

**A Commentary on the Fragments of Fourth-century
Tragedy**

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Abstract

Except for the pseudo-Euripidean *Rhesus*, fourth-century tragedy has almost entirely been lost to the ravages of time, known only through the quotation of a few isolated lines by later writers or preservation on some sand-worn scraps of papyrus. The poor survival of fourth-century tragedy has inevitably led to suggestions of low quality. Recent scholarship, however, has begun to revise these conclusions, recognising a remarkable inventiveness prevalent in the surviving fragments.

This thesis aims to continue the rehabilitation of fourth-century tragedy and takes the form of a commentary on the fragments of Astydamas II, Carcinus II, Chaeremon, and Theodectas, the ‘leading lights’ of this period whose verses comprise over half of what remains. In the introduction, I focus on fourth-century tragedy in general and all its surviving fragments, even those not treated in the commentary. I begin by exploring the internationalisation of this genre and its spread to the Greek-speaking West and East. I then consider the prevalent themes and stylistic features of the fragments and examine fourth-century reaction to fourth-century tragedy, particularly in comedy, oratory, and philosophy. I also discuss fourth-century satyr drama and some of its best surviving examples, including Python’s *Agen*.

In the commentary, I provide a biography for each poet and explore their reception and that of their work. I then discuss each of their plays in turn, reconstructing plots where possible and providing information about other treatments of a myth in fifth- and fourth-century drama. Finally, I analyse each fragment, focusing on any textual issues, their literary, stylistic, and dramaturgical qualities, and on their relationship within the dramatic tradition and Greco-Roman literature.

Through analysing the fragments in the form of a commentary, I hope to show that far from representing a 'terminal decline' as Edna Hooker once lamented, they instead display many remarkable qualities which make them worthy of study in their own right.

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Contents

Introduction.....	8
Internationalisation of tragedy and satyr drama.....	17
Sicily and southern Italy.....	18
The east.....	24
Some recurring themes of fourth-century tragedy.....	27
Familial bonds.....	27
Women.....	33
The natural world.....	34
Some stylistic features of fourth-century tragedy.....	37
Mythological changes.....	37
Philosophers as tragedians.....	43
Oratorical features of fourth-century tragedy.....	46
The chorus.....	49
Fourth-century tragedy in context.....	50
Comedy and tragedy.....	50
Philosophy and tragedy.....	54
Tragedy in the orators.....	58
Satyr drama.....	62
Notes on the text and commentary.....	66
Commentary.....	69
Astydamas II.....	70
Introduction.....	70
Life and career.....	70
Reaction and reception.....	74

Commentary.....	79
Carcinus II.....	133
Introduction.....	133
Life and career.....	133
Reaction and reception.....	137
Commentary.....	141
Chaeremon.....	178
Introduction.....	178
Life and career.....	178
Reaction and reception.....	180
Commentary.....	184
Theodectas.....	243
Introduction.....	243
Life and career.....	243
Reaction and reception.....	249
Commentary.....	254
Appendices.....	308
Appendix 1: Carcinus <i>Medea</i> fr. 1h (with musical notation).....	309
Appendix 2: Family trees.....	311
Appendix 3: Comparatio numerorum.....	313
Bibliography.....	315
Abbreviations: reference works.....	315
Works cited by author's name.....	320
Works cited by author's name with date.....	328

Introduction

The deaths of Euripides and Sophocles have previously been assumed to mark the end-point of the acme of tragedy in Athens. Edna Hooker comments that ‘during this period tragedy inevitably declined’¹ and in the opening sentence to her monograph on fourth-century tragedy, Georgia Xanthakis-Karamanos opines that ‘there is little to encourage us to take an interest in fourth-century tragedy’.² Much of this denigration of fourth-century tragedy may, somewhat ironically, be traced back to the fourth century itself. During this period, fifth-century tragedy, and particularly the plays of Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, enjoyed renewed interest, with the reperformance of fifth-century tragedies forming part of the programme at the City Dionysia from 386 onwards³ and with Lycurgus collating the texts of the three great fifth-century tragedians.⁴ In addition, orators elevated quotations from Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides alongside poetic greats such as Homer and Tyrtaeus,⁵ while generally eschewing the works of fourth-century tragedians.⁶ The differing treatments of Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides and of fourth-century tragedy inevitably led to different receptions for each, with the three great tragedians becoming part of the school curriculum with widespread transmission whereas fourth-century tragedy became more niche, with its texts and poets generally becoming less well known in later centuries. This inevitably led to the poor survival of fourth-century tragedy, with just 163 fragments, totalling 615 lines plus twenty-one words remaining. In turn, the low survival rate of fourth-century tragedy and its lateness, coming after the three great fifth-century tragedians, are probably two of the major reasons for previous dismissive opinions of fourth-century tragedy.

¹ (1960) 50.

² (1980) 1; indeed Dawe (1984) 61 finds Xanthakis-Karamanos’ opening comment ‘refreshing’.

³ *IG* II² 2318.201–3.

⁴ Plut. *Vit X Orat.* 841f.

⁵ Cf. e.g. Lycurg. *Leocr.* 98–110, Aeschin. *In Tim.* 51, see on ‘tragedy in the orators’.

⁶ Fourth-century tragedy is quoted just twice in fourth-century: Dem. 2.22 (= Chaeremon *Achilles Killing Thersites* fr. 2 *TrGF*) and Lys. *Against Mnesimachus* fr. 235 Carey (= Carcinus fr. 6 *TrGF*).

A consequence of the small amount of evidence for fourth-century tragedy has been that previous study of this period of Greek drama has tended to make assumptions regarding the nature of fourth-century tragedy, using the prevalence or absence of themes within the fragments and testimonia for fourth-century tragedy to make conclusions about its general nature. For instance, Aristotle's comment in the *Poetics* that choral songs were replaced by ἐμβόλιμα has been taken as evidence of the diminishing role of the chorus in fourth-century tragedy,⁷ with some scholars believing that it was removed entirely from the genre.⁸ Similarly, since several fourth-century tragedians were also orators, there has been a tendency to conclude that fourth-century was also rhetorical in nature.⁹ One approach to studying fourth-century tragedy may be to continue deriving general conclusions about the nature of tragedy of this period using the fragments. For example, the fragments and testimonia indicate that fourth-century tragedy was innovative. Euripides' notorious presentation of Medea as a child-killer is replaced in Carcinus' *Medea* with a figure so concerned for the well-being of her children that she attempts to send them to safety before killing Glauce. Similarly, in Astydamos' *Hector*, the title character is tormented by self-doubt over his prowess as a warrior and the departure scene between him and Astyanax in book 6 of the *Iliad* is set in a plot focused on the events of book 22. This lends greater pathos to Hector's departure, making it the final interaction between Hector and Astyanax before Hector's death. This change also strengthens the Homeric narrative; whereas in the *Iliad*, Hector remains in Troy after bidding farewell to Astyanax, in Astydamos' play, Hector leaves straightaway. Experimentalism permeates the very fabric of fourth-century tragedy, with the creation of philosophical tragedy.

⁷ *Poet.* 1456a 25–32; thus Haigh (1889) 165, Goldhill (2007) 69.

⁸ Thus Tarrant (1978) 222, Bacon (1995) 8–9.

⁹ Cf. e.g. Xanthakis-Karamanos (1979) 66–76 (= (1980) 59–70).

This approach to the study of fourth-century tragedy is, however, problematic, relying on a small selection of evidence on which to make general conclusions about the nature of this period of Greek drama. In addition, this methodology does not take into account the selection bias of the fragments. For example, many of the rhetorical fragments are preserved in Aristotle's *Rhetoric*, meaning that it is inevitable that they are rhetorical in nature rather than fourth-century tragedy in general being rhetorical.¹⁰ Finally, many of the conclusions about the nature of fourth-century tragedy are based on testimonia for fourth-century tragedy rather than the fragments themselves. In the case of the role of the chorus in this period, many scholars are reliant on Aristotle's comments in the *Poetics*, neglecting to take into consideration tragedies in which the chorus feature (such as the pseudo-Euripidean *Rhesus*) and plural play titles which must surely indicate the presence of the chorus.¹¹ So generally many of the previous conclusions about fourth-century tragedy are predicated on a small selection of evidence and do not take into account any of the associated problems with the sources on which they rely.

Given the small amount of evidence and the difficulties in drawing general conclusions from it, this commentary will adopt a different approach to the study of fourth-century tragedy, eschewing the tendency to generalise about this period of Greek drama. Instead, we shall focus on exploring prominent themes in and features of the fragments while noting only that they are prevalent in the surviving fragments, not that they are indicative of fourth-century tragedy as a whole. In doing so, we hope to show what the fragments can reveal about the portion of fourth-century tragedy that has survived while also challenging assumptions about this period of Greek drama. In turn, this may also help to re-evaluate the long-held belief that fourth-century tragedy is a period of decline, instead developing the

¹⁰ Thus Wright (2016) 166; e.g. Theodectas' *Alcmeon* fr. 2, *Helen* fr. 3, *Orestes* fr. 5.

¹¹ Cf. e.g. Dicaeogenes' *Cyprians*, Chaeremon's *Minyae*.

nascent narrative in recent scholarship that the fragments may show that fourth-century tragedy was a period of change.¹²

To better understand how this work differs from previous scholarship, it is necessary to consider previous scholarship into the fragments of fourth-century tragedy. Scholarly interest in fourth-century tragedy is surprisingly well-established. At the turn of the twentieth century, philological debates surrounding fourth-century tragedy are found in Robinson Ellis' 'Some emendations of the Greek tragici', Walter Headlam's 'Critical notes' and 'On some tragic fragments', and Thomas Tucker's 'Adversaria upon the fragments of the minor tragedians'.¹³ All of these articles focus on fragments which have significant textual difficulties and on many occasions are the only scholarship on a particular fragment. These and Valckenaer's work, however, only treat fourth-century tragedy as part of wider arguments about tragedy in general or about Aeschylus, Sophocles, or Euripides. Admittedly, Chaeremon receives specific attention in Heinrich Bartsch's *De Chaeremone Poeta Tragico*,¹⁴ but this is an exception.

From the 1930s, fourth-century tragedies began to attract attention in their own right, with particular emphasis on reconstruction. Dionysius' *The Ransoming of Hector* was reconstructed by Winfried Bühler and Manolis Papathomopoulos, the tragedies of Diogenes of Sinope were discussed by Berthe Marti, and Python's *Agen* was treated by Albrecht von Blumenthal, Wilhelm Süß, Jan Wikarjak, and Bruno Snell.¹⁵ In all of these cases, the plays have attracted interest thanks to their unique positions in the dramatic tradition, with Dionysius the first instance of a tyrant composing his own plays, Diogenes of Sinope the creator of philosophical tragedy, and with Python's *Agen* the earliest and best-attested

¹² Cf. e.g. Kuch (1993) 547.

¹³ Ellis (1895), Headlam (1899), Headlam (1904), Tucker (1904).

¹⁴ Bartsch (1843).

¹⁵ Bühler (1973), Papathomopoulos (1981), Marti (1947), Blumenthal (1939), Süß (1939), Wikarjak (1950), Snell (1964).

example of a satyr drama which satirised contemporary events. Analysis of groups of plays is also found in this period. Thomas Webster examined every fourth-century tragedy cited in Aristotle's *Poetics* in 'Fourth-century tragedy and the *Poetics*', Christopher Collard focused on Chaeremon's plays in 'On the tragedian Chaeremon', providing a commentary on *Alphesiboia* fr. 1 and *Oeneus* fr. 14, and Georgia Xanthakis-Karamanos analysed fourth-century tragedies by theme in *Studies in Fourth-century Tragedy*.¹⁶

The past twenty years have seen a considerable rise in interest in fourth-century tragedy. Fresh impetus for the re-evaluation of this period of Greek drama was provided by two frequently-cited articles, Pat Easterling's 'The end of an era? Tragedy in the early fourth century' and Edith Hall's 'Greek tragedy 430–380 BC'.¹⁷ Reconstruction of plays has remained part of the debate surrounding fourth-century tragedy during this time, with particular focus on papyrus fragments such as those from the *Achilles* of Sophocles II (treated by Martin West),¹⁸ Carcinus' *Medea* (discussed by Annie Bélis and Martin West),¹⁹ and Astydamos' *Hector* (reconstructed by Vayos Liapis among others).²⁰ In addition, Matthew Wright considers the poets and their plays by broad time periods in *The Lost Plays of Greek Tragedy* and Valerio Pacelli has produced the first commentary on Theodectas.²¹ Attention has also been given to the wider dramatic context of fourth-century tragedy. Benjamin Millis and Douglas Olson have compiled a new edition of the inscriptional records of Athenian dramatic festivals, Johanna Hanink discusses the place of tragedy in fourth-century Athens in *Lycurgan Athens and the Making of Classical Tragedy*, and Edmund Stewart has explored the role of travel in the dissemination of tragedy in *Greek Tragedy on the Move: The Birth of a*

¹⁶ Webster (1954), Collard (1970), Xanthakis-Karamanos (1980).

¹⁷ Easterling (1993), Hall (2007).

¹⁸ West (1999).

¹⁹ Bélis (2004), West (2007).

²⁰ Liapis (2016).

²¹ Wright (2016), Pacelli (2016).

Panhellenic Art Form c. 500-300 BC.²² Various aspects of the fourth-century dramatic tradition such as reperformance and tragedy inside and outside of Athens are also examined in *Greek Theatre in the Fourth Century BC*, edited by Eric Csapo and others.²³ Magna Graecia is also an important focus of recent scholarship on fourth-century tragedy. Chris Dearden wrote about Athenian tragedies produced in this region²⁴ and Kathryn Bosher edited a volume entitled *Theater Outside Athens: Drama in Greek Sicily and South Italy*, among which are chapters by Anne Duncan and Sara Monoson on Dionysius I and his contributions to fourth-century tragedy.²⁵ Vase paintings from this region taken to be related to drama have been discussed in works such as A. D. Trendall's 'Farce and tragedy in South Italian vase-painting',²⁶ Tom Carpenter's 'Images of satyr plays in south Italy',²⁷ and Oliver Taplin's *Pots & Plays, Interactions Between Tragedy and Greek Vase-Painting of the Fourth Century BC*.²⁸

We must also consider the importance of commentaries on and editions of fragmentary plays, among which is the *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta* series started by Bruno Snell in 1971 and containing the fragments of Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, the minor tragedians, and tragic adespota. As with scholarship on fourth-century tragedy, the last twenty years have witnessed an increase in commentaries on the fragments of Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides,²⁹ and of more minor tragedians. Commentaries on the satyric fragments have been produced by Ralf Krumeich, Nikolaus Pechstein, Bernd Seidensticker,

²² Millis and Olson (2012), Hanink (2014), Stewart (2017).

²³ Csapo *et al.* (2014).

²⁴ 'Fourth-century tragedy in Sicily: Athenian or Sicilian?' (1990), 'Plays for export' (1999).

²⁵ Bosher (2012).

²⁶ (1991); among Trendall's other pieces is his 1984 article 'Medea at Eleusis on a volute krater by the Darius painter'.

²⁷ (2005).

²⁸ (2007). Also relevant are Taplin's contribution to Simon Goldhill and Edith Hall's *Sophocles and the Greek Tragic Tradition* – 'Hector's helmet glinting in a fourth-century tragedy' – and his paper in *Greek Theatre in the Fourth Century BC* edited by Eric Csapo *et al.* – 'How pots and papyri might prompt a re-evaluation of fourth-century tragedy'.

²⁹ E.g. Sommerstein, Fitzpatrick, and Talbot (2006–12) and Collard, Cropp, Lee, and Gibert (2004–2009). Also relevant are the Loeb translations of the fragments of Aeschylus (Sommerstein (2009)), Euripides (Collard and Cropp (2008)), and Sophocles (Lloyd-Jones (1996)).

and Ruth Bielfeldt,³⁰ and Patrick O’Sullivan and Christopher Collard,³¹ and Martin Cropp is producing a two-volume commentary on the fragments of the minor tragedians.³² The pseudo-Euripidean *Rhesus*, dated to the fourth century in this commentary,³³ has similarly benefited from increased interest in postclassical tragedy, with commentaries by Almut Fries and Vayos Liapis.³⁴ *Rhesus* is an important play in the study of fourth-century tragedy, being our only complete example of a tragedy from this period and providing examples and counter-examples of many of the themes and features of the fragments of fourth-century tragedy. Previous scholarship into fourth-century tragedy has tended to omit discussion of *Rhesus* whereas in this work we will examine *Rhesus* and the fragments in tandem, especially in the introduction, allowing us to create a more rounded impression of fourth-century tragedy which takes into account all of the surviving evidence.

The present work aims to fill a gap in scholarship surrounding fourth-century tragedy and indeed tragedy in general by analysing fourth-century tragic fragments in a commentary. In doing so, we will synthesise the various approaches to the fragments, from philological analysis to reconstruction, which have hitherto remained largely separate to give a more rounded and holistic view of the surviving plays and fragments. We will also provide a fresh interpretation of the fragments, challenging many long-held hypotheses and positing new conclusions and readings. The aim is to bring the fragments to increasing prominence in future debates surrounding tragedy in the fourth century, allowing their contribution to the dramatic tradition in this period to be better understood. While recent scholarship focuses on various aspects of fourth-century tragedy, much of it does not explore the fragments as part of

³⁰ *Das griechische Satyrspiel* (1999).

³¹ *Euripides Cyclops and Major Fragments of Greek Satyric Drama* (2014).

³² (forthcoming).

³³ Thus Hardion (1741) 527–30, Wilamowitz (1926) 284–5 = (1962) 412. The lexicographical and dramaturgical arguments of Fries (2014) 22–42 are particularly convincing for dating *Rhesus* to the fourth century.

³⁴ Fries (2014), Liapis (2012).

the dramatic tradition in the fourth-century and so this work will allow the fragments of fourth-century tragedy to be better understood and thus to be included in future scholarship on fourth-century tragedy. This in turn will enhance our understanding of this period of Greek drama, placing the fragments on an equal footing with other evidence used in the study of tragedy in the fourth century (such as Aristotle's *Poetics* and vase paintings) and thus allowing for a more holistic view of tragedy in this period.

This work comprises two distinct parts, the introduction and the commentary. The introduction contains five sections and explores general questions surrounding the nature of fourth-century tragedy, with the discussion driven entirely by the prominence of particular aspects of the fragments. In the first section, on the internationalisation of Greek tragedy, we will consider the spread of tragedy in Sicily and Southern Italy and the East, drawing comparisons with Athens where possible. The second and third parts of the introduction will explore some themes and stylistic features of fourth-century tragedy. We will then consider fourth-century tragedy in relation to comedy, philosophy, and oratory. Finally, we will look at satyr drama.

The commentary will deal with four poets: Astydamas II, Carcinus II, Chaeremon, and Theodectas. These tragedians have been selected since they are the best surviving tragedians from this period, their corpora containing over half the surviving lines and fragments from fourth-century tragedy.³⁵ The chapter devoted to each poet is divided into two subsections, an introduction and a commentary. The introduction provides a brief biography for each poet, detailing their life, career, and the reception of their works. The commentary compiles all testimonia and fragments, translating and contextualising them to show the way in which the details about a play or the quotation are used by later writers. Reconstruction is

³⁵ These four poets have ninety-two of the 163 fragments from fourth-century tragedy, totalling 339 out of the 615 remaining verses.

attempted where possible and the fragments are then analysed for their literary, stylistic, and dramatic qualities among other features. When reconstructing plots, the fragments and testimonia are first scoured for information about the plot and for details such as interactions between various characters and the tone and manner in which lines are delivered. These are then mapped onto the wider mythographic traditions to determine which part of the myth a play presents and how the fragments may fit into the plot. Attention is also given to sources such as vase paintings which have been conjecturally assigned to the play. Generally, a sceptical approach is adopted towards such evidence and it is dismissed from consideration unless it corresponds with details about a play attested in one or more of the securely-assigned testimonia and fragments; the vase painting then, where appropriate, is used in filling in uncertainties surrounding the plot. In employing the methodology used in this commentary, we can ensure that the plots of tragedies are reconstructed using only what can be safely inferred from the fragments and testimonia, thus avoiding speculative reconstructions which may not represent the plot of the original play and which may thus skew our conclusions about fourth-century tragedy. Admittedly, the avoidance of techniques such as the Sherlockismus method, in which impossible reconstructions for the plot of a tragedy are dismissed from consideration with what remains likely forming the plot,³⁶ means that at times some reconstructions of tragedies using our methodology may be more limited than would be the case using other techniques. Nonetheless, our aim of avoiding speculative reconstructions and presenting an accurate view of fourth-century tragedy based on the fragments necessitates the eschewing of such methodologies.

³⁶ See further Sommerstein (2010) 61–81.

Internationalisation of tragedy and satyr drama

From Dionysius I and Sosiphanes in Syracuse to Theodectas of Phaselis and Phanostratus of Halicarnassus, non-Athenian tragedians make up a significant proportion of fourth-century tragic poets, accounting for 20% of the names collected in *TrGF*. Taking into account tragedians who travelled to Sicily and southern Italy to produce plays, this figure rises to one quarter. Given the prevalence of non-Athenian tragedians in the surviving fragments and testimonia of fourth-century tragedy and our methodology of selecting for discussion in the introduction topics and aspects which are prominent in the fragments, it is necessary to examine the place of these tragedians in the dramatic tradition of the fourth century, both in their native lands and, where applicable, in Athens and so this section will focus on the internationalisation of Greek tragedy. By ‘internationalisation’, we mean ‘non-Athenian’, specifically tragedians who were not Athenian by birth and those who produced some or all of their plays outside of Athens.³⁷ Admittedly, non-Athenian tragedians and premieres of plays are not a uniquely fourth-century phenomenon, with fifth-century tragedians also coming from outside of Athens³⁸ and fifth-century plays being first performed in places other than Athens.³⁹ Nonetheless, the prevalence of non-Athenian poets and premieres in the fragments of fourth-century tragedy necessitates discussion of the non-Athenian dramatic tradition in the fourth century, with specific focus on the two regions for which evidence survives: Sicily and southern Italy and the east.

³⁷ Tragedians in this category need not have produced all or indeed any of their plays outside of Athens. Phanostratus of Halicarnassus, for example, is known only to have produced tragedies at Athens, but is included in this section on the basis of being born in Halicarnassus.

³⁸ Cf. e.g. Ion of Chios.

³⁹ Cf. e.g. Euripides’ *Archelaus*, first performed at the court of King Archelaus in Macedon (*Vit. Eur.* 6 = test. iia *TrGF*).

Sicily and southern Italy

From its earliest development, tragedy had an important place in Sicily and Southern Italy. Aeschylus is reported to have visited Sicily on several times,⁴⁰ during which Aeschylus is said to have reperformed his *Persae* and produced *Women of Aetna*.⁴¹ Drama continued to have an important role after Aeschylus' visit. Euripides' *Melanippe Desmotis*, for example, altered the setting of this myth from Thessaly to Italy, suggesting a play designed specifically for an Italian audience.⁴² Similarly, the title character of Euripides' *Aeolus* was a conflation of Aeolus the son of Hellen and Aeolus the son of Hippotes, perhaps also indicating a tragedy suitable for performance or reperformance in Italy.⁴³ This trend continued into the fourth century, during which some tragedians travelled to the Greek West from elsewhere. The tragedian Antiphon journeyed to Syracuse on the invitation of Dionysius I. During his residence at Dionysius' court, Antiphon was executed, apparently either for criticising Dionysius' poetry or for attempting to undermine his regime through describing the best type of bronze as that from which the statues of the tyrannicides Harmodius and Aristogeiton were made.⁴⁴ Pseudo-Plutarch records an anecdote that Antiphon composed tragedies with Dionysius, though he distances this from his authorial voice by prefacing the story with λέγεται.⁴⁵

Other poets known to have visited this region include Carcinus II who stayed at the court of Dionysius II at some point between 367 and 357 or between 346 and 344.⁴⁶ In Carcinus fr. 5, Demeter's search for her abducted daughter Persephone focused on Sicily,

⁴⁰ Athen. 9.402c.

⁴¹ *Vit. Aesch.* 9, 18, Σ Ar. *Ran.* 1028 Forsten with Herington (1967) 75–6; see also Stewart (2017) 103–4.

⁴² Thus Stewart (2017) 144–8, 151–3, 157.

⁴³ *Ibid.* 149–58.

⁴⁴ Arist. *Rhet.* 1385a 10–11, [Plut.] *Vit. X Orat.* 833b, Philostr. *VS* 1.15.3, *Vita Antiphontis* 2.10 Thalheim, Plut. *Adul. amic.* 68a–b; similarly, the lyric poet Philoxenus (Diod. Sic. 15.6, Luc. 31.15, Amm. Marc. 15.37, *Su.* φ 397 Adler).

⁴⁵ [Plut.] *Vit. X Orat.* 833c; thus Edwards (1998) 91.

⁴⁶ Diog. Laert. 2.63. Dionysius II ruled from 367 until 357 before being ousted by Dion (Diod. Sic. 16.9–10, 13, 16–20); Dionysius II briefly returned to Syracuse to rule again from 346 to 344, before being exiled to Corinth by Timoleon (Plut. *Tim.* 13.3–14.4).

with Aetna described as filled with streams of fire, Sicily as groaning, and Sicilians as deprived of food because of Demeter's mourning; Demeter's association with Sicily is then used to explain why this goddess is worshipped on the island in the present day. Carcinus may have composed these verses while in Syracuse, the use of Sicily reflecting his desire to appeal to a local audience. Dicaeogenes may have also travelled to Italy during the fourth century. In his *Medea*, Dicaeogenes called Apsyrtus Μεταπόντιον,⁴⁷ presumably meaning 'he who lived after being cast in the sea'. Since this word is otherwise used only of Metapontum in Southern Italy, Apsyrtus' name may have been altered to reflect a connection with Metapontum; perhaps Dicaeogenes' *Medea* treated Apsyrtus' death, specifically its prevention by a god who rescued Apsyrtus and transported him to Italy to found Metapontum. On this basis, Dicaeogenes' *Medea* may have been produced specifically for an audience in Metapontum. The journeys of these three tragedians to the Greek West suggests this region was held in esteem among fourth-century tragedians.⁴⁸

The Greek West, or more specifically Sicily, was just as capable of producing its own tragedians. Some remained in Sicily: the tyrants Mamercus and Dionysius I. Mamercus wrote tragedies and lyric poetry.⁴⁹ As for Dionysius, five plays are known: *Adonis*, *Alcmene*, *The Ransoming of Hector* (alternatively titled *Andromache*),⁵⁰ *Leda*, and the satyr drama *Loimos*;⁵¹ Dionysius was victorious at Athens in the Lenaea of 367 with *The Ransoming of Hector*.⁵² Dionysius and Mamercus show that Sicily possessed its own dramatic tradition in the fourth century. Nonetheless, Athens was still held in esteem even among western

⁴⁷ Fr. 1a *TrGF*.

⁴⁸ Stewart (2017) 186; the development of other centres of drama continued into the third century and beyond, e.g. Alexandria.

⁴⁹ Plut. *Tim.* 31.1.

⁵⁰ Tzetz. *Homerica* 311 (with scholium = fr. 2b *TrGF*) with Bühler (1973) 72, Papatthomopoulos (1981) 201.

⁵¹ As indicated by the presence of Silenus in this play (Eust. *Il.* 3.244.10–14). Although cited in the manuscripts of Eust. *Il.* 3.244.10–14 (= *Loimos* fr. 3a *TrGF*) as Λιμός, Steffen's correction of this title to Λοιμός is most likely correct, given that Eustathius describes Heracles as ill.

⁵² Diod. Sic. 15.74.1, Tzetz. *Chil.* 5.178–81.

tragedians, as evidenced by Dionysius' production of *The Ransoming of Hector*.⁵³ Other tragic poets were born in Sicily and left to produce elsewhere. The Syracusan tragedian Achaëus II produced ten tragedies and was victorious at the Lenaea on one occasion, most likely around 356.⁵⁴ Sosiphanes was born in Syracuse in 358/7 and lived for forty-five years, dying in 313/12.⁵⁵ Sosiphanes entered his first dramatic competition at Athens in the 111th Olympiad (335–2) and the *Suda* places his acme during the 114th Olympiad (323–0).⁵⁶ Sosiphanes gained first place in dramatic contests seven times and wrote seventy-three plays;⁵⁷ one, and up to three, titles are attested or can be deduced: *Meleager*, and possibly *Laius*, *Oedipus*, or *Seven Against Thebes*,⁵⁸ and *Phoenix*.⁵⁹ Finally, Python of Catana⁶⁰ travelled to the East and produced the satyr drama *Agen* in 324 either at a Dionysiac festival at Ecbatana⁶¹ or to Alexander's troops at Susa.⁶² This play presented Harpalus' grief for his deceased mistress Pythionice and the possible arrival of her replacement Glycera. Python's *Agen* similarly demonstrates Sicilian experimentalism, being the earliest securely attested example of a satyr drama which deals with contemporary events and treats them satirically.⁶³

Also important in the fourth-century dramatic tradition in the Greek West are vase paintings originating from Apulia, a region of Italy famous for the production of vases in the

⁵³ Wilson (1997) 176. Indeed, in the case of Dionysius I, the ability to produce tragedies at Athens was held in such esteem, it served as a diplomatic tool (thus Sanders (1987) 16).

⁵⁴ *Su.* α 4682 Adler, *IG II²* 2325 col. IV.242; thus *TrGF* 1 p. 249. A date closer to the 330s/320s is preferred by Millis and Olson (2012) 204.

⁵⁵ *Su.* σ 863 Adler, *Marm. Par.* B.15 = *FGrHist* 239 with Arthur and Munro (1901) 361.

⁵⁶ σ 863 Adler.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

⁵⁸ Fr. 4 *TrGF*; thus Welcker (1841) 1238.

⁵⁹ Fr. 6 *TrGF*; thus Belfiore (2000) 210.

⁶⁰ Python is also said to have come from Byzantium (Athen. 2.50f, 13.586d), but this is most likely as a result of confusion with the better-known orator Python of Byzantium (thus Cipolla (2003) 333), who helped to uphold the Peace of Philocrates agreed between Athens and Macedon in 346 ([Dem.] 7.20–3, Dem. 18.136, Plut. *Dem.* 9.1).

⁶¹ Athen. 13.586d; thus Droysen (1833) 564–5, Snell (1964) 113, 116.

⁶² Thus Wikarjak (1950) 41–55, Van Rooy (1966) 127; this assumes that the Hydaspes river mentioned in Athen. 13.586d is an error for Choaspes (thus Droysen (1833) 564–5).

⁶³ It is not the last satyr drama to do so; cf. Lycophron's *Menedemus*.

fourth century.⁶⁴ Given mythological narratives on many of these vases, some scholars have connected these paintings with specific, tragic versions of myths,⁶⁵ arguing that these paintings portray scenes from tragedies reperformed in Apulia.⁶⁶ Others suggest that Apulian vase paintings bear little or no resemblance to tragic presentations of myth,⁶⁷ or that if they do, this is as a result of dramatic elements such as tragic costume being incorporated into the vases⁶⁸ or of deriving their portrayal of myth not from the tragedies themselves, but from phlyax plays,⁶⁹ dramas local to the Greek West which parodied tragedies. The present commentary adopts a sceptical approach to vase paintings given the lack of explicit labelling on vases to indicate that their image is derived from a particular tragedy and as it is possible that the image could have derived from other, now lost, versions of a myth. So to avoid presenting a false or distorted reconstruction of a tragedy, vase paintings are generally dismissed from association with specific plays. Nonetheless, vases still have an important role in the study of fourth-century tragedy. In cases where several plot details⁷⁰ attested in the securely attributable fragments of a play are also depicted on a vase painting and where those plot details are known to have occurred only in that particular play, the vase painting is

⁶⁴ For the role of Apulia in vase painting see Carpenter (2009) 27–36. Although the vase paintings connected with fourth-century tragedies by scholars all come from Apulia, other regions in Italy (such as Campania and Sicily) also produced vase paintings in this period which may have been influenced by tragedy (and possibly fourth-century tragedy).

⁶⁵ Cf. for example an Apulian volute krater dated to the mid-fourth century and conjectured to have been influenced by Euripides' *Bacchae* (Friesen (2015) 65), the Chester krater associated with Aeschylus' *Suppliants* (Oehlschlaeger-Garvey (1985) 110).

⁶⁶ Thus Trendall (1991) 170–81, esp. 176, Green (2007) 174–5, Carpenter (2009) 27; for satyr plays on fourth-century South Italian vase paintings see Carpenter (2005) 219–36.

⁶⁷ Thus Green (1994) 56.

⁶⁸ Taplin (2007) 36.

⁶⁹ Thus Webster (1948) 19, Dearden (1990) 242, Shapiro (1995) 173; cf. an Apulian bell-krater dated to the early fourth century (thus Trendall (1991) 165) depicting Aegisthus, two choregoi, and Pyrrhia, all of whom, apart from Aegisthus, are dressed in clothing commonly associated with comedy (Shapiro (1995) 173–5).

⁷⁰ Plot details may include the presence of specific characters, interactions between characters, and any actions undertaken by characters which are unique to that play. Although it is possible for one specific detail of a vase painting to indicate connection between a tragedy and the vase, we have chosen to associate vase paintings with tragedies only where several details in the image and tragedy correspond. This is because the balance of probability in those cases where the vase and tragedy display several points of connection is that the vase painting is derived from the tragedy whereas it is possible where only one shared feature exists that the vase painting could have derived this detail from a now-lost version of a particular myth.

securely associated with it and used in its reconstruction. This methodology is best demonstrated by considering all of the vase paintings associated with fourth-century tragedy.

Fourteen vase paintings have been conjecturally associated with specific fourth-century tragedies: Dicaeogenes' *Medea*, Carcinus' *Medea*, Astydamos' *Antigone*, *Hector*, and *Parthenopaeus*, Chaeremon's *Achilles Killing Thersites*, *Io*, Theodectas' *Lynceus*, Dionysius' *Adonis*, and the pseudo-Euripidean *Rhesus*; only *Rhesus* and Astydamos' *Hector* are likely to have featured on vases. *Rhesus* may have inspired an Apulian volute krater dated to the 340s and attributed to the Darius Painter.⁷¹ The central scene of the top half of the vase depicts Diomedes with sword drawn about to kill a sleeping Rhesus and with Athena directing Diomedes' actions; to the left are two sleeping Thracian soldiers and to the right sits a Muse on a rock looking on as Rhesus is killed. On the bottom half of the vase, on the left-hand side, is another sleeping Thracian soldier and the central scene shows Odysseus leading away Rhesus' white horses. On the right-hand side is a youthful man holding a shell and reed; since both items are associated with rivers, the figure is most likely a representation of Strymon, Rhesus' father in the play.⁷² Athena's assistance in the slaughter of Rhesus,⁷³ the association of Strymon with Rhesus,⁷⁴ the presence of the Muse,⁷⁵ and the separation of Odysseus and Diomedes' roles in Rhesus' death (Odysseus leading away the horses, Diomedes killing Rhesus)⁷⁶ suggest that the volute krater was based on *Rhesus*,⁷⁷ since *Rhesus* is the only source in which all these details appear together.

⁷¹ Dating owed to Taplin (2007) 163.

⁷² Thus Taplin (2007) 163.

⁷³ *Rh.* 595–637, 668–74.

⁷⁴ *Rh.* 279, 349–54, 386, 394, 652, Liapis (2012) xxix.

⁷⁵ *Rh.* 890–982, Liapis (2012) xxviii.

⁷⁶ Cf. ἐγὼ φονεύσω, πωλοδαμνήσεις δὲ σύ ('I will kill [Rhesus], you get his horses under control', *Rh.* 624); Odysseus' kothournoi on the vase painting have also been taken as evidence that it is inspired by a dramatic version of the Rhesus myth (Taplin (2007) 165).

⁷⁷ Thus Taplin (2007) 163–5, Liapis (2012) xxviii.

An Apulian volute krater dated to between the 340s and 320s and attributed to the Underworld painter is believed to depict Astydamos' *Hektor*. On the top level of this vase, on the left-hand side, a male figure⁷⁸ is observing and possibly conversing with Cassandra who is in a prophetic state, as indicated by the branch which she holds, and who has swooned back into a woman's arms. In the middle stands a warrior with a trumpet and at the right-hand side is Helenus, observing a bird holding a snake in its talons, the two animals fighting one another. On the bottom layer, on the left-hand side, a fully-armed Hector bids farewell to Andromache, who is holding Astyanax and accompanied by a nurse; to Hector's right stands a male individual holding Hector's helmet and mounted on a chariot driven by four horses. Since Hector has passed his helmet to the figure on the chariot, the bottom scene has been thought to correspond with Astydamos' *Hektor* fr. 2, in which Hector handed his helmet to an attendant rather than placing it on the ground as in the *Iliad*.⁷⁹

These volute kraters show that Astydamos' *Hektor* and the pseudo-Euripidean *Rhesus* were known in Apulia during the fourth century. This may have been via textual transmission or, more likely, reperformance in Apulia. Second, many fifth-century tragedies may have also been presented on Apulian vases in this period.⁸⁰ The inclusion of *Rhesus* and Astydamos' *Hektor* show that these plays were viewed as equal to fifth-century tragedies. Finally, the artistic presentation of tragedies in general in Apulia corresponds with Athenian dramatic and artistic traditions, where, in the fifth century, red-figure vase paintings of tragedies were similarly produced, and in the fourth century, a range of iconography associated with the theatre was created including terracotta figurines of actors from satyr dramas and theatrical masks.⁸¹ This indicates that Apulia attempted to emulate Athens in rendering tragedies on

⁷⁸ This figure has been identified as Priam (Taplin (2007) 253, (2009) 256), but this is unlikely since he is youthful and without any regalia (thus Liapis (2016) 84); the woman sitting beside Cassandra cannot be Hecuba for similar reasons.

⁷⁹ *Il.* 6.473; thus Taplin (2007) 254, (2009) 256, 258.

⁸⁰ See Taplin (2007) 48–219.

⁸¹ See Davidson, Thompson, and Thompson (1943) 123, Webster (1960) 256–60 for a full inventory.

vase paintings, showing further correspondence between the dramatic traditions of Athens and the Greek West.

The east

With the conquests of Alexander the Great in the 330s and 320s, it is unsurprising that tragedy spread eastwards at the same time. Nonetheless, since this genre played an important role in the coastal areas of Asia Minor throughout the fourth century, Alexander may have been merely a catalyst in its spread to the new East rather than its cause.⁸² Four tragedians are known to have been born in this region in the fourth century: Theodectas, Diogenes of Sinope, Phanostratus, and Apollodorus. Theodectas was born in Phaselis,⁸³ a Dorian colony in Lycia. He travelled to Athens where he competed in the City Dionysia and Lenaea a total of thirteen times and was victorious on eight occasions,⁸⁴ seven times in the City Dionysia.⁸⁵ Only his *Mausolus* is known to have been produced outside Athens, performed at the funeral of Mausolus, King of Halicarnassus, in that city in 353.⁸⁶

Diogenes of Sinope is said to have composed tragedies espousing Cynic philosophies;⁸⁷ his plays are *Achilles*, *Helen*, *Heracles*, *Thyestes*, *Medea*, *Oedipus*, and *Chrysippus*.⁸⁸ Phanostratus was born in Halicarnassus in the second half of the fourth century.⁸⁹ No plays are known, though Phanostratus travelled to Athens, where he had several

⁸² Pace Fantuzzi and Hunter (2004) 432. By ‘new East’ I mean areas which had never been Greek before the arrival of Alexander.

⁸³ *Su.* θ 138 Adler.

⁸⁴ Steph. Byz. *Ethnica* 660 Billerbeck = *FGE* 1574–5.

⁸⁵ *IG* II² 2325 I. col. III.8.

⁸⁶ Gell. *NA* 10.18.5 = fr. 3b.

⁸⁷ Diog. Laert. 6.73, 80. However, Sosicrates and Sotion (*ibid.*, 6.80) doubt that Diogenes wrote any tragedies and Satyrus (*ibid.*), Favorinus (*ibid.*, 6.73), and Julian (*Or.* 6.210c, 211d, 7.186c) attribute the plays to Philiscus of Aegina or Pasiphon, son of Lucian, their poor quality unsuited to Diogenes.

⁸⁸ Diogenes is also attested to have written an *Atreus*, almost certainly an alternative title for *Thyestes* (thus Marti (1947) 5).

⁸⁹ As shown by the rewards he gained in the first half of the third century for his services to Delos (*IG* XI/4 528).

victories in dramatic competitions,⁹⁰ gaining first place in the Lenaea of 306.⁹¹ Finally, Apollodorus may have come from Tarsus and was a tragic poet for whom the titles of six plays are known: *Acanthoplex*, *Teknoktonos*,⁹² *Hellenes*, *Thyestes*, *Suppliants*, and *Odysseus*.⁹³ On the basis of the *Suda*, the only source to securely mention Apollodorus, this tragedian is undatable. He may, however, have been active during the fourth century if his name is the correct restoration of two eight-letter lacunae preceding ρος in tragic victor-lists,⁹⁴ a distinct possibility given that Apollodorus is the only known tragedian whose name fits these gaps. This would mean Apollodorus gained first place in the City Dionysia six times and at the Lenaea on five occasions. Caution, however, should be taken in treating Apollodorus as coming from Tarsus since this is attested only in a very late source, the *Suda*, and as comic poets altered the nationality of other tragedians.⁹⁵ These four tragedians originate from coastal poleis of Asia Minor: Phaselis, Sinope, Tarsus, and Halicarnassus. Colonisation of Phaselis, Sinope, and Halicarnassus in previous centuries means that it is unsurprising that these poleis have a strong connection with tragedy throughout the fourth century, showing that Alexander's conquests cannot be the only cause for the dissemination of tragedy in the East.⁹⁶ In addition, the reaction of these poleis to their poets' successes was one of praise, with Phanostratus celebrated by Halicarnassian poets in the *Pride of Halicarnassus* (Isager (1998)) for his victories in various tragic competitions at Athens.

⁹⁰ δμῶα Διωνύσου Φανόστρατον ἔσχεν ἀοιδόν | Κεκροπιδῶν ἱεροῖς ἄβρὸν ἐνὶ στεφάνοις ('[Halicarnassus] had the singer Phanostratus, the servant of Dionysus, gleaming in the sacred crowns of the Athenians', *Pride of Halicarnassus* col. II.51–2, transl. based on that of Isager (1998) 9).

⁹¹ *IG* II² 3073.3; Phanostratus' success in the Lenaea is the last known victory by a foreign poet in an Athenian dramatic competition.

⁹² This epithet can scarcely have been the title of a tragedy on its own, but must have described the title character. Conjectures for the identity of this individual include Athamas (Welcker (1841) 1046), Heracles (Hartmann (1917) 203), and Medea (Welcker (1841) 1046, Hartmann (1917) 203).

⁹³ *Su.* α 3406 Adler; the number of known plays may be reduced to five if *Odysseus* is to be taken with *Acanthoplex* (thus Welcker (1841) 1046), a possibility since Sophocles wrote an *Odysseus Acanthoplex*.

⁹⁴ *IG* II² 2325 col. III.236, col. VIII.321; thus Reisch (1912) 339, *TrGF* I p. 209.

⁹⁵ Cf. Spintharus from Heraclea whom Aristophanes called Phrygian (*Ar. Av.* 762 with scholium); thus Stewart (2017) 219.

⁹⁶ The strong connection between the coastal poleis and tragedy is also attested by the construction of theatres in the region including at Cyme in the fourth century (Lagona (2006) 18) and possibly in Neandria during the fifth century (Trunk (1994) 91–100, (1996) 149–56).

Considering the performance contexts of fourth-century tragedy in the East can lead us to a much more rounded impression of tragedy in this region. Theodectas' *Mausolus* was produced at the funeral games of King Mausolus in Halicarnassus in 353 at the behest of Mausolus' widow Artemisia. Theodectas' tragedy most likely celebrated Mausolus' life given its context⁹⁷ or dealt with an invented namesake of the heroic age.⁹⁸ The involvement of a woman in the sponsorship of drama is otherwise unattested; the closest parallel to tragedy featuring in funereal contexts comes in the *proagon* of 406 when Sophocles dressed his chorus in mourning for Euripides.⁹⁹ Dramatists also travelled to the further East in the fourth century to produce plays. As previously noted, Python produced his satyr drama *Agen* in 324 either to Alexander's troops at Susa or at a Dionysiac festival at Ecbatana. If Python's *Agen* was performed in Susa to Alexander's troops, it would be an occasional piece, i.e. performed as a solitary play outside of a competitive context. If it was produced at a Dionysiac festival in Ecbatana, this would represent a challenge to Athens' dominance in tragedy, with the possible appropriation by Alexander of many elements of the Athenian City Dionysia.¹⁰⁰ In addition, Python's decision to present contemporary rather than past events represents a development in the treatment of history in drama, which in the case of tragedy and satyr drama was limited to the past.

⁹⁷ Thus Ullman (1942) 30.

⁹⁸ Thus Hornblower (1982) 261, 335–6; cf. Euripides' *Archelaus*.

⁹⁹ *Vit. Eur.* 2.

¹⁰⁰ Cf. the dramatic competition held in Phoenicia by Alexander in 331 which featured contests in genres such as dithyramb and tragedy (Plut. *Alex.* 29.1–6); this competition mirrored many aspects of the City Dionysia such as the use of choregoi to fund tragedies and the inclusion of a jury.

Some recurring themes of fourth-century tragedy

From how lovers react towards their family¹⁰¹ to how man can overcome the obstacles of nature,¹⁰² from the importance of the truth over appearing good¹⁰³ to tyranny as the mother of injustice,¹⁰⁴ the sentiments and themes present in the fragments of fourth-century tragedy are as varied as the tragedians who composed them. Given the limitations of space, it is not possible to explore every theme treated in the fragments.¹⁰⁵ Instead, priority has been given to those subjects which occur most frequently and which are treated by at least two separate poets. This is to ensure both that a theme is well attested among the fragments and that it is not unique to a particular tragedian and thus indicative of their individual poetic style. These themes have then been grouped under general subheadings, such as familial bonds or the natural world, so that as many different aspects of these topics and as many fragments as possible can be explored.¹⁰⁶ We must, however, note that while the themes selected in this section are prevalent in the fragments, we cannot use this data to conjecture that the same topics were common in fourth-century tragedy.

Familial bonds

πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ οἱ ποιηταὶ τοὺς τυχόντας μύθους ἀπηρίθμουν, νῦν δὲ περὶ ὀλίγας οἰκίας αἱ κάλλιστα τραγωιδία συντίθενται, οἷον περὶ Ἀλκμέωνα καὶ Οἰδίπουν καὶ Ὀρέστην καὶ Μελέαγρον καὶ Θυέστην καὶ Τήλεφον καὶ ὅσοις ἄλλοις συμβέβηκεν ἢ παθεῖν δεινὰ ἢ ποιῆσαι.

¹⁰¹ Dicaeogenes fr. 1b *TrGF*.

¹⁰² Antiphon fr. 4 *TrGF*.

¹⁰³ Astydamas *Alcmeon* fr. 1c *TrGF*.

¹⁰⁴ Dionysius fr. 4 *TrGF*.

¹⁰⁵ For a full treatment of the various subjects of fourth-century tragedy see Xanthakis-Karamanos (1980).

¹⁰⁶ For example, the section on familial bonds examines the roles of mothers, fathers, and multi-generational relationships. The same methodology has been used in compiling the stylistic features section.

At first, the poets recounted any story to hand, but now the finest tragedies are centred around a few houses, such as about Alcmeon and Oedipus and Orestes and Meleager and Thyestes and Telephus and the others who happened to suffer terrible deeds or to inflict them.

Arist. *Poet.* 1453a 17–22

Family is very much at the heart of tragedy, with almost every fifth-century tragedy crucially concerned with this theme in one way or another. It similarly has especial prominence in the fragments of fourth-century tragedy, particularly parental relationships.¹⁰⁷ For mothers, this is evidenced in maternal sacrifice. In Antiphon's *Andromache*, Antiphon presents Andromache sending her child away, content in the knowledge that he would grow up safe, but sacrificing her own connection with him, knowing that he would be unaware of who she was and thus that she would be unable to act as a mother towards him.¹⁰⁸ In Carcinus' *Medea*, Medea sends away her children in the misguided hope that they will be safe from reprisals after she has killed Glauce.¹⁰⁹ Both mothers almost certainly suffered emotional distress at being separated from their offspring, though less so Medea since she presumably expected to see her sons again. In addition, both mothers send their children away to escape an impending danger, though this precaution is in vain since Glauce kills Medea's children and Andromache's son may have also died, if Antiphon's play followed the plot of Euripides' *Trojan Women*.

Mothers were also mourners in fourth-century tragedy. The best surviving example is the Muse in the pseudo-Euripidean *Rhesus* who delivers three speeches at the end of this play when mourning her son Rhesus. In the first (890–903), she announces her arrival in the

¹⁰⁷ Several fragments contain philosophical sentiments about the relationship between parents and their children including Dicaeogenes fr. 2, 4, 5 *TrGF*, Chaeremon fr. 33, 35 *TrGF*, Theodectas fr. 14 *TrGF*, Cleaenetus fr. 1 *TrGF*.

¹⁰⁸ Arist. *Eth. Eud.* 1239a 35–8, *Eth. Nic.* 1159a 27–33 = fr. 1 *TrGF*. The child may have been Molossus (see Simpson on Arist. *Eth. Eud.* 1239a 38), with the tragedy following Euripides' *Andromache*, or Astyanax (Allan (2000) 54), with the play largely corresponding to Euripides' *Trojan Women*.

¹⁰⁹ Arist. *Rhet.* 1400b 9–15 (= fr. 1g I); fr. 1h.5–6.

Trojan camp and her grief for Rhesus, and notes how she and Rhesus' father Strymon tried to prevent Rhesus from coming to Troy. In her second speech (906–49), the Muse curses Diomedes, Odysseus, and Helen for their roles in Rhesus' death, recounts the stories of Thamyris and of Rhesus' childhood, and denounces Athena, and in her third monologue (962–82), the Muse announces what will happen to Rhesus after his death and how Thetis will soon mourn for Achilles, a thought with which the Muse consoles herself. In addition to *Rhesus*, Demeter's grief is described in Carcinus fr. 5, as noted above, and in fr. B1 of the *Achilles* of Sophocles II, a character mourns the death of her or his son.¹¹⁰ Since Philoctetes is present at the end of the tragedy,¹¹¹ Achilles must have died in Sophocles' play,¹¹² as Philoctetes did not arrive in Troy until after Achilles had been killed by Paris;¹¹³ the speaker of fr. B1 is thus most likely Thetis.¹¹⁴

In all three instances, maternal grief is followed by a positive outcome. In *Rhesus*, the title character will not suffer in the afterlife¹¹⁵ and the Muse contents herself with the thought that her grief is easier to bear than what Thetis will soon suffer.¹¹⁶ In Carcinus fr. 5, a cult of Demeter and Persephone is established in Sicily, and Philoctetes arrives at the end of Sophocles' *Achilles*, alluding to his role in killing Paris.¹¹⁷ In addition, in *Rhesus* and Sophocles' *Achilles*, the mourning mother stands out via her delivery, with the Muse deploying lyrical metres forming a strophic pair when mourning her son and cursing Odysseus, Diomedes, and Helen,¹¹⁸ and with Thetis using similar metres along with musical

¹¹⁰ ἰὼ μοι ('ah me', fr. B1.2 West); ἰὼ πόποι ('alas', *ibid.* 4); παῖς ('child', *ibid.* 10). Although separated by 2 lines from ἰὼ πόποι (musical notation is found every other line), the lamentation was still probably related to the child (thus West (1999) 50).

¹¹¹ Ποιαντος υἱέ ('son of Poetas', fr. A10 col. 2.4 West).

¹¹² Thus West (1999) 44.

¹¹³ Proc. *Chrestomathia* 212–13 = arg. *Little Iliad GEF*.

¹¹⁴ Thus West (1999) 44.

¹¹⁵ *Rh.* 962–73.

¹¹⁶ ῥᾶιον δὲ πένθος τῆς θαλασσίας θεοῦ | οἴσω (*Rh.* 974–5).

¹¹⁷ arg. *Little Iliad GEF*.

¹¹⁸ *Rh.* 906–14.

accompaniment when expressing her grief; perhaps Thetis sang her lines as a dirge to indicate her emotional state.

For fathers, the most prominent aspect of their portrayal in fourth-century tragedy is similarly their sadness. In Carcinus' *Alope*, Alope tries to conceal her rape by Poseidon from her father Cercyon. Eventually, however, Cercyon discovers that Alope had been raped and that Poseidon was responsible and, unable to cope with his inability to avenge his daughter's suffering, Cercyon took his own life.¹¹⁹ Cercyon's decision to commit suicide diverges from fifth-century tragedy in which he insults and kills his daughter Alope as a result of her rape.¹²⁰ This shift in characterisation alters the perception of Cercyon from a hostile father figure to an emotional individual worthy of pity for his own anguish. By contrast, in Astydamos' *Nauplius*, Nauplius addresses the body of his son Palamedes, noting that Palamedes' death brings freedom from suffering.¹²¹ Nauplius thus comforts himself with the knowledge that his son's suffering has ceased.¹²²

Fourth-century tragedy also presented families which contained a complex network of interconnected relationships. In Astydamos' *Hector*, there are multiple relationships between parents and their children. In fr. 2, Hector is about to depart from Troy and bids Astyanax farewell, removing his helmet to avoid frightening his son. This scene presents a relationship between a father and his son and reworks the image of Hector as not just warrior-leader but a more rounded fatherly figure. This presentation is also emphasised by the possible inclusion of Andromache in the same scene, showing the family together as one unit for the final time. Astydamos' *Hector* may feature a second father-son relationship, with Priam¹²³ concerned at

¹¹⁹ Arist. *Eth. Nic.* 1150b 6–13 (= fr. 1c I); anon. *ap.* Arist. *EN* 1150b 6–13 = p. 437.2 Heylbut (= fr. 1c II).

¹²⁰ Cf. Eur. *Alope* fr. 109–11 *TrGF* (with Collard and Cropp (2008) 115–17); thus Xanthakis-Karamanos (1979) 74.

¹²¹ Fr. 5 *TrGF*.

¹²² Cf. the maternal sacrifice of Andromache and Medea discussed above.

¹²³ Thus Webster (1954) 306, Turner (1955a) 11.

a prophecy he has heard from Helenus,¹²⁴ perhaps predicting Hector's death. Priam's worries for Hector correspond with the gentler presentation of fathers in fourth-century tragedy in which they express more concern for their children than themselves.¹²⁵ The inclusion of Priam in this play has the added effect of presenting Hector as a child himself, of Priam, corresponding with Astydamos' treatment of Hector as more than just a warrior. Finally, in fr. 1h fr. 3, one character urges another to remain in Troy if he is scared. These individuals may be Hector and Deiphobus.¹²⁶ This would present Hector as a brother and expand Hector's familial network, emphasising the importance of the role of family in Astydamos' *Hector*.

Dionysius' *Ransoming of Hector* similarly presents multiple familial relationships. No fragments survive, but the plot can largely be reconstructed from Tzetzes' *Homerica*,¹²⁷ since a scholium to line 311 states that any differences between Tzetzes' treatment of the ransoming of Hector's body from Achilles and the version found in the *Iliad* can be attributed to Dionysius. So Dionysius' tragedy opened with Priam travelling to the Greek camp on foot;¹²⁸ Andromache, Astyanax, and Laodamas may have accompanied Priam at this point or have come onstage after his prologue speech. The Trojan party arrived at the Greek encampment and were ushered into Achilles' hut where Priam and Andromache made pleas to Achilles to release Hector's body.¹²⁹ Astyanax and Laodamas wept at the mention of their father¹³⁰ and Achilles, moved by their tears, returned Hector's body to Priam in exchange for gold and silver.¹³¹ Dionysius' tragedy would have ended with Hector's corpse being taken back to Troy in preparation for his funeral.

¹²⁴ Fr. 1h fr. 1 col. 2.6–8 *TrGF*.

¹²⁵ Priam's concern for Hector is also seen in *Tr. adesp.* fr. 649.1–5 *TrGF*.

¹²⁶ Thus Turner (1955a) 11, Xanthakis-Karamanos (1981) 219.

¹²⁷ *Homerica* 295–400.

¹²⁸ Σ Tzetz. *Homerica* 311 = fr. 2b *TrGF*.

¹²⁹ Tzetz. *Homerica* 320–59.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.* 360–79.

¹³¹ *Ibid.* 389–400.

In Dionysius' play, Hector is again presented as father figure, emphasised by the presence of Astyanax and Laodamas. Both sons weep at seeing the corpse of their father, emphasising the significance of the relationship between Hector and his sons, namely that they are without Hector to protect them as their father. Their presence alludes to their roles in the Trojan household as simultaneously the future of the royal line and its conclusion. The inclusion of Priam shows, as with Astydamos' *Hector*, that Hector is not merely a fallen, powerful warrior, but is also Priam's son, with Hector making the ultimate sacrifice on behalf of his father; this also softens the characterisation of Hector from fallen warrior to slain family member. Finally, the presence of Andromache shows Hector to be a husband, with Hector's role as the protector of his family brought to the fore along with the consequences of his death, namely the impending demise of his children and Andromache's servitude.

The importance of the theme of family in fourth-century tragedy can also be evidenced via a counter-example, Hector in the pseudo-Euripidean *Rhesus*. In this play, Hector is presented as arrogant, over-confident, and reckless, intending to attack the Greek encampment without a clear plan of action, initially dismissing the messenger without hearing his news, and berating Rhesus for his late arrival.¹³² Much of Hector's characterisation in this play results from the advantageous position in which he finds himself, having forced the Greek army into retreat. Nonetheless, the almost complete absence of Hector's familial bonds in *Rhesus* may also account for the differing presentations of Hector in this play and in Astydamos' *Hector* and Dionysius' *Ransoming of Hector*. Whereas Hector was part of a wider family network in Astydamos' and Dionysius' tragedies and thus depicted in a much more rounded manner, in *Rhesus*, he almost entirely lacks these family connections and so displays negative characteristics such as those mentioned above. Admittedly, *Rhesus*

¹³² *Rh.* 100–4, 266–70, 393–421.

features Paris,¹³³ but any interaction between him and Hector is prevented by Athena in the guise of Aphrodite, meaning that any possibility of tempering Hector's characterisation by showing him in a familial context is denied.

Women

Given the prevalence of women in many of the fragments and testimonia for fourth-century tragedy and given the scholarly interest in women in general in tragedy, we will consider more widely their role in fourth-century tragedy. In addition to being mothers, we also see several women as wives. In Dionysius' *The Ransoming of Hector*, Andromache pleaded with Achilles to release her husband's body and in Astydamas' *Hector*, she may have urged Hector to remain in Troy if he fears fighting, concerned for Hector's safety, especially given his doubts about his own abilities.¹³⁴ Dionysius' Andromache is so devoted to her husband Hector that she accompanies Priam on his journey to Achilles' hut and makes her own emotional plea to Achilles to release Hector's body. Such loyalty and devotion to one's husband is contrasted by the actions of Jason's fiancée Glauce in Carcinus' *Medea*. In this play, Glauce was murdered by his ex-wife Medea and Glauce killed the sons of Jason and Medea.¹³⁵ Glauce's decision to kill Medea's children diverges from Carcinus' tragic predecessors. In Euripides' *Medea*, Jason's fiancée, unnamed by Euripides, is merely a victim of Medea's plotting, accepting the murderous gifts without scepticism and suffering as a result. In Carcinus' play, Glauce is presented as a disloyal fiancée, killing Medea's sons at an opportune moment. This transforms Glauce from a helpless, nameless, innocent figure in Euripides' *Medea* to an opportunistic killer in Carcinus' play, whose death at Medea's hands

¹³³ Although Aeneas is distantly related to Hector via grandmother Themiste, only direct family relations are considered here.

¹³⁴ Fr. 1h fr. 3.2–3 *TrGF*.

¹³⁵ Σ Arist. *Rhet.* 1400b 10 Rabe (= fr. 1g I) with West (2007) 6–7. Although Glauce is only Jason's fiancée, she is nonetheless treated here given that Jason intended to marry Glauce, with only her death preventing him from doing so.

serves as an inadvertent punishment. This alteration of Glauce also ensures that Jason suffers not just because of the actions of Medea, but from his fiancée killing his sons.

Women were also presented independent of their roles as mothers or wives. Carcinus *Semele* fr. 3 notes that it is not necessary to say anything bad about women, since the word *γυνή* is indicative of negative qualities. In Theodectas' *Alcmeon* fr. 1a, a character states that there is a well-established maxim that nothing is more wretched than the nature of a woman and Theodectas fr. 13 argues that when a man marries a woman, he brings into his household the woman and a force, either for good or for evil. Finally, in Theodectas fr. 10, the speaker describes how a woman has slandered him and how, after speaking to her husband, both she and her husband are hostile to the speaker. Chaeremon, however, focuses on the physical attractiveness of women. *Alphesiboia* fr. 1 describes various aspects of a woman's beauty, in particular her gleaming white skin, her blushing as a result of modesty, and her wind-tossed hair, which is compared to the curls on the hair of a wax-covered statue. Chaeremon *Oeneus* fr. 14 recounts the movements of girls, often assumed to be Maenads,¹³⁶ in a meadow. One girl has her cloak open, revealing her breasts, another dances around naked, and a third embraces the neck of a fourth girl. The beauty of all four women, particularly their complexions, is praised by Chaeremon in a sensual description of their actions, and they lie on the ground, exhausted after their dance. The limitation of such a treatment of women to Chaeremon, however, suggests that this may be more indicative of his style rather than of fourth-century tragedy as a whole.

The natural world

In many respects, the fragments of fourth-century tragedy use the natural world in much the same way as fifth-century tragedy. Invocation of natural phenomena, for example, occurs in

¹³⁶ Thus *TrGF* I p. 221, Bremmer (2004) 564.

tragedies from both periods.¹³⁷ Carcinus' *Semele* opens with an address to nights.¹³⁸ This suggests that the speaker is in distress, turning to the natural world for help.¹³⁹ In Dicaeogenes fr. 6, the sun is invoked, perhaps for similar reasons, and in Theodectas fr. 10, a character calls out to the sun, asking whether it has ever seen another individual in such great turmoil. The pathetic fallacy similarly retained its importance, used, as already noted, in Carcinus fr. 5, where Demeter's grief for abducted Persephone is reflected by the land itself in Sicily.¹⁴⁰

Nonetheless, subtle differences exist in the use of nature in fifth- and fourth-century tragedy. Chaeremon uses flowers in his fragments as part of descriptions. In *Dionysus* fr. 7, he describes *heliktoi* garlands comprising ivy and narcissus, in *Thyestes* fr. 8, he depicts roses shining forth among white lilies, and in *Odysseus* fr. 13, Chaeremon records how some women wore roses in their hair. In *Oeneus* fr. 14, Chaeremon tells of a group of women falling onto carment and plucking the petals of crocuses and violets. Chaeremon's reference to specific species of flowers differs from fifth-century tragedy in which flowers were rarely mentioned.¹⁴¹ This divergence may partially be explained by Chaeremon's style in which he favoured lavish descriptions of women and nature, the flowers perhaps emphasising the sensual nature of his verses, but the use of flowers in these fragments may also be part of a growing poetic tradition surrounding nature which culminated in the bucolic poetry of Theocritus among others.

Fourth-century tragedy also used the natural world as a setting, as in Carcinus fr. 5, discussed above. Chaeremon fr. 17 comes from a lengthy account, perhaps a messenger

¹³⁷ Cf. Soph. *Phil.* 936–9.

¹³⁸ Fr. 2 *TrGF*.

¹³⁹ Cf. Eur. *Andromeda* fr. 114 *TrGF*; Eur. *Phoen.* 3–4 (with Haslam (1975) 149–66); Accius *Phoenician Women* fr. 585–8 Warmington (with Warmington (1936) 525); Men. *Misoumenos* 1–5.

¹⁴⁰ Cf. Eur. *Bacch.* 114, *Hel.* 1323–6 with Larson (2001) 45.

¹⁴¹ Narcissus is mentioned just once in fifth-century tragedy (Soph. *OC* 683); roses twice (Eur. *Hel.* 245, *Med.* 841); the crocus five times (Aesch. *Ag.* 239, Eur. *Hec.* 471, *Ion* 889, *Autolycus* fr. 282.12 *TrGF*, Soph. *OC* 685). Lilies, carment, and marjoram are not found in fifth-century tragedy.

speech, in which the speaker describes how they and others passed an enclosure and crossed a river. In Chaeremon *Oeneus* fr. 14, as already noted, the actions of several maidens in a meadow are described. Here, the idyllic countryside, emphasised by the meadow, strengthens the relaxed nature of the maidens and the idealised nature of the setting and the many flowers of the meadow complement the radiant beauty of the women. There are also two fourth-century tragedies either set entirely in a rural environment or which presented rural pursuits. Antiphon's *Meleager* treated Meleager's hunt for and successful capture of the Calydonian boar and its aftermath, including the death of Meleager himself.¹⁴² Its sole surviving fragment indicates that Meleager's actions in hunting the boar were perceived positively, his success associated with ἀρετή and recounted beyond Calydon.¹⁴³ Dionysius' *Adonis* also had a rural setting, given mention of a cave in fr. 1 and the possible use of the demonstrative pronoun τόνδ' in relation to it.¹⁴⁴ The description of the hooves and the discharge of the boar as spoils indicates that the boar has been successfully killed, with fr. 1 coming from a high-point in Dionysius' tragedy. Hence Dionysius' *Adonis* almost certainly presented the title character hunting a boar, the tragedy culminating in Adonis' death.¹⁴⁵ Both plays celebrate the virtue and renown of good huntsmen. Moreover, the successful killing of a boar comes from the highpoint of their respective tragedies, with Adonis surveying the remains of his kill and Meleager's renown celebrated far and wide.

¹⁴² Thus Hall (2007) 276. Sosiphanes also produced a *Meleager*, which may have also dealt with the aftermath of the hunt for the boar (Grossardt (2001) 98) or the blossoming relationship between Meleager and Atalanta (Kotlinska-Toma (2014) 59).

¹⁴³ οὐχ ὡς κτάνωσι θῆρ', ὅπως δὲ μάρτυρες | ἀρετῆς γένωνται Μελεάγρῳ πρὸς Ἑλλάδα ('not so that they can kill the beast, but so that they can become witnesses to Greece of Meleager's virtue', fr. 2 *TrGF*).

¹⁴⁴ νυμφῶν ὑπὸ σπήλυγγα ἴτόνδ' ἴ αὐτόστεγον | σύαγρον ἐκβόλειον ἴεῦθηρον ἴ κυσίν, | ὀπλᾶς τ' ἀπαρχὰς ἀκροθινιάζομαι ('within ἴthis hereἴ grotto of the nymphs with its natural roof I take for myself as first spoils the discharge of the boar ἴeasy to huntἴ with dogs and its hooves').

¹⁴⁵ Thus Robertson (1982) 328, Reed (1996) 381–2; cf. Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.14.4.

Some stylistic features of fourth-century tragedy

Just as with the previous section on some of the recurring themes of fourth-century tragedy, so too do the fragments display certain stylistic features worthy of discussion. As before, the limitations of space mean that it is not possible to discuss every stylistic feature and instead priority is given to those aspects which occur most frequently and which are found in the fragments of more than one poet. This is to ensure that a stylistic feature is well attested and that it is not unique to a particular poet and thus indicative of their style. The stylistic features have then been grouped under general subheadings to ensure that as wide an array of fragments and poets as possible can be discussed. We must, however, issue two caveats before exploring these stylistic features. Firstly, while the features selected in this section are prevalent in the fragments, we cannot conclude that they were common throughout fourth-century tragedy. In addition, many of the features selected for discussion, such as mythological changes and the chorus, were also prevalent in fifth-century tragedy and so we also cannot conclude that the features in this section are unique to fourth-century tragedy, only that they are prevalent among the surviving fragments.

Mythological changes

One of the most frequent ways in which fourth-century tragedy engaged with mythology was through the novel adaptation of myths, such as those which dealt with material from Homeric epic. The best surviving example of such a change is the pseudo-Euripidean *Rhesus*, which presents the Doloneia from a Trojan perspective; this contrasts with the version found in the *Iliad* which mainly, but not entirely, treats this episode from a Greek perspective. This has a significant impact on the treatment of the characters with this episode, with Hector, for example, developed far more than in book 10. Whereas in the *Iliad* Hector's role is limited to assigning Dolon to spy on the Greek encampment and swearing an oath to give him Achilles'

horses as a prize,¹⁴⁶ in *Rhesus*, Hector is one of the central characters, planning a Trojan attack on the retreating Greek camp, dispatching Dolon to discover the plans of the Greek army, receiving Rhesus and berating him for his late arrival, and dealing with the Thracian charioteer after Rhesus' death.¹⁴⁷ This allows the audience an insight into an aspect of the Doloneia left untreated by Homer, namely Hector's actions at the height of Trojan success in the war. A similar change can also be seen in the characterisation of Dolon, who, in the *Iliad*, undertakes spying duties only for the reward of Achilles' horses, carelessly runs into Odysseus and Diomedes, initially believing them to be Trojan allies, and who suffers a tortuous death after informing Odysseus and Diomedes of the affairs of the Trojan camp.¹⁴⁸ By contrast, Dolon is presented far more favourably in *Rhesus*, bargaining with Hector over his reward for spying on the Greeks and with his death compressed and the information he gave to Odysseus and Diomedes reduced to only the watchword, a dramatic necessity to allow Odysseus and Diomedes to escape the Trojans unscathed.¹⁴⁹

Rhesus has additional characters to furnish the Trojan camp, notably Aeneas and Paris. Aeneas persuades Hector to abandon his plans to attack the Greek encampment immediately on seeing the watch fires and instead to send a spy to discover their plans, thus allowing the army to rest¹⁵⁰ and Paris attempts to warn Hector about Odysseus and Diomedes spying on the Trojans, only prevented from doing so by Athena in the guise of Aphrodite.¹⁵¹ Both figures allow for the presentation of an expanded Trojan encampment as required by the poet's decision to present the episode via the Trojans. Moreover, as with the positive treatment of Dolon, Aeneas and Paris are presented more favourably, Aeneas' disputes with

¹⁴⁶ *Il.* 10.299–332.

¹⁴⁷ *Rh.* 100–4, 149–94, 388–526, 808–88.

¹⁴⁸ *Il.* 10. 320–7, 350, 372–465.

¹⁴⁹ *Rh.* 164–94, 573.

¹⁵⁰ *Rh.* 105–30.

