῖ δρομαίαν, θῆρ' ἐλεῖν πρόθυμος ὢν,
 5 βοᾷ δέ· κὰν τῶδ' ἐξεφαινόμεσθα δῆ,
 ὀρθοσταδὸν λόγχαισ' ἐπέιγοντες φόν[ου].
 τὰ δ' εἰσιδόντε δίπτυχον θείοιν κάρ[α
 ἦσθησαν, εἰπόν θ'· 'Εἶα συλλάβεσθ' ἄγρα[s,
 καιρὸν γὰρ ἦκετ'—οὐδ' ὑπώπτευον [δόλον,
 10 φίλων προσώπων εἰσορῶντες ὄ[μματα].
 οἱ δ' εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν πίτυλον ἤπειγ[ου] δορός,
 πέτροι τ' ἐχώρουν χερμάδες θ' ἠ[μῶν] πάρα
 ἐκεῖθεν, οἱ δ' ἐκεῖθεν ὡς δ' ἦε[ι] μάχη
 σιγή τ' ἀφ' ἠμῶν, γνωρίσαντ[ε(s)]
 15 λέγουσι· Μητρὸς ᾧ κασίγνη[τοι] φίλης,
 τί δρᾶτ'; ἀποκτείνοντες ο[ὕς] ἦκιστα χρῆν
 φωρᾶσθε. πρὸς θεῶν δρᾶτ[ε] μηδαμῶς τάδε.'
 σὼ δ' αὐταδέλφω χερμ[άδ]-

P. Berlin 5514, ed. F. Blass, *RhM* 35 (1880), 290–7; see also H. Weil, *Revue de Philologie* 4 (1880), 121–4; Wilamowitz in *Berliner Klassikertexte* V.2.84–7; Page, *GLP* 114–7 (no. 13(b)); Van Looy (1964), 276–92 and in ed. Budé VIII.2.389–91; Diggle, *TrGFS* 124–6. Vv. 40–3: Stobaeus 4.29.11.

1 ὁ τὰ[ργὸν] τόδε βέλος μ]εθεῖς Weil and (τὰ[ργὸν]) Wilamowitz
 14 γνωρίσαντ[ε] δῆ τὸ πᾶν Blass 18 χερμ[άδων]
 ἔσχον βολᾶς Diggle

MELANIPPE CAPTIVE

495

< MESSENGER >

'Who was it who let fly . . . for me?'¹ But as we did not show
 ourselves but kept silent, he turned back and ran towards
 him, eager to take the beast, and gave a shout; but now
 we did show ourselves, standing up and brandishing our 5
 spears, intent on bloodshed. The twins, catching sight of
 their two uncles, were glad and said, 'Hey there, join the
 hunt, you're just in time', suspecting no (treachery) as they
 saw the faces of friends. But they pressed on with the at- 10
 tack (with their spears), and rocks and boulders flew (from
 us) on either quarter; and as (the fighting) went on in si-
 lence on our side, they realised . . .² and said, 'Brothers of
 (our dear) mother, what are you doing? You are caught in 15
 the act, trying to kill (those you should least kill). For the
 gods' sake, (do not) do (this)! But your two brothers . . .

¹ 'who let fly this ineffective missile', Weil and Wilamowitz.
 The Queen's brothers and their companions have lain in wait for
 Melanippe's sons as they hunt a boar. Probably one of them has
 shot an arrow or thrown a spear from cover, narrowly missing one
 of the twins. After pausing and receiving no response to his chal-
 lenge, the twin now advances on the thicket which he thinks hides
 the boar but in fact hides some of the ambushers. ² Blass
 suggested 'they realised the whole of it'.

EURIPIDES

- λέγουσί θ' ὡς ἔφυσαν ἐκ δούλης
 20 κοῦ δεῖ τυρανν[
 πρεσβεῖ ἔχοντ[ας
 κάπει τάδ' εἰσή[κουσαν
 ο]ὐ λῆμ' ἔχο[
*remains of two lines, then some lines from foot of page
 missing, then:*
- 26 ἔσφηλέ τ' εἰς γῆν [c. 10 letters] λετο·
 ἡμῶν δ' ἐχάρει κωφὰ πρὸς γαίαν βέλη.
 δ]υοῖν δ' ἀδελφοῖν σοῖν τὸν αὐ νεώτερον
 λό]γχη πλατεία συνοφόνω δι' ἥπατος
 30 παῖσ]ας ἔδωκε νερτέροις καλὸν νεκρόν
], ος, ὅσπερ τὸν πρὶν ἔκτεινεν βαλῶν.
 κἀντεῦ]θεν ἡμεῖς οἱ λελειμμένοι φίλων
 κοῦφον] πόδ' ἄλλος ἄλλοσ' εἶχομεν φυγῆ.
 εἶδον δὲ τ]ὸν μὲν ὄρεος ὑλίμω φόβη
 35 κρυφθέν]τα, τὸν δὲ πευκίνων ὄζων ἔπι·
 οἱ δ' εἰς φάρ]αγγ' ἔδυνον, οἱ δ' ὑπ' εὐσκίους
 θάμνους κα]θίζον. τῶ δ' ὀρώντ' οὐκ ἠξίου
 δούλους φονε]ύειν φασγάνοις ἐλευθέροις.

19 ἐκ δούλης ποθέν Blass (νόθοι Nauck, τινός Van Looy)
 20 τύρανν[α σκῆπτρα καὶ θρόνους κρατεῖν (e.g.) Weil (λαβεῖν
 Wecklein) 21 ἔχοντ[ας δυσγενεῖς τῶν εὐγενῶν (e.g.)
 Weil 23 ο]ὐ λῆμ' ἔχο[ντες δούλον, ἀλλ' ἐλεύθερον
 Diggle 26 τ]ὸν βίον τ' ἀ]φ[εί]λετο Blass (κ[αὶ] πνοᾶς
 Weil) 30 καλὸν νεκρόν P. Berl.: καλὸν γέρας Nauck:
 ἄλλον νεκρόν Diggle

MELANIPPE CAPTIVE

rock(s), and said that they were born (from a . . . slave
 woman) and should not . . . royal . . . having precedence . . .³ 20
 And when they (heard) this . . . (not) hav(ing) a . . . spirit
 . . .⁴ (*remains of two lines, then some lines missing*) . . .
 felled (him) to the ground . . .⁵ Our missiles meanwhile 25
 went vainly to the ground. And next . . . who had hit and
 killed the first now (struck) the younger of your two broth-
 ers through the liver with a broad boar-spear, and so deliv-
 ered a fine corpse⁶ to the powers below. 31

(Then) we who remained of their companions set off
 (nimble) fleeing in various directions. One man (I saw con-
 cealed) in mountain-brush, and another perching on the
 branches of a pine; (others) slipped (into) a ravine, while 35
 others again crouched under shady (bushes). The twins
 saw them but did not deign to (kill slaves) with free men's
 swords.

³ With the supplements listed in the apparatus opposite (vv. 18-21): 'But your two brothers (restrained the) rock-(throwing), and said that they were born (from a slave woman somewhere [Blass] or bastards born from a slave woman [Nauck]), and should not (possess [Weil] or take [Wecklein]) royal (sceptres, ill-born men) having precedence (over well-born).' ⁴ Diggle suggests '(not) hav(ing) a (slavish) spirit (but a free one)'.

⁵ '(and took away his life [Blass] or breath [Weil])'.

⁶ Perhaps to be corrected: 'a fine offering' (Nauck) or 'another corpse' (Diggle).

EURIPIDES

c. 12 letters σ]ῶν κασιγνήτων κλύεις.

40 ἐγὼ μὲν <οὔν> οὐκ οἶδ' ὅτω σκοπεῖν χρεῶν
τὴν εὐγένειαν. τοὺς γὰρ ἀνδρείους φύσιν
καὶ τοὺς δικαίους τῶν κενῶν δοξασμάτων,
κἂν ὧσι δούλων, εὐγενεστέρους λέγω.

Ends of seven more lines (44–6 Chorus?, 47–50 Queen?)