¹⁵¹ *Rh.* 641–64.

the house of Priam being entirely omitted from *Rhesus*¹⁵² and Paris serving a useful purpose in trying to protect Hector. So too are Rhesus and the Muse additions by the poet. Although Rhesus is mentioned in book 10, this is limited to a passing reference to his late arrival and a description of him sleeping in the centre of the Thracian camp.¹⁵³ Rhesus is, however, far more developed in *Rhesus*, featuring as a character in his own right who defends himself against Hector's charges that he has delayed his arrival until he can be sure of Hector's success.¹⁵⁴ Rhesus' role in the Trojan war also diverges from the *Iliad*, with Athena stating that he would become invulnerable should he be alive the following morning,¹⁵⁵ a detail not found in the *Iliad*. The presence of Rhesus also means that the poet can include Rhesus' mother, the Muse, to mourn for her son, innovatively placing the Muse in the role of the *dea ex machina* and thus elevating her grief to the end point of the play.¹⁵⁶

The focus on the Trojans in *Rhesus* also impacts on the treatment of the Greeks. The watchfires, for example, that are part of the Trojan camp in the *Iliad*¹⁵⁷ are assigned to the Greek army instead, used to show the fear among the Greeks.¹⁵⁸ Similarly, Odysseus' and Diomedes' roles in the Doloneia are altered by this changing perspective. As already mentioned, their killing of Dolon is compressed in comparison to the *Iliad*, but Odysseus and Diomedes also choose to try to kill Hector.¹⁵⁹ This is a change from the *Iliad* in which Rhesus is their intended victim¹⁶⁰ and perhaps shows the panic among the Greeks, with both trying desperately to kill Hector and thus bring relief to the Greeks who are surrounded in their encampment. This desperation is also reflected in the role of Athena, who is required to direct

¹⁵² *Il.* 13.459–61, Liapis (2012) li.

¹⁵³ *Il.* 10.434–5, 474.

¹⁵⁴ *Rh.* 422–53.

¹⁵⁵ *Rh.* 600–5.

¹⁵⁶ Thus Liapis (2012) lii.

¹⁵⁷ *Il.* 10.12–13.

¹⁵⁸ *Rh.* 41.

¹⁵⁹ *Rh.* 575–6.

¹⁶⁰ *Il.* 10.462–76, Liapis (2012) xlvii.

Odysseus and Diomedes to kill Rhesus rather than Hector.¹⁶¹ Moreover, as already mentioned, Athena prevents Paris from warning Hector about the presence of Odysseus and Diomedes in the vicinity,¹⁶² adopting the disguise of Aphrodite to do so; this undermines Athena, since she takes the form of Aphrodite, an unwarlike goddess.¹⁶³ By contrast, in the *Iliad*, Athena's sole action is the dispatch of a heron to indicate her support for Odysseus and Diomedes.¹⁶⁴

In Astydamas' *Hector*, the Trojan War is similarly presented from a Trojan perspective with the action set in Troy itself.¹⁶⁵ Fr. 2 comes from a scene in which Hector removed his helmet to avoid frightening Astyanax and then bid his son farewell.¹⁶⁶ Other scenes include one in which a character (possibly Priam)¹⁶⁷ is concerned at a prophecy of Helenus,¹⁶⁸ another in which one character (perhaps Deiphobus) urges another (presumably Hector)¹⁶⁹ to remain in Troy if they are frightened,¹⁷⁰ and a report of the duel between Hector and Achilles, presumably in a messenger speech to Priam.¹⁷¹ There is also extended dialogue in fr. 1i between a character whose name is unknown (perhaps a messenger) and Hector in which Hector is informed of a Greek attack on Troy and orders the messenger to fetch his arms from his house. At the same time, Hector berates the messenger for causing panic, and admits that he fears he will be unable to live up to the Trojans' impression of him.

The inclusion of Hector's departure in book 6 of the *Iliad* (fr. 2) alongside scenes which come from *Iliad* 22 demonstrates that Astydamas was comfortable in adapting the

¹⁶¹ *Rh.* 595–607; cf. Pind. fr. 262 Snell-Maehler in which Athena similarly directs Diomedes and Odysseus to kill Rhesus.

¹⁶² *Rh.* 642–67.

¹⁶³ Thus Liapis (2012) lii; cf. *Il.* 5.311–431.

¹⁶⁴ *Il.* 10.274–5.

¹⁶⁵ Tragedies set in Troy are also found in the fifth century, e.g. Sophocles' *Troilus*, Euripides' *Alexandros*, Coe (2011).

¹⁶⁶ Cf. Hom. *Il.* 6.414–96.

¹⁶⁷ Thus Webster (1954) 306, Turner (1955a) 11.

¹⁶⁸ Fr. 1h fr. 1 col. 2.6–8 *TrGF*.

¹⁶⁹ Thus Turner (1955a) 11, Xanthakis-Karamanos (1981) 219.

¹⁷⁰ Fr. 1h fr. 3.2–3 *TrGF*.

¹⁷¹ Fr. 2a *TrGF*; thus Xanthakis-Karamanos (1981) 219, Kannicht (1991) 288.

Homeric material to suit the needs of his plot.¹⁷² This also lends Hector's departure greater poignancy, as Hector's final farewell to his family. Astydamos' presentation of Hector is similarly novel, showing him to be a brave warrior, who at the same time has his own flaws, namely a lack of self-confidence. Finally, Astydamos' treatment of the duel between Hector and Achilles in fr. 2a differs from that found in the *Iliad*. In Astydamos' play, Hector launches the first spear attack rather than Achilles and Achilles is described as cowering behind his shield as a result rather than Hector. Heroisation of Hector is to be expected since the account of the duel is being presented to a Trojan audience, but it nonetheless sharply contrasts with Homeric epic, with Astydamos giving Hector the heroic treatment afforded to Achilles in the *Iliad* and presenting Achilles as the more cowardly figure, hiding from Hector.

Material from the *Iliad* is also treated in Dionysius' *The Ransoming of Hector*, in which Dionysius makes one fundamental change to this episode in Homer, the inclusion of women. In the *Iliad*, the ransoming of Hector's body is a male-dominated affair, with the negotiations taking place between Priam and Achilles with the body of Hector nearby in the hut, and with women only featuring when Hector's body is returned to Troy.¹⁷³ This episode is thus presented in a masculine context in the *Iliad*, with male-based relationships, namely between the father Priam and his son Hector and between the ruler of Troy, Priam, and the leader of the Myrmidons, Achilles. Dionysius' inclusion of women and children in the ransoming itself fundamentally changes the nature of this episode.¹⁷⁴ This alteration ensures that Hector is not only presented as a fallen warrior and the son of Priam, but as a husband to Andromache and as a father to Astyanax and Laodamas. This provides a more rounded impression of Hector, characterising him not only in terms of his role in the Trojan war, but

¹⁷² Fr. 1h corresponds with *Il.* 22.33–76, fr. 1i comes from *Il.* 22.1–4, 97–130, and fr. 2a corresponds with *Il.* 22.273–91.

¹⁷³ Admittedly, slave girls feature in Hom. *Il.* 24.643–9, setting up the beds in Achilles' hut; they do not, however, talk or have a role in the discussion between Achilles and Priam over the body of Hector.

¹⁷⁴ Cf. the possible presence of Briseis in Aesch. *Phrygians/The Ransoming of Hector* fr. 267 *TrGF* (with Sommerstein (2009) 269).

also in relation to his position in the Trojan royal family. This, in turn, corresponds with a similarly fuller portrayal of Hector in Astydamas' *Hector*.

Other mythological traditions including Medea were similarly adapted by fourth-century tragedians. Antiphon's *Jason* is the least secure fourth-century tragedy about Medea, with its sole surviving fragment possibly wrongly attributed to Antiphon, coming instead from a comedy entitled *Jason* by Antiphanes, perhaps a variant title of his *Medea*.¹⁷⁵ If Antiphon did write a *Jason*, however, this play may have presented an episode involving Medea from Jason's perspective, a divergence from fifth-century tragedy in which it was Medea or both Jason and Medea who were the focus of tragedies featuring both her and Jason. Carcinus' decision in *Medea* to depict Medea sending her children to safety corresponds with versions in which Medea sought sanctuary for her children.¹⁷⁶ In all of these instances, Medea's sons reach safety, but nonetheless suffer despite Medea's best efforts to protect them. Carcinus' designation of the killer of Medea's sons as someone other than Medea also corresponds with other versions of the myth. Carcinus thus explicitly aligns his tragedy with established mythological traditions, but diverges from Euripides' and Neophron's *Medea* plays in which Medea is responsible for killing her children.¹⁷⁷ In addition, Glaucus' decision to kill Medea's children in Carcinus' *Medea* is novel, meaning that Medea's plot to murder her becomes a punishment for Glaucus' actions, albeit inadvertently.

Fourth-century tragedy also focused on presenting myths hitherto unexplored on the tragic stage. Admittedly, caution must be exercised in declaring a tragedy to be the first presentation of a myth given that this is always an argumentum ex silentio, but nonetheless,

¹⁷⁵ Thus Meineke (1839) 316.

¹⁷⁶ Cf. Creophylus *FGrHist* 417 F 3, Σ Eur. *Med.* 9 Schwartz; this tradition is alluded to in Eur. *Med.* 1238–41, 1301–5, 1380–1.

¹⁷⁷ Cf. Neophron *Medea* fr. 2 *TrGF*, though Medea is hesitant in these lines about killing her sons, telling them to get out of her sight (παῖδες, ἔκτος ὀμμάτων | ἀπέλθετ', fr. 2.10–11 *TrGF*).

there are several examples such as Chaeremon's *Achilles Killing Thersites* and Dionysius' *Adonis*.¹⁷⁸ Admittedly, Chaeremon's *Achilles Killing Thersites* sources its plot from a well-tapped reserve of myths, cyclic epic, but it is the only tragedy known to have presented Achilles killing Thersites. Such plays are, however, simply an extension of the tradition of adapting myths in novel ways, arising from a desire not simply to rework material already treated in fifth-century tragedy to provide a new perspective, but to go much further, to present stories not seen on the tragic stage. This, and the tendency to adapt myths already used in fifth-century tragedy, may result from pressures arising from the status of fifth-century tragedy.¹⁷⁹ With reperformances of old tragedies at the City Dionysia from 386 onward¹⁸⁰ and with the elevation of Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides to poetic greats, there would have been considerable pressure on fourth-century tragedians to produce plays as inventive as those written by fifth-century tragic poets or to present myths hitherto untreated to avoid unfavourable comparison with their fifth-century predecessors.¹⁸¹ So the treatment of mythology in fourth-century tragedy may be caused by and reveal underlying anxieties among fourth-century tragedians to not be seen as inferior to those of the fifth century.

Philosophers as tragedians

The high proportion of philosophical sentiments surviving from fourth-century tragedy may suggest that this period of Greek drama was particularly philosophical in nature. Yet, such a conclusion does not take into account the selection bias of the fragments, with over a third (sixty-five fragments) quoted by Stobaeus. During the fourth century, however, three

¹⁷⁸ Admittedly, comedies entitled *Adonis* were produced in the fourth century by Araros, Antiphanes, Nicophon, and Philiscus; whether these preceded Dionysius' *Adonis* is unknown. Other plays which are the first to present a particular myth include Astydamos' *Parthenopaeus* and Theodectas' *Lynceus*.

¹⁷⁹ Thus Wallace (2013) 203.

¹⁸⁰ *IG* II² 2318.201–3.

¹⁸¹ Thus Wright (2016) 120.

philosophers, all Cynics, are said to have written tragedies:¹⁸² Diogenes of Sinope, Crates of Thebes,¹⁸³ and Philiscus of Aegina.¹⁸⁴ Little is known about the tragedies of Crates and Philiscus, with only one tragic fragment surviving for each of these philosophers. Seven plays are, however, attested for Diogenes. In his *Thyestes*, Diogenes treated the title character's unwitting consumption of his sons, justifying this with Anaxagorean physics,¹⁸⁵ specifically that each substance contains particles of every other substance and does not have an inherent moral value, thus removing any blame from Thyestes for eating his sons and from Atreus for killing them and serving them to Thyestes. A similar argument is found in Diogenes' *Oedipus* to justify the incestuous relationship between Oedipus and his mother Jocasta.¹⁸⁶ Finally, Diogenes' *Medea* may have presented the title character training weak men to become stronger, connecting this allegorically with the story of Pelias, whom Medea offered to rejuvenate before refusing to do so. Medea's efforts were intended to convey the Cynic virtue of asceticism, in which a life full of toil and hard work was viewed as better than one spent enjoying luxuries.¹⁸⁷

The adaptation of the above three myths either contrary to previous traditions or for use as allegories and the overtly philosophical nature of Diogenes' presentation of these myths suggest that Diogenes' plays were different in nature to other tragedies. Diogenes' tragedies may conceivably have followed a similar structure to those of any other tragedian, but prioritised didacticism. Although tragedy in general may equally be considered didactic,

¹⁸² Several philosophers are also attested to have written tragedies in the fifth century including Plato (Diog. Laert. 3.5, Ael. *VH* 2.30), Hippias (Pl. *Hp. mi.* 368c), and Empedocles (Arist. *On Poets* fr. 70 Gigon, Neanthes *Empedocles FGrHist* 84 F 27, Diog. Laert. 8.57, 77 with Marti (1947) 1). Empedocles is, however, most likely assigned tragedies through confusion with his homonymous grandson who is attested to have been a tragedian (*Su.* ε 1001 Adler with Chitwood (1986) 180, Pressler (2004) 947).

¹⁸³ Diog. Laert. 6.98, though *SH* p. 171 is rightly sceptical of Crates being a tragedian, with his surviving fragments adaptations of tragic verses attributed to other poets.

¹⁸⁴ Satyrus *FHG* III 164 F 17, Diog. Laert. 6.73, 80, Jul. *Or.* 6.210c, 211d, 7.186c.

¹⁸⁵ Diog. Laert. 6.73 (= fr. 1d *TrGF*), Philod. *De stoic.* 14.29 (= fr. 1 *TrGF*); thus Gomperz (1878) 255, Döring (1993) 341.

¹⁸⁶ Philod. *De stoic.* 14.29 (= fr. 1f *TrGF*).

¹⁸⁷ Stob. 3.29.92 (= fr. 1e *TrGF*); thus Dudley (1937) 33, Marti (1947) 6.

showing, for example, the consequences of a person's actions or character flaws, didacticism was not the principal aim of other tragedies whereas the primary purpose of Diogenes' plays was conveying Cynic doctrines. In turn, Diogenes treated the integrity of mythological stories as a secondary concern, with myths either adapted as illustrative examples of philosophical beliefs or serving as allegories. This means that the ethical implications of myths could be adapted contrary to previous traditions. The performance context of Diogenes' tragedies is equally important to consider. Given the nature of the content of his plays, it is unlikely that an archon would have selected Diogenes to stage his tragedies at a dramatic festival. Instead, since Cynic philosophers gathered in small groups to spread their philosophical ideals, perhaps his tragedies were produced in this context, possibly read aloud.¹⁸⁸ The separation of Diogenes' tragedies from a competitive context such as the City Dionysia may thus explain the laxity with which he treated the mythological tradition. Without a jury to appeal to and free from the constraints of dramatic competitions, Diogenes would have been able to adapt mythological stories to suit his own agenda.

Heraclides of Pontus is also attested to have written tragedies and to have put the name of Thespis on them.¹⁸⁹ Heraclides' status as a tragic poet should, however, be doubted, since the accusations of Heraclides forging tragedies by Thespis are included by Diogenes Laertius alongside similar stories about Heraclides without concern for their accuracy. In addition, Heraclides may have mistakenly quoted lines he believed were by Thespis in his treatise *On the Tragic Poets* only for these verses to later be revealed to be spurious and Heraclides accused of forging them.¹⁹⁰ So with no evidence for philosophers as tragedians

¹⁸⁸ Diog. Laert. 6.75; thus Meineke, Gomperz (1878) 255.

¹⁸⁹ Aristoxenus *On the Tragic Poets* fr. 114 Wehrli = Diog. Laert. 5.92. The attribution of tragedies to philosophers is first witnessed in the fifth century; cf. Plato (Diog. Laert. 3.5, Ael. *VH* 2.30), Empedocles (Arist. *On Poets* fr. 70 Gigon, Diog. Laert. 8.57, 77). This trend continued in the third century; cf. Timon of Phlius (Diog. Laert. 9.109–10, 113), Marti (1947) 8.

¹⁹⁰ Heraclides made a similar error in quoting Sophocles' *Parthenopaeus*, a tragedy forged by Dionysius the Renegade and treated by Heraclides as a genuine play of Sophocles (Diog. Laert. 5.92).

beyond Cynics, it may well be the case that philosophical tragedy was a uniquely Cynic subgenre in the fourth century at least.

Oratorical features of fourth-century tragedy

οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀρχαῖοι πολιτικῶς ἐποίουν λέγοντας, οἱ δὲ νῦν ῥητορικῶς

The old poets made their characters speak like statesmen, but those poets nowadays have them talking like rhetoricians

Arist. *Poet.* 1450b 7–8

In the fourth century, several tragic poets were associated with oratory. Astydamas II was a pupil of Isocrates¹⁹¹ and Aphareus, the adopted son of Isocrates, delivered speeches in the assembly and in the courtroom¹⁹² on his own behalf¹⁹³ and that of his adoptive father.¹⁹⁴ Theodectas was also a pupil of Isocrates¹⁹⁵ and wrote speeches,¹⁹⁶ taught oratory,¹⁹⁷ and theorised about rhetoric in his *Art of Rhetoric*.¹⁹⁸ Aphareus and Theodectas are particularly important figures in considering the connection between oratory and fourth-century tragedy since they were active as orators at the same time as producing plays. Aphareus delivered a speech on behalf of Isocrates in 354/3 in an *antidosis* case brought by Megaclides when Isocrates was too ill to attend court.¹⁹⁹ This speech is thus in the middle of Aphareus' tragic career, spanning from at least 369/8 to 342/1.²⁰⁰ Similarly, Theodectas delivered his speech

¹⁹¹ *Su.* α 4264 Adler with Capps (1900) 44.

¹⁹² [Plut.] *Vit. X Orat.* 839c = *FGE* 51–2.

¹⁹³ E.g. Aphareus' speech against Theophemus, in which Aphareus rejected Theophemus' accusations that he had handed over the trierarchy to Theophemus with this office in arrears ([Dem.] 47.31–2).

¹⁹⁴ [Plut.] *Vit. X Orat.* 839c.

¹⁹⁵ *Su.* θ 138, ι 653 Adler.

¹⁹⁶ Arist. *Rhet.* 1399a 1–4, 8–10, *Su.* θ 138 Adler.

¹⁹⁷ Phot. *Bibl.* 176.120b.35.

¹⁹⁸ *Su.* θ 138 Adler.

¹⁹⁹ [Plut.] *Vit. X Orat.* 839c.

²⁰⁰ Aphareus' first victory at the City Dionysia must have occurred shortly after 369 (*pace* Webster (1954) 303, *TrGF* 1 p. 238), if the name of the poet listed immediately after Aphareus in *IG* II² 2325 col. III.13 is restored as Amymon (thus *TrGF* 1 p. 29, 239, Wilson (1997) 178, (2000) 373), a tragedian possibly victorious in the City

entitled *Nomos* in or soon after 357, given that it mentioned Charidemus' Athenian citizenship, an honour granted to the foreign mercenary in this year.²⁰¹ As with Aphareus, Theodectas' speech was delivered during his career as a tragic poet, which was under way between 372 and 360, the date of his first victory at the City Dionysia, and continued at least until 353, Theodectas' last securely datable play, *Mausolus*.

The fact that Theodectas and Aphareus were practising simultaneously as dramatists and as orators leads us to expect oratory to have influenced their plays. Evidence for the incorporation of rhetorical motifs into their tragedies is, however, attested only for Theodectas.²⁰² In *Ajax*, Odysseus claimed that he was braver than Ajax (and thus presumably worthier of the arms of Achilles than Ajax)²⁰³ and Ajax in turn alleges that Diomedes selected Odysseus for the night-time raid on Troy not so that Odysseus could gain any renown, but because he was inferior to Diomedes, thus allowing Diomedes the greater share of honour.²⁰⁴ Odysseus' attack on Ajax's bravery and Ajax's use of the raid on Troy to diminish Odysseus' standing are both rhetorical devices, specifically the denigration of one's opponent. The sole surviving fragment from Theodectas' *Helen* sees the title character deliver a defence speech against being enslaved,²⁰⁵ in which she emphasises her divine lineage and employs a rhetorical question, asking who would think it appropriate to refer to her as a slave given her divine ancestry. Helen thus subtly alters the focus of her defence speech, revolving it around the issue of being called a slave rather than becoming one, allowing her to demonstrate how ludicrous being referred to as a slave would be and thus by

Dionysia around the same time (*SEG XXIII* 103b.4 with Wilson (1997) 174). Aphareus competed as late as 341 ([Plut.] *Vit. X Orat.* 839c, *IG II²* 2319-23.11 with *TrGF* I p. 26).

²⁰¹ Arist. *Rhet.* 1399b 1-4, with Trevett (1996) 375, *hyp. Dem.* 23; thus Parke (1928) 170.

²⁰² The lack of discernibly rhetorical elements in Astydamas' fragments does not preclude the influence of rhetoric in his now-lost plays.

²⁰³ *Rhet.* 1400a 23-9 (= fr. 1a II).

²⁰⁴ Arist. *Rhet.* 1399b 20-30 (= fr. 1a I).

²⁰⁵ Thus Xanthakis-Karamanos (1979) 75.

extension how ridiculous it would be for her to be a slave. These examples thus show that Theodectas' rhetorical career influenced his plots and his style as a tragic poet.

Other tragic poets who were not orators also employed rhetorical techniques. In the papyrus fragment from Carcinus' *Medea*, Jason and Creon confront Medea over her murder of Glauce and accuse her of also killing her own sons. Jason urges Medea to save herself from punishment, arguing that if she truly has not killed their sons, then she should be able to produce them. In response, Medea swears by the Scythian goddess that she has not killed the children, but has sent them out of Corinth. Creon subsequently supports Jason's accusations, suggesting that Medea must have killed her children because she murdered Glauce, and in reply to this, Medea confesses to killing Glauce, but reaffirms that she has not harmed her own sons. Jason's argument that Medea should produce her children to show that she has not harmed them skilfully manoeuvres Medea into a position whereby if she shows Jason his sons, he can gain possession of them and if she does not, there can be no logical conclusion other than that she has killed her sons.²⁰⁶ Jason thus appeals to Medea's instinct to save herself and gives the impression that Medea can easily counter accusations that she killed her children by producing them. Creon's argument corresponds with the wider rhetorical technique of appropriating an opponent's past actions to attack them, using Medea's confession of killing Glauce to justify accusing her of murdering her sons.²⁰⁷ Hence although some tragedians were orators, there is little difference in the incorporation of rhetorical features between tragic poets who were orators and those who were not.

²⁰⁶ Fr. 1g I, 1h.1–2.

²⁰⁷ Fr. 1h.8–10.

The chorus

The tragic chorus is variously believed to have diminished in importance in the fourth century,²⁰⁸ with some scholars arguing that tragedy dispensed with it entirely,²⁰⁹ citing Aristotle's comments that the chorus had little role in the action of a play and its songs were often replaced by ἐμβόλιμα in this period.²¹⁰ Several pieces of evidence, however, challenge this assertion. In the pseudo-Euripidean *Rhesus*, for example, the chorus comprising Trojan soldiers on lookout duty are fully integrated into the action, singing odes, alerting Hector to a disturbance in the Greek camp,²¹¹ and undertaking guard duties, almost killing Odysseus until he reveals the watchword.²¹² In fact, *Rhesus* indicates that the chorus not only continued to feature in fourth-century tragedy, but that it could be treated in an innovative manner, with the chorus instructing Hector to rally the troops before they delivered the news that the Greeks were assembling round watchfires;²¹³ a chorus of soldiers issuing commands to their general is otherwise unparalleled in tragedy.²¹⁴ The fragments of fourth-century tragedy similarly attest to the presence of the chorus. Several fourth-century tragedies have plural titles, such as Dicaeogenes' *Cyprians*, Apollodorus' *Greeks*, and Chaereon's *Minyae*; in each case, the title indicates the presence of a chorus and their identity. Moreover, since these tragedies are named after their choruses, it seems likely that in these instances as with *Rhesus*, the chorus would have been an integral part of the action of each play. Finally, Aristotle's statement implicitly shows that choruses remained part of this genre during the fourth century.

²⁰⁸ Haigh (1889) 165, Goldhill (2007) 69.

²⁰⁹ Tarrant (1978) 222, Bacon (1995) 8–9.

²¹⁰ *Poet.* 1456a 25–32.

²¹¹ *Rh.* 41–51.

²¹² *Rh.* 675–92.

²¹³ *Rh.* 25–33.

²¹⁴ Thus Liapis on [Eur.] *Rh.* 1–51.

Nonetheless, there is admittedly some evidence that could be taken with Aristotle's assertion that the chorus were reduced to singing ἐμβόλιμα, namely markers such as ΧΟΡΟΥ ΜΕΛΟΣ, which are found on several papyri from fourth-century tragedies.²¹⁵ Among these is Astydamos *Hector* fr. 1h fr. 1, which begins with several lacunose verses before the marker ΧΟΡΟΥ ΜΕΛΟΣ; following the choral ode, a character invokes Apollo, terrified at the prophecy of Helenus.²¹⁶ The marker may have been there from the very first production of this tragedy, with Astydamos inserting a choral song simply to provide a break between two scenes in his *Hector*. Equally, however, the marker could have been inserted later by an actor or copyist.²¹⁷

Thus, the chorus was not removed from fourth-century tragedy entirely, but continued to have a role in this genre, albeit one that differed from poet to poet as in the fifth century.²¹⁸

Fourth-century tragedy in context

Comedy and tragedy

After the satirical treatment of prominent individuals, one of the most established forms of humour in Old Comedy was the parody of tragedies and mockery of tragedians.²¹⁹ The interaction between tragedy and comedy in Old Comedy is clearest in Aristophanes' *Thesmophoriazusae* and *Frogs*. In *Thesmophoriazusae*, there is parody of a number of

²¹⁵ So too is the marker ΧΟΡΟΥ found in New Comedy and in the manuscripts of Aristophanes' *Ecclesiazusae* and *Plutus* (see Hamilton (1991) 351–2); see Pacelli (2016) 37 for further examples of choral markers in the fragments of post-classical tragedy.

²¹⁶ Fr. 1h fr. 1. col. 2.6–9 *TrGF*; the galliambic metre of lines 6–7 means it is possible that the chorus deliver these lines after their ode, further evidence for the incorporation of the chorus into the action in fourth-century tragedy.

²¹⁷ Taplin (2014) 148.

²¹⁸ For instance, Arist. *Poet.* 1456a 25–32 states that Sophocles' choruses were intimately involved in the action of his plays, unlike those of Euripides; Aristotle also notes that Agathon replaced his choral odes with ἐμβόλιμα.

²¹⁹ Cf. Ar. *Ran.* 73–87, *Pax* 832–7, *Vesp.* 1498–1512.

Euripidean plays including *Telephus*,²²⁰ *Andromeda*,²²¹ and *Helen*,²²² and in *Frogs*, there is ridicule of a number of stylistic traits of Aeschylean tragedy, such as its verbose nature,²²³ and Euripidean tragedy, including the repetitive format of Euripides' prologues.²²⁴ Although mockery of famous individuals became a less prominent feature of comedy as the fourth century progressed, the inclusion of tragedy and tragic poets nonetheless remained a mainstay of Middle and New Comedy.

One method of engagement with fourth-century tragedy was quotation. Several examples are found in quick succession in Menander's *Aspis*. In this play, Daos comes on stage, pretending to be grief-stricken and uttering lines by various fourth-century tragedians,²²⁵ including Carcinus and Chaeremon;²²⁶ these lines highlight Daos' supposed emotional state. Menander's decision to quote from Chaeremon and Carcinus indicates that he thought their verses exemplified a stereotypical tragic style which was required at this point in his *Aspis*. Moreover, in this part of Menander's play, the tragic quotations remain intact, the humour coming not at the expense of the tragic verses themselves, but rather from Daos' melodramatic delivery of them. This represents a sharp divergence from Old Comedy in which lines from tragedy and plays themselves were subject to alteration to create humour. Quotation from fourth-century tragedy is also found in Aristophanes' *Ecclesiazusae*, Nicostratus' *Pandrosus*, and Eubulus.²²⁷ Little is known about Eubulus' and Nicostratus' use of tragic verses other than that they featured in their comedies. By contrast, an accompanying scholium to the first line of Aristophanes' *Ecclesiazusae* shows that it was parody of

²²⁰ 689–764.

²²¹ 1016–1135.

²²² 855–919.

²²³ 927–47.

²²⁴ 1198–1248; among the Euripidean prologues altered in this way are Eur. *Stheneboia* fr. 661.1–3, *Hypsipyle* fr. 752, *Phrixus* fr. 819.1–2 *TrGF*.

²²⁵ 411–26.

²²⁶ Carcinus fr. 5a *TrGF* = 415–18; Chaeremon *Achilles Killing Thersites* fr. 2 *TrGF* = 411; Chaeremon fr. 42 = 425–6.

²²⁷ Ar. *Eccl.* 1 = Dicaeogenes fr. 6 *TrGF*; Nicostratus *Pandrosus* fr. 19.4 *PCG* = Chaeremon *Achilles Killing Thersites* fr. 2 *TrGF*; Eubulus fr. 128 *PCG* = Chaeremon fr. 17 *TrGF*.

Dicaeogenes fr. 6: ὦ λαμπρὸν ὄμμα τοῦ τροχηλάτου θεοῦ (‘o dazzling light of the wheel-drawn god’); Aristophanes replaced Dicaeogenes’ θεοῦ²²⁸ with λύχνου. Here, Aristophanes adopts Dicaeogenes’ tragic style in the opening line of his *Ecclesiazusae*, inserting λύχνου to undercut its tragic overtones and thus provide the punch. Admittedly, Aristophanes’ parody of Dicaeogenes fr. 6 differs from Menander’s use of fourth-century tragedy. This does not, however, necessarily mean that Aristophanes was disdainful towards fourth-century tragedy, his treatment of Dicaeogenes’ verse deriving from his origins as a poet of Old Comedy.

So too did fifth-century tragedy feature in fourth-century comedy. In Menander’s *Aspis*, for example, alongside quotations from Carcinus and Chaereon are verses from Aeschylean and Euripidean tragedy.²²⁹ These quotations also emphasise Daos’ ostensibly grief-stricken mood and create humour through the manner of their delivery. A similar use of fifth-century tragedy to emphasise a character’s mood is found in Menander’s *Sicyonioides*.²³⁰ In lines 169–271 of this play, Eleusinius tells Smikrines about what happened when he arrived in the town. While doing so, Eleusinius delivers his news in a manner reminiscent of a messenger in tragedy and quotes several lines from Euripides’ *Orestes*.²³¹ Once again, the quotations from *Orestes* enhance the serious nature of Eleusinius’ speech and encourage us to compare the debate he describes with the debate in Argos described in Euripides’ very popular play. Both plays show that Menander at least viewed fifth-century tragedy no differently to its fourth-century counterpart.²³²

²²⁸ Owed to Westphal (1919) 15.

²²⁹ 412–13 = Aesch. *Niobe* fr. 154a.15–16 *TrGF*; 407 = Eur. *Stheneboia* fr. 661 *TrGF*.

²³⁰ Other instances of the quotation or paraphrase of fifth-century tragedy are found at Men. *Misoumenos* 445 (Soph. *Tr.* 303); *Theophoroumene* fr. 2 *PCG* (cf. Eur. *Hel.* 757).

²³¹ 176–7 = Eur. *Or.* 866–7; 188 = Eur. *Or.* 871; 182 = Eur. *Or.* 920; 196 = Eur. *Or.* 901–2; 215 = Eur. *Or.* 918; 219–22 = Eur. *Or.* 949–51.

²³² Thus Wright (2016) 125.

Fourth-century tragedians themselves were also mentioned in Middle and New Comedy.²³³ Alexis ridicules Cleaenetus for his inability to discard superfluous portions of his poetry²³⁴ and Ehippus mocks Chaeremon for bringing cups to dinner parties;²³⁵ perhaps Chaeremon's cups were bigger, with Ehippus making a joke about Chaeremon's excessive drinking. Finally, Dionysius' prowess as a tragic poet is mocked by a character in Ehippus' *Obol-carriers/Homoioi*, who threatens to make another learn Dionysius' tragedies.²³⁶ There is, however, no evidence of any disparaging comment on fifth-century tragedians within fourth-century comedy.²³⁷ This is not surprising given that during the fourth century, fifth-century tragic poets were generally treated in a reverential manner, with statues being erected of Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides in the Theatre of Dionysus in the 330s or 320s,²³⁸ Sophoclean and Euripidean tragedies being reperformed,²³⁹ and with fifth-century tragedy elevated to a classic status by, among others, orators.

²³³ Although included in *TrGF*, the Patrocles mentioned in Ar. *Plut.* 84–5, *Storks* fr. 455 *PCG* is unlikely to have been a tragic poet (Welcker (1839) 930, 1048, Sommerstein on Ar. *Plut.* 84).

²³⁴ οὐδενὸς γὰρ πῶποτε | ἀπέβαλεν — — — ὀσπρίου λέπος· | οὕτως ἐκεῖνός ἐστιν εὐχερῆς ἀνὴρ ('he would never even discard ... the husk of any pulse, that man is so omnivorous', Alexis fr. 268.5–7 *PCG*, transl. based on that of Arnott); thus Zimmermann (2003) 411.

²³⁵ οὐ κύλικας ἐπὶ τὰ δεῖπνα Χαιρήμων φέρει; (*Ephebes* fr. 9 *PCG*).

²³⁶ Διονυσίου δὲ δράματ' ἐκμαθεῖν δέοι ('may one be forced to learn the plays of Dionysius', fr. 16 *PCG*). Dionysius is also mentioned in Ar. *Plut.* 550, Polyzelus fr. 12 *PCG* (Webster (1952) 16). Eubulus wrote a comedy entitled *Dionysius* and Alexis' and Nicochares' *Galatea* comedies may have presented Dionysius' relationship with his mistress Galatea and Philoxenus' affair with her (Sanders (1987) 20). Regardless, only Ehippus *Obol-carriers/Homoioi* fr. 16 *PCG* will be considered here, since the other comedies deal with Dionysius' regime in general rather than his career as a tragic poet.

²³⁷ The nearest parallel is Axionicus' *Phileuripides* fr. 3 *PCG* in which a character states that they prefer Euripides' songs to anything else – οὕτω γὰρ ἐπὶ τοῖς μέλεσι τοῖς Εὐριπίδου | ἄμφω νοσοῦσιν, ὥστε τ' ἄλλ' αὐτοῖς δοκεῖν | εἶναι μέλη γιγγραντὰ καὶ κακὸν μέγα ('both of them were so crazy for the songs of Euripides that to them every other song seemed to be made for the flute and a terrible disaster', transl. Olson). In addition, Philippides wrote a *Phileuripides* of which one fragment survives.

²³⁸ *Plut. Vit. X Orat.* 841f, see further Papastamati-von Moock (2007) 273–327, Hanink (2014) 74–83. The statues may similarly have been part of a wider tradition in the fourth century of Athens laying claim to its own dramatic tradition; cf. the erection of statues of Pronomos and Pindar in Thebes in 450 (Paus. 9.12.5–6, Wilson (2007) 142).

²³⁹ Thus Nervegna (2007) 15, who argues that the listing of old tragedies separately from new tragedies is also indicative of the separate and classicised nature of fifth-century tragedy; see further Nervegna (2007) 17–18, Finglass (2015) 212–21 for a list of the reperformances of Euripides and Sophocles in the fourth century.

Philosophy and tragedy

Philosophy in a broad sense is clearly at the heart of fifth- and fourth-century tragedy, given philosophical tragedies by Diogenes of Sinope and discussions on various issues including obeying man-made laws²⁴⁰ and divine retribution.²⁴¹ The relationship between the two genres is, however, reciprocal in the fourth century. Aristotle, for example, quotes from fourth-century tragedy in various treatises. In the *Rhetoric*, Aristotle discusses how a character's name may be indicative of their personality, citing Chaeremon's *Dionysus* fr. 4 as an example.²⁴² Elsewhere in this work, Aristotle considers whether a victim deserves to suffer their fate and who the right person is to administer punishments;²⁴³ he then quotes Theodectas *Alcmeon* fr. 2 to illustrate this dilemma. In addition, Aristotle cites Theodectas *Helen* fr. 3 in his *Politics* as an example of how nobility may exist in an absolute and a relative sense,²⁴⁴ and in the *Mechanica*,²⁴⁵ Antiphon fr. 4 is quoted as a pithy summary of how skill can overcome nature. All four quotations indicate that Aristotle thought fourth-century tragedy capable of producing verses which could succinctly summarise or illustrate his argument. Moreover, these citations show that Aristotle knew fourth-century tragedy well, and he himself or his school may have collected copies. Aristotle also quoted from fifth-century tragedy, often alongside its fourth-century counterpart. For instance, when citing Chaeremon *Dionysus* fr. 4, Aristotle references Sophocles' *Tyro*²⁴⁶ as an example of how a name indicates a character's personality. Since Aristotle uses Sophocles' *Tyro* no differently to Chaeremon *Dionysus* fr. 4, he must have considered both equally capable of providing

²⁴⁰ Cf. e.g. Soph. *Ant.* 450–60.

²⁴¹ Cf. e.g. Theodectas fr. 8.

²⁴² 1400b 24.

²⁴³ 1397b 2–5.

²⁴⁴ 1255a 35–8.

²⁴⁵ 847a 19–21.

²⁴⁶ fr. 658 *TrGF*.

gnomic sentiments worthy of quotation, with no distinction between fifth- and fourth-century tragedy.²⁴⁷ In short, both were to be viewed as equally valuable sources to cite.

Unlike Aristotle, Plato almost entirely omits fourth-century tragedy from his dialogues, except for Chaeremon *Achilles Killing Thersites* fr. 2, paraphrased in *Laws*.²⁴⁸ Plato otherwise uses fifth-century tragedy. In the *Republic*, for example, Plato defines the just man by using a verse from Aeschylus' *Seven Against Thebes*,²⁴⁹ clarifying his remarks later on by using two further lines from this play.²⁵⁰ Similarly, in *Gorgias*, Plato quotes from Euripides' *Polyidus* when pondering the strangeness of life.²⁵¹ Plato's use of fifth-century tragedy and his eschewing of fourth-century tragedy is not, however, a value judgement on fourth-century tragedy, but rather necessitated by the dramatic dates of Plato's dialogues, all but one of which purport to have taken place before 399, the death of Socrates. So the quotation of fourth-century tragedy cannot be expected within his works, though his use of Chaeremon *Achilles Killing Thersites* fr. 2 is permissible due to the *Laws* being the only Platonic dialogue not to feature Socrates, thus allowing the citation of works produced after Socrates' death.

Plot features of fourth-century tragedies were also discussed by fourth-century philosophers, most notably in Aristotle's *Poetics*. For instance, when discussing characterisation within tragedy, Aristotle notes that some characters unwittingly commit crimes and only later do they realise the true nature of what they have done; to illustrate this type of characterisation, Aristotle cites Alcmeon in Astydamos' *Alcmeon*.²⁵² Elsewhere in the *Poetics*, Aristotle gives Dicaeogenes' *Cyprians* as an instance of recognition through

²⁴⁷ Pace Winter (2006) 96.

²⁴⁸ ὡς θεὸς μὲν πάντα, καὶ μετὰ θεοῦ τύχη καὶ καιρὸς τὰνθρώπινα διακυβερνῶσι σύμπαντα ('so God controls everything, and after God, fortune and right time steer all human affairs', *Leg.* 709b).

²⁴⁹ *Sept.* 592 = *Resp.* 361b.

²⁵⁰ *Sept.* 593–4 = *Resp.* 362a–b.

²⁵¹ Fr. 638 *TrGF* = *Gorg.* 492e.

²⁵² 1453b 29–34 = Astydamos *Alcmeon* fr. 1b I.

memory, mentioning in particular Teucer weeping at a painting.²⁵³ In his *Nicomachean Ethics*, Aristotle argues that it is not surprising if strong men are overwhelmed by powerful grief, especially if they have been struggling with it for a while. Aristotle then mentions Philoctetes in Theodectas' *Philoctetes*, which presented Philoctetes struggling with the pain from a snake bite, and Cercyon in Carcinus' *Alope*.²⁵⁴ Aristotle thus viewed fourth-century tragedy as a rich source of illustrative examples on which to draw and his focus on particular plot features indicates that his use of fourth-century tragedy involved a deeper engagement with fourth-century tragedy than selective quotation. Moreover, the citation of Theodectas' *Philoctetes* indicates that, on occasions, Aristotle viewed fourth-century tragedy as providing examples worthier of reference than fifth-century tragedy, especially since Aristotle could have chosen to mention Aeschylus', Euripides', or Sophocles' *Philoctetes* plays when discussing Philoctetes succumbing to his pain.

Aristotle uses fifth-century tragedy in a similar way. As already noted, Aristotle discusses how some characters unwittingly do wrong, citing Alcmeon in Astydamos' *Alcmeon*. In the same section of the *Poetics*, Aristotle also mentions Oedipus in Sophocles' *Oedipus Rex* and Telegonus in *Odysseus Wounded*, perhaps the same play as Sophocles' *Odysseus Acanthoplex*.²⁵⁵ Similarly, when discussing the four different methods of recognition, Aristotle refers not only to Dicaeogenes' *Cyprians*, but to fifth-century tragedies such as Aeschylus' *Choephoroi* and Sophocles' *Tereus* as illustrative examples of each of the types of recognition. Admittedly, Aristotle cites Sophocles and Euripides most frequently,²⁵⁶

²⁵³ 1454b 37–1455a 2 = Dicaeogenes *Cyprians* fr. 1 *TrGF*.

²⁵⁴ *EN* 1150b 6–9 (= Theodectas *Philoctetes* fr. 5b I, Carcinus *Alope* fr. 1c I). Other instances of the plot features of fourth-century tragedies being cited as illustrative examples are found at Arist. *Rhet.* 1379b 13–16, 1400b 9–15, *Poet.* 1452a 27–9, 1454b 19–25, 1455a 22–9, 1455b 24–32, 1459b 34–1460a 2.

²⁵⁵ Thus Halliwell (1987) 193.

²⁵⁶ For instance, in Aristotle's *Rhetoric*, Euripides is quoted seventeen times, Sophocles five, whereas fourth-century tragedians are quoted on just three occasions, namely 1397b 2–5 (Theodectas *Alcmeon* fr. 2 *TrGF*); 1399b 20–7 (Antiphon *Meleager* fr. 2 *TrGF*); 1401a 35–1401b 2 (Theodectas *Orestes* fr. 5 *TrGF*); see Perlman (1964) 164 for further comparative statistics.

but this may result from their reperformance²⁵⁷ and a perception that Euripides' plays displayed particular rhetorical influence, such as in debate scenes. Nonetheless, when fifth- and fourth-century tragedy are cited alongside one another by Aristotle, there is no discernible difference in how Aristotle uses them, showing that he views fifth- and fourth-century tragedy as equally valid sources of plot details to illustrate particular statements within a treatise.²⁵⁸

Fourth-century tragedians were also discussed by fourth-century philosophers in other contexts. In *Περὶ ποιητῶν*,²⁵⁹ Aristotle praised Dicaeogenes' abilities as a tragic poet and his proficiency at writing tragedies and lyric poetry, and in the *Rhetoric*, Aristotle recounts the details of the execution of the tragedian Antiphon.²⁶⁰ In addition, Heraclides of Pontus records that the Athenians honoured Astydamas II with a statue before they afforded the same honour to Aeschylus,²⁶¹ and Aristoxenus accuses Heraclides of Pontus of forging Thespis' tragedies.²⁶² Fifth-century tragedians attracted similar attention. In *Phaedrus*, Socrates asks how to make short speeches on important matters and long speeches on trivial ones, noting the hypothetical responses which he believes Sophocles and Euripides would have given. In addition, Chamaeleon wrote a treatise entitled *On Thespis* and both Plato and Aristotle discuss the tragic practices of Thespis and Phrynichus.²⁶³ The treatment of sixth-, fifth-, and fourth-century tragedians is thus similar, with poets of all three centuries celebrated for their prowess.²⁶⁴ Although fifth-century tragedians attracted interest from a wider array of philosophers, this is reflective of two specific trends in the fourth-century reaction to tragedy,

²⁵⁷ Thus Webster (1973) 264.

²⁵⁸ Thus Capps (1895) 294.

²⁵⁹ Fr. 18 Janko.

²⁶⁰ 1385a 10–13.

²⁶¹ Fr. 169 Wehrli. Heraclides also wrote a treatise entitled *On the Three Tragedians*, which is dated to between 360 and 320 by Cooper (2007) 149, and which may have been the first treatment of Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides as a triad (thus Cooper (2007) 149).

²⁶² *On the Tragic Poets* fr. 114 Wehrli = Diog. Laert. 5.92.

²⁶³ Pl. *Minos* 320f–321b, [Arist] *Pr.* 19.31 920a 11–13.

²⁶⁴ Carcinus was, however, criticised by Aristotle in *Poet.* 1455a 22–9 (= *Amphiarus* fr. 1d), specifically for the staging error in his *Amphiarus*.

namely celebration of Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides for their poetic genius, and an interest in the antiquarian nature of tragedy and a focus on its origins.

Tragedy in the orators

κἄν Οἴαγρος εἰσέλθῃ φεύγων, οὐκ ἀποφεύγει πρὶν ἂν ἡμῖν

ἐκ τῆς Νιόβης εἴπηι ῥῆσιν τὴν καλλίστην ἀπολέξας

And if Oeagrus goes in as the accused, he will not be acquitted until he has selected the finest passage from the *Niobe* and recited it to us

Ar. *Vesp.* 579–80 (transl. based on Henderson)

Philocleon's comments in Aristophanes' *Wasps* indicate that it was acceptable to incorporate passages from tragedy within a speech as early as 422,²⁶⁵ the premiere date of Aristophanes' play, and that doing so would ensure the speaker's success. With Astydamos II, Theodectas, and Aphareus all embarking on careers as orators before or while they were tragedians and with Aeschines being a former tragic actor,²⁶⁶ Demosthenes allegedly being trained by the actor Andronicus,²⁶⁷ and Lycurgus introducing reforms to Greek tragedy such as collecting the texts of Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides,²⁶⁸ it is little wonder that tragedy had an important role in fourth-century oratory.

Despite the close relationship between tragedy and rhetoric, fourth-century tragedy is securely quoted just once in fourth-century oratory. In his second *Olynthiac* speech, Demosthenes discusses the good fortune of King Philip and paraphrases Chaeremon *Achilles*

²⁶⁵ Thus Perlman (1964) 158.

²⁶⁶ Dem. 18.180, 19.337, Plut. *Vit. X Orat.* 840a.

²⁶⁷ Plut. *Vit. X Orat.* 845a–b.

²⁶⁸ *Ibid.* 841f. Dem. 19.337 attests that Aeschines performed as a τριταγωνιστής in *Thyestes* and a tragedy about an episode from the Trojan War; the audience are said to have reacted negatively to his performances in these plays, hissing at him, with this experience causing Aeschines to quit his career as a tragic actor.

Killing Thersites fr. 2 to show how fortune governs the affairs of mortals.²⁶⁹ A second quotation may be found in Lysias' *Against Mnesimachus*, where he mentions Carcinus and quotes fr. 6 which describes how there is no opportune moment to persuade well-raised individuals to go astray.²⁷⁰ Since, however, Lysias died after 380 whereas Carcinus was only active as a tragedian from the 100th Olympiad onwards, Lysias' quotation of Carcinus is unlikely, though not impossible; perhaps this was one of the 192 speeches falsely attributed to Lysias.²⁷¹ Regardless, both quotations show that fourth-century tragedy was capable of providing pithy moral sentiments thought worthy of incorporation into the speeches of fourth-century orators.

By contrast, fifth-century tragedy is far better attested in fourth-century oratory. In *Against Leocrates*, Lycurgus recounts the story of Erechtheus and Praxithea and their efforts to defend Athens against an invading Thracian force. Lycurgus praises Euripides for presenting this myth in his *Erechtheus*, noting that it provides an excellent example of how one should be loyal first and foremost to one's polis; Lycurgus then goes on to quote Praxithea's speech from Euripides' tragedy in which she offers to give her daughter as a sacrifice to protect Athens.²⁷² Having cited these lines, Lycurgus evaluates them, noting that Praxithea ignores her own maternal instincts to keep her daughter safe and allows her to be sacrificed so that Athens may survive; this he contrasts strongly with Leocrates who did not show Athens the same devotion, but instead fled. Lycurgus then quotes from a number of other authors, namely Homer,²⁷³ Tyrtaeus,²⁷⁴ and Simonides,²⁷⁵ using their verses to illustrate how one must be willing to sacrifice oneself for one's country and how Leocrates' decision to

²⁶⁹ τὸ ὅλον ἢ τύχη παρὰ πάντ' ἐστὶ τὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων πράγματα ('fortune in all respects governs the affairs of mortals', 2.22).

²⁷⁰ Fr. 235 Carey.

²⁷¹ Plut. *Vit. X Orat.* 836a.

²⁷² 100 = Eur. *Erechtheus* fr. 360 *TrGF*.

²⁷³ *Il.* 15.494–9 = 102–4.

²⁷⁴ Fr. 10 *IEG* = 105–8.

²⁷⁵ *FGE* 772–3 = 109.

flee rather than die for Athens contravenes these long-held views about loyalty to one's state. Lycurgus' quotation of Euripides' *Erechtheus* alongside Homer, Tyrtaeus, and Simonides indicates that Lycurgus viewed Euripides as an established tragedian whose work deserved to be held in the same regard as these other poetic greats.²⁷⁶ The especial prominence of Euripides' verses in Lycurgus' speech, quoted first in the series of passages used to demonstrate the importance of loyalty to one's state, shows that Lycurgus is laying claim to Euripides as part of Athens' poetic legacy.²⁷⁷ In addition, Lycurgus' use of Praxithea's speech as an example of patriotism indicates that Lycurgus viewed Euripides as a source of universal moral doctrines,²⁷⁸ corresponding with the use of tragedy in other genres such as philosophy.

Aeschines similarly quotes solely from Euripides, and only in his *Against Timarchus*. In this speech, Aeschines notes how φήμη reveals man's true nature, quoting Euripides²⁷⁹ alongside verses by Homer²⁸⁰ and Hesiod.²⁸¹ Later, Aeschines cites Euripides' *Stheneboia*²⁸² to show how the proper kind of love is something that everyone should strive after and he also quotes from Euripides' *Phoenix*²⁸³ to justify his plea to the jurors to judge Timarchus by every aspect of his life. Aeschines' use of Euripides largely corresponds with Lycurgus' treatment of Praxithea's speech. Aeschines' quotation of Euripides beside a pseudo-Homeric verse and Hesiod's *Works and Days* indicates that Aeschines viewed Euripides as equal to

²⁷⁶ Thus Wilson (1996) 315. Cf. Pl. *Theaetetus* 152d–e, *Resp.* 595b–c, 598e, 606e–607a for Homer as the founding father of tragedy. Tyrtaeus and Simonides were likely also viewed as 'classic' poets, given that other poets, such as Archilochus, were discussed alongside Homer in other fourth-century works; cf. Pl. *Ion* 532a.

²⁷⁷ Tsagalis (2007) 10, Hanink (2014) 59. Lycurgus' desire to control and lay claim to the legacy of Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides is also seen, for example, in his codification of their texts and his law forbidding deviation from the official versions (Plut. *Vit. X Orat.* 841f; thus Cooper (2007) 130).

²⁷⁸ Wilson (1996) 314.

²⁷⁹ 128 = fr. 865 *TrGF*.

²⁸⁰ φήμη δ' εἰς στρατὸν ἦλθε ('rumour has come to the army'); cf. Hom. *Il.* 2.93–4 with Efstathiou (2016) 97.

²⁸¹ φήμη δ' οὐτις πάμπαν ἀπόλλυται, ἦντινα λαοὶ | πολλοὶ φημίξωσι, θεὸς νύ τις ἐστι καὶ αὐτή ('no rumour completely dies away, especially those which many people utter, after all rumour is herself some kind of god', Hes. *Op.* 763–4).

²⁸² 151 = fr. 661.24–5 *TrGF*.

²⁸³ 152 = fr. 812 *TrGF*; Aeschines perhaps hopes that not too many of the jury would also recall that Phoenix was innocent!

these poetic greats. Aeschines' citation of Euripides' verses for their moral wisdom shows that Aeschines viewed Euripidean tragedy as a rich source of inviolable and timeless gnostic sentiments. Although Aeschines does not cite Euripides' *Stheneboia* and *Phoenix* alongside verses by some of Euripides' established poetic predecessors, this is not problematic, showing that Euripides' verses are authoritative enough not to require support for their moral authority.

Demosthenes quotes from two fifth-century tragedians: Euripides and Sophocles. In *On the False Embassy*, Demosthenes attacks Aeschines for the way in which he ruined various tragic verses through his delivery of them, quoting from Euripides' *Phoenix* to illustrate Aeschines' poor acting ability.²⁸⁴ Demosthenes also asserts that Aeschines played the part of Creon in a reperformance of Sophocles' *Antigone*. He then quotes lines 179–90 of this play, using them to argue that Aeschines forgot Creon's words about the difference between the public interest and that of himself, his friends, and his family when he was an ambassador to Philip. Aeschines was obsequious to King Philip, contrary to Creon who condemned the man who “makes an enemy of the country [his] friend”.²⁸⁵ Demosthenes' deployment of these quotations is similar to that of Aeschines and Lycurgus. Demosthenes uses Aeschines' failure to deliver a Euripidean verse in a manner befitting its status as by an established and well-respected tragedian to attack Aeschines for his poor acting abilities; this shows the status of the fifth-century tragedians. Moreover, Demosthenes' quotation of Creon's speech in Sophocles' *Antigone* shows that these verses provide a timeless and inviolable gnostic sentiment.

Given the disparity in the use of fifth- and fourth-century tragedy by orators, Wilson suggested that this reflects a negative impression of fourth-century tragedy.²⁸⁶ It is, however,

²⁸⁴ 19.245 = fr. 812 *TrGF*.

²⁸⁵ οὐτ' ἂν φίλον ποτ' ἄνδρα δυσμενῆ χθονὸς | θείμην ἑμαυτῶι (Soph. *Ant.* 187–8, transl. based on Lloyd-Jones (1994) 21).

²⁸⁶ (1996) 315–16.

more likely that there are other reasons for such an omission. Fifth-century tragedians were probably viewed as separate from their fourth-century counterparts, rising to the level of established poetic greats such as Homer, Hesiod, Tyrtaeus, and Simonides.²⁸⁷ So fourth-century tragedy was not viewed derisively by fourth-century orators, but rather there was an elevated impression and perception of fifth-century tragedy which afforded it a higher status among orators than fourth-century tragedy.²⁸⁸ Moreover, since tragic verses are quoted mainly in political speeches,²⁸⁹ this would correspond with the growing trend in the fourth century for Athens and politicians such as Lycurgus to lay claim to Athens' cultural heritage including fifth-century tragedy.

Satyr drama

Had Euripides' *Cyclops* not survived complete and had the papyrus fragments of Sophocles' *Ichneutae* and Aeschylus' *Dictyulci* and *Theoroi* perished in the sands of Egypt, then our impression of fifth-century satyr drama and indeed satyr drama as a whole would be vastly different from current perspectives on this genre. The loss of Euripides' *Cyclops*, for instance, would mean that we would have no idea of what a complete satyr drama looked like and that we would be unaware of Euripides' inventiveness in adapting book nine of the *Odyssey* for performance on the satyric stage. Similarly, Aeschylus' acclaimed poetic genius in satyr drama would otherwise be unknown without access to Danae's paratragic speech and the satyrs' ode about raising a child in *Dictyulci* and to *Theoroi* in which Aeschylus inventively inverts the relationship between the satyrs and Dionysus, making the satyrs flee Dionysus.²⁹⁰

²⁸⁷ Wilson (1996) 315, Hanink (2014) 73.

²⁸⁸ Cf. Isoc. 2.48–9.

²⁸⁹ As observed by Perlman (1964) 162.

²⁹⁰ *Dictyulci* fr. 47a.773–85, 802–32, *Theoroi* fr. 78a.23–36 TrGF.

Yet, even with the above four plays removed, our knowledge of fifth-century satyr drama would still be far more extensive and far less problematic than that of its fourth-century counterpart, for which only nine titles and forty-seven lines survive. The first issue with analysing fourth-century satyr drama is that some of the surviving lines are only conjecturally ascribed to this genre. Chaeremon fr. 16/15, for instance, are only attributed to satyr drama on account of praise of wine, especially for inducing laughter, and his *Centaur* because this title is otherwise attested only in comedy.²⁹¹ In fact, of the surviving fragments, only five titles and nineteen lines can be securely attributed to satyr drama: Dionysius' *Loimos*, Timocles' *Lycurgus*, the *Phorcides* of Timocles or Philocles, Python's *Agen*, and the *Telephus* of Sophocles II. In addition, only one word survives from the *Telephus* of Sophocles II, and only the titles of Timocles' *Lycurgus* and the *Phorcides* of Timocles or Philocles are known, preserved in the inscriptional records.²⁹² So their use in the discussion of fourth-century satyr drama is limited. Nonetheless, we can gain an impression of satyr drama of this period from its three best attested examples: Python's *Agen*, Dionysius' *Loimos*, and Astydamos' *Heracles*.

As previously mentioned, Python's *Agen* presented Harpalus' grief for his deceased mistress Pythionice and the possible arrival of her replacement Glycera. Fr. 1 is part of a speech by a Babylonian member of Harpalus' retinue who recounts how Harpalus had constructed a temple to Pythionice and was so distraught after her death that he condemned himself to exile (1–4);²⁹³ the Babylonian also tells of how some satyrs, acting as magi, offered to resurrect her (5–8). The second fragment comes shortly after fr. 1 and is an exchange between an Athenian messenger who must have recently arrived and the Babylonian.²⁹⁴ The Babylonian asks about Athens (8a–10) and the messenger replies that the

²⁹¹ Thus Capps (1895) 301, Else (1957) 59, Collard (1970) 27; cf. Lynceus' and Nicochares' *Centaur*.

²⁹² Cf. *IG II² 2319-23.16-17* and *IG II² 2319-23.31* respectively.

²⁹³ Thus Blumenthal (1939) 217, Snell (1971) 116.

²⁹⁴ Thus Blumenthal (1939) 217–8, Pretagostini (2003) 169.

Athenians were once slaves and were well-fed, but now eat just pulses and fennel (11–13). The Babylonian then remarks that Harpalus dispatched a large amount of corn to Athens (14–16) and the messenger notes that this was in fact for Glycera, with Athens unsure whether the corn represented destruction or payment for the courtesan (17–18). The satyrs would have perhaps come onstage after this conversation and performed their resurrection ritual, bringing Pythionice up from the dead and reuniting her with Harpalus. At some point later, Glycera would have arrived, either during Harpalus’ reunion with Pythionice or shortly after,²⁹⁵ and Harpalus would have accepted Glycera as his new queen, allowing her to enslave the satyrs as her obedient subjects. The play probably ended with the arrival of Agen, a representation of Alexander,²⁹⁶ who captured and punished Harpalus for his embezzlement and actions during the course of the play; Agen must have also dethroned Glycera, thus securing Babylon for himself and freeing the satyrs from slavery.

Python’s *Agen* is significant for a number of developments within both its own genre and Greek drama as a whole. First, it is the earliest securely attested example of a satyr drama which deals with contemporary events.²⁹⁷ Although a number of tragedians wrote historical plays,²⁹⁸ these dealt with past events rather than contemporary issues, and if *Agen* came on at the end of Python’s satyr drama to punish Harpalus, then *Agen* would have also predicted future events. Secondly, several aspects of the fragments are reminiscent of Old Comedy. Python mocks Harpalus for his lust for courtesans and ridicules his grief for Pythionice by showing it to be excessive.²⁹⁹ In addition, Harpalus’ dispatch of corn is used to humorously compare Harpalus with Alexander the Great³⁰⁰ and the pro-democratic factions at Athens are

²⁹⁵ Athen. 13.595d–e.

²⁹⁶ Thus Blumenthal (1939) 218.

²⁹⁷ It is not the last satyr drama to do so; cf. Lycophron’s *Menedemus*. Some conjecture that Timocles’ *Icarian Satyrs* was another satyr drama which dealt with contemporary events (thus Wilamowitz (1889) 23–5 = (1962) 688–90, Cohn (2015) 548) and which may have pre-dated and thus inspired *Agen* (thus Shaw (2014) 143). *Icarian Satyrs* was, however, almost certainly a comedy (thus Constantinides (1969) 60, Bakola (2005) 55).

²⁹⁸ Cf. Aeschylus’ *Persians*, Phrynichus’ *Sack of Miletus* and *Phoenissae*, Theodectas’ *Mausolus*.

²⁹⁹ Fr. 2.17–18. 1.2–8.

³⁰⁰ Fr. 2.14–18.

mocked for the damage which they have caused, with the Athenian speaker noting how this section of society viewed themselves as slaves when they ate well, but now celebrate their freedom, despite this resulting in famine.³⁰¹ Such a depiction of Harpalus and the Athenians may have served a wider purpose, perhaps to justify Alexander's decision to launch an imminent attack on Harpalus in Babylon.³⁰² The incorporation of comic motifs is also evidenced by Python's parody of several lines from the Sophoclean corpus.³⁰³

Dionysius' *Loimos* and Astydamos' *Heracles* display a similar reliance on the tropes of Old Comedy. In Dionysius' *Loimos*, Silenus administers an enema to Heracles who was ill. Such a scene contains comic violence which, although attested in other satyr dramas,³⁰⁴ is closer to Old Comedy given its scatological nature.³⁰⁵ In Astydamos' *Heracles* fr. 4, a poet is advised to present his audience with different types of music to entertain them fully. These lines are in eupolideans, a metre more closely associated with comedy, and references to the audience, the poet, and literary criticism are reminiscent of a comic parabasis.³⁰⁶ In addition, this fragment uses several words more often found in comedy such as εὐωχίαν (fr. 4.1) and τὸν ποιητήν (fr. 4.2). In fact, such is the prevalence of comic features in fr. 4, especially the seeming breach of the dramatic illusion, that these lines have frequently been deemed spurious.³⁰⁷ Nonetheless, it is possible, as with Python's *Agen*, that the humour of fr. 4 is contained within the plot of *Heracles* itself (i.e. the dramatic illusion is not broken), with Heracles using his experiences as a glutton to judge poetry³⁰⁸ and with Astydamos deploying comic tropes to play around with the very fabric of the satyric genre.

³⁰¹ Fr. 2.11–13.

³⁰² Thus Sutton (1985) 354, Shaw (2014) 128–9.

³⁰³ Line 2 alludes to Soph. fr. 748 *TrGF*, lines 2–3 parody Soph. *El.* 7–8, and line 11 alludes to Soph. *Tr.* 302.

³⁰⁴ Cf. Eur. *Cyc.* 656–709.

³⁰⁵ Cf. Ar. *Thesm.* 237–49.

³⁰⁶ See Shaw (2014) 134 for further discussion on the parabolic nature of Astydamos' *Heracles* fr. 4.

³⁰⁷ Thus Casaubon, Bain (1975) 23–5, Taplin (1986) 166.

³⁰⁸ Cf. Nicochares' *Heracles Choregus*.

Admittedly, comic tropes and moreover interplay between comedy and satyr drama is also attested in fifth-century drama, as evidenced, for example, by Danae's paratragic speech in Aeschylus' *Dictyulci*,³⁰⁹ a technique also seen in comedy,³¹⁰ and by the presence of satyric choruses in Old Comedy.³¹¹ It is, however, nonetheless clear that fourth-century dramatists continued to develop the relationship between the two genres, deploying tragic quotation, comic metres, and scatological humour among other techniques.

Notes on the text and commentary

Central to this thesis are two aims: to better appreciate the many, varied qualities of the fragments of fourth-century tragedy and to gain a greater understanding of their place in the wider dramatic tradition. Since in-depth textual analysis is the best method to achieve these objectives, this thesis takes the form of a commentary. The commentary section for each poet is initially divided by title, with those fragments which cannot be assigned to any particular play collected under the subheading '*incertarum fabularum fragmenta*' ('fragments of unknown plays') and treated individually. Under each title is compiled the text of all fragments and testimonia plausibly related to it.³¹² Although the expected audience of this thesis is most likely able to read Greek, a translation has been provided to ensure that the commentary is widely accessible, to give maximum clarity to how I have understood the text, and to aid the reader in following the discussion in the commentary. After the text are general comments on the play with particular focus on plot reconstruction (see above). The general discussion about each play concludes with information about the treatment of the same myth

³⁰⁹ *Dictyulci* fr. 47a.773–85.

³¹⁰ Cf. *Ar. Thesm.* 689–764, 855–919, 1016–1135.

³¹¹ Cf. comedies entitled *Satyrus* by Callias, Cratinus, Ecphantides, and Phrynichus, and Cratinus' *Dionysalexander* which also featured a chorus of satyrs (*hyp.* Cratinus *Dionysalexander* 42–4 *PCG*).

³¹² Following the convention in *TrGF*, all testimonia are assigned fragment numbers. Although unrelated to Astydamos' *Hector*, *Tr. adesp.* fr. 649 *TrGF* is included under Astydamos' *Hector* as a '*fragmentum dubium*' ('doubtful fragment') given the extensive use of this fragment in the discussion about Astydamos' play.

in fifth- and fourth-century tragedy. No comment is made on any similarities or differences in the frequency with which a myth is presented in either century given the low amount of evidence available for fourth-century tragedy.

General analysis of a play is followed by commentaries on each of the fragments assigned to it. Larger fragments, typically those over two lines in length, are lemmatised for the reader's convenience. I have chosen to provide three different types of comment on the fragments, the first of which is philological in nature, specifically textual errors and conjectures. In determining that a verse is textually suspect, I consider whether it is syntactically and metrically sound, whether the sentiment the verse conveys is logical, whether it contradicts any comments made by the author quoting it, and whether it is compatible with wider mythographic traditions. Emendations to the text are made only when they render a line metrically correct, are syntactically plausible, and make the sentiment coherent. Moreover, the emendation must be explicable, i.e. it must be based on what is in the manuscripts, with its corruption to the erroneous version able to be explained. Similar criteria are applied when supplementing lacunae in papyrus fragments. Comment is then provided on the internal features of a fragment, such as literary techniques (for example word play) and dramaturgical and performative elements. Finally, I consider the fragments in relation to Greek literature in general, focusing on providing parallels or counter-examples to the sentiments expressed by the fragments and for any linguistic or lexicographical peculiarities. In providing *comparanda*, priority is given to tragedy, satyr drama, comedy, and philosophy, with philosophy chosen given the high proportion of sententious fragments. Parallel passages which are particularly reflective of an aspect of a fragment and which are of three or fewer lines in length are quoted and translated. No guidance is given on standard grammar within the fragments whose text is secure, and no comment is made on my translations of the fragments given the assumed knowledge of my readership.

The text used in this commentary is from Bruno Snell's edition of *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, except for Carcinus *Medea* fr. 1h which is derived from my own reading of P.Louvre 10534 and those of Bélis (2004) and West (2007) = (2013). Occasionally, my numbering of the fragments diverges from that of *TrGF* (see appendix 3). In addition, this commentary sometimes provides more preamble to a fragment than *TrGF*; this is to provide a better context and is indicated in the commentary. The apparatus for each book fragment (i.e. lines quoted by a later author) contains a selection of plausible readings and is limited to those discussed in the commentary whereas a more expansive list of supplements is given for papyrus fragments; for a full apparatus to each fragment see *TrGF*.

Commentary

Astydamas II

Introduction

Life and career

Ἀστυδάμας, ὁ νεός, υἱὸς τοῦ προτέρου, τραγικός καὶ αὐτός. δράματα αὐτοῦ Ἡρακλῆς Σατυρικός, Ἐπίγονοι, Αἴας μαινόμενος, Βελλεροφόντης, Τυρῶ, Ἀλκμήνη, Φοῖνιξ, Παλαμήδης. <ἔγραψε τραγωιδίας σμ', ἐνίκησε ιε'. ἀκροασάμενος δὲ ἦν Ἴσοκράτους καὶ ἐτράπη ἐπὶ τραγωιδίαν.>

ἔγραψε ... τραγωιδίαν Capps transposuit ex α 4264 Adler

Astydamas the younger, son of the former [i.e. Astydamas I], himself also a tragic poet. His plays include *Heracles* (a satyr drama), *Epigoni*, *Ajax Maddened*, *Bellerophon*, *Tyro*, *Alcmene*, *Phoenix*, and *Palamedes*. <He wrote 240 tragedies and was victorious on fifteen occasions. He was a pupil of Isocrates and then turned to tragedy.>

Su. α 4265 Adler

Astydamas II was the son of the fourth-century tragedian Astydamas I and the brother of Philocles II, also a tragic poet. The grandfather of Astydamas II was the fifth-century tragedian Morsimus and his great-grandfather was the tragic poet Philocles I, nephew of Aeschylus;³¹³ see appendix 2, fig. 1. Confusion between Astydamas I and II has arisen from their identical names, with many details about these poets ascribed no more specifically than to 'Astydamas'. For instance, Diodorus Siculus notes that an Astydamas first produced plays in 398 and lived for sixty years³¹⁴ and a victor-list dates the first victory of an Astydamas in

³¹³ Σ Ar. Av. 281 Holwerda. The third-century tragedian Astydamas III may also be related to Astydamas II (thus Sutton (1987) 13), as they have the same name; perhaps Astydamas III was the grandson of Astydamas II since Astydamas III is mentioned in *IG II² 1132.38*, dated to 278/7.

³¹⁴ 14.43.5.

the City Dionysia to 372³¹⁵ and in the Lenaea at around 370.³¹⁶ As it is unlikely that the same Astydamos started producing plays in 398 and only gained his first victory twenty-six years later, Diodorus must refer to Astydamos I and the victor-list to Astydamos II.³¹⁷ Since Astydamos I lived for sixty years, if we assume that he produced his first play at around the age of twenty, he was probably born in the 420s and died in the 360s.³¹⁸ This means that the Astydamos who was said to have been a pupil of Isocrates *before* turning to tragedy must have been Astydamos II, since Isocrates did not set up as a professional educator until the late 390s, well after the debut of Astydamos I.³¹⁹

Astydamos II was victorious at least once in the Lenaea and at least seven times at the City Dionysia; Astydamos may have had up to nine victories in the City Dionysia, since the right-hand side of the victor-list is broken off, allowing for two further iotas to be inserted after ΓII.³²⁰ The *Suda* states that Astydamos I was victorious fifteen times,³²¹ though these most likely belong to Astydamos II, given the eight, perhaps ten victories, attested in the inscriptional records for Astydamos II.³²² Since Astydamos II was victorious in the City Dionysia between seven and nine times, he must have gained first place at Lenaea between six and eight occasions. He was victorious in the City Dionysia of 347,³²³ 341 with *Achilles*, *Athamas*, and *Antigone*,³²⁴ and 340 with *Parthenopaeus* and *Lycaon*.³²⁵ In 340, Astydamos II was also awarded a statue for his *Parthenopaeus*.³²⁶ Part of the base survives, preserving the

³¹⁵ *IG* II² 2325.10, *Marm. Par.* 71 = *FGrHist* 239.

³¹⁶ *IG* II² 2325.240.

³¹⁷ Thus Capps (1900) 43.