39 μόρον τοιοῦτον σ]ῶν Nauck

(496 N = test. iib above)

MELANIPPE CAPTIVE

... (of) your brothers ... you have heard.⁷ For my part I
do not know how we should assess nobility. For I declare 40
that those who are brave and just by nature, though they be
born from slaves, are nobler than those who are mere
empty appearances.⁸

Ends of seven more lines (44–6 Chorus?, 47–50 Queen?)

⁷ '(Such was the death of) your brothers that you have heard',
Nauck. ⁸ For the thought cf. F 511 below, *Phrixus* F 831,
Ion 854–6, *Helen* 728–31; 'mere appearances' contrasted with
natural endowments also in *Erechtheus* F 359.2.

(496 N = test. iib above)

ΜΕΛΑΝΙΠΠΗ Η ΣΟΦΗ
or Η ΔΕΣΜΩΤΙΣ

497

τείσασθε τήνδε· καὶ γὰρ ἐντεῦθεν νοσεῖ
τὰ τῶν γυναικῶν· οἱ μὲν ἢ παίδων πέρι
ἢ συγγενείας οὔνεκ' οὐκ ἀπώλεσαν
κακὴν λαβόντες· εἶτα τοῦτο τᾶδικον
5 πολλαῖς ὑπερρύηκε καὶ χωρεῖ πρόσω,
ὥστ' ἐξίτηλος ἀρετῇ καθίσταται.

Stobaeus 4.23.6

498

πλὴν τῆς τεκούσης θῆλυ πᾶν μισῶ γένος.

Stobaeus 4.22.146; cf. [Menander], *Monostichs* 665 Jaekel

(499 N = 494.1-3 above)

500

ὅστις δ' ἄμικτον πατέρ' ἔχει νεανίας
στυγνόν τ' ἐν οἴκοις, μεγάλα κέκτηται κακά.

Stobaeus 4.26.3

MELANIPPE WISE
or CAPTIVE

497

Punish her! It is this that leads women to vice: some men do not get rid of a woman when they find she is bad, either considering their children or for the sake of a family connection; then her wrongdoing overflows to many others and progresses, so their virtue vanishes entirely.¹

¹ *Mel. Captive* F 493 and 494.22-9 protest against this kind of prejudice, but this fragment has been plausibly attributed to Hellen advising Aeolus to punish his daughter in *Mel. Wise*.

498

Except for my mother I hate all womankind.¹

¹ Probably from the attack on women in *Mel. Captive* to which F 493-4 respond: see Introduction above.

(499 N = 494.1-3 above)

500

A young man who has an unsociable, sullen father in his house possesses many troubles.¹

¹ Possibly Aeolus referring to his father Hellen in *Mel. Wise*; cf. F 508-10 below.

EURIPIDES

501

γάμους δ' ὅσοι σπεύδουσι μὴ πεπρωμένους,
μάτην πονοῦσιν· ἢ δὲ τῷ χρεῶν πόσει
μένουσα† κάσπούδαστος ἦλθεν εἰς δόμους.

Stobaeus 4.22.91

2-3 ἢ δ' ὅτω χρεῶν πόσει μέλουσα Collard (μέλουσα West)

502

ὅσοι γαμοῦσι δ' ἢ γένει κρείσσοις γάμους
ἢ πολλὰ χρήματ', οὐκ ἐπίστανται γαμῆν·
τὰ τῆς γυναικὸς γὰρ κρατοῦντ' ἐν δώμασιν
δουλοῖ τὸν ἄνδρα, κούκέτ' ἔστ' ἐλεύθερος.
5 πλοῦτος δ' ἐπακτὸς ἐκ γυναικείων γάμων
ἀνόνητος· αἱ γὰρ διαλύσεις <οὐ> ῥάδιαι.

Stobaeus 4.22.94

503

<ΧΟΡΟΣ>

μετρίων λέκτρων, μετρίων δὲ γάμων
μετὰ σωφροσύνης
κῦρσαι θνητοῖσιν ἄριστον.

Stobaeus 4.22.132

504

ὦ τέκνον, ἀνθρώποισιν ἔστιν οἷς βίος
ὁ σμικρὸς εὐκρὰς ἐγένεθ', οἷς δ' ὄγκος κακόν.

Stobaeus 4.31.93

MELANIPPE WISE or CAPTIVE

501

People who pursue undestined marriages are wasting their efforts; the woman †who remains for her proper husband†¹ comes to his house even without being pursued.

¹ A rough translation of the incoherent phrase transmitted in Stobaeus; Collard suggests 'the woman who is cared for by the husband who ought to care for her'. F 501-3, all reflecting on inappropriate marriages, may have been comments on the marriage of Metapontus and his wilful queen in *Mel. Captive*.

502

Men who marry wives above their rank, or marry great wealth, do not know how to make a marriage. The wife's interests prevail in the household and make a slave of the husband, and he is no longer free. Wealth acquired from marriage with a woman is unprofitable; for divorces are (not) easy.¹ 5

¹ The husband 'enslaved' by his wife's dowry: cf. *Phaethon* 158-9. Marrying above oneself: F 503 below, *Antiope* F 214, *Electra* 932-7.

503

<CHORUS>

Ordinary unions, and ordinary wives with self-discipline, are best for mortals to find.¹

¹ See on F 501 and 502 above. These lines may well come from the play's closing choral anapaests.

504

For some people, child, a modest living is appropriate,¹ and for some opulence is a bad thing.

¹ Literally 'well blended', as in *Antiope* F 197. This comment was perhaps made by Melanippe to one of her sons (enjoying a royal lifestyle) in *Mel. Captive*.

EURIPIDES

505

τὰ προσπεσόντα δ' ὅστις εἶ φέρει βροτῶν,
ἄριστος εἶναι σωφρονεῖν τ' ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ.

Stobaeus 4.44.55; [Plutarch], *Moralia* 116f

1-2 τὰ προσπεσόντα . . . ἄριστος εἶναι . . . [Plut.]: τὰ
τυγχάνοντα . . . | σοφὸν νομίζω . . . Stob.

506

δοκεῖτε πηδᾶν τὰδικήματ' εἰς θεοὺς
πτεροῖσι, κᾶπειτ' ἐν Διὸς δέλτου πτυχαῖς
γράφειν τιν' αὐτά, Ζῆνα δ' εἰσορῶντά νιν
θητοῖς δικάζειν; οὐδ' ὁ πᾶς ἂν οὐρανὸς
5 Διὸς γράφοντος τὰς βροτῶν ἀμαρτίας
ἐξαρκέσειεν, οὐδ' ἐκείνος ἂν σκοπῶν
πέμπειν ἐκάστω ζημίαν· ἀλλ' ἡ Δίκη
ἐνταῦθά πού 'στιν ἐγγύς, εἰ βούλεσθ' ὄραν.

Stobaeus I.3.14a

507

τί τοὺς θανόντας οὐκ ἑᾶς τεθνηκέναι
καὶ τὰκχυθέντα συλλέγεις ἀλγήματα;

Stobaeus 4.56.16; v. 1 = Eupolis, *Demes* F 99.102 PCG

MELANIPPE WISE *or* CAPTIVE

505

The man who bears his fortunes well seems to me to be excellent and self-disciplined.¹

¹ Stobaeus has a banal alternative: 'The man who bears events well I consider wise, and he seems to me to be self-disciplined.'

506

You think crimes leap up to the gods on wings, and someone writes them on Zeus's folded tablet, and Zeus looks at them and delivers justice to men?¹ Even the whole sky would not suffice for Zeus to write men's sins on it, nor could he study them and send punishment for each of them. In fact Justice is somewhere here close by, if you are willing to see her.² 5

¹ An old belief reflecting the centralized administrative record-keeping of the ancient Near East, and recommended in Aeschylus F 281a (the 'Dikê fragment'): cf. M. L. West, *The East Face of Helicon* (Oxford, 1997), 561–2.

² Justice, then, is not an anthropomorphic deity who roams the world and reports human wrongs to Zeus (Hesiod, *Works and Days* 220–4), but a matter for human comprehension and judgement. This assertion is usually ascribed to Melanippe's rationalistic discourse in *Mel. Wise*; Wilamowitz preferred Hippo correcting Aeolus at the end of that play.