³¹⁸ Thus Sommerstein (2013) 14.

³¹⁹ Thus Capps (1900) 44.

³²⁰ Thus Millis and Olson (2012) 148.

³²¹ α 4264 Adler.

³²² Thus Capps (1900) 44.

³²³ *IG* II² 2318.281.

³²⁴ *IG* II² 2318.302, 2319-23.3-6.

³²⁵ *IG* II² 2318.314, 2319-23.20-2; Astydamos II may have competed against his brother in this competition, if Philocles' name is restored in *IG* II² 2319-23.23 (thus *TrGF* I p. 25-6, 207).

³²⁶ Paus. Att. σ 6 Erbse, Zenob. 5.100, Phot. *Bibl.* 502.21, *Su.* σ 161 Adler. Although the literary tradition unanimously assigns this statue to Astydamos I, it is almost certainly Astydamos II to whom the statue was granted (thus Capps (1900) 44), since Astydamos II was victorious with a tragedy entitled *Parthenopaeus* in 340.

letters ΑΣΤΥ and the bottom corner of the delta of Astydamas' name.³²⁷ The base indicates that the statue was made of bronze and presented Astydamas in a seated position,³²⁸ and the location of its discovery shows that this statue was erected on the western analemma, or supporting wall, of the Theatre of Dionysus. Literary evidence records that Astydamas composed an epigram for his statue, which the Athenians rejected as too boastful:

εἶθ' ἐγὼ ἐν κείνοις γενόμην, ἢ κείνοι ἄμ' ἡμῖν,
οἱ γλώσσης τερπνῆς πρῶτα δοκοῦσι φέρειν,
ὡς ἐπ' ἀληθείας ἐκρίθην ἀφεθεις παράμιλλος·
νῦν δὲ χρόνῳ προέχουσ', οἷς φθόνος οὐχ ἔπεται.

How I wish I had been born in their time, or they in mine,
those who seem to have taken first prize for their delightful speech,
so that I could have been judged truthfully, starting on level terms;
but as it is they hold the advantage in time, those whom envy does not follow.

Astydamas *AP* 3.329 = *FGE* 115–18

The veracity of this anecdote and Astydamas' epigram has been doubted since both are recorded only in much later works.³²⁹ Nonetheless, Astydamas may have composed his own epigram, since he was mocked by the comic poet Philemon for his boastfulness.³³⁰

³²⁷ *IG* II² 3775.

³²⁸ Thus Ma (2013) 106.

³²⁹ Thus Page on Astydamas *AP* 3.329 = *FGE* 115–18.

³³⁰ σαυτήν ἐπαινεῖς ὡσπερ Ἄστυδάμας, γύναι ('you praise yourself, just like Astydamas, woman', fr. 160 *PCG*).

The *Suda* assigns Astydamos I 240 plays;³³¹ since this information is found in the same sentence as reference to Isocrates, the 240 plays most likely belong to Astydamos II.³³² Seventeen plays have been attributed to an Astydamos: *Athamas*, *Ajax Mainomenos*, *Alcmeon*, *Alcmene*, *Antigone*, *Achilles*, *Bellerophon*, *Hector*, *Epigoni*, *Lycaon*, *Nauplius*, *Palamedes*, *Parthenopaeus*, *Tyro*, and *Phoenix*,³³³ and the satyr dramas *Hermes* and *Heracles*. Since *Ajax Mainomenos*, *Alcmene*, *Bellerophon*, *Epigoni*, *Palamedes*, *Tyro*, *Phoenix*, and *Heracles* are mentioned in the *Suda*'s entry for Astydamos II, they can be securely attributed to the younger Astydamos. In addition, as Astydamos I died in the 360s, any play produced after this should be assigned to Astydamos II. So *Athamas*, *Antigone*, *Achilles*, *Lycaon*, and *Parthenopaeus* must also be by Astydamos II. This leaves *Alcmeon*, *Hector*,³³⁴ *Hermes*, and *Nauplius* which cannot be securely attributed to either Astydamos, though they are included here as in *TrGF*.

Eight titles indicate epic themes: *Ajax Mainomenos*, *Alcmeon*, *Achilles*, *Hector*, *Nauplius*, *Palamedes*, *Parthenopaeus*, and *Phoenix*. In *Alcmeon*, the title character's matricide, usually undertaken consciously,³³⁵ is performed while he is in a state of madness, perhaps from a desire to follow his father Amphiaraus' orders to kill his mother Eriphyle.³³⁶ This reduces the culpability of Alcmeon and presents him as a conflicted individual, determined to follow his father's instructions, but perhaps hesitant to commit matricide. In Astydamos' *Hector*, the departure scene between Astyanax and Hector from *Iliad* 6 is repositioned among episodes from *Iliad* 22. The alteration of the location of this scene lends it greater emotional poignancy, with the interaction between Astyanax and Hector the last

³³¹ α 4264 Adler; cf. Carcinus who wrote 160 plays (*Su.* κ 394 Adler) and Sophocles who composed 123 plays (*Su.* σ 815 Adler with Sommerstein (2012) 2).

³³² Thus Capps (1900) 44.

³³³ Astydamos is also conjectured to have written an *Oedipus* (Wright (2016) 92), given the mention of the bronze threshold in fr. 9, an area located in Colonus.

³³⁴ Astydamos was victorious with his *Hector* (Plut. *De Glor. Ath.* 349e); perhaps this was one of the fifteen victories of Astydamos II.

³³⁵ Cf. Hyg. *Fab.* 73.

³³⁶ Arist. *Poet.* 1453b 22–34 (= *Alcmeon* fr. 1b I) with Webster (1954) 305.

time they will see one another alive. In fr. 1i, Hector is presented as a conflicted individual, his commands showing a confidence which is undermined by his doubts over his own abilities. Finally, in fr. 2a, the roles of Hector and Achilles in their duel are reversed, with Hector presented in a tactically superior position on a hill and throwing the first spear and with Achilles making the counter-attack, thus responding to Hector rather than being in control of the duel.

Astydamas' satyric fragments demonstrate his appropriation of comic tropes. In *Hermes* fr. 3b, several drinking vessels are mentioned, corresponding to the comic motif of listing foods and dishes, and in fr. 7, Astydamas uses comic diction. In addition, *Heracles* fr. 4 employs eupolideans and seemingly breaks the dramatic illusion by referring to a wise poet, his works, and his spectators, and resembles a parabasis. Admittedly, however, all three fragments fit within a broader trend in fourth-century satyr drama of adopting comic features, with Chaeremon mixing together various metres in his *Centaur*, demonstrating metrical looseness, and with Python's *Agon* mocking Harpalus, Glyceria, and the Athenians.³³⁷

Reaction and reception

Fourth-century reaction to Astydamas and his plays was positive. Astydamas' fifteen victories make him the most successful tragedian in terms of number of victories, with the exception of Sophocles, who gained first place in dramatic competitions on eighteen³³⁸ or twenty-four occasions.³³⁹ Assuming that Astydamas was victorious at the City Dionysia on nine occasions and at the Lenaea six times and assuming that his victories were gained with a trilogy on eight occasions in the City Dionysia and a dilogy in the City Dionysia of 340 and at every Lenaea, Astydamas was victorious with around forty of his plays, representing a one-

³³⁷ See further Shaw (2014) 123–48.

³³⁸ *IG* II² 2325.5, Diod. Sic. 13.103.

³³⁹ *Vit. Soph.* 8 with Sommerstein (2006) xi.

in-six victory rate for his corpus of 240 plays. Although this is less than the one-in-five victory rate of Carcinus II and the one-in-two victory rate of Theodectas, the number of plays with which Astydamos was victorious and his total number of victories are far greater than his rivals. Moreover, the true win percentage will almost certainly have been considerably higher, since many of Astydamos' plays can never have found a slot at the Dionysia or Lenaea given the size of his corpus. Astydamos was also granted an honour bestowed on neither Carcinus nor Theodectas: a statue with epigram for his victory with his *Parthenopaeus* in 340. This statue places Astydamos alongside poets such as Aeschylus and Aristophanes, who were also awarded extraordinary honours.³⁴⁰ In addition, Heraclides records that Astydamos was honoured with a statue before Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides,³⁴¹ and Philemon mocks Astydamos for his arrogance, presumably in composing a boastful epigram.³⁴²

Astydamos' *Alcmeon* is mentioned in the *Poetics*,³⁴³ cited alongside *Odysseus Wounded*, probably the same play as Sophocles' *Odysseus Acanthoplex*,³⁴⁴ as an example of how a crime can be committed in ignorance during a play, with the true nature of the act only becoming apparent as the tragedy progresses. Aristotle's reference to Astydamos' *Alcmeon* alongside Sophocles' play indicates that Aristotle views both Astydamos' and Sophocles' tragedies as equally capable of providing appropriate examples to illustrate his point.³⁴⁵ Astydamos' *Alcmeon* may have also been indirectly referenced in Antiphanes' *Poetry*, where a character notes that Alcmeon killed his mother in a fit of madness, most likely the plot of

³⁴⁰ After his death, a chorus was granted to anyone wishing to reperform Aeschylus' plays (*Vit. Aesch.* 18). Aristophanes' *Frogs* was reperformed on the basis of its parabasis (*arg. Ar. Ran.*).

³⁴¹ Fr. 169 Wehrli. It is not clear whether the attack on the poor judgment of the Athenians for erecting a statue of Astydamos before those of Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides belongs to Heraclides or Diogenes Laertius (Ma (2013) 110).

³⁴² See footnote 330.

³⁴³ 1453b 31–3.

³⁴⁴ Thus Halliwell (1987) 193.

³⁴⁵ Thus Capps (1895) 294.

Astydamas' *Alcmeon*;³⁴⁶ this indicates that Astydamos' version was a standard variant of this story by the time Antiphanes was writing. In addition, Astydamos' *Hector* inspired a volute krater by the Underworld painter, dated between the 340s and 320s. On the bottom layer of this vase painting, a fully-armed Hector bids farewell to Andromache, who is holding Astyanax and who is accompanied by a nurse. To Hector's right stands a man holding Hector's helmet and mounted on a chariot drawn by four horses, corresponding with Astydamos' *Hector* fr. 2, in which Hector hands his helmet to an attendant.³⁴⁷ The vase-painter's awareness of Astydamos' version of Hector's removal of his helmet shows that Astydamos' *Hector* was known in Apulia, through the transmission of this play either via manuscripts or reperformance. This indicates that Astydamos' plays earned an international reputation during his lifetime and places Astydamos alongside Carcinus II, Antiphon, and Dicaeogenes, whose works were also known outside Athens.

Favourable reaction to Astydamos and his plays continued in the third and second centuries BC. An inscription from Delos dated to the second or first century BC may appropriate the phrasing of Astydamos' rejected epigram.³⁴⁸ In the Lenaea at Athens in 254, an actor was victorious in the competition of old satyr dramas with a play entitled *Hermes*.³⁴⁹ Since Astydamos is the only dramatist known to have written a *Hermes*, he is more likely than anyone else to have been its author.³⁵⁰ Astydamos is also mentioned in an epigram dating to the second century BC in relation to the *Iliad*.³⁵¹ Three papyrus fragments attributed to Astydamos' *Hector* also date to the third and second centuries BC, with fr. 1h discovered in El-Hibeh and dated to the second century, fr. 1i discovered in a temple at Socnopaeus in

³⁴⁶ *Poetry* fr. 189 *PCG*; thus Webster (1954) 305.

³⁴⁷ Thus Taplin (2007) 254, (2009) 256.

³⁴⁸ *ID* 1533.14 with Merkelbach (1971) 185; cf. εἶθε χρόνοις κείνοις ('if only ... in those times', *ID* 1533.14) with εἶθ' ἐγὼ ἐν κείνοις γενόμενῃ ἢ κείνοι ἄμ' ἡμῖν ('if only I had been born in their time or they in ours', Astydamos *AP* 3.329.1 = *FGE* 115)

³⁴⁹ *SEG* XXVI 208.13 = *Hermes* fr. 3a.

³⁵⁰ Thus Meritt (1938) 118.

³⁵¹ P.Petrie 2.49b.

Dimê and also dated to the second century, and fr. 2a, from an unknown location, dated to the third century. The preservation of these three papyri and their discovery at various locations in Egypt indicates that Astydamos' *Hector* was transmitted via manuscripts in the third and second centuries and thus had a reputation beyond Athens. In addition, these fragments show that at least three copies of Astydamos' *Hector* existed in this period, with the dating to fr. 2a to the third century and fr. 1h and 1i to the second century showing that they are from two different manuscripts and the discovery of fr. 1h in El-Hibeh and fr. 1i in Socnopaeus indicating they also come from two separate manuscripts.

After the third and second centuries BC, our evidence for the reception of Astydamos and his plays largely declines. This should not be taken as a value judgement on Astydamos specifically, since writers of the first centuries BC and AD were generally disdainful towards fourth-century tragedy.³⁵² Astydamos' tragedies were, however, mentioned in sources dating to the Greek Imperial period onwards, with Plutarch recording that Astydamos was victorious with his *Hector*, but that the Athenians did not celebrate this achievement,³⁵³ Athenaeus quoting three times from Astydamos,³⁵⁴ and Stobaeus citing four fragments.³⁵⁵ Except for Plutarch, little information is provided about the performance context of the quotations; Athenaeus and Stobaeus probably relied on quotation of these verses in earlier sources to cite them in their own works. In addition, a scholium to Homer's *Iliad*³⁵⁶ notes that Hector gave his helmet to an attendant in Astydamos' *Hector* rather than placing it on the ground as in the *Iliad* and quotes fr. 2; a scholium to Sophocles' *Oedipus at Colonus* records that Astydamos discussed 'the bronze threshold'.³⁵⁷ The quotation of fr. 2 suggests that the Homeric commentator had access to the manuscripts of Astydamos' *Hector*, whereas the vague

³⁵² Cf. Philod. Περὶ Ποιημάτων col. 25.10 Sbordone, Cic. *Tusc.* 5.23.63.

³⁵³ *De Glor. Ath.* 349e = *Hector* fr. h.

³⁵⁴ 11.496e (= *Hermes* fr. 3b); 10.441b (= *Heracles* fr. 4); 2.40b (= fr. 6).

³⁵⁵ 2.15.1 (= *Alcmeon* fr. 1c); 4.52.35 (= *Nauplius* fr. 5); 3.36.4 (= fr. 7); 4.29.3 (= fr. 8).

³⁵⁶ Σ_A Hom. *Il.* 6.472 Erbse = *Hector* fr. 2.

³⁵⁷ Σ Soph. *OC* 57 Xenis = fr. 9.

knowledge of the bronze threshold suggests reliance on a source other than Astydamos. Nonetheless, Astydamos' plays must have been cited more widely than the extant sources, since the *Suda* is aware of several not mentioned in any preserved source, namely *Ajax Mainomenos*, *Alcmene*, *Bellerophon*, *Epigoni*, *Palamedes*, *Tyro*, *Phoenix*. In addition, the *Suda*'s knowledge of the satyr drama *Heracles* is unlikely to derive from Athenaeus, given that the *Suda* does not mention *Hermes*, also included in *Deipnosophistae*.

The biographical tradition for Astydamos is similarly sparse. Except for a scholium to Aristophanes' *Birds*,³⁵⁸ all testimonia before the *Suda* focus on his boastfulness,³⁵⁹ specifically Astydamos' epigram; all sources cite this anecdote as the origin of the proverb 'you praise yourself'.³⁶⁰ Admittedly, every writer attributes this story to Astydamos I rather than Astydamos II, but this may be due to the omission in the earliest source, Pausanias Atticus, of a phrase denoting that it was Astydamos II to whom the statue was awarded.³⁶¹ In addition, Diogenes Laertius censures the Athenians for erecting a statue of Astydamos before those of Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides.³⁶² Diogenes is not, however, criticising the award of the statue to Astydamos, simply the erection of the statue before those of Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides. Finally, the *Suda* provides a biography for Astydamos II, though wrongly attributing some information about Astydamos II to his father; this confusion may result from the omission in an earlier source of a phrase which indicates that the Astydamos referred to is Astydamos II.

³⁵⁸ Σ Ar. Av. 281 Holwerda.

³⁵⁹ Paus. Att. σ 6 Erbse, Zenob. 5.100, Phot. *Bibl.* 502.21.

³⁶⁰ σαυτήν ἐπαινεῖς.

³⁶¹ Thus Capps (1900) 44.

³⁶² Diog. Laert. 2.43.

Commentary

ΑΘΑΜΑΣ

Possibilities for the plot of Astydamos' *Athamas* include Athamas' averted sacrifice of his son Phrixus,³⁶³ and the killing of Learchus and Melicertes by Athamas and Ino.³⁶⁴ The attribution of fr. 6 to *Athamas* on the grounds that Ino and Athamas raised Dionysus,³⁶⁵ the subject of this verse, is speculative.³⁶⁶ Astydamos' *Athamas* is the only known fourth-century tragedy with this title, though Athamas' son Phrixus featured in a *Phrixus* tragedy by Timocles or Philocles in the City Dionysia of 340; this play came second.³⁶⁷ The comic poets Amphis and Antiphanes also produced *Athamas* plays and Phrixus was mentioned in Anaxandrides' *Odysseus*.³⁶⁸ In the fifth century, *Athamas* plays were produced by Aeschylus, Xenocles, and Sophocles, who wrote two versions. *Phrixus* plays were composed by Sophocles, Achaeus, and Euripides, who produced two such tragedies; Euripides also wrote an *Ino*.

ΑΙΑΣ ΜΑΙΝΟΜΕΝΟΣ

Μαινόμενος suggests that Astydamos' play had a similar plot to Sophocles' *Ajax*, focusing on Ajax's anger following the award of the arms of Achilles to Odysseus and Ajax's subsequent suicide and its aftermath.³⁶⁹ We know nothing of the date of Astydamos' play or its production. Prince's belief that it was a response to Antisthenes' *Judgement of the Arms*, a work comprising speeches delivered by Odysseus and Ajax in which they each justify why

³⁶³ Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.9.1, Hyg. *Fab.* 2.

³⁶⁴ Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.9.2, cf. Euripides' *Ino* (test. iii *TrGF* = Hyg. *Fab.* 4.5).

³⁶⁵ Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.4.3.

³⁶⁶ Pace Xanthakis-Karamanos (1980) 96.

³⁶⁷ *IG* II² 2319-23.24 with *TrGF* 1 p. 26, 252.

³⁶⁸ Fr. 35.11 *PCG*.

³⁶⁹ Thus Jebb (1896) xlvii; cf. Astydamos' *Alcmeon* (thus Xanthakis-Karamanos (1980) 39).

they should be awarded the arms of Achilles, is speculative.³⁷⁰ In the fourth century, Carcinus II and Theodectas produced tragedies entitled *Ajax*, both of which may have presented the dispute between Ajax and Odysseus over the arms of Achilles. Ajax is also mentioned in *Tr. adesp.* fr. 110, 683a *TrGF*, possibly postclassical in date.³⁷¹ In the fifth century, Sophocles produced an *Ajax* and Aeschylus a connected trilogy comprising *The Award of the Arms*, *Thracian Women*, *Women of Salamis* which focused on the dispute between Odysseus and Ajax over the arms of Achilles, Ajax's subsequent suicide, and his father Telamon's reaction to Ajax's death.³⁷² For the myth of Ajax see further Finglass (2011) 26–41.

ΑΛΚΜΕΩΝ

Fragment 1b I – Arist. *Poet.* 1453b 22–34 (transl. based on Fyfe)

τοὺς μὲν οὖν παρελημμένους μύθους λύειν οὐκ ἔστιν, λέγω δὲ οἷον τὴν Κλυταιμῆστραν ἀποθανοῦσαν ὑπὸ τοῦ Ὀρέστου καὶ τὴν Ἐριφύλην ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀλκμέωνος, αὐτὸν δὲ εὐρίσκειν δεῖ καὶ τοῖς παραδεδομένοις χρῆσθαι καλῶς. τὸ δὲ καλῶς τί λέγομεν, εἴπωμεν σαφέστερον. ἔστι μὲν γὰρ οὕτω γίνεσθαι τὴν πράξιν, ὥσπερ οἱ παλαιοὶ ἐποίουν εἰδότας καὶ γινώσκοντας, καθάπερ καὶ Εὐριπίδης ἐποίησεν ἀποκτείνουσαν τοὺς παῖδας τὴν Μήδειαν. ἔστιν δὲ πράξει μὲν, ἀγνοοῦντας δὲ πράξει τὸ δεινόν, εἴθ' ὕστερον ἀναγνωρίσαι τὴν φιλίαν, ὥσπερ ὁ Σοφοκλέους Οἰδίπους· τοῦτο μὲν οὖν ἔξω τοῦ δράματος, ἐν δ' αὐτῇ τῇ τραγωιδίᾳ οἷον ὁ Ἀλκμέων ὁ Ἄστυδάμαντος ἢ ὁ Τηλέγονος ὁ ἐν τῶι τραυματίᾳ Ὀδυσσεῖ.

Therefore, it is not right to break up the established myths, I mean, for example Clytemnestra being killed by Orestes and Eriphyle by Alcmeon, but it is necessary for him [i.e. a poet] to be inventive and to use the traditions skilfully. But let us define more clearly what we mean by skilfully. It is possible that the action happens, just as the old dramatists made their characters act, knowing and cognising, just as Euripides made Medea kill her children. But it is possible that they may do the terrible deed,

³⁷⁰ (2015) 199.

³⁷¹ Thus Finglass (2011) 36.

³⁷² Thus Welcker (1824) 438–40.

but do it unawares, and then discover the relationship later, just as Sophocles' Oedipus does; this took place outside the confines of the play, but examples of it taking place during the tragedy include Astydamas' Alcmeon and Telegonus in *Odysseus Wounded*.

Fragment 1b II – Antiphanes *Poetry* fr. 189.1–12 PCG (=Athen. 6.222c–d, transl. based on Olson)

μακάριόν ἐστιν ἡ τραγωιδία
ποιήμα κατὰ πάντ', εἴ γε πρῶτον οἱ λόγοι
ὑπὸ τῶν θεατῶν εἰσιν ἐγνωρισμένοι,
πρὶν καὶ τιν' εἰπεῖν· ὥσθ' ὑπομῆσαι μόνον
δεῖ τὸν ποιητὴν· Οἰδίπου γὰρ ἂν μόνον 5
φῶ, τᾶλλα πάντ' ἴσασιν· ὁ πατὴρ Λάιος,
μήτηρ Ἰοκάστη, θυγατέρες, παῖδες τίνες,
τί πείσεθ' οὗτος, τί πεποίηκεν. ἂν πάλιν
εἴπηι τις Ἀλκμέωνα καὶ τὰ παιδιά,
πάντ' εὐθύς εἶρηχ', ὅτι μανεῖς ἀπέκτονεν 10
τὴν μητέρ', ἀγανακτῶν δ' Ἄδραστος εὐθέως
ἤξει πάλιν τ' ἄπεισι < . . . >

Tragedy is a thoroughly blessed type of poetry,
for first of all, the plots are well known by the audience before
anyone has uttered a word,
so all the poet has to do is offer a reminder;
for I only have to say "Oedipus" and they know all the rest, 5
that his father is Laius,
his mother Jocasta, who his daughters are,
who his sons are, what he will suffer, what he has done.

Again, if someone mentions Alcmeon and his children, he's there

and then mentioned everything – that he has gone mad and killed his mother, 10
and that Adrastus is going to get annoyed
and come straight home and go off again . . .

Fragment 1c – Stob. 2.15.1

Ἀστυδάμαντος Ἀλκμαίωνος

<οὐ> τοῦ δοκεῖν μοι, τῆς δ' ἀληθείας μέλει

οὐ Gaisford: ὁ codd.

From Astydamos' *Alcmeon*

I don't care about appearances, only the truth

Aristotle is almost certainly referring to an *Alcmeon* play by Astydamos in fr. 1b I, citing this play by its title character.³⁷³ Possibilities for the crime committed by Alcmeon include the murder of his mother Eriphyle³⁷⁴ and an incestuous relationship with his daughter Tisiphone, whose identity he was initially unaware of when purchasing her as a slave.³⁷⁵ Since Aristotle mentions Alcmeon's matricide in close proximity to citation of Astydamos' *Alcmeon* in fr. 1b I, this is almost certainly Alcmeon's crime. Alcmeon's ignorance of the horrific nature of his actions may have come from his lack of awareness of Eriphyle's identity.³⁷⁶ This possibly resulted from madness, perhaps caused by Alcmeon's fixation on fulfilling his father Amphiaras' orders to take revenge on Eriphyle for her betrayal.³⁷⁷ Later in the play, Alcmeon's madness subsided and Alcmeon discovered that it was his mother whom he had killed. *Alcmeon* most likely concluded with Alcmeon being driven by the Furies into exile.³⁷⁸

This reconstruction suggests the tragic version of the Alcmeon myth mentioned in

³⁷³ Cf. *Poet.* 1455a 26–7 (= Carcinus *Amphiaras* fr. 1d); *Polit.* 1255a 36 (= Theodectas *Helen* fr.3).

³⁷⁴ Stinton (1975) 227 = (1990) 151, Xanthakis-Karamanos (1979) 74.

³⁷⁵ Cf. Euripides' *Alcmeon in Corinth* (test ii *TrGF* = Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.7.7).

³⁷⁶ Thus Stinton (1975) 227 = (1990) 151.

³⁷⁷ Thus Webster (1954) 305.

³⁷⁸ Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.7.5, Paus. 8.24.8.

Antiphanes' *Poetry* is Astydamos',³⁷⁹ since no other tragedy is known to have presented the murder of Eriphyle with Alcmeon unaware of the nature of his actions.

In the fourth century, *Alcmeon* plays were produced by Theodectas and the comic poets Amphis and Mnesimachus, and Chaeremon wrote a tragedy entitled *Alphesiboia*. In addition, Timotheus was victorious with *Alcmeon* and *Alphesiboia* in the City Dionysia or Lenaea of c. 380.³⁸⁰ In the fifth century, Sophocles and Agathon wrote tragedies entitled *Alcmeon* and Achaeus a satyr drama with the same title. Aeschylus and Sophocles produced *Epigoni* plays both of which dealt with Alcmeon's murder of Eriphyle, and Euripides wrote an *Alcmeon in Psophis* and an *Alcmeon in Corinth*. For other tragedies involving inadvertent kin-killing cf. Euripides' *Aegeus*, *Alexandros*, *Ino*, and see further Finglass (2016) 301–7.

Fragment 1c

οὐ is owed to Gaisford. For the value of truth over appearing good cf. οὐ γὰρ δοκεῖν ἄριστος, ἀλλ' εἶναι θέλει ('for he does not wish to seem the best, but to be the best', Aesch. *Sept.* 592, spoken about Alcmeon's father Amphiaraus), *Ag.* 788–9, Eur. *Telephus* fr. 698, *Phoenix* fr. 809 *TrGF*.

ΑΛΚΜΗΝΗ

Astydamas' *Alcmene* may have presented Alcmene and Amphitryon's exile after Amphitryon killed Alcmene's father Electryon,³⁸¹ Alcmene's pregnancy and the birth of Heracles, Amphitryon's discovery of Alcmene's pregnancy and his attempts to kill her,³⁸² or an episode from Alcmene's later life.³⁸³ In the fourth century, Alcmene featured in an eponymous

³⁷⁹ Thus Webster (1954) 305.

³⁸⁰ *IG* II² 3091.6.

³⁸¹ Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.4.6.

³⁸² Cf. Euripides' *Alcmene*, esp. fr. 87b–88a, 104 with Collard and Cropp (2008) 100–3.

³⁸³ Cf. Euripides' *Heraclidae*.

tragedy by Dionysius I. In fifth-century drama, Alcmene appeared in Aeschylus' *Alcmene* and perhaps *Heraclidae*, Sophocles' *Amphitryon*, Euripides' *Alcmene* and *Heraclidae*, Ion's *Alcmene*, and Plato's *Long Night*; for Alcmene in ancient drama see further Shero (1956) 192–238.

ANTIFONH

Several sources have been associated with Astydamos' *Antigone*. Hyginus *Fabula* 72 tells of Creon issuing an edict forbidding the burial of Polynices' body, which Antigone flouts with the aid of Argia, Polynices' wife. Antigone is caught while constructing the funeral pyre of Polynices and is brought before Creon, who gives her to Haemon to be killed. Haemon disobeys his father's order by entrusting Antigone to a shepherd and falsely claiming that he has executed Antigone. While with the shepherd, Antigone gives birth to Maeon and after Maeon grows up, he travels to Thebes to participate in a set of games. At Thebes, Creon sees a birthmark on Maeon's skin and deduces that Maeon is Haemon's son. Creon condemns Haemon, and Heracles unsuccessfully attempts to change Creon's mind. Haemon and Antigone commit suicide and Creon gives his daughter Megara to Heracles. It has been suggested that Hyginus' account is based on a tragic version of the myth of Antigone.³⁸⁴ Since the presence of Maeon does not correspond with Sophocles' or Euripides' *Antigone*, this leaves Astydamos' *Antigone* as the only remaining tragedy known to have focused on Antigone.³⁸⁵ In addition, Aristotle quotes a verse about birthmarks in discussion of the

³⁸⁴ Thus Welcker (1841) 1588–90.

³⁸⁵ Thus Paton (1901) 275–6. Welcker ((1839) 563–72) and Scodel ((1982) 40) both accept Hyg. *Fab.* 72 as providing a hypothesis to Euripides' play. In particular, Scodel argues that a reference to Heracles in P.Oxy. 3317.4 (= Eur. *Antigone* fr. 175.4 *TrGF*) may indicate his presence in Euripides' play, perhaps as a *deus ex machina* (thus Scodel (1982) 41), confirming a connection between it and Hyg. *Fab.* 72. The mention of Dionysus, however in Eur. *Antigone* fr. 177–8 *TrGF* suggests that he was the *deus ex machina* in Euripides' play (thus Collard and Cropp (2008) 157) and thus that Heracles cannot have featured in Euripides' *Antigone* in this role.

methods of recognition;³⁸⁶ since this fragment is unattributed and as birthmarks are mentioned by Hyginus, this line has been assigned to Astydamas' *Antigone*.³⁸⁷ Finally, in fr. 9, Astydamas mentions the bronze threshold; as this is located in Colonus and associated with Oedipus, Nikitin has suggested that this fragment comes from Astydamas' *Antigone*.

If all these sources can be attributed to Astydamas' *Antigone*, this would give us another insight into how Astydamas interacted with myths treated by other tragedians. His focus on Maeon would indicate that Astydamas was developing the Euripidean version of the Antigone myth, providing a continuation of many of the conclusions of Euripides' play, such as the birth of Maeon and the eventual fate of Antigone and Haemon.³⁸⁸ This would be rather remarkable, extending the myth beyond the neat resolution provided by Antigone's evacuation to a shepherd at the end of Euripides' *Antigone* and the possible announcement of Maeon's birth by Dionysus as *deus ex machina*.³⁸⁹ This in turn would set Astydamas up as a direct successor of Euripides, in keeping with Astydamas' purported views on his own poetic prowess as recorded in his rejected epigram. Astydamas' play would not only serve as a sequel to Euripides' *Antigone*, but would develop many of the themes within it, particularly that of the loving relationship between Haemon and Antigone.³⁹⁰ Equally, however, Astydamas would also be appropriating features from the Sophoclean version of the myth, with Haemon's suicide after his son's death recalling Eurydice's own suicide in Sophocles' *Antigone* because of Creon's role in Haemon's death.³⁹¹ The continuation of Euripides' *Antigone* and the skilful weaving together of themes from Euripides' and Sophocles' versions of the myth into a story which takes place long after the conclusion of both would show

³⁸⁶ λόγχην ἦν φοροῦσι Γηγενεῖς ('the spear which the Earth-born bear', *Poet.* 1454b 22 = *Tr. adesp.* fr. 84 *TrGF*, transl. Fyfe).

³⁸⁷ Thus Webster (1954) 305, (1967) 182.

³⁸⁸ Thus Zimmermann (1993) 219–23.

³⁸⁹ Thus Collard and Cropp (2008) 157.

³⁹⁰ Thus Zimmermann (1993) 221, 223.

³⁹¹ Cf. *Soph. Ant.* 1312–13 with Scodel (1982) 41.

Astydamas' poetic abilities. Finally, in a play entitled *Antigone*, the title character is surprisingly absent, found only in relation to Haemon's suicide. This would diverge from previous versions of the myth, with Astydamos perhaps adopting the technique of giving the title character a reduced role from Theodectas' *Lynceus* which focuses on the actions of Danaos and similarly conceals Lynceus from the audience for much of the play.³⁹²

None of the sources discussed above should, however, be assigned to Astydamos. The mention of the bronze threshold in fr. 9 does not necessitate association with Astydamos' play and the lack of information given by Aristotle when quoting the verse about birthmarks means attribution to Astydamos' *Antigone* should be treated with caution. Hyginus' account should also be rejected, with process of elimination the only reason it has been ascribed to Astydamos. Since only the title of Astydamos' *Antigone* is known, process of elimination is slender grounds on which to assign Hyginus' version of this myth to Astydamos.

Three vase paintings from Apulia have also been attributed to Astydamos' *Antigone*.³⁹³ The first is an Apulian amphora (Antigone 14 *LIMC*). On the left-hand side stands Maeon flanked by a nurse and Creon, both of whom are labelled, and above whom is Ismene holding a box. In the middle, there is a shrine on which Heracles stands and to the right of the shrine is Antigone who is bound and accompanied by Haemon who is veiled. Second is another Apulian amphora (Antigone 15 *LIMC*); on the left-hand side of this vase stands a distressed Haemon and a youthful Creon, in the middle is a boy, perhaps Maeon, and Heracles, and on the right-hand side is Antigone. The third vase painting is found on a fragmentary volute krater (Antigone 16 *LIMC*) which shows Haemon in a state of mourning. Since all three vase paintings are dated to the 350s,³⁹⁴ however, they cannot come from

³⁹² Thus Zimmermann (1993) 219.

³⁹³ Paton (1901) 275.

³⁹⁴ Thus Taplin (2007) 185–6.

Astydamas' play. Astydamas' *Antigone* is the only known fourth-century play with this title, Sophocles' and Euripides' *Antigone* the only known fifth-century versions.

ΑΧΙΛΛΕΥΣ

Possibilities for the plot of Astydamas' *Achilles* include an episode from Achilles' early life, such as his adventures on Scyros,³⁹⁵ from the preparations for the Trojan War, such as the events at Aulis,³⁹⁶ or from the Trojan War itself, such as his reaction to the death of Patroclus.³⁹⁷ In the fourth century, Achilles featured in Chaeremon's *Achilles Killing Thersites* and eponymous plays by Carcinus II, Cleophon, Diogenes of Sinope, Euaretus, and possibly Sophocles II;³⁹⁸ the comic poets Anaxandrides and Philetaerus also wrote comedies entitled *Achilles*. In fifth-century drama, Achilles appeared in Aeschylus' trilogy comprising *Myrmidons*, *Nereids*, and *Phrygians/The Ransoming of Hector*, Sophocles' *The Shepherds*, *Polyxena*, *Those who dine together*, and his satyric *Lovers of Achilles*, and Euripides' *Iphigenia at Aulis*, *Scyrians*, and *Telephus* among other plays; for Achilles in tragedy see further Michelakis (2002).

ΒΕΛΛΕΡΟΦΟΝΤΗΣ

Astydamas' *Bellerophon*, of unknown plot, is the only securely attested fourth-century tragedy with this title and Eubulus wrote the only known comedy entitled *Bellerophon*; Theodectas fr. 10 may also come from a tragedy about Stheneboia's false accusations against Bellerophon,³⁹⁹ given that the dispute between the speaker of this fragment and a woman and

³⁹⁵ Cf. Euripides' *Scyrians* (*hyp. Eur. Scyrians* = test. iia *TrGF*).

³⁹⁶ Cf. Euripides' *Iphigenia at Aulis*.

³⁹⁷ Cf. Aeschylus' *Myrmidons* (fr. 135–40 *TrGF* with Sommerstein (2009) 134–5).

³⁹⁸ As suggested by West (1999) 44.

³⁹⁹ Thus Gaisford.

her husband corresponds with the Bellerophon myth. In the fifth century, Sophocles produced an *Iobates* and Euripides a *Bellerophon* and *Stheneboia*.

EKTΩP

Fragment h – Plut. *De Glor. Ath.* 349e

τῶν δ' ἄλλων ἐκάστης ἂν πύθῃ τί τῇ πόλει γέγονεν ἐξ αὐτῆς ἀγαθόν, ἢ μὲν ἐρεῖ Λέσβον, ἢ δὲ Σάμον, ἢ δὲ Κύπρον, ἢ δὲ Πόντον Εὐξείνιον, ἢ δὲ πεντακοσίας τριήρεις, ἢ δὲ μύρια τάλαντα, προῖκα τῆς δόξης καὶ τῶν τροπαίων. ταῦθ' ἡ πόλις ἐορτάζει καὶ ὑπὲρ τούτων θύει τοῖς θεοῖς, οὐκ ἐπὶ ταῖς Αἰσχύλου νίκαις ἢ Σοφοκλέους, οὐδ' ὅτε Καρκίνος Ἀερόπῃ εὐτύχει ἢ Ἔκτορι Ἀστυδάμας.

And if one were to ask each of the other [victories] what benefit came to the city [i.e. Athens] from each of the other [*sc.* military victories], one will reply Lesbos, another Samos, another Cyprus, another the Euxine Pontus, another five hundred ships, and another ten thousand talents, in addition to the glory and the trophies. This is what the city celebrates and it sacrifices to the gods in thanks for these things, and not for the victories of Aeschylus or Sophocles, nor when Carcinus triumphed with his *Aerope* or Astydamos with his *Hector*.

Fragment 2 – ΣΑ Hom. *Il.* 6.472 Erbse

ἀπὸ κρατὸς κόρυθ' εἴλετο: σημειοῦνται τινες τοῦτον διὰ τὸ τὸν τραγικὸν Ἀστυδάμαντα παράγειν τὸν Ἔκτορα λέγοντα·

EKTΩP δέξαι κυνῆν μοι προσπόλ' †εμονδε†

<μή> καὶ φοβηθῆι παῖς υ-x-υx

1 εμονδε codd.: ἐκ χεροῖν ἐμαῖν Liapis

2 μή Cobet

And he [Hector] removed his helmet from his head: some mark this line out because of the tragedian Astydamos who presents Hector saying:

HECTOR Take †my† helmet from me, attendant

so that my son <is not> afraid

Fragments plausibly assigned to Astydamas' *Hector*

Fragment 1h – P.Hib. 2.174

Fragment 1

Col. 1

[x-υ-x-(υ)] .ων κλυει[υx]
[x-υ-x-υ-] πυρούμενον
[x-υ-x-υ-]θιου
[x] ξω κα.[] λασε[] δ.....ν
[x-υ-x-υ] ..ποιοῦνται μέτα 5

Col. 2

[...] .δα[]
[] αφ[]
[] αδ.[.] [c. 6] .επ[c. 7] .ω.[]
[χρ]ησιμὸς[c. 7] .ασ[...].[] θιγω
ΧΟΡΟΥ ΜΕΛΟΣ 5

Λυκίη[ς τύραννε] Φοῖβε, τίνα κλύω τὸν .[υ-]
ὁ θηηπόλος [δὲ] μάντις Ἐλενος ε..αχε[.]π.[-]
.οι[] ανοι.[] λ' ἐσιδὼν φόβον ἔχω τι[]
πρᾶξις τίς ε.(.) χερὸς ὅτ' ἄλλον ἔνοικον []

col. 2.4 χρ]ησιμὸς Snell

col. 2.6 Λυκίη[ς Turner

col. 2.6 Λυκίη[ς τύραννε Snell: Λυκίη[ς ἀνάσσω Turner

col. 2.6 ἄ[γγελον Snell: δ[υσμενῆ Liapis

col. 2.7 θηηπόλος [δὲ Snell: θηηπόλος [γάρ Turner

Col. 1

listens ... being burned ... they are done/made

Col. 2

[o]racle ... touch

SONG OF THE CHORUS**5**

Oh Phoebus [lord?] of Lycia, what am I hearing [

that seer, the soothsayer Helenus [

I am afraid, having seen [

what his hand does/did when another occupant [

Fragment 2

[.] ...εδι[]

[x-]ν Ἀχιλλέα π.[c. 10]ωμεν[]

[x-] Ἀτρείδ[c. 11]ματ[]

[x-υ] πεύειν .[].[] δόρυ[]

[x-υ] .ν ὀπλων ἐστερημένο.[] **5**

[x-υ-] του ποντίαν ἦκειν Θ[έτιν]

[x-υ-] .. καλλίον' Ἡφαίστου πάρα

[]η.[] πι τωι.[]

[x-υ-] πάρεστι μ.[]

[] .ν.[] **10**

[] .[]

**Achilles ... Atreid[... spear ... deprived of arms ... that the sea goddess Thetis has
come ... finer ones from Hephaestus ... it is possible/ he/she/it is present**

Fragment 3

<A> μήτε σκι[-x-u-x-u-x]
 ἀλλ' εἰ δέδ[οικας -u-x-u-x]
 μενει[-u-x-u-x-u-x]
 ἡμεῖς δ[-u-x-u-x-u-x]

 ὦ φῶς α[-x-u-x-u-x] 5

μηθ.[-u-x-u-x-u-x]

ου[-u-x-u-x-u-x]

<A/Γ> [x-u-x-u-x-u-x]

2 δέδ[οικας Turner

<A> neither shad[ow ... but if you are afr[aid ... stay ... we

 O light ... not

Fragment 1i – P.Amh. 2.10

<A> ἄνδρες πρ[ὸ]ς ἄ[στυ -u-x-u-x]
 ταῦτ' ἀγγελῶν σοῖς οὐ καθ' [ἡδονὴν δόμοις]
 ἦκω· σὺ δ', ὦναξ, τῆς ἐκεῖ φρ[ουρᾶς u-x]
 φρόντιζ', ὅπως σοι καιρίως ἔ[ξει τάδε.]

<EKTΩP> χῶρει πρὸς οἴκουσ ὄπλα τ' ἐ[x-u-x] 5

καὶ τὴν Ἀχιλλέως δοριάλωτ[ον ἀσπίδα.]

ἔξω γὰρ αὐτὴν τήνδε κα[ι x-ux]
 ἀλλ' ἐκποδῶν μοι στῆθι, μὴ [διεργάση]
 ἡμῖν ἅπαντα, καὶ γὰρ εἰς λα[γῶ φρένας]
 ἄγοις ἂν ἄνδρα καὶ τὸν εὐθα[ρσέστατον], 10
 ἐγὼ τ' ἐμαυτοῦ χειρον[-x-ux]
 καὶ πῶς τ[έθ]ραυσμαι δ[-υ-x-ux]
 ἀλλ' οὐδὲν ἦσ[σον]..[-x-ux]
 ἐλθῶν δ' ε[-x-υ-x-ux]

1 πρ[ὸ]ς ἄ[στυ Blass

2 ἡδονὴν δόμοις Blass

3 φρ[ουρᾶς Blass

4 ἔ[ξει τάδε Blass

5 ἐ[κκόμιζέ μοι] Blass: ἔ[κφερ' ὡς τάχος Taplin

6 δοριάλωτ[ον ἀσπίδα] Blass

8 διεργάση Blass

9 λα[γῶ φρένας] Blass

10 εὐθα[ρσέστατον] Blass

12 τ[έθ]ραυσμαι Blass

13 οὐδὲν ἦσ[σον Snell

14 ἐλθῶν δ' ἐ[ς οἴκους Diggle: ἐλθῶν δ' ἐ[φ' υἷον Πηλέως Liapis

<A>

Men are approaching the c[ity

I have come to announce these things, dis[pleasing to] your [house]

But you, my lord, take care of the garrison out there

so that these events may be arranged in a timely fashion.

<HECTOR>

Go to my house and [bring out?] my arms

5

and the shield of Achilles captured by my spear.

For I will bear this very (shield) an[d

But stand away from me, so that you don't [utterly ruin?]

everything for us, since you would reduce even the bra[vest man]

to the har[e's mentality]

10

and I ... worse than myself[

and somehow I am broken[

But nonetheless[

having gone

Fragment 2a – P.Strasb. W.G. 304

ε[]οἰσοῖνα[x-υ-x-υx]

[x-]ναειπ[x-υ-x-υx]

[x].αιδομ[-x-υ-x-υx]

[x-]αν.τι[x-υ-x-υx]

ἀμβάς κολων[όν -υ-x-υx]

5

ωσ....κα[x-υ-x-υx]

ὁ μὲν γὰρ Ἔκ[τωρ -υ-x-υx]

ἐλάμ[βαν -x-υ-x-υx]

σειῶν ἐπ' αὐτὸ[ν -υ-x-υx]

Ἔκτωρ δὲ πρῶτ[ος -υ-x-υx]

10

εξα ... αγ.[x-υ-x-υx]

ἔπτηξεν οἰ[x-υ-x-υx]

ἄκραν δ' ὑπὲρ ἴτυν ξυμ[υ-x-υx]

ὦ<ς> δ' εἶδε Ἀχιλλεὺς Ἔκτορο[ς μάτην πέσον]

εἰς γῆν κελαινὸν ἔγχος, ἡδο[νῆς ὑπο]

15

ἀνηλάλαξεν, καὶ δι' ἕν δια[υx]

οὐδ' αὐτός, αὐτὰ π[ρ]όσθε τ[-x-υx]

ἔπαισεν· ἀσπίς δ' οὐ διῆκ' εἶσ[ω βέλος]

ἀλλ' ἴσχεν αὐτοῦ, δεσπ[ότην x-υx]

[x-] δ' Ἀχιλλεύς τουπ[υ-x-υx]

5 κολων[όν Snell	7 Ἔκ[τωρ Snell	8 ἐλάμ[βαν Snell	9 ἐπ' αὐτὸ[ν Snell
10 πρῶτ[ος Snell	14 ὠ<ς> Snell	14 Ἔκτορο[ς μάτην πέσον] Snell	
15 ἡδῶ[νῆς ὑπο] Snell	17 π[ρ]όθε Snell	18 εἶσ[ω Snell	18 βέλος West
19 δεσπ[ότην Snell	20 προ<ῦ>δωκ[ε Snell		

having climbed a hill ... for first Hector took ... brandishing against him (i.e. Hector) ... Hector first... and he (Achilles) covered ... over the edge of the shield ... and when Achilles saw that Hector's black spear [overshot] into the ground, he let out a cry of joy, and through the things which ... not even he himself ... those things previously ... he (Achilles) struck; but the shield did not let the spear through but held it there, [since(?)] it did not betray its new master ... but Achilles

Fragmentum Dubium

Tr. adesp. fr. 649 – P.Oxy. 2746

ΠΡΙΑΜΟΣ θάρσησον, ὦ παῖ· μὴ κάμηις· στήσον πόδα,
καὶ σαῖσι β[ο]υλαῖς προσδέχου τὰ κρείσσ[ονα].

ὠιδή

ΚΑΣΣΑΝΔΡΑ βέβληκε δεινὸν κάμακα ΠΡ. τίς, τέκνον; φράσον·

ΧΟΡΟΣ ὁ Πηλιώτης [υ-x-υx] 5

ΚΑ. ἀλλ' ἠστόχησε<ν>. ΧΟ. εἶπας ὡς ἔχει[υx]

ΚΑ. Ἔκτωρ †δεδεμλει†. ΧΟ. δυστυχῆς ἀγω[υ x]

ΚΑ. ἴσως ἐδυστύχησεν [-x-υx]

ὠιδή

	κοινὰ μέχρι νῦν νικῶμεν	[x-ux]	10
ΔΗΙΦΟΒΟΣ	τίς ἦχ[ο]ς ἡμᾶς ἐκ δόμων ἀνέκλαγε<ν>;		
	ὦιδή		
ΚΑ.]	ἔα ἔα· τί λεύσ<σ>ω;	.[]	
ΔΗ.	αἰνίγ[ματό]ς μοι μείζον' ἐφθέγξω λόγῳ[ν]·		
	ὦιδή		15
ΚΑ.]	.[]... πρὸ πύργων οὐκ[.]σε.[]		
ΔΗ.	μέμηνα[ς] αὐτὴ καὶ παρεπλάγχθης φρένα[]		
	ὦιδή		
ΚΑ.]	] οὐ παρεκέ[λ]ευες; .[]		
	]πατ ... τ ατο[c. 9]].[]		20
	] ὅς νῦ[ν] .ε...ρο.ιοσ[]		
	ὦιδή		
ΚΑ.]	] νε[ώ]τερόν μοι τ[]		
	] ἀκού[σ]α[τ'] ἄ[κ]ραν γῆρυν [-x-ux]		
	] ἀκού[σ]αθ'· Ἐκτῶρ ἐξόλωλ[.]·[-ux]		25
	ὦιδή		
ΚΑ.]	] [.] [.] ἄχλυσ πόθεν με[]		
	] ὄλωλ[.]...αι καὶ φάος Τιτα[ν ux]		
	]...[.]..[.]δ. νῦν τὸ κλεινὸ[ν Ἴλιον]		
	] τῆς σῆς ἔρη[μ]ον χειρὸς Ἑλλά[νων ux]		30
	] ] βαλεῖ πρὸς οὐδας []		
	.]υν.[.]δυσ]τυχῆς ἐγὼ []		
	.]λλ.[.]..αγρ[. σ]κῆπτρ[]		
	] [ὦιδή] []		

CASSANDRA] in front of the gates ... not

DEIPHOBUS You're mad and out of your mind yourself

singing

CASSANDRA] Did you not encourage

...

20

who now

singing

CASSANDRA] newer to me

listen to my last utterance

listen; Hector has died

25

singing

CASSANDRA] From where has this mist (come?)

[Hector] has perished and (no longer sees?) the light of Titan

... now (the army of?) the Greeks

will hurl fam[ous Troy] bereft of your strength

30

] to the ground

unlucky I

sceptre

[singing]

<CASSANDRA>

35

Translations are based on those of Liapis.⁴⁰⁰ Fr. h shows that Astydamos was victorious with his *Hector*, with Plutarch using this play as an example of how Athens celebrates its military victories, but not its cultural ones.⁴⁰¹ Although fr. 2 is not explicitly attributed to Astydamos'

⁴⁰⁰ (2016) 64–7, 78–9.

⁴⁰¹ Only ταῦθ' ἡ πόλις ... Ἀστυδάμας is included in *TrGF*. The entirety of this section of Plutarch's *De Gloria Atheniensium* is, however, quoted in this commentary.

Hector, it too is most likely from this play given the identity of the speaker. Fr. 2 indicates that Astydamos' tragedy included a scene similar to that found in book 6 of the *Iliad*,⁴⁰² in which Hector removed his helmet to avoid frightening Astyanax and then bade his son farewell. But whereas in Homer Hector places his helmet on the ground,⁴⁰³ in Astydamos' play, he hands it to an attendant; this is more convenient on stage, meaning that the actor does not have to bend down to collect the helmet.

Four papyri (fr. 1h, 1i, 2a, *Tr. adesp.* fr. 649) have also been attributed to Astydamos' *Hector*.⁴⁰⁴ The first of these (fr. 1h = P.Hib. 2.174) was discovered in El-Hibeh and first published in 1955 by Eric Turner. Dated by Turner to the second century BC, the papyrus comprises three fragments. Fr. 1 contains two columns, the first too lacunose for reconstruction. In the second column, there is a discernible reference to a prophecy followed by a choral interlude, now lost except for the marker ΧΟΡΟΥ ΜΕΛΟΣ.⁴⁰⁵ After the choral ode, four further lines are preserved, within which there is discussion of Helenus and the speaker confesses that they are afraid. If the present active infinitive φοι[τ]ᾶν or the third person singular present tense φοι[τ]ᾷ is restored at line 8 and agrees with Ἐλενος in line 7, Helenus may be prophesying during lines 6–9;⁴⁰⁶ if τῖς ἐσ(τι) χερὸς is reconstructed in line 9, the present tense ἐσ(τι) would strengthen such a hypothesis.⁴⁰⁷ The speaker of lines 6–9 must have been male (cf. ἐσιδών, line 8) and Trojan given the invocation of Lycian Apollo and mention of Helenus.⁴⁰⁸ Since the speaker is afraid, Helenus' predictions in lines 6–9 must

⁴⁰² *Il.* 6.414–96.

⁴⁰³ *Il.* 6.473.

⁴⁰⁴ Fr. 1h was first attributed to Astydamos' *Hector* by Turner (1955a) 9–10, fr. 1i by Radermacher (1902) 138, fr. 2a by Snell (1937) 84, 88, and *Tr. adesp.* fr. 649 by Coles (1968) 111, Taplin (2009) 262 among others.

⁴⁰⁵ This marker may have been inserted during a reperformance of the play from which this fragment comes, the original choral ode deemed too hard for the chorus to perform (thus Taplin (2014) 148); see introduction.

⁴⁰⁶ Thus Liapis (2016) 73–4; both suggestions are equally plausible.

⁴⁰⁷ Thus Liapis (2016) 73.

⁴⁰⁸ The mention of Helenus by itself does not guarantee a Trojan speaker since Helenus was captured by the Greeks (Proc. *Chrestomathia* 211 = *arg. 2 Little Iliad GEF*). The speaker of fr. 1h fr. 1 col. ii.6–9 was, however, almost certainly Trojan given that Helenus causes him to be afraid, something unimaginable if Helenus was with the Greeks.

have been unfavourable; this suggests that the character delivering these lines could be Hector worried about his fate⁴⁰⁹ or, as variously conjectured, Priam, concerned for his son.⁴¹⁰ Alternatively, the galliambic metres could indicate that the chorus continue speaking after their ode, with the nervous appeal to Lycian Apollo suited to a group of Trojans.

In fr. 1h fr. 2, the mention of Achilles, Hephaestus, and the arrival of Thetis indicates that this fragment describes an episode similar to that found in book 18 of the *Iliad*, in which Thetis travelled to the Greek camp and gave Achilles replacement armour manufactured by Hephaestus.⁴¹¹ Since Achilles, Hephaestus, and Thetis are spoken about in the third person, fr. 1h fr. 2 must have come from an account of Thetis' delivery of new weaponry to Achilles. Given, however, that the play from which fr. 1h fr. 1 comes had a Trojan setting, fr. 1h fr. 2 must have been delivered by someone with knowledge of the dispatch of new armour to Achilles and so this fragment was probably delivered by a divinity in a prologue speech or similar;⁴¹² alternatively, the speaker could have been Helenus or Cassandra, aware of Achilles' new armour given their mantic powers. Fr. 1h fr. 3 contains an exchange between two characters (cf. *paraphoi* at lines 4 and 7). If δέδ[οικας is correctly restored at line 2,⁴¹³ then the first speaker (A)⁴¹⁴ would be urging his or her counterpart (B) to stay (in Troy?) if he or she is frightened. These two characters may be Hector and Deiphobus,⁴¹⁵ with Hector or Deiphobus urging the other to remain in Troy if he is frightened of battle.

The second papyrus variously attributed to Astydamos' *Hector* is fr. 1i (P.Amh. 2.10). This papyrus was discovered in a temple at Soknopaiou Nesos and first published in 1901 by

⁴⁰⁹ Cf. fr. 1i.11–12.

⁴¹⁰ Webster (1954) 306, Turner (1955a) 11; cf. Hom. *Il.* 22.33–76.

⁴¹¹ *Il.* 18.468–617.

⁴¹² Thus Turner (1955a) 11.

⁴¹³ *Ibid.* 13.

⁴¹⁴ A and B in this fragment and fr. 1i are my own notations to indicate speaker change and are not found on the papyri. For instances where A, B or character names are found on papyri to mark out speakers cf. P.Oxy. 5131, Eur. *Hypsipyle* fr. 752d.7, e.4 *TrGF*, see Finglass (2014) 77–8.

⁴¹⁵ Turner (1955a) 11, Xanthakis-Karamanos (1981) 219.

Bernard Grenfell and Arthur Hunt, who dated it to the second century BC. In these lines, one character (A) announces a Greek attack on Troy and urges a second character (B) to protect the garrison.⁴¹⁶ A paragraphos under line 4 indicates a change of speaker in line 5, at which point the second character (B) instructs the first (A) to fetch the armour of Achilles, accuses speaker A of cowardice, and then doubts their own resolve. Since speaker A announces a Greek attack on Troy, he is almost certainly a messenger.⁴¹⁷ Given that speaker B is addressed as ὄναξ by speaker A, speaker B must be a figure of high social standing, namely Hector given the request for the arms of Achilles.⁴¹⁸ As speaker B has been identified as Hector, line 14 could be restored as ἐλθὼν δ' ἐ[ς οἴκους, with Hector issuing further instructions to the messenger, namely to retrieve more items from his house (including perhaps Andromache and Astyanax);⁴¹⁹ alternatively, Hector may envisage battle with Achilles if line 14 is reconstructed ἐλθὼν δ' ἐ[φ' υἱὸν Πηλέως.⁴²⁰

The third papyrus tentatively assigned to Astydamos' *Hector* is fr. 2a (P.Strasb. W.G. 304). This papyrus was discovered before World War I by Hugo Ibscher and first published by Wilhelm Crönert in 1922; it was discussed in much greater detail in 1936 by Naphtali Lewis and in 1937 by Bruno Snell, who dated the papyrus to the third century BC. These lines feature a description of the duel between Achilles and Hector, in which Hector threw a spear at Achilles, who crouched behind his shield. The spear missed, and Achilles let out a cry of joy. Achilles then launched a counter-attack, his spear sticking in Hector's shield. Given the third person past tense verbs found throughout fr. 2a,⁴²¹ these lines must have formed part of a messenger speech, which culminated in Hector's death.⁴²²

⁴¹⁶ Fr. 1i.1–4 with Pickard-Cambridge (1933) 152.

⁴¹⁷ The identification of this messenger as Polydamas (thus Weil (1901) 737) is possible, but far from certain and the messenger need not have been a specific individual.

⁴¹⁸ Thus Grenfell and Hunt (1901) 1, *TrGF* I p. 203.

⁴¹⁹ Thus Diggle *ap.* Liapis (2016) 65.

⁴²⁰ Thus Liapis (2016) 65.

⁴²¹ Such as ἐλάμ[βαν (fr. 2a.8), ἔπτηξεν (fr. 2a.12), εἶδε (fr. 2a.14).

⁴²² Thus Xanthakis-Karamanos (1981) 219.

Some scholars have also assigned *Tr. adesp.* fr. 649 (P.Oxy. 2746) to Astydamos' *Hektor*. This papyrus was discovered by Grenfell and Hunt in Oxyrhynchus in 1903 and published in 1968 by Revel Coles. It is dated to the first century AD by Coles and is richly annotated, including paragraphoi, character labels at the start of each speaker change,⁴²³ and the stage direction $\omega\iota\delta\eta$, showing that Cassandra sings her lines.⁴²⁴ Within this fragment, Priam tells Cassandra to be brave and face her fears, most likely of observing the duel between Hector and Achilles since she goes on to describe their fight.⁴²⁵ Cassandra then sings and while doing so, tells Priam of an individual throwing a spear and missing his target, with the chorus identifying Achilles as the person hurling the spear. The commotion made by Cassandra brings Deiphobus out from his house, an arrival which causes Cassandra to realise that Deiphobus' presence in Troy means that Hector is isolated on the battlefield and thus will soon die; this in turn leads Cassandra to conclude that Troy too will fall without Hector's protection.

Given that their content is based on the *Iliad* and in particular the Trojan perspective of the war, fr. 1h, 1i, 2a, and *Tr. adesp.* fr. 649 have all been assigned to Astydamos' *Hektor*. The papyrus attributions are, however, difficult to confirm, since the securely assigned fr. 2 is based on an episode from *Iliad* 6 whereas all four papyrus fragments describe episodes from later in the epic, specifically the preparations for Hector's confrontation with Achilles or their duel itself. Furthermore, not all of the papyri may be attributed to Astydamos' tragedy, given that they are likely to come from two separate plays. In the case of fr. 1i, the focus on the shield of Achilles in line 6 corresponds with the prominence of this object in the account of the duel between Hector and Achilles in fr. 2a, suggesting that fr. 1i and 2a have a shared

⁴²³ See footnote 414 for other examples of character labels on dramatic papyri.

⁴²⁴ Coles (1968) 116; cf. Eur. *Cyc.* 487. $\omega\iota\delta\eta$ may be an indication of clairvoyance (Coles (1968) 111, Tarrant on Sen. *Ag.* 867ff); this interpretation, however, assumes that $\omega\iota\delta\eta$ is not a later addition to the text from reperformance (as also suggested by Coles (1968) 116).

⁴²⁵ *Tr. adesp.* fr. 649.1–2, with Liapis (2016) 79.

origin.⁴²⁶ As a shield is mentioned in fr. 1h fr. 2, namely that delivered to Achilles by Thetis, fr. 1h fr. 2 (and thus fr. 1h) most likely also comes from the same play as fr. 1i and 2a.⁴²⁷ A further connection between fr. 1h and 1i (and thus 2a) can be established by their characterisation of Hector; if Hector is described as frightened in fr. 1h fr. 3 and if he is the individual who fears Helenus' prophecy in fr. 1h fr. 1, this would correspond with his self-doubt in fr. 1i.

By contrast, *Tr. adesp.* fr. 649 must come from a different tragedy from that of fr. 1h, 1i, and 2a, because of the differing presentation of the duel between Achilles and Hector in fr. 2a and *Tr. adesp.* fr. 649,⁴²⁸ Achilles' spear missing Hector in *Tr. adesp.* fr. 649, but getting stuck in Hector's shield in fr. 2a. It is also unlikely that a single play would include Cassandra's account of the duel between Hector and Achilles (as in *Tr. adesp.* fr. 649) only for this to then be repeated soon afterwards via a messenger speech as in fr. 2a. In addition, the chorus appears to be intimately involved in the action in *Tr. adesp.* fr. 649, commenting on the duel between Hector and Achilles, whereas their presence is limited in fr. 1h, with the chorus relegated to singing an interlude. Hence fr. 1h, 1i, and 2a come from one play about the Trojan War, *Tr. adesp.* fr. 649 from a separate tragedy on the same subject. Of these, Astydamos' *Hector* is unlikely to be identified with the play from which *Tr. adesp.* fr. 649 comes,⁴²⁹ given that several words and phrases within this fragment are attested only after Astydamos was active.⁴³⁰ This leaves only fr. 1h, 1i, and 2a as possibly from Astydamos' *Hector*.

⁴²⁶ Thus Turner (1955a) 10.

⁴²⁷ Thus *TrGF* I p. 201–4, Liapis (2016) 68.

⁴²⁸ Thus Coles (1968) 110, 112.

⁴²⁹ Thus Xanthakis-Karamanos (1981) 220.

⁴³⁰ Cf. θάρρησον (1, cf. Ezechiel *Exagoge* 100, 128); ἠστόχησε<ν> (6, cf. Poly. 3.21.10, 5.107.2); and Τιτα[ν] meaning sun (28, cf. Ezechiel *Exagoge* 217); see Liapis (2016) 82–3 for a full list of lexicographical and metrical objections.

A connection between fr. 1h, 1i, and 2a and Astydamos' *Hektor* may be established via a volute krater by the Underworld painter dated between the 340s and 320s.⁴³¹ On the top level of this vase, on the left-hand side, a male figure⁴³² is observing and possibly conversing with Cassandra who is in a prophetic state, as indicated by the branch which she holds, and who has swooned back into a woman's arms. In the middle stands a warrior with a trumpet and at the right-hand side is Helenus, observing a bird holding a snake in its talons, the two animals fighting one another. On the bottom layer, on the left-hand side, a fully-armed Hector bids farewell to Andromache, who is holding Astyanax and who is accompanied by a nurse; to Hector's right stands a male individual holding Hector's helmet and mounted on a chariot driven by four horses. Since Hector has passed his helmet to the figure on the chariot rather than placing it on the ground as in the scene in *Iliad* 6,⁴³³ the bottom scene has been thought to correspond with the securely attributed fr. 2 from Astydamos' *Hektor* and thus the volute krater based upon this play.⁴³⁴

The correspondence between fr. 2 and the bottom scene of the volute krater has, however, been challenged by Liapis who argues that the charioteer (ἡνίοχος) on the vase cannot be identical with the attendant (πρόσπολος) mentioned in fr. 2, the πρόσπολος being from a lower social class than the ἡνίοχος.⁴³⁵ Despite Liapis' objections, Hector's removal of his helmet shows that Astydamos' *Hektor* may have influenced the volute krater.⁴³⁶ Moreover, if the chariot on the volute krater is merely symbolic, designed to indicate Hector's departure to battle, then the figure on the chariot could have been a πρόσπολος, this individual placed on the chariot only due to lack of space on the bottom

⁴³¹ A date of 340s/330s is preferred by Kannicht (1991) 136; the 320s has been suggested by Taplin (2007) 253.

⁴³² This figure has been identified as Priam (Taplin (2007) 253, (2009) 256). Given, however, that he appears youthful and without any regalia, this cannot be right (thus Liapis (2016) 84); the woman sitting beside Cassandra cannot be Hecuba for similar reasons (*pace* Taplin (2007) 253, (2009) 256).

⁴³³ *Il.* 6.473.

⁴³⁴ Thus Taplin (2007) 254, (2009) 256, 258.

⁴³⁵ Liapis (2016) 84, contrast Soph. *OC* 1553 where Theseus' πρόσπολοι are his subjects rather than slaves.

⁴³⁶ For the methodology used in this commentary in relation to vase paintings see the introduction.

layer of the vase painting. This would mean that bottom layer of the volute krater could have been inspired by a scene from Astydamos' *Hektor*, namely that of the securely attributed fr. 2, since Hector would be depicted on the vase painting handing his helmet to a πρόσωπος as in this fragment. In this case, the different style of the helmet removed by Hector to the Phrygian caps worn by other male characters on the vase may have been intended to signify that Hector possessed different armour to that of his fellow Trojans, namely the arms of Achilles. This in turn would reset Hector's encounter with Andromache and Astyanax within the context of Hector's departure to fight Achilles, thus linking fr. 2 with fr. 1i (and by extension frr. 1h and 2a) and suggesting that they came from the same play; such a connection may be further emphasised by the shield on Hector's back, possibly an allusion to the importance of this item throughout frr. 1h, 1i, and 2a.⁴³⁷

If fr. 1h, 1i, and 2a are connected with the securely attributed fr. 2 via the volute krater, then Astydamos' *Hektor* may largely be reconstructed as follows. The tragedy was set within the confines of Troy, the skene representing Priam's palace,⁴³⁸ with one of the eisodoi leading to the battlefield, the other to further within Troy. Astydamos' play began with a prologue speech providing context and recounting Thetis' delivery of Achilles' replacement armour (fr. 1h fr. 2).⁴³⁹ Soon after, a messenger arrived to announce a Greek attack on Troy (fr. 1i) and in response, Hector ordered the messenger to fetch the arms of Achilles from his house and possibly his wife Andromache and son Astyanax.⁴⁴⁰ Hector bade farewell to Astyanax (fr. 2) and Andromache or Deiphobus urged him to remain within Troy if he was

⁴³⁷ Taplin (2009) 258.

⁴³⁸ Pickard-Cambridge (1933) 153

⁴³⁹ Thus Webster (1954) 306, Turner (1955a) 11, Xanthakis-Karamanos (1981) 217. Although it has been suggested that fr. 1h fr. 2 came from the same messenger speech in fr. 2a (Turner (1955a) 11), such a conjecture is unlikely since a ten-line digression on such a subject would be inappropriate in discussion of the fight between Hector and Achilles, destroying the tension of the messenger's account of the duel.

⁴⁴⁰ If correct, then Astyanax may have been held by his mother Andromache during the departure scene in Astydamos' *Hektor* (as depicted on the volute krater), demonstrating further departure by Astydamos from his Homeric model where Astyanax is held by a nurse (Hom. *Il.* 6.467); perhaps Andromache accompanied Astyanax to present Hector, Andromache, and Astyanax as a family unit on the stage, thus increasing the pathos of the departure scene.

afraid (fr. 1h fr. 3); Hector ignored these warnings and departed to fight Achilles. Hector was then killed on the battlefield during his duel with Achilles and Hector's death was reported in Troy by a messenger (fr. 2a). Fr. 1h fr. 1 cannot be positioned within the play with any certainty, but may have occurred before Hector's departure, with Hector or another character (perhaps Priam) receiving a worrying oracle from Helenus, or after Hector went to face Achilles in combat, with Helenus providing a pessimistic prophecy to a concerned Priam.⁴⁴¹ Although no fragments survive from the end of the play, Astydamos' *Hector* would have concluded with Priam and his family making preparations to ransom the body of Hector from Achilles.

A set of six theatrical masks dated between 370 and 350 from tomb 198 in Lipari have also been attributed to Astydamos' *Hector*;⁴⁴² these masks are of Hector, Priam, Hecuba, Paris, Deiphobus, and a nurse. The masks are, however, almost certainly from Euripides' *Alexandros*,⁴⁴³ given the lack of evidence for Hecuba's and Paris' presence in Astydamos' *Hector*, these characters not being attested in the papyri and fr. 2. In addition, if these masks were from Euripides' *Alexandros*, then most characters from this play would be represented with only Cassandra's mask missing from the set.⁴⁴⁴ Furthermore, the Etruscan reception of Euripides' *Alexandros* in the fourth and third centuries BC suggests that it is far more likely that these masks are related to Euripides' play.⁴⁴⁵ Astydamos' *Hector* is also hypothesised to have inspired Naevius' *Hector Proficiscens*.⁴⁴⁶ Such a suggestion cannot, however, be

⁴⁴¹ Webster (1954) 306, Turner (1955a) 11.

⁴⁴² Thus Xanthakis-Karamanos (1981) 223, Brea and Cavalier (2001) 48. A date of 370 is preferred by Battezzato (2003) 248; a date of 350 is suggested by Xanthakis-Karamanos (1981) 223, Fantuzzi (2006) 144.

⁴⁴³ Thus Battezzato (2003) 248.

⁴⁴⁴ Although the nurse is unattested in the fragments of *Alexandros*, she could have plausibly featured in Euripides' play as a silent character.

⁴⁴⁵ Thus Karamanos (2013) 415–32, see especially fig. 1, a bronze mirror from Tarquinia dated to the fourth century BC. On the back of this mirror is a relief which depicts Paris at an altar with Deiphobus drawing a sword against him and Hecuba (or Cassandra) holding an axe, corresponding with Hecuba and Deiphobus' plot to kill Paris in *hyp. Eur. Alexandros* 23–30, fr. 62d.22–30 *TrGF*. See *Alexandros* 21–3 *LIMC* for further examples of the presentation of Euripides' *Alexandros* in Etruscan iconography.

⁴⁴⁶ Capps (1895) 299.

corroborated given the small amount of fragments surviving from Naevius' play, none of which correspond with any scene from Astydamos' tragedy. Furthermore, the existence of at least one other Greek tragedy about Hector's departure (that from which *Tr. adesp.* fr. 649 comes) means that Naevius need not have based *Hector Proficiscens* on Astydamos' play.

In the fourth century, Hector also appeared in the pseudo-Euripidean *Rhesus*, and the aftermath of his death was presented by Dionysius I in his *Ransoming of Hector*. In fifth-century drama, Hector featured in Aeschylus' *Nereids*, *Phrygians/The Ransoming of Hector*, and possibly in his *Chamber makers*, were this play about the wedding of Hector and Andromache;⁴⁴⁷ Hector also appeared in Sophocles' *Shepherds* and *Troilus*,⁴⁴⁸ Euripides' *Alexandros*, and possibly in a *Priam* tragedy by Philocles.

Fragment 2

εμονδε is metrically defective, its position in the trimeter requiring a long syllable followed by an anceps whereas the first two syllables of εμονδε are a short and a long. ἐκ χειροῦν ἐμαῖν has been conjectured by Liapis (2016) 70 as a possible restoration, though ἐμόν itself or a possessive pronoun similar to it and agreeing with κυνην may be more effective, showing Hector to claim ownership over Achilles' helmet; perhaps the scholiast or a later copyist read πρὸς πόλεμον instead of προσπόλ' ἐμόν. In addition, if line 1 is restored with a personal pronoun similar to ἐμόν, both ἐμόν and μοι in close proximity would emphasise Hector's possession of Achilles' armour, echoing fr. 1i.6–7, 2a.18–20 and their focus on Hector's ownership of Achilles' shield. μή is, however, correctly inserted at the start of line 2 (thus Cobet (1854) 495) since Hector can scarcely wish to frighten Astyanax; μή also satisfies syntactic and metrical deficiencies. The language of fr. 2 implies that Hector was pre-empting

⁴⁴⁷ Sommerstein (2009) 81.

⁴⁴⁸ Thus Sommerstein (2006) 210–11.

his son's fears by removing his helmet, with Astydamos reversing the sequence of Hom. *Il.* 6.466–70 where Hector removes his helmet only after seeing how frightened his son was; cf. the reversal of the order of the duel between Hector and Achilles in fr. 2a. πρόσπολος is an example of high style used mainly, but not only, by Euripides; cf. Aesch. *Sept.* 574, Soph. *Aj.* 539, 541, Eur. *Or.* 106, 629, *Hel.* 500, 788.

Fragments plausibly assigned to Astydamos' *Hector*

Fragment 1h fragment 1

Col. 2.6: χρ]ησμός is owed to *TrGF* I p. 202 and Λυκίη[ς is owed to Turner (1955a) 13; for a possible reconstruction of lines 6–9 of column 2 see Liapis (2016) 74. Conjectures for the lacuna before Φοῖβε in line 6 include τύραννε (*TrGF* I p. 202, Liapis (2016) 74) and ἀνάσσω (Turner (1955a) 13); τύραννε is almost certainly correct given the galliambic metre of lines 6–7. For Apollo's relation to Lycia cf. *HH* 3.179, Aesch. *Ag.* 1257, [Eur.] *Rh.* 224–6 (with Liapis). The final discernible letter of line 6 has been taken to be an alpha, with the lacuna restored as ᾠ[γγελον (thus *TrGF* I p. 202); the triangular shape of this letter, however, means that delta is equally plausible, the lacuna perhaps reconstructed as δ[υσμενῆ, referring to Achilles (thus Liapis (2016) 72).

Col. 2.7–9: Given the galliambic metre of line 7, the lacuna after θνηπόλος may be restored as δέ (thus *TrGF* I p. 202); γάρ is unmetrical (*pace* Turner (1955a) 13). The repetition of terms related to prophecy, specifically θνηπόλος and μάντις, emphasises Helenus' role as a seer. A third reference to Helenus' prophesying may occur if .οῖ[]αν is restored as the present active infinitive φοιτᾶν (thus Maehler *ap.* *TrGF* I p. 352) agreeing with Ἑλενος or as the third person singular present tense φοίτᾱι, the subject of which is Ἑλενος (thus Liapis (2016) 73–4); for φοιτάω used in relation to manic activity cf. Eur. *Hipp.* 141–4 with Barrett. If ε..αχε[.] is reconstructed as ἔτ' ἄχεος (thus Maehler *ap.* *TrGF* I

p. 352), this may describe the pain felt by Helenus while prophesying. For ἔνοικον of possession of one's body by another entity cf. Eur. *Supp.* 534–5.

Fragment 1h fragment 2

5–7: Θ[έτιν and Ἥφα[ίστου πάρα are owed to Turner (1955a) 13. ἐστερημένο. goes with ὅπλων, describing Achilles and the loss of his armour to Hector. ποντίαν ἦκειν Θ[έτιν indicates that Thetis is arriving with Achilles' armour in line 6; cf. Hom. *Il.* 18.616–17. Just as in lines 6–7, the arrival of Thetis is mentioned in close proximity to Hephaestus in Hom. *Il.* 18.616–17 (ἦ δ' ἴρηξ ὡς ἄλτο κατ' Οὐλύμπου νιφόντος | τεύχεα μαρμαίροντα παρ' Ἥφαιστοιο φέρουσα, 'and [Thetis] flew like a falcon from snowclad Olympus | bearing gleaming arms made by Hephaestus'); in Hom. *Il.* 18.617 too, πάρα is used with Hephaestus, though the new armour is described as μαρμαίροντα rather than καλλίον'. The similarities with Hom. *Il.* 18.616–17 mean that lines 5–7 of this fragment must have told of how Thetis arrived at the Greek camp (ποντίαν ἦκειν Θ[έτιν), coming to the aid of her unarmed son (ὅπλων ἐστερημένο.) with better weaponry (καλλίον' Ἥφα[ίστου πάρα). For description of Thetis as ποντία cf. Pind. *Nem.* 3.35, *Paian* fr. 52f.83 Snell–Maehler.

Fragment 1h fragment 3

1: σκι[may come from a word related to shadows, perhaps contrasted by ὦ φῶς.

2–3: Line 2 can be plausibly restored as δέδ[οικας (thus Turner (1955a) 13). In this case, μενει[could also be second person singular, forming the apodosis of the conditional clause, with speaker A urging B to remain (in Troy?) if they are frightened; alternatively μενει[could be rendered μέν', εἰ[δέ..., or μένει[ν πάρεστι. If these lines were spoken by Deiphobus and Hector, Deiphobus' advice to Hector to stay in Troy would be a divergence from Homer where Athene disguised as Deiphobus encourages Hector to fight Achilles

(Hom. *Il.* 22.224–47); in this part of the *Iliad* (22.100–2), Hector instead recalls Polydamas' advice from book 18 to retreat into Troy with his army (18.251–83).

Fragment 1i

All restorations are owed to Blass (*ap.* Grenfell and Hunt (1901) 1) except ἀλλ' οὐδὲν ἦσ[σον (owed to Snell (1971) 146).

1–4: ἄνδρες πρ[ὸ]ς ἄ[στυ describes the Greeks launching an attack on Troy; cf. Hom. *Il.* 22.1–4 where the Greeks are pursuing the retreating Trojans. For similar phrases to ταῦτ' ἀγγελῶν ἦκω, especially in messenger speeches cf. Eur. *Bacch.* 658, *IT* 1306, Ar. *Thesm.* 579; ἦκω is delayed until line 3 both to allow σοῖς οὐ καθ' [ἠδονῆν δόμοις to fit uninterrupted within the previous trimeter and to contrast the first person ἦκω with σὺ δ', focusing the audience's attention on Hector's response now that the messenger has fulfilled his role, namely reporting the Greek attack. ὄναξ is a crasis almost entirely found only in Sophocles and Euripides among the tragic poets; cf. Soph. *Ant.* 563, 1150, *Phil.* 830, *OC* 1177, 1499, Eur. *Alc.* 220, 539, *Hel.* 744, 1620, *Bacch.* 1031. ἐκεῖ indicates that the Greek attack has taken place outside Troy and thus offstage (Liapis (2016) 68); unlike in this fragment, Hector is also outside Troy when the Greeks attack Troy in Hom. *Il.* 22.1–4. καίριως ἔξει τάδε in line 4 is plausible, with the messenger in lines 3–4 urging Hector to consider how he will ensure that Troy is prepared to resist the Greek attack; the messenger's focus on Hector's response to the attack may prompt Hector in the first few lines of his speech to present himself as a powerful warrior in command of the situation despite the self-doubt he later reveals.

5–7: The imperatives χῶρει and στῆθι indicate that Hector is calm and collected despite the peril facing Troy and emphasise his role as a strong, commanding figure; cf. Hom. *Il.* 22.5–97, where Hector is also focused completely on his aim of repelling the Greeks and

specifically Achilles. ἐ[κκόμιζέ μοι (owed to Blass *ap.* Grenfell and Hunt (1901) 1) and ἔ[κφερ' ὡς τάχος (owed to Taplin (1977) 160) are equally valid restorations of line 5; the imperatives in both suggestions are consistent with the characterisation of Hector in these lines and μοι would emphasise the theme of Hector's possession of Achilles' arms also found in fr. 2, 2a.18–19. πρὸς οἴκους refers either to Priam's palace, as represented by the skene, or a separate house in which Hector lived, to which one of the eisodoi led. δοριάλωτον can describe captives taken during warfare (cf. Soph. *Aj.* 211, Eur. *Tr.* 518) as well as seized armour to which the epithet refers here; δοριάλωτον alludes to Hector's capture of the arms of Achilles in his duel with Patroclus when Hector killed Patroclus using a spear (Hom. *Il.* 16.818–21). αὐτήν τήνδε must also describe the shield of Achilles (thus Liapis (2016) 65) since ἀσπίδα is the only feminine noun thus far mentioned in Hector's speech; αὐτήν and τήνδε in close proximity emphasise that it is Achilles' shield to which Hector is referring, suggesting that Hector is keen to highlight that he will use his enemy's weaponry against him. The focus on Achilles' shield in lines 6–7 also emphasises its prominence and Hector's ownership of it, echoing fr. 2, where if a personal pronoun was used in relation to κυνήν, Hector claimed Achilles' helmet as his own; this motif is developed further in fr. 2a.18–19 where Hector has mastery over Achilles' shield.

8–10: εἰς λαγῶ φρένας metaphorically describes the cowardice which Hector believes the messenger will cause by standing close to him, the superlative εὐθα[ρσέστατον emphasising Hector's sentiment; cf. [Arist.] *Phgn.* 806b 7, Philemon fr. 93 *PCG* for the timid hare.

11–12: Despite his earlier self-assuredness and confidence, Hector reveals that he feels that he is in danger of resembling someone less than himself (ἐγὼ τ' ἑμαυτοῦ χειρον) and that he is broken (καί πως τ[έθ]ρασμαί); for θραύω describing an emotional breakdown cf. Ar. *Av.* 466. Lines 11–12 suggest that Hector attacked the messenger in lines

8–10 because of his own fears (thus Radermacher (1902) 138, Xanthakis-Karamanos (1981) 218); for fearful Hector cf. Hom. *Il.* 22.137–44. Hector’s doubts also reveal the disparity between his public persona as a powerful general taking charge of the situation (5–7) and his own fears that he is unable to live up to the Trojans’ perceptions of him (8–12). A similar split between Hector as a strong commander and as a fearful individual is also seen in Hom. *Il.* 22.5–130 where Hector’s determination in lines 5–97 is undercut by his uncertainty over whether he should have withdrawn to Troy as advised by Polydamas (98–107) or should now surrender Helen to Achilles (111–21).

13–14: Despite Hector’s reservations, ἀλλ’ οὐδὲν ἤσ[σον indicates that Hector nonetheless intends to fight for Troy (Snell (1971) 146, Liapis (2016) 69), these three words introducing a contrast to his fears in the previous lines and showing that Hector’s resolve is strengthened following his earlier crisis of confidence; Hector may have regained his composure by line 13, aware of his pivotal role in protecting Troy. Hector’s decision to fight on regardless of his doubts also echoes Hom. *Il.* 22.97–130 where Hector is determined to fight Achilles (108–10, 122–30) after his earlier hesitations (98–107, 111–21). If line 14 is restored as ἐλθῶν δ’ ἐ[ς οἴκουσ (thus Diggle *ap.* Liapis (2016) 65), Hector may ask the messenger to fetch further items from his house, including perhaps Andromache and Astyanax (Liapis (2016) 65); this would diverge from Hom. *Il.* 6.369–97 where Hector travels to see Andromache and Astyanax, with Astydamos altering his Homeric model to bring Andromache and Astyanax to Hector and thus present the departure scene between all three characters onstage. If correct, this would also connect fr. 1i to the securely attributed fr. 2, with the request for Andromache and Astyanax in fr. 1i preceding the departure scene in fr. 2. Alternatively, line 14 can be restored as ἐλθῶν δ’ ἐ[φ’ υἱὸν Πηλέως (thus Liapis (2016) 65); in this case, Hector would show the same determination to fight Achilles as in Hom. *Il.* 22.122–30.

Fragment 2a

All reconstructions are owed to Snell (1937) 85–6, except βέλος in line 18 (owed to West (1983) 82).

5: Given that the messenger in fr. 2a presents Hector as brave by launching the first spear in his duel against Achilles (cf. line 10), ἀμβάξ κολων[όν most likely describes Hector; perhaps the hill was the Batieia mentioned in Hom. *Il.* 2.811–15. The mention of a hill in this account of the duel between Hector and Achilles does not correspond with any part of the Homeric version of this episode.

7–9: Given the prominence of Hector in the nominative and the contrastive δέ at the start of line 10, αὐτό[ν probably describes Hector, meaning that σείων refers to Achilles; cf. Hom. *Il.* 22.133 which uses the same verb in relation to Achilles. σείω can be used of spears as they are about to be launched (cf. Hom. *Il.* 3.345, 13.135), suggesting that the fight between Hector and Achilles is about to begin. ἐλάμβαν could refer to Achilles or Hector seizing their weaponry, though more likely Hector given its proximity to ὁ μὲν γὰρ Ἐκτωρ.

10: Ἐκτωρ δὲ πρῶτος describes Hector throwing his spear first; in the *Iliad*, Achilles launches the first attack (Hom. *Il.* 22.273), further suggesting that the duel may have been rearranged in Astydamos' play to emphasise Hector's bravery in seizing the initiative and attacking first (thus Liapis (2016) 71).

12–16: ἴτυς usually describes the edge of an object (cf. [Hes.] *Sc.* 314, Hdt. 7.89.1) and even a shield itself (cf. Eur. *Ion* 210, *Tr.* 1197), the object to which it refers in this line (thus Snell (1937) 86). Since Hector has thrown the spear, it is Achilles who is described as cowering and hiding behind his shield (ἔπτηξεν, thus Kannicht (1991) 288); this is a reversal of the Homeric narrative where Achilles throws a spear (Hom. *Il.* 22.273), Hector crouches (*ibid.*, 22.274–5), and the spear misses and strikes the ground (*ibid.*, 275–6). For black spears cf. Hom. *Il.* 5.655, 666, 22.293, Soph. *Tr.* 855. Such a coloration of the spear may have a

‘sinister’ connotation as in Eur. *Bacch.* 628 (with Dodds), foreshadowing Hector’s imminent death and thus affording the spear a personifying function similar to that of the shield protecting Hector in lines 18–20; cf. Hom. *Il.* 2.834, 16.350, *Lfgre* s. v. μέλας. For ἀγηλάλαξεν used to describe cries of joy cf. Eur. *Bacch.* 592–3, 1133, Σ Pind. *Ol.* 7.68 Drachmann, Roux on Eur. *Bacch.* 586–93.

16–17: Given the use of spears in the first round of the duel in Hom. *Il.* 22.273–305, παίω should probably be translated in relation to throwing a spear (*pace* Page (1942) 161, who states that παίω is ‘not used of attack with spears’); cf. Xen. *Cyr.* 6.4.18. Furthermore, since ἔπαισεν refers to Achilles’ counterattack, his decision to seek hand-to-hand combat with swords (were ἔπαισεν translated as such) might appear more courageous than Hector’s spear attack, contrary to the presentation of Hector within this speech. The messenger’s account of Achilles’ counterattack reverses the Homeric narrative, where it is Hector who throws the second spear (Hom. *Il.* 22.289) which hits Achilles’ shield and rebounds (*ibid.*, 290–1).

18–20: For other examples of the personification of weaponry, in lines 18–20 shown by Achilles’ shield not betraying its new owner Hector, cf. Eur. *Her.* 1098–1100, *Tr.* 1194–5, *Men. Asp.* 16–17. Hector’s ability to secure the loyalty of the arms of Achilles further emphasises his prowess as a warrior, showing that he is at least equal to Achilles, being able to command the respect of his armour. In addition, the description of Hector as the shield’s master (δεσπ[ότην]) is a progression in the description of Hector’s possession of the arms of Achilles, which are previously referred to by Hector using first person singular pronouns to denote his ownership of them (fr. 1i.5, fr. 2).

Fragmentum Dubium

Tr. adesp. fr. 649

All restorations are owed to Coles (1968) 114–15, except μέμηνα[ς] and lines 21–30, 32–4 (owed to *TrGF* II p. 223).

1–2: Although lines 1–2 are conjectured to be addressed to Hector given ὦ παῖ in line 1 (Uebel (1974) 324, Ferrari (2009) 28), they must be directed at Cassandra (so rightly Gentili (1977) 129–30, Liapis (2016) 78), given that Cassandra speaks in reply to Priam; the distress mentioned in line 1 (κάμητις) must thus be that felt by Cassandra in the midst of prophecy (cf. fr. 1h fr. 1). Lines 1–2 indicate that Cassandra stopped speaking before these lines (and possibly collapsed given στῆσον πόδα), with Priam, anxious for his son’s well-being, urging Cassandra to continue recounting the duel, regardless of how bad her observations make her feel; for στῆσον πόδα cf. Eur. *Hel.* 555.

3: ὠιδή indicates that Cassandra sings her lines (thus Coles (1968) 116; cf. Eur. *Cyc.* 487), possibly an indication of clairvoyance (Coles (1968) 111, Tarrant on Sen. *Ag.* 867ff).

4: Although the papyrus presents τίς, τέκνον; φράσον as part of line 5, the metrical arrangement of these words means they cannot be the start of the trimeter. Since they fit the lacuna at the end of line 4, Priam’s words are almost certainly part of line 4, with the scribe perhaps moving them to the start of line 5 due to an error in line 4. Cassandra’s limited answer to Priam about what has happened in the battle in line 4 (βέβληκε δεινὸν κάμακα) thus shows Priam jumping in anxiously before she can finish her thought. κάμαξ usually refers to a spear or its shaft (cf. Aesch. *Wool-carders* fr. 171 *TrGF*, Eur. *Hec.* 1155, *El.* 852), but can also describe poles in general (cf. Hom. *Il.* 18.563, [Hes.] *Sc.* 299).

5–6: The asyndeton in Priam’s question in line 5 emphasises the worry Priam feels for Hector throughout this fragment; since Priam asks in line 5 who has thrown the spear, the lacuna in line 4 cannot have contained either Achilles’ or Hector’s name. The chorus’

response to Priam in line 5 features the only use of Πηλιώτης in verse and in pre-Imperial Greek; the chorus' description of Achilles throwing the first spear and missing Hector corresponds exactly with the Homeric version of the duel (*Il.* 22.273–6). However, the chorus' awareness of Achilles as the individual hurling the spear suggests that they too can see the fight, possibly standing on top of the skene looking down onto the battlefield below (Coles (1968) 110); this would mean that Priam perhaps asks Cassandra to describe the duel since he is unable to climb the battlements of Troy to watch the fight for himself (thus Coles (1968) 110).

7–8: δεδεμλει as on the papyrus is a corruption, with suggestions for its restoration including βάλλει and μέλλει (thus Coles (1968) 116); neither conjecture can be preferred over the other, but Cassandra is either describing Hector stunned by Achilles' attack (μέλλει) or Hector throwing a spear at Achilles (βάλλει), indicating an equally matched duel thus far (ἴσως ἔδυστύχησεν); a counterattack by Hector would show continued correspondence with the Homeric account of the duel between Hector and Achilles (*Il.* 22.289–91).

9–11: Cassandra's singing brings Deiphobus out of the palace by line 11 and this indicates that Hector is alone, unprotected, and soon to be unarmed on the battlefield (cf. Hom. *Il.* 22.294–301), allowing Cassandra to realise that Hector's death is imminent.

13: Repeated ἔα denotes Cassandra's surprise at Deiphobus' reappearance; ἔα is, as here, usually followed by τίς in Greek drama (cf. Aesch. *PV* 114, 300, Eur. *Hel.* 541, *IA* 317, *Ion* 540, 1549, *Or.* 277, 1573, see Page on Eur. *Med.* 1004 for ἔα denoting surprise).

Cassandra's shock is somewhat ironic given her prophetic powers, an irony emphasised by λείσ<σ>ω, indicating that despite her oracular vision, Cassandra has only just seen Deiphobus (Coles (1968) 111, Taplin (2014) 149).

14–17: πρὸ πύργων may reinforce Cassandra's lack of awareness of Deiphobus, showing that she thought this character to be at the gates to the city supporting Hector; οὐ

παρεκέ[λ]ευες indicates that Cassandra may have accused Deiphobus of being the one who encouraged Hector to fight Achilles (cf. Hom. *Il.* 22.224–47, thus Liapis (2016) 81). If this hypothesis is correct, Deiphobus would have been confused about Cassandra’s accusations (αἰνίγ[ματό]ς μοι μείζον’ ἐφθέγξω λόγῳ[ν]) given that he had been in Troy rather than on the battlefield, and these charges led Deiphobus to suggest that Cassandra was suffering the effects of madness (μέμνηα[ς] αὐτὴ καὶ παρεπλάγχθης φρένα, thus Liapis (2016) 81); for παρεπλάγχθης φρένα (vel sim.) cf. Hom. *Od.* 20.346, Pind. *Ol.* 7.30–1.

24–8: The perfect tense ἐξόλωλ[and ὄλωλ[and the subsequent description of the descent of the mist and Hector no longer seeing the sun (referred to as Τιτᾶ[ν]) suggest that Hector may have died by this point in the duel or that Cassandra has realised that he will soon do so; it is unclear whether the chorus and Priam would have believed Cassandra’s doom-laden warnings about Hector, as they did her account of the duel in the first ten lines, or whether they would have disregarded them, leaving only Cassandra aware of Hector’s death, and thus Troy’s destruction. The repetition of ἀκούω and ὄλλυμι emphasises Cassandra’s panic at Hector’s fate; Cassandra’s description of her own words as ἄ[κ]ραυ γῆρυν similarly indicate Cassandra’s worry and acceptance of Hector’s and Troy’s demise, echoing Aesch. Ag. 1322–30 where Cassandra says that she will speak one last time (ἄπαξ, 1322) knowing that she cannot escape her fortune. For the arrival of mist during one’s demise and for description of death as no longer seeing the sun cf. κατὰ δ’ ὀφθαλμῶν κέχυτ’ ἀχλύς (‘mist fell in front of their eyes’, Hom. *Il.* 5.696, 16.344, *Od.* 22.88).

29–31: In concluding that Hector has or will soon die, Cassandra realises that Troy will fall without Hector’s protection (τῆς σῆς ἔρη[μ]ῶν χειρὸς Ἑλλή[νων υ]χ | βαλεῖ πρὸς οὐδᾶς with Liapis (2016) 79). σῆς indicates that Cassandra is directly addressing Hector in lines 29–30, departing from her method of speaking about him only in the third person in the

rest of the fragment and thus demonstrating the seriousness of the fate which will befall Troy; cf. Eur. *Alc.* 400–3, *IA* 1615–18, *Med.* 1363–4 for similar addresses to the recently deceased.

32–3: A paragraphos under βαλεῖ indicates a change of speaker, either Priam or Deiphobus. Given Cassandra’s realisation of Hector’s fate,]τυχης in line 32 should be restored as δυστυχής (thus *TrGF* II p. 223, Liapis (2016) 79), agreeing with ἐγώ and showing that the speaker now views himself as unfortunate. Although σ]κῆπτρ does not go with βαλεῖ πρὸς οὐδας, the sceptre in line 33 may have been thrown to the ground, perhaps in despair at the inevitable fall of Troy.

ΕΠΙΓΟΝΟΙ

Astydamas’ *Epigoni* could have treated Alcmeon killing his mother, since Aeschylus’ *Epigoni* did so.⁴⁴⁹ Alternatively, Astydamas’ *Epigoni* may have presented an episode from the expedition of the Epigoni against Thebes, given the title. Astydamas’ *Epigoni* is the only known fourth-century play with this title and Aeschylus’ and Sophocles’ *Epigoni* tragedies the only attested examples in fifth-century drama; for dramatic presentations of Alcmeon see on Astydamas’ *Alcmeon*.

ΕΡΜΗΣ

Fragment 3a – *SEG XXVI 208.4–23*

ἐπὶ Ἀλ]κιβιάδου ἄρχον(τος)

ἀγων]οθέτης Νικοκλῆς

5

παλ]αιᾶ κωμωδία

Καλ]λίας ἐνίκα

Μισα]νθρώποις Δίφι(λου)

⁴⁴⁹ Aesch. *Epigoni* fr. 55 *TrGF* (with Sommerstein (2009) 58–9).

Διοσκ]ουρίδης δεύ(τερον)	
Φάσμ]ατι Μενάνδρ(ου)	10
.....]ς τρί Πτωχῆ Φιλ(ήμονος)	
σατύροι]ς παλαιοῖς	
.....]ος ἐνίκ(α) Ἑρμεῖ [— — —]	
.....] δεύ(τερον) Ἄτλαν[τ — — —]	
..... τρί] Μαθητ[αῖς(?) — — —]	15
παλαιᾶι τρα]γ[ωιδίαι]	
13 Ἑρμεῖ [Ἄστυ(δάμαντος)] Meritt	
In the archonship of [Al]cibiades	
Nicocles was the agonothetes	5
In the competition of [old] comedies	
Callias was victorious with Diphilus' <i>Misanthropes</i>	
Dioscourides came second with Menander's <i>Ghost</i>	10
...] came third with Philemon's <i>Beggar-woman</i>	
In the competition of old [satyr dramas]	
...]os was victorious with the <i>Hermes</i> []	
...] was second with <i>Atla[s]</i>	
... was third] with <i>Learn[ers?]</i>	15
In the competition of old tra]g[edies	

Fragment 3b – Athen. 11.496e

ρέοντα. οὕτως ποτήριά τινα ἐκαλεῖτο. μνημονεύει δ' αὐτῶν Ἀστυδάμας ἐν Ἑρμῆι λέγων οὕτως·

κρατῆρε μὲν πρῶτιστον ἀργυρῶ δύο,
φιάλας δὲ πεντήκοντα, δέκα δὲ κυμβία,
ρέοντα δώδεχ', ὧν τὰ μὲν δέκ' ἀργυρᾶ
ἦν, δύο δὲ χρυσᾶ, γρύψ, τὸ δ' ἕτερον Πήγασος

Rheonta. Some kind of drinking-cups were called this. Astydamos mentions them in his *Hermes*, saying the following:

**Two silver krateres first of all,
and fifty phialai, and ten kumbia,
and twelve rheonta, of which ten were silver,
and two gold, one a griffin, the other Pegasus**

An inscription records that an actor now unknown was victorious in the Lenaea of 254 with a reperformance of a *Hermes*. Although the genre of *Hermes* is not preserved, the restoration σατύροι]ς is plausible⁴⁵⁰ since other sections of this inscription list the results of the competitions of old tragedies and old comedies.⁴⁵¹ As Astydamos is the only dramatist known to have produced a play entitled *Hermes*, his name may well be the correct restoration of the lacuna in line 13 of this inscription,⁴⁵² making Astydamos' *Hermes* a satyr drama. The list of vessels in fr. 3b, of which the krateres and rheonta are made from silver and gold, suggests that these verses describe a hoard of treasure. Given the title of this play, it is possible that these vessels may have been given by Apollo to Hermes as gifts at their reconciliation after Hermes stole Apollo's cattle.⁴⁵³ Astydamos' play may thus have followed Sophocles' *Ichneutae* in presenting material from the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes*, particularly Hermes' theft of Apollo's cattle and Apollo's retrieval of them. Alternatively, the large number of items may have formed an offering to Hermes.

In fourth-century drama, Hermes also featured in Aristophanes' *Wealth*. In the fifth century, Hermes appeared in Aeschylus' *Phrygians/Ransoming of Hector*, the pseudo-Aeschylean *Prometheus Bound*, Sophocles' *Ichneutae* and *Inachus*, and Euripides' *Antiope*,

⁴⁵⁰ Thus Meritt (1938) 118.

⁴⁵¹ *SEG* XXVI 208. 16–23, 6–11 respectively.

⁴⁵² Thus Meritt (1938) 118.

⁴⁵³ *HH* 4.513–45.

Ion, and *Protesilaus*; Hermes also featured in Aristophanes' *Peace* and Cratinus'

Dionysalexander.⁴⁵⁴

Fragment 3b

The mention of several different drinking vessels echoes comedy which listed various foods and dishes in quick succession; cf. Anaxandrides *Protesilaus* fr. 42 *PCG*, Antiphanes *The Fisher-Women* fr. 27 *PCG*, Ehippus *Geryon* fr. 3 *PCG*. For other appropriations of comic motifs by fourth-century satyr drama see the introduction. For vases which have the shape of creatures cf. for example a red-figure rhyton dated to 460 and attributed to the Cow-head group which has the shape of a cow's head (Richter (1906) 79, fig. 6).

ΗΡΑΚΛΗΣ

Fragment 4 – Athen. 10.411a–b (transl. based on Olson)

ἡμεῖς δ' ἔνταῦθα καταπαύσαντες τὸν λόγον ἀρχὴν ποιησόμεθα τῶν ἐξῆς ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ
Ἡρακλέους ἀδηφαγίας

ἀλλ' ὥσπερ δείπνου γλαφυροῦ ποικίλην εὐωχίαν
τὸν ποιητὴν δεῖ παρέχειν τοῖς θεαταῖς τὸν σοφόν,
ἵν' ἀπίη τις τοῦτο φαγῶν καὶ πιῶν, ὅπερ λαβῶν
χαίρει <τις>, καὶ σκευασία μὴ μί' ἢ τῆς μουσικῆς

Ἄστυδάμας ὁ τραγικὸς ἐν Ἡρακλεῖ σατυρικῶι, ἑταῖρε, φησί, Τιμόκρατες. φέρε εἴπωμεν ἔνταῦθα τοῖς προειρημένοις τὰ ἀκόλουθα ὅτι ἦν καὶ ὁ Ἡρακλῆς ἀδηφάγος. ἀποφαίνονται δὲ τοῦτο σχεδὸν πάντες ποιηταὶ καὶ συγγραφεῖς.

But I, finishing my account at this point, will begin what follows from the question of Heracles' gluttony

⁴⁵⁴ *Hyp. Cratinus Dionysalexander*.

**But just as with a splendid dinner, the wise poet
should provide his spectators with varied feasting
so that one goes away having eaten and drunk whatever
one takes joy in taking, and so that there is not just one course of music**

The tragic poet Astydamos says this in his satyr drama *Heracles*, my friend Timocrates. So let me tell you about the discussions which followed those that had gone before, that Heracles was a glutton.

And nearly all the poets and historians make this clear.

The sole surviving fragment of Astydamos' *Heracles* has been deemed spurious and assigned to comedy.⁴⁵⁵ Among the reasons for doubting its authenticity is its use of eupolideans, a metre otherwise found only in comedy, and references to the poet and the audience, which break the dramatic illusion and make fr. 4 resemble a comic parabasis.⁴⁵⁶ Indeed, Casaubon deemed fr. 4 so suspicious that he emended the opening section of book 10 of the

Deipnosophistae, associating mention of Astydamos' *Heracles* with discussion of Heracles

the glutton and leaving fr. 4 without attribution to any particular poet – φέρε εἴπωμεν

ἐνταῦθα τοῖς προειρημένοις τὰ ἀκόλουθα. Ἀστυδάμας ὁ τραγικός ἐν Ἡρακλεῖ

σατυρικῶι, ἑταῖρε, φησί, Τιμόκρατες ὅτι ἦν καὶ ὁ Ἡρακλεῖς ἀδηφάγος ('So let me tell you about the discussion which followed from that which had gone before. The tragic poet

Astydamas says in his satyr drama *Heracles*, my dear friend Timocrates that Heracles was a glutton'). Casaubon's alterations to the text of the *Deipnosophistae* have been supported by

Bain,⁴⁵⁷ who notes that 'it seems rather too much of a coincidence that the lines cited by

Athenaeus to form an introduction to the book should come from a play about Heracles, the subject of the ensuing discussion'.

⁴⁵⁵ *Com. adesp.* fr. 1330 *PCG* (thus Casaubon, Bain (1975) 23–5, Taplin (1986) 166).

⁴⁵⁶ Thus Bain (1975) 24; cf. *Ar. Nub.* 518–95.

⁴⁵⁷ (1975) 24.

Fr. 4, however, almost certainly comes from Astydamos' *Heracles*.⁴⁵⁸ First, there is little reason to alter the text of the opening section of *Deipnosophistae* book 10. From comparison with the opening sections of the other fourteen books of Athenaeus' work, the quotation of a classic text as a method of transitioning into a new topic is found on eight other occasions.⁴⁵⁹ In all but two of these instances, the verses cited are explicitly attributed to a particular poet, with only quotations from Homer not receiving a specific citation, presumably because Athenaeus expected his audience to be aware of their origin. So since fr. 4 is not from Homeric epic, it requires citation and thus Athenaeus' reference to Astydamos' *Heracles* is almost certainly genuine. In addition, Athenaeus' quotation of fr. 4 may be deliberate, introducing a new topic via comparison with poetic variety and pre-empting the next topic of discussion, Heracles.

The eupolidean metre of fr. 4 is also not grounds on which to assign these verses to comedy.⁴⁶⁰ First, fourth-century satyr drama was metrically experimental,⁴⁶¹ with Chaeremon's *Centaur*, for example, combining various metres.⁴⁶² Secondly, the eupolidean metre was also known as the satyricum and the priapeum metre;⁴⁶³ this suggests that eupolideans were used in satyr drama. The parabolic nature of fr. 4 is similarly unproblematic, since remarks about the quality of poetry and music in general are found elsewhere in satyr drama.⁴⁶⁴ Hence a poet may have featured in Astydamos' *Heracles*, with the speaker offering advice about how to improve his work. Here, the discussion of poetry and appealing to one's spectators may appear to break the dramatic illusion, but the scope of

⁴⁵⁸ Thus Constantinides (1969) 51.

⁴⁵⁹ Agathon fr. 11 *TrGF* (5.185b); Antiphanes *Poetry* fr. 189 *PCG* (6.222c–d); Polyb. 34.8.4–10 (8.330d–331a); Hom. *Od.* 4.213–14 (9.336a); Cephisodorus fr. 13 *PCG* (11.459d); Alexis *Tyndareus* fr. 241 *PCG* (12.510a); Hom. *Od.* 21.293–8 (14.613a); Eur. fr. 899 *TrGF* (15.665a).

⁴⁶⁰ Thus Wilamowitz (1889) 24.

⁴⁶¹ Thus Shaw (2014) 123.

⁴⁶² Arist. *Poet.* 1447b 20–3, 1459b 31–1460a 2 (= Chaeremon *Centaur* fr. 9a, b), Bywater on Arist. *Poet.* 1447b 22, Else (1957) 619.

⁴⁶³ Aphthonius *GL* 6.151.24–30; thus Wilamowitz (1889) 24.

⁴⁶⁴ Cf. Soph. *Ichneutae* fr. 314.258–61, 291–328 *TrGF*.

these remarks is confined to the play, though the audience may identify with the sentiment of these lines.⁴⁶⁵ This also corresponds with wider trends in fourth-century satyr drama, most notably in Python's *Agen*, where the satirical treatment of Harpalus, Glycera, Pythionice, and the Athenians may seem to break the dramatic illusion, but does not, with any humour levelled only at the characters within the play or associated parties and thus the dramatic illusion maintained. So there is little reason to doubt the assignment of these lines to Astydamos' *Heracles*. Casaubon's suggestion that Astydamos' *Heracles* presented Heracles as a glutton is, however, most likely correct, since Athenaeus states that almost all poets depicted Heracles in this way; the discussion of food in fr. 4 may confirm this.

In the fourth century, Heracles featured in eponymous plays by Diogenes of Sinope and the comic poets Anaxandrides, Diphilus, and Nicochares. In fifth-century drama, Heracles appeared in, among other plays, Aeschylus' *Heraclidae* and *Prometheus Unbound*, Sophocles' *Herakleiskos*, *Philoctetes*, and *Trachiniae*, Euripides' *Alcestis* and *Heracles*, *Omphale* plays by Ion and Achaëus, Aristophanes' *Birds* and *Frogs*, and Archippus' *Marriage of Heracles*; for Heracles in satyr drama see further Lämmle (2013) 264-76.

Fragment 4

The association of poetry with food is widely attested in comedy; cf. Ar. *Thesmophoriazusae* II fr. 347 PCG, Metagenes *Sacrifice-Lover* fr. 15 PCG, Gowers (1993) 50–108. So too is the connection between a poet and a chef; cf. κατ' ἐπεισόδιον μεταβάλλω τὸν λόγον, ὡς ἂν | καιναῖσι παροψίσι καὶ πολλαῖς εὐωχῆσω τὸ | θέατρον ('I am changing the plot scene by scene, so that I may feast the audience with many original side dishes', Metagenes *Sacrifice-Lover* fr. 15 PCG, transl. Storey), Ar. *Eq.* 537–9, *Thesmophoriazusae* II fr. 347 PCG, Gowers (1993) 41. For the wise poet cf. Ar. *Av.* 934, *Nub.* 1377–8, *Ran.* 766–7, 1009, *Pax* 700, Dover

⁴⁶⁵ Cf. Carcinus II fr. 5.10, Theodectas fr. 8.3, Bain (1975) 13, (1977) 98.

(1993) 9–10. ποικιλία is a quality of poetry which is first praised by Pindar; cf. *Ol.* 3.8, 4.1–3, *Pyth.* 9.77, Liebert (2010) 109–11. ποικιλία is not, however, universally viewed as a positive aspect of poetry; cf. Pl. *Resp.* 397e–398b, Liebert (2010) 109–11. εὐωχία is not otherwise found in tragedy, but in comedy; cf. Ar. *Ach.* 1009, *Ran.* 85. ποιητής and θεατής are similarly comic in nature, with only one occurrence of ποιητής in tragedy (Eur. *Stheneboia* fr. 663 *TrGF*) and three of θεατής (Eur. *Ion* 656, *Bacch.* 829, *Supp.* 652 with Morwood on metatheatrical θεατής in tragedy); cf. Ar. *Eq.* 509, 519, 548, *Pax* 534 for ποιητής in comedy, Ar. *Av.* 446, 752, *Nub.* 521, 535 for θεατής.

ΛΥΚΑΩΝ

Astydamas' *Lycaon* may have presented Lycaon, the first king of Arcadia, serving one of his sons to Zeus in an attempt to test Zeus' power⁴⁶⁶ and Zeus' subsequent punishment of Lycaon, either through Lycaon and his sons being killed by a thunderbolt⁴⁶⁷ or being turned into wolves.⁴⁶⁸ Alternatively, Astydamas' tragedy may have dealt with Lycaon's sacrifice of a child to Zeus Lycaeus, in response to which Zeus punished Lycaon by transforming him into a wolf.⁴⁶⁹ Astydamas' *Lycaon* is the only fourth-century drama known to have presented the myth of Lycaon. In the fifth century, Xenocles was victorious in the City Dionysia of 415 with *Lycaon*.⁴⁷⁰

⁴⁶⁶ Hes. *Astronomica* fr. 6 D–K.

⁴⁶⁷ Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.8.1, Hyg. *Fab.* 176.

⁴⁶⁸ Hyg. *Poet. astr.* 2.4, *Fab.* 176.

⁴⁶⁹ Paus. 8.2.3.

⁴⁷⁰ Ael. *VH* 2.8.

ΝΑΥΠΛΙΟΣ

Fragment 5 – Stob. 4.52.35 (transl. based on Wright (2016) 232)

Ἀστυδάμαντος Ναυπλίου

χαῖρ', εἰ τὸ χαίρειν ἔστι που κάτω χθονός.

δοκῶ δ' ὅπου γὰρ μὴ στί λυπεῖσθαι βίωι,

ἔστιν τὸ χαίρειν τῶν κακῶν λελησμένωι

From Astydamos' *Nauplius*

Farewell, if you can fare well anywhere beneath the earth.

But I think you can; for where it is impossible to be grieved by life,

one can rejoice, being free from ills

Mention of the Underworld in fr. 5 shows that the addressee of these verses is dead,⁴⁷¹ as does χαῖρε in the first line, since this word can be used to greet the dead.⁴⁷² Given the title of Astydamos' tragedy, the addressee is most likely the deceased Palamedes,⁴⁷³ a conjecture strengthened by the discussion of his freedom from suffering in life, probably an allusion to the hostility of the Greeks towards Palamedes due to Odysseus' false accusations of treason against him. The sympathetic tone of fr. 5 suggests that its speaker is a character who is well-disposed to Palamedes, most likely his father Nauplius.⁴⁷⁴ On this basis, the play was probably set in the Greek camp on the shores of Troy, with Nauplius arriving to visit his son Palamedes, discovering his son's death at the hands of the Greeks (during which he addressed the corpse of his son), and subsequently plotting revenge against the Greeks. Astydamos is the only known fourth-century dramatist to treat this myth, producing both *Nauplius* and *Palamedes*. In the fifth century, *Nauplius* plays were produced by Philocles and Sophocles, who wrote two tragedies with this title, and *Palamedes* plays were composed by Aeschylus,

⁴⁷¹ Thus *TrGF* I p. 206.

⁴⁷² Cf. Eur. *Hel.* 1165, *Alc.* 626–7, 743, 1004, Sourvinou-Inwood (1996) 187–216.

⁴⁷³ Thus *TrGF* I p. 206.

⁴⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

Sophocles, and Euripides. For Palamedes in ancient literature and art see further Davies and Finglass on Stesichorus *Oresteia* fr. 175 *PMG*.

Fragment 5

For word play involving χαίρω cf. χαίρετε, χαίρειν δ' ὅστις δύναται (farewell, whoever can fare well, Eur. *El.* 1357), χαῖρ' ὦ Χάρων ('hail, Charon', Achaeus *Aithon* fr. 11.1 *TrGF* = Ar. *Ran.* 184); contrary to fr. 5, the initial hope that one can fare well is often followed in Euripidean tragedy by reasons why one cannot (cf. Eur. *Hec.* 426–7, *Or.* 1083–4 with West). For death as relief from suffering cf. Eur. *Bacch.* 1361–2, *Supp.* 1000–8, Dover (1974) 267.

ΠΑΛΑΜΗΔΗΣ

Astydamas' *Palamedes* may have presented Palamedes exposing Odysseus' attempts to avoid participating in the Trojan war by threatening to harm his young son Telemachus,⁴⁷⁵ or Odysseus' revenge against Palamedes, in which Odysseus accused Palamedes of treason, ensuring Palamedes' execution,⁴⁷⁶ or killed Palamedes with Diomedes' assistance by drowning him during a fishing expedition.⁴⁷⁷ For Palamedes in drama see on Astydamas' *Nauplius*.

ΠΑΡΘΕΝΟΠΑΙΟΣ

Fragment 5b – Zenob. 5.100

σαυτήν ἐπαινεῖς, αὕτη τῶν κατ' ἔλλειψιν λεγομένων ἐστί· τὸ δὲ πλήρες ἔχει οὕτως, σαυτήν ἐπαινεῖς, ὡσπερ Ἀστυδάμας, γύναι. Ἀστυδάμας γὰρ ὁ Μορσίμου εὐημερήσας ἐν τῇ ὑποκρίσει Παρθενοπαίου, ἐψηφίσθη εἰκόνας ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ ἀξιωθῆναι. γράψας οὖν αὐτὸς ἐπίγραμμα ὁ

⁴⁷⁵ *Cypria* arg. 5 *GEF*.

⁴⁷⁶ *Hyg. Fab.* 105.

⁴⁷⁷ *Cypria* fr. 27 *GEF*.

Ἀστυδάμας ἔπαινον ἑαυτοῦ ἔχον ἀνήνεγκεν ἐπὶ τὴν βουλήν· οἱ δὲ ἐψηφίσαντο ὡς ἐπαχθῆς αὐτὸ μηκέτι ἐπιγραφῆναι. διὸ καὶ σκώπτοντες αὐτὸν οἱ ποιηταὶ ἔλεγον, σαυτὴν ἐπαινεῖς, ὡσπερ Ἀστυδάμας, γύναι.

You praise yourself: this saying belongs to those with elliptical phrasing; this is the full line, you praise yourself, just like Astydamos, woman. Astydamos, the son of Morsimus, was successful in his acting of *Parthenopaeus*, and was voted to be honoured with a statue of himself in the theatre. So Astydamos wrote an epigram in praise of himself and put it before the council; they voted that it no longer be inscribed, on the grounds of being offensive. Therefore, the poets used to say mockingly of him “you praise yourself, just like Astydamos, woman”.

Astydamos’ *Parthenopaeus* may have treated Parthenopaeus’ role in the expedition against Thebes and his death at the hands of Periclymenus⁴⁷⁸ or Amphidicus.⁴⁷⁹ If one can trust Pausanias as a source of information, the reference only to *Parthenopaeus* and not to *Lycaon*, the other play in the diology, might imply that the plot of *Parthenopaeus* had some direct relevance to the Athenian audience.⁴⁸⁰ An Apulian calyx-krater has also been attributed to Astydamos’ *Parthenopaeus*.⁴⁸¹ This vase-painting presents Parthenopaeus standing next to his mother Atalanta while conversing with an elderly man, conjectured to be Adrastus;⁴⁸² on the top row of the vase are Apollo, Hermes, and Ares, who is the father of Parthenopaeus in some traditions.⁴⁸³ The dating of this vase painting to 350, however, renders an association between the calyx-krater and Astydamos’ *Parthenopaeus* impossible.⁴⁸⁴

Astydamos’ *Parthenopaeus* is the only known fourth-century tragedy with this title, although the expedition of the Seven Against Thebes was treated in Carcinus’ *Amphiaraus* and Theodectas fr. 20, in which Amphiaraus predicts his impending death to Baton. In the

⁴⁷⁸ Eur. *Phoen.* 1153–62, Paus. 9.18.6 = *Thebaid* fr. 10 *GEF*.

⁴⁷⁹ Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.6.8.

⁴⁸⁰ Thus Hornblower on Lycoph. *Alex.* 1189–1213; cf. Ar. *Ran.* 686–705.

⁴⁸¹ Webster (1954) 306, (1967) 166.

⁴⁸² Taplin (2007) 224.

⁴⁸³ Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.9.2.

⁴⁸⁴ Thus Taplin (2007) 224.

fifth century, Aeschylus wrote *Seven Against Thebes* and Euripides *Suppliants*, *Phoenician Women*, and *Hypsipyle*.

ΤΥΡΩ

The plot of Astydamos' *Tyro* may have been Tyro's impregnation by Poseidon, the birth of her sons Pelias and Neleus, her father Salmoneus' discovery of her sons, his orders to expose them, and Salmoneus' subsequent death. Alternatively, Astydamos' *Tyro* could have treated the arrival of Pelias and Neleus in Thessaly and their slaughter of Tyro's stepmother Sidero, who had been abusing Tyro.⁴⁸⁵ In the fourth century, a *Tyro* play may have been produced by Carcinus, although the lemma in Stobaeus' *Anthologium* is textually suspect. In fifth-century drama, Sophocles wrote two tragedies entitled *Tyro*.

ΦΟΙΝΙΞ

Possible plots for Astydamos' *Phoenix* include Phoenix embarking upon an affair with his father Amyntor's mistress at the insistence of his mother, Amyntor's discovery of this affair, and Phoenix's escape to Peleus,⁴⁸⁶ or Amyntor's mistress' false accusation that Phoenix had attempted to seduce her and Amyntor's punishment of Phoenix for his actions, with Amyntor either blinding Phoenix or cursing him with infertility.⁴⁸⁷ Astydamos' *Phoenix* is the only known fourth-century tragedy with this title and Eubulus' *Phoenix* the only attested comedy. In the fifth century, *Phoenix* plays were written by Sophocles, Euripides, and Ion, who produced two tragedies with this title, and Phoenix featured in Aeschylus' *Myrmidons*.⁴⁸⁸

⁴⁸⁵ Both Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.9.8.

⁴⁸⁶ Σ Lycoph. *Alex.* 421 Sheer.

⁴⁸⁷ Hom. *Il.* 9.454–6, Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.13.8.

⁴⁸⁸ Fr. 132b *TrGF*.

INCERTARUM FABULARUM FRAGMENTA

Fragment 6 – Athen. 2.40a–b (transl. based on Olson)

ἀπὸ μέθης καὶ ἡ τῆς κωμωιδίας καὶ ἡ τῆς καὶ τραγωιδίας εὗρεσις ἐν Ἰκαρίῳ τῆς Ἀττικῆς εὐρέθη,
καὶ κατ' αὐτὸν τὸν τῆς τρύγης καιρόν· ἀφ' οὗ δὴ καὶ τραγωιδία τὸ πρῶτον ἐκλήθη ἡ κωμωιδία.

τὴν παυσίλυπον ἄμπελον δοῦναι βροτοῖς.

οἴνου δὲ μηκέτ' ὄντος οὐκ ἔστιν Κύπρις

οὐδ' ἄλλο τερπνὸν οὐδὲν ἀνθρώποις ἔτι,

Εὐριπίδης ἐν Βάκχαις (772–4) φησί. καὶ Ἀστυδάμας δέ φησι·

×—×— θνητοῖσι τὴν ἀκεσφόρον

λύπης ἔφηνεν οἰνομήτορ' ἄμπελον

Because of drunkenness, both comedy and tragedy were invented in Icarion in Attica, around the time of the grape harvest, because of which comedy was referred to as tragedy initially.

He gave mortals the vine that brings an end to suffering.

But when there is no longer any wine, there is no Cypris

nor any other pleasure for men,

So says Euripides in the *Bacchae*. And Astydamas says

He showed mortals the vine, mother of wine,

the bringer of the cure for grief

See on *Athamas* against the attribution of these verses to that play. The reference to mortals suggests that the subject of this fragment is Dionysus (thus *TrGF* I p. 206) since he introduced wine to mortals (cf. Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.14.7, Eur. *Bacch.* 280); this suggestion is also supported by Dionysus being the subject of the previous quotation (Eur. *Bacch.* 772–4). For wine as a cure for grief cf. ὕπνον τε λήθην τῶν καθ' ἡμέραν κακῶν | δίδωσιν ('[wine] gives sleep and forgetfulness from daily strife', Eur. *Bacch.* 281–3), Xen. *Symp.* 2.24, Gerber (1988) 41, and for Dionysus' role in creating happiness cf. Hes. *Op.* 614, *Th.* 941 (with West), Xanthakis-Karamanos (1980) 95. Sometimes the consumption of alcohol, particularly

in excess, was also believed to induce sadness; cf. Amphis fr. 37 *PCG*, Pl. *Leg.* 645d, Gerber (1988) 41. ἀκεσφόρος is a compound formed from ἄκος and φέρω and is attested on only one other occasion in Greek literature; cf. Eur. *Ion* 1005. οἰνομήτωρ is a hapax; the description of the vine in terms of motherhood may strengthen the consolatory nature of wine, aligning it with the nurturing nature of a mother. Astydamos' personification of the vine as a mother corresponds with Chaerephon, who similarly uses familial terms in relation to plants; cf. *Dionysus* fr. 5, *Io* fr. 9, *Centaur* fr. 10, *Odysseus* fr. 13.

Fragment 7 – Stob. 3.36.4

Ἀστυδάμαντος

γλώσσης περίπατός ἐστιν ἀδολεσχία

Astydamas

Gossip is the wandering of the tongue

Nauck believed fr. 7 to be comic since three of the four words are found more often in comedy. Nonetheless, this fragment is almost certainly a genuine verse by Astydamos, most likely from one of his satyr dramas (thus *TrGF* I p. 207), as Astydamos and fourth-century satyr drama in general admitted comic tropes (Denniston (1927) 117, see introduction). ἀδολεσχία can refer to sophists; cf. Ar. *Nub.* 1484–5, fr. 506 *PCG*. For other satirical treatments of society in satyr drama cf. Python *Agen* (especially fr. 1.2–3, 11–18 *TrGF*), Lycophron *Menedemus* (especially fr. 4 *TrGF*).

Fragment 8 – Stob. 4.29.3

Ἀστυδάμαντος

γένους δ' ἔπαινός ἐστιν ἀσφαλέστατος

κατ' ἄνδρ' ἐπαινεῖν, ὅστις ἂν δίκαιος ἦι

τρόπους τ' ἄριστος, τοῦτον εὐγενῆ καλεῖν.

<μόλις δ'> ἐν ἑκατὸν ἔστιν εὐρεῖν ἄνδρ' ἓνα,

κεῖ τοῦτον οἱ ζητοῦντες εἰσὶ μύριοι

4 μόλις δ' Wachsmuth and Hense

Astydamas

It is the safest praise of a family

to praise men individually and, whoever is just

and best in their habits, to call that man noble.

But scarcely among one hundred men is it possible to find one such individual

even if ten thousand men seek him

μόλις δ' is owed to Wachsmuth and Hense. Its presence is necessary since line 4 is otherwise metrically defective by two syllables; μόλις also emphasises the sentiment of lines 4–5.

These lines have been tentatively assigned to satyr drama with κεῖ τοῦτον οἱ ζητοῦντες εἰσὶ μύριοι believed to reflect the attempts of fourth-century philosophers to find good and just men (Headlam (1904) 430); cf. fr. 7. There is, however, no evidence to support the presence of such an allusion and the categorisation of these lines as satyric is similarly tenuous, the only evidence for such an assignment the breach of Porson's Law in the fourth line. For a similar sentiment about praise to lines 1–2 cf. Hyp. 6.7; for the belief that it is difficult to find wise, just, and good men cf. Thgn. 79–82. For nobility depending on one's character cf. εἰς δ' εὐγένειαν ὀλίγ' ἔχω φράσαι καλά· | ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἔσθλός εὐγενὴς ἔμοιγ' ἄνθρωπος, | ὁ δ' οὐ δίκαιος κἂν ἀμείνωνος πατρὸς | Ζηνὸς πεφύκηι, δυσγενὴς εἶναι δοκεῖ ('I have few good things to say about noble birth, the man of good character is noble in my eyes, but the unjust man, even if he were born from a father better than Zeus, seems to me to be ignoble', Eur. *Dictys* fr. 336 *TrGF*), Eur. *El.* 367–85, Dover (1974) 93–5, Xanthakis-Karamanos (1980) 148–9.

Fragment 9 – Σ Soph. *OC* 57 Xenis

“χαλκόπους ὁδός” ὡς οὕτω τινὸς καλουμένου τόπου ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ, χαλκόποδος ὁδοῦ. φησὶ δὲ Ἀπολλόδωρος (*FGrHist* 244 F 144) δι’ αὐτοῦ κατάβασιν εἶναι εἰς Ἄιδου. καὶ Ἴστρος (*FGrHist* 324 F 28) δὲ μνημονεύει τοῦ χαλκοῦ ὁδοῦ καὶ Ἀστυδάμας.

“the bronze-footed threshold”, as some place in the hallowed area is thus called, the bronze-footed threshold. And Apollodorus says that the decent to Hades is across it. Istrus also mentions the bronze threshold, as does Astydamos.

Since Astydamos discussed the bronze threshold located at Colonus, this fragment has been attributed to Astydamos’ *Antigone* (thus Nikitin) or a conjectural *Oedipus* play (thus Wright (2016) 92); both suggestions should be treated with caution. The bronze threshold was located in Colonus and marked the entrance to the Underworld (Hom. *Il.* 8.15, Soph. *OC* 1590–1). It may have comprised a series of steps (Soph. *OC* 58) and formed a defence for Athens (Soph. *OC* 59); see Jebb on Soph. *OC* 57.

Carcinus II

Introduction

Life and career

Καρκίνος, Ἀκραγαντῖνος, τραγικός. καὶ Καρκίνος, Θεοδέκτου ἢ Ξενοκλέους, Ἀθηναῖος, τραγικός. δράματα ἐδίδαξεν ρξ΄, ἐνίκησε δὲ ια΄. ἤκμαζε κατὰ τὴν ρ΄ Ὀλυμπιάδα, πρὸ τῆς Φιλίππου βασιλείας τοῦ Μακεδόνος. τῶν δραμάτων αὐτοῦ ἐστὶν Ἀχιλλεύς, Σεμέλη, ἥς ἀρχὴ <“ὦ νύκτες” (fr. 2 *TrGF*)>, ὡς Ἀθήναιός φησιν ἐν Δειπνοσοφισταῖς (13.559f).

ια΄ Köhler: α΄ codd. ἥς ἀρχὴ <“ὦ νύκτες”> Sims: ἡ ἀρχὴ codd.

Carcinus, from Acragas, a tragic poet. Also, Carcinus, son of Theodectas or Xenocles, from Athens, a tragic poet. He produced 160 plays, he was victorious on eleven occasions. He was in his prime in the 100th Olympiad (380–77), before Philip was king of Macedon (359–336). Carcinus’ plays include *Achilles*, *Semele*, which begins <“o nights”>, as Athenaeus says in *Deipnosophistae*.

Su. κ 394 Adler

The *Suda*’s entry for Carcinus II is complicated, requiring reconciliation with other sources to determine information about his life and career. For instance, one of the men named as Carcinus’ father is Theodectas. Since Carcinus was a dramatic rival of Theodectas, it seems unlikely that Theodectas had a son with this name; perhaps the *Suda* treated a comic or satirical tradition about Theodectas as biographical fact. This leaves Xenocles as the father of the Athenian Carcinus. Xenocles was almost certainly the fifth-century tragedian Xenocles I, meaning that Carcinus’ grandfather was the tragic poet Carcinus I⁴⁸⁹ and his great-

⁴⁸⁹ Σ Ar. *Pax* 778 Holwerda.

grandfather the tragedian Xenotimus I;⁴⁹⁰ see appendix 2, fig. 2. This can be confirmed by an inscription from Attica and dated to 390 which records a dedication made by Xenotimus from Thorikos, son of Carcinus.⁴⁹¹ Since Xenotimus' father was Carcinus and as the fifth-century tragedian Xenocles I was the son of Carcinus I and had a brother called Xenotimus, the Xenotimus in the inscription is almost certainly Xenotimus II. This also suggests that the Athenian Carcinus was the fourth-century tragedian Carcinus II,⁴⁹² sharing his grandfather's name; this follows the Greek tradition of naming children after their grandparents.

Three sources suggest that Carcinus II belonged to the deme of Thorikos, the first of which is the aforementioned inscription dated to 390. In addition, an inventory stele detailing offerings on the Athenian acropolis, dated to around the 330s,⁴⁹³ mentions a palladion dedicated by a Carcinus from Thorikos.⁴⁹⁴ The third source is a list of tragedians, dated to the third-century AD,⁴⁹⁵ which mentions a tragic poet from Thorikos: probably Carcinus II,⁴⁹⁶ given that Carcinus came from Thorikos and since Carcinus II is better known than his homonymous grandfather. Carcinus II also travelled to the court of Dionysius II in Syracuse,⁴⁹⁷ who ruled 367–357, 346–344. Carcinus II is thus probably identical with the tragedian from Acragas,⁴⁹⁸ with the *Suda* or a source with which it consulted erroneously considering there to be two tragedians named Carcinus, since this tragic poet was active in both Sicily and Athens. This identification of the two Carcinuses as one and the same may be further confirmed by the rarity of Carcinus as a name in southern Italy, otherwise attested on

⁴⁹⁰ Thuc. 2.23.2. On the family of Carcinus II see further Stewart (2016) 1–18.

⁴⁹¹ *IG* II² 1400.62.

⁴⁹² Thus Welcker (1841) 925.

⁴⁹³ Thus Harris (1992) 637.

⁴⁹⁴ *IG* II² 1498.69; identification of the Carcinus listed in this inscription with the tragedian is owed to Harris (1992) 645.

⁴⁹⁵ *TrGF* I p. 55.

⁴⁹⁶ [... Ἀττικὸς] ἐκ Θορικῶν οὗτος ἐποίησε τραγωιδίας ('from the Attic deme of Thorikos; he produced tragedies', P.Tebt. 695 col. 1.34–5); thus Körte (1935) 271.

⁴⁹⁷ Diog. Laert. 2.63 (= Polycritus *FGrHist* 559 F 1); cf. Aeschylus' visit to Sicily on the invitation of Hieron I (*Vit. Aesch.* 8–10), Antiphon who was resident in the court of Dionysius I (*Arist. Rhet.* 1385a 10–11), see introduction.

⁴⁹⁸ Thus Rothwell (1994) 244.

one occasion.⁴⁹⁹ Alternatively, the association of Carcinus with Acragas could have arisen through the use of crabs as motifs in Acragas, found on their coinage from the sixth century. Since Carcinus' name means 'crab',⁵⁰⁰ this may explain the confusion found in the *Suda*.

Didascalical evidence conflicts with the *Suda*'s claims as transmitted in the manuscripts. The list of victorious tragic poets in the City Dionysia assigns eleven victories to Carcinus, the first shortly before 372.⁵⁰¹ In addition, a poet whose name ends in *νος* won first place in the Lenaea of 376:⁵⁰² probably *Καρκίνος*,⁵⁰³ since Carcinus is the only fourth-century tragedian whose name would fit. As a result, the *Suda*'s *α'* (denoting one victory) should be emended to *ια'* (11),⁵⁰⁴ with an iota easily omitted either by the *Suda* or an earlier source and showing that the *Suda* was only aware of Carcinus' victories in the City Dionysia. Similarly, the 100th Olympiad may represent the start of Carcinus' career or the date of his first victory in a dramatic contest rather than his floruit, given his success in the Lenaea of 376 and the date of his first victory in the City Dionysia; alternatively, the date of Carcinus' first dramatic victory could have been taken as his floruit. The *Suda* assigns 160 plays to Carcinus, more than the 123 plays attributed to Sophocles,⁵⁰⁵ the most productive of the three major fifth-century tragedians, but fewer than the 240 plays of Aeschylos II.⁵⁰⁶ Eleven titles are known: *Aerope*, *Ajax*, *Alope*, *Amphiaraus*, *Achilles*, *Thyestes*,⁵⁰⁷ *Medea*, *Oedipus*, *Orestes*, *Semele*,⁵⁰⁸ and *Tyros*; Carcinus was victorious with *Aerope*.⁵⁰⁹ The focalisation of the abduction of Persephone in Sicily in fr. 5 suggests that Carcinus wrote a tragedy set in Sicily.

⁴⁹⁹ Diod. Sic. 19.2.2–9.

⁵⁰⁰ Cf. Ar. *Vesp.* 1500–37, Athen. 8.351f.

⁵⁰¹ *IG* II² 2325 Ia col. III.9 with *TrGF* I p. 210.

⁵⁰² *SEG* XXVI 203 col. I.11.

⁵⁰³ Thus Millis and Olson (2012) 122.

⁵⁰⁴ Thus Köhler (1880) 326.

⁵⁰⁵ *Su.* σ 815 Adler with Sommerstein (2012) 2.

⁵⁰⁶ *Su.* α 4264 Adler with Capps (1900) 44.

⁵⁰⁷ *Thyestes* has been conjectured to be an alternative title for Carcinus' *Aerope* (*TrGF* I p. 212), but there is a variety of plots which *Aerope* could present, some of which would not involve *Thyestes*.

⁵⁰⁸ The alternative title of *Beginning* given in the *Suda* is wrong, resulting from a misreading of Athenaeus' citation of Carcinus' *Semele*.

⁵⁰⁹ Plut. *De Glor. Ath.* 349e = *Aerope* fr. 1a I.

This play was most likely composed during Carcinus' stay in Syracuse, with Carcinus desiring to appeal to a local, non-Athenian audience;⁵¹⁰ alternatively, it could have been composed in Acragas, thus explaining the *Suda*'s confusion.

Carcinus' fragments indicate that, in two of his plays, he presented his characters in a sympathetic manner, diverging sharply from their treatment in fifth-century tragedy. Carcinus' *Medea* opens with the title character plotting the murder of Jason's fiancée Glauce. Concerned, however, that her sons may be killed by Glauce's servants as retribution for Glauce's death, Medea tries to send her sons away from Corinth. Glauce discovers Medea's attempted evacuation of her sons and kills them.⁵¹¹ Medea, unaware of the death of her children, kills Glauce,⁵¹² and later in the play, Jason and Creon confront Medea over Glauce's death, accusing Medea of the murder of her sons as well, since they are missing.⁵¹³ Medea's attempts to save her sons from any reprisals caused by her actions show her to be more concerned about her children's welfare than in Euripides' *Medea*, where Medea kills her sons to attack Jason.⁵¹⁴ Medea's characterisation in Carcinus' play, however, aligns more closely with Neophron's *Medea*, where Medea urges the children to flee before she has a chance to kill them,⁵¹⁵ and even more so with the wider mythological tradition in which the Corinthians were responsible for the deaths of Medea's sons.⁵¹⁶ Moreover, Medea's murder of Glauce in Carcinus' play serves as an inadvertent punishment for Glauce and the disappearance of Medea's children elicits false accusations that Medea killed her own children, showing Medea to be unfairly treated by Jason and Creon. Carcinus' *Alope* is similarly novel in its presentation of Cercyon. In Carcinus' play, Cercyon discovers that Alope has been raped.

⁵¹⁰ Cf. for example Aeschylus' *Women of Aetna* (*Vit. Aesch.* 9 with Sommerstein (2009) 7).

⁵¹¹ Σ Arist. *Rhet.* 1400b 11 Rabe (= *Medea* fr. 1g II) with West (2007) 6–7.

⁵¹² Cf. fr. 1h.8–9.

⁵¹³ Arist. *Rhet.* 1400b 9–15 with Σ (= *Medea* fr. 1g I), fr. 1h.1–2.

⁵¹⁴ Thus Xanthakis-Karamanos (1980) 36.

⁵¹⁵ παῖδες, ἐκτὸς ὀμμάτων | ἀπέλθετ' (sons, get out of my sight, fr. 2.10–11 *TrGF*).

⁵¹⁶ Creophylus *FGrHist* 417 F 3, Σ Eur. *Med.* 9 Schwartz.

Initially hesitant to reveal the identity of her rapist, Alope eventually tells Cercyon that she was raped by Poseidon and Cercyon kills himself from grief at being unable to avenge Alope's suffering. Again, Carcinus' Cercyon is more sympathetic than the Euripidean version of this character, with Euripides' Cercyon insulting and then killing Alope.

Reaction and reception

Fourth-century reaction to Carcinus and his plays was largely positive. His eleven victories in the City Dionysia make him the most successful tragedian to have entered this competition, with the exception of Sophocles, who came first in the City Dionysia on eighteen or twenty-four occasions.⁵¹⁷ Assuming that his victories were gained with at least a trilogy on eleven occasions at the City Dionysia and a dilogy in the Lenaea of 376, Carcinus would have been victorious with around thirty-five of his plays, representing an approximately one-in-five victory rate, higher than the one-in-six victory rate of Astydamas II, but less than the one-in-two victory rate of Theodectas. Carcinus' success in the City Dionysia presumably prompted Dionysius II's invitation.⁵¹⁸

Carcinus' plays are cited several times in the Aristotelian corpus. In the *Nicomachean Ethics*,⁵¹⁹ Aristotle notes that it is unsurprising if someone succumbs to excessive pleasures or pains, especially if they have resisted for some time, giving Cercyon from Carcinus' *Alope* as an example. Similarly, in his *Rhetoric*,⁵²⁰ Aristotle discusses accusing another person or defending oneself on the basis of errors. Aristotle then mentions Carcinus' *Medea*, describing how Medea was accused of killing her children, since they were not present as she had sent them to safety. Aristotle also says that Medea defended herself by arguing that she would

⁵¹⁷ *IG* II² 2325 col. I.5, Diod. Sic. 13.103; *Vit. Soph.* 8 (with Sommerstein (2006) xi).

⁵¹⁸ Thus Capps (1900) 40.

⁵¹⁹ 1150b 6–10 (= *Alope* fr. 1c I).

⁵²⁰ 1400b 9–15 (= *Medea* fr. 1g I).

have killed Jason not her children, since her children brought her pleasure whereas Jason did not. In addition, Aristotle states that an individual who makes an unbelievable statement should immediately promise to justify it and submit to the judgement of others, citing Jocasta in Carcinus' *Oedipus*.⁵²¹ Nonetheless, Aristotle's opinion of Carcinus' tragedies was not entirely positive. When discussing different types of recognition scene, Aristotle remarks that recognitions from signs are the least artistic and then cites Carcinus' *Thyestes* as an example.⁵²² Elsewhere in the *Poetics*,⁵²³ Aristotle urges poets to always imagine the scene they are composing to ensure a coherent plot and appropriate dialogue. Aristotle then criticises Carcinus' *Amphiaraus*, noting that Amphiaraus returned from the temple and that this was an error missed by Carcinus, but noticed by the audience.

Menander displays a similar interest in Carcinus' work. In his first *Perinthia*,⁵²⁴ Menander mentions the laughter of Ajax which occurred in Carcinus' *Ajax* when the actor Pleisthenes (in the role of Ajax) laughed ironically at Odysseus' statement that one should behave justly. In the *False Heracles*, Menander uses the phrase 'the poetry of Carcinus' (Καρκίνου ποιήματα) as a synonym for 'riddling' (αἰνιγματώδης), perhaps a comment on his poetic style.⁵²⁵ In *Aspis*,⁵²⁶ Daos quotes from various tragedians to create a mock tragic tone in his speech. Among the tragic poets cited by Daos is Carcinus,⁵²⁷ suggesting that Menander considered Carcinus fr. 5a as stereotypical of tragic style. Moreover, Menander's quotation of Carcinus alongside lines from Aeschylus and Euripides shows that Menander considered Carcinus' verses as worthy of being quoted as his fifth-century counterparts.⁵²⁸ In

⁵²¹ *Rhet.* 1417b 16–20 (= *Oedipus* fr. 1i).

⁵²² *Poet.* 1454b 19–23 (= *Thyestes* fr. 1f).

⁵²³ 1455a 22–9 (= *Amphiaraus* fr. 1d).

⁵²⁴ F 10 Arnott; perhaps the first act of the play since there is no other mention of multiple versions of this play.

⁵²⁵ Fr. 415 *PCG*; thus Xanthakis-Karamanos (1980) 98.

⁵²⁶ *Men. Asp.* 407–28.

⁵²⁷ *Ibid.*, 416 (= fr. 5a).