507

Why do you not let those who have died be dead? Why do you gather up griefs that are already spilled?¹

¹ Usually ascribed to someone consoling Melanippe (thinking her sons long dead) in *Mel. Captive*; cf. *Alexander* F 46.5.

EURIPIDES

508

παλαιὸς αἶνος· ἔργα μὲν νεωτέρων,
βουλαὶ δ' ἔχουσι τῶν γεραιτέρων κράτος.

Stobaeus 4.50.12

509

τί δ' ἄλλο; φωνὴ καὶ σκιὰ γέρων ἀνήρ.

Stobaeus 4.50.57

510

παπαῖ, νέος καὶ σκαιὸς οἶός ἐστ' ἀνήρ.

Stob. 4.11.7

511

δοῦλον γὰρ ἐσθλὸν τοῦνομ' οὐ διαφθερεῖ,
πολλοὶ δ' ἀμείνους εἰσὶ τῶν ἐλευθέρων.

Stobaeus 4.19.38; P. Berlin 21144.6-7 (a few letters in each line)

512

ἀργὸς πολίτης κείνος, ὡς κακός γ' ἀνήρ.

Stobaeus 3.30.11

513

ἀλάστορας < > οὐκ ἐτόλμησεν κτανεῖν.

Erotian α 47

MELANIPPE WISE or CAPTIVE

508

It's an old saying: the young are strong in action, but the old are strong in counsel.¹

¹ Similarly *Bellerophon* F 291, *Peleus* F 619; cf. Homer, *Iliad* 4.323-5. This and F 509-10 may be from a dispute between Aeolus and Hellen (see also F 500).

509

What else? An old man is but voice and shadow.¹

¹ Cf. *Aeolus* F 25 with note.

510

Whew, what a young, gauche kind of man he is!

511

The name of slave will not corrupt one who is good; many slaves are better men than those who are free.¹

¹ Probably from *Melanippe Captive*: cf. F 495.40-3 above, with note.

512

That man is a useless citizen, for he is a worthless man.¹

¹ Cf. *Antiope* F 187.

513

He did not dare to kill murderers.¹

¹ Erotian (or his source) gives the sense here as 'murderers', but the reference may have been to suppliants seeking refuge after committing a murder, like Orestes in Aeschylus, *Eumenides* 236.

MELEAGER

H. Van Looy in ed. Budé VIII.2.397–425.

Webster 233–6, 306; Trendall–Webster III.3.37–40;
LIMC I.i.578–80 ‘Althaia’, II.i.940–50 ‘Atalante’,
VI.i.414–35 ‘Meleagros’; Gantz 328–39; P. Grossardt, *Die
Erzählung von Meleagros* (Leiden, 2001), 88–95.

The play concerned the ancient story of the hero Meleager and his death following the hunt for the Calydonian boar. He was a son of king Oeneus of Calydon in Aetolia (the subject of Oeneus) and his niece Althaea, or of Althaea and the god Ares (see on test. iiiia below). Oeneus insulted Artemis by failing to recognize her in his harvest sacrifices; Artemis retaliated by sending a monstrous boar to ravage his lands, and Meleager assembled a band of heroes to confront and kill the boar; a quarrel ensued over the awarding of the boar's hide as a trophy, in which Meleager killed his mother's brothers, the sons of Thestius; and Althaea, valuing her birth family over her marriage family, avenged them by bringing about her son's death. The oldest extant version of this story in Homer's Iliad (9.529–605) is heavily adapted to suit the circumstances of Achilles' withdrawal from the fighting at Troy and Phoenix's attempt to persuade him to relent: thus Althaea curses Meleager after he has killed her brothers in battle, Meleager withdraws from

EURIPIDES

the fighting in anger at the curse, and relents (persuaded by his wife Cleopatra) only when he must do so in order to save his besieged city and home. His death resulting from the curse is implied, and other epics ([Hesiod] F 25.9–13 and the Minyas: cf. Pausanias 10.31.2) seem to have followed the logic of this account by having him killed in battle by Apollo (who also had a hand in killing Achilles). But in an alternative account Althaea was told by the Fates at Meleager's birth that he would live as long as a log that they placed on the hearth; she retrieved and stored the log, but returned it to the fire when she resolved to kill her son. This may well be an older version of the story, though first attested only in the 5th century (Phrynichus' Women of Pleuron F 6, Aeschylus' Libation Bearers 602–12, and especially Bacchylides 5.93–154, possibly anticipated in Stesichorus' mid-6th c. Boar Hunters).

By the early 6th century, if not long before, the boar hunters included the Arcadian Atalanta, a devotee of Artemis. A common feature in later accounts (e.g. Ovid, Metamorphoses 8.270–525, Diodorus 4.34, Apollodorus 1.8.2–3, Hyginus, Fab. 174) is that Meleager loved Atalanta and, on being awarded the boar's hide after killing it, insisted on passing it to her because she had been the first to wound it; his uncles then seized the hide for themselves, claiming precedence as his nearest kin, and thus provoked the quarrel that led to their deaths. Euripides seems to have popularized, if not invented, this scenario, and the fragments show strong signs of it.

The play will have been set at Oeneus' palace in Calydon, with probably a chorus of Althaea's friends or servants. F 515–6 are alternative openings for the prologue speech (see notes to these), and test. iiiia (below) and

MELEAGER

F 517 are best connected with it also (see note on F 517). F 518 and 519 suggest an early scene in which Meleager overrules his mother's fears about his attempting the hunt. F 520–8 contain arguments on the familiar Euripidean themes of sex, marriage, heredity and women's social roles: probably Meleager proclaims his admiration for Atalanta (F 520, 526–7), Althaea attacks her unwomanly conduct (F 521–2), Atalanta insists on her virginal way of life (F 524–5), and Althaea condemns her eloquence (F 528). A lengthy three-way debate seems likely, but its exact context and shape cannot be determined. Presumably the hunters had gathered at Calydon, but it seems unlikely that others had roles in the play or that (for example) the Arcadians Cepheus and Ancaeus spoke against Atalanta as in Apollodorus (cf. Grossardt 89). F 530–531a belong to a report of the hunt itself, probably delivered to Oeneus; the quarrel and killing of the Thestiads must have been reported here, or in a subsequent speech if success and disaster were separated as in the report speeches of Phoenician Women (for a comparable report see Melanippe Captive F 495; less likely is Webster's suggestion that Meleager returned triumphant to the palace and debated his attachment to Atalanta with his mother between the hunt and the conflict over the hide). After this came very probably scenes of Althaea making her fatal decision (see below on Accius), her suicide announced (perhaps by the old woman—her Nurse?—who speaks F 533), the dying Meleager returning and expiring (F 535; similarities with Hippolytus), and a god passing judgment on the events and predicting the family's future (F 537). The remaining fragments cannot be placed with any precision, but F 536 clearly belongs near the end; see also the notes on F 528a, 532, 534. Apollodorus' report

EURIPIDES

that *Meleager* was married to *Cleopatra* but wanted to have a child by *Atalanta* is sometimes attributed to Euripides but is surely due to later mythographic syncretism (the merging of related stories with each other). The prediction in F 537 of the death of *Tydeus*, *Oeneus*' younger son (usually by a second wife: see Introduction to *Oeneus*), need not suggest that he had a part in the play, and his appearance in the Apulian vase painting of *Meleager*'s death (see below) may again be due to syncretism.

Brief fragments: F 538 'gods facing the sun' (i.e. outdoor images); F 539 'he consecrated (for sacrifice)'. Other ascriptions: F 971; adesp. F 188 'O Zeus, grant that I may strike down the boar'; adesp. F 632 (damaged papyrus text mentioning a beast's hide and *Atalanta* = Page, GLP no. 27). See also on adesp. F 625 under *Oeneus*, other ascriptions.

Accius' Latin *Meleager* (2nd c. B.C.) may well have followed Euripides. Its brief fragments feature the ravages and the hunting of the boar (frs. 1, 3-5 Dangel), perhaps *Atalanta* criticizing marriage (fr. 2), *Meleager* making and justifying his award to *Atalanta* (probably reported: frs. 6, 8), *Althaea* hearing of her brothers' deaths and deciding to burn the log (frs. 10-13), *Meleager*'s slow death (frs. 14-16), and perhaps *Althaea* deciding that she must kill herself (fr. 7). Frs. 11-13 show *Althaea*, like *Medea*, reaching her fatal decision in an emotionally conflicted speech, as she does also in Ovid; Euripides' play may have been a model for both.