⁵²⁸ E.g. Aesch. *Niobe* fr. 154a.15–16 *TrGF* (412–13); Eur. *Stheneboia* fr. 661.1 *TrGF* (407–9); *Or.* 1–2 (424–5); Wright (2016) 125, see introduction.

addition to Menander, the historiographers Polycritus of Mende⁵²⁹ and Timaeus⁵³⁰ note that Carcinus frequently visited Syracuse and the court of Dionysius II and Timaeus quotes fr. 5 to illustrate how writers present the abduction of Persephone. Finally, Lysias is said to have cited Carcinus fr. 6 in his *Against Mnesimachus*.⁵³¹ This is, however, doubtful, since Lysias' death is dated to after 380 whereas Carcinus was only active as a tragedian from the 100th Olympiad onwards, making Lysias' quotation of Carcinus unlikely, though not impossible. Perhaps the speech was falsely attributed to Lysias (like, allegedly, 192 of the 425 speeches known to ancient scholars as circulating under his name).⁵³²

The reception of Carcinus and his plays in the centuries after his death was predominantly positive. In the second and first centuries BC, information about both Carcinus' tragedies and his life was preserved. Diodorus Siculus describes Carcinus' visits to Syracuse and his interest in the religious practices of the Sicilians; Diodorus then cites fr. 5 as an example of how Carcinus' residence at Syracuse inspired his work, although Diodorus derives his information from Timaeus rather than Carcinus.⁵³³ In Philodemus' *Περὶ Ποιημάτων*,⁵³⁴ Philodemus describes how a Milesian critic divides poets into two categories, good and bad, with the Milesian critic considering Carcinus among the bad poets. Philodemus, however, argues against a binary categorisation of poets, perhaps suggesting that he views Carcinus as having some merit, despite the Milesian's conclusions about Carcinus.

In the Greek Imperial period and after, biographical information about Carcinus is sparse. Diogenes Laertius records that Carcinus visited the court of Dionysius II; Diogenes is, however, reliant on Polycritus of Mende for his information.⁵³⁵ By contrast, Carcinus' plays

⁵²⁹ *FGrHist* 559 F 1.

⁵³⁰ *FGrHist* 566 F 164.

⁵³¹ Fr. 235 Carey.

⁵³² [Plut.] *Vit.* X 836a. On the spuriousness of speeches within the Lysianic corpus see further Darkow (1917).

⁵³³ Diod. Sic. 5.5.1.

⁵³⁴ Col. 25.10 Sbordone.

⁵³⁵ Diog. Laert. 2.63.

were well received and widely discussed. A second-century papyrus contains an excerpt from Carcinus' *Medea*; above Medea's lines is musical notation suited to the range of a baritone singer,⁵³⁶ which indicates solo reperformance.⁵³⁷ From comparison with other excerpts of dramatic texts from this period, it is unlikely that the full text of Carcinus' *Medea* would have been copied.⁵³⁸ Nonetheless, the existence of a scene from Carcinus' *Medea* indicates that it was thought worthy of preservation.

Carcinus' plays were also quoted and discussed. Harpocration quotes fr. 6, Athenaeus cites lines from *Achilles* and *Semele*, and Stobaeus preserves *Tyro* fr. 4 and frs. 7–11. It is, however, unlikely that any of these writers had access to Carcinus' works. Plot details and performance information are provided by Pausanias Atticus, who describes how Orestes was forced to confess to matricide in Carcinus' *Orestes*,⁵³⁹ Zenobius, who talks about the laughter of Pleisthenes during Carcinus' *Ajax*,⁵⁴⁰ and Plutarch, who notes that Carcinus was victorious with *Aerope*.⁵⁴¹ In addition, Athenaeus recounts an anecdote in which an individual asks to whom some lyrics belong and the reply is Carcinus because they do not sound human, creating a pun on the literal meaning of Carcinus' name of 'crab'.⁵⁴² All of these writers, however, display a reliance on earlier sources for their information and Athenaeus' story could have derived from comedy. Nonetheless, some writers may have had access to Carcinus' plays. A scholium to Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics* provides a synopsis of Carcinus' *Alope* and two scholia to Aristotle's *Rhetoric* discuss plot details from Carcinus' *Medea*, showing an intimate knowledge of both tragedies.

⁵³⁶ P.Louvre 10534; thus Bélis (2004) 1320.

⁵³⁷ Thus West (2007) 8.

⁵³⁸ Thus West (2007) 7, Pöhlmann (2009) 296.

⁵³⁹ κ.15 Erbse (= *Orestes* fr. 1j); the same information about Carcinus' *Orestes* is found in Phot. *Lexicon* κ 132 and *Su.* κ 397 Adler, copied almost entirely word-for-word from Pausanias.

⁵⁴⁰ 1.61 (= *Ajax* fr. 1b).

⁵⁴¹ *De Glor. Ath.* 349e (= *Aerope* fr. 1a I).

⁵⁴² ἄρισαντος δέ τινος, ἤρητο <τίνος> τὸ μέλος· εἰπόντος δ' ὅτι Καρκίνου, πολὺ γε μᾶλλον, ἔφη, ἢ ἀνθρώπου. ('Someone sang a song, and he asked who the composer was; when the man told him that it was by Carcinus, he responded: "That's a lot more likely than it being by a human being!'", Athen. 8.351f, transl. Olson).

Commentary

ΑΕΡΟΠΗ

Fragment 1a I – Plut. *De Glor. Ath.* 349e

τῶν δ' ἄλλων ἐκάστης ἂν πύθῃ τί τῇ πόλει γέγονεν ἐξ αὐτῆς ἀγαθόν, ἢ μὲν ἐρεῖ Λέσβον, ἢ δὲ Σάμον, ἢ δὲ Κύπρον, ἢ δὲ Πόντον Εὐξείνιον, ἢ δὲ πεντακοσίας τριήρεις, ἢ δὲ μύρια τάλαντα, προῖκα τῆς δόξης καὶ τῶν τροπαίων. ταῦθ' ἢ πόλις ἐορτάζει καὶ ὑπὲρ τούτων θύει τοῖς θεοῖς, οὐκ ἐπὶ ταῖς Αἰσχύλου νίκαις ἢ Σοφοκλέους, οὐδ' ὅτε Καρκίνος Ἀερόπῃ εὐτύχει ἢ Ἐκτορι Ἀστυδάμας.

And if one were to enquire what benefit came to the city [i.e. Athens] from each of the other [*sc.* military victories], one will reply Lesbos, another Samos, another Cyprus, another the Euxine Pontus, another five hundred ships, and another ten thousand talents, in addition to the glory and the trophies. This is what the city celebrates and it sacrifices to the gods in thanks for these things, and not for the victories of Aeschylus or Sophocles, nor when Carcinus triumphed with his *Aerope* or Astydamas with his *Hector*.

Fragment 1a II – Ael. *VH* 14.40 (transl. based on Wilson)

Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Φεραίων τύραννος ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα ἔδοξεν ὠμότατος εἶναι. Θεοδώρου δὲ τοῦ τραγωιδοῦ ὑποκρινομένου τὴν Ἀερόπην σφόδρα ἐμπαθῶς, ὅδε εἰς δάκρυα ἐξέπεσεν, εἶτα ἐξανέστη τοῦ θεάτρου. ἀπολογούμενος δὲ ἔλεγε τῷ Θεοδώρῳ ὡς οὐ καταφρονήσας οὐδὲ ἀτιμάσας αὐτὸν ὦιχετο, ἀλλ' αἰδούμενος εἰ τὰ μὲν ὑποκριτοῦ πάθη οἷός τε ἦν ἐλεεῖν, τὰ δὲ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ πολιτῶν οὐχί.

τοῦ τραγωιδοῦ Valckenaer: τοῦ τῆς τραγωιδίας ποιητοῦ codd.

Alexander the tyrant of Pherae was regarded as exceptionally cruel. Yet, when the tragic actor Theodorus was performing the *Aerope* with much emotion, Alexander burst into tears and left the theatre. By way of excuse [Alexander] said to Theodorus that he left not out of contempt nor dishonour for Theodorus, but because he was ashamed that he could feel pity for the suffering portrayed by an actor, but not for the suffering of his own people.

Although Aelian refers to Theodorus as τοῦ τῆς τραγωιδίας ποιητοῦ, he is most likely mistaken and τοῦ τῆς τραγωιδίας ποιητοῦ should be emended to τοῦ τραγωιδου,⁵⁴³ since a tragedian called Theodorus is otherwise unknown whereas a tragic actor with this name is widely attested;⁵⁴⁴ this means that the *Aerope* play performed by Theodorus must have been a reperformance. Since Carcinus is known to have written a tragedy entitled *Aerope* and as Alexander ruled in the fourth century (369–358), the *Aerope* mentioned by Aelian has been conjectured to have been Carcinus'.⁵⁴⁵ The veracity of Aelian's anecdote and its attribution to Carcinus' *Aerope* is, however, doubtful.⁵⁴⁶ Similar stories are recorded about other tyrants, with Alexander of Pherae said to have wept at a reperformance of Euripides' *Trojan Women* and at the woes of Hecuba and Andromache,⁵⁴⁷ and to have also cried while watching Euripides' *Hecuba*, moved by the plight of Hecuba and Polyxena.⁵⁴⁸ In both instances, Pelopidas and Alexander later apologised to the actor whose performance they left, stating that they were ashamed to be affected by suffering portrayed by the actors, but unmoved by that of their own people. So Aelian's anecdote about *Aerope* is most likely a stock story used to show that tyrants were incapable of understanding the misery of their peoples until their eyes were opened by exposure to tragic drama.

Carcinus' *Aerope* could have dealt with Aerope's betrayal of Catreus through her adulterous relations with a servant, and Catreus' attempted execution of Aerope by sending her to Nauplius to be drowned.⁵⁴⁹ Alternatively, Carcinus' play may have presented Aerope's involvement in securing the throne of Mycenae for Thyestes by seizing the golden ram.⁵⁵⁰ It

⁵⁴³ Thus Valckenaer (1767) 182.

⁵⁴⁴ Cf. Dem. 19.246, Arist. *Pol.* 1336b 27–33, *Rhet.* 1404b 20–5, Plut. *De glor. Ath.* 348d–e, *De se ipsum laudando* 545f, *Quaest. conv.* 737b.

⁵⁴⁵ Thus Webster (1954) 300.

⁵⁴⁶ Thus *TrGF* I p. 211.

⁵⁴⁷ Plut. *Pel.* 29.

⁵⁴⁸ Plut. *De Alex. fort.* 334a.

⁵⁴⁹ Σ *Soph. Aj.* 1297 Christodoulou.

⁵⁵⁰ Eur. *El.* 720–5.

has been suggested that *Aerope* was an alternative title for Carcinus' *Thyestes*.⁵⁵¹ The lack of information for *Aerope* and the existence of a possible plot not requiring the involvement of Thyestes means that this hypothesis should be treated with caution; the testimonia for *Aerope* and *Thyestes* are therefore treated separately in this commentary. Carcinus' *Aerope* is the only known fourth-century play with this title. In the fifth century, *Aerope* featured in an eponymous play by Agathon and Euripides' *Cretan Women*. For the myth of *Aerope* see further Finglass on Soph. *Aj.* 1295–7.

ΑΙΑΣ

Fragment 1b – Zenob. Ath. 1.61

Αϊάντειος γέλωσ· μέμνηται ταύτης Μένανδρος ἐν τῇ Περιινθίαι τῇ πρώτῃ (F 10 Arnott)· λέγουσι δὲ ὅτι Πλεισθένης ὁ ὑποκριτὴς τὸν Καρκίνου Αἴαντα ὑποκρινόμενος εὐκαίρως ἐγέλασε· τοῦ γὰρ Ὀδυσσεῶς εἰπόντος ὅτι τὰ δίκαια χρῆ ποιεῖν, μετὰ εἰρωνείας ὁ Αἴας τῶι γέλωτι ἐχρήσατο.

The laughter of Ajax; Menander mentioned this in his first *Perinthia*; and they say that the actor Pleisthenes, when performing in Carcinus' *Ajax*, gave a well-timed laugh; since when Odysseus said that it was necessary to act justly, Ajax laughed sarcastically.

Ajax's sarcastic laughter indicates his hostility towards Odysseus, suggesting that Carcinus' *Ajax* treated the quarrel between Ajax and Odysseus over the arms of Achilles.⁵⁵² The interaction between Odysseus and Ajax described by Zenobius could have occurred when Odysseus was delivering a speech to the judges in the dispute over Achilles' arms and he was interrupted by Ajax's laughter.⁵⁵³ In this case, the actor Pleisthenes probably believed laughter an appropriate response to Odysseus' statement since he imagined that Ajax would

⁵⁵¹ Thus *TrGF* I p. 212.

⁵⁵² Thus Grossmann (1968) 65.

⁵⁵³ Thus Xanthakis-Karamanos (1979) 72. For laughter onstage cf. Soph. *El.* 807.

view Odysseus' words on justice to be hypocritical.⁵⁵⁴ For other dramatic treatments of Ajax see on Astydamas' *Aias Mainomenos*.

ΑΛΟΠΗ

Fragment 1c I – Arist. *EN* 1150b 6–10

οὐ γὰρ εἶ τις ἰσχυρῶν καὶ ὑπερβαλλουσῶν ἡδονῶν ἠττάται ἢ λυπῶν, θαυμαστόν, ἀλλὰ συγγνωμονικὸν εἰ ἀντιτείνων, ὥσπερ ὁ Θεοδέκτου Φιλοκτῆτης ὑπὸ τοῦ ἔχεως πεπληγμένος ἢ ὁ Καρκίνου ἐν τῇ Ἀλόπῃ Κερκύων.

For it is not surprising if someone is defeated by strong and excessive pleasures or grief, but it is excusable if he did so after resisting, just as when Theodectas' Philoctetes has been struck by the viper or like Cercyon in Carcinus' *Alope*.

Fragment 1c II – anon. ad Arist. *EN* 1150b 6–13 = p. 437.2 Heylbut

καὶ ὁ Καρκῖνος τραγικός ἦν, ὁ δὲ Κερκύων εἶχε θυγατέρα τὴν Ἀλόπην. μαθὼν δὲ ὅτι ἐμοιχεύθη ἡ αὐτοῦ θυγάτηρ Ἀλόπη, ἠρώτησεν αὐτήν, τίς ἦν ὁ μοιχεύσας, λέγων εἴ μοι τοῦτον εἴποις, οὐδ' ὅλως ἂν λυπηθῆις. εἶτα εἰπούσης τῆς Ἀλόπης τὸν αὐτὴν μοιχεύσαντα, οὐκέτι ὁ Κερκύων ὑπὸ τῆς λύπης ἔφερε ζῆν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ζῆν ἀπελέγετο. οἷον καὶ ὁ Κερκύων, ὁ ὑπὸ τοῦ Καρκίνου παραγόμενος, ἠττηθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν λυπῶν οὐ μαλακὸς ῥήθη. ὥσπερ καὶ ὁ πειρώμενος κατέχειν τὸν γέλωτα, εἶτα ἀθρόον ἐκκαγχάζει, οὕτως καὶ ὁ Κερκύων μέχρι μὲν πολλοῦ πρὸς τὴν λύπην ἀντέτεινεν, εἶτα ἠττήθη.

Also Carcinus was a tragic poet, and Cercyon had a daughter called Alope. When Cercyon learned that his daughter Alope had been raped, he asked her, who her rapist was, saying “if you tell me this, you will not be made to grieve at all.” And when Alope identified her rapist, Cercyon was no longer able to bear living because of the grief, but ended his life. Just as Cercyon, the man presented by Carcinus, overcome by grief, has not been described as cowardly. Just like the man who tries to

⁵⁵⁴ For similar additions by actors cf. Eur. *Med.* 37–45, 468, *Or.* 536–7, Page (1934).

restrain his laughter, then suddenly bursts out laughing, so Cercyon strove to resist grief for a very long time, until he was defeated.

The plot of Carcinus' *Alope* is provided by a scholium to Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*.⁵⁵⁵

In Carcinus' play, Cercyon found out that his daughter Alope had been raped and attempted to discover the identity of her rapist, reassuring her that she would come to no harm if she revealed this information.⁵⁵⁶ Alope told Cercyon that Poseidon was her rapist and Cercyon killed himself, unable to cope with his grief, presumably because he could not avenge his daughter since her rapist was a god;⁵⁵⁷ the scholium indicates that a large portion of Carcinus' play dealt with Cercyon succumbing to his distress. The hypothesis that Carcinus' *Alope* presented the title character as pregnant because of the rape is plausible because her son Hippothoon is an important Athenian hero;⁵⁵⁸ the suggestion that Cercyon's father was Poseidon and the rape thus incestuous⁵⁵⁹ cannot be corroborated. Carcinus' *Alope* is the only known fourth-century play with this title; in the fifth century, Euripides and Choerilus wrote tragedies entitled *Alope*. For the myth of Alope see further Karamanos (2003) 25–40. For other plays involving divine rape see further Bathrellou (2012) 175–6.

ΑΜΦΙΑΡΕΩΣ

Fragment 1d – Arist. *Poet.* 1455a 22–9

δεῖ δὲ τοὺς μύθους συνιστάναι καὶ τῆι λέξει συναπεργάζεσθαι ὅτι μάλιστα πρὸ ὀμμάτων τιθέμενον· οὕτω γὰρ ἂν ἐναργέστατα <ὁ> ὀρών ὥσπερ παρ' αὐτοῖς γιγνόμενος τοῖς πραττομένοις εὐρίσκοι τὸ πρέπον καὶ ἥκιστα ἂν λανθάνοι <τὸ> τὰ ὑπεναντία. σημεῖον δὲ

⁵⁵⁵ *TrGF* only cites καὶ ὁ Καρκίνος ... ἀπελέγετο. The rest of the scholium is given in this commentary, however, since it provides further details about how Cercyon's grief was presented in Carcinus' *Alope*.

⁵⁵⁶ The speech attributed to Cercyon is unmetrical. Cercyon's reassurances to Alope about her safety may be a reaction to Euripides' *Alope*, where Alope was abused by Cercyon after stating that Poseidon had raped her (Eur. *Alope* test. iib *TrGF* = Hyg. *Fab.* 187; thus Xanthakis-Karamanos (1980) 29).

⁵⁵⁷ Thus Karamanos (2003) 37.

⁵⁵⁸ *Ibid.* 38–9.

⁵⁵⁹ Choerilus *Alope* fr. 1 *TrGF* = Paus. 1.14.3; thus Karamanos (2003) 38–9.

τούτου ὁ ἐπετιμᾶτο Καρκίνωι. ὁ γὰρ Ἀμφιάραος ἐξ ἱεροῦ ἀνήγει, ὃ μὴ ὀρῶντα ἐλάνθανεν, ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς σκηνῆς ἐξέπεσεν δυσχερανάντων τοῦτο τῶν θεατῶν.

One should construct plots and furnish them with dialogue, keeping, as much as possible, the scene in his mind's eye; hence by imagining the scene most vividly, as if present at the events themselves, one will find what is fitting and be most likely to detect contradictions. An example of this is the criticism that was levelled against Carcinus. For Amphiarus came back from a temple, and he (i.e. Carcinus), not visualising the scene, did not notice this, but it was a flop on the stage, since the audience objected to this.

Aristotle is almost certainly referring to an *Amphiarus* play by Carcinus in fr. 1d, citing this play by its title character.⁵⁶⁰ Two schools of thought exist for the plot of Carcinus' play and thus the error.⁵⁶¹ The first suggestion is that Carcinus presented Amphiarus' reluctance to join the expedition of the Seven against Thebes.⁵⁶² In this instance, Amphiarus may have hidden in the temple to escape conscription, later exiting despite there being no dramatic impetus; perhaps he came out to deliver a speech, thus revealing his hiding place,⁵⁶³ or he left the temple after being persuaded by Eriphyle to do so,⁵⁶⁴ though her arguments were not strong enough to entice him out. Alternatively, assuming the skene represented the temple, Amphiarus may have exited via one of the parodoi, only to re-enter the stage via the skene.⁵⁶⁵

The second conjecture is Amphiarus' resurrection as a chthonic deity, taking ἀνήγει to have a second meaning of 'rise up' (i.e. was resurrected).⁵⁶⁶ Carcinus' *Amphiarus* would thus have treated Amphiarus' reluctance to join the conflict against Thebes, his departure to

⁵⁶⁰ Cf. Arist. *Poet.* 1453b 33 (= Astydamos *Alcmeon* fr. 1b I).

⁵⁶¹ For other errors in drama cf. Soph. *OT* 287–9 where Oedipus informs the audience that Creon has advised him to fetch Teiresias despite no such conversation having taken place onstage, Hegelochus' mispronunciation of γαλήν' (Ar. *Ran.* 303–4 with scholium, Σ Eur. *Or.* 279 Schwartz). For negative audience reactions cf. Dem. 18.265, 19.337, Lefkowitz (1984) 144–5.

⁵⁶² Thus Rostagni on Arist. *Poet.* 1455a 22–9.

⁵⁶³ *Ibid.*

⁵⁶⁴ Thus Davidson (2003) 120.

⁵⁶⁵ Thus Owen (1933) 156.

⁵⁶⁶ Thus Craik (1980) 167.

Thebes (via a parodos), his death, and his resurrection, with the temple again conjectured to have been represented by the skene. Since resurrections only occur via tombs and not from temples, Carcinus may have imagined the skene to be a tomb when presenting Amphiaraus' resurrection. Carcinus, however, presumably gave little or no indication to the audience of the skene changing from a temple to a tomb during the play. The audience would have thus thought that Amphiaraus was rising up from a temple rather than a tomb, as intended by Carcinus, and this would then have caused outrage since the presence of corpses in temples was considered impious.⁵⁶⁷ This hypothesis is similarly problematic. ἀνήγει does not have a double meaning of 'resurrect'; ἀνήγει comes from ἀνειμι rather than ἀνίημι.⁵⁶⁸ Moreover, Amphiaraus did not rise from the dead, but remained in the Underworld as a prophetic hero and giver of oracles.

Carcinus' *Amphiaraus* is the only securely-attested fourth-century tragedy with this title, though Theodectas may have also written a play about Amphiaraus' involvement in the conflict with Thebes, since fr. 20 may show Amphiaraus predicting his death to Baton. In the fifth century, Sophocles wrote a satyr drama entitled *Amphiaraus* and comedies with this title were produced by Aristophanes and Plato Comicus. In addition, Amphiaraus featured in Euripides' *Hypsipyle* and was mentioned in Aeschylus' *Seven Against Thebes*, Sophocles' *Electra* and *Oedipus at Colonus*, Euripides' *Phoenissae*,⁵⁶⁹ and probably also in all the many plays centred on his son Alcmeon.

⁵⁶⁷ Thus Green (1990) 283.

⁵⁶⁸ Pace Craik (1980) 167.

⁵⁶⁹ Aesch. *Sept.* 568–96, Soph. *El.* 837–9, *OC* 1313–14, Eur. *Phoen.* 173–4, 1109–12.

ΑΧΙΛΛΕΥΣ

Fragment 1e – Athen. 5.189c–d (transl. Olson)

λέγονται δὲ Ἀθήνησι καὶ ἱεροὶ τινες αὐλῶνες, ὧν μέμνηται Φιλόχορος ἐν τῇ ἐνάτῃ (*FGrHist* 328 F 68). καλοῦσι δ' ἀρσενικῶς τοὺς αὐλῶνας, ὥσπερ Θουκυδίδης ἐν τῇ τετάρτῃ (103.1) καὶ πάντες οἱ καταλογάδην συγγραφεῖς, οἱ δὲ ποιηταὶ θηλυκῶς. Καρκίνος μὲν Ἀχιλλεῖ·

βαθεῖαν εἰς αὐλῶνα περίδρομον στρατοῦ

Certain sacred vales in Athens are referred to, which Philochorus mentioned in his ninth book. Some writers use *aulones* in the masculine, such as Thucydides in his fourth book and all prose writers, whereas poets use it in the feminine. For example, Carcinus in *Achilles*:

into the deep trench surrounding the army

αὐλῶνα in fr. 1e may refer to the trenches in front of the walls around the Greek encampment at Troy.⁵⁷⁰ Since the army is described as surrounded by this trench, a tactically disadvantageous position, it can scarcely be there of its own will. Perhaps the army in question is that of the Greeks, with fr. 1e describing the episode from *Iliad* 8 in which the Trojans try to penetrate the Greek camp, surrounding the Greek forces in their defensive ditches while doing so;⁵⁷¹ alternatively, fr. 1e could refer to *Iliad* 15 when Hector and the Trojans storm the trench and wall around the Greek camp.⁵⁷² If correct, Achilles cannot have been involved in the episode described in fr. 1e and so this verse perhaps comes from a messenger speech about the suffering of the Greek army. This suggests that Carcinus' *Achilles* treated the attempts of the Greeks to persuade Achilles to re-join the fighting; perhaps the play was set in Achilles' hut.⁵⁷³ This also means Carcinus' *Achilles* would be a plausible inspiration for Accius' *Myrmidones*,⁵⁷⁴ which had a similar plot, though the lack of

⁵⁷⁰ Hom. *Il.* 7.337–43, 435–41; thus Liapis (2014a) 284.

⁵⁷¹ *Il.* 8.335–7.

⁵⁷² *Il.* 15.262–746.

⁵⁷³ Cf. Aeschylus' *Myrmidons* (fr. 131.3–4 *TrGF* with Sommerstein (2009) 134) and perhaps Chaeremon's *Achilles Killing Thersites*.

⁵⁷⁴ Thus Capps (1895) 299.

fragments from Carcinus' play and the existence of other tragedies on this theme means that such a hypothesis should be treated with caution. For Achilles in drama see on Astydamas' *Achilles*.

Fragment 1e

For feminine αὐλών cf. Soph. *Scythians* fr. 549 *TrGF*, Ar. *Av.* 244. For περίδρομον meaning 'surrounding' cf. Hom. *Il.* 2.812, Ap. Rh. 3.1085.

ΘΥΕΣΤΗΣ

Fragment 1f – Arist. *Poet.* 1454b 19–23

ἀναγνώρισις δὲ τί μὲν ἐστίν, εἴρηται πρότερον· εἶδη δὲ ἀναγνωρίσεως, πρώτη μὲν ἢ ἀτεχνοτάτη καὶ ἢ πλείστη χρῶνται δι' ἀπορίαν, ἢ διὰ τῶν σημείων. τούτων δὲ τὰ μὲν σύμφυτα, οἷον “λόγχην ἦν φοροῦσι Γηγενεῖς” (*Tr. adesp.* fr. 84 *TrGF*) ἢ ἀστέρας οἴους ἐν τῷ Θυέστη Καρκίνος.

What recognition is has been discussed earlier; but as for the types of recognition, the first is the most unskilful and is used for the most part through ignorance, that is recognition through signs. Of these, some are innate, such as “the spear the Earth-born bear” or stars, like those Carcinus uses in his *Thyestes*.

For *Aerope* as a possible alternative title to *Thyestes* see on *Aerope*. Aristotle states that Carcinus' *Thyestes* included a recognition scene which involved stars; these were almost certainly the star-shaped birthmarks found on members of the house of Pelops.⁵⁷⁵ The recognition scene in Carcinus' *Thyestes* was thus most likely Thyestes' discovery that he had eaten his own sons after seeing the star birthmarks on their remains, a method of recognition unattested in other versions of the Thyestes myth. In fourth-century drama, *Thyestes* plays were produced by Apollodorus, Chaeremon, Diogenes of Sinope (or Philiscus of Aegina),

⁵⁷⁵ Philostr. *Imag.* 1.30.

and Theodectas;⁵⁷⁶ Diogenes is also said to have written an *Atreus*, though this is probably an alternative title for his *Thyestes*.⁵⁷⁷ In the fifth century, Thyestes appeared in eponymous plays by Sophocles (who wrote three tragedies with this title), Euripides, Agathon, and the comic poet Diocles; Sophocles also wrote an *Atreus/Women of Mycenae* about Thyestes' feast, perhaps alternative titles for some of his *Thyestes* plays.⁵⁷⁸

ΜΗΔΕΙΑ

Fragment 1g I – Arist. *Rhet.* 1400b 9–15

ἄλλος τόπος τὸ ἐκ τῶν ἀμαρτηθέντων κατηγορεῖν ἢ ἀπολογεῖσθαι, οἷον ἐν τῇ Καρκίνου Μηδεΐαι οἱ μὲν κατηγοροῦσιν ὅτι τοὺς παῖδας ἀπέκτεινεν, οὐ φαίνεσθαι γοῦν αὐτούς (ἡμαρτε γὰρ ἡ Μήδεια περὶ τὴν ἀποστολὴν τῶν παιδῶν), ἢ δ' ἀπολογεῖται ὅτι οὐκ ἂν τοὺς παῖδας ἀλλὰ τὸν Ἰάσονα ἂν ἀπέκτεινεν, τοῦτο γὰρ ἡμαρτεν ἂν μὴ ποιήσασα, εἴπερ καὶ θάτερον ἐποίησεν.

Another topic is that of making accusations or defending oneself on the basis of errors which have been committed. For example, in Carcinus' *Medea*, some accuse Medea of having killed her children, because they had vanished (since Medea had made the mistake of sending away her children). And she defended herself by saying that she would not have killed her children, but she would have killed Jason, for it would have been a mistake on her part not to have done this (i.e. killed Jason), if she had actually done the other (i.e. killed her children).

Σ Arist. *Rhet.* 1400b 10 Rabe

ἢ δὲ ἀπολογεῖται ὅτι “εἰ ἔμελλον ἀποκτεῖναι, τὸν Ἰάσονα ἂν ἀπέκτεινα ὡς λυπήσαντα, οὐχὶ τοὺς παῖδας· οὐδὲ γὰρ οἱ παῖδές με ἐλύπησαν.”

⁵⁷⁶ Cf. fr. 9, thus Ravenna (1903) 801.

⁵⁷⁷ Thus Marti (1947) 5.

⁵⁷⁸ Lloyd-Jones (1996) 106–7.

And she defended herself, saying “If I intended to kill anyone, I would have killed Jason, since he has grieved me, but not my children, since my children did not grieve me”.

Fragment 1g II – Σ Arist. *Rhet.* 1400b 11 Rabe

πρὸς τὴν Γλαύκην, ἣν ἀνελάβετο ὁ Ἰάσων, ἔπεμψεν ἡ Μήδεια τοὺς αὐτῆς παῖδας, καὶ πτοηθεῖσα μὴ ἀναιρεθῶσιν ὑπὸ τῶν θεραπόντων τῆς Γλαύκης, προανηιρέθησαν παρ’ αὐτῆς.

Medea sent her children to Glauce, whom Jason had taken in marriage, and although she feared that her children would be killed by Glauce’s servants, they were killed by her [i.e. Glauce] first.

Fragment 1h – P.Louvre 10534

<ΙΑΣΩΝ> εἰ δ’ —] θ’ ὦ[ς] φῆς παῖδας οὐκ ἀπέκτονας,
ρῦσαι] σεαυτήν, δεῖξον οὓς οὐκ ὤλεσας.

<ΜΗΔΕΙΑ> [x—]να σοὶ τεκοῦσ’ ἐπόμνυμαι
Σκυθική...[]ν ὥς οὐκ ὤλεσα
οὓς ἔτεκον αὐτῆ παῖ[δας, ἐξέπεμψα δέ] 5
αναπ[.]τ. πιστεύσασα γῆς ἔξω τροφῶι.

<ΚΡΕΩΝ> δῆλη’στί]ν ἡ ἀσ[έ]βεια Μηδείας, κακῆς
τῶ.[...]σείας· ὤλεσεν Γλαύκην πυρί
....[.]ς Κολχίς· ὁμολογεῖ τάδε·
καὶ τοῦτο δῆτ’ ἐ]δρα[σ]εν· ἐκτεινεν τέκ[ν]α. 10
εἶεν,] τί μέλλεις; πρὸς φόνους τὴν βάρβαρον
ἄγει]ν ἔχεις, Ἰα[σ]ον· ὥς βούλει κτάνε.

<ΜΗΔΕΙΑ> []ηθ[.]...]πέρ σ’ ἐ[σ]χον κόρης
Ἕλληνες α[]ο[...ου μηδεῖς Σκυθῶν,
μάταια μέ[ν]]ν[...ς] 15
λέγοντ[ε]ς, ἡ δὲ βαρβάρου σ[πορᾶς ἀπο

[ἀλ]η[θη]ς.[]

1 εἰ δ' West	1 θ' ὦ[ς] West	1 ἀπέκτονας West: ἀπέκτεινας Π: ἀπέκτανες West
2 ῥῦσαι] σεαυτήν West	5 αὐτή West	5 παῖ[δας, ἐξέπεμψα δέ West
6 γῆς ἔξω Ferrari: γη.ἔξω Π	7 δῆλη'στι]ν West	7 ἀσ[έ]βεια Bélis
7 κακῆς West	9 Κολχίς Bélis: Χοκλῖς Π	10 καὶ τοῦτο δῆτ' ἔδρα[σ]εν
10 τέκ[ν]α Bélis	11 εἶεν,] τί West	12 ἄγει]ν West
12 ἴα[σ]ον Bélis	13 ἔ[σ]χον West	15 μὲ]ν West
16 λέγοντ[ε]ς West	16 σ[ποραῖς ἄπο West	17 ἀλ]η[θη]ς Sims

- <JASON>** If, as you say, you have not killed the children,
save yourself, produce those who you have not destroyed.
- <MEDEA>** I swear by the Scythian goddess, having borne ... to you
that I did not kill the children that I myself bore, but I sent them
out of this land, entrusting them to a nurse.
- <CREON>** The impiety of Medea is clear, the evil (?) ...
The Colchian witch destroyed Glauce []
with fire; she has admitted to this.
She did the following too: she killed her children.
Why do you hesitate? You can take this barbarian woman to the
slaughter, Jason, execute her as you wish.
- <MEDEA>** I have kept you from your daughter
Greeks ... no Scythian
speaking foolishly
but I, from barbarian stock
tr]u[thful(?)

Medea's reasoning in the scholium in fr. 1g I for why she would have killed Jason and not her children differs from the version found in Aristotle's *Rhetoric*, but both sources nonetheless demonstrate the nature of Medea's argument (i.e. that Medea would have killed Jason before she harmed her children). The mention of the murder of Medea's children, albeit a false accusation, indicates that Carcinus' *Medea* dealt with the same part of the myth as Euripides' homonymous play.⁵⁷⁹ Hence there must have been a scene in which Medea was accused of killing her children, possibly in an agon,⁵⁸⁰ with Jason probably presenting this charge.

A papyrus fragment has also been assigned to Carcinus' *Medea*, dated to the second century AD and published in 2004 by Annie Bélis.⁵⁸¹ Lines 3–6 and 13–17 are accompanied by musical notation suited to the range of a baritone singer⁵⁸² and were added to the papyrus possibly at the date of its creation.⁵⁸³ In this papyrus fragment, the first speaker urges another to produce their children if, as they say, they have not killed them (1–2). In response, a second character, singing,⁵⁸⁴ attests that they have not killed their children (3–5), but have sent them out of the land, entrusting them to a nurse (5–6). Another character then replies that Medea must have killed her children because she has admitted to killing Glauce with fire (7–10). This speaker then urges Jason to lead the barbarian woman (presumably Medea) off to execution (11–12). The last few lines are lacunose, but the musical notation indicates that the individual who sings lines 3–6 also delivers lines 13–17. This singing character appears to

⁵⁷⁹ Thus Walker (1923) 195.

⁵⁸⁰ Thus Xanthakis-Karamanos (1979) 67, (1980) 69.

⁵⁸¹ P.Louvre 10534; thus Bélis (2004) 1314, West (2007) 3.

⁵⁸² Thus Bélis (2004) 1320.

⁵⁸³ Thus West (2007) 8; for other mixtures of spoken and sung lines on papyri cf. P.Ashm. 89b, P.Oxy. 4463 (= *DAGM* §47).

⁵⁸⁴ This character is singing iambic trimeters. Although iambic trimeters are usually spoken (Arist. *Poet.* 1449a 24–5), there are several examples of iambic trimeters being sung; cf. P.Oslo 1413a.15–19 (= *DAGM* §40), P.Mich. 2958.1–26 (= *DAGM* §§42, 43).

have responded to the speaker of lines 7–12 by restating that she has killed Glauce and alleging that Greeks speak nonsense while she⁵⁸⁵ of barbarian stock does not (13–16).⁵⁸⁶

Since Medea, Glauce, Jason, and Colchis all feature, the papyrus must come from a *Medea* play. The feminine τεκοῦσ' (fr. 1h.3), ἀϋτή (fr. 1h.5), πιστεύσσα (fr. 1h.6), and ἡ (fr. 1h.16) in the sections which are sung indicate that the singing character must have been female and thus Medea.⁵⁸⁷ As the character speaking lines 7–12 directly addresses Jason, Jason must be onstage during this fragment and thus must be the speaker of lines 1–2,⁵⁸⁸ in this case, he would be accusing Medea of killing her children while at the same time challenging her to save herself by showing that they are safe. Since the speaker of lines 7–12 focuses on the death of Glauce and orders Jason to execute Medea, this speaker must be related to Glauce and in a position of authority; he is almost certainly Glauce's father Creon.⁵⁸⁹ Jason's suggestion that Medea has killed her children and his advice to her to produce them to show that she has not correspond with details about the plot of Carcinus' *Medea* which are mentioned by Aristotle; so too do Medea's protestations that she has sent her children away. Since it is unlikely that two tragedies about Medea would have had exactly the same plot features, the papyrus fragment almost certainly comes from Carcinus' *Medea*.⁵⁹⁰

Details about the plot of the tragedy can now be reconstructed. First, Medea, Jason, and Creon were characters, with the nurse to whom Medea entrusted the children possibly also featuring. Since Creon featured, the play was set in Corinth. Secondly, Medea confessed, presumably during the scene from which the papyrus fragment comes, that she had killed Glauce. Hence part of Carcinus' *Medea* must have dealt with the title character plotting

⁵⁸⁵ Cf. ἡ, fr. 1h.16.

⁵⁸⁶ Thus West (2007) 4.

⁵⁸⁷ Thus Bélis (2004) 1308, West (2007) 3–5.

⁵⁸⁸ Thus West (2007) 3–4.

⁵⁸⁹ *Ibid.* 4, 7.

⁵⁹⁰ Thus Bélis (2004) 1314, West (2007) 3.

against Glauce, then successfully killing her. This must have preceded Medea being accused of killing her children, since Medea is said to have admitted to murdering Glauce in fr. 1h. Finally, Medea was not only accused of killing her children, but there was an attempt to execute her for her supposed crimes.

A second scholium to Aristotle's *Rhetoric* (fr. 1g II) has also been thought to provide evidence for Carcinus' *Medea*.⁵⁹¹ It describes how Glauce was betrothed to Jason and how Medea had sent her children to Glauce, also attesting that Medea was frightened that her children would be harmed by Glauce's servants, but that they were in fact killed by her first. Since Glauce is explicitly mentioned in the papyrus and in this scholium and as Medea is concerned for her children's safety in both sources, this scholium should almost certainly be considered as related to Carcinus' *Medea*. It too provides details about Carcinus' tragedy. First, Medea's fear that Glauce's servants would kill her children suggests that Medea was planning something that would provoke them and that would incapacitate Glauce from carrying out the deed herself, presumably Glauce's murder.⁵⁹² Secondly, the children must have been killed during the play by a woman (cf. αὐτῆς). Since Medea is concerned for her children's safety and sends them away for their own protection, αὐτῆς cannot refer to Medea. Instead, it must describe Glauce, whose name is located near αὐτῆς, and so Glauce must have killed Medea's children, perhaps after discovering Medea's attempt to send them to safety.⁵⁹³ This shows that Medea's children had still come to harm despite Medea's best efforts to prevent them being victims of her crime and that Medea was unaware of her children's fate during the play, as also shown by the protestations in fr. 1h that her children had been sent to safety. Moreover, it would also mean Jason and Creon viewed Glauce as an innocent victim of Medea, when it was Glauce who had killed the children. Glauce must have

⁵⁹¹ Thus *TrGF* I p. 212.

⁵⁹² Thus West (2007) 6.

⁵⁹³ *Ibid.* 6–7.

hidden the bodies of the children or ordered her servants to do so for Jason and Creon to perceive her as innocent. Finally, as it is unlikely that Medea would have sent her children to Glauce while afraid for their safety and while plotting against Glauce, Medea's dispatch of her children to Glauce must have happened before the play and was thus recounted in the prologue; perhaps Jason requested that Medea send the children to live with him and Glauce.⁵⁹⁴ Alternatively, Jason may have simply taken the children, relying on his rights as their father.

Hence Carcinus' *Medea* can largely be reconstructed as follows. The play began with Medea recounting how her children had gone to live with Glauce and Jason. Medea then described her plot to kill Glauce, out of either jealousy or a desire to harm Jason, but noted her concern for her children's safety in the event that the murder was successful. To counter this, she summoned the children's nurse and requested that she take the children to safety. The nurse then returned to the palace and Glauce killed Medea's children, after becoming aware of Medea's attempt to get them to safety; Glauce or her servants also hid the bodies of the children. Medea followed through with her plan to kill Glauce, presumably sending her deadly gifts,⁵⁹⁵ as in Euripides' *Medea*, or through some long-distance spell. Jason and Creon then discovered that Medea had killed Glauce and confronted Medea, accusing her of the murder, to which she confessed, and that of her children, since they had vanished. Medea denied killing her children and Jason urged her to produce them to save herself. Medea then said that she had sent them away, but Creon persisted with the charges, urging Jason to execute her. The ending of the play is unclear, but Medea may have fled, thinking that she would be reunited with her sons, and Jason and Creon may have attempted to pursue her. They were probably stopped by a *deus ex machina* who revealed that the children were dead,

⁵⁹⁴ Thus West (2007) 6.

⁵⁹⁵ Cf. *πυρί*, fr. 1h.8.

but that Glauce had killed them. The *deus ex machina* may have also told Jason and Creon the location of the children's bodies and urged Creon and Jason to bury the remains of Glauce and the children; the god may have also predicted (or even recommended) that Medea would seek asylum at Athens.

In addition to fr. 1g–h, an Apulian volute krater dated to the 330s and attributed to the Darius painter has been assigned to Carcinus' *Medea*.⁵⁹⁶ This vase painting depicts Medea at a temple in Eleusis handing over her two sons to a paidagogos, an action which has suggested to some that this volute krater corresponds with Medea entrusting her children to the care of another for their safety,⁵⁹⁷ and thus that this vase painting depicts Carcinus' *Medea*. There is, however, no evidence that Carcinus' tragedy was set anywhere other than Corinth or indeed that the children reached Eleusis, instead dying by Glauce's hands in Corinth, and so the volute krater should not be assigned to Carcinus' *Medea*, reflecting instead another mythological tradition about Medea in which she and her children successfully escaped to Eleusis.⁵⁹⁸

In fourth-century drama, Medea appeared in eponymous tragedies by Dicaeogenes, Diogenes of Sinope, and Theodorides, who came second at the Lenaea of 363 with a dilogy comprising *Medea* and *Phaethon*.⁵⁹⁹ Eubulus and Antiphanes produced comedies entitled *Medea* and Medea may have featured in *Jason* plays by Antiphanes and the tragedian Antiphon, though "Antiphon" here is probably just an error for "Antiphanes"⁶⁰⁰ and *Jason* merely an alternative title for Antiphanes' *Medea*. In the fifth century, Medea appeared in eponymous plays by Euripides, Neophron, Melanthius, Morsimus, and the comic poets

⁵⁹⁶ Thus Trendall (1984) 13–14, Taplin (2007) 238–40, (2014) 150–5.

⁵⁹⁷ Fr. 1h.6 and Σ Arist. *Rhet.* 1400b 11 Rabe.

⁵⁹⁸ Thus Giuliani and Most (2007) 212–17.

⁵⁹⁹ *SEG* XXVI 203 col. II.9–10.

⁶⁰⁰ Thus Meineke (1839) 316.

Cantharus and Strattis among others, Euripides' *Daughters of Pelias*, and Sophocles' *Women of Colchis*, *Rootcutters*, and *Scythians*.

Fragment 1h

Restorations owed to Bélis (2004) 1308 and West (2007) 4–5. For the accompanying musical notation to lines 3–6 and 13–17, see appendix 1.

1–2: Given the imperative δείξον in line 2, the first line may form the protasis of a conditional clause, making εἰ δ' a plausible restoration of the lacuna in line 1 (thus West (2007) 4). ἀπέκτεινας as found on the papyrus cannot be correct (thus West (2007) 2, 4) since it forms a spondee in the last two syllables of the third metron of the trimeter. ἀπέκτανες and ἀπέκτονας are equally plausible restorations (thus West (2007) 2), the copyist accidentally changing either to the standard aorist form ἀπέκτεινας. For ἀπέκτανες (vel sim.) in Greek drama cf. Aesch. *Eum.* 591, Soph. *El.* 1495, Eur. *Hipp.* 1324, for ἀπέκτονας (vel sim.) cf. Aesch. *Eum.* 587. ὦ[ς] φής shows that Jason does not believe Medea's protestations that she has not killed her children, emphasising that it is Medea who has made this claim and thus separating it from his own words; for dissociative ὡς φής (vel sim) cf. ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ἄρχων, ὡς σὺ φής, Αἴας ἔπλει ('but as ruler yourself, so you say, Ajax sailed away', Soph. *Aj.* 1234 with Finglass), κεί μὴ γὰρ ἔστιν ὁ θεὸς οὗτος, ὡς σὺ φήεις ('for even if this man is not a god, as you say', Eur. *Bacch.* 333), Soph. *Ant.* 706, *OC* 940, *Phil.* 1028, Eur. *Phoen.* 467 (with Mastronarde). Jason's scepticism of Medea's statement that she has not killed her children is also indicated by his contemptuous repetition of Medea's claims (οὐκ ἀπέκτονας and οὐκ ὤλεσας); this also shows that Medea had denied killing her children before this fragment. ῥῦσαι is a plausible supplement in line 2 (thus West (2007) 4), showing that Jason believes that Medea is concerned only with her own welfare and not that of her children and that the best way to discover the truth about the children's fate is to appeal

to Medea's self-interest. As with οὐκ ἀπέκτονας and οὐκ ὤλεσας, Jason's ῥῦσαι may sarcastically echo a previous claim by Medea that she saved her children, perhaps using ἔρρυσσα or similar; for ῥῦσαι σεαυτήν (vel sim.) cf. Soph. *OT* 312.

3–5: τεκοῦσ' ἐπόμνυμαι is presented on the papyrus in *scriptio plena* (i.e. τεκοῦσα ἐπόμνυμαι), with a musical note above the alpha of τεκοῦσα; this has probably arisen from Latin practices where elision is not marked (thus Pöhlmann (2009) 297). Similar *scriptiones plenae* are found on a number of other musical papyri from the Imperial period; cf. ηὔτεκνησα ἐγὼ (P.Oxy. 2436 col. ii.3 = *DAGM* §38), ἀναμίξας δὲ ὁμοῦ (P.Oslo 1413a.16 = *DAGM* §40). The juxtaposition of τεκοῦσα beside ἐπόμνυμαι indicates that Medea is swearing her oath, that she has not killed her children, as a mother. The prominence of τεκοῦσα in the first line of Medea's speech and the repetition of τίκτω in line 5 also emphasises Medea's self-presentation as a mother; so too does the juxtaposition of ἀϋτή (owed to West (2007) 3–4) beside παῖ[δας in line 5. Σκυθήκη is most likely an epithet describing the goddess to whom Medea swears her oath (thus Bélis (2004) 1316); although Medea is from Colchis, she is occasionally connected with Scythia (cf. line 14, *Tr. adesp.* fr. 701 *TrGF*). Bélis ((2004) 1316) suggested that the lacuna in line 4 should be restored with Ἐκάτην, with Medea would invoking her mother; cf. Diod. Sic. 4.45.5, 50.6. The two consecutive anapaests render this conjecture unlikely (thus West (2007) 3). οὐκ ὤλεσα repeats Jason's words from line 2; cf. Soph. *Aj.* 1126–7 for antagonistic repetition. This allows Medea to reclaim her words as her own and demonstrate that they are true, despite Jason's scepticism (cf. line 16); Medea's oath also strengthens the claim that she has not killed her children.

5–6: If Medea entrusted her children to a nurse who informed Glauce of Medea's plot to evacuate her children from Corinth (thus West (2007) 6–7), then πιστεύσασα is ironic in that while Medea had faith in this Nurse, she was betrayed by her. The ink traces in line 6

have been restored as γῆς ἔξω by Ferrari (*ap. Taplin* (2014) 155 n. 41), corresponding with Arist. *Rhet.* 1400b 9–15 (= fr. 1g I).

7–9: δῆλη'στί]ν (owed to West (2007) 4) is the likeliest restoration of line 7, showing that Creon declares that Medea's impiety is clear for all to see. ἄσ[έ]βεια is rather pointed given Medea's oath in the previous lines, with Creon accusing Medea of impiety (both for her murder of Glauce and presumably what he perceives to be her false oath). For the destruction of Glauce by fire cf. Eur. *Med.* 1156–1203. Carcinus is the earliest writer known to have named Jason's fiancée and Creon's daughter as Glauce, perhaps inspiring later traditions (cf. Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.9.28, Diod. Sic. 4.54.2, Hyg. *Fab.* 25). ὤλεσεν, previously used of Medea killing her own children, is now appropriated by Creon to describe Medea's supposed murder of Glauce, thus connecting Glauce's death with that of the children. Since ὄλλυμι is used in relation to the deaths of Medea's children and Glauce, this suggests a common killer, namely Medea. This is, however, ironic in that ὤλεσεν links Medea's children and Glauce as innocent victims of Medea, when it is in fact Glauce who has killed Medea's sons. Κολχίς is misspelled in the papyrus as Χοκλίς; its restoration to Κολχίς is owed to Bélis (2004) 1308. Κολχίς demonstrates Creon's disdain towards Medea (thus West (2007) 4) given that he cannot bring himself to directly address her (cf. line 7) or name her, referring to her scornfully by her nationality; contrast Jason whom Creon directly addresses in line 12. ὁμολογεῖ τάδε is a brief, striking phrase emphasised by asyndeton which demonstrates that Medea must have confessed to killing Glauce before the start of this fragment.

10–12: The alliteration and assonance of ἔκτεινεν τέκ[ν]α in line 10 emphasises Creon's view that Medea has killed her children. εἶεν,] τί μέλλεις (cf. [Aesch.] *PV* 36) indicates Creon turning to Jason. τὴν βάρβαρον picks up Creon's reference to Medea as Κολχίς, continuing his disdainful attitude towards her. κτάνε echoes the brevity of ἔκτεινεν

in line 10, showing the same coldness and ruthlessness which Creon believes Medea showed in killing her own children.

13–17: In her response to Creon, Medea directly addresses him (13), whereas Creon had spoken about her in the third person. κόρης is a reference to Glauce (cf. Eur. *Med.* 309, 324, 375, 1125). σ' ἔ[σ]χον κόρης describes how Medea has kept Creon from his daughter (i.e. by killing her). Although Ἕλληνας has been taken as a vocative address to the chorus (thus Bélis (2004) 1313), Ἕλληνας is probably nominative agreeing with λέγοντ[ε]ς in line 16 and describing Greeks in general (thus West (2007) 4). μάταια μέ[ν] indicates a contrast, picked up by ἦ δέ. In this case, Medea may accuse the Greeks of speaking foolishly given Ἕλληνας and λέγοντ[ε]ς, whereas she (ἦ δέ) does not (thus West (2007) 4); perhaps the start of line 17 should be restored as ἀλ[η]θ[η]ς, fitting the available space on the papyrus and agreeing with ἦ. Medea would thus emphasise that despite being a barbarian she is the only one who is telling the truth about her children (since she has not killed them). Together with her admission of killing Glauce, Medea would thus be challenging Creon's assertion that her murder of Glauce means that she has killed her children, showing it to be incorrect. The contrast also allows Medea to adopt Creon's anti-barbarian rhetoric directed at her and to take the sting out of any perceived insult through using βαρβάρου to describe herself. For other self-descriptions of Medea as coming from barbarian stock (βαρβάρου σ[π]ορᾶς ἄπο) cf. Eur. *Med.* 256, 591. In addition, Medea would show herself to adopt a more reasonable approach in her response to Creon, avoiding insulting him by claiming his words are foolish; this contrasts with Creon, who is abusive towards Medea.

ΟΙΔΙΠΟΥΣ

Fragment 1i – Arist. *Rhet.* 1417b 16–20

ἄν δ' ἢ ἄπιστον, ὑπισχνεῖσθαι δεῖ καὶ αἰτίαν λέγειν εὐθύς καὶ διατάττειν ὡς βούλονται, οἷον ἢ Ἰοκάστη ἢ Καρκίνου ἐν τῷ Οἰδίποδι ἀεὶ ὑπισχνεῖται πυθθανομένου τοῦ ζητοῦντος τὸν υἱόν, καὶ ὁ Αἴμων ὁ Σοφοκλέους.

And if a statement is unbelievable, you should promise to provide justification at once and to make arrangements as they wish, just as Jocasta in Carcinus' *Oedipus* is always promising when she is asked by the man who is seeking her son, and Sophocles' Haemon.

Given the title of Carcinus' play, the son mentioned by Aristotle is most likely Oedipus;⁶⁰¹ Polynices and Eteocles are possible, but less likely candidates for Jocasta's son, since it is difficult to see why they would be the focus of a search in a play entitled *Oedipus*.⁶⁰² Oedipus was probably the individual inquiring about Jocasta's son,⁶⁰³ possibly suspecting that he was Jocasta's child and thus that the prophecy had been fulfilled. Jocasta's statement in this instance may be that she had exposed her child, with Oedipus perhaps deeming it unbelievable since he did not think Jocasta capable of such a thing.⁶⁰⁴ If correct, Carcinus' *Oedipus* would have followed the plot of Sophocles' *Oedipus Rex*, though Carcinus' inclusion of an exchange between Jocasta and Oedipus over Jocasta's son is not found in Sophocles' play.

In fourth-century drama, Oedipus featured in eponymous plays by Theodectas, Diogenes of Sinope, and Timocles;⁶⁰⁵ the comic poet Eubulus also wrote an *Oedipus*. In the fifth century, Oedipus appeared in a connected tetralogy by Aeschylus, comprising *Laius*, *Oedipus*, *Seven Against Thebes*, and the satyric *Sphinx*, Sophocles' *Oedipus Tyrannus* and

⁶⁰¹ Thus Cooper (1929) 179.

⁶⁰² *Ibid.*

⁶⁰³ Thus MacKay (1953) 286.

⁶⁰⁴ Thus Cooper (1929) 179.

⁶⁰⁵ Timocles came second in the City Dionysia of 340 with *Oedipus* (*IG* II² 2319-23.25).

Oedipus at Colonus, and Euripides' *Phoenissae* and *Oedipus*; the tragedians Achaëus and Xenocles also wrote plays entitled *Oedipus* and this character may have appeared in Aristophanes' *Phoenician Women*.⁶⁰⁶ For Oedipus in drama see further Finglass (2018) 26–7.

ΟΡΕΣΤΗΣ?

Fragment 1j – Paus. Att. κ 15 Erbse

Καρκίνου ποιήματα· Μένανδρος Ψευδηρακλεῖ (fr. 415 *PCG*) ἀντὶ τοῦ αἰνιγματώδη. ὁ γὰρ Καρκίνος Ὀρέστην ὑπὸ Περιλάου ἀναγκαζόμενον ὁμολογῆσαι, ὅτι ἐμητροκτόνησεν, ἐποίησε δι' αἰνιγμάτων ἀποκρινόμενον.

ὑπὸ Περιλάου Snell: ὑπὸ ἰλίου Paus. Att.: ὑπὸ ἡλίου Phot.: ἀπὸ Ἰλίου *Su*.

The poems of Carcinus; Menander uses this phrase in his *False Heracles* instead of 'riddling'. For Carcinus presented Orestes as being forced by Perilaus to confess that he had killed his mother and replying via riddles.

The title of this play is not secure, conjectured on the basis of the title character. The tragedy is also mentioned by Photius (*Lexicon* κ 132) and in the *Suda* (κ 397 Adler), both of which copy Pausanias Atticus almost word-for-word. All three writers state that Orestes was compelled to admit that he killed his mother in Carcinus' play and that Orestes did so using riddles. Confusion has arisen over the individual forcing Carcinus to confess to matricide with ἰλίου found in Pausanias Atticus clearly a corruption. Photius emended ἰλίου to ἡλίου, suggesting that it was Apollo who was responsible for Carcinus' confession. Yet, since Photius only refers to Apollo by his name rather than using ἡλίου,⁶⁰⁷ Photius' emendation should be rejected. The *Suda* altered ὑπό to ἀπό, suggesting that Orestes was coming from Troy when he admitted to matricide; this emendation should also be rejected since it makes

⁶⁰⁶ Cf. Ar. *Phoenician Women* fr. 570 *PCG* with Henderson (2008) 373.

⁶⁰⁷ Cf. Phot. *Bibl.* 72 p. 36b.8, 72 p. 39b.8.

little sense in the context. Instead, perhaps ἰλίου should be emended to Περιλάου.⁶⁰⁸ This would refer to Perilaus, the cousin of Clytemnestra, who was the prosecutor of Orestes in his trial on the Areopagus instead of Tyndareus who had died.⁶⁰⁹ In this instance, Carcinus' play would have followed the plot of Aeschylus' *Eumenides* to a limited extent; in *Eumenides* there is no human prosecutor at all, only the Erinyes.

In the fourth century, Theodectas and Aphareus wrote *Orestes* tragedies⁶¹⁰ and Alexis produced a comedy entitled *Orestes*. In fifth-century drama, Orestes appeared in Aeschylus' *Choephoroi* and *Eumenides*, Sophocles' *Electra*, Euripides' *Andromache*, *Electra*, *Iphigenia at Aulis*, *Iphigenia among the Taurians*, *Orestes*, and *Telephus*, and an *Orestes* by Euripides II.

ΣΕΜΕΛΗ

Fragments 2 and 3 – Athen. 13.559f (transl. based on Olson)

Καρκίνος δ' ὁ τραγικός ἐν Σεμέλει, ἧς ἀρχὴ

ὦ νύκτες

φησίν·

ὦ Ζεῦ, τί χρὴ γυναῖκας ἐξειπεῖν κακόν;

ἀρκοῦν ἂν εἶη, κἂν γυναῖκ' εἴπηις μόνον

And Carcinus the tragic poet in his *Semele*, which begins

O nights

says

Zeus, why do I need to declare that women are trouble?

It would be sufficient just to say the word 'woman'

⁶⁰⁸ Thus *TrGF* I p. 213.

⁶⁰⁹ Paus. 8.34.4.

⁶¹⁰ Aphareus came third in the City Dionysia of 341 with *Orestes* (*IG* II² 2319-23.13).

The *Suda* misreads Athenaeus' ἦς for ἦ and gives *Semele* the alternative title Ἀρχή, which must be incorrect, since Ἀρχή does not resemble the title of a tragedy. Carcinus' *Semele* most likely presented Hera's revenge on Semele for being impregnated by Zeus, with Hera persuading Semele to ask Zeus to appear before her and with Semele thus being killed as she was mortal.⁶¹¹ Since Zeus rescued Dionysus from Semele's womb as she was dying,⁶¹² Carcinus' *Semele* may have also treated the birth of Dionysus,⁶¹³ with Dionysus either being sewn into Zeus' thigh and this being announced via a *deus ex machina*⁶¹⁴ or with Dionysus being handed over to nymphs, who would raise him.⁶¹⁵ Carcinus' *Semele* is the only known fourth-century tragedy with this title, although Eubulus wrote a comedy entitled *Semele/Dionysus*. In the fifth century, *Semele* tragedies were produced by Aeschylus,⁶¹⁶ Diogenes of Athens, and Spintharus.⁶¹⁷

Fragment 2

Nature and the gods are often called upon by characters in distress or suffering from an intense emotional reaction; cf. ὦ γαῖα μήτηρ ἡλίου τ' ἀναπτυχαί, | οἴων λόγων ἄρρητον εἰσήκουσ' ὄπα ('O earth, my mother, o bright and open sunlight, what unspeakable words I have heard!', Eur. *Hipp.* 601–2, transl. Kovacs, with Barrett), Eur. *Med.* 160–3, *Ion* 1445. Following the invocation, a description of an individual's suffering may also be found; cf. [Aesch.] *PV* 88–113. Perhaps Carcinus' *Semele* adhered to a similar structure, with the nights invoked (possibly by Semele), after which there was an account of a character's suffering, perhaps Semele's misery while waiting for Zeus to come to an assignation, her distress at the

⁶¹¹ Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.4.3, Hyg. *Fab.* 167; cf. Aeschylus' *Semele/Water-carriers* (Sommerstein (2009) 225–7).

⁶¹² Eur. *Bacch.* 88–98.

⁶¹³ Thus Wright (2016) 109.

⁶¹⁴ Eur. *Bacch.* 94–8.

⁶¹⁵ *Hom. Hymn* 26.1–10.

⁶¹⁶ Aeschylus' play was alternatively titled *Water-carriers*.

⁶¹⁷ For other tragedies with Dionysiac themes see Scullion (2002) 110.

hands of Hera, or the pain she felt while in labour. For the invocation of natural phenomena at the start of tragedies cf. “Ἥλιε, φιλίπποις Θρηξιὺν πρέσβιστον σέβας (‘O sun, most revered by the horse-loving Thracians’, Soph. *Tereus* fr. 582 *TrGF* with Fitzpatrick and Sommerstein), ὦ γῆς παλαιὸν ἄργος, Ἰνάχου ῥοαί (‘O ancient plain of land, the streams of Inachus’, Eur. *El.* 1), Eur. *Phoen.* 3–4 (with Haslam (1975) 149–66); for the invocation of nights cf. ὦ νύξ μέλαινα (‘o black night’, Eur. *El.* 54 with Cropp), ὦ νύξ ἱερά (‘o sacred night’, Eur. *Andromeda* fr. 114.1 *TrGF*), Soph. *El.* 203, Men. *Misoumenos* 1.

Fragment 3

For women as the epitome of evil cf. ὦ παγκακίστη καὶ γυνή, τί γὰρ λέγων | μεῖζόν σε τοῦδ’ ὄνειδος ἐξείποι τις ἄν; (‘o you thoroughly wicked individual and you woman, for what greater insult than this could one hurl against you?’, Eur. *Stheneboia* fr. 666 *TrGF*), Eur. *Hipp.* 616–68, *Aeolus* fr. 36 *TrGF*, Hes. *Th.* 600–2.

ΤΥΡΩ

Fragment 4 – Stob. 4.39.3

Καρκίνου Τυροῦς

ἀσκεῖν μὲν ἀρετὴν, εὐτυχεῖν δ’ αἰτεῖν θεούς·

ἔχων γὰρ ἄμφω ταῦτα μακάριός θ’ ἅμα

κεκλημένος ζῆν κάγαθὸς δυνήσεται

Τυροῦς Nauck: Τηρεῦς Gaisford: Τυρεῦς codd.

From Carcinus’ *Tyro*

To practise virtue, and to ask the gods to be fortunate;

when one does both of these things at the same time, he will be able to live

and to be called both blessed and good

Stobaeus' Τυρεύς is clearly a corruption. Suggested emendations include Τηρεύς (thus Gaisford) and Τυροῦς (thus Nauck). Of these, Τυροῦς is more likely to be correct, since Stobaeus references lines from tragedy using the genitive of the poet's name and of the title of the play.⁶¹⁸ Hence Carcinus produced a *Tyro*, to which fr. 4 should be assigned.

Possibilities for the plot of Carcinus' *Tyro* include Tyro's forced exposure of her sons Neleus and Pelias and the death of her father Salmoneus or the return of Neleus and Pelias to Thessaly and their rescue of Tyro from the abuse of her stepmother Sidero.⁶¹⁹ For other plays about Tyro see on Astydamos' *Tyro*.

Fragment 4

Hard work is praised throughout antiquity, from Hesiod onwards; cf. Hes. *Op.* 308–16, Pind. *Ol.* 5.15–16, Xen. *Mem.* 2.7.8, Mondolfo and Duncan (1954) 1–5, Pacelli on Theodectas fr. 11 *TrGF*. For the belief that those who work hard must also be fortunate to ensure success cf. μοχθεῖν ἀνάγκη τοὺς θέλοντας εὐτυχεῖν ('those who want success must strive for it', Eur. *Telephus* fr. 701 *TrGF*, transl. Collard and Cropp). For the role of the gods in one's fortunes cf. θεοῦ δὲ δῶρόν ἐστιν εὐτυχεῖν βροτούς ('it is god's gift for a mortal to be prosperous', Aesch. *Sept.* 625), Eur. *Hel.* 641–3, *IA* 351–2, Xanthakis-Karamanos (1980) 147.

INCERTARUM FABULARUM FRAGMENTA

Fragment 5 – Timaeus *FGrHist* 566 F 164 (= Diod. Sic. 5.5.1)

περὶ δὲ τῆς κατὰ τὴν Κόρην ἀρπαγῆς, ὅτι γέγονεν ὡς προειρήκαμεν, πολλοὶ τῶν ἀρχαίων συγγραφέων καὶ ποιητῶν μεμαρτυρήκασι. Καρκίνος μὲν γὰρ ὁ τῶν τραγωιδιῶν ποιητής, πλεονάκις ἐν ταῖς Συρακούσαις παρεπιδημηκῶς καὶ τὴν τῶν ἐγχωρίων τεθεαμένος σπουδῆν

⁶¹⁸ Cf. e.g. Stob. 4.34.29 (Dionysius I *Alcmene* fr. 2 *TrGF*), 4.41.2 (Dionysius I *Leda* fr. 3 *TrGF*), *passim*.

⁶¹⁹ Both Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.9.8.

περὶ τὰς θυσίας καὶ πανηγύρεις τῆς τε Δήμητρος καὶ Κόρης, κατεχώρισεν ἐν τοῖς ποιήμασι
τούσδε τοὺς στίχους

λέγουσι Δήμητρός ποτ' ἄρρητον κόρην
Πλούτωνα κρυφίοις ἀρπάσαι βουλεύμασιν
δῦναί τε γαίας εἰς μελαμφαεῖς μυχούς·
πόθῳ δὲ μητέρ' ἠφανισμένης κόρης
μαστῆρ' ἐπελθεῖν πᾶσαν ἐν κύκλῳ χθόνα· 5
καὶ τὴν μὲν Αἰτναίοισι Σικελίας πάγοις
πυρὸς γέμουσαν ρεύμασιν δυσεμβόλοις
πᾶσαν στενάξαι, πένθεσιν δὲ παρθένου
σίτων ἄμοιρον Διοτρεφὲς φθίνειν γένος,
ὄθεν θεᾶς τιμῶσιν εἰς τὰ νῦν ἔτι 10

And many of the ancient historians and poets have attested that the rape of Kore happened just as we have previously described. For example, Carcinus the tragic poet, who often visited Syracuse and saw the eagerness of the inhabitants in sacrifices and feasts for Demeter and Kore, included the following verses in his poems

**They say that once upon a time Pluto stole the daughter of Demeter
who must not be named, through hidden scheming
and then he plunged into the depths of earth, whose light is darkness;
Meanwhile, with longing for her disappeared daughter, her mother
went out to every land in turn seeking her; 5
and the land at the crags of Aetna in Sicily
was filled with streams of fire which made an evil impact
and all of it groaned, and in their mourning for the maiden,
the people, nourished by Zeus, were withering away deprived of corn,
as a result of which they honour these goddesses up until the present day 10**

λέγουσι in line 1, ποτ' meaning 'once', and the aetiological nature of the fragment suggests that these verses come from a prologue (thus Xanthakis-Karamanos (1980) 89); cf. Soph. *Ant.* 23, Eur. *Or.* 5, 8, *Phoen.* 9 for λέγουσι in prologues, Eur. *El.* 2, *Hipp.* 24, *Phoen.* 7, Soph. *Phil.* 5 for πότε, and Eur. *Hel.* 12–14, *Ion* 24–6 for aetiological prologues. The account of mythological events and their relation to the present situation also supports the attribution of these lines to a prologue; cf. Eur. *Alc.* 1–23, *Andr.* 1–25, *Oeneus* fr. 558 *TrGF*, *Telephus* fr. 696 *TrGF*. The placing of the abduction of Persephone in Sicily suggests that the tragedy to which fr. 5 belongs may have been set in Sicily. The speaker of fr. 5, however, was almost certainly not Sicilian, since they discuss the Sicilians' worship of Demeter and Persephone in the third person (τιμῶσιν); perhaps they were a god given their knowledge of Persephone's abduction. The episodic style of this fragment, with lines 1–3 focusing on Pluto's abduction of Persephone, lines 4–9 on Demeter's grief, and line 10 on the relevance of this story to the dramatic time of Carcinus' play is reminiscent of other narrative passages from fourth-century tragedy; cf. Chaeremon *Alphesiboia* fr. 1 *TrGF*, *Oeneus* fr. 14 *TrGF*, Theodectas fr. 10 *TrGF*.

1–3: The dependence of nine lines on one main verb (here λέγουσι) is unparalleled. For ἄρρητον κόρην (vel sim.) cf. Eur. *Hel.* 1307 and (possibly) *Alexandros* fr. 63 *TrGF*, Lincoln (1979) 230. The decision to omit Persephone's name and refer to her as an ἄρρητον κόρην is in keeping with the tradition of not naming inhabitants of the Underworld (*pace* Lincoln (1979) 230 who argues that she is called ἄρρητον κόρην as a result of the tradition found in other cultures of only naming women upon losing their virginity); cf. e.g. the Furies (Soph. *OC* 89–90). The juxtaposition of ἄρρητον κόρην alongside Δήμητρος in line 1 emphasises the separation of Demeter from Persephone, i.e. the naming of Demeter highlights that, unlike Persephone, Demeter is not in the Underworld. δυνάι τε γαίας εἰς μελαμφαεῖς μυχούς euphemistically describes death and the Underworld; cf. Hom. *Il.* 6.19,

Hes. *Th.* 119 (with West), Soph. *Aj.* [571], Eur. *Supp.* 926, 1206, *Her.* 37, da Rocha Pereira (1961) 167. These themes create a bleak overtone, befitting the grief of Demeter. μελαμφαεῖς is rarely used within Greek drama, found only here and in Eur. *Hel.* 518. Compounds with the suffix –φαης are rare in pre-Imperial Greek, used mainly in verse; cf. κελαινοφαῖς (‘black-gleaming’, Ar. *Ran.* 1331), λευκοφαῖς (‘white-gleaming’, Eur. *IA* 1054), see Hense (1901) 389 for a list of –φαης compounds in the Euripidean corpus. μελαμφαεῖς also contributes to the cultic nature of fr. 5, since the concept of light emerging from darkness is found in the Eleusinian Mysteries; cf. Ar. *Ran.* 343–4, 448, 455–7, Wright (2016) 108.

4–5: πόθος is the desire ‘for the unknown, or more frequently for the absent, whether person or matter, whether only temporarily away or dead’ (Ehrenberg (1947) 66); cf. Aesch. *Ag.* 414, Eur. *Hel.* 1306–7, *H.Dem.* 201, 304, Pl. *Crat.* 420a. The juxtaposition of μητέρ’ near κόρης in line 4, separated by only one word, echoes the structure of line 1 and emphasises the mother-daughter bond behind Demeter’s determination to find her daughter. μαστήρ is otherwise found only in tragedy in pre-Imperial Greek verse; cf. Aesch. *Supp.* 162, Soph. *OC* 456, *Tr.* 733, Eur. *Bacch.* 986. πᾶσαν ἐν κύκλωι χθόνα emphasises the exhaustiveness of Demeter’s search; for similar descriptions of Demeter’s hunt for Persephone cf. *H.Dem.* 46–51, Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.5.1.

6–8: Carcinus is the first poet to connect Demeter’s search for Persephone with Sicily; cf. Ov. *Met.* 5.346–96, Griffith (1989a) 171–2, Kowalzig (2008) 128–60. The abduction of Persephone is elsewhere associated with Crete (Bacchyl. fr. 47 S–M) and Attica (Phanodemus *FGrHist* 325 F 27); see Richardson (1974) 76–86, 149–50. The eruption of Aetna transforms the usually fertile environment of Sicily (cf. Hom. *Od.* 9.109–11, 131–40, Diod. Sic. 5.2.4) into a barren wasteland, ironically somewhat similar to the Underworld, where Persephone is located; Pl. *Phd.* 113a–b, Lycoph. *Alex.* 699. For the landscape groaning, the pathetic fallacy, cf. Soph. *Phil.* 1458–60.

8–9: πένθεσιν ... παρθένου is alliterative; this is emphasised by πᾶσαν earlier in the trimeter. For Demeter’s sadness causing famine cf. *H.Dem.* 305–13, Diod. Sic. 5.68.2. Διο- in Διοτρεφές possibly alludes to the role of Zeus within the abduction of Persephone, most notably his granting of permission to Pluto to seize her; cf. Apollod. 1.5.1–3, *H.Dem.* 77–80. Διοτρεφές is thus ironic, with the people nourished by Zeus now those starving as a result of his actions.

10: ὅθεν transitions from the account of the myth of Demeter and Persephone back to the present (cf. Eur. *Or.* 816, Pl. *Gorg.* 497c); for a similar description of future cultic worship cf. Eur. *Hipp.* 1423–30. Although εἰς τὰ νῦν ἔτι refers to the time of the speaker of fr. 5 since tragedy cannot break the dramatic illusion (thus Bain (1975) 13, (1977) 98), the audience would doubtless have identified with the sentiment of line 10, especially if Sicilian.

Fragment 5a – Men. *Asp.* 415–19

ΔΑΟΣ ἄπιστον, ἄλογον, δεινόν ΣΜΙΚΡΙΝΗΣ οὐδὲ παύσεται;

ΔΑΟΣ τί δ’ ἔστ’ ἄπιστον τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις κακῶν;

ὁ Καρκίνος φήσ’. ἐν μιᾷ γὰρ ἡμέραι

τὸν εὐτυχῆ τίθησι δυστυχῆ θεός.

εὔ πάντα ταῦτα, Σμικρίνη.

DAOS **Unbelievable, senseless, terrible** SMIKRINES Won’t he stop?

DAOS **What in the course of human suffering is unbelievable?**

So Carcinus says. **For in one day,**

god can make the lucky man unlucky.

All these things are precious, my dear Smikrines.

In *TrGF*, all four of the above verses in bold are assigned to Carcinus. Only line 2, however, should be attributed to Carcinus, given Daos’ explicit citation ὁ Καρκίνος φήσ’ (thus Arnott

(1982) 256); cf. *Men. Asp.* 412–14, 424–8, where Menander cites verses, then provides their provenance. Since Menander does not place two separate quotations from the same tragedian next to one another in this part of his *Aspis* (399–428), lines 3–4 are almost certainly by a tragedian other than Carcinus (thus Moore (1916) 96, Arnott (1982) 256); cf. *Men. Asp.* 407–14 (where Daos quotes from Euripides, Chaeremon, and Aeschylus, but only names Aeschylus). The attribution of line 1 to Carcinus is similarly dubious (thus Arnott (1982) 256), seemingly based solely on the shared use of ἄπιστον. Furthermore, the interruption of the tricolon of alpha-privatives with δεινόν suggests that Daos may be parodying tragic diction in line 1 rather than quoting from tragedy (thus Kakridis (1972) 491).

1: For pairs of alpha-privatives in tragedy cf. ἀτίετον ἄπολιν (‘dishonoured, stateless’, Aesch. *Supp.* 853), ἄλεκτρ’ ἄνυμφα (‘marriageless, brideless’, Soph. *El.* 492, transl. Jebb), ἀκάρπως κᾶθέως (‘in a fruitless, godless manner’, Soph. *OT* 254 with Finglass); for tricola of alpha-privatives cf. ἀδέρκτως, | ἀφώνως, ἀλόγως (‘in a sightless, voiceless, speechless manner’, Soph. *OC* 130–1), ἀνυμέναιος | ἄλυρος ἄχορος (‘without wedding song, without lyre, without dancing’, Soph. *OC* 1221–2).

3–4: The changing nature of one’s fortunes in a single day is a tragic cliché; cf. ἡμέρα κλίνει τε κἀνάγει πάλιν | ἅπαντα τᾶνθρώπεια (‘a single day weighs down on all human affairs and lifts them back up again’, Soph. *Aj.* 131–2 with Finglass), ἔν ἡμᾶρ μ’ ὤλβισ’, ἐν δ’ ἀπώλεσεν (‘one day made me happy, another destroyed me’, Eur. *Phoen.* 1689 with Mastronarde), Aesch. *Pers.* 431–2, Soph. *El.* 1149 (with Finglass), Xanthakis-Karamanos (1980) 132. For the role of the gods in one’s fortunes see on Carcinus *Tyro* fr. 4 *TrGF*. For other examples of juxtapositions of εὐτυχῆς and δυστυχῆς (vel sim.) cf. ἄρ’ εὐτυχεῖς οὖν τοῖς γάμοις ἢ δυστυχεῖς; (‘are you fortunate or unfortunate in your marriage?’, Eur. *Phoen.* 424), Eur. *Med.* 601.

Fragment 6 – Lys. *Against Mnesimachus* fr. 235 Carey (= Harp. κ 15 Dindorf, transl.

based on Xanthakis-Karamanos (1980) 137, Wright (2016) 233)

περὶ δὲ τοῦ τῆς τραγωιδίας ποιητοῦ τοῦ Ξενοκλέους υἱοῦ Λυσίας ἐν τῷ πρὸς Μνησίμαχόν φησι·
συντίθεται δὲ τούτοις καὶ Καρκίνος ὁ ποιητῆς εἰπὼν

οὐ κείνος ἐξέστησε· τὰς γὰρ ἐμφύτους

ὀρθῶς παγείσας –υ–x– φρένας

οὐδεὶς ἐπαίρει καιρὸς ἐξαμαρτάνειν

Lysias speaks about the tragic poet, the son of Xenocles (i.e. Carcinus) in his *Against Mnesimachus*;

Carcinus the poet adds to these things having said

That man did not drive him out (of his senses); for there is no right moment

that could persuade inborn, rightly fixed minds ...

to go astray

The text of fr. 6 is defective, with five syllables missing from the middle of line 2; no plausible emendation has been suggested. Since the sentiment of the first three words of line 1 is expanded by the rest of fr. 6, the direct object of ἐξέστησε was most likely related to minds (e.g. φρένας) and found in the now-lost previous line (thus Xanthakis-Karamanos (1980) 137). For ἐξίστημί τινα φρενῶν (vel sim.) cf. Eur. *Bacch.* 359, 850, *Or.* 1021, Xanthakis-Karamanos (1980) 137.

Fragment 7 – Stob. 3.33.1

Καρκίνου

πολλοῖς γὰρ ἀνθρώποισι φάρμακον κακῶν

σιγή, μάλιστα δ' ἐστὶ σῶφρονος τρόπου

Carcinus

For many people silence is the remedy of evils,

and in particular is the mark of sound mind

For the value of silence cf. πόλλ' ἔχει σιγῇ καλὰ ('silence has many benefits', Soph. *Aleadae* fr. 81 *TrGF*), Aesch. *Ag.* 548, Dionysius I fr. 6 *TrGF*, Xanthakis-Karamanos (1980) 140. Silence is perhaps viewed as a remedy for evil since it prevents men from making a situation worse. Silence can, however, also precede catastrophe; cf. Soph. *Ant.* 1244–5, *Tr.* 813–14.

Fragment 8 – Stob. 3.38.18

Καρκίνου

χαίρω σ' ὀρώων φθονοῦντα, τοῦτ' εἰδὼς ὅτι
ἐν δρᾷ μόνον δίκαιον ὦν ποιεῖ φθόνος·
λυπεῖ γὰρ αὐτὸ κτῆμα τοὺς κεκτημένους

3 αὐτὸ Wakefield: αὐτὸ τὸ codd.

Carcinus

**I delight seeing that you are envious, knowing this that
envy does this one thing right of all the things which it does;
namely that this very possession grieves its possessors**

For similar beliefs that envy causes harm to those who are jealous cf. φθόνος δ' ὁ πολλῶν φρένα διαφθείρων βροτῶν | ἀπώλεσ' αὐτὸν κάμῃ συνδιώλεσεν ('envy which corrupts the mind of many men has destroyed him, and destroyed me with him', Eur. *Oedipus* fr. 551 *TrGF*), Arist. *EN* 1108b 4–5, Xen. *Mem.* 3.9.8, Slane and Dickie (1993) 496–7. For other instances of individuals gaining pleasure from their opponent feeling this self-inflicted suffering cf. τούτων δ' αἴτιος ὁ φθόνος, ὧι τοῦτο μόνον ἀγαθὸν πρόσεστιν, ὅτι μέγιστον κακὸν τοῖς ἔχουσίν ἐστιν ('envy is the cause of these things, which has this solitary advantage, that it causes the greatest harm to its possessor', Isoc. *Evagoras* 6 with Saïd (2003) 218–25), Philemon fr. 131 *PCG*, Slane and Dickie (1993) 496–7; the similarities

in sentiment and expression between fragment 8 and Isoc. *Evagoras* 6 suggests that Carcinus plagiarised Isocrates or vice versa. For other advantages of envy see further Most (2003) 138–9, Fisher (2003) 198–202, Cairns (2003) 242–50. τοῦτ' εἰδῶς ὅτι is emphatic anticipation; cf. Soph. *El.* 988. Line 3 is metrically defective, with its repetition of το in αὐτό and τό and of κτημ- in κτήμα and κεκτημένους deemed textually suspect (thus Ellis (1895) 106, Tucker (1904) 384). τὸ is most likely a dittography and should be removed (thus Wakefield *ap.* Nauck). The repetition of κτημ- in κτήμα and κεκτημένους may be word play.

Fragment 9 – Stob. 4.31.60

Καρκίνου

<...>

<Εὐριπίδου Φοινισσῶν>

— δειλὸν ἐσθ' ὁ πλοῦτος καὶ φιλόψυχον κακόν

Carcinus

<...>

<Euripides *Phoenissae*>

Wealth is an evil that makes people cowards who cling to their lives

Except for ἐσθ' and the omitted εἰσορῶ, fr. 9 is identical to Eur. *Phoen.* 597 – εἰσορῶ, δειλὸν δ' ὁ πλοῦτος καὶ φιλόψυχον κακόν ('I am looking, but wealth is an evil that makes people cowards who cling to their lives'). Since tragedians do not seem to have appropriated verses from other tragic poets, fr. 9 is unlikely to belong to Carcinus. Instead, it is most likely an adapted version of Eur. *Phoen.* 597; perhaps εἰσορῶ was omitted and δ' was altered to ἐσθ' to make the line fit the source from which Stobaeus quoted. Attribution of Eur. *Phoen.* 597 to Carcinus has most likely arisen through the omission of a lemma for Eur. *Phoen.* 597 in the manuscripts of Stobaeus' *Anthologium*. A lacuna should also be inserted after

Καρκίνου and before Εὐριπίδου Φοινισσῶν containing a now-lost quotation from Carcinus. The missing verses would have been related to the topic of 4.31 – ἐπαινός πλούτου (‘the praise of wealth’). For wealth as a source of cowardice, ‘a traditional stereotype’ (Mastronarde on Eur. *Phoen.* 597) cf. νῆ τὸν Δί’, ἀλλὰ καὶ λέγουσι πάντες ὡς | δειλότατόν ἐσθ’ ὁ πλοῦτος (by Zeus, everyone says that there is nothing more cowardly than wealth, Ar. *Plut.* 202–3), Eur. *Archelaus* fr. 235 *TrGF*, Pl. *Rep.* 590b; for the negative effects of wealth in general cf. Eur. *Phoen.* 566, Ar. *Plut.* 107–9, Xanthakis-Karamanos (1980) 155.

Fragment 10 – Stob. 4.31.63

Καρκίνου

ὁ πολλὰ πλοῦτος δυστυχέστατος κυρῶν,

ὅμως μέγιστον ζῆλον ἐν βροτοῖς ἔχει

ὁ Grotius: ὦ codd.

Carcinus

Although wealth is most unfortunate in many respects,

it is still the greatest source of envy among mortals

The vocative ὦ (showing direct address) alongside the nominative πλοῦτος and the third person ἔχει suggests that the text of fr. 10 is defective. ὦ is most likely textually suspect (thus Grotius, Nauck) and should perhaps be emended to ὁ (thus Grotius), requiring minimal alteration to the manuscripts. For wealth causing envy cf. Soph. *OT* 380–2 with Finglass, Xen. *Cyr.* 8.2.19, for the negative aspects of wealth see on fr. 9.

Fragment 11 – Stob. 3.29.31 (transl. Collard and Cropp)

Καρκίνου

οὐδεὶς ἔπαινον ἡδοναῖς ἐκτήσατο

Καρκίνου *MA*: Εὐριπίδου *S*

Carcinus

No-one has earned praise through indulging in pleasures

In manuscripts *M* and *A* of Stobaeus' *Anthologium*, fr. 11 is attributed to Carcinus whereas in manuscript *S* it is assigned to Euripides as fr. 1043. Attribution to Euripides has been favoured by Nauck and by Wachsmuth and Hense, who suggest that a lacuna should be inserted after Carcinus' name in manuscripts *M* and *A* followed by a lemma reading Εὐριπίδου. The above verse is, however, more likely to belong to Carcinus, since fr. 11 is followed by two quotations from Euripides, suggesting that the copyist of manuscript *S* has most likely erroneously inserted Euripides' name before fr. 11 through confusion with the Euripidean verses which follow. For similar sentiments to fr. 11 cf. Eur. *Archelaus* fr. 238 *TrGF*.

Chaeremon

Introduction

Life and career

The few details which we have about Chaeremon are known only through analysing fourth-century writers who quote from or discuss Chaeremon and his plays. Among these are Menander, who has Daos quote *Achilles Killing Thersites* fr. 2 and fr. 42 in *Aspis*,⁶²⁰ Nicostratus, who also uses *Achilles Killing Thersites* fr. 2,⁶²¹ Eubulus, who cites fr. 17,⁶²² and Ehippus, who mocks Chaeremon for bringing cups to dinner parties;⁶²³ this is most likely a joke about Chaeremon's excessive drinking. Hence Chaeremon was active in Athens, if not Athenian himself, and probably a contemporary of these poets (so active at some point between the 370s and 330s).

Nine plays are known: *Alphesiboia*, *Achilles Killing Thersites*, *Dionysus*, *Thyestes*, *Io*, *Centaur*, *Minyae*, *Odysseus*, and *Oeneus*; *Centaur* was most likely a satyr drama.⁶²⁴ Of three further titles assigned to Chaeremon, *Thersites* is almost certainly an abbreviated form of *Achilles Killing Thersites*,⁶²⁵ as *Achilles* may be too (although *Θερσιτοκτόνος* might distinguish *Achilles Killing Thersites* from a second play entitled *Achilles*),⁶²⁶ while *Traumatias* is most likely incorrectly assigned to Chaeremon by Athenaeus, who seems to have intended to attribute it to Alexis instead. Confusion exists over the performance context of Chaeremon's plays, since Aristotle lists Chaeremon among the 'poets whose works are

⁶²⁰ 411, 425–6.

⁶²¹ *Pandrosus* fr. 18.4 PCG.

⁶²² Fr. 128 PCG.

⁶²³ *Ephebes* fr. 9 PCG, οὐ κύλικας ἐπὶ τὰ δεῖπνα Χαιρήμων φέρει.

⁶²⁴ Thus Capps (1895) 301.

⁶²⁵ Thus Bartsch (1843) 35.

⁶²⁶ Cf. e.g. Sophocles' *Ajax the Locrian* and *Ajax* and *Philoctetes* and *Philoctetes at Troy*.

suitable to reading'.⁶²⁷ The lack of fourth-century didascalical evidence has led to the suggestion that Chaeremon's plays were written with the intention either of being read privately or for public recitation.⁶²⁸ Nonetheless, most of Chaeremon's plays were probably staged, as Aristotle's remark does not preclude the possibility of performance,⁶²⁹ though some of Chaeremon's fragments (e.g. fr. 14b) were probably composed primarily for a reader.⁶³⁰ The idea that Chaeremon wrote one of the prologues to Euripides' *Iphigenia in Aulis*, given the prevalence of Euripidean diction and stylistic features in his fragments, has little merit, since other fourth-century tragedians used Euripidean tropes.⁶³¹

Chaeremon's verses indicate his innovative nature as a poet. The association of the iambic pentameter hypercatalectic or chaeremonion metre with Chaeremon suggests his creation or prolific use of this metre and demonstrates his metrical experimentalism.⁶³² Moreover, his combination, in *Centaur*, of the dactylic hexameter, iambic trimeter, and trochaic tetrameter, metres previously thought unsuited to use alongside one another,⁶³³ shows his willingness to defy established poetic convention. Chaeremon's innovative nature extended to language and style, with his verses containing seven hapaxes,⁶³⁴ demonstrating his abilities as a wordsmith. He composed an acrostic which comprises several philosophical maxims combined to spell out his own name (fr. 14b) and employed puns, such as that on Pentheus' name in *Dionysus* fr. 4a. Chaeremon's fragments also contain two sensual descriptions of women. In *Alphesiboia* fr. 1, Chaeremon tells of a woman whose skin is white

⁶²⁷ βαστάζονται δὲ οἱ ἀναγνωστικοί, οἷον Χαιρήμων (ἀκριβῆς γὰρ ὡς περ λογογράφος), καὶ Λικύμνιος τῶν διθυραμβοποιῶν (*Rhet.* 1413b 12–14).

⁶²⁸ Thus Paton (1908) 415, Allan (1980) 244–6.

⁶²⁹ Thus Crusius (1902) 382–7, Collard (1970) 25.

⁶³⁰ Thus Pacelli (2016) 39.

⁶³¹ Pace Page (1934) 138–40.

⁶³² Fragm. Bobiensis, *De Versibus* 620.7 = fr. 43.

⁶³³ Arist. *Poet.* 1459b 31–1460a 2 = *Centaur* fr. 9b.

⁶³⁴ κηροχρῶτος ('with waxen skin', *Alphesiboia* fr. 1.5); τριέλιξ ('triple coils', *Dionysus* fr. 7); ὄξυφεγγής ('bright beaming', *Thyestes* fr. 8); σεληνόφως ('moonlight', *Oeneus* fr. 14.1); ἐξεπεσφραγίζετο ('it impressed itself', *Oeneus* fr. 14.10); μελανόφυλλος ('black leafy', *Oeneus* fr. 14.13); ῥιζοφοίτητος ('shooting forth roots', fr. 39).

until she blushes (1–4) and whose hair is curly and dances in the breeze (5–7). In *Oeneus* fr. 14, Chaeremon describes a group of women, with one exposing her breast, another baring her left-hand side, a third showing her hands and forearms and embracing the neck of a fourth woman, who is showing her thighs (1–11); the women then dance before falling down exhausted (12–17).⁶³⁵ Finally, Chaeremon deploys pithy philosophical sentiments in his fragments, with twenty-five of his forty-three fragments conveying a maxim. Admittedly, the prevalence of these last two themes is due to the sources in which they are preserved, with Athenaeus compiling quotations from Chaeremon about women in his *Deipnosophistae* and Stobaeus collecting all the philosophical sentiments.⁶³⁶ Nonetheless, these quotations afford an insight into the nature of Chaeremon’s poetry and may still be of some use in determining Chaeremon’s interests as a poet. For instance, Stobaeus’ citation of twenty-three fragments from Chaeremon is far higher than from any other fourth-century tragedian, showing that Chaeremon was particularly capable of providing succinct philosophical sentiments suited to quotation.⁶³⁷

Reaction and reception

Fourth-century reaction to Chaeremon and his plays was largely positive. As previously mentioned, Menander’s *Aspis* cites two verses from Chaeremon’s plays, *Achilles Killing Thersites* fr. 2 and fr. 42.⁶³⁸ Since the section of Menander’s *Aspis* in which these two verses are found comprises quotations from various fifth and fourth-century tragedians to create a mock tragic tone, Menander must have considered these verses as stereotypically tragic. Moreover, Menander’s juxtaposition of fr. 42 with verses from Euripides’ *Orestes* shows that

⁶³⁵ See introduction.

⁶³⁶ Thus Collard (1970) 29.

⁶³⁷ Wright (2016) 123.

⁶³⁸ 411, 425–6.

Menander considered Chaeremon's plays equally worthy of being quoted as his fifth-century counterparts.⁶³⁹ Chaeremon is also mentioned by a variety of fourth-century prose writers, including Demosthenes,⁶⁴⁰ Apollodorus,⁶⁴¹ Plato,⁶⁴² and Theophrastus, who cites fr. 16 in his *Eroticus* and fr. 39 in his *Historia Plantarum*,⁶⁴³ using Chaeremon's description of the date palm to support his statement that its wood produces the foulest smoke. In addition, Aristotle quotes *Dionysus* fr. 4a in his *Rhetoric* as an example of puns based on names and fr. 16 in the *Problemata* to illustrate how wine changes the characteristics of those who consume it.⁶⁴⁴ In his *Poetics*, Aristotle notes that Chaeremon mixes together various metres in his *Centaur*.⁶⁴⁵

The reception of Chaeremon and his plays in the centuries after his death was similarly largely positive. Between the third and first centuries BC, Chaeremon's works were quoted and discussed by a variety of writers. Chaeremon's *Achilles Killing Thersites* fr. 2 was quoted in a letter supposedly from Alexander the Great to Polyidus dated to the second century BC⁶⁴⁶ and was paraphrased by Cicero in his *Tusculan Disputations*.⁶⁴⁷ Fr. 14b is found on a papyrus dated to between 280 and 250 BC,⁶⁴⁸ possibly part of a gnomic anthology and the plot of Chaeremon's *Minyae* was possibly mentioned in Philodemus' *De Pietate*.⁶⁴⁹ Elsewhere, however, Philodemus is critical of Chaeremon, arguing that his works provide no benefit and listing him as an example of a wretched poet.⁶⁵⁰ Evidence also exists for the reperformance of Chaeremon's tragedies during this period. An inscription from Tegea dated to the second century BC records that an actor was victorious at the Naia, a festival in honour

⁶³⁹ *Asp.* 424–5; thus Wright (2016) 125, see introduction.

⁶⁴⁰ 2.22 = *Achilles Killing Thersites* fr. 2.

⁶⁴¹ [Dem.] 59.11 = *Achilles Killing Thersites* fr. 3.

⁶⁴² *Leg.* 709b = *Achilles Killing Thersites* fr. 2.

⁶⁴³ *Eroticus* fr. 107 Wimmer, *Hist. Pl.* 5.9.4.

⁶⁴⁴ *Rhet.* 1400b 17–25, [*Pr.*] 3.16 837a.24–7.

⁶⁴⁵ *Poet.* 1447b 20–3, 1459b 31–1460a 2 = *Centaur* fr. 9a, b.

⁶⁴⁶ PSI 1285 col. II.16.

⁶⁴⁷ 5.9.25.

⁶⁴⁸ P.Hib. 2.224; dating owed to Turner (1955b) 149.

⁶⁴⁹ 87a S37.7–17 Phillipson = *Minyae* fr. 12a.

⁶⁵⁰ Περὶ Ποιημάτων fr. h, m Sbordone.

of Zeus Naios, at Dodona between 276 and 219 BC with a reperformance of Chaeremon's *Achilles*, perhaps *Achilles Killing Thersites*.⁶⁵¹ In addition, Chaeremon's *Achilles Killing Thersites* and *Io* may have inspired Ennius' *Penthesilea* and Accius' *Io* respectively,⁶⁵² since both of Chaeremon's plays are the only known tragedies on these myths. The reperformance of Chaeremon's *Achilles* and the possible use of his *Achilles Killing Thersites* and *Io* by Roman playwrights shows that Chaeremon's plays were part of the dramatic tradition long after Chaeremon's death.

From the Greek Imperial period onwards, writers continued to quote from Chaeremon's plays, highlighting in particular Chaeremon's stylistic features and various philosophical sentiments from his plays. His most frequently cited passage is, once again, *Achilles Killing Thersites* fr. 2, quoted by Plutarch as the opening line of *De Fortuna*,⁶⁵³ Libanius,⁶⁵⁴ and an ostrakon dated to the second century AD,⁶⁵⁵ which incorrectly assigns this verse to Euripides. The authors who most often cite Chaeremon are, however, Athenaeus and Stobaeus, with Athenaeus compiling a variety of quotations from Chaeremon's plays to illustrate Chaeremon's techniques in describing women and flowers and with Stobaeus quoting a variety of philosophical maxims from Chaeremon's plays. In both instances, Athenaeus and Stobaeus provide limited information about the verses they cite, with Athenaeus just naming the play a quotation comes from and occasionally providing information about its speaker and Stobaeus only able to assign verses to Chaeremon. A similar situation is found in the *Suda*, which only lists Chaeremon's plays and erroneously labels him a comic poet.⁶⁵⁶ Since the *Suda* gives the titles of plays cited in Athenaeus' *Deipnosophistae* and explicitly cites Athenaeus, the *Suda* was entirely reliant on Athenaeus'

⁶⁵¹ *IG* v 2, 118.11–13; thus *TrGF* 1 p. 217.

⁶⁵² Thus Capps (1895) 299.

⁶⁵³ 97c; Plutarch also quotes fr. 16 (*De Pyth. or.* 406b).

⁶⁵⁴ *Lib.* 25.11.

⁶⁵⁵ Gr.Ostr. 1226 = Debut 203.

⁶⁵⁶ *Su.* χ 170 Adler; thus Bartsch (1843) 11–17.

Deipnosophistae for its knowledge of this poet, thus explaining the lack of information in the *Suda*'s entry for Chaeremon, especially in comparison to the *Suda*'s entries on Astydamos II, Carcinus II, and Theodectas.

Chaeremon's plays continued to be quoted and discussed beyond the ancient world, though these later references are dependent on sources which cite Chaeremon rather than manuscripts of his plays.⁶⁵⁷ Eustathius paraphrases *Dionysus* fr. 5, *Thyestes* fr. 8, *Io* fr. 9, and *Odysseus* fr. 13,⁶⁵⁸ Tzetzes cites the first verse of fr. 23⁶⁵⁹ and Georgius Pachymeres, a thirteenth-century writer, paraphrases the second line of fr. 23.⁶⁶⁰ Admittedly, Pachymeres gives a garbled version of fr. 23.2 and he appears confused over the identity of Chaeremon, believing him to be a general, but the transmission of fr. 23.2 as late as the thirteenth century nonetheless shows an awareness of Chaeremon's verses beyond antiquity. In addition, Chaeremon's *Centaur* was discussed by the fifteenth-century Italian scholar Politian (1454–94) in his commentary on Statius' *Silvae*, where Politian uses Aristotle's comments on the polymetric style of Chaeremon's *Centaur* to illustrate the nature of Statius' work – '[Statius' *Silvae*] is just like Chaeremon's *Centaur*, which Aristotle recalls, because it was a work composed from all types of metres. But all of these poems can be called by one shared name [i.e. poem], just as Statius' *Silvae* is a singular work'.⁶⁶¹

⁶⁵⁷ Other fourth-century tragedians who were discussed after antiquity include Antiphon, Dionysius I, and Diogenes of Sinope.

⁶⁵⁸ *Od.* 1.381.43–5.

⁶⁵⁹ *Iamb.* 143.

⁶⁶⁰ *Progymnasmata* 3.21 = fr. 40.

⁶⁶¹ 'ut Centaurus ille Chaeremonis, cuius Aristoteles meminit, quod opus mixtum ex omni genere metrorum erat. Sed haec omnia uno communi nomine poemata appellari possunt, quemadmodum et singulae Statii Sylvae' ((1480) 59, cited by Mengelkoch (2010) 88).

Commentary

ΑΛΦΕΣΙΒΟΙΑ

Fragment 1 – Athen. 13.608d

ἐπικατάφορος δὲ ὢν ὁ ποιητὴς οὗτος ἐπὶ τὰ ἄνθη καὶ ἐν Ἀλφειβοίαι φησὶν

καὶ σώματος μὲν †ὄψεις κατειργάζετο†

στίλβουσα λευκῶι †χρώματι† διαπρεπῆς.

αἰδῶς δ' ἐπερρύθμιζεν ἠπιώτατον

ἐρύθημα λαμπρῶι προστιθεῖσα χρώματι·

κόμαι δὲ κηροχρῶτος ὡς ἀγάλματος

5

αὐτοῖσι βοστρύχοισιν ἐκπεπλασμένου

ξουθοῖσιν ἀνέμοις ἐνετρύφων φορούμεναι

2 στίλβουσα Collard: στίλβοντα codd.

And because this poet [i.e. Chaeremon] was keen on flowers, he also says in his *Alphesiboia*

And conspicuous she †cultivated sights† of her body

gleaming with her white †complexion†.

And shame recast her,

placing a most gentle rouge upon her radiant skin;

and her hair, as if it belonged to a statue with waxen skin

5

completely fashioned, even down to the curls, was luxuriant

as it was borne along by the rustling breezes

Chaeremon's *Alphesiboia* must have presented an episode from Alcmeon's time at Psophis, either his arrival there, his purification from madness, and his wedding to Alphesiboia⁶⁶² or Alphesiboia's revenge on Alcmeon after he deserted her for Callirhoe.⁶⁶³ Fr. 1 is consistent

⁶⁶² Thus Xanthakis-Karamanos (1979) 71.

⁶⁶³ Thus Collard (1970) 26, 31.

with either hypothesis, though confusion has arisen over Athenaeus' introductory comment to these verses, with some believing that Athenaeus' statement that Chaeremon was fond of flowers means that fr. 1 describes a flower.⁶⁶⁴ A number of features of fr. 1, however, indicate that Chaeremon is describing a human rather than a flower, such as blushing and the simile of the statue, both of which are never used of flowers, but are found in relation to humans. Perhaps ἐπικατάφορος δὲ ὦν ὁ ποιητῆς οὗτος ἐπὶ τὰ ἄνθη should be moved to precede the next quotation in this section of Athenaeus' *Deipnosophistae*,⁶⁶⁵ which is Chaeremon *Io* fr. 9, describing flowers; this would leave καὶ ἐν Ἀλφειβοίαι φησὶν, showing that Athenaeus is continuing to quote passages from Chaeremon's corpus which discuss women.⁶⁶⁶ The effusiveness of the description of the woman's beauty, unparalleled in tragedy, suggests that the speaker is in love with her and is perhaps Alcmeon. For Alpheisiboia and Alcmeon in drama see on Astydamos' *Alcmeon*.

Fragment 1

1–2: ὄψεις κατειργάζετο and χρώματι are metrically defective and thus corrupt; no convincing emendations for either line have been suggested. It is, however, nonetheless clear that lines 1–2 explore the attractiveness of the whole body of the woman being described, focusing on her white skin; this is subsequently contrasted with focus on specific parts on the woman's body. Since Athenaeus' introductory comments indicate that the speaker is describing a woman, στίλβοντα as found in the manuscripts of the *Deipnosophistae* should be emended to στίλβουσα (thus Collard (1970) 31). For the attractiveness of pale skin cf. Eur. *Bacch.* 457–9, Hom. *Il.* 11.573, *Od.* 6.237, Theoc. *Id.* 11.19–20. στίλβω usually describes the bodies of athletes; cf. Achaeus *Athla* fr. 4.3 *TrGF*.

⁶⁶⁴ Thus Snell (1971) 165–6.

⁶⁶⁵ Thus Xanthakis-Karamanos (1980) 81.

⁶⁶⁶ Cf. *Oeneus* fr. 14.

3–4: Line 3 is a three-word trimeter; cf. [Aesch.] *PV* 661, Soph. *Aj.* 454, 820, Stanford (1940) 8–10. For women blushing in response to modesty or shame cf. Sappho fr. 105a Voigt with Griffith (1989b) 60, Virg. *Aen.* 12.65–6, Bradley (2004) 117–21; the blush of the woman described in fr. 1 shows that she has not only an aesthetic beauty, but a moral attractiveness as well. For ἐπερρύθμιζεν cf. Pl. *Leg.* 802b, Luc. 28.12. For ἐρύθημα (vel sim.) used of blushing cf. ἐρύθημα προσώπου (‘redness of my face’, Eur. *Phoen.* 1488), παρθενικὰς ἐρύθηνε παρηίδας (‘[Hypsipyle] blushed in her maiden cheeks’, Ap. Rh. 1.791). The juxtaposition of ἐρύθημα beside λαμπρῶι, most likely meaning white (thus Collard (1970) 31), further emphasises the woman’s blush; for similar colour contrasts cf. πρέπουσι δ’ ἄνδρες νάιοι μελαγχίμοις | γυίοισι λευκῶν ἐκ πεπλωμάτων ἰδεῖν (‘the men on board the ship are conspicuously visible, their black limbs set against white garments’, Aesch. *Supp.* 719–20, transl. Sommerstein), ὦ νύξ μέλαινα, χρυσέων ἄστρων τροφέ (‘o black night, nurse of golden stars’, Eur. *El.* 54), Soph. *Ant.* 1092–3.

5–7: For the focus on hair in descriptions of beauty cf. καὶ δὲ κάρητος | οὐλας ἦκε κόμας, ὑακινθίνωι ἄνθει ὁμοίᾳς (‘and [Athena] made [Odysseus’] hair flow from his head in curls like the hyacinth’, Hom. *Od.* 6.230–1, 23.157–8), Hom. *Il.* 1.197. For statue similes and metaphors in tragedy cf. αἰ δὲ σάρκες αἰ κεναὶ φρενῶν | ἀγάλματ’ ἀγορᾶς εἰσιν (‘bodies that are devoid of sense are just statues in the agora’, Eur. *El.* 387–8), μαστοὺς τ’ ἔδειξε στέρνα θ’ ὡς ἀγάλματος | κάλλιστα (‘and she showed her breast and bosom as fair as a statue’, Eur. *Hec.* 558–61, transl. Coleridge), παρθένου δ’ εἰκῶ τίνα, | ἐξ αὐτομόρφων λαίνων τυκισμάτων | σοφῆς ἄγαλμα χειρός (‘what maiden’s likeness [do I see], a statue carved by an expert hand to her very form in stone?’, Eur. *Andromeda* fr. 125 *TrGF*, transl. Collard and Cropp). Chaerephon’s description of the woman’s hair incorporates these hitherto uncombined motifs into one simile in this fragment. κηροχρῶτος is a hapax and together with ἐκπεπλασμένου indicates that the statue with which the woman is compared is made of

wax; for πλάσσω used in relation to malleable materials cf. Hes. *Op.* 70, Dem. 4.26. Some (e.g. Collard (1970) 31) argue that ξουθοῖσιν illustrates the attractiveness of the shade of one's hair (cf. Aesch. *Ag.* 1142, *Ar. Av.* 676 of ξουθός used of colour), since windswept hair cannot be rendered on free-standing statues. Others suggest that Chaeremon is describing the attractiveness of hair flowing in the breeze, given that ξουθοῖσιν cannot refer to colour in this line as it describes the winds (thus Dawe (1984) 63), a colourless entity, and since, given the malleability of the material, windswept hair could probably be easily achieved on wax figures (thus Mattusch (1988) 20). Chaeremon is probably evoking both meanings (thus Xanthakis-Karamanos (1980) 83), using ξουθοῖσιν to create image of hair tousled by the breezes and to continue the use of colour found earlier in this fragment. Chaeremon's comparison of the woman's hair moving in the breeze to that found on a statue is also paradoxical, since the hair on a statue cannot move. For ξουθός see further Silk (1983) 318–19, Dunbar on *Ar. Av.* 213–14.

ΑΧΙΛΛΕΥΣ ΘΕΡΣΙΤΟΚΤΟΝΟΣ

Fragment 2 – Stob. 1.6.7

Χαιρήμονος ἐξ Ἀχιλλέως Θερσιτοκτόνου

Τύχη τὰ θνητῶν πράγματ', οὐκ εὐβουλία

From Chaeremon's *Achilles Killing Thersites*

Fortune governs the affairs of mortals, not prudence

Fragment 3 – *Su.* ω 237 Adler

ὡς οὐχ ὑπάρχων, ἀλλὰ τιμωρούμενος

παροιμία. ὁ στίχος δέ ἐστι Χαιρήμονος ἐκ Θερσίτου

Not as an aggressor, but as one seeking revenge

A proverb. The verse is from Chaeremon's *Thersites*

Only one fragment can be securely attributed to Chaeremon's *Achilles Killing Thersites*, fr. 2, given the explicit citation of Stobaeus. A second verse, fr. 3, has also been assigned to Chaeremon's play, since the *Suda* states that it comes from Chaeremon's *Thersites*; this is almost certainly an abbreviated form of *Achilles Killing Thersites*.⁶⁶⁷ The provenance of fr. 3 is, however, less secure as it is also assigned to Aristarchus and Menander.⁶⁶⁸ Nonetheless, the proverbial nature of fr. 3 means that it is possible that Aristarchus and Chaeremon used this verse independently of one another, with Menander probably "quoting or varying" one of them.⁶⁶⁹ Hence there is little reason to doubt that fr. 3 comes from *Achilles Killing Thersites* and so it too should be assigned to this play;⁶⁷⁰ Collard's⁶⁷¹ suggestion that fr. 2 and 3 come from the same scene in Chaeremon's tragedy cannot be corroborated given the sententious nature of both fragments.

Three additional fragments are collected under *Achilles Killing Thersites* in *TrGF*, treated as belonging to this play. The first of these, numbered as fr. 1b in *TrGF*, comprises two summaries of Thersites' death at Achilles' hand, one by Proclus,⁶⁷² the other by Eustathius;⁶⁷³ these are presented by editors as the argument of Chaeremon's *Achilles Killing Thersites*.⁶⁷⁴ Although it is plausible that Chaeremon followed a similar plot outline to that found in Proclus' and Eustathius' works, Proclus and Eustathius are summarising the *Aethiopsis* rather than Chaeremon's play. This means that their relation, if any, to Chaeremon's *Achilles Killing Thersites* is unclear.

⁶⁶⁷ Thus Bartsch (1843) 35.

⁶⁶⁸ Aristarchus fr. 4 *TrGF* (= Athen. 13.612f), Men. *Olynthia* fr. 259 *PCG* (= Phot. *Lexicon* v 620). Fr. 3 also features in [Dem.] 59.11, though it is not attributed to any particular author and Kapparis rightly suspects that Apollodorus quotes fr. 3 as a proverb rather than from any of the poets to whom it is attributed.

⁶⁶⁹ Thus *PCG* vi 2 p. 176.

⁶⁷⁰ Thus Bartsch (1843) 35.

⁶⁷¹ (1970) 26.

⁶⁷² *Aethiopsis* arg. 1 *GEF*.

⁶⁷³ *Il.* 1.317.19–21.

⁶⁷⁴ Thus *TrGF* I p. 217.

The second source, numbered as fr. 1c in *TrGF*, is an Apulian volute krater attributed to the Varrese Painter, dated to the 340s. On this vase painting, Achilles and a worried Phoenix are depicted sitting in a tent, with the decapitated corpse of Thersites lying below. Agamemnon and Phorbos approach the tent from the left-hand side, with Automedon crouched below them, near the body of Thersites, while Diomedes, being restrained by Menelaus, rushes to the right of the tent, with a slave standing nearby; above the action are Pan, Poina in full Fury regalia, Athena, and Hermes. Three aspects of the vase painting suggest a dramatic origin, the porticoes holding up the roof of the tent, Agamemnon's dress, and the presence of Poina.⁶⁷⁵ Since the action on the volute krater depicts the death of Thersites, the vase painting has been attributed to Chaeremon's *Achilles Killing Thersites*.⁶⁷⁶ The character labels on the vase painting are, however, in Doric, with, for example, Athena labelled as ΑΘΑΝΑ, Hermes as ΕΡΜΑΣ, and Thersites as ΘΕΡΣΙΤΑΣ. Since vase paintings deriving from tragic sources always used Attic when labelling their characters, it seems unlikely that the artist of the volute krater would have contravened this convention, suggesting that this vase painting does not depict Chaeremon's *Achilles Killing Thersites*.⁶⁷⁷

The final source listed in *TrGF* under *Achilles Killing Thersites* as fr. 1a is an inscription dated to the third century BC, which records that an actor whose name is now unknown was victorious at Naia at Dodona at some point between 276 and 219 BC with Euripides' *Archelaus* and Chaeremon's *Achilles*, assumed to be an abbreviated version of *Achilles Killing Thersites*.⁶⁷⁸ This is a plausible suggestion, though it must be treated with caution, given that the popularity of Achilles in tragedy means that Chaeremon could have written two plays entitled *Achilles*, using the epithet Θερσιτοκτόνος to distinguish *Achilles Killing Thersites* from the *Achilles* listed in the inscription. It has also been suggested that

⁶⁷⁵ Thus Taplin (2007) 234.

⁶⁷⁶ Thus *TrGF* I p. 217, Morelli (2001).

⁶⁷⁷ Thus Paton (1908) 415, Taplin (2014) 154–5.

⁶⁷⁸ *IG* v 2, 118.11–13; thus *TrGF* I p. 217.

Chaeremon's *Achilles Killing Thersites* inspired Ennius' *Penthesilea*.⁶⁷⁹ This too is plausible, though it cannot be corroborated given the scarcity of fragments for both Chaeremon's and Ennius' plays. For Achilles in drama see on Astydamas' *Achilles*; Chaeremon's *Achilles Killing Thersites* is the only known tragedy to have presented the death of Thersites and to bear the epithet -κτόνος.

Fragment 2

In addition to Stobaeus, fr. 2 is quoted in Nicostratus *Pandrosus* fr. 19.4 *PCG*, *Men. Asp.* 411, *PSI* 1285 col. II.16, *Plut. De Fortuna* 97c, and *Lib.* 25.11 and this verse is paraphrased in *Pl. Leg.* 709b and *Dem.* 2.22. Fr. 2 is also quoted on an ostrakon (*Gr.Ostr.* 1226 = *Debut* 203) which assigns it to Euripides; the attribution of this verse to Chaeremon in every other source which quotes it indicates that Euripides did not compose fr. 2. The suggestion that this verse was used by Achilles to defend his killing of Thersites (thus Collard (1970) 26) cannot be corroborated.

For fortune governing the affairs of mortals cf. τί δ' ἄν φοβοῖτ' ἄνθρωπος ὧι τὰ τῆς τύχης | κρατεῖ, πρόνοια δ' ἐστὶν οὐδενὸς σαφής; ('what should man fear, for whom the decrees of fortune are supreme, and for whom there is no clear foresight of anything?', *Soph. OT* 977–8, transl. based on Jebb), ὧ μεταβαλοῦσα μυρίους ἤδη βροτῶν | καὶ δυστυχήσαι καὶ οὐκ αὖ πρᾶξαι καλῶς, | Τύχη ('Fortune, who changed the lives of countless mortals and who makes them unfortunate and then makes them happy again', *Eur. Ion* 1512–14), *Eur. IA* 351, *Or.* 716, *Men. Asp.* 97–148, Kyriakou on *Eur. IT* 89. For contrasts between fortune and prudence cf. οὐ τῆι φρονήσει, τῆι τύχηι δ' ἐσφάλαμεθα ('we were overcome not by prudence, but by fortune', *Agathon fr. 20 TrGF*), *Pind. Hymn to Persephone* fr. 38 Snell–Maehler, *Stevens* (1933) 107–9. Chaeremon emphasises the difference between fortune and

⁶⁷⁹ Thus Capps (1895) 299.

prudence by placing Τύχη and εὐβουλία at either end of the trimeter, making both prominent.

Fragment 3

Aristarchus presents this verse slightly differently to Chaeremon – τὰδ' οὐχ ὑπάρχων, ἀλλὰ τιμωρούμενος (fr. 4 *TrGF* = Athen. 13.612f). There is, however, no reason to emend Chaeremon's ὡς for Aristarchus' τὰδ', since fr. 3 was a proverb and thus variation is to be expected (Kapparis (1993) 247). The excuse that one has not started a quarrel and is only seeking revenge is variously used in legal disputes; cf. Antiph. 1.1–6, Dem. 21.1–7, 22.1–3.

ΔΙΟΝΥΣΟΣ

Fragment 4a – Arist. *Rhet.* 1400b 17–25

ἄλλος ἀπὸ τοῦ ὀνόματος, οἶον ὡς ὁ Σοφοκλῆς (*Tyro* fr. 658 *TrGF*)

σαφῶς σιδήρωι καὶ φοροῦσα τοῦνομα

καὶ ὡς ἐν τοῖς τῶν θεῶν ἐπαίνοις εἰώθασι λέγειν, καὶ ὡς Κόνων Θρασύβουλον θρασύβουλον

ἐκάλει, καὶ Ἡρόδικος Θρασύμαχον

ἀεὶ θρασύμαχος εἶ,

καὶ Πῶλον

ἀεὶ σὺ πῶλος εἶ,

καὶ Δράκοντα τὸν νομοθέτην, ὅτι οὐκ [ἄν] ἀνθρώπου οἱ νόμοι ἀλλὰ δράκοντος, χαλεποὶ γάρ·

καὶ ὡς ἡ Εὐριπίδου Ἐκάβη (*Tr.* 990) εἰς τὴν Ἀφροδίτην

καὶ τοῦνομ' ὀρθῶς ἀφροσύνης ἄρχει θεᾶς

καὶ ὡς Χαιρήμων

Πενθεὺς ἐσομένης συμφορᾶς ἐπώνυμος

And another topic is that from names, for instance Sophocles

you are clearly made of iron, bearing the name

and as they are accustomed to use similar techniques in praise of the gods, and as Conon used to call Thrasyboulus bold in counsel and Herodicus says of Thrasymachus

you are always bold in fighting

and of Polus

you are always a colt

and of Draco the legislator, that his laws were made not by a man, but by a serpent, since they were harsh; and as Euripides' Hecuba says against Aphrodite

the name of the goddess rightly begins from thoughtlessness

and Chaeremon

Pentheus, named after the disaster yet to come

Fragment 4b – Σ Arist. *Rhet.* 1400b 24–5 Rabe

ὡς ὁ <Χαιρήμων> λέγει, ὁ <Πενθεύς> ἐκλήθη Πενθεύς ὡς ἐπώνυμος τῆς ἐπομένης συμφορᾶς. ὁ Κάδμος γενναῖ Σεμέλην καὶ Ἰνώ· ἐκ τῆς Σεμέλης ὁ Διόνυσος. τοῦτον ὁ τοῦ Κάδμου υἱὸς ὁ Πενθεύς οὐκ ἐκάλει θεόν· βουλόμενος δὲ δεῖξαι ὁ Διόνυσος, ὡς ἔστι θεός, ἔσεισε καὶ ἐξῆλθεν ὁ Πενθεύς εἰς τὸ ὄρος καὶ διεσπάσθη ὑπὸ τῶν μαινάδων πρώτης τῆς μητρὸς καταρξαμένης τῶν σπαραγμῶν. ὁ <Χαιρήμων> ποιητὴς ἦν.

As <Chaeremon> says that <Pentheus> was called Pentheus because he was named after the disaster that was yet to befall him. Cadmus begat Semele and Ino; Dionysus was born from Semele. Pentheus, the son of Cadmus, did not recognise [Dionysus] as a god; but Dionysus wishing to prove that he was a god, caused an earthquake and Pentheus went out to the mountains and was torn limb from limb by a group of maenads, with Pentheus' mother initiating the slaughter. <Chaeremon> was a poet.

Fragment 5 – Athen. 13.608e

ἐν δὲ Διονύσῳ

χορῶν ἐραστῆς κισσός, ἐνιαυτοῦ δὲ παῖς

And in [Chaeremon's] *Dionysus*

Ivy, lover of choruses and the child of the year

Fragment 6 – Athen. 15.676f

καὶ ἐν τῷ Διονύσῳ δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς ἔφη ποιητῆς

στεφάνους τεμόντες, ἀγγέλους εὐφημίας

And in *Dionysus*, the same poet [i.e. Chaeremon] said

Having cut the garlands, the messengers of silence

Fragment 7 – Athen. 15.679f (transl. based on Olson)

καλοῦνται δὲ τινες καὶ ἐλικτοὶ στέφανοι, ὥσπερ παρὰ Ἀλεξανδρεῦσι μέχρι καὶ νῦν. μνημονεύει δ' αὐτῶν Χαιρήμων ὁ τραγωιδιοποιὸς ἐν Διονύσῳ διὰ τούτων·

κισσῶι τε ναρκίσσῳι τε τριέλικας κύκλωι

στεφάνων ἐλικτῶν

1 κύκλωι codd.: κύκλους Nauck

2 ἐλικτῶν <ὄρμαθούς> Kaibel

There are some garlands which are called *heliktoi*, as in Alexandria even today. Chaeremon the tragic poet mentions them in *Dionysus* in the following passage:

Triple coils of *heliktoi* garlands with ivy and

narcissus wound round

Only three fragments are explicitly attributed to Chaeremon's *Dionysus*, fr. 5–7; the mention of revelry or aspects associated with it (such as crowns of ivy) in each of these quotations has suggested to some that Chaeremon's *Dionysus* was a satyr drama.⁶⁸⁰ Fr. 4a, found in Aristotle's *Rhetoric*, has also been assigned to Chaeremon's *Dionysus*, given its mention of Pentheus.⁶⁸¹ If correct, the reference in this verse to disasters yet to befall Pentheus indicates that Chaeremon's *Dionysus* was a tragedy⁶⁸² and that it treated the scepticism of Pentheus

⁶⁸⁰ Thus Constantinides (1969) 53.

⁶⁸¹ Thus Welcker (1841) 1090, Bartsch (1843) 10, 36.

⁶⁸² Thus Sutton (1974) 123.

over the identity of Dionysus and Pentheus' subsequent death.⁶⁸³ This hypothesis is further confirmed by a scholium to this section of Aristotle's *Rhetoric* which describes such a plot. Two issues, however, exist with assigning fr. 4a and the accompanying scholium to Chaeremon's *Dionysus*. First, fr. 4a is not explicitly attributed to Chaeremon's *Dionysus*. Although such an attribution is plausible, many episodes from Dionysus' life other than his confrontation with Pentheus could have been treated in a play entitled *Dionysus*, with fr. 4a instead coming from a different tragedy, perhaps a hypothetical *Bacchae* play. Secondly, the details in fr. 4b correspond with the plot of Euripides' *Bacchae*, suggesting that the scholiast incorrectly recounted information about Euripides' play as if from Chaeremon's *Dionysus*.⁶⁸⁴ Nonetheless, since the attribution of fr. 4a to Chaeremon's *Dionysus* is plausible and as it is reasonable that Chaeremon and Euripides presented Dionysus' quarrel with Pentheus in a similar manner, fr. 4a and b are included under Chaeremon's *Dionysus*.

Two further fragments have also been tentatively assigned to Chaeremon's *Dionysus*, the first of which is fr. 16/15, given its praise of the positive effects of consuming wine,⁶⁸⁵ the second fr. 41, since the solution to its riddle is the grapevine.⁶⁸⁶ The attribution of either fragment to Chaeremon's *Dionysus* is, however, doubtful, with the praise of wine and discussion of the vine equally suited to a satyr drama such as Chaeremon's *Centaur*; both fragments are thus treated under *incertarum fabularum fragmenta* following *TrGF*. In the fourth century, stories about Dionysus were treated in Carcinus' *Semele*, Cleophon's *Bacchae*, and *Dionysus* plays by the comic poets Eubulus and Timocles. In fifth-century drama, Dionysus appeared in Aeschylus' *Bassarids*, *Edonians*, *Sacred Delegation*, *Lycurgus*, *Youths*, *Pentheus*, *Wool Carders*, and *Nurses of Dionysus*, Sophocles' *Dionysiskos*, and Euripides' *Bacchae*. Dionysus also featured in a number of fifth-century comedies including

⁶⁸³ Thus Nauck.

⁶⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

⁶⁸⁵ Thus Welcker (1841) 1093, Bartsch (1843) 37, 45.

⁶⁸⁶ Thus Walker (1923) 176.

Aristophanes' *Frogs* and *Banqueters*, Aristomenes' *Dionysus in Training*, Crates' *Dionysus*, Cratinus' *Dionysalexander* and *Dionysuses*, Demetrius' *Dionysus*, Eupolis' *Officers*, Magnes' *Dionysus*, and Polyzelus' *Birth of Dionysus*.

Fragment 4a

The fragment indicates that the speaker has foreknowledge of Pentheus' downfall; perhaps Dionysus delivered this line (cf. Eur. *Bacch.* 508). Alternatively, fr. 4a could have been delivered after Pentheus' death, with the speaker reflecting on how Pentheus' name was indicative of his suffering. For similar puns on Πενθεύς cf. Πενθεύς δ' ὅπως μὴ πένθος εἰσοῖσει δόμοις | τοῖς σοῖσι, Κάδμει ('Cadmus, take care that Pentheus does not bring pain into your house', Eur. *Bacch.* 367), Eur. *Bacch.* 507–8, Theoc. *Id.* 26.26. For other etymologies in tragedy cf. Κουρηῆτες εἶναι, κουρίμου χάριν τριχός ('we are Curetes, because of our shorn hair', Agathon *Thyestes* fr. 3 *TrGF*, transl. Olson), Soph. *Aj.* 430–1 with Finglass, Diggle on Eur. *Phaethon* fr. 781.12–13 *TrGF*, Platnauer on Eur. *IT* 32, for etymologies where the etymon is not used cf. Eur. *Ion* 8–9, *IT* 32–3.

Fragment 5

This fragment is also paraphrased in Eustathius' commentary on the *Odyssey* (1.381.43–4). Ivy was an important plant in Dionysiac worship, either worn on the heads of worshippers as crowns (cf. Eur. *Bacch.* 323) or wrapped around their thyrsi; cf. Eur. *Bacch.* 25, 81, *Anacreontea* fr. 43.5–6 West. In addition, ivy is closely associated with Dionysus, with κισσός featuring in epithets related to him; cf. κισσεύς ('wreathed with ivy', Paus. 1.31.6), κισσοφόρος ('ivy-bearing', Ar. *Thesm.* 987). The description of ivy as χορῶν ἐραστής may allude to the violent movement of the bacchants during their rituals; since the ivy was either affixed to their heads as crowns or to their thyrsi, the ivy would move as the bacchants did.

ἐνιαυτοῦ δὲ παῖς may allude to the evergreen nature of ivy (thus Dodds on Eur. *Bacch.* 81), allowing for its ready availability for use in bacchic worship throughout the year. The description of ivy as a child also corresponds with Chaeremon's personification of other plants; cf. *Io* fr. 9, *Centaur* fr. 10, *Odysseus* fr. 11.

Fragment 6

Plural τεμόντες indicates that a group of individuals, at least some male, were cutting down crowns, probably made of ivy. Perhaps this group was cutting plants to make crowns and thus supporting Dionysus or cutting down the crowns belonging to other people, showing their opposition to the god. Silence is incongruous with bacchic worship, which was generally a noisy affair (cf. Eur. *Bacch.* 151–69); perhaps the silence preceded a sacrifice (cf. Eur. *IA* 1563–4, Roux on Eur. *Bacch.* 1084–5). The description of the garlands as messengers of silence perhaps indicates that they are a visual representation that one should avoid blasphemy.

Fragment 7

The text of fr. 7 has been judged defective by some (e.g. Nauck, Kaibel), who believe that the lines do not adequately convey the sense that the crowns comprise a triple helix of ivy and narcissus; Nauck emended κύκλωι to κύκλους and Kaibel added ὀρμαθούς to the end of line 2. Neither emendation is, however, necessary, since τριέλικας indicates the triple helix nature of the crowns. *Heliktoi* garlands were made from three coils of narcissus and ivy woven together. For the association of ivy and Dionysiac worship cf. Soph. *Tr.* 218–20, Eur. *Antiope* fr. 203.2 *TrGF*. νάρκισσος is rarely found in Greek drama, with the only other occurrence of this word at Soph. *OC* 683; see Jebb on the various associations of narcissus. κισσῶι and ναρκίσσωι are alliterative. τριέλιξ is a hapax.

ΘΥΕΣΤΗΣ

Fragment 8 – Athen. 13.608f (transl. Xanthakis-Karamanos (1980) 92)

καὶ ἐν Θυέστῃ

ῥόδ' ὀξυφειγγῆ κρίνεσιν ἀργεννοῖς ὁμοῦ

And in [Chaeremon's] *Thyestes*

Bright-beaming roses together with white lilies

Suggestions for the plot of Chaeremon's *Thyestes* include Thyestes' unwitting consumption of his sons and Thyestes' inadvertent incest with his daughter in Sicyon;⁶⁸⁷ the fragment does not indicate which hypothesis is correct. For other plays about Thyestes see on Carcinus' *Thyestes*.

Fragment 8

Eustathius paraphrases fr. 8 in his commentary on the *Odyssey* (1.381.44–5). For other metaphors involving nature in *Thyestes* plays cf. Eur. *Thyestes* fr. 397b *TrGF*, Accius *Atræus* fr. 183–5 Warmington, Sen. *Thyestes* 789–875. For other juxtapositions of white lilies and red roses cf. Hdt. 1.195.2, Cratinus *Malthakoi* fr. 105.2 *PCG*. ὀξυφειγγῆς is a hapax. For ὀξύς used of colour cf. Ar. *Pax* 1173, Plut. *Cat. Min.* 6; ὀξύς may also allude to the sharp thorns of roses. ἀργεννοῖς is Aeolic and found on only one other occasion in tragedy (Eur. *IA* 574); it is, however, used more frequently as an epithet in epic (cf. Hom. *Il.* 3.141, 198, 6.424, *Od.* 17.472). Chaeremon perhaps uses the well-established epithet ἀργεννός near his own creation ὀξυφειγγῆς to lend ὀξυφειγγῆς the same epic authority as ἀργεννός or to emphasise that ὀξυφειγγῆς is Chaeremon's own creation of a standard equal to other epic epithets (thus Xanthakis-Karamanos (1980) 92).

⁶⁸⁷ Hyg. *Fab.* 87, 253; thus Collard (1970) 26.

ΙΩ

Fragment 9 – Athen. 13.608d

ἐν δὲ τῇ Ἰοῖ ἕαρος τέκνα προσηγόρευε τὰ ἄνθη

ἀνθηροῦ τέκνα

ἕαρος περίξ στρώσαντες

And in *Io*, [Chaeremon] called flowers “children of spring”

After scattering all around

the children of flowery spring

The aorist plural participle στρώσαντες in fr. 9 indicates that the subject of these verses is a group of individuals and that their actions are being recounted. Chaeremon’s *Io* probably presented part of Hera’s revenge on Io, such as the goddess’ dispatch of Argos to watch over Io or of a gadfly to irritate her.⁶⁸⁸ Collard’s suggestion that Chaeremon’s *Io* was set in a meadow is plausible if Chaeremon’s play dealt with Argos watching over Io, but cannot be corroborated.⁶⁸⁹ The designation of *Io* as a satyr drama is similarly without basis.⁶⁹⁰

A hydria by the Darius painter has also been connected with Chaeremon’s *Io*. This vase presents Argos who has fallen asleep on a panther’s skin while Zeus and Io watch on. The hydria has been associated with Chaeremon’s play on the grounds that the relaxed nature of the scene reflects Chaeremon’s style in several of his fragments.⁶⁹¹ Nonetheless, the hydria is unlikely to depict Chaeremon’s *Io*, since there is little reason to associate a vase painting with a play on grounds of style and given that little is known about Chaeremon’s *Io* to allow for a secure connection between the hydria and Chaeremon’s play. Chaeremon’s *Io* is also conjectured to have inspired Accius’ *Io* since Chaeremon’s play is the only known tragedy

⁶⁸⁸ [Hes.] *Aegimius* fr. 294.1–2 M–W, Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.1.3.

⁶⁸⁹ (1970) 26.

⁶⁹⁰ Pace Sutton (1974) 118.

⁶⁹¹ Thus Schmidt (1986) 256.

focused on Io;⁶⁹² this suggestion, though plausible, must similarly be treated with caution given the lack of evidence for the plot of either play. Chaereon's *Io* is the only known fourth-century tragedy with this title, but Anaxandrides and Anaxilas produced comedies entitled *Io*. In the fifth century, Io featured in Aeschylus' *Suppliants*, the pseudo-Aeschylean *Prometheus Bound*, Sophocles' *Inachus*, and *Io* plays by Plato Comicus and Sannyrion.

Fragment 9

This fragment is paraphrased in Eustathius' commentary on the *Odyssey* (1.381.43–4). The association between spring and flowers is well attested; cf. Hom. *Il.* 2.89, *H.Dem.* 401, *H.Pan* 17, [Aesch] *PV* 455, Eur. *Cyc.* 508. περίξ is a strengthened form of περί and an adverb most often used in tragedy (LSJ⁹ s. v. περίξ); cf. Aesch. *Pers.* 368, Eur. *Her.* 243.

KENTAYPOS

Fragment 9a – Arist. *Poet.* 1447b 20–3

ὁμοίως δὲ κἂν εἴ τις ἅπαντα τὰ μέτρα μιγνύων ποιοῖτο τὴν μίμησιν καθάπερ Χαιρήμων ἐποίησε Κένταυρον {μικτὴν ῥαψωδίαν} ἐξ ἅπάντων τῶν μέτρων, καὶ ποιητὴν προσαγορευτέον.
{μικτὴν ῥαψωδίαν} del. Else

Similarly, if one were to create his *mimesis* by mixing all of the metres, just as Chaereon composed his *Centaur* {a mixed rhapsody} from all of the metres, he must also be called a poet.

Fragment 9b – Arist. *Poet.* 1459b 31–1460a 2 (transl. based on Halliwell)

τὸ δὲ μέτρον τὸ ἥρωικὸν ἀπὸ τῆς πείρας ἤρμοκεν. εἰ γὰρ τις ἐν ἄλλῳ τινὶ μέτρῳ διηγηματικὴν μίμησιν ποιοῖτο ἢ ἐν πολλοῖς, ἀπρεπὲς ἂν φαίνοιτο· τὸ γὰρ ἥρωικὸν στασιμώτατον καὶ ὀγκωδέστατον τῶν μέτρων ἐστίν (διὸ καὶ γλώττας καὶ μεταφορὰς δέχεται μάλιστα· περιττὴ

⁶⁹² Thus Capps (1895) 299.

γὰρ καὶ ἡ διηγηματικὴ μίμησις τῶν ἄλλων), τὸ δὲ ἰαμβεῖον καὶ τετράμετρον κινητικὰ καὶ τὸ μὲν ὀρχηστικὸν τὸ δὲ πρακτικόν. ἔτι δὲ ἀτοπώτερον εἰ μιγνύοι τις αὐτά, ὥσπερ Χαιρήμων.

And as for metre, the dactylic hexameter is seen to be suitable from experience. For if one were to compose a narrative *mimesis* in some other metre or many other metres, it would be shown to be inappropriate; for the dactylic hexameter is the most stable and dignified of metres (hence why it especially allows rare words and metaphors; since narrative poetry is more out-of-the-ordinary than other kinds), but the iambic trimeter and trochaic tetrameter are suited to motion, the former fit for dancing, the latter suitable for action. Yet it is even more unnatural if one mixes them together, as Chaeremon does.

Fragment 10 – Athen. 13.608e

ἐν δὲ Κενταύρωι, ὅπερ δράμα πολύμετρον ἐστίν, λειμῶνος τέκνα

ἔνθ' αἱ μὲν αὐτῶν εἰς ἀπείρονα στρατὸν

ἀνθέων ἄλογχον ἐστράτευσαν, ἠδοναῖς

θηρώμεναι θάλλοντα λειμώνων τέκνα

And in the *Centaur*, which is a polymetric drama, [Chaeremon calls flowers] “children of the meadow”:

There some of them waged war on the endless, unarmed army

of flowers, joyfully hunting the

flourishing children of the meadows

Fragment 11 – Athen. 15.676e

οἱ γὰρ παῖδες, κατὰ τὴν Χαιρήμονος Κένταυρον

στεφάνους ἐτοιμάζουσιν, οὓς εὐφημίας

κήρυκας εὐχαῖς προὔβαλοντο δαιμόνων

For slaves, according to Chaeremon's *Centaur*

are preparing the garlands, which they set out

as heralds of silence for prayers to the gods

Although cited by Aristotle as a mixed rhapsody, Athenaeus is most likely correct in describing Chaeremon's *Centaur* as a polymetric drama.⁶⁹³ Among the reasons for categorising Chaeremon's *Centaur* as such are that Chaeremon is not known to have written any verse works other than plays and that $\mu\iota\kappa\tau\eta\nu\ \rho\acute{\alpha}\varphi\omega\iota\delta\acute{\iota}\alpha\nu$ may be a later interpolation to the text of Aristotle's treatise.⁶⁹⁴ Since *Centaur* is found as a title only in comedy, it is likely that Chaeremon's *Centaur* was a satyr drama.⁶⁹⁵ On the basis of the singular centaur mentioned in the title, it has been conjectured that Chaeremon's *Centaur* presented Chiron's education of Achilles;⁶⁹⁶ alternatively this play could have presented Heracles' visit to the centaur Pholus,⁶⁹⁷ the subject of Epicharmus' *Heracles at Pholus' House*, Dinolochus' *Pholus*, and Aristophanes' *Centaur*. Neither hypothesis can be corroborated by the surviving fragments.

Fr. 14b and 43 have also been attributed to Chaeremon's *Centaur*.⁶⁹⁸ In the case of fr. 14b, its dactylic metre is believed to correspond with Aristotle's comments about the metrical nature of Chaeremon's *Centaur* in fr. 9b⁶⁹⁹ and its presentation of gnomic sentiments reflective of Chiron's supposed presence in the play.⁷⁰⁰ Given, however, that Chiron's involvement in Chaeremon's *Centaur* is far from certain, that there is no evidence for acrostics featuring as part of Chaeremon's innovation in this play, and since the presence of dactylic hexameters in fr. 14b is in itself little reason to assign this fragment to Chaeremon's *Centaur*, fr. 14b should be considered an *incertae fabulae fragmentum*.⁷⁰¹ Similarly, since

⁶⁹³ Thus Collard (1970) 26.

⁶⁹⁴ Thus Else (1957) 58–9.

⁶⁹⁵ Thus Capps (1895) 301, Else (1957) 59, Collard (1970) 27; cf. e.g. Lynceus' and Nicochares' *Centaur*.

⁶⁹⁶ Snell (1971) 167–8.

⁶⁹⁷ Collard (1970) 27.

⁶⁹⁸ Thus Turner (1955b) 149, Snell (1971) 167, Morelli (2003) 23.

⁶⁹⁹ Nagy (2001) 143.

⁷⁰⁰ Turner (1955b) 149, Snell (1971) 167.

⁷⁰¹ Thus *TrGF* I p. 222.

Aristotle's comments on Chaeremon's innovative use of metre do not mention the creation of new metres, merely the mixing together of the iambic trimeter, trochaic tetrameter, and dactylic hexameter, the chaeremonion metre (and thus fr. 43) cannot be securely attributed to Chaeremon's *Centaur* and hence this fragment is also treated as part of the *incertarum fabularum fragmenta* in this commentary.

Two further sources have also been attributed to Chaeremon's *Centaur*, the first is a papyrus fragment dated to the second century BC and comprising an alphabetic acrostic which possibly describes Helen's travels to Troy.⁷⁰² This acrostic has been designated a dramatic fragment, since its first two lines have been seen as corresponding with the opening lines of messenger speeches in tragedies.⁷⁰³ The fragment has also been assigned to satyr drama, given its high diction in line 22 alongside reference to kottabos in line 23.⁷⁰⁴ This papyrus has been attributed to Chaeremon's *Centaur* since its use of trochaic tetrameters corresponds with the presence of such a metre in Chaeremon's play and as its acrostic format is in keeping with fr. 14b. As, however, fr. 14b cannot be securely assigned to Chaeremon's *Centaur*, the use of trochaic tetrameters remains the only grounds for assignment to Chaeremon's play and thus this papyrus cannot be attributed to Chaeremon's *Centaur*,⁷⁰⁵ lack of evidence for Chaeremon's authorship of this fragment further supports its assignment away from Chaeremon's *Centaur* and so it is not included in this commentary. The second text tentatively connected with Chaeremon's *Centaur* is Dio Chrysostom *Oration* 58,⁷⁰⁶ a classroom exchange between Chiron and Achilles believed by some to be indicative of the plot of Chaeremon's play given Chiron's supposed involvement in Chaeremon's *Centaur*.⁷⁰⁷

⁷⁰² P.Köln. 431 with Collard (2009) 10.

⁷⁰³ ἀπαγγελῶν πάρε[ιμι | βού]λομ[αι δ'] ὑμῖν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ('I am present announcing | I wish [to tell] you from the beginning', thus Collard (2009) 10); cf. ὃς ἐξ ὄρους πάρεστιν ἀγγελῶν τί σοι ('who has come from the mountain to announce something to you', Eur. *Bacch.* 658), Eur. *IA* 1541, *IT* 1306.

⁷⁰⁴ Thus Gronewald (2007) 22.

⁷⁰⁵ Thus Collard (2009) 11, 14.

⁷⁰⁶ Dio Chrys. *Or.* 58.1–2.

⁷⁰⁷ E.g. Günther (1999) 589–90, Cipolla (2003) 307.

Such an assignment is, however, insecure, based on the unsubstantiated assumption that Chaeremon's play presented Chiron's education of Achilles; so Dio Chrysostom *Oration* 58 is not included in this commentary.

In the fourth century, comedies entitled *Centaur* were written by Nicochares and Ophelio. In addition to the previously mentioned fifth-century comedies, Apollophanes wrote *Centaur*s, Epicharmus and Pherecrates produced *Chiron* comedies, and Cratinus a *Chiron*s. No *Centaur* or *Chiron* tragedies are known to have been written, with Chaeremon's *Centaur* the only known example of a play with this title by a tragic poet.

Fragment 10

αἱ indicates that the subject of these lines was a group of women, perhaps maidens or Nereids (thus Günther (1999) 584) given the satyric provenance of this fragment. ἐστράτευσαν shows that the women's actions are being recounted. For a similar scene to this fragment cf. Eur. *Hypsipyle* fr. 754 *TrGF*. The martial vocabulary in these lines may have an erotic connotation, metaphorically describing the behaviour of the women towards the flowers; cf. Sappho fr. 16, 47 Voigt, *Anacreontea* fr. 26 West. For similar descriptions of flowers to λειμώνων τέκνα cf. ἄνθη τε πλεκτά, παμφόρου γαίας τέκνα ('garlands of flowers, children of the all-bearing earth', Aesch. *Pers.* 618). λειμώνων τέκνα echoes Chaeremon's description of flowers in other fragments; cf. ἀνθηροῦ τέκνα | ἔαρος (*Io* fr. 9.1–2) and τιθήνημ' ἔαρος (*Odysseus* fr. 13.2). ἄλογχος is a hapax; it sharply contrasts with ἐστράτευσαν, showing that the women are mounting a "military" campaign against unarmed opponents. ἀπείρων is an epithet found as early as Homer, used mainly to describe the natural world; cf. ἀπείρονα γαῖαν ('boundless earth', *Il.* 7.446, 24.342, *Od.* 1.98, 5.46), πόντον ἀπείρονα ('endless sea', *Il.* 1.350, *Od.* 4.510). The use of ἄλογχος in close

proximity to ἀπείρων lends Chaeremon's creation ἄλογχος an epic authority (thus Xanthakis-Karamanos (1980) 93), echoing *Thyestes* fr. 8.