A date not earlier than 418, and probably some years later, is suggested by the 'free' style of metrical resolutions in the trimeter fragments, the trochaic tetrameter in F 536, and the quotations from *Meleager* in *Aristophanes*'

MELEAGER

Frogs of 405 B.C. (F 516, 528a, 531). Sophocles' Meleager (F 401-6) was probably earlier, and a Scholion on Iliad 9.575 implies that it was based on the Homeric account (it may have included the suicide of Cleopatra as well as Althaea, as in Apollodorus). Phrynichus' Women of Pleuron (above) seems to have concerned events later than Althaea's death, and Aeschylus' Atalanta (no fragments) may have been about the heroine's famous running race against her suitor Hippomenes. Fourth-century tragedies by Antiphon (F 1b-2) and Sosiphanes (F 1) are almost wholly lost, as are comedies by Philetaerus, Antiphanes and others. On Accius and Ovid see above. In art, Meleager's love for Atalanta is first suggested in four vases by the Meleager Painter (early 4th c., LIMC 'Meleager' nos. 37-40: cf. Trendall-Webster III.3.37-8, Todisco A 74), perhaps inspired by Euripides. Two later 4th c. Apulian vases show him presenting her with the hide (LIMC no. 41 = Trendall-Webster III.3.39, Todisco Ap 171a) and his death (LIMC no. 42 = Trendall-Webster III.3.40, Todisco Ap 106, Taplin no. 69); these have tragic features but need not reflect Euripides exactly (see above on Tydeus). The story as a whole was much exploited in Greek, Etruscan and Roman art, and again in literature, art and music since the Renaissance (OGCMA II.653-8).

ΜΕΛΕΑΓΡΟΣ

test. iia

Ἄρης Ἀλθαία συνῆλθε καὶ Μελέαγρον ποιήσας <
>, ὡς Εὐριπίδης ἐν Μελεάγρω,

[Plutarch], *Moralia* 312a

515

Καλυδῶν μὲν ἦδε γαῖα, Πελοπίας χθονὸς
ἐν ἀντιπόρθμοις πεδί' ἔχουσ' εὐδαίμονα·
Οἰνεὺς δ' ἀνάσσει τῆσδε γῆς Αἰτωλίας,
Πορθάονος παῖς, ὅς ποτ' Ἀλθαίαν γαμεί,
5 Λήδας ὄμαιμον, Θεστίου δὲ παρθένον.

Aristotle, *Rhetoric* 1409b8, with anonymous commentary
ed. H. Rabe, *CAG* XXI.2, pp. 195.27ff. and 197.3ff.; vv. 1–2:
Praxiphanes fr. 13 Wehrli, Lucian 17.25; v. 1: Schol. on Aris-
tophanes, *Frogs* 1238

MELEAGER

test. iiii

Ares: lay with Althaea, and after begetting Meleager < >, as Euripides (says) in *Meleager*.¹

¹ For Ares as Meleager's true father cf. Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 8.437, Apollodorus 1.8.2, Hyginus, *Fab.* 171.

515

This land is Calydon; its prosperous plains lie across the strait from Pelops' country. Oeneus rules over this Aetolian land, Porthaon's son, who in bygone days married Althaea, Leda's sister and daughter of Thestius.¹

¹ Althaea's mother was her husband's half-sister. The scholia on Aristophanes, *Frogs* 1238 indicate that in the text known to Alexandrian scholars these were the opening lines of the play and F 516 followed several lines later. But in *Frogs* itself F 516 is quoted as the opening of the play (see below). Fritzsche's suggestion that F 515 was added to the text for a revival of the play so as to mitigate the comic effect of the original opening is accepted by Kannicht; against this see e.g. Scullion 2006 (see bibliography for *Archelaus*), 192. Euripides or a later reviser may simply have provided a more elaborate and informative prologue for the text that went into general circulation.

EURIPIDES

516

Οἰνεύς ποτ' ἐκ γῆς πολύμετρον λαβὼν στάχυν
θύων ἀπαρχὰς . . .

Aristophanes, *Frogs* 1240–1 with Schol.

517

Μελέαγρε, μελέαν γάρ ποτ' ἀγρεύεις ἄγραν . . .

Etymologicum Magnum p. 576.30 Gaisford; cf. Proclus, *Commentary on Plato's Cratylus* 85

518

<ΜΕΛΕΑΓΡΟΣ>

καὶ κτῆμα δ', ᾧ τεκούσα, κάλλιστον τόδε,
πλούτου δὲ κρείσσον· τοῦ μὲν ὠκεία πτέρυξ,
παῖδες δὲ χρηστοί, κὰν θάνωσι, δώμασιν
καλόν τι θησαύρισμα τοῖς τεκούσιν τε
5 ἀνάθημα βιώτου, κοῦποτ' ἐκλείπει δόμους.

Stobaeus 4.24.2

519

<ΜΕΛΕΑΓΡΟΣ?>

δειλοὶ γὰρ ἄνδρες οὐκ ἔχουσιν ἐν μάχῃ
ἀριθμόν, ἀλλ' ἄπεισι κὰν παρῶσ' ὅμως.

Stobaeus 3.8.3

MELEAGER

516

Oeneus once took an abundant harvest from the land, and in sacrificing the first fruits . . .

¹ This is one of the Euripidean prologue openings subverted by Aristophanes in *Frogs* 1198ff. with the conclusion 'lost his little oil jar': cf. *Stheneboea* F 661, *Hypsipyle* F 752, *Phrixus* B F 819, and F 846 (ascribed to *Archelaus* in the Aristophanic scholia); and see on F 515 above. The original text must have referred to Oeneus' failure to sacrifice to Artemis.

517

Meleager—malign indeed is the chase you've chosen . . .¹

¹ The translation attempts to reflect the Greek text's double etymological play on the name Meleager (*mele-* 'wretched, ill-fated', *agr-* 'chase, hunt'). The Greek present-tense verb is probably 'prophetic' (lit. 'the hunt you (will) hunt') and spoken by a god (Artemis?) in the prologue speech.

518

<MELEAGER>

Moreover, mother, this is a very fine possession, more valuable than wealth; for wealth flies quickly away, but good sons, even if they die, are a glorious treasure for their family and an ornament to their parents' lives, and this never leaves their house.¹

¹ Meleager consoles his mother for his possible death in the boar hunt: cf. *Erechtheus* F 360.28–37, *Temenidae* F 734, and for the actual loss of sons in battle, Thucydides 2.44.4.

519

<MELEAGER?>

Men who are cowards count for nothing in battle; even if present, they are absent none the less.

EURIPIDES

520

<ΜΕΛΕΑΓΡΟΣ?>

ἡγησάμην οὖν, εἰ παραζεύξειέ τις
 χρηστῶ πονηρὸν λέκτρον, οὐκ ἂν εὐτεκνεῖν,
 ἐσθλοῖν δ' ἀπ' ἀμφοῖν ἐσθλὸν ἂν φῦναι γόνον.

Stobaeus 4.22.131

521

<ΑΛΘΑΙΑ?>

ἔνδον μένουσαν τὴν γυναῖκ' εἶναι χρεῶν
 ἐσθλήν, θύρασι δ' ἀξίαν τοῦ μηδενός.

Stobaeus 4.23.12

522

<ΑΛΘΑΙΑ?>

εἰ κερκίδων μὲν ἀνδράσιν μέλοι πόνος,
 γυναιξὶ δ' ὄπλων ἐμπέσοιεν ἡδοναί·
 ἐκ τῆς ἐπιστήμης γὰρ ἐκπεπτωκότες
 κείνοί τ' ἂν οὐδὲν εἶεν οὔθ' ἡμεῖς ἔτι.

Stobaeus 4.22.188

4 ἡμεῖς Stob. ms. Voss. and most editors: ὑμεῖς Stob. mss.
 SMA

(523 N = 528a below)

MELEAGER

520

<MELEAGER?>

So I reckoned, if one joined an inferior spouse with a man of worth, one would not get good children—but if both were good, their offspring would be good also.¹

¹ Moral character inherited: cf. F 527 below, and on *Alcmeon in Corinth* F 75.

521

<ALTHAEA?>

A wife who stays at home is certain to be a good one, and one who spends time out of doors is certain to be worthless.¹

¹ A widespread prejudice in Greek society, e.g. F 927, *Children of Heracles* 474–7, *Trojan Women* 647–50; Xenophon, *Oeconomicus* 7.30.

522

<ALTHAEA?>

... if men concerned themselves with the labour of weaving, and women were overcome by the joys of armed fighting; cast out from their proper sphere of knowledge, they would be good for nothing, and so would we.¹

¹ 'We' is more likely than 'You' (as in the main mss. of Stobaeus) and suits the attribution to Althaea. For the notion of male-female role reversals cf. Herodotus 2.35, Sophocles, *Oedipus at Colonus* 337–45.

(523 N = 528a below)

EURIPIDES

524

<ΑΤΑΛΑΝΤΗ?>

ἡ γὰρ Κύπρις πέφυκε τῷ σκότῳ φίλη,
τὸ φῶς δ' ἀνάγκην προστίθησι σωφρονεῖν.

Stobaeus 4.20.50

525

<ΑΤΑΛΑΝΤΗ>

εἰ δ' εἰς γάμους ἔλθοιμ'—ὃ μὴ τύχοι ποτέ—
τῶν ἐν δόμοισιν ἡμερευουσῶν ἀεὶ
βελτίον' ἂν τέκοιμι σώμασιν τέκνα·
ἐκ γὰρ πατρὸς καὶ μητρὸς ὅστις ἐκπονεῖ
5 σκληρὰς διαίτας οἱ γόνοι βελτίονες.

Stobaeus 4.22.96; vv. 4–5; Stobaeus 2.31.21; Clement of Alexandria, *Miscellanies* 6.2.9.1

3 σώμασιν Musgrave: δώματι Stob. 4 ὅστις ἐκπονεῖ
Stob.: ἐκπονουμένων Clem.

526

<ΜΕΛΕΑΓΡΟΣ?>

τό τοι κράτιστον, †κἂν γυνὴ κράτιστον ἦ, †
τοῦτ' ἔστω > ἀρετή· τὸ δ' ὄνομ' τοῦ διαφέρει. †

Orion 7.1 Haffner

1 κἂν γονῆ (Conington) κακός τις ἦ Gomperz: κἂν γένος
κάκιστον ἦ Collard 2 οὐ διαφθερεῖ Meineke and others

MELEAGER

524

<ATALANTA?>

Cypris is fond of darkness, while daylight imposes a need for modest behaviour.

525

<ATALANTA>

And if I embarked on marriage—which I hope may never happen!—I would bear physically stronger children than women who spend all their days at home. A father and mother who toil at strenuous activities will have children who are stronger.

526

<MELEAGER?>

The most important thing, †even if a woman is the most important thing, † is excellence; the name †makes no difference. †¹

¹ Text confused; the sense may have been that a woman's excellence (such as Atalanta's) should not be dismissed merely because she is a woman (but the point becomes different with Gomperz's 'even if a person is low in birth', or Collard's 'even if one's birth is very low'). In v. 2 the Greek 'makes no difference' is unmetrical, and Meineke's 'will not destroy it (i.e. its possessor's excellence)' may be correct: for such phrasing cf. *Eurystheus* F 377, *Melanippe* F 511.

EURIPIDES

527

<ΜΕΛΕΑΓΡΟΣ?>

μόνον δ' ἂν αὐτὰ χρημάτων οὐκ ἂν λάβοις,
 γενναιότητα κἀρετήν· καλὸς δέ τις
 κἂν ἐκ πονηρῶν σωμάτων γένοιτο παῖς.

Stobaeus 4.29.31

528

<ΑΛΘΑΙΑ?>

μισῶ γυναῖκα <πάσαν>—ἐκ πασῶν δὲ σέ—
 ἦτις πονηρὰ τᾶργ' ἔχουσ' <εἶτ'> εὖ λέγει.

Stobaeus 4.22.190

1 <πάσαν> Nauck 2 <εἶτ'> Dobree λέγει, and punc-
 tuation in v. 1 as printed, West: λέγεις Stob.

528a (= 523 N)

κερκίδος ἀοιδοῦ μελέτας

Aristophanes, *Frogs* 1316 with Schol.

529

ὥς ἦδὺ δούλοις δεσπότας χρηστοὺς λαβεῖν,
 καὶ δεσπότησι δούλον εὐμενῆ δόμοις.

Stobaeus 4.19.3; ascribed to Philemon in P. Schu-
 bart 28 (= [Menander], *Monostichs* Pap. XIX Jaekel), 9–11;
 v. 1 ~ [Menander], *Monostichs* 858 Jaekel

MELEAGER

527

<MELEAGER?>

They are the only things you cannot get for money—nobility and virtue; whereas a handsome son can be produced from bodies that are inferior.¹

¹ The argument is rhetorically compressed: nobility and virtue cannot be acquired through wealth, nor can they be inherited from inferior parents (as handsomeness can); thus only noble and virtuous parents can produce noble and virtuous children: cf. F 520 with note.

528

<ALTHAEA?>

I detest every woman—and you above all of them—who has done wicked deeds and then defends them with fine words.¹

¹ Cf. *Palamedes* F 583. West's reading and punctuation improve on Stobaeus' 'I detest every woman, and especially you whose actions are wicked, etc.'

528a (= 523 N)

. . . work of the singing shuttle . . . ¹

¹ Included by the Aristophanic Aeschylus in his pastiche of Euripidean lyric, *Frogs* 1309–22. The shuttle's 'song' is the twanging sound made as a weaver passes it through the warp-threads of a loom.

529

How pleasing it is for slaves to have good masters, and for masters a slave who is friendly to their family.

EURIPIDES

530

< ΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ >

Τελαμών δὲ χρυσοῦν αἰετὸν πέλτης ἔπι
 πρόβλημα θηρός, βότρυσι δ' ἔστεψεν κάρα,
 Σαλαμίνα κοσμῶν πατρίδα τὴν εὐάμπελον·
 Κύπριδος δὲ μίσσημ', Ἄρκας Ἀταλάντη, κύνας
 5 καὶ τόξ' ἔχουσα· πελέκεως δὲ δίστομον
 γένυν ἔπαλλ' Ἄγκαϊος· οἱ δὲ Θεοστίου
 παῖδες τὸ λαιὸν ἵχνος ἀνάρβυλοι ποδός,
 τὸ δ' ἐν πεδίλοις, ὡς ἐλαφρίζον γόνυ
 ἔχουεν, ὅς δὴ πᾶσιν Αἰτωλοῖς νόμος.

Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 5.18.17 (vv. 7-9 τὸ λαιὸν . . . ἔχουεν = Aristotle fr. 74 Rose)

531 + 531a

< ΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ >

531 σιδηροβριθῆς τ' ἔλαβε δεξιᾷ ξύλον . . .
 (a line intervening?)
 531a . . . δίμορφον ὤλεσεν Μίνω γόνον.

F 531: Aristophanes, *Frogs* 1402 with Schol. F 531a: Photius, *Lexicon* δ 389 Theodoridis

532

τοὺς ζῶντας εὖ δρᾶν· καθανῶν δὲ πᾶς ἀνήρ
 γῆ καὶ σκιά· τὸ μηδὲν εἰς οὐδὲν ῥέπει.

Stobaeus 4.34.4 and 4.53.25

MELEAGER

530

<MESSENGER>

... and Telamon (having) on his shield a golden eagle to confront the boar—he had wreathed his head with grapes to honour his homeland of Salamis with its fine vines; and Cypris' bugbear, Arcadian Atalanta, with hounds and bow, and Ancaeus brandishing his double-bladed axe, and Thestius' sons, each with his left foot unshod while the other was sandalled, so the knee should carry less weight, as is the custom for all the Aetolians.¹

¹ All these figures were traditionally amongst the hunters of the Calydonian boar. Telamon of Salamis was the father of Ajax. Ancaeus was traditionally one of the boar's victims. For the sons of Thestius see Introduction above. Aristotle fr. 74 (cited by Macrobius, the source of our fragment) contradicted Euripides by asserting that the Aetolians kept the right foot bare, not the left.