Fragment 11

ἐτοιμάζουσιν indicates that the garlands are currently being prepared whereas the aorist προὔβαλοντο shows that they have already been set out. If the garlands referred to in the main clause are the same as those in the relative clause, they must have been ready when they were set out. So the relative clause is about garlands in general, and προὔβαλοντο must have a different subject to ἐτοιμάζουσιν. Within drama, garlands can be used for revelry purposes; cf. Eur. *Bacch.* 377, 703. In these lines, however, they appropriate a solemn force, indicating silence for prayers. εὐφημίας κήρυκας echoes Chaeremon *Dionysus* fr. 6, in which almost identical phrasing is used in relation to garlands (ἀγγέλους εὐφημίας), perhaps with a similar ritualistic context; cf. fr. 10.

MINYAI

Fragment 12 – Athen. 13.608f

ἐν δὲ Μινύαις

πολλὴν ὀπώραν Κύπριδος εἰσορᾶν παρῆν,

ἄκραισι περκάζουσιν οἰνάνθαις χροά

2 χροά Wilamowitz: χρόνου codd.

And in [Chaeremon's] *Minyae*

It was possible to look upon much fruit of Aphrodite

their skin darkening with the highest grape bloom

Fragment 12a – Phld. *de pietate* 87a S37.7–17 Phillipson

Χαι-
ρήμων δ' ἐν το]ῖς Μ[ι-
νύαις ἐκ]τιθε[ῖ ...
...ὕπ' α]ὐτοῦ (sc. Διὸς) [καὶ
τῶι Προ]μηθεῖ ταλ[αι-
πωρία]ς καυμάτων
καὶ χε]ιμώνω[ν καὶ] θέ-
ρων καὶ] τῶν σπ[αρ]αγ-
μῶν κάκκ]ολάψεω[ν
ἀλγηδ]όνας συνά-
πτεσθ]αι.

And] Chae[remon

in th]e M[inyae pr]esen[ts ...

... by h]im (i.e. Zeus) [and

the p]ain from searing heat

and s]torms [and] su[mmers

and [being t]orn asunder [and pe]cking out

were a]ssociated with ha[rd labours for Pro]metheus.

Possibilities for the plot of Chaeremon's *Minyae* include Heracles' war with the Minyans⁷⁰⁸ and an episode from the Argonaut myth,⁷⁰⁹ since the Argonauts are alternatively called Μινύαι. Fr. 12a has been used to support the suggestion that Chaeremon's *Minyae* presented part of the expedition of the Argonauts, since Chaeremon's play is cited beside discussion of Prometheus' suffering, an episode found in Apollonius' *Argonautica*;⁷¹⁰ this would indicate that Chaeremon's *Minyae* treated either Prometheus' torture or an episode from after this

⁷⁰⁸ Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.4.11.

⁷⁰⁹ Thus Bartsch (1843) 38, *TrGF* 1 p. 220.

⁷¹⁰ 2.1247–59; thus *TrGF* 1 p. 220.

point in the voyage. Nonetheless, caution must be exercised in using fr. 12a to determine the plot of Chaereon's play, since much of the information in this fragment is dependent on conjecture.

In the fourth century, episodes from the Argonaut myth were treated in Aphareus' *Peliades* and Cleaenetus' *Hypsipyle* and in Nicochares', Antiphanes', and Diphilus' comedies entitled *Lemnian Women*; Diphilus also wrote *Peliades*. In the fifth century, Aeschylus produced a tetralogy about the Argonauts' stay at Lemnos (*Hypsipyle*, *Lemnian Women*, *Cabeiri*, and *Argo*),⁷¹¹ Sophocles composed a *Women of Colchis*, *The Rootcutters*, *The Scythians*, and two plays entitled *Lemnian Women*, and Euripides wrote a *Peliades* and *Hypsipyle*. Heracles' war with the Minyans is, however, only found in one tragedy, being mentioned three times in Euripides' *Heracles*.⁷¹²

Fragment 12

ὄπωρᾶν Κύπριδος may be a metaphor, describing sexual maturity (thus Collard (1970) 28); cf. Pind. *Isthm.* 2.5, Aesch. *Supp.* 998, 1015. Two fruits are associated with Aphrodite, apples and pomegranates. Aphrodite was awarded the golden apple of Strife by Paris; cf. *Cypria* arg. 1 *GEF*, Apollod. *Epit.* 3.2. She was also depicted on various statues holding this fruit; cf. Paus. 2.10.5, Philostr. *Imag.* 1.6, Aphrodite 526 *LIMC*, Venus 15. Pomegranates were associated with Aphrodite, as she was believed to have planted one on Cyprus; cf. Eriphus *Meliboia* fr. 2.11–12 *PCG*. In pre-Imperial Greek, the verb περκάζειν is used only here, Homer (*Od.* 7.126), Theophrastus (e.g. *Hist. pl.* 3.16.3), and Callimachus (*Hymn* 5.76). οἰνάνθαις is a compound word formed from οἶνος and ἄνθος and the imagery it evokes of grapes or vines hanging in clusters from trees is intensified by ἄκραισι, an adjective which

⁷¹¹ Thus Sommerstein (2009) 14.

⁷¹² Eur. *Her.* 49–50, 220–1, 560.

describes the farthest reaches of an object (cf. Soph. *Ant.* 1197, Hom. *Il.* 13.523, Finglass (2009) 223–4); for metaphorical ἄνθος see Borthwick (1976) 1–7. ἄκραισι περκάζουσιν οἰνάνθαις may further suggest that this fragment should be read as a metaphor related to sexual maturity; perhaps this phrase describes young bodies covered by hair. For skin being darkened by hair cf. οὔπω γένυσι φαίνων τέρειναν ματέρ’ οἰνάνθας ὀπώραν (‘[a boy who] does not yet show the soft season, the mother of grape bloom to his cheeks’, Pind. *Nem.* 5.6), West (1983) 80. χρόνου is textually suspect since it does not make sense syntactically; χροῖα (Wilamowitz, unpublished manuscript cited in West (1983) 80) is the likeliest emendation.

ΟΔΥΣΣΕΥΣ

Fragment 13 – Athen. 13.608e (transl. based on Olson)

περὶ δὲ ρόδων ἐν Ὀδυσσεῖ φησιν οὕτως

κόμαισιν ὠρῶν σώματ’ εὐανθῆ ῥόδα

εἶχον, τιθήνημ’ ἔαρος ἐκπρεπέστατον

1 σώματ’ codd.: θρέμματ’ Nauck: χρώματ’ Ellis

[Chaeremon] says the following about roses in his *Odysseus*

**In their hair, they wore roses, the well-flowering bodies of the seasons,
the most remarkable nursling of spring**

Bartsch⁷¹³ suggested that the title *Traumatias* attributed to Chaeremon elsewhere in the *Deipnosophistae* (13.562d–f) should be appended to *Odysseus*, with the title of Chaeremon’s play being *Odysseus Traumatias* and this tragedy treating the death of Odysseus. This hypothesis is, however, incorrect, since the fragment cited by Athenaeus from *Traumatias* is clearly comic and given that there is no other evidence for Chaeremon writing a play with the

⁷¹³ (1843) 10.

title *Traumatias*. Nonetheless, fr. 13 may indicate the plot of Chaeremon's *Odysseus*. The imperfect εἶχον shows that these verses come from an account and the plural subject of εἶχον means that fr. 13 describes a group of individuals braiding their hair with flowers. Since braiding hair was associated with women,⁷¹⁴ the subject of fr. 13 is almost certainly a group of women. It has been suggested that Chaeremon's *Odysseus* was reperformed by an unknown actor at a dramatic festival in Rhodes,⁷¹⁵ given the reperformance of his *Achilles Killing Thersites* at the Naia in Dodona; this conjecture cannot be correct since the *Odysseus* listed in the inscription is by Sophocles II.⁷¹⁶

In the fourth century, Odysseus featured in a variety of plays, with the tragedian Apollodorus composing an *Odysseus*, the comic poets Amphis, Anaxandrides, and Eubulus producing plays with the same title, and Alexis writing *Odysseus being bathed/bathing himself* and *Odysseus plotting*. In fifth-century drama, Odysseus appeared in Aeschylus' *Circe* and *Ghost Raisers*, Sophocles' *Ajax*, *Philoctetes*, *Laconian Women*, *Nausicaa*, *Odysseus Acanthoplex*, *Teucer*, *Those who dine together*, and *Men of Scyros*, Euripides' *Cyclops*, *Hecuba*, *Palamedes*, *Scyrians*, *Telephus*, and *Philoctetes*. Odysseus is also found in Epicharmus' *Odysseus*, Cratinus' *Odysseus and company*, Philyllius' *Washer Women* or *Nausicaa*, Polyzelus' *Bath Scene*, Theopompus' *Odysseus* and *Penelope*.

Fragment 13

Eustathius paraphrases fr. 13 in his commentary on the *Odyssey* (1.381.43–4). σῶματ', found in the manuscripts of Athenaeus' *Deipnosophistae*, has been variously viewed as suspect, with emendations including θρέμματ' (thus Nauck) and χρώματ' (thus Ellis (1895) 106). There is, however, no reason to doubt Athenaeus' σῶματ' (thus *TrGF* I p. 220), since

⁷¹⁴ Cf. Sappho fr. 98a.6–9 Voigt, Klinck (2008) 66.

⁷¹⁵ *IGUrbRomae* 229.3; thus Hall (2008) 508.

⁷¹⁶ Thus Sienkewicz (1976) 111.

Chaeremon’s metaphorical description of the roses as the bodies of spring and his juxtaposition of ῥόδα alongside its metaphor is a technique also found in fr. 17 (ὔδωρ τε ποταμοῦ σῶμα, ‘water, the body of the river’). For the association between roses and spring cf. ῥόδον εἶαρος μέλημα (‘rose, the darling of spring’, *Anacreontea* 44.7 West), *Cypria* fr. 5 *GEF*. In Greece, roses tend to bloom during the spring, thus explaining this connection. For the use of roses in braiding hair cf. ῥόδα τε κόμαισι μείγνυται (‘roses are mingled in their hair’, Pind. *Dith.* fr. 75.17 Snell–Maehler). τιθήνημα is rarely used, found only in this fragment and Eur. *Hypsipyle* fr. 757 col. xv.10 *TrGF*.

ΟΙΝΕΥΣ

Fragment 14 – Athen. 13.608a–b (transl. based on Olson)

καὶ ὑμῖν δέ, ὦ ἑταῖροι, λέγω ὅτι οὐδέν ἐστιν ὀφθαλμῶν οὕτως εὐφραντικὸν ὡς γυναικὸς κάλλος. ὁ γοῦν τοῦ τραγικοῦ Χαιρήμονος Οἰνεὺς περὶ παρθένων τινῶν διηγούμενος ὦν θεατὸ φησιν ἐν τῷ ὁμωνύμῳ δράματι·

ἔκειτο δ’ ἡ μὲν λευκὸν εἰς σεληνόφως

φαίνουσα μαστὸν λελυμένης ἐπωμίδος,

τῆς δ’ αὖ χορεία λαγόνα τὴν ἀριστερὰν

ἔλυσε· γυμνὴ δ’ αἰθέρος θεάμασιν

ζῶσαν γραφὴν ἔφαινε, χρῶμα δ’ ὄμμασιν 5

λευκὸν μελαίνης ἔργον ἀντηγύει σκιᾶς.

ἄλλη δ’ ἐγύμνου καλλίχειρας ὠλένας,

ἄλλης προσαμπέχουσα θῆλυν αὐχένα.

ἡ δὲ ῥαγέντων χλανιδίων ὑπὸ πτύχας

ἔφαινε μηρόν, κάξεπεσφραγίζετο 10

ῶρας γελώσης χωρὶς ἐλπίδων ἔρωσ.

ὑπνωμέναι δ' ἔπιπτον ἑλενίων ἔπι,
ἴων τε μελανόφυλλα συγκλῶσαι πτερὰ
κρόκον θ', ὃς ἠλιῶδες εἰς ὑφάσματα
πέπλων σκιᾶς εἶδωλον ἐξωμόργυτο, 15
ἔρσηι δὲ θαλερὸς ἐκτραφεὶς ἀμάρακος
λειμῶσι μαλακοὺς ἐξέτεινεν αὐχένας

And I tell you, friends, that there is nothing so pleasing to the eyes as the beauty of a woman. For example, the Oeneus of the tragic poet Chaeremon, while describing some women he has watched, says in the play named after him [i.e. *Oeneus*]:

**One girl was lying down with cloak loosened
showing her white breast to the moonlight,
and the dancing of a second girl revealed
her left-hand side; and naked she appeared
as a living picture to the sight of the sky, and her white complexion 5
shone in my eyes contrasted against the effect of the dark shades.
And another laid bare her beautiful hands and forearms,
embracing the tender neck of another woman.
And she with cloak torn asunder beneath the folds
showed her thigh, and love without hope 10
for her smiling beauty impressed itself upon me.
And exhausted they fell down onto carmint,
and crushing the black leafy petals of the violet
and the crocus, which rubbed off the image of shade resembling sunlight
into the folds of their cloaks, 15
and the stout marjoram raised on dew
stretched out its tender stalks in the meadows**

The title of Chaeremon's *Oeneus* suggests that it presented Oeneus being deposed from the throne of Calydon by Agrius, and Diomedes' attempts to restore Oeneus as king.⁷¹⁷ Fr. 14 may confirm this hypothesis and contribute to our knowledge of the plot of Chaeremon's play. These verses form an account, given the past tense verbs found throughout fr. 14. Oeneus' reference to several aspects of bacchic revelry, such as dancing (3), split cloaks (9), and subsequent exhaustion (12), suggests that the women whose actions he is describing are maenads in the midst of bacchic worship.⁷¹⁸ Fr. 14 may thus be an account of the means through which Diomedes distracted Agrius and liberated Oeneus from imprisonment.⁷¹⁹ Alternatively, Oeneus could be describing the refuge of his wife Periboia among bacchantes, which Periboia sought when trying to avoid capture by Agrius.⁷²⁰

A group of papyrus fragments dated to the third century BC and comprising sixty verses has also been associated with Chaeremon's *Oeneus*.⁷²¹ Most of these fragments are too lacunose for reconstruction, but fr. a of this papyrus group contains discussion of the funeral rites of Meleager, brother or uncle of the speaker; cf. ἀδ]ελφ[ῶ]ι Μελεάγρωι (fr. a.5). Given mention of Meleager and description of him as the speaker's brother or uncle, it has been suggested that the play from which these fragments come focused on Meleager's father Oeneus and was thus an *Oeneus* tragedy. Initially, attribution to Euripides was suggested,⁷²² given that these fragments contain many examples of Euripidean diction.⁷²³ In addition, if ἀδ]ελφ[ῶ]ι in fr. a is restored as πατραδέλφωι, then the speaker of fr. a would be Diomedes,⁷²⁴ a character known to have featured in Euripides' *Oeneus*. Nonetheless,

⁷¹⁷ Thus Collard (1970) 27.

⁷¹⁸ Thus *TrGF* I p. 221, Bremmer (2004) 564. Fr. 14 cannot describe the *orebasia* (pace Bremmer (2006) 40), as this was limited to the mountains (Oranje (1984) 134) and the setting of this fragment is that of a meadow.

⁷¹⁹ Thus Collard (1970) 32, Xanthakis-Karamanos (1980) 73.

⁷²⁰ Cf. Pacuvius *Periboia* fr. 317 Warmington; thus Xanthakis-Karamanos (1980) 73.

⁷²¹ P.Hib. 1.4, P.Grenf. II.1, P.Lond.Lit 80; thus Xanthakis-Karamanos (1980) 169–73.

⁷²² Thus P.Hib. p. 21.

⁷²³ Cf. ἀθῶιος ('scot-free', fr. b.17, cf. Eur. *Bacch.* 672, *Med.* 1300); τυράν]νοις ἀνδράσιν ('rulers', fr. a.8, cf. Eur. *Med.* 308, 700, *Supp.* 166); Collard (1970) 23.

⁷²⁴ Thus Page (1942) 159.

attribution to Euripides is problematic,⁷²⁵ given the presence of ΧΟΡΟΥ ΜΕΛΟΣ in fr. d.⁷²⁶ Since ΧΟΡΟΥ ΜΕΛΟΣ is widely found in papyri from post-classical tragedy, the papyrus fragments are unlikely come from Euripides' *Oeneus*.⁷²⁷

Given the ascription of the papyrus fragments to a post-classical *Oeneus* and given the many instances of Euripidean diction in these verses, it has been suggested that the papyrus fragments should instead be assigned to Chaeremon's *Oeneus*,⁷²⁸ especially since Chaeremon's verses contain many Euripidean echoes. Nonetheless, attribution of the papyrus fragments to Chaeremon is similarly doubtful: Euripidean diction does not necessitate attribution to Chaeremon, since it was found throughout the works of fourth-century tragedians. So as there is little other reason to assign the papyrus fragments to Chaeremon's *Oeneus*, they should be treated as *adespota*, numbered accordingly as *Tr. adesp.* fr. 625 *TrGF*. Chaeremon is the only known fourth-century dramatist to produce an *Oeneus*. In the fifth century, *Oeneus* featured in eponymous plays by Euripides and Philocles, and Sophocles composed a satyr drama entitled *Oeneus*. No comic poet is known to have written about the *Oeneus* myth.

Fragment 14

1–2: ἡ μὲν indicates that these lines will contain description of several women (cf. Eur. *Bacch.* 680–713); the use of μὲν and δέ throughout individualises each woman and separates them from one another, allowing the focus to be on one woman at a time. λευκόν could agree with μαστόν (Croiset (1913) 402), emphasising the girl's youthful beauty; cf. Soph. *Ant.*

⁷²⁵ Thus Collard (1970) 23.

⁷²⁶ Fr. d.35.

⁷²⁷ The omission of lyric passages from Euripidean papyri is attested on one occasion (P.Sorb. 2252), which contains a blank space, two lines deep, where the song of a secondary chorus (Eur. *Hipp.* 58–72) would have come. As the left side of the column is lost, Barrett ((1964) 438–9) suggested that ΧΟΡΟΥ or ΧΟΡΟΥ ΜΕΛΟΣ once stood there.

⁷²⁸ Thus Webster (1954) 302.

1239, Eur. *Med.* 923, 1189, LSJ⁹ s. v. λευκός. Equally, λευκόν could agree with σεληνόφως (thus Collard (1970) 33), a hapax, since the pale moonlight is partly responsible for the breast being pale. For other examples in literature and art of women who bare only one breast cf. Penthesilea (Virg. *Aen.* 1.491–3), Camilla (11.649), Hecuba (Hom. *Il.* 22.80), Clytemnestra (Aesch. *Choeph.* 896–8 with Sommerstein (1980) 71), ARV² 1315 (Athens, 440s BC) and Amazons (Amazonomachy frieze on the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus, 360–350 BC, where an Amazon, fighting a Greek, bares her left breast), Naiden (2006) 80. For φαίνω of nudity (partial or otherwise) cf. φαῖνε δὲ μηρούς | καλοῦς τε μεγάλους τε ([Odysseus] showed his thighs, fine and large’, Hom. *Od.* 18.67–8), Pind. *Nem.* 5.17. The ἐπωμίς was the section of a woman’s tunic which was gathered around the shoulder and fastened with a brooch.

3–4: χορεία is rarely used in tragedy (cf. Eur. *Phoen.* 1265, Pratinas fr. 3.17 *TrGF*); for dancing in bacchic rituals cf. Eur. *Bacch.* 135–6. ἔλυσε conveys full or partial nudity; ἔλυσε builds on λελυμένης in line 2 which only hints at undress (Collard (1970) 33).

4–5: αἰθέρος θεάμασιν indicates the personification of αἰθήρ; for similar treatments of αἰθήρ cf. σίγησε δ’ αἰθήρ (‘the air was silent’, Eur. *Bacch.* 1084), οὗτος αὐτός ἐστιν αἰθήρ ὃς τάδ’ ἤκουσεν σέθεν (‘this is the same air that heard these things from you’, Eur. *IA* 365). αἰθέρος θεάμασιν also shows that Chaeremon is adapting the technique of the pathetic fallacy, with αἰθήρ responding positively to human stimuli rather than negatively. ζῶσαν γραφήν is a play on ζῶγραφος; for artistic similes and metaphors in tragedy cf. Aesch. *Ag.* 242, 1327–9, *Eum.* 48–51.

5–6: The contrast between the whiteness of the girl’s skin and the darkness of the shadows in lines 5–6 is clear (Collard (1970) 33). Confusion over the meaning of these lines, however, centres primarily on ἔργον, a noun which should probably be taken as governing μελαίνης σκιᾶς and as in apposition to the rest of the clause (so rightly *TrGF* I p. 221). λευκόν in line 6 emphasises the youthfulness and beauty of the girl and its contrast with

darkness (μελαίνης σκιᾶς) may be a reference to *skiagraphia* (thus Collard (1970) 33), an artistic technique developed by the fifth-century painter Apollodorus (Plut. *De Glor. Ath.* 346a) which involved juxtaposing light and dark colours against one another to create depth and perspective. For this technique in action cf. the Hediste stele (Fowler (1989) 93, fig. 68), dated to the third or second century BC, from Demetrias, Thessaly, and depicting a recently deceased woman lying on a bed with *skiagraphia* used to accentuate and draw the viewer's attention to her breasts and face. *Skiagraphia* was, however, applied to depictions of women only from the fourth century (cf. Plin. *HN* 35.130–1, 133); Chaeremon's allusion to *skiagraphia* in relation to a woman may thus highlight this artistic innovation (thus Xanthakis-Karamanos (1980) 74). The reference to *skiagraphia* also continues the use of artistic techniques and motifs started with the play on ζώγραφος in line 5. ὄμμασιν alludes to the viewer, in this case Oeneus, and indicates that he only watches the women rather than participating in their revel, perhaps continuing the art metaphor present in these and the previous lines by referencing the relationship between artwork and its viewer.

7–8: The use of two different forms of ἄλλη (polyptoton) in lines 7–8 builds up the number of women present at the revel, reminding the audience that, although Oeneus is describing individual women, they nonetheless form part of a larger group. ἐγύμνου may raise the expectations of the audience that the third woman will be naked, only for these to be undermined by the objects of this verb καλλίχειρας and ὠλένας, words which limit the third woman's nudity to her arms. καλλίχειρ is used only by Chaeremon and once in the Byzantine period; καλλι- compounds, however, are quite frequently found in pre-Imperial verse; cf. καλλίζυγές ('beautiful yokes', Eur. *Andr.* 278), καλλιδόνακος ('with beautiful reeds', Eur. *Hel.* 493). ὠλένη is found on several occasions in Euripides, but only once in Sophocles; cf. Soph. *Tr.* 926, Eur. *Hel.* 624, 1095, *Phoen.* 165, 300. καλλίχειρας ὠλένας is pleonastic; for similar pleonasms cf. λευκοπήχεσι | χειρῶν ἄκμαῖσιν ('with the fingers of

white arms', Eur. *Bacch.* 1206–7), καλλιπτηχυν Ἴκτορος βραχίονα ('beautiful arm of Hector', Eur. *Tr.* 1194). For ἀμπέχω meaning 'embrace' cf. Eur. *Supp.* 165 and for θῆλυ meaning 'tender' cf. [Hes.] *Sc.* 395, Theoc. 16.49. For examples in art of an individual embracing another around the neck cf. *ABV* 152 (Athens, 530–20 BC) and *ARV²* 987 (= Achilleus 907 *LIMC*, Athens, 450s BC).

9–10: The χλανίδιον was a cloak worn by women, a shortened version of the χλανίς, a garment worn by both men and women on special occasions, such as weddings, although men who wore it were sometimes called effeminate; cf. Demosthenes (*Aeschin.* 1.131). χλανίδιον is the only diminutive used in tragedy; cf. Eur. *Or.* 42, *Supp.* 110. Collard ((1970) 34) is probably correct to attribute the ragged state of the women's clothing to wild dancing. For the erotic connotations of ἔφαινε see line 4. Baring one's thigh was a sensual act (Collard (1970) 33) and figures who reveal their thigh are found on a number of pieces of ancient artwork; cf. Lawler (1964) figs. 32, 33.

10–11: ἐξεπεσφραγίζετο is a hapax. Its usage is metaphorical, alluding to the association of ἐπισφραγίζω with seals; cf. Pl. *Plt.* 258c. Love without hope is well-established by the fourth century, first discussed in lyric poetry in Sappho fr. 31 Voigt. Sometimes, however, hope was considered a constituent part of love; cf. Philemon fr. 126 *PCG*. For the attractiveness of smiling, and by extension laughter cf. Alcaeus fr. 384 Voigt, Sappho fr. 31.4–5 Voigt.

12–15: Violets were flowers associated with two myths in the ancient world, the birth of Iamos, son of Apollo (*Pind. Ol.* 54–6), and the abduction of Persephone, being one of the flowers she was picking before her abduction (*H.Dem.* 6). The latter association is a particularly interesting parallel, given that in this fragment young women are also gathering flowers, while a male individual, here Oeneus and Hades in the abduction of Persephone, looks on lustfully. μελανόφυλλα is a compound word used only by Chaeremon. μελαν-

compounds are rare in pre-Imperial Greek, found mainly in the Hippocratic and Aristotelian corpora; cf. Hippoc. *Epid.* 1.2.9.26, Arist. *Gen. an.* 779b 14. The reference to black violets may continue the *skiagraphia* motif from lines 5–6, contrasting the dark lustre of this flower against the bright tones of the crocus. Crocuses were connected with abduction myths, being among the bouquet of flowers Persephone was gathering before Hades snatched her (*H.Dem.* 6) and used by Zeus to lure Europa to him ([Hes.] *Cat.* fr. 140 M–W). Their presence here refers to the technique of crushing saffron into *peploi*, cloaks worn primarily by women, to leave a decorative imprint behind (Collard (1970) 34). As Collard notes, this technique did not leave a perfectly formed impression, and so Oeneus conveys this using σκιᾶς εἴδωλον, a combination which emphasises that all that remains of the crocus on the cloak is a pale imprint; cf. εὖ γὰρ ἐξεπίσταμαι | ὀμιλίας κάτοπτρον, εἴδωλον σκιᾶς (‘I know well the mirror of friendship, the shadow of shade’, Aesch. *Ag.* 838–9), ἴδηι σκιᾶς εἴδωλον αὐγασθεῖσα (‘[the foal] sees her shadow reflected back’, Soph. *Tyro A or B* fr. 659.6 *TrGF*). ἠλιῶδες is only found here in Classical Greek. Its use in the line preceding σκιᾶς εἴδωλον continues the *skiagraphia* motif found earlier in this fragment (Collard (1970) 34); cf. lines 5–6.

16–17: Although Collard (1970) 34 believes line 16 to be incorrectly included in Athenaeus’ quotation from Chaeremon’s *Oeneus*, the continued focus on plants suggests that it is probably by Chaeremon and thus part of this fragment (so rightly *TrGF* I p. 221). Marjoram was used as a perfume (cf. Plin. *NH* 13.2) and Venus laid Ascanius on a bed of this herb in the grove of Idaion at Cyprus (Virg. *Aen.* 1.691–4); see Butler (2010) 95–6, 107–9. For nourishing dew cf. [Hes.] *Sc.* 395, Pind. *Nem.* 8.40. The mention of a meadow creates a familiar setting, a *locus amoenus*, which is elsewhere associated with sexual attractiveness and desirability; cf. Eur. *Hipp.* 73–81, *H.Dem.* 4–16 (both with Cairns (1997) 63). This environment can also be connected with death; cf. Eur. *El.* 777–858, *Phoen.* 1570–81, see

Cairns (1997) 64, Richardson on *H.Dem.* 4 for further discussion on meadows and what they represent.

[ΤΡΑΥΜΑΤΙΑΣ]

[Fragment 14a] – Athen. 13.562d–f (transl. based on Olson)

Ἄλεξις δ' ἐν Ἀποκοπτομένωι (fr. 20 *PCG*):

λέγεται γὰρ λόγος
ὑπὸ τῶν σοφιστῶν, μὴ πέτεσθαι τὸν θεὸν
τὸν Ἔρωτα, τοὺς δ' ἐρῶντας· αἰτίαν δ' ἔχειν
ἐκεῖνον ἄλλως, ἡγνοηκότας δὲ τοὺς
γραφεῖς ἔχοντα πτέρυγας αὐτὸν ζωγραφεῖν

Θεόφραστος δ' ἐν τῷ Ἐρωτικῷ (fr. 107 Wimmer) Χαιρήμονά φησι τὸν τραγικὸν λέγειν, ὡς τὸν οἶνον τῶν χρωμένων κεράννυσθαι, οὕτως καὶ τὸν Ἔρωτα· ὅς μετριάζων μὲν ἐστὶν εὐχάρις, ἐπιτεινόμενος δὲ καὶ διαταράττων χαλεπώτατος. διόπερ ὁ ποιητὴς οὗτος οὐ κακῶς αὐτοῦ τὰς δυνάμεις διαιρῶν φησι (Eur. *IA* 548–51):

δίδυμα (γὰρ) < . . . >
τόξα †αὐτὸν ἐντείνεσθαι† Χαρίτων,
τὸ μὲν ἐπ' εὐαίῳνι τύχαι,
τὸ δ' ἐπὶ συγχύσει βιοτᾶς.

ὁ δ' αὐτὸς οὗτος ποιητὴς καὶ περὶ τῶν ἐρῶντων ἐν τῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ Τραυματίαι (Alexis *Traumatias* fr. 236 *PCG*) φησὶν οὕτως·

τίς οὐχὶ φησι τοὺς ἐρῶντας ζῆν μόνους;
<οὓς> δεῖ γε πρῶτον μὲν στρατευτικωτάτους
εἶναι, πονεῖν τε δυναμένους τοῖς σώμασιν
μάλιστα, προσεδρεύειν τ' ἀρίστους τῷ πόθῳ,
ποιητικούς, ἰταμούς, προθύμους, εὐπόρους
ἐν τοῖς ἀπόροις, βλέποντας ἀθλιώτατον.

And Alexis, in the *Man who was Mutilated* says

There is a saying among sophists,
that it is not the god Eros who flies,
but lovers, but Eros is falsely accused of being flighty,
and painters in ignorance depict Eros as winged

And Theophrastus, in his *Eroticus*, says that Chaeremon the tragic poet said, that the way wine is mixed for its drinkers is similar to Love; when in moderation he is charming, but when he becomes intense and causing disarray, he is most difficult. This is why this poet is not incorrect when, distinguishing among his powers, he says

For †he stretches†
the twin bows of the Graces,
one of which leads to happy fortune,
the other of which destroys life

This same poet in his play entitled *Traumatias* speaks thus about lovers

Who would not say that lovers are the only people who are truly alive?
For first they must be like soldiers, especially capable of hard, physical labour,
and be the best at lying in ambush for their desires,
creative, bold, eager, resourceful
when there is a lack of resources, and looking most wretched.

Athenaeus' preamble to the quotation from *Traumatias* states that it is by the same poet as that which he previously cited. Since the poet previously named by Athenaeus is Chaeremon, ὁ δ' αὐτὸς οὗτος ποιητής has been taken as referring to Chaeremon,⁷²⁹ and thus the quotation from *Traumatias* by him. Three problems, however, exist with this conclusion. First, *Traumatias* is otherwise unattested as the title of a tragedy, but three comedies entitled *Traumatias* are known, those of Alexis, Antiphanes, and Philemon. Secondly, the verses in

⁷²⁹ Thus Bartsch (1843) 19.

the quotation resemble comedy in metre, with a violation of Porson’s Law in lines 1 and 4–5, no caesura in lines 2 and 4, and third- and second-foot anapaests in the last two lines. Finally, the section of Athenaeus’ *Deipnosophistae* which preserves the quotation from *Traumatias* appears confused. The verses cited before those from *Traumatias* are said by Athenaeus to belong to the same poet (ὁ ποιητῆς οὗτος) as that previously cited, Chaeremon. Those lines, however, are a garbled version of Eur. *IA* 548–51, showing that Athenaeus’ attribution of them to Chaeremon is incorrect. Since Alexis is known to have written a *Traumatias* and as he is the poet cited before Chaeremon, it is possible that ὁ δ’ αὐτὸς οὗτος ποιητῆς was intended to mean Alexis.⁷³⁰ In this case, an earlier version of the *Deipnosophistae* may have quoted from Alexis’ *Man who was Mutilated* followed by the verses from *Traumatias*, using ὁ δ’ αὐτὸς οὗτος ποιητῆς to indicate that the fragment from *Traumatias* also belonged to Alexis. In a later draft of the *Deipnosophistae*, Athenaeus inserted the information about Chaeremon and the incorrect version of Eur. *IA* 548–51 between the two quotations from Alexis, but failed to detect that this would mean that ὁ δ’ αὐτὸς οὗτος ποιητῆς no longer clearly referred back to Alexis.⁷³¹ Hence the fragment from *Traumatias* should be assigned to Alexis,⁷³² numbered accordingly as fr. 236 *PCG*, and, in the absence of any other evidence, Chaeremon did not write a play entitled *Traumatias*.

INCERTARUM FABULARUM FRAGMENTA

Fragment 14b – P.Hib. 2.224

Χαιρήμων ἐν[]

Χρῆ τιμᾶν θ[εὸν—̣—̣—̣—x]

Ἀρχὴ γὰρ θνητ[οῖς ̣—̣—̣—x]

⁷³⁰ Thus *FCG* I p. 521.

⁷³¹ *Ibid.*

⁷³² Thus Collard (1970) 27.

ἐν in the first line of this fragment, the compiler of this anthology is probably quoting directly from one of Chaeremon's plays rather than combining several lines to form the acrostic (*pace* Collard (1970) 23). See on Chaeremon's *Centaur* against the attribution of fr. 14b to that play.

All textual conjectures are owed to Turner (1955b) 149; for a possible reconstruction of all these lines see West (1977) 37. Since each line is self-contained, presenting a new sentiment, the dactylic hexameter is the likeliest restoration of the metre of this fragment, the elegiac couplet, for example, ill-suited on the grounds that it may imply connection between every pair of lines. The acrostic format of this fragment is part of a growing trend of literacy within drama from the end of the fifth century onwards and foreshadows playful literary works such as *paignia* in the Hellenistic period; cf. Eur. *Theseus* fr. 382 *TrGF*, Agathon *Telephus* fr. 4 *TrGF*, Ar. *Ran.* 52–4, Theodectas fr. 6 *TrGF*, Aratus *Phaen.* 783–7, Wright (2010) 176. See Courtney (1990) 3–13, Klooster (2011) 177 for examples of acrostics in Hellenistic literature onwards. Although it is possible that these lines were performed, perhaps with actors holding up a placard or similar bearing the initial letter of each line (thus Collard (2009) 13; cf. Callias' *Letters Tragedy*), this fragment may have been one of the reasons why Chaeremon's plays were thought more suited to being read (ἀναγνώστικ[ος], Arist. *Rhet.* 1413b 12–13; thus Snell (1971) 159, Gronewald (2007) 23).

For beliefs that one ought to worship the gods cf. τιμαῖσιν, ᾧ παῖ, δαιμόνων χρῆσθαι χρεῶν ('child, one should honour the gods', Eur. *Hipp.* 107); such a sentiment contrasts with Theodectas fr. 8 *TrGF* for example which advocates the worship of gods on grounds of piety rather than necessity. For similar beliefs about not looking only for gain cf. [Men.] *Monosticha.* 364.

Fragment 16/15

τῶν χρωμένων γὰρ τοῖς τρόποις κεράννυται

sc. ὁ οἶνος παρασκευάζων

γέλωτα, σοφίαν, ἀμαθίαν, εὐβουλίαν

**For it [wine] is mixed with the characteristics of those who drink it [to provide]
laughter, wisdom, stupidity, or prudence**

Fragment 16 – [Arist.] *Pr.* 3.16 837a 24–7 (transl. Mayhew)

διὰ τί ὁ οἶνος καὶ τετυφωμένους ποιεῖ καὶ μανικούς; ἐναντία γὰρ ἡ διάθεσις· ὁ μὲν γὰρ μᾶλλον ἤδη ἐν κινήσει, ὁ δὲ ἤττον. ἢ ὥσπερ Χαιρήμων εἶπεν·

τῶν χρωμένων γὰρ τοῖς τρόποις κεράννυται

Why does wine make men stupefied and frenzied? For these conditions are the opposite; the latter involves more movement, the former less. Is it as Chaeremon says

For it [wine] is mixed with the characteristics of those who drink it

Athen. 13.562e (= Theophr. *Erotica* fr. 107 Wimmer, transl. Olson)

Θεόφραστος δ' ἐν τῷ Ἐρωτικῷ (fr. 107 Wimmer) Χαιρήμονά φησι τὸν τραγικὸν λέγειν, ὡς τὸν οἶνον τῶν χρωμένων <τοῖς τρόποις> κεράννυσθαι, οὕτως καὶ τὸν Ἔρωτα· ὃς μετριάζων μὲν ἐστὶν εὐχάρις, ἐπιτεινόμενος δὲ καὶ διαταράττων χαλεπώτατος.

And Theophrastus, in his *Eroticus*, says that Chaeremon the tragic poet said, that the way wine is mixed <with the characteristics> of its drinkers, is similar to Love; because when he is moderately strong, he is charming, whereas when he is intense and disruptive, he is extremely difficult to deal with.

Fragment 15 – Athen. 2.35d

Χαιρήμων δὲ ὁ τραγωιδὸς παρασκευάζειν φησὶ τὸν οἶνον τοῖς χρωμένοις

γέλωτα, σοφίαν, ἀμαθίαν, εὐβουλίαν

Chaeremon the tragic poet says that wine provides its drinkers with

laughter, wisdom, stupidity, prudence

Fr. 16 is also paraphrased by Plutarch (*De Pyth. or.* 406b) and Stobaeus (2.33.12). Although the sentiments of the versions of fr. 16 preserved by pseudo-Aristotle and Theophrastus seemingly differ, with pseudo-Aristotle focusing on how wine changes one's character and Theophrastus comparing the power of wine to Love, the shared vocabulary in both versions suggests they refer to the same verse. Perhaps pseudo-Aristotle chose to omit any comparison of wine with Love since he was interested only in how wine alters an individual's behaviour whereas Theophrastus was concerned with Love and so required the entirety of fr. 16; this suggests that Chaeremon may have similarly compared wine to Love in this fragment.

Theophrastus, via Athenaeus, indicates that the subject of fr. 16 is ὁ οἶνος. Since τὸν οἶνον is used in Athenaeus' introduction to fr. 15 alongside τοῖς χρωμένοις, also found in fr. 16, fr. 15 almost certainly follows on from fr. 16, providing the direct objects of a verb modifying ὁ οἶνος. Although the verb is conjectured to be παρασκευάζων given παρασκευάζειν in Athenaeus' preamble to fr. 15 (*TrGF* I p. 222), this cannot be correct as the present active forms are unmetrical; perhaps a different tense of παρασκευάζω was used or a verb with a similar meaning. Nonetheless, παρασκευάζων is retained in this commentary to convey the sense of the verses.

For the role of wine in creating laughter cf. Eur. *Cyc.* 530, 537, Xanthakis-Karamanos (1980) 95, for the association between wine, wisdom and prudence cf. ἀλλ' ἐξένεγκέ μοι ταχέως οἴνου χοᾶ, | τὸν νοῦν ἴν' ἄρδω καὶ λέγω τι δεξιόν ('but bring me a pitcher of wine quickly so that I can water my mind and say something clever', Ar. *Eq.* 95–6), Cratinus

fr. 203 *PCG*. For wine causing folly cf. Alexis fr. 304 *PCG*, Amphis fr. 41 *PCG*. For other properties of wine see McKinlay (1953) 102–3.

Fragment 17 – Athen. 2.43c

τὸ ὕδωρ ποταμοῦ σῶμά φησί που Εὐβουλος ὁ κωμωδιοποιὸς (fr. 128 *PCG*) εἰρηκέναι
Χαιρήμονα τὸν τραγικόν

ἐπεὶ δὲ σηκῶν περιβολὰς ἡμίψαμεν

ὑδωρ τε ποταμοῦ σῶμα διεπεράσαμεν

The comic poet Eubulus says that Chaeremon the tragedian called water the body of the river

When we passed the walls of the enclosures

and crossed over the water, the body of the river

The aorist ἡμίψαμεν and διεπεράσαμεν indicate that fr. 17 comes from an account of a journey from a sanctuary with a nearby river, perhaps in a messenger speech (thus Stephanopoulos (1988) 12); the first-person subject of both verbs shows that the speaker also took part in the journey. ἐπεὶ, in conjunction with τε, shows that fr. 17 form a subordinate clause; the main clause would have most likely been found after these verses. δέ suggests that this fragment may not have been the first line of the account from which it comes (thus Stephanopoulos (1988) 12).

For periphrases in tragedy cf. γῆς ὀστοῖσιν ἐγχιμφθεὶς πόδα (‘having struck a foot against the bones of the earth [i.e. rocks]’, Choerilus fr. 2 *TrGF*), Soph. *OC* 1568–73, Long (1968) 102–3; for periphrases involving rivers cf. Choerilus fr. 3 *TrGF*, Empedocles *On Nature* fr. 55 D–K. Chaeremon explicitly states the object being described periphrastically, unlike Choerilus fr. 3, which provides just the metaphor (γῆς φλέβες, blood vessels of the earth).

Fragment 18 – Stob. 1.4.1–2a (transl. based on Xanthakis-Karamanos (1980) 127)

Μοσχίωνος Τηλέφου (fr. 2 *TrGF*)

ὦ καὶ θεῶν κρατοῦσα καὶ θνητῶν μόνη
Μοῖρ', ὦ λιταῖς ἄτρωτε δυστήνων βροτῶν,
πάντολμ' Ἀνάγκη, στυγνὸν ἢ κατ' αὐχένων
ἡμῶν ἐρείδεις τῆσδε λατρείας ζυγόν

[X]αιρήμονος

χρεία δ' ἀνάγκης οὐκ ἀπώικισται πολὺ

[X]αιρήμονος Nauck: αιρήμονος *F*: om. *P*

From Moschion's *Telephus*

Fate, you alone that rule over gods and men,
you that are invulnerable to the prayers of unfortunate mortals,
shameless Necessity, who weighs down our necks
with the hated yoke of this servitude

Chaeremon

Need dwells not far from compulsion

Confusion exists over the attribution of fr. 18 to Chaeremon in the manuscripts of Stobaeus' *Anthologium*. In manuscript *P*, a lemma containing Chaeremon's name is omitted with fr. 18 treated as part of Moschion *Telephus* fr. 2. Manuscript *F*, however, contains the lemma αιρήμονος (most likely restored as [X]αιρήμονος, thus Nauck), but places it between the first and second lines of Moschion *Telephus* fr. 2, treating Moschion *Telephus* fr. 2.2–4 and fr. 18 as if a single quotation by Chaeremon. The existence of the lemma αιρήμονος indicates that Stobaeus quoted from Moschion's *Telephus* followed by Chaeremon and thus that manuscript *P* is incorrect. Manuscript *F*, however, is similarly defective, since its placement between lines 1 and 2 of Moschion *Telephus* fr. 2 interrupts a sense unit. Instead, the lemma should be placed after Moschion *Telephus* fr. 2.4 (thus Nauck), since Moschion's fragment

directly addresses Ἀνάγκη whereas Chaeremon refers to this deity in the third person in fr. 18 and since fr. 18 and Moschion *Telephus* fr. 2 contain differing sentiments about Necessity.

Fragment 19 – Stob. 1.6.15

Χαιρήμονος

ἅπαντα νικᾷ καὶ μεταστρέφει Τύχη

Χαιρήμονος *P*: αιρήμονος *F*

Chaeremon

Fortune conquers and turns around everything

In manuscript *P* of Stobaeus' *Anthologium*, fr. 19 is presented as above, whereas in manuscript *F*, the lemma is defective, given as αιρήμονος. In addition, manuscript *F* appends a second verse to fr. 19 as if part of the same quotation – οὐδείς δὲ νικᾷ μὴ θελούσης τῆς τύχης ('no-one is victorious when fortune does not wish it so'). A similar arrangement is found in the *Monosticha*; at 1.91, only fr. 19 is cited, whereas at 2.22, this fragment is followed by οὐδείς δὲ νικᾷ μὴ θελούσης τῆς τύχης. The differing sentiments of the two verses mean that they are unlikely to have followed one another (thus Nauck). Instead, οὐδείς δὲ νικᾷ μὴ θελούσης τῆς τύχης has probably been falsely appended to fr. 19 in the source which the *Monosticha* consulted, with manuscript *F* subsequently transmitting the two verses as if one quotation. Suggestions that οὐδείς δὲ νικᾷ μὴ θελούσης τῆς τύχης is a comic variant of fr. 19 are plausible (thus *TrGF* I p. 220), given the breach of Porson's Law.

For fortune conquering all see on fr. 2. Τύχη was an increasingly prominent divinity in literature of the late classical and early Hellenistic periods, even appearing on stage in a number of comedies; cf. *Men. Asp.* 97–148, *Epit.* 351, Dover (1974) 140–1. Iconographic depictions of Τύχη were similarly more common in this period; cf. Tyche 5, 19, 23, 32 *LIMC*.

Fragment 20 – Stob. 1.8.30

Χαιρήμονος

σχολῆι βαδίζων ὁ χρόνος ἐκφανεῖ τ<ὸ π>ᾶν

Χαιρήμ *P*: αιρήμονος *F* ἐκφανεῖ Meineke: ἀφικνεῖται codd. τ<ὸ π>ᾶν Grotius: τάν codd.

Chaeremon

Time going slowly will reveal all

Manuscripts *F* and *P* partially preserve the lemma, with *F* giving αιρήμονος and *P* transmitting Χαιρήμ; enough remains in each manuscript to allow the lemma to be restored as Χαιρήμονος, confirming that fr. 20 belongs to Chaeremon. τ<ὸ π>ᾶν owed to Grotius; τάν as found in the manuscripts, is unmetrical. Stobaeus' ἀφικνεῖται should be emended to ἐκφανεῖ (thus Meineke), since the sentiment of the trimeter is otherwise unintelligible. For other beliefs that time will reveal all in the end cf. ὁ χρόνος ἅπαντα τοῖσιν ὕστερον φράσει ('time will tell future men everything', Eur. *Aeolus* fr. 38a *TrGF*, transl. Collard and Cropp), χρόνος διέρπων πάντ' ἀληθεύειν φιλεῖ ('time going past likes to reveal the whole truth', Eur. *Hippolytus Veiled* fr. 441 *TrGF*), Eur. *Bacch.* 888–90. βαδίζων is otherwise found only in Eur. *Phoen.* 544 and *Tr. adesp.* 177.1 *TrGF* in tragedy. βαδίζων is, however, found more often in comedy, suggesting that it is colloquial (thus Collard (2005) 379); cf. Ar. *Ach.* 848, 1165, *Nub.* 128, 162.

Fragment 21 – Stob. 1.8.32 (also 1.8.4)

Χαιρήμονος

οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδὲν τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις, ὃ τι

οὐκ ἐν χρόνῳ ζητοῦσι γ' ἐξευρίσκεται

2 ζητοῦσι γ' Nauck: ζητοῦσιν 1.8.4: γε ζητοῦσιν 1.8.32

Chaeremon

There is nothing among mankind that

is not found out in time by those who search for it

Fr. 21 is quoted twice in Stobaeus' *Anthologium* (1.8.4 and 1.8.32); in 1.8.4, it is presented without a lemma and in 1.8.32 it is attributed to Chaeremon, confirming the origin of this fragment. Both instances of fr. 21 also present slightly different versions of the second verse, with 1.8.4 giving οὐκ ἐν χρόνῳ ζητοῦσιν ἐξευρίσκεται and 1.8.32 presenting the verse as οὐκ ἐν χρόνῳ γε ζητοῦσιν ἐξευρίσκεται. Nauck's emendation of 1.8.32 to οὐκ ἐν χρόνῳ ζητοῦσιν γ' ἐξευρίσκεται is almost certainly correct, solving the metrical deficiency of 1.8.32 and with γε omitted in 1.8.4. For similar beliefs that there is nothing among mankind which cannot be discovered in time cf. Eur. *Ion* 575, Isocr. 4.32, Xenophanes fr. 18 D–K. Chaeremon's ζητοῦσι γ' indicates an important distinction from these previous sentiments, namely that time does not just reveal things on its own, people need to look as well. The speaker of fr. 21 is probably talking about secrets, especially guilty ones. For the phrasing of the first verse cf. οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδὲν τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἴσον ('there is nothing among mankind that is equal', Eur. *Hec.* 805).

Fragment 22 – Stob. 1.8.33

τοῦ αὐτοῦ

χρόνος μαλάσσει πάντα κάξεργάζεται

The same [i.e. Chaeremon]

Time softens everything and brings it to completion

In manuscript *F* of Stobaeus' *Anthologium*, the lemma τοῦ αὐτοῦ separates fr. 22 from fr. 21 indicating fr. 22 is distinct from fr. 21 whereas in manuscript *P*, fr. 22 is treated as part of fr. 21; cf. fr. 18. Fr. 22 should be treated as a separate quotation from fr. 21, since the sentiment of fr. 22 is different to that of the final verse of fr. 21. For the softening effect of time cf. Theodectas fr. 8 *TrGF*; μαλάσσει is rarely used in drama (cf. Soph. *Phil.* 1334, *Acrisius* fr.

65.2 *TrGF*, Eur. *Alc.* 381, 1085, *Or.* 1201). The sentiment of fr. 22 is expressed in similar language to craftsmanship; cf. ὡσπερ σίδηρον ἐμάλαξεν καὶ χρήσιμον ἐξ ἀχρήστου καὶ σκληροῦ ἐποίησεν ('just as one softens iron and makes it useful instead of useless and brittle', Pl. *Resp.* 411b–c), Arist. *Met.* 383a 31–2.

Fragment 23 – Stob. 3.3.17

Χαιρήμονος

τό τοι κράτιστον πανταχοῦ τιμητέον·

ὁ γὰρ φρονῶν εὔ πάντα συλλαβῶν ἔχει

Chaeremon

You know that what is strongest always ought to be honoured;

for one who is sensible has all in his grasp

The first verse is also paraphrased by Tzetzes (*Iamb.* 143). The second line is quoted and falsely assigned to Sophocles in *Mant. prov.* 2.36, a collection of Greek proverbs from an unknown period. This verse is also paraphrased by the thirteenth-century writer Georgius Pachymeres in his *Progymnasmata* – Χαιρήμων ἔφη· πάντα τὰ ἀγαθὰ ἐν μόνῳ τῷ φρονεῖν ἐστὶν ... ὡς πάντα συλληπτικῶς ἐν τῇ φρονήσει ἐστὶ ('Chaeremon said that all good things are in thinking alone ... that everything collectively is contained in wisdom', *Progymnasmata* 3.21 = fr. 40). Since Pachymeres provides a garbled version of line 2 and as he includes this verse in a discussion about Chaeremon the general, the authenticity of the line provided by Pachymeres has been doubted (thus Collard (1970) 22). Nonetheless, given that the sentiments in Pachymeres' version of line 2 and that provided by Stobaeus are the same, there is little reason to doubt that Pachymeres paraphrases fr. 23.2. In the Triclinian version of the manuscript, line 1 is preceded by an additional verse – οὐχ ὡς νομίζεις, τὸ φρονεῖν εἶπας κακῶς ('not as you think, having criticised good sense'). Since manuscripts *M*

and A, however, use the lemma Χαίρημονος to separate this additional line from fr. 23.1, οὐχ ὡς νομίζεις, τὸ φρονεῖν εἶπας κακῶς is most likely an adespoton, accordingly numbered as *Tr. adesp.* fr. 518 *TrGF*.

The use of the particle τοι with a verbal adjective (in this case τιμητέον) is an extremely rare combination in Greek literature (Mastronarde (2001) 430), otherwise found only in the Platonic corpus (*Tht.* 179d.9, *Epin.* 983d.5).

Fragment 24 – Stob. 3.4.14

Χαίρημονος

οὐ ζῶσιν οἳ τι μὴ συνιέντες σοφόν

Chaeremon

Those who do not understand anything wise aren't really alive

In the Triclinian manuscript of Stobaeus' *Anthologium*, fr. 24 is followed by fr. 25, *Tr. adesp.* fr. 519 *TrGF*, and fr. 26, treated as if they were a single quotation from Chaeremon. In manuscripts *M* and *A*, however, the lemma τοῦ αὐτοῦ is inserted after fr. 24, indicating that this verse should be considered separate to fr. 25 and 26 and *Tr. adesp.* fr. 519 *TrGF*. The sentiments of fr. 24–6 and *Tr. adesp.* fr. 519 *TrGF* differ from one another, with fr. 24 discussing those who do not understand anything wise, fr. 25 talking about the journey to good thinking, fr. 26 discussing the reaction to failure, and *Tr. adesp.* fr. 519 *TrGF* arguing that one should not behave in a rash manner. Given the different aspects of wisdom treated in all four fragments, the separation of fr. 24 from fr. 25 and 26 and *Tr. adesp.* fr. 519 *TrGF* (as in manuscripts *M* and *A*) and the treatment of fr. 24 as a standalone verse is almost certainly correct (thus Nauck). Since fr. 24–6 all discuss wisdom, Xanthakis-Karamanos ((1980) 139) suggested that they may come from the same play. This too should be rejected, given that the subtitle of this section of Stobaeus' *Anthologium* (περὶ ἀφροσύνης, 'concerning

thoughtlessness’) means that we should expect sentiments about wisdom to be gathered at this point in Stobaeus irrespective of original provenance; perhaps the three verses were quoted together in the source with which Stobaeus consulted, thus explaining their juxtaposition.

The disparaging comment about those who are not wise suggests that the speaker of fr. 24 was wise or considered themselves to be; the dismissive nature of this verse suggests that it was delivered in a sneering manner. For similar sentiments to fr. 24 cf. Ar. *Nub.* 1201–3, Cic. *Tusc.* 5.30. ζῶσιν is used in the same way as the modern colloquial usage of the verb ‘to live’; cf. Xen. *Mem.* 3.3.11, also Mart. 2.90.3 (with Williams) where Martial uses *vivere* (‘to live’) with a similar meaning.

Fragment 25 – Stob. 3.4.15

τοῦ αὐτοῦ

πρὶν γὰρ φρονεῖν εὖ, καταφρονεῖν ἐπίστασαι

ἐπίστασαι codd.: καὶ φρονεῖν ἐπίστασο Tucker

The same [i.e. Chaeremon]

For you know how to despise, before how to think well

In manuscript *M* of Stobaeus’ *Anthologium*, fr. 25 is followed by an additional verse – οὐ χρὴ ποδώκη τὸν τρόπον λίαν φορεῖν (‘one ought not to wear a manner which is too swift-footed’, *Tr. adesp.* fr. 519 *TrGF*); this is treated as part of fr. 25. Following this in manuscript *M* is fr. 26, introduced by the lemma τοῦ αὐτοῦ and then Aesch. fr. 392 *TrGF*, preceded by the lemma Αἰσχύλου. In manuscript *A*, *Tr. adesp.* fr. 519 *TrGF* is omitted and fr. 26 is treated as part of fr. 25; the lemma τοῦ αὐτοῦ is instead attached to Aesch. fr. 392 *TrGF*. There is little reason to doubt the attribution of Aesch. fr. 392 *TrGF* given the lemma Αἰσχύλου in manuscript *M* and so τοῦ αὐτοῦ must instead belong to fr. 26 as in manuscript

M; this indicates that fr. 25 and 26 are two separate quotations from Chaeremon. *Tr. adesp.* fr. 519 *TrGF* found after fr. 25 in manuscript *M* is unlikely to be part of fr. 25 since they are both standalone sentiments; the additional verse should instead be considered an adespoton, numbered accordingly as *Tr. adesp.* fr. 519 *TrGF*. The text of fr. 25 has similarly been doubted, emended to read πρὶν γὰρ φρονεῖν εὔ, καὶ φρονεῖν ἐπίστασο (thus Tucker (1904) 383); there is, however, little reason to alter fr. 25 since it makes sense syntactically and is metrically sound.

For similar sentiments to fr. 25 cf. Eur. fr. 1032 *TrGF*. The chiasmic arrangement of φρονεῖν εὔ καταφρονεῖν emphasises the sentiment of this fragment, with the contrasting εὔ and κατὰ in the middle and the infinitive φρονεῖν placed either side.

Fragment 26 – Stob. 3.4.17

τοῦ αὐτοῦ

σφαλεῖς γὰρ οὐδεὶς εὔ βεβουλευῆσθαι δοκεῖ

The same [i.e. Chaeremon]

Because nobody who has failed is thought to have planned well

Planning well is a skill widely praised in tragedy and antiquity; cf. Soph. *Ant.* 1050, Eur. *Phoen.* 746, [Eur.] *Rh.* 105, Stevens (1933) 112–13. Some individuals, however, believe that they have planned well despite their lack of success; cf. Dem. 60.16–22, esp. 21.

Fragment 27 – Stob. 3.12.15

Χαιρήμονος

ψευδῆ δὲ τοῖς ἐσθλοῖσιν οὐ πρέπει λέγειν

Chaeremon

Good men shouldn't tell lies

For beliefs that good men should not tell lies cf. κακὸν τὸ κεύθειν κού πρὸς ἀνδρὸς εὐγενοῦς ('concealment is bad and not the mark of a noble man', Soph. *Aleadae* fr. 79 *TrGF*, transl. based on Lloyd-Jones), καλὸν μὲν οὖν οὐκ ἔστι τὰ ψευδῆ λέγειν ('lying is not honourable', Soph. *Creusa* fr. 352.1 *TrGF*), Soph. *Phil.* 86–111.

Fragment 28 – Stob. 3.20.15

Χαιρήμονος

ἡγοῦ δ' ἐν ὀργῇ πάντα γίνεσθαι κακά

Chaeremon

Consider that from anger originates every kind of evil

Second person ἡγοῦ indicates that the speaker of fr. 28 is speaking to another character onstage. For similar beliefs about the relationship between evil deeds and anger cf. Arist. *EN* 1135b 20–2.

Fragment 29 – Stob. 3.20.16

τοῦ αὐτοῦ

ὀργῇ δὲ πολλοὺς δρᾶν ἀναγκάζει κακά

πολλοὺς Stob.: πολλὰ [Men.] *Monosticha*

The same [i.e. Chaeremon]

Anger forces many men to do evil deeds

Fr. 29 is also preserved in [Men.] *Monosticha* 578J. Stobaeus' πολλοὺς is preferable to πολλὰ given in the *Monosticha*, since ἀναγκάζει requires a direct object. If πολλὰ was the correct reading, it would most likely agree with κακά, forming the direct object of δρᾶν; this would deprive ἀναγκάζει of a direct object, unlikely since Stobaeus generally preserves complete sentiments. For similar beliefs that anger forces men to act evilly cf. ὀργῇ δὲ

φαύληι πόλλ' ἔνεστ' ἀσχήμονα ('petty anger gives rise to many shameful things', Eur. *Archelaus* fr. 259 *TrGF*, transl. Collard and Cropp).

Fragment 30 – Stob. 3.22.10

Χαιρήμονος

ὄλως τὸ κρεῖσσον οὐκ ἔαι φρονεῖν μέγα

Chaeremon

Higher power in general forbids arrogance

For other instances of the gods' disapproval of arrogance cf. δαίμων ... κούκ ἔαι φρονεῖν μέγα ('god forbids arrogance', Eur. *Andr.* 1007–8), φιλέει γὰρ ὁ θεὸς τὰ ὑπερέχοντα πάντα κολούειν ('god loves to bring down all things which rise above', Hdt. 7.10e). τὸ κρεῖσσον is a synonym for ὁ θεός. With the exception of this fragment, the singular τὸ κρεῖσσον is found only in Imperial Greek (cf. Helioid. *Aeth.* 1.8.4.5, Men. *Rhet.* 369.5); the plural οἱ κρεῖσσονες (vel sim.) is, however, found relatively early (cf. Eur. *IA* 596, Stephanopoulos (1988) 12).

Fragment 31 – Stob. 4.5.4

Χαιρήμονος

σοφῶν γὰρ ἀνδρῶν τὰς ἀμαρτίας καλῶς

κρίνειν, τὸ δ' εἰκῆ καὶ μετὰ σπουδῆς κακόν

Chaeremon

For it is typical of wise men to judge mistakes fairly,

but to do so randomly and impetuously is bad

For the presentation of other philosophical statements using καλός/κακός (vel sim.) cf.

βούλομαι δ', ἄναξ, καλῶς | δρῶν ἑξαμαρτεῖν μᾶλλον ἢ νικᾶν κακῶς ('I prefer, my lord,

to fail while doing a task well than to win in a bad manner’, Soph. *Phil.* 94–5), κακῶς ζῆν κρεῖσσον ἢ καλῶς θανεῖν (‘it is better to live badly than die nobly’, Eur. *IA* 1252).

Fragment 32 – Stob. 4.22.50

Φιλήμονος

γυναῖκα θάπτειν κρεῖττόν ἐστιν ἢ γαμεῖν

Φιλήμονος Meineke: Χαιρήμονος codd.

Philemon

It is better to bury a woman than to marry her

This fragment is also cited in the *Monosticha* (151J). The extreme reaction to marriage suggests that this fragment has been incorrectly assigned to Chaeremon, instead coming from comedy (thus Bartsch (1843) 50, Meineke). A quotation from Philemon follows fr. 32 in Stobaeus’ *Anthologium*, suggesting to some (e.g. Meineke) that the lemma of fr. 32 should be altered to Φιλήμονος.

Fragment 33 – Stob. 4.25.25

Χαιρήμονος

γένειτό μοι τὰς χάριτας ἀποδοῦναι πατρί

Chaeremon

May I have the opportunity to repay my father for his favours

The expectation that a child should treat their parents reverentially and repay the kindness shown during their upbringing was widespread in antiquity; cf. Eur. fr. 852 *TrGF*, Dicaeogenes fr. 4 *TrGF*, Isocr. 1.14, Reinhold (1970) 347–65 = (1976) 15–54. Children could, however, be released from this obligation if they were mistreated by their parents; cf. Antiphon Περὶ ἀληθείας fr. 44a v.4–8, 14–22 Pendrick, Plut. *Solon* 22.

Fragment 34 – Stob. 4.25.31

Χαιρήμονος

<...>

<(*com. adesp.* fr. 901 *PCG*)>

βεβαιοτέραν ἔχε τὴν φιλίαν πρὸς τοὺς γονεῖς

Chaeremon

<...>

<...>

Show a firmer love towards your parents

Since the above verse contains three anapaestic feet, inadmissible in tragic iambic trimeters, it cannot belong to Chaeremon (thus Meineke (1839) 519, Bartsch (1843) 51). Nauck suggested altering the lemma of fr. 34 to Φιλήμονος, since the quotation in 4.25.30 is by Philemon. Alternatively, Wachsmuth and Hense inserted a lacuna after Χαιρήμονος which would have contained a quotation from Chaeremon; this fragment would have been related to the topic of 4.25 – ὅτι χρὴ τοὺς γονεῖς τῆς καθηκούσης τίμης καταξιοῦσθαι πάρα τῶν τέκνων, καὶ εἰ ἐν ἅπασιν αὐτοῖς πειστέον ('that it is necessary for parents to be accorded proper honour among their children, and whether they must be obeyed in all things'). The lacuna would have also given the author of the above verse, now numbered *com. adesp.* fr. 901 *PCG*.

Fragment 35 – Stob. 4.26.14

Χαιρήμονος

πρὸς υἷον ὀργὴν οὐκ ἔχει χρηστὸς πατήρ

Chaeremon

A good father does not remain angry with his son

This fragment is also quoted in the *Monosticha* (635J). For similar beliefs that a good father should not persist in being angry towards his son cf. Eur. *Hipp.* 900–1 ὀργῆς δ' ἔξανεῖς κακῆς, ἄναξ | Θησεῦ, τὸ λῶιστον σοῖσι βούλευσαι δόμοις ('quench your terrible anger, lord Theseus, and consider the best course of action for your house'). The specification of the father as χρηστός is part of a wider trend which recognised that parents were not always good towards their children; see on fr. 33.

Fragment 36 – Stob. 4.31.9

Χαιρήμονος

Πλοῦτος δὲ πρὸς μὲν τὰκόλαστα πᾶς ἰῶν
οὐκ ἔσχεν ὄγκον ὥστε καὶ δόξης τυχεῖν,
ἀλλ' ἔστ' ἄσεμνος· ἐν δὲ σώφροσιν βροτῶν
ἡδὺς συνοικεῖν καὶ τιν' εἰληχῶς χάριν

1 τὰκόλαστα Headlam: τὰς ὄλας codd.

1 πᾶς Tucker: τιμὰς codd.

3 σώφροσιν Headlam: δόσει SA: δώσει M

Chaeremon

**But any Wealth going towards licentiousness
does not have the size so that it gets a good reputation,
but is not respected; yet among wise mortals
wealth is sweet to live with and has some pleasure for its lot**

The text of fr. 36 as found in the manuscripts of Stobaeus' *Anthologium* is incorrect, with line 1 metrically defective and line 3 metrically incomplete by one syllable. μὲν and δέ indicate that fr. 36 was intended as a contrast between the treatment of wealth among two separate groups. Since lines 1–3 conclude with the statement that wealth is not respected whereas lines 3–4 end with wealth being sweet to live with, the first half of the contrast in fr. 36 must refer to a negative character trait, the second half to a positive one. The emendation of τὰς ὄλας

τιμάς το τὰκόλαστα πᾶς (thus Headlam (1899) 5, Tucker (1904) 383) is thus plausible and metrically sound, with the kappa in τὰκόλαστα probably incorrect rendered as a lunate sigma (thus Tucker (1904) 383), the last alpha in τὰκόλαστα mistaken for an iota, and the pi in πᾶς mistakenly given as the mu in τιμάς. In line 3, δόσει (found in manuscripts *S* and *A*) and δώσει (found in manuscript *M*) are similarly corrupt. Headlam ((1899) 5) suggested the restoration σώφροσιν; although this emendation is metrically sound and restores the contrast present in fr. 36, it remains to explain how σώφροσιν was corrupted to δόσει.

ἰών and συνοικεῖν suggest Chaeremon is treating wealth as a deity in these lines in keeping with his treatment of abstract concepts as divinities; cf. fr. 19. For similar beliefs that wealth is subject to mismanagement among those of bad character cf. Hes. *Op.* 320–6, Ar. *Plut.* 234–44.

Fragment 37 – Stob. 4.44.3

Χαιρήμονος

οὐδείς ἐπὶ σμικροῖσι λυπεῖται σοφός

Chaeremon

No wise man gets distressed over trifling matters

For similar sentiments to fr. 37 cf. *Tr. adesp.* fr. 448 *TrGF*, [Epicharmus] fr. 264 *PCG*.

Fragment 38 – Stob. 4.50.60 (transl. Wright (2016) 237)

Χαιρήμονος

γέρων γὰρ ὀργῆι πᾶς ὑπηρετεῖν κακός

Chaeremon

For every old man has the vice of being a slave to anger

For other instances of old men being irascible cf. Soph. *Aj.* 1017–18 (with Finglass), Eur. *Or.* 490, Ar. *Lys.* 1023, *Vesp.* 242–4, 422–4, Knemon in Menander’s *Dyskolos* (e.g. *Dys.* 6–34, 81–126, 466–86), Demeas and Nicostratus in Menander’s *Samia* (e.g. *Sam.* 360–90, 570–85).

Fragment 39 – Theophr. *Hist. Pl.* 5.9.4

δύσκαπνα δὲ τῷ γένει μὲν ὅλως τὰ ὑγρά· καὶ τὰ χλωρὰ διὰ τοῦτο δύσκαπνα. λέγω δὲ τὰ ὑγρά τὰ ἔλεια, οἷον πλάτανον ἰτέαν λεύκην αἴγειρον· ἐπεὶ καὶ ἡ ἄμπελος ὅτε ὑγρά δύσκαπνος. ἐκ δὲ τῆς ἰδίας φύσεως ὁ φοῖνιξ, ὃν δὴ καὶ μάλιστα τινες ὑπειλήφασιν δύσκαπνον· ὅθεν καὶ Χαιρήμων ἐποίησε

×—×—× τοῦ τε δυσκαπνωτάτου

φοίνικος ἐκ γῆς ῥιζοφοιτήτους φλέβας

And generally speaking, woods that are damp give off foul smoke; and for this reason, so too do green woods. And when I speak of damp woods, I mean the types that grow in marshland, such as the plane tree, the willow, the white poplar, and the black poplar; for even the vine, when damp, gives off foul smoke. And by its own nature, so too does the date palm, which some have supposed to give off smoke that is especially foul, whence Chaeremon wrote

from the ground the root-wandering veins

of the palm with its foulest smoke

The date palm was associated with Apollo, as Leto is said to have rested by this tree on Delos when giving birth to the god; cf. *Hom. Hym.* 3.14–18, Ael. *VH* 5.4. φλέβες usually describes blood vessels, but can refer to those of trees; cf. Theophr. *Hist. Pl.* 1.2.1. ῥιζοφοιτήτος is a hapax. The veins and roots of the date palm were used for magical purposes, binding together ingredients or body parts (cf. *PGM* 4.3193–5 and 4.903–4 respectively); perhaps these verses came from a spell or similar.

Fragment 40: see fragment 23

Fragment 41 – Cocondrius *Περὶ τρόπων* 789.24–7

αἴνιγμά ... οἶόν ἐστι Χαιρήμονος·

ἔαρος ἢ νύμφη, τεκνοῖ τι μετὰ θέρους ἐς ὕστερον·

ἐν χειμῶνι δ' οἴχεται σὺν τῶι ἀνέμῳ κεκαρμένη

ἄμπελον γὰρ δηλοῖ διὰ τούτου

A riddle ... just as in Chaeremon

The bride of spring, she gives birth with summer to a child for the future;

but in the winter she is gone, cut down with the wind

and he indicates a grapevine from these clues

It has been suggested that fr. 41 is textually suspect and thus should not be assigned to Chaeremon (thus Collard (1970) 22). This is, however, no reason to doubt the authenticity of these verses. Moreover, the description of the grapevine as the bride of spring and the grapes as the children of summer corresponds with Chaeremon's use of familial metaphors in relation to plant life; cf. *Dionysus* fr. 5, *Io* fr. 9. For riddles in drama cf. Eur. *Oedipus* fr. 540a.7–9 *TrGF*, Theodectas *Oedipus* fr. 4, 18 *TrGF*, Antiphanes *Sappho* fr. 194.1–5 *PCG*. For grapes as children of the vine cf. *Ion* fr. 26.6–16 *IEG*.

Fragment 42 – Men. *Asp.* 424–8 (transl. based on Arnott)

ΔΑΟΣ οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδὲν δεινὸν ᾧδ' εἰπεῖν ἔπος

οὐδὲ πάθος (Eur. *Or.* 1–2)

425

ΣΜΙΚΡΙΝΗΣ ἀποκναίεις σύ.

ΔΑΟΣ τὰς γὰρ συμφορὰς

ἀπροσδοκίτους δαίμονες διώρισαν.

Εὐριπίδου τοῦτ' ἐστί, τὸ δὲ Χα[ιρήμονος],

οὐ τῶν τυχόντων.

DAOS There is no tale so terrible to tell

SMIKRINES You're boring me to death.

DAOS **For the gods ordained disasters to be unexpected**

The first line is by Euripides, the second by Chaeremon.

They're no trifling poets!

Initially, fr. 42 was assigned to Euripides as fr. 944a, since both manuscripts of Menander's *Aspis* were defective in their transmission of line 427, which gives the provenance of the tragic quotations above. In P.Bodmer 25, a lacuna occurred part way through line 427, with this line presented as τοδεχα[, whereas in PSI 126, the line was defective, given as το[] υρημενον. The version found in P.Bodmer 25 is most likely correct and should be restored as τὸ δὲ Χα[ιρήμονος] (thus Handley (1969) 104), since Menander does not place two separate quotations from the same tragedian next to one another in this part of his *Aspis* (399–428). Given that οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδὲν δεινὸν ᾧδ' εἰπεῖν ἔπος | οὐδὲ πάθος comes from Euripides' *Orestes* (1–2), this means that τὰς γὰρ συμφορὰς ἀπροσδοκίτους δαίμον[ες δι]ώρισαν cannot have been written by Euripides; instead they must have been the verses attributed to Chaeremon by Daos. For similar beliefs in the gods causing disasters cf. συμφοραὶ θεήλατοι | πᾶσιν βροτοῖσιν ἢ τότ' ἤλθον ἢ τότε ('god-sent misfortunes come to all mortals at one time or another', Eur. *Andr.* 851–2), Eur. *Hippolytus Veiled* fr. 444 TrGF.

Fragment 43 – Fragm. Bobiensia, *De Versibus* 620.7

x—u— x—u— x—u— — x—u— u—

pentametrum hypercatalecticum, quod chaeremonion appellatur a Chaeremone tragico

caeli serena qui regat et aureos currus calentibus quadrigis.

The iambic pentameter hypercatalectic, which is called the chaeremonion after Chaeremon the tragic poet,

he who rules over the serene areas of heaven and the golden chariots with glowing horse teams.

The above verse is the only example of the chaeremonion metre, the iambic pentameter hypercatalectic, but its provenance is uncertain. It may be a creation of the author of *De Versibus*, an anonymous work on different types of metre, to illustrate the mechanics of the chaeremonion metre, a Latin translation of a line of Chaeremon's work, or a line by a Latin poet who imitates this metre. The iambic base suggests that this line was more likely to have been spoken than sung and is further evidence of Chaeremon's metrical experimentation, with Chaeremon perhaps its creator.

Theodectas

Introduction

Life and career

Θεοδέκτης, Ἀριστάνδρου, Φασηλίτης ἐκ Λυκίας, ῥήτωρ, τραπεὶς δὲ ἐπὶ τραγωιδίας, μαθητὴς Πλάτωνος καὶ Ἰσοκράτους καὶ Ἀριστοτέλους. οὗτος καὶ ὁ Ἐρυθραῖος Ναυκράτης καὶ Ἰσοκράτης ὁ ῥήτωρ, ὁ Ἀπολλωνιάτης, καὶ Θεόπομπος, ἐπὶ τῆς ρς' ὀλυμπιάδος εἶπον ἐπιτάφιον ἐπὶ Μαυσώλῳ, Ἄρτεμισίας τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ προτρεψαμένης. καὶ ἐνίκησε μάλιστα εὐδοκιμήσας ἐν ἧι <Μαύσωλον> ἐπέ<γραψε> τραγωιδίαι. ἄλλοι δὲ φασὶ Θεόπομπον ἔχειν τὰ πρωτεῖα. δράματα δὲ ἐδίδαξε ν'. τελευτᾷ δὲ ἐν Ἀθήναις ἐτῶν ἐνὸς καὶ μ', ἔτι τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ περιόντος. ἔγραψε δὲ καὶ τέχνην ῥητορικὴν ἐν μέτρῳ, καὶ ἄλλα τινα καταλογάδην.

ρς' Adler: ργ' codd.

Μαύσωλον Sims

ἐπέ<γραψε> Sims: εἶπε codd.

Theodectas, son of Aristander, from Phaselis in Lycia, an orator, then he turned to tragedy, a pupil of Plato, Isocrates, and Aristotle. This man (i.e. Theodectas) and Naucrates from Erythrae and Isocrates the orator from Apollonia, and Theopompus, in the 106th Olympiad (356/5–353/2), gave funeral speeches for Mausolus, at the instigation of his widow Artemisia. And [Theodectas] won, gaining great honour for the tragedy he entitled <Mausolus>. Others, however, say that Theopompus won first prize. He (i.e. Theodectas) produced 50 plays. He died in Athens at the age of 41, being survived by his father. He also wrote an *Art of Rhetoric* in verse, and some other works in prose.

Su. θ 138 Adler

Theodectas' home town Phaselis was a Dorian colony in Lycia, situated between modern day Çamyuva and Tekirova in Turkey. His son, Theodectas the younger, was an orator and wrote,

among other pieces, a seven-book *Art of Rhetoric*, an encomium for Alexander of Epirus, and various historical works.⁷³³ The *Suda* ascribes two other sons to Theodectas: Theopompus and Carcinus.⁷³⁴ Since Theopompus and Carcinus were, however, respectively rhetorical and dramatic rivals of Theodectas, it seems unlikely that Theodectas had sons with these names; perhaps the *Suda* or its source treated a comic or satirical tradition about Theodectas as biographical fact. In his childhood or early adulthood, Theodectas the elder⁷³⁵ must have left Phaselis for Athens where he became a pupil of Isocrates, Plato,⁷³⁶ and finally Aristotle.⁷³⁷ Nothing is known about Theodectas' time with Isocrates or Plato, though it is likely that Theodectas fell out with Isocrates before becoming a pupil of Plato, given that Isocrates and Plato were rivals. In addition, Aristotle is said to have been enamoured of Theodectas for his beauty.⁷³⁸

From Theodectas' oratorical career, two speeches are known: *Apologia* and *Nomos*. Theodectas' *Apologia* was probably an imagined defence speech delivered by Socrates at his trial in 399, given references to the charge of disregarding the gods in the sole surviving fragment of this speech.⁷³⁹ Theodectas' *Nomos* focused on the Athenians' treatment of mercenaries⁷⁴⁰ and must have been delivered in or soon after 357, given his mention of

⁷³³ *Su.* θ 139 Adler.

⁷³⁴ *Su.* θ 171, κ 394 Adler.

⁷³⁵ Henceforth referred to as Theodectas.

⁷³⁶ Association with Plato has led to the theory that Theodectas wrote the pseudo-Platonic *Clitophon*, given that this dialogue corresponds to Theodectas' views over the function of each section of a speech (thus Geffcken (1933) 436–8; Slings (1999) 9–10 is rightly sceptical).

⁷³⁷ It has been suggested that Theodectas the younger was a pupil of Aristotle rather than the elder tragedian (thus Radermacher (1939) 621, Weissenberger (2002) 311). There is, however, no reason to doubt the statement in *Su.* θ 138 Adler, since Aristotle cites Theodectas the elder most frequently of the *poetae minores*, suggesting a close relationship (thus Hanink (2014) 199).

⁷³⁸ Σωκράτης δ' ὁ φιλόσοφος ὁ πάντων καταφρονῶν τοῦ Ἀλκιβιάδου κάλλους οὐχ ἥττων ἐστίν, ὡς καὶ ὁ σεμνότατος Ἀριστοτέλης τοῦ Φασηλίτου μαθητοῦ; ('and is the philosopher Socrates, who holds everything in contempt, no less enamoured of Alcibiades' beauty than the most revered Aristotle was of his Phaselian pupil?', *Athen.* 13.566d–e).

⁷³⁹ εἰς ποῖον ἱερὸν ἠσέβηκεν; τίνας θεῶν οὐ τετίμηκεν ὧν ἡ πόλις νομίζει; ('against what temple has he behaved impiously? Which of the gods that the state worships, has he not honoured?', *Arist. Rhet.* 1399a 8–10); thus Trevett (1996) 375.

⁷⁴⁰ ὅτι πολίτας μὲν ποιῆσθε τοὺς μισθοφόρους, οἷον Στράβακα καὶ Χαρίδημον διὰ τὴν ἐπιείκειαν· φυγάδας δ' οὐ ποιήσετε τοὺς ἐν τοῖς μισθοφόροις ἀνήκεστα διαπεπραγμένους; ('since you make mercenaries such as Strabax and Charidemus citizens on account of their merits; will you not banish those of

Charidemus' Athenian citizenship, an honour granted to the foreign mercenary in this year.⁷⁴¹ Theodectas' interest in rhetoric also extended to teaching, writing speeches for a fee,⁷⁴² and his composition of an *Art of Rhetoric* in verse. Although this work no longer survives, evidence for possible views espoused in it can be found throughout the Aristotelian corpus; it is summarised by Aristotle in the *Theodectea*, a treatise discussing Theodectas' opinions about oratory,⁷⁴³ and possibly contributed significantly to Aristotle's *Rhetoric*.⁷⁴⁴ Theodectas' theories also feature in the works of later rhetoricians. Among Theodectas' recorded opinions are his beliefs that verse should not feature in speeches, but that they should nonetheless be rhythmical and that the orator should focus on eliciting certain emotions and reactions from his audience in different parts of his speech.⁷⁴⁵ It is, however, difficult to determine to which Theodectas each theory on rhetoric should be assigned, since both the elder and younger Theodectas wrote an *Art of Rhetoric*, though perhaps there was just one work with this name, which some attributed to the elder, some to the younger. Nonetheless, those beliefs cited in the Aristotelian corpus are more like those of the elder Theodectas, given the relationship between him and Aristotle.

Theodectas was also a tragic poet. Theodectas' funeral inscription indicates that he entered dramatic competitions on thirteen occasions and was victorious eight times.⁷⁴⁶ The victor-list for the City Dionysia records that Theodectas gained first prize in this contest on seven occasions.⁷⁴⁷ The date of his first victory in this competition was between 372 and 360,

them who have wrought such irreparable misfortunes?', Arist. *Rhet.* 1399b 1–4, transl. Freese); thus Trevett (1996) 375.

⁷⁴¹ *Hyp. Dem.* 23; thus Parke (1928) 170.

⁷⁴² Theopompus *FGrHist* 115 F 25 = Phot. *Bibl.* 176.120b.35.

⁷⁴³ Kennedy (1958) 287.

⁷⁴⁴ Solmsen (1932) 144–51.

⁷⁴⁵ *Cic. Or.* 172, Arist. *Theodectea* fr. 133 Gigon.

⁷⁴⁶ ἐν δὲ χορῶν [τραγικῶν] ἱεραῖς τρισὶ καὶ δέχ' ἀμίλλαις | ὀκτώ ἀκηράτους ἀμφεθέμην στεφάνους ('and in thirteen holy contests of [tragic] choruses, I was garlanded with the holy crown on eight occasions', Steph. Byz. *Ethnica* 660.3–4 Billerbeck = *FGE* 1574–5).

⁷⁴⁷ *IG* II² 2325.11.

with conjectures including 371,⁷⁴⁸ 368,⁷⁴⁹ and 365;⁷⁵⁰ no particular date is preferable. The eighth victory may have been at the Lenaea or another Athenian dramatic competition.⁷⁵¹ Alternatively, ἐνίκησε μάλιστα εὐδοκιμήσας ἐν ἧι εἶπε τραγωιδία in the *Suda* should perhaps be emended to ἐνίκησε μάλιστα εὐδοκιμήσας ἐν ἧι <Μαύσωλον> ἐπέ<γραψε> τραγωιδία. This would resolve the difficulty in the meaning of the Greek as found in the manuscripts of the *Suda* and would mean that Theodectas gained his eighth victory at the funeral games of Mausolus in 353 with his *Mausolus*. Theodectas wrote 50 plays, for which the titles of nine are known: *Ajax*, *Alcmeon*, *Helen*, *Lynceus*, *Mausolus*, *Oedipus*, *Orestes*, *Tydeus*, and *Philoctetes*. Four additional plays may be conjectured from the lengthier of Theodectas' sententious fragments: *Theseus*,⁷⁵² *Thyestes*,⁷⁵³ *Bellerophon*,⁷⁵⁴ and *Amphiaraus*.⁷⁵⁵ In addition, pseudo-Aristeas, writing in the second century BC,⁷⁵⁶ records that a tragedian named Theodectas was blinded by God for using content from the Bible in his own tragedies;⁷⁵⁷ the play in question has been conjectured to be *Exagoge* and the tragedian Theodectas, the Phaselian poet.⁷⁵⁸ There are, however, no grounds to attribute *Exagoge* to Theodectas;⁷⁵⁹ perhaps pseudo-Aristeas found connections between one of Theodectas' plays and biblical content and protested that the Word of God ought not to be exploited in the service of false gods.⁷⁶⁰

⁷⁴⁸ Wilson (1997) 178, on the basis that each new entry represents a year after the previous last entry. So since Astydamas II was victorious in 372 (*IG* II² 2325.10), Wilson argues that Theodectas won in 371.

⁷⁴⁹ Webster (1954) 303, who suggested that each entry records a victory four years after the previous one.

⁷⁵⁰ Capps (1900) 40, given that, on the basis of each entry representing four years, 365 is the latest possible year in the period 368–5 for Theodectas' victory to have occurred.

⁷⁵¹ Thus Xanthakis-Karamanos (1980) 20.

⁷⁵² Cf. fr. 6, Weissenberger (2002) 310.

⁷⁵³ Cf. fr. 9, Ravenna (1903) 801.

⁷⁵⁴ Cf. fr. 10.

⁷⁵⁵ Cf. fr. 20.

⁷⁵⁶ Thus Hadas (1951) 3–54.

⁷⁵⁷ *Ep.* 316.

⁷⁵⁸ Thus Graetz (1876) 340.

⁷⁵⁹ Thus Jacobson (1983) 16.

⁷⁶⁰ E.g. Theodectas' *Bellerophon* may have been connected with Gen. 39.

Theodectas' fragments indicate clear rhetorical influence. He uses the fallacy of division (see on fr. 2.4, fr. 5), rhetoric of a defence speech throughout fr. 3,⁷⁶¹ and a structured argument in fr. 8, where Theodectas sets out the issue which the fragment is to discuss (1–3). He then justifies why the gods do not punish individuals immediately (4–6) and explains how the absence of immediate divine punishment allows the true nature of an individual to be revealed (6–9). Admittedly, the rhetorical nature of Theodectas' play may partially be owed to the preservation of many of these fragments in Aristotle's *Rhetoric*.⁷⁶² Nonetheless, the quotation of fr. 8 in Stobaeus' *Anthologium* shows that the seeming prevalence of rhetorical features in Theodectas' verses is not solely due to provenance.

Theodectas' tragedies also show that he was an innovative poet, adapting established mythological traditions and even the nature of the tragic genre itself. Theodectas' *Philoctetes*, for example, presents the title character as wounded in his hand rather than in his foot as had previously been the case. Theodectas' transferral of Philoctetes' wound would have significantly altered the visual effect of the play, with the title character able to walk freely around the stage rather than hobble as in previous dramatic versions. Theodectas' *Mausolus* was equally innovative. It is one of only a few known plays with a premiere outside Athens,⁷⁶³ and, given poor relations between Athens and Mausolus' regime, Theodectas' play may not have had an Athenian reperformance.⁷⁶⁴ In addition, Theodectas' *Mausolus* was written for a tyrant, with other examples of such commissions including Aeschylus' *Women of Aetna*, Euripides' *Archelaus*, and Python's *Agen*. Unlike these other plays, however, Theodectas' tragedy was part of a competition instituted by a woman, Artemisia; this is the only known occasion on which a woman was involved in the sponsorship of tragedy.

⁷⁶¹ Thus Xanthakis-Karamanos (1979) 75.

⁷⁶² Thus Wright (2016) 166; e.g. Theodectas' *Alcmeon* fr. 2, *Helen* fr. 3, *Orestes* fr. 5.

⁷⁶³ Cf. Aeschylus' *Women of Aetna*, Euripides' *Archelaus*, Python's *Agen* (fr. 1 *TrGF*).

⁷⁶⁴ Thus Xanthakis-Karamanos (1980) 17; cf. Diod. Sic. 16.7.3.

The *Suda* states that Theodectas the elder died in Athens at the age of 41 and was survived by his father, Aristander. The attribution of this information to the elder Theodectas is, however, doubtful, given remarks made by Plutarch on the visit of Alexander the Great to Phaselis:

αὐτὸς δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐν ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς οὐδὲν τοιοῦτον τερατευσάμενος ὁδοποιῆσαι φησι τὴν λεγομένην Κλίμακα καὶ διελθεῖν ὁρμήσας ἐκ Φασηλίδος. διὸ καὶ πλείονας ἡμέρας ἐν τῇ πόλει διέτριψεν ἐν αἷς καὶ Θεοδέκτου τεθνηκότος (ἦν δὲ Φασηλίτης) ἰδὼν εἰκόνα ἀνακειμένην ἐν ἀγορᾷ, μετὰ δεῖπνον ἐπεκώμασε μεθύων καὶ τῶν στεφάνων ἐπέρριψε πολλούς, οὐκ ἄχαριν ἐν παιδιᾷ ἀποδιδούς τιμὴν τῇ γενομένῃ δι' Ἀριστοτέλην καὶ φιλοσοφίαν ὁμιλίας πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα.

And Alexander himself in his letters makes no such prodigy of [the seas parting for him], but he says that he marched along the so-called Ladder and that he passed through it, having set out from Phaselis. This was the reason he spent several days in the city, during which he noticed that a statue of the deceased Phaselian Theodectas stood in the agora, and after dinner, while drunk, [Alexander] led a band of revellers to the statue and garlanded it in many of their crowns, thus in pleasantry returning no ungraceful honour for the association with the man which he owed to Aristotle and philosophy.

Plut. *Alex.* 17.8 (transl. based on Perrin)

This passage provides a *terminus ante quem* for Theodectas' death: 335. If Theodectas died close to 335, then taken with the *Suda*'s statement concerning the length of Theodectas' life, this would mean that the elder Theodectas was born ca. 376,⁷⁶⁵ impossible given that his first

⁷⁶⁵ Thus Smith s. v. Theodectas.

victory in the City Dionysia was between 372 and 360. So the *Suda*'s remark that Theodectas lived for 41 years and Plutarch's description of Alexander's trip to Phaselis should be assigned to the younger Theodectas;⁷⁶⁶ the elder Theodectas might have lived ca. 405–330, his son 376–335.⁷⁶⁷ Alternatively, since Plutarch does not indicate when the statue was erected, Theodectas may have died many years earlier, perhaps shortly after his victory with *Mausolus* in 353.⁷⁶⁸ This would place his birth ca. 390,⁷⁶⁹ reconciling the information in the *Suda* with that provided by Plutarch. Regardless, Theodectas the elder was interred on the Sacred Way on the route to Eleusis; his tomb was adorned with statues of Homer and other famous poets.⁷⁷⁰

Reaction and reception

Fourth-century reaction to Theodectas and his plays was largely positive. Theodectas' seven victories in the City Dionysia make him one of the most successful tragedians to have entered this competition, after Sophocles, Carcinus II, and possibly Astydamos II. Assuming that his victories were gained with at least a trilogy on seven occasions at the City Dionysia, then Theodectas would have been victorious with around twenty-one of his plays, representing a roughly one-in-two victory rate. By this criterion, Theodectas was the most successful fourth-century tragedian, his victory rate higher than the one-in-five victory rate of Carcinus II and the one-in-six victory rate of Astydamos II. Moreover, Theodectas' eight victories in thirteen competitions represents a 61.5% victory ratio, comparable to those of Aeschylus (13 victories in 19 Dionysia entries = 68.4%) and Sophocles (18 Dionysian and 6 Lenaeon victories = 84 victorious plays out of 123 = 68.3%), and far surpassing Euripides. Theodectas' success in

⁷⁶⁶ Thus Radermacher (1939) 62, Weissenberger (2002) 311.

⁷⁶⁷ Thus De Strycker and Slings (2005) 94.

⁷⁶⁸ Thus Capps (1900) 40.

⁷⁶⁹ Thus Webster (1954) 303.

⁷⁷⁰ [Plut.] *Vit. X Orat.* 837c.

the City Dionysia may have been the reason for his tomb being surrounded by statues of Homer and other poets, emphasising Theodectas' poetic prowess.

Theodectas' careers as a tragedian and an orator were also discussed in fourth-century literature, with Theopompus describing how he was a contemporary of both Isocrates and Theodectas and how Theodectas taught oratory and wrote speeches for a fee⁷⁷¹ and with Antiphanes mentioning the art of Theodectas in his *Carians*.⁷⁷² Nonetheless, the reaction was not entirely positive, with the historiographer Onesicritus criticising Theodectas for stating that the sun was the cause of the Ethiopians' dark skin and curly hair.⁷⁷³ Theodectas' works are, however, used most frequently by Aristotle. In his *Poetics*, Aristotle cites Theodectas' *Tydeus* as an example of recognition from inference and twice discusses the plot of *Lynceus*,⁷⁷⁴ once without reference to Theodectas;⁷⁷⁵ this suggests that *Lynceus* was so well known that it did not require specific attribution to Theodectas.⁷⁷⁶ In his *Rhetoric*, Aristotle mentions the arguments deployed by Odysseus and Ajax in Theodectas' *Ajax*⁷⁷⁷ and cites Theodectas' *Alcmeon* fr. 2 and *Orestes* fr. 5 to illustrate the fallacy of division;⁷⁷⁸ Aristotle also quotes from Theodectas' *Apologia* and *Nomoi*.⁷⁷⁹ Finally, Aristotle uses *Helen* fr. 3 to illustrate the difference between absolute and relative nobility in his *Politics*⁷⁸⁰ and in his *Nicomachean Ethics*, Aristotle shows how Theodectas' Philoctetes succumbed to the pain of his wound.⁷⁸¹ The number of quotations and references to Theodectas in the Aristotelian

⁷⁷¹ *FGrHist* 115 F 25.

⁷⁷² οὐδ' αἰσχύνεται | ὁ τὸν Ἡράκλειτον πᾶσιν ἐξηγούμενος, | ὁ τὴν Θεοδέκτου μόνος ἀνευρηκῶς τέχνην, | ὁ τὰ κεφάλαια συγγράφων Εὐριπίδῃ (‘he is not ashamed, that man who expounded Heracleitus to all, who was the sole discover of the art of Theodectas, who wrote the summaries for Euripides’, Antiphanes *Carians* fr. 111.2–5 *PCG*).

⁷⁷³ *FGrHist* 134 F 22 = fr. 17.

⁷⁷⁴ 1455a 4–10 (= *Tydeus* fr. 5a); 1452a 11–29; 1455b 24–32 (= *Lynceus* fr. 3a II, I).

⁷⁷⁵ 1452a 11–29.

⁷⁷⁶ Thus Sommerstein (2002) 61.

⁷⁷⁷ 1399b 20–30; 1400a 23–9 (= *Ajax* fr. 1a I, II); and possibly 1416b 9–15 (= *Ajax* fr. 1a I; thus *TrGF* 1 p. 230).

⁷⁷⁸ 1397b 2–5, 1401a 35–1401b 2.

⁷⁷⁹ 1399a 8–10, 1399b 1–4.

⁷⁸⁰ 1255a 35–8.

⁷⁸¹ 1150b 6–9 (= *Philoctetes* fr. 5b I).

corpus make Theodectas the most cited tragedian of the *poetae minores*.⁷⁸² Admittedly, this may be as a result of the close relations between Aristotle and Theodectas,⁷⁸³ but Aristotle's frequent use of Theodectas nonetheless shows Theodectas' prowess as a poet and orator. The esteem in which Aristotle held Theodectas is also shown by Aristotle's composition of a treatise about Theodectas' rhetorical views, the *Theodectea*, and by Aristotle introducing Alexander the Great to Theodectas' works.⁷⁸⁴

In the centuries after his death, Theodectas' tragedies continued to enjoy a positive reception. His works were quoted by a variety of authors, with Hermippus recording fr. 18, Tryphon citing *Orestes* fr. 5, and Strabo giving fr. 17. In addition, *Orestes* fr. 19 is included in a miscellany dated to the second century BC and fr. 20 is found in a florilegium dated to the same period. A fragmentary booklist from Rhodes dating to the second century BC has also survived, listing Theodectas' *Techne*, perhaps his *Art of Rhetoric*, among its inventory.⁷⁸⁵ The transmission of Theodectas' *Techne* and the quotation of Theodectas' verses indicates that Theodectas' tragedies and his other works enjoyed a positive response from a wide variety of authors. Theodectas and his views on oratory also continued to be discussed in this period. Theodectas was included in Hermippus' *On the Pupils of Isocrates*, which describes Theodectas' skill in creating and answering riddles,⁷⁸⁶ and Valerius Maximus alleges that Aristotle gave one of his treatises to Theodectas to pass off as his own, but Aristotle became jealous of Theodectas' success.⁷⁸⁷ Cicero notes that Theodectas forbade the use of verse in speeches, but argued that they should be harmonious nonetheless,⁷⁸⁸ and Dionysius of Halicarnassus describes how Theodectas divided language into three parts: nouns, verbs, and

⁷⁸² By comparison, Aristotle mentions Astydamos II only once, Carcinus II four times, and Chaeremon five times.

⁷⁸³ Thus Hanink (2014) 199.

⁷⁸⁴ Plut. *Alex.* 17.8; thus Capps (1900) 41.

⁷⁸⁵ *NSER* 11.11.

⁷⁸⁶ Fr. 69 *FHG*.

⁷⁸⁷ Val. Max. 8.14(ext).3.

⁷⁸⁸ *Or.* 172.

connecting words such as conjunctions, prepositions, and particles.⁷⁸⁹ Dionysius also recounts how Theodectas imitated Isocrates' style, criticising Theodectas as not worthy of comparison with Isocrates.⁷⁹⁰ In addition, Quintilian shows how Theodectas believed that speeches should be magnificent (μεγαλοπρεπής) and sweet (ἡδύς)⁷⁹¹ and Philodemus cites Theodectas for his belief that prose and verse works deal with similar content, but can be distinguished by the use of poetic diction.⁷⁹² The focus on Theodectas' beliefs concerning oratory shows his importance in rhetorical theorisation among later generations and his position as a pivotal figure in the development of oratory; this in turn may have led to the preservation of many biographical details about Theodectas.

From the Second Sophistic onward, Theodectas and his plays continued to be discussed by a variety of authors, whereas Theodectas' speeches and his theories concerning oratory are not found in any source from this period. Plutarch notes that Theodectas was a pupil of Isocrates and describes Theodectas' tomb.⁷⁹³ Pausanias gives further details about Theodectas' tomb and Athenaeus describes how Aristotle was enamoured with Theodectas and records comments made about Theodectas in Antiphanes' *Carians*.⁷⁹⁴ The preservation of these biographical details indicates that Theodectas was known during this period and that details concerning his life continued to be transmitted, whereas those of his contemporaries, such as Chaeremon and Carcinus II, were increasingly rare. A similar amount of information is found in later sources, with Photius noting that Theodectas was a tragedian and recording Theopompus' comments concerning Theodectas' career,⁷⁹⁵ Stephanus of Byzantium giving similar details about Theodectas' life to those found in the *Suda* entry above and preserving

⁷⁸⁹ *Comp.* 2.

⁷⁹⁰ *Isae.* 19.

⁷⁹¹ *Inst.* 4.2.63.

⁷⁹² Περὶ Ποιημάτων 3 fr. 15 Janko.

⁷⁹³ [Plut.] *Vit. X Orat.* 837c, *Alex.* 17.8.

⁷⁹⁴ Paus. 1.37.4, Athen. 13.566d, 4.134b.

⁷⁹⁵ *Bibl.* 260.486b.40, 176.120b.35.

Theodectas' funeral inscription,⁷⁹⁶ and with the *Suda* giving a brief biography of Theodectas. The large amount of details provided by these later writers is unusual for a fourth-century tragedian and though these authors are reliant on earlier sources for their information, they nonetheless show that Theodectas continued to be known in Late Antiquity at a time when many of his contemporary tragedians were not.

Theodectas' plays were also quoted and discussed during and after the Greek Imperial period. Among the writers citing Theodectas are Athenaeus,⁷⁹⁷ Porphyry,⁷⁹⁸ Clement of Alexandria,⁷⁹⁹ and Stobaeus.⁸⁰⁰ Evidence also exists for more detailed engagement with and the transmission of Theodectas' plays during the Greek Imperial period. In his *Attic Nights*,⁸⁰¹ Aulus Gellius notes that Theodectas wrote a tragedy entitled *Mausolus*, which was extant when Gellius was writing and which Hyginus is said to have regarded as better than Theodectas' prose works.⁸⁰² This shows that Theodectas' *Mausolus* continued to be transmitted as late as the second century AD. The preservation of the entirety of a fourth-century tragedy is unparalleled during the Greek Imperial period, where only excerpted scenes from this period of drama were transmitted.⁸⁰³ Hyginus' praise of this eulogistic biographical tragedy for a tyrant is similarly without precedent.

⁷⁹⁶ Steph. Byz. *Ethnica* 660.3 Billerbeck = *FGE* 1574.

⁷⁹⁷ *Oedipus* fr. 4, fr. 6, 18.

⁷⁹⁸ *Alcmeon* fr. 1b.

⁷⁹⁹ Fr. 16.

⁸⁰⁰ Fr. 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 12a, 13, 14, 15, 16.

⁸⁰¹ 10.18.5 (= *Mausolus* fr. 3b).

⁸⁰² *Exempla* fr. 12 Funaioli.

⁸⁰³ See on Carcinus' *Medea*.

Commentary

ΑΙΑΣ

Fragment 1a I – Arist. *Rhet.* 1399b 20–30 (transl. based on Freese)

ἄλλος τὸ οὐ ἔνεκ' ἂν εἴη ἢ γένοιτο, τούτου ἔνεκα φάναι εἶναι ἢ γεγενῆσθαι, οἷον εἰ δοίη ἂν τίς
τινι ἴν' ἀφελόμενος λυπήσῃ, ὅθεν καὶ τοῦτ' εἴρηται,

πολλοῖς ὁ δαίμων οὐ κατ' εὖνοιαν φέρων

μεγάλα δίδωσιν εὐτυχήματ', ἀλλ' ἵνα

τὰς συμφορὰς λάβωσιν ἐπιφανεστέρας

καὶ τὸ ἐκ τοῦ Μελεάγρου τοῦ Ἀντιφῶντος (fr. 2 *TrGF*)

οὐχ ὡς κτάνωσι θῆρ', ὅπως δὲ μάρτυρες

ἀρετῆς γένωνται Μελεάγρῳ πρὸς Ἑλλάδα

καὶ τὸ ἐκ τοῦ Αἴαντος τοῦ Θεοδέκτου, ὅτι ὁ Διομήδης προείλετο Ὀδυσσεά οὐ τιμῶν, ἀλλ' ἵνα
ἦττων ἦι ὁ ἀκολουθῶν· ἐνδέχεται γὰρ τούτου ἔνεκα ποιῆσαι.

Another topic consists in maintaining that something is or has arisen thanks to something thanks to which it could be or arise. For example, if one were to give a gift to another individual so that he might grieve him by taking it back, from where it is said,

For many people it is not through goodwill that god, bearing much good luck,

bestows it,

but so that they may suffer more striking disasters

And this from Antiphon's *Meleager*

Not so that they can kill the beast, but so that they may become witnesses

to Greece of Meleager's valour

And there is an example of this in Theodectas' *Ajax*, the claim that Diomedes chose Odysseus, not out of esteem, but so that his companion would be inferior; it is possible that he did it for this reason.

Σ Arist. *Rhet.* 1399b 28 Rabe

ὁ Θεοδέκτης λέγει, ὅτι ὁ Διομήδης ἔλαβε τὸν Ὀδυσσεύα ἐξεληθῶν εἰς τὸ ἐλεῖν τινα Τρωικόν, ὅτε ἐκράτησε καὶ τὸν Δόλωνα, οὐ τιμῶν καὶ προτιμῶν αὐτὸν τοῦ Αἴαντος, ἀλλ' ἵνα ἦ ὁ ἀκολουθῶν αὐτῷ ἐλάττων.

Theodectas says that Diomedes chose Odysseus when going out to capture some Trojan, when he defeated Dolon among others, not because he honoured and preferred him over Ajax, but rather so that his companion would be inferior to him.

Arist. *Rhet.* 1416b 9–15

κοινὸν δὲ τῷ διαβάλλοντι καὶ τῷ ἀπολυομένῳ, ἐπειδὴ τὸ αὐτὸ ἐνδέχεται πλείονων ἕνεκαπραχθῆναι, τῷ μὲν διαβάλλοντι κακοησιτέον ἐπὶ τὸ χειρὸν ἐκλαμβάνοντι, τῷ δὲ ἀπολυομένῳ ἐπὶ τὸ βέλτιον, οἷον ὅτι ὁ Διομήδης τὸν Ὀδυσσεύα προεῖλετο, τῷ μὲν ὅτι διὰ τὸ ἄριστον ὑπολαμβάνειν τὸν Ὀδυσσεύα, τῷ δ' ὅτι οὐ, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ μόνον μὴ ἀνταγωνιστεῖν ὡς φαῦλον.

Another method is common to the accuser and the person defending themselves, since it is possible that the same thing has been done for many reasons. For the accuser, he must make the matter seem bad by interpreting it in the worst possible manner, whereas the one defending himself must take it in a better way, for example regarding the fact that Diomedes chose Odysseus [to accompany him on the night time raid on Troy], for one side, that it was because Diomedes supposed Odysseus the best, whereas for the other side, it was not, but Diomedes chose him because Odysseus alone was not a rival, since he was of little worth.

Fragment 1a II – Arist. *Rhet.* 1400a 23–9 (transl. based on Freese)

ἄλλος τοῖς προδιαβεβλημένοις καὶ ἀνθρώποις καὶ πράγμασιν, ἢ δοκοῦσι, τὸ λέγειν τὴν αἰτίαν τοῦ παραδόξου· ἔστιν γὰρ τι δι' ὃ φαίνεται· οἷον, ὑποβεβλημένης τινὸς τὸν αὐτῆς υἱόν, διὰ τὸ ἀσπάζεσθαι ἐδόκει συνεῖναι τῷ μειρακίῳ, λεχθέντος δὲ τοῦ αἰτίου ἐλύθη ἡ διαβολή· καὶ οἷον ἐν

τῶι Αἴαντι τῶι Θεοδέκτου Ὀδυσσεὺς λέγει πρὸς τὸν Αἴαντα διότι ἀνδρειότερος ὢν τοῦ
Αἴαντος οὐ δοκεῖ.

Another topic when people or deeds are attacked by slander, or seem to be, consists in stating the reason for the false accusation; for there must be a reason for the apparent guilt. For example, when a mother has secretly given away her own son, she appeared to associate with the lad with a view to embraces, but the slander dissipated when the reason was stated; and for example in Theodectas' *Ajax*, Odysseus says to Ajax why he was braver than Ajax, though he was thought not to be.

The arguments recorded by these passages relate to *Iliad* 10, in which Diomedes selects Odysseus as his companion to spy on the Trojan camp, choosing him because of his enthusiasm and his support from Pallas Athene.⁸⁰⁴ The accusation (presumably by Ajax) that Odysseus was a poor warrior and Odysseus' statement that he was braver than Ajax suggests that the two warriors are at odds and thus that Theodectas' *Ajax* treated their dispute over the arms of Achilles;⁸⁰⁵ frr. 1a I and II may plausibly record arguments found in the agon, but this cannot be corroborated.⁸⁰⁶ Prince's hypothesis that Theodectas' play was a 'response' to Antisthenes' *Judgement of the Arms*,⁸⁰⁷ a work comprising speeches delivered by Odysseus and Ajax in which they each justify why they should be awarded the arms of Achilles, is speculative. It has also been suggested that Theodectas' *Ajax* was the inspiration for Pacuvius' and Accius' *Award of the Arms* plays.⁸⁰⁸ There is, however, no reason to favour association between Theodectas' *Ajax* and these later tragedies and Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides are otherwise preferred as the models for Accius' and Pacuvius' plays.⁸⁰⁹

For Ajax in drama see on Astydamas' *Aias Mainomenos*. Odysseus and Diomedes often feature together in tragedy, appearing in the pseudo-Euripidean *Rhesus* in the fourth

⁸⁰⁴ *Il.* 10.218–53, esp. 243–5: πῶς ἂν ἔπειτ' Ὀδυσῆος ἐγὼ θεῖοιο λαθοίμην, | οὐ περί μὲν πρόφρων κραδίη καὶ θυμὸς ἀγήνωρ | ἐν πάντεσσι πόνοισι, φιλεῖ δέ ἐ Πάλλας Ἀθήνη ('how then could I forget about godlike Odysseus, whose heart and heroic courage surpass in all deeds, and Pallas Athene loves him?')

⁸⁰⁵ Thus Capps (1895) 299.

⁸⁰⁶ Thus Xanthakis-Karamanos (1979) 72.

⁸⁰⁷ (2015) 199.

⁸⁰⁸ Thus Jebb (1896) xlvi, Capps (1895) 299.

⁸⁰⁹ Thus Warmington (1936) 172, 358.

century and in Sophocles' *Laconian Women*,⁸¹⁰ Euripides' *Philoctetes*,⁸¹¹ *Scyrians*,⁸¹² and possibly Aeschylus' *Palamedes*⁸¹³ in the fifth century.

ΑΛΚΜΕΩΝ

Fragment 1b – Porphyr. *Philologus Akroasis* fr. 408 Smith in Euseb. *Pr. Ev.* 10.3.19

Θεοδέκτης ἐν Ἀλκμαίωνι φησι·

σαφῆς μὲν ἐν βροτοῖσιν ὑμνεῖται λόγος,

ὥς οὐδὲν ἐστὶν ἀθλιώτερον φυτὸν

γυναικός

Theodectas says in his *Alcmeon*:

A clear maxim is repeated among mortals

that there is no creature more wretched than

a woman

Fragment 2 – Arist. *Rhet.* 1397b 2–5

δεῖ σκοπεῖν χωρὶς εἰ ἄξιος ὁ παθῶν παθεῖν καὶ ὁ ποιήσας ποιῆσαι, εἶτα χρῆσθαι ὁποτέρως ἀρμόττει· ἐνίοτε γὰρ διαφωνεῖ τὸ τοιοῦτον καὶ οὐδὲν κωλύει, ὥσπερ ἐν τῷ Ἀλκμαίωνι τῷ

Θεοδέκτου

 μητέρα δὲ τὴν σὴν οὔτις ἐστύγει βροτῶν;

φησὶ δὲ ἀποκρινόμενος

<ΑΛΚΜΕΩΝ> <ἅπαντες>, ἀλλὰ διαλαβόντα χρὴ σκοπεῖν.

ἐρομένης δὲ τῆς Ἀλφεισιβοίας

<ΑΛΦ.> πῶς ... ;

⁸¹⁰ Fr. 368 *TrGF* with Lloyd-Jones (1996) 196–7.

⁸¹¹ Dio *Or.* 52.14 = test. iib *TrGF*.

⁸¹² *Hyp.* Eur. *Scyrians* (= test. iia *TrGF*) with Luppe (1982) 265–71.

⁸¹³ Scodel (1980) 43–61, Sommerstein (2000) 123.

ὑπολαβῶν φησιν

<ΑΛΚ.> τὴν μὲν θανεῖν ἔκριναν, ἐμὲ δὲ μὴ κτανεῖν

1 Alpheisiboeae haec verba tribuit Nauck 1 οὔτις *F*: οὔτος *A*

2 ἅπαντες Nauck: μάλιστα γ' Van Herwerden

It is necessary to consider separately if the one who has suffered deserves to have suffered and the one who has instigated the suffering should have done so, then to use whichever way fits; for sometimes there is a difference in such a thing and nothing prevents it, just as in Theodectas' *Alcmeon*

 And is there no mortal who hated your mother?

And he [Alcmeon], replying said

<ALCMEON> ... **but it is necessary to make a distinction and look.**

And when Alpheisiboia asked:

<ALPHESIBOIA> **How ... ?**

He, in reply, said

<ALCMEON> **They judged that she should die, but that I shouldn't be the one to kill her**

Σ Arist. *Rhet.* 1397b 2–5 Rabe

ὁ Θεοδέκτης τραγικός ἦν ... ὁ Ἀλκμαίων υἱὸς ἦν τοῦ Ἀμφιαράου τοῦ μάντεως, ὃς ἀπέκτεινε τὴν αὐτοῦ μητέρα. “καὶ οὐδὲν κωλύει” διαφωνεῖν ἤγουν τὸν μὲν παθόντα δικαίως παθεῖν, τὸν δὲ ποιήσαντα μὴ δικαίως ποιῆσαι. εἰσάγει δὲ ὁ Θεοδέκτης τινὰ ἐρωτῶντα τὸν Ἀλκμαίωνα

 οὐδεὶς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐστύγει τὴν μητέρα τὴν σὴν;

“φησὶ δὲ ἀποκρινόμενος”

<ΑΛΚΜΕΩΝ> τὸ ναί. πῶς ἐστύγει;

τοῦτο τοῦ Ἀριστοτέλους.

“ἀλλὰ διαλαβόντα”

καὶ διελόντα ἰδία τὸν παθόντα καὶ ἰδία τὸν ποιήσαντα

“χρὴ σκοπεῖν”

εἰ καὶ ὁ παθὼν ἀξίως ἔπαθε καὶ ὁ ποιήσας ἀξίως ἐποίησε· τοῦτο γὰρ δηλοῖ τὸ τί ἐστὶ τὸ συμβαῖνον. εἴτα παρεισάγει ὁ Θεοδέκτης τὴν Ἀλφεισίβοιαν ἐρωτῶσαν

<ΑΛΦ.> καὶ πῶς σε κατέκριναν, ὦ Ἀλκμαίων;

ὁ δὲ Ἀλκμαίων ὑπολαβὼν φησι

<ΑΛΚ.> διότι τὴν μὲν ἔκριναν ἀξίαν τοῦ θανεῖν ὡς φαύλην, ἐμὲ δὲ οὐκ ἄξιον ἔκριναν τοῦ κτανεῖν τὴν μητέρα, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ ἄλλου ἔδει φονευθῆναι αὐτήν.

ἡ Ἐριφύλη ἦν ἡ μήτηρ τοῦ Ἀλκμαίωνος.

Theodectas was a tragic poet ... Alcmeon was the son of the seer Amphiaraus and killed his own mother. “And nothing prevents it”: there being a difference, i.e. that the one who has suffered deserves to have suffered, but the one who inflicted the suffering is not right to do so. And Theodectas introduces someone asking Alcmeon:

 And is there no mortal who hated your mother?

“And he [Alcmeon], replying said:”

<ALCMEON> Yes. How did anyone hate her?

This is from Aristotle.

“but making a distinction”

and distinguishing between the one who has suffered on one side and the one who has inflicted the suffering on the other

“it is necessary to look”

to see whether the person who has suffered deserves to have done so and whether the person who has inflicted the suffering is right to have done so. For this clarifies what the result is. Then Theodectas introduces Alphasiboia asking:

<ALPHESIBOIA> How did they judge you, Alcmeon?

And Alcmeon said in reply:

<ALCMEON> They judged that she deserved to die because she was bad, but they judged that I was not right to kill her, but she should have been killed by another's hand.

And Eriphyle was the mother of Alcmeon.

The presence of Alpheisiboia in fr. 2 indicates that Theodectas' *Alcmeon* was set in Psophis and thus after Alcmeon's matricide.⁸¹⁴ Alcmeon's ability in line 4 to recognise that, in the view of the unspecified group to whom he is referring, while his mother deserved to die, he should not have been the one to kill her shows that he was rational by this point in the play and thus probably cured of his madness through purification by King Phegeus.⁸¹⁵ So *Alcmeon* can largely be reconstructed as follows. Theodectas' play must have focused on the title character's arrival at Psophis, seeking purification for his crimes and freedom from the madness which had befallen him, in whose grips he may have been shown in the course of the play.⁸¹⁶ King Phegeus must have then granted his request and the play may have ended with the wedding of Alpheisiboia and Alcmeon.⁸¹⁷

Attempts have also been made to place fr. 1b within the plot of Theodectas' *Alcmeon*. The generalising statement in fr. 1b, potentially contrasted (cf. μέν) with a specific issue relevant to the plot, mimics the first lines of other tragedies,⁸¹⁸ suggesting that these lines open Theodectas' play. Conjectures for the speaker of fr. 1b include Alpheisiboia,⁸¹⁹ Alcmeon,⁸²⁰ and Eriphyle.⁸²¹ In the case of Eriphyle, fr. 1b would have to be delivered before her death, meaning that the play would have been initially set in Argos, with the scene later changing to Psophis.⁸²² Attribution of fr. 1b to Eriphyle should thus be rejected since there is no evidence for a scene change in Theodectas' play. Assignment of these verses to Alcmeon and Alpheisiboia should similarly be treated with caution, given the gnomic nature of fr. 1b.

⁸¹⁴ Thus Xanthakis-Karamanos (1979) 71.

⁸¹⁵ *Ibid.*

⁸¹⁶ Thus Schadewaldt (1952) 56; cf. Soph. *Alcmeon* fr. 108 *TrGF*.

⁸¹⁷ Thus Xanthakis-Karamanos (1979) 71.

⁸¹⁸ Cf. Soph. *Tr.* 1–5 with Davies, Easterling (1974) 42–3.

⁸¹⁹ Thus Welcker (1841) 1075.

⁸²⁰ Thus Ravenna (1903) 794.

⁸²¹ Thus Xanthakis-Karamanos (1980) 152.

⁸²² Thus Xanthakis-Karamanos (1980) 152; cf. Aesch. *Women of Aetna, Eumenides*.

Fr. 10 has also been assigned to *Alcmeon*,⁸²³ but the mention of enmity between the speaker of those lines, a man, and his wife does not seem to fit with any part of the Alcmeon myth. Finally, it has been suggested that Theodectas' *Alcmeon* inspired Ennius' *Alcmeo*, since both plays featured madness scenes.⁸²⁴ As, however, other plays also portrayed Alcmeon in the grip of madness, Ennius' *Alcmeo* cannot be securely associated with Theodectas' *Alcmeon*. For Alcmeon in drama see on Astydamas' *Alcmeon*.

Fragment 1b

σαφῆς μὲν ἐν βροτοῖσιν ὑμνεῖται λόγος echoes Theodectas fr. 16.1–2 *TrGF*, in which Theodectas similarly states that a well-established sentiment, that of the fortune of mortals being insecure, is widely known; as with fr. 16, Theodectas notes how well the maxim is known (fr. 1b.1, 16.1–2) before presenting it (fr. 1b.2–3, 16.3). σαφῆς μὲν ἐν βροτοῖσιν ὑμνεῖται λόγος (vel sim.) is also found more widely as a way of introducing sentiments; cf. λόγος μὲν ἐστ' ἀρχαῖος ἀνθρώπων φανείς ('there is a clear, well-established saying among men', Soph. *Tr.* 1 with Davies), Eur. *Hel.* 18, Pacelli *ad loc.* For the wretched lot of women cf. Eur. *Med.* 231 γυναικῆς ἐσμεν ἀθλιώτατον φυτόν ('we women are the most unfortunate creature'), *Hipp.* 627, Pacelli *ad loc.* Eur. *Med.* 230–1 most likely inspired fr. 1b given that φυτόν is rarely used of people (cf. Aesch. *Supp.* 281) and as Porphyry and Eusebius quote Eur. *Med.* 230–1 alongside fr. 1b.

Fragment 2

1: ἐρωτῶντα found in the preamble to line 1 in the scholium indicates that the speaker is male (marked as B in this commentary). Given, however, that Alpheisiboia is the speaker of

⁸²³ Thus *TrGF* I p. 231, 235.

⁸²⁴ *Frr.* 13a, b Warmington; thus Ribbeck (1875) 197–9, Schadewaldt (1952) 56.

line 3 and as Aristotle does not indicate the gender of the character delivering line 1, Nauck's attribution of line 1 to Alpheisiboia is plausible. οὔτις found in manuscript *F* of Aristotle's *Rhetoric* is preferable to οὔτος in manuscript *A* (thus *TrGF* I p. 231), since οὔτις makes better sense in the context of line 1; οὔτις is also found in the scholium to these lines, making it an earlier reading and thus more likely. The prominence of μητέρα in line 1 in conjunction with σὴν highlights that it is Alcmeon's own mother whom he has killed. Enmity towards Eriphyle arose from her role in persuading Amphiaraus to fight at Thebes despite knowing that he would die, accepting from Polynices the necklace of Harmonia as a bribe for doing so (*Stat. Theb.* 8.104–5).

2: Aristotle does not quote the whole of the second line. The scholiast's τὸ ναί is not proper Greek and would render the line unmetrical, meaning that it cannot have been found in the lacuna. Nonetheless, it and contrasting conjunction ἀλλά suggest that the lacuna in line 2 probably featured nothing more than an agreement that Eriphyle was indeed hated (thus Nauck, *TrGF* I p. 231), with the extant portion of the line explaining why this was not reason enough for Alcmeon to kill Eriphyle. Possible restorations include ἅπαντες (thus Nauck) and μάλιστά γ' (thus Van Herwerden (1862) 78); Nauck's conjecture is preferable since Alcmeon would then confirm that everyone hated his mother. For the importance of examining a situation by the sum of its parts, cf. ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις τὸ σύνθετον μέχρι τῶν ἀσυνθέτων ἀνάγκη διαίρειν ('just as, in all other things, it is necessary to examine the whole of an object down to its constituent parts', *Arist. Pol.* 1252a 18–20). διαλαμβάνω is otherwise used on only one other occasion in tragedy (*Eur. El.* 373) and is similarly rare in comedy (cf. *Ar. Eq.* 262, Antiphanes *Parasite* fr. 182.4 *PCG*, Athenio *Samothracians* fr. 1.30 *PCG*).

3: Line 3 as preserved in the scholium to *Arist. Rhet.* 1397b 2–5 is a scholiastic paraphrase (thus *TrGF* I p. 231).

4: Aristotle’s version of line 4 is most likely correct (thus Nauck) whereas Alcmeon’s reply in the scholium is unmetrical, most likely expanded by the scholiast to elucidate Alcmeon’s defence. For similar arguments to line 4 cf. δίκαια μὲν νυν ἦδ’ ἔχει, σὺ δ’ οὐχὶ δρᾶῖς (‘this woman has what’s right, but you are not doing what’s right’, Eur. *El.* 1244), θυγάτηρ δ’ ἐμὴ θανοῦσ’ ἔπραξεν ἔνδικα, | ἀλλ’ οὐχὶ πρὸς τοῦτ’ εἰκὸς ἦν αὐτὴν θανεῖν (‘my daughter is justly dead, but it was not right for that man to kill her’, Eur. *Or.* 538–9). The sentiment of line 4, that Eriphyle should have died, but not at her son’s hands, is emphasised by the parallel structure used in each clause, with the pronouns referring to each individual (τήν and ἐμέ) taking prominence and the infinitives θανεῖν and κτανεῖν placed after their respective particles.

ΕΛΕΝΗ

Fragment 3 – Arist. *Polit.* 1255a 21–38

ὄλως δ’ ἀντεχόμενοί τινες, ὡς οἴονται, δικαίου τινός (ὁ γὰρ νόμος δίκαιόν τι) τὴν κατὰ πόλεμον δουλείαν τιθέασι δικάϊαν, ἅμα δ’ οὐ φασιν· τὴν τε γὰρ ἀρχὴν ἐνδέχεται μὴ δικάϊαν εἶναι τῶν πολέμων, καὶ τὸν ἀνάξιον δουλεύειν οὐδαμῶς ἂν φαίη τις δοῦλον εἶναι· εἰ δὲ μὴ, συμβήσεται τοὺς εὐγενεστάτους εἶναι δοκοῦντας δούλους εἶναι καὶ ἐκ δούλων, ἐὰν συμβῆι πραθῆναι ληφθέντας. διόπερ αὐτοὺς οὐ βούλονται λέγειν δούλους, ἀλλὰ τοὺς βαρβάρους. καίτοι ὅταν τοῦτο λέγωσιν, οὐθὲν ἄλλο ζητοῦσιν ἢ τὸ φύσει δοῦλον ὅπερ ἐξ ἀρχῆς εἶπομεν· ἀνάγκη γὰρ εἶναί τινας φάναι τοὺς μὲν πανταχοῦ δούλους τοὺς δ’ οὐδαμοῦ. τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τρόπον καὶ περὶ εὐγενείας· αὐτοὺς μὲν γὰρ οὐ μόνον παρ’ αὐτοῖς εὐγενεῖς ἀλλὰ πανταχοῦ νομίζουσιν, τοὺς δὲ βαρβάρους οἴκοι μόνον, ὡς ὅν τι τὸ μὲν ἀπλῶς εὐγενὲς καὶ ἐλεύθερον τὸ δ’ οὐχ ἀπλῶς, ὥσπερ καὶ ἡ Θεοδέκτου Ἑλένη φησὶ

θείων δ’ ἀπ’ ἀμφοῖν ἔκγονον ριζωμάτων

τίς ἂν προσειπεῖν ἀξιώσειεν λάτριν;

But there are some people who cling, so they think, to some form of justice (for law is a form of justice) and who assert that enslavement in war is just, and at the same time they deny this; for it is possible that the origin of wars is not just, and no-one at all would say that the man who does not deserve to be a slave is a slave; otherwise, it would happen that the men thought to be the noblest would be slaves and descended from slaves, if they happened to be captured as prisoners of war and sold. Therefore, they do not wish to assert that they are slaves, but that barbarians are. And yet, whenever they say this, they are seeking nothing other than natural slavery of which we spoke at the beginning; for they must say that there are some who are slaves in all respects whereas others are not. And the same principle can be applied to nobility; for Greeks consider themselves noble not only among themselves, but everywhere in the world, whereas barbarians are noble only in their own country, so that there is nobility and freedom which is absolute and that which is relative, just as Theodectas' Helen says:

**Born from divine roots on both sides,
who would dare to call me a slave?**

Aristotle is almost certainly referring to a *Helen* play by Theodectas in fr. 3, citing it by its title character.⁸²⁵ Helen's reference to herself as a slave indicates her low social position in Theodectas' *Helen*, with this play perhaps treating the aftermath of the Trojan War,⁸²⁶ focusing on Helen's perspective. The invocation of Helen's divine lineage alongside mention of slavery and the framing of her remarks as a rhetorical question suggest that fr. 3 comes from a defence speech delivered by Helen in which she sought to avoid being enslaved;⁸²⁷ perhaps Menelaus was onstage at the same time as Helen's speech, having previously argued that Helen should become a slave as punishment for her involvement in the Trojan War.⁸²⁸ Pacelli's⁸²⁹ suggestion that Theodectas' *Helen* presented Helen's residence in Egypt, with fr.

⁸²⁵ Cf. *Poet.* 1453b.33 (= Astydamos *Alcmeon* fr. 1b I), 1455a 26–7 (= Carcinus *Amphiaraus* fr. 1d).

⁸²⁶ Thus Xanthakis-Karamanos (1979) 75.

⁸²⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸²⁸ Cf. προσειπεῖν, thus Xanthakis-Karamanos (1979) 75.

⁸²⁹ (2016) 90.

3 similarly being used to ward off Theoclymenus and the tragedy following the plot of Euripides' *Helen* cannot be correct since Theoclymenus wanted Helen as a wife, not a slave.

In the fourth century, Helen featured in eponymous plays by Diogenes of Sinope and Anaxandrides and in Alexis' *Helen*, *The Seizure of Helen*, and *The Suitors of Helen*. In fifth-century drama, Helen appeared in Euripides' *Helen*, *Trojan Women*, and *Orestes*, Sophocles' *Helen's Wedding*, *The Rape of Helen*, *The Demand for Helen*, and *Laconian Women*,⁸³⁰ Aeschylus' satyric *Proteus*, Ion's *Watchmen*; she also featured in Philyllius' *Helen*, and Cratinus' *Dionysalexander* and *Nemesis*.

Fragment 3

1: The prominence of Helen's lineage, featuring in the first line of this fragment and before mention of her impending enslavement, reinforces Helen's overall argument by emphasising her divine ancestry and thus making any suggestion that she should become a slave appear somewhat ridiculous. Helen's appeal to her divine parentage to evade punishment also means that she seemingly avoids declaring her innocence in the Trojan war which may be contentious, but instead focuses on irrefutable facts for which she cannot be challenged. Helen's use of her divine parentage contradicts the sentiment found in fr. 15 that it is one's actions that determine whether someone is noble rather than their birth (Xanthakis-Karamanos (1980) 148). ἀπ' ἀμφοῖν emphasises that Helen's divine lineage includes her father Zeus and her mother Leda, whose grandfather was Ares (Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.7.7); in other traditions, Helen's mother is Nemesis (*Cypria* fr. 10 *GEF*). For ἀπ' ἀμφοῖν in tragedy cf. Eur. *IT* 1369, *Meleager* fr. 520.3 *TrGF*. ῥιζωμα is rarely found in pre-Imperial Greek literature; Aeschylus (*Sept.* 413) and Theodectas are the only tragedians to use this word.

⁸³⁰ Some of these titles are probably alternatives for the same play (thus Lloyd-Jones (1996) 69, 72).

Although ῥίζωμα usually describes the roots of a plant (cf. Theophr. *Caus. Pl.* 3.4), it can be used metaphorically to describe one's family (cf. Aesch. *Sept.* 413).

2: The delay of λάτρην to the end of the second trimeter contrasts with θείων, prominent in the first line (thus Pacelli *ad loc.*). For other instances of Helen being referred to as a slave cf. δούλη καθέστηκ' ('I have become a slave', Eur. *Hel.* 275), μὴ δούλευε σοῖς δούλοις, ἄναξ ('don't serve your slaves, lord', Eur. *Hel.* 1428), both of which are spoken by Helen.

ΛΥΓΚΕΥΣ

Fragment 3a I – Arist. *Poet.* 1455b 24–32

ἔστι δὲ πάσης τραγωιδίας τὸ μὲν δέσις τὸ δὲ λύσις, τὰ μὲν ἔξωθεν καὶ ἔνια τῶν ἔσωθεν πολλάκις ἢ δέσις, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν ἢ λύσις· λέγω δὲ δέσιν μὲν εἶναι τὴν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς μέχρι τούτου τοῦ μέρους ὃ ἔσχατόν ἐστιν ἐξ οὗ μεταβαίνει εἰς εὐτυχίαν ἢ εἰς ἀτυχίαν, λύσιν δὲ τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς μεταβάσεως μέχρι τέλους· ὥσπερ ἐν τῷ Λυγκεῖ τῷ Θεοδέκτου δέσις μὲν τὰ τε προπεπραγμένα καὶ ἡ τοῦ παιδίου λῆψις καὶ πάλιν ἡ αὐτῶν αἰτίαισις, λύσις δ' ἡ ἀπὸ τῆς αἰτιάσεως τοῦ θανάτου μέχρι τοῦ τέλους.

And there is complication and resolution in every tragedy, and the complication comprises those events which happen outside the play and often some of those within it, and the remainder is the unravelling. And I define the complication to be from the beginning until the last point before which there is change to good fortune or to bad, and the unravelling to be from the beginning of this change until the end; just as in Theodectas' *Lynceus* the complication is all of the events which have happened before and the capture of the child and again the accusation against them [i.e. Lynceus and Hypermnestra], and the unravelling is from the accusation of murder until the end.

Fragment 3a II – Arist. *Poet.* 1452a 11–29

εἰσὶ δὲ τῶν μύθων οἱ μὲν ἀπλοῖ οἱ δὲ πεπλεγμένοι· καὶ γὰρ αἱ πράξεις ὧν μιμήσεις οἱ μῦθοι εἰσιν ὑπάρχουσιν εὐθύς οὔσαι τοιαῦται. λέγω δὲ ἀπλῆν μὲν πρᾶξιν ἧς γινομένης ὥσπερ ὠρισται συνεχοῦς καὶ μιᾶς ἄνευ περιπετείας ἢ ἀναγνωρισμοῦ ἢ μετάβασις γίνεται, πεπλεγμένην δὲ ἐξ ἧς μετὰ ἀναγνωρισμοῦ ἢ περιπετείας ἢ ἀμφοῖν ἢ μετάβασίς ἐστιν. ταῦτα δὲ δεῖ γίνεσθαι ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς συστάσεως τοῦ μύθου, ὥστε ἐκ τῶν προγεγενημένων συμβαίνειν ἢ ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἢ κατὰ τὸ εἰκὸς γίνεσθαι ταῦτα· διαφέρει γὰρ πολὺ τὸ γίνεσθαι τάδε διὰ τάδε ἢ μετὰ τάδε. ἐστὶ δὲ περιπέτεια μὲν ἢ εἰς τὸ ἐναντίον τῶν πραττομένων μεταβολὴ καθάπερ εἴρηται, καὶ τοῦτο δὲ ὥσπερ λέγομεν κατὰ τὸ εἰκὸς ἢ ἀναγκαῖον, οἷον ἐν τῷ Οἰδιποδι ἐλθὼν ὡς εὐφρανῶν τὸν Οἰδίπουν καὶ ἀπαλλάξων τοῦ πρὸς τὴν μητέρα φόβου, δηλώσας ὅς ἦν, τούναντίον ἐποίησεν· καὶ ἐν τῷ Λυγκεῖ ὁ μὲν ἀγόμενος ὡς ἀποθανούμενος, ὁ δὲ Δαναὸς ἀκολουθῶν ὡς ἀποκτενῶν, τὸν μὲν συνέβη ἐκ τῶν πεπραγμένων ἀποθανεῖν, τὸν δὲ σωθῆναι.

And of the types of plot, there are simple and complex; since the actions of which the plots are imitations are already of such a kind. And I define as simple an action which is continuous, as has been defined, and singular and its change happens without reversal or recognition, whereas by complex, I mean that where the change occurs with reversal or recognition or both. And these things should happen from the very structure of the plot, so that they happen from what went before either from necessity or according to what things are likely to happen; since it greatly differs whether these things happen because of what went before or after what went before. And a reversal is, as has already been stated, a change to the opposite of what is happening, and this, as we have said, according to probability or inevitability, just as in *Oedipus* when a person comes to make Oedipus happy and intending to rid him of fear concerning his mother, but makes the opposite happen, by showing Oedipus who he was; and in *Lynceus*, when he (i.e. Lynceus) is led off to die, and Danaus accompanies him to kill him, but the outcome of the action is that [Danaus] died and the other character is saved.

The *Lynceus* play mentioned in fr. 3a II is almost certainly Theodectas',⁸³¹ since he is the only dramatist known to have produced a tragedy with this title. The details provided by fr. 3a I and II allow the plot of Theodectas' *Lynceus* to be largely restored. Fr. 3a I indicates that there was a discussion of previous events (τά τε προπεπραγμένα), most likely a speech recounting the Danaids' plot to kill their husbands and Hypermnestra's decision to disobey her father Danaus and thus save Lynceus' life. These events must have been a year or so in the past, since when Danaus ruled Argos, Lynceus was in hiding, and Hypermnestra was either in hiding too or managed to conceal her pregnancy and delivery of Abas (cf. Pamphile in Menander's *Epitrepontes*). A child was then captured (most likely Abas) along with Hypermnestra and Lynceus.⁸³² Hypermnestra and Lynceus were then charged with capital offences, with the trial forming the agon of the play.⁸³³ Fr. 3a II indicates that Lynceus was convicted and led off for execution by Danaus. While offstage, however, Danaus was killed and Lynceus was saved. The play probably ended happily,⁸³⁴ with Hypermnestra, Abas, and Lynceus all reunited as a family onstage, the threat of Danaus eliminated, and Lynceus probably acceding to the throne of Argos.

Three other sources have also been attributed to Theodectas' *Lynceus*, the first of which is fr. 8.⁸³⁵ The generic discussion about delayed divine retribution in fr. 8 could, however, be found in many of Theodectas' plays, meaning that it should not be associated specifically with *Lynceus*.⁸³⁶ The second source is a Lucanian krater dated to the second half of the fourth century. The vase painting depicts a male character, holding a sword, about to execute another man, while a woman and boy carry a throne. The woman and child have been identified with Hypermnestra and Abas securing the throne of Argos, the man holding the

⁸³¹ Thus Nauck.

⁸³² Thus Xanthakis-Karamanos (1980) 54, Karamanos (2007) 120.

⁸³³ Thus Xanthakis-Karamanos (1979) 74.

⁸³⁴ Thus Paton (1901) 275, Baum (1921) 366.

⁸³⁵ Thus Del Grande (1934) 198.

⁸³⁶ Thus *TrGF* I p. 234.

sword as Lynceus, and the second man as Danaus.⁸³⁷ The lack of character labels, however, means that such a reconstruction is speculative and the actions of the woman and child on the vase painting do not appear to be reconcilable with the hypothesis that they are securing the throne; so this krater should not be associated with Theodectas' *Lynceus*. The final source is a scholium to Euripides' *Orestes* which tells of the trial of Danaus for orchestrating the deaths of the sons of Aegyptus.⁸³⁸ Karamanos suggested that the mention of a trial involving Danaus and the prominent role of Lynceus in the scholium's account indicated that its version of the myth derived from Theodectas' *Lynceus*.⁸³⁹ The lack of mention of Lynceus' son Abas, his wife Hypermnestra, and the insertion of Inachus into the narrative of the scholium suggest that it is unlikely to be related to Theodectas' tragedy.

As previously noted, Theodectas' *Lynceus* is the only fourth-century tragedy to explore the Danaid myth. In the fifth century, Aristophanes produced *Danaids* and Aeschylus composed a tetralogy on the Danaid myth, comprising *The Suppliants*, *The Sons of Aegyptus*, and the *Danaids*, with *Amymone* as the satyr play.

MAYΣΩΛΟΣ

Fragment 3b – Gell. NA 10.18.5

Id monumentum Artemisia cum dis manibus sacrum Mausoli dicaret, agona, id est certamen laudibus eius dicundis, facit ponitque praemia pecuniae aliarumque rerum bonarum amplissima. Ad eas laudes decertandas venisse dicuntur viri nobiles ingenio atque lingua praestabili, Theopompus, Theodectes, Naucrates; sunt etiam qui Isocratem ipsum cum his certavisse memoriae mandaverint. Sed eo certamine vicisse Theopompum iudicatum est. Is fuit Isocratis discipulus. Extat nunc quoque

⁸³⁷ Thus Webster (1954) 304, Xanthakis-Karamanos (1980) 54.

⁸³⁸ Σ Eur. *Or.* 872 Schwartz.

⁸³⁹ Karamanos (2007) 122–5, also Pacelli (2016) 108–9.

Theodecti tragoedia, quae inscribitur Mausolus; in qua eum magis quam in prosa placuisse Hyginus in Exemplis [fr. 12 Funaioli] refert.

When Artemisia dedicated this sacred monument to the soul of Mausolus, she instituted an agon, that is to say a competition in singing his praises, and she set very generous prizes of money and other goods. Men distinguished for their genius and excellent eloquence are said to have come to compete in praising him, Theopompus, Theodectas, and Naucrates; there are even some who attest that Isocrates himself competed with them. But in this contest, it was judged that Theopompus was victorious; that man was a pupil of Isocrates. There is still extant today a tragedy by Theodectas, which is entitled *Mausolus*, in which Hyginus in his *Examples* reports that he was more pleasing than in his prose works.

Conjectures for the plot of the play include a story about Mausolus, son of Helios,⁸⁴⁰ the apotheosis of the deceased king,⁸⁴¹ or a historical or biographical tragedy⁸⁴² focusing on an episode from Mausolus' life,⁸⁴³ an ancestor of the same name as the late monarch,⁸⁴⁴ or his family's claim to be Greek.⁸⁴⁵ All suggestions are, however, speculative given the lack of testimonia for the plot of *Mausolus* or fragments from this play; Theodectas' tragedy, however, would have almost certainly been in praise of its subject.⁸⁴⁶ Theodectas' *Mausolus* is the only known play with this title, though fourth-century plays with a biographical theme are otherwise attested, with Python writing a satyr drama entitled *Agen*, which satirised Alexander's disgraced former treasurer Harpalus and his lust for courtesans.⁸⁴⁷ In the fifth century, historical dramas were similarly rare, with Aeschylus' *Persians* and Phrynichus' *Sack of Miletus* and *Phoenissae* the only known examples. Interest in biographical plays

⁸⁴⁰ Thus Ruzicka (1985) 184.

⁸⁴¹ Thus Hornblower (1982) 261, 335–6; cf. Euripides' *Archelaus* fr. 228a.17–25 *TrGF*.

⁸⁴² Thus Snell (1971) 137.

⁸⁴³ Thus Cropp (2005) 291.

⁸⁴⁴ Thus Webster (1956) 65.

⁸⁴⁵ Thus Ceccarelli (2013) 301.

⁸⁴⁶ Thus Ullman (1942) 30.

⁸⁴⁷ Dionysius I is said to have written tragedies about the death of his wife Doris (fr. 9–10 *TrGF*) and his encounter with Plato (fr. 11 *TrGF*), though the citation of all three fragments in Lucian makes their existence doubtful.

continued after the fourth century, including Lycophron's *Menedemus*, Moschion's *Themistocles* and *Pheraioi*, and the 'Gyges' fragment.

ΟΙΔΙΠΟΥΣ

Fragment 4 – Athen. 10.451f

κάν τῶι Οἰδίποδι δὲ τῆι τραγωιδίαι τὴν νύκτα καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν εἴρηκεν αἰνιττόμενος

εἰσὶ κασίγνηται διτταί, ὧν ἡ μία τίκτει

τὴν ἑτέραν, αὐτὴ δὲ τεκοῦσ' ὑπὸ τῆσδε τεκνοῦται

And in the tragedy *Oedipus*, [Theodectas] speaks of night and day in a riddling way as follows:

There are twin sisters, one of which gives birth to

the other, and she who has given birth is herself born from this one

Fragment 18 – Athen. 10.451e (= Hermippus fr. 77 Wehrli)

Θεοδέκτην δὲ τὸν Φασηλίτην φησὶν Ἑρμιππος ἐν τοῖς περὶ τῶν Ἰσοκράτους μαθητῶν (fr. 77 Wehrli) ἰκανώτατον γεγονέναι ἀνευρεῖν τὸν προβληθέντα γρίφον καὶ αὐτὸν προβαλεῖν ἑτέροις ἐπιδεξιῶς, οἷον τὸν περὶ τῆς σκιᾶς