531 + 531a

<MESSENGER>

He took in his right hand the iron-weighted club ... (with which?) he had killed the hybrid son of Minos.¹

¹ F 531 and 531a could be adjacent lines. Theseus killed the Minotaur with the club taken from the giant Periphetes whom he killed at Epidaurus on his journey from Troezen to Athens.

532

Do good to the living—once dead, every man is earth and shadow; what is nothing counts for nothing.¹

¹ Possibly from the same speech as F 533.

EURIPIDES

533

τερπνὸν τὸ φῶς τόδ', ὃ δ' ὑπὸ γῆς Ἄιδου σκότος
οὐδ' εἰς ὄνειρον ἠδὺς ἀνθρώποις μολεῖν·
ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν γεγῶσα τηλικήδ' ὅμως
ἀπέπτυσ' αὐτὸ κοῦποτ' εὐχομαι θανεῖν.

Stobaeus 4.52.13

1 so Nauck (γῆς Osann): τερπνὸν τὸ φῶς μοι τόδ' ὑπὸ γῆν
δι' Ἄιδου σκότος Stob. (τὸ δ' ὑπὸ γῆν Ἄιδου σκότος Grotius)
2 ἠδὺς ἀνθρώποις Nauck: οὐδ' εἰς ἀνθρώπους Stob.

534

τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἐν φῶ, τὸ δὲ κατὰ σκότον κακόν.

Etymologicum Genuinum mss. AB, 'φῶ' (= *Etym. Magnum*
p. 803.45 Gaisford)

535

<ΜΕΛΕΑΓΡΟΣ?>

ὀρᾶς σὺ νῦν δὴ μ' ὡς ἐπράυνας, Τύχη.

Photius, *Lexicon* 'νυνδῆ' (I.451.18 Naber) = Suda ν 603

536

φεῦ, τὰ τῶν εὐδαιμονούντων ὡς ταχὺ στρέφει θεός.

Stobaeus 4.41.46

537

εἰς ἀνδροβρώτας ἠδονὰς ἀφίξεται
κάρηνα πυρσαῖς γένυσι Μελαλίππου σπάσας.

Schol. on Pindar, *Nemean* 10.7 (10.12b Drachmann)

MELEAGER

533

This light of day is a joy, but the darkness of Hades beneath the earth is unpleasant for mortals to enter even in their dreams. Old as I am, I spurn it and I pray that I may never die.¹

¹ In vv. 1–2 Stobaeus' text is unmetrical and gives confused sense; for the thought cf. *Iphigenia at Aulis* 1250–2. The wording in v. 3 makes it clear that the speaker is female, perhaps Althaea's nurse reacting to her suicide.

534

For the one evil is in daylight, the other in darkness.¹

¹ Less likely, 'For the one is in daylight, while the other is an evil in darkness'. The point might be connected with either F 533 or F 524.

535

<MELEAGER?>

You see how you have just now tamed me, Fortune!

536

Ah, how quickly God upsets the fortunes of the prosperous!

537

He will come to cannibal pleasures and tear the head of Melanippus with gore-red jaws.¹

¹ Tydeus ate the brains of Melanippus after killing him in the assault of the Seven on Thebes, and so was deprived of his chance of immortality by Athena. The prediction will have come from a god (Athena herself?) at the end of the play (see Introduction).

INDEX

Both names and references are included. Play-titles or their obvious abbreviations refer to the introductions and/or testimonia for a play; references in the form '(t. ii)' are to a specific testimonium. Numbers refer to fragments; double numbers (370.3) indicate verses within the longer fragments. Fragments placed out of numerical sequence or listed as 'brief' in a play-introduction are accompanied by the name of the play to which they belong, e.g.: 1132 (*Danae*); 514 (*Mel. W.* brief).

- Abas: 228a.5
 Achelous: *Alcm. Ps.*
 Acrisius: *Danae*; 228a.8; 316;
 1132 (*Danae*)
 Acropolis of Athens: 370.3;
 481.10
 Adonis: 514 (*Mel. W.* brief)
 Aegeae, in Macedonia: *Arch.*
 Aegeus: *Aegeus*; 386b.10
 Aegisthus: *Thyestes*?
 Aeolia: 481.3-6
 Aeolian Isles: *Aeolus*; *Mel. C.*
 Aeolus, ruler of Aeolian Isles:
Aeolus; 13a-41
 Aeolus, son of Hellen: *Mel. W.*;
 481.2, 14; 485; 500?; 510?
 Aeolus, son of Melanippe:
Mel. W.; *Mel. C.*; 489; 495
 Aerope: *Thyestes*; *Cret. W.*;
 466
 Aethēr. *See* Heaven
 Aetolia, Aetolians: *Cresph.* (t.
 ii); *Meleager*; 515; 530
 Agamemnon: *Cret. W.*
 Aidōs (Shame): 436
 Alcaeus: 228a.13
 Alcmena: *Alcmene*; *Licymn.*;
 87b; 88a; 228a.14, 15
 Alcmeon: *Alcm. Ps.*; *Alcm. C.*;
 65-87
 Aleus: *Auge*; 268
 Alexander (Paris): *Alex.*; 41a-62i
 Alope: *Alope*; 106-111
 Alphisiboea. *See* Arsinoe
 Althaea: *Meleager*; 515; 518;
 521-522?; 528?
 Amphiarus: *Alcm. Ps.*
 Amphilocheus: *Alcm. C.*; 73a; 75
 Amphion: *Antiope*; 179-223
 Amphitryon: *Alcmene*; *Licymn.*;
 87b; 89
 Ancaeus: *Meleager*; 530

INDEX

- Andromeda: *Andromeda*;
Danae; 114-145; 228a.11
 Antaeus: *Busiris*
 Antenor: *Alcmene*?
 Anticlea: *Autolycus*
 Antigone: *Antigone*; 161; 166?
 Antiope: *Antiope*; 179-223
 Aphrodite: 26; 472c?. *See also*
 Cypris
 Apollo: *Alcm. C.*; *Arch.*; 73a;
 190; 245; 472b.3-7; 477. *See*
 also Loxias; *Paian*; *Phoebus*
 Arcadia: *Auge*; 530
 Archelaus: *Arch.*; 228-264
 Ares: *Meleager* (t. iiiia); 223.82,
 112
 Argeus: *Licymn.*
 Argos, Amphilochian: *Alcm. C.*
 Argos, Argives: *Alcm. Ps.*;
 Alcm. C.; *Andromeda*; *Arch.*;
 Bell.; *Danae*; *Cret. W.*; 70; 124;
 228; 228a.13, 18; 305; 1132.5,
 23 (*Danae*)
 Ariadne: *Theseus*; 387?
 Aristomachus: *Cresph.* (t. ii)
 Arsinoe (or Alpheisiboea):
 Alcm. Ps.; 72
 Artemis: *Hipp. V.*; *Mel. W.* (t. vb);
 Meleager; 472b.8; 516
 Asopus, R.: 223.55; 481.3
 Asterius: *Cretans* (t. iiiia)
 Atalanta: *Meleager*; 524; 525;
 530
 Athamas: *Ino*; 399; 421?
 Athena: *Aeolus*?; *Andromeda* (t.
 iiiia (a)); *Erech.*; *Theseus*;
 1132.hyp. (*Danae*); 351;
 360.49; 369.4; 370.55-118;
 388?; 537. *See also Pallas*
 Athena Alea: *Auge*; 264a; 266
 Athena Polias: 370.94-96
 Athens: *Aegeus*; *Alope*; *Erech.*;
 Theseus; 360.5-12, 50-55;
 481.9. *See also Cecropia*
 Atlantic Ocean: 145
 Atreus: *Thyestes*; *Cret. W.*; 396;
 397b; 465
 Attica: *Erech.*
 Auge: *Auge*; 266; 271-271b
 Autolycus: *Autolycus*
 Bacchus (title of *Dionysus*): 477
 Bellerophon: *Bell.*; 285-312
 Boeotia: *Antiope*; *Mel. W.*;
 481.3-6
 Boeotus: *Mel. W.*; *Mel. C.*; 489;
 495; 498?
 Busiris: *Busiris*
 Cadmus: [*Cadmus*]; 223.55, 79,
 86, 99, 108
 Callirhoe: *Alcm. Ps.*
 Calydon: *Meleager*; 515
 Calydonian Boar: *Meleager*
 Canace: *Aeolus*
 Capaneus: 159
 Cassandra: *Alex.*; 46.11?; 62f-h
 Cassiopeia: *Andromeda*; 141?
 Catreus: *Cret. W.*; 465?; 466
 Cecropia, *Cecrops' land* (= *Attica*): 481.10
 Cecrops, younger: *Erech.*?
 Centaurs: *Ixion*
 Cepheus: *Andromeda*; 120;
 138a?; 141?; 228a.11
 Cephisus: *Erech.* (t. ii); 370.63
 Cerberus: *Eurysth.*
 Cercyon: *Alope*; 109-111

INDEX

- Cetus. *See* Sea monster
 Chalybeans: 472.6
 Chione: *Erech.* (t. ii); 349
 Chiron: *Mel.W.*; 481.13
 Cisseus: *Arch.*; 229–230; 231; 263?
 Cithaeron, Mt.: *Antiope*
 Clymene: *Cret.W.*; 466
 Cocalus: *Cretans* (t. iia)
 Corinth: *Alcm.C.*; *Bell.*; 74
 Corycian mountain: 481.19
 Creon, of Corinth: *Alcm.C.*; 75; 76
 Creon, of Thebes: *Antigone*; 171; 172
 Cresphontes, father: *Cresph.*; 448a.17–24, 71–2, 78; 451
 Cresphontes, son: *Cresph.*; 448a; 450; 453
 Crete, Cretans: *Theseus*; *Cret.W.*; *Cretans*; 381; 471a; 472.3; 472c; 472f
 Cretheus: *Mel.W.*?
 Creusa: 481.9–11
 Curetes: 472.14
 Cypris (title of Aphrodite): 162; 324; 331; 340; 388; 428; 524; 530. *See also* Aphrodite
- Daedalus: *Cretans*; *Theseus*; 372; 988 (*Cretans*)
 Danaans: 228
 Danae: *Danae*; *Dictys*; 228a.8, 9; 323; 1132 (*Danae*); 332; 342
 Danaids: 228
 Danaus: 228
 Deio (Demeter): 370.34, 109
 Deiphobus: *Alex.*; 62a, b, d
- Delphi, Delphic oracle:
Alcm.Ps.; *Erech.*; 1132.7
 (*Danae*); 472b?
 Demeter: 370.102. *See also* Deio
 Dictys: *Dictys*; 332; 342
 Dione: 177; 228a.22
 Dionysus: *Antigone*; *Antiope*; *Ino*; *Theseus*; 175 (*Antiope*); 177; 178; 179; 203. *See also* Bacchus; Zagreus
 Dirce: *Antiope*; 175 (*Antiope*); 221; 223.6, 60–64, 80–85, 111–115
 Discord (Stasis): 453.20
 Dodona: 228a.20; 367; 494.15
- Earth (Gaia; Gē): 24b; 61b; 86; 154; 182a; 195; 223.94; 316; 370.45; 415; 953f.12 (*Hipp.V.*); [448]; 1004 (*Cretans*); 484; 533
 Echinades, isles: *Alcmene*; 87b
 Echo: *Andromeda*; 114; 118
 Egypt: *Busiris*; 228n
 Electryon: *Alcmene*; *Licymn.*; 89; 228a.15
 Eleusis: *Alope*; *Erech.*
 Eleutheræ: *Antiope*; 179; 175 (*Antiope*)
 Enipeus, R.: 14
 Epeus: *Epeus*
 Epigoni: *Alcm.Ps.*
 Epopeus: *Antiope*
 Erechtheids: *Erech.*; 358; 360; 370.65–89
 Erechtheum: 370.90–91
 Erechtheus: *Erech.*; 349–370; 481.10

INDEX

- Erinyes. *See* Furies
 Eriphyle: *Alcm.Ps.*; 71
 Eros (Love): *Cretans* (introd. n.); 136; 269; 430
 Eteocles: *Antigone*
 Ethiopia, Ethiopians:
 Andromeda; 147; 228;
 228a.11; 349
 Eumolpus: *Erech.*; 360.48;
 370.15?, 100
 Europa: 472.1
 Europe: 381
 Eurystheus: *Eurysth.*; 89
- Fame (Eukleia): 474
 Fates (Moirae): *Meleager*;
 494.18
 Fortune (Tyche): 535
 Furies (Erinyes): *Alcm.Ps.*
- Gaia; Gē. *See* Earth
 Glaucetes: 122
 Glaucus, son of Bellerophon:
 Bell.?
- Gorgon: *Andromeda*; *Danae*;
 Dictys; 124; 228a.10; 351;
 360.46
 Greece, Greeks: 282.1, 13, 25;
 370.73; 494.17; 1132.5, 26
 (*Danae*). *See also* Hellas;
 Danaans
- Hades: *Eurysth.*; 77 (*Alcm.Cor.*
 brief); 120; 332; 370.71; 371;
 448a.57; 465; 533
 Haemon: *Antigone*; 161–167
 Harmonia, necklace of:
 Alcm.Ps.; 70; 79
- Heaven, Sky (Aethēr; Olympus;
 Ouranos): 114; 124; 182a;
 223.11; 228a.4; 286.1; 308;
 309a; 330; 370.72, 99; 443;
 [448]; 1004 (*Cretans*); 484;
 487; 506
 Hector: *Alex.*; 62a, b
 Hecuba: *Alex.*; 45; 46; 62; 62b–
 d; 62h
 Helicon, Mt.: *Mel.W.* (t. vb)
 Hellas: 228. *See also* Greece
 Hellen: *Mel.W.*; 481.2, 7; 500?;
 509?
 Helloi or Selloi: 367
 Hera: *Ino*; *Ixion*; *Lamia*; 89
 Heracles: *Alcmene*; *Auge*; *Arch.*;
 Busiris; *Eurysth.*; *Licymn.*;
 89; 175 (*Antiope*); 228a.16,
 18, 23; 260?; 268; 272–272b;
 371; 373; 379a; 450; 473?
 Heraclidae: *Cresph.*; 448a.16
 Hermes: *Alcmene*; *Antiope*;
 Autolycus A and B; *Danae*;
 24a; 190; 223.67–116; 1132
 (*Danae*); 370.113
 Hippo or Hippē: *Mel.W.*;
 481.13–22; 483; 484
 Hippocrene: *Mel.W.* (t. vb)
 Hippodamia: *Dictys*
 Hippolytus: *Hipp.V.*; 446
 Hippothon or Hippothous:
 Alope
- Horse (constellation): *Mel.W.* (t.
 vb)
 Hyacinthids: *Erech.*; 370.73–89
 Hyades: 370.107
 Hydra, Lernaean: 373
 Hyllus: 228a.17

INDEX

- Icarian Sea: *Cretans* (t. iiii)
 Icarus: *Cretans*; 472g
 Ida, Mt.: 472.10; 472f
 Ilium. *See* Troy
 Inachus: 228
 Ino: *Ino*; 398; 399; 413
 Iobates: *Bell.*
 Ion: *Erech.*?; 481.11
 Iphicles: *Alcmene*
 Isander: *Bell.*?
 Ismenus, R.: 223.87
 Ixion: *Ixion*; 424

 Jupiter. *See* Zeus
 Justice: 151; 222; 223.57-58;
 255; 486; 506

 Kentauros: *Ixion*
 Kerykes (Heralds): 370.114

 Labyrinth: *Theseus*; *Cretans*
 Lamia: *Lamia*; 472m
 Laomedon: *Licymn.*
 Learchus: *Ino*
 Leda: 515
 Leto: 472b.3
 Leucothea (White Goddess): *Ino*
 Libya, Libyans: *Lamia*; 370.8;
 472m
 Licymnius: *Licymn.*
 Lityerses: *Theristae*?
 Love: 269. *See also* Eros; Aph-
 rodite; Cypris
 Loxias (title of Apollo): 1132.17
 (*Danae*); 455; 494.14
 Lycia: *Bell.*; 472b.2
 Lycus: *Antiope*; 223
 Lynceus: 228a.4

 Macareus: *Aeolus*; 13a-41
 Macedonia: *Arch.*
 Maeon: *Antigone*
 Maia: 223.69
 Manto: *Alcm.C.*; 73a
 Marathon, Bull of: *Aegeus*;
 386b?
 Medea: *Aegeus*
 Medusa. *See* Gorgon
 Megapenthes: *Bell.*?; 304a?
 Megara (city): *Alope*
 Melanippe: *Mel.W.*; *Mel.C.*;
 481-5; 494; 497?; 498?; 507?
 Melanippus: 537
 Meleager: *Meleager*; 517-520;
 526?; 527?; 535?
 Melicertes/Palaemon: *Ino*
 Menelaus: *Cret.W.*
 Merope, mother of
 Cresphontes: *Cresph.*;
 448a.30, 70; 451; 453.13;
 454-456; 458
 Merope, wife of Creon of Cor-
 inth: *Alcm.C.*
 Messenia: *Cresph.*; 448a.19
 Metapontium: *Mel.C.*
 Metapontus: *Mel.C.*
 Minos: *Cretans*; *Theseus*; 386c;
 472b.29-41; 472e; 472f; 988
 (*Cretans*); 531-531a
 Minotaur: *Cretans*; *Theseus*;
 472a; 472b.29-41; 531-531a
 Moirae. *See* Fates
 Mopsus: 73a
 Mountain Mother (Rhea): 472.13
 Mycenae: *Andromeda*;
 Eurysth.; *Thyestes*; 228a.14
 Mysia: *Auge*; 476

INDEX

- Nameless Goddesses: 494.18
 Nauplius: *Auge*; *Cret. W.*; 466
 Naxos: *Theseus*
 Neptune. *See* Poseidon
 Nereids: *Andromeda*; 1132.hyp.
 (*Danae*)
 Night: 114
 Nile, R.: *Busiris*; 228
 Niobe: 223.100–102; 455
 Nycteus: *Antiope*; 223.42
- Oedipus: *Antigone*; 70; 157–8
 Oeneus: *Meleager*; 515;
 516
 Oenoe: 179
 Oenomaus: *Dictys*
 Olympus. *See* Heaven
 Ouranos. *See* Heaven
- Paian (title of Apollo):
 370.5
 Palaemon. *See* Melicertes
 Pallas Athena: 360.49; 370.3
 Panactus: 12 (*Aegeus* brief)
 Panathenaea: 370.79–80?
 Pandion: 448a.82?
 Paris. *See* Alexander
 Parnassus, Mt.: *Ino*. *See also*
 Corycian mountain
 Parthenion, Mt.: *Auge*
 Parthenon: 369
 Pasiphae: *Cretans*; 472b.38–9;
 472e
 Peace: 453
 Pegasus: *Bell.*; *Mel. W.* (t. vb);
 306–309a; 312
 Pelasgians: 228
 Pelopia: *Thyestes*?
- Pelops: 515
 Peneus, R.: 481.3
 Penia. *See* Poverty
 Persephone: *Erech.* (introd. n.);
 63 (*Alex.* brief)
 Perseus: *Alcmene*; *Andromeda*;
 Danae; *Dictys*; 124–147;
 228a.12; 1132.hyp., 14
 (*Danae*); 344
 Phaedra: *Hipp. V.*; 430; 433; 434
 Phegeus: *Alcm. Ps.*; 71; 72
 Phineus: *Andromeda*
 Phlegyas: 424
 Phoebus (title of Apollo): 245;
 1132.7 (*Danae*); 494.13
 Phoenicia: 472.1
 Phrygians: 223.102
 Pirithous: *Eurysth.*
 Pisa: 14
 Pleiads: 124
 Pleisthenes: *Cret. W.*
 Polydectes: *Dictys*
 Polynices: *Alcm. Ps.*; *Antigone*;
 168?; 176
 Polyphontes: *Cresph.*; 448a.16–
 24; 452; 453.3–9
 Porthaon: 515
 Poseidon: *Alope*; *Andromeda*;
 Busiris; *Cretans*; *Dictys*;
 Erech.; *Hipp. V.* (t. iib[?]);
 Mel. W.; *Mel. C.*; 106; 107;
 349; 370.49, 55, 92–94; 386b;
 472e.26; 481
 Poverty (Penia): 248
 Praxithea: *Erech.*; 351; 360;
 360a; 370
 Priam: *Alex.*; 46; 48; 60; 61a;
 61d.13; 62d

INDEX

- Procne: 448a.82–86
 Proetus: *Bell.*; 228a.6
 Psophis: *Alcm.Ps.*
 Pytho. *See* Delphi
- Rhea. *See* Mountain Mother
 Rhodes: *Licymn.*?
- Salamis: 530
 Salmone: 14
 Salmoneus: 14
 Sea-monster (Cetus):
 Andromeda; 115a; 145
 Selloi. *See* Helloi
 Seriphos: *Andromeda*; *Danae*;
 Dictys; 330b; 1132.hyp.
 (*Danae*)
 Seven against Thebes: *Alcm. Ps.*
 Shame. *See* Aidōs
 Sibyl (Delphic): *Lamia*?
 Sicily: *Cretans* (t. iia)
 Sicyon: *Antiope*
 Silenus: *Eurysth.*; 282a; 373
 Sirens: 116
 Siris: *Mel.C.*; 495.15
 Sisyphus: *Autolycus*
 Sky. *See* Heaven
 Sphinx: 178
 Stheneboea: *Bell.*; 304a
 Sthenelus: 89; 228a.13
 Strife (Eris): 453.21
 Syleus: *Theristae*?
- Tantalus: 223.102
 Taphians or Teleboans:
 Alcmene; *Licymn.*; 87b
 Tegea: *Auge*
 Telamon: 530
- Teleboans. *See* Taphians
 Telephontes: *Cresph.* (t. ii)
 Telephus: *Auge*; 271b?
 Temenus: *Arch.*; 228a.20, 22
 Teuthrania: 476
 Teuthras: *Auge*
 Thebes, Thebans: *Alcm.Ps.*;
 Alcmene; *Antigone*; *Licymn.*;
 69; 87b; 178; 223.78–116
 Themisto: *Ino*; 411; 415
 Theseus: *Aegeus*; *Alope*;
 Eurysth.; *Hipp.V.*; *Theseus*;
 10; 11a; 260?; 379a?; 386b.11;
 386c; 439; 440; 953f
 (*Hipp.V.*); 531 + 531a
 Thessaly, Thessalians: *Ino*;
 Hipp.V. (t. iib); *Mel.W.*; 422;
 481.3–6
 Thestius: 515
 Thestius, sons of: *Meleager*;
 530
 Thrace, Thracians: *Arch.*;
 Erech.; 360.48; 366?; 369;
 370.13
 Thyestes: *Thyestes*; *Cret.W.*;
 396; 462?
- Time: 222; 303
 Tiresias: *Alcmene*; *Alcm.C.*
 Tisiphone, daughter of
 Alcmeon: *Alcm.C.*; 73a
 Tlepolemus: *Licymn.*
 Toil (Ponos): 474
 Triopas: *Aeolus*
 Troezen: *Hipp.V.* (t. iib)
 Trojan Horse: *Epeus*
 Troy (Ilium): *Alex.*; *Licymn.*;
 41a
 Tychē. *See* Fortune

INDEX

Tydeus: 537

Tyro: 14

Xuthus: *Erech.*?; 481.9

Zagreus (Dionysus): 472.11

Zethus: *Antiope*; 179-223

Zeus: *Alcmene*; *Alope*; *Antiope*;
Bell.; *Busiris*; *Danae*; *Dictys*;

Thyestes; *Ixion*; *Cretans*;

Lamia; 88; 89; 107; 151; 208;

210; 223.2-3, 11-14, 70-77,

96-111; 228a.15, 24; 312;

1132.hyp., 27, 46 (*Danae*);

336; 370.99; 388; 397b;

448a.71; 472.2, 10; 480;

481.1, 16; 487; 494.16; 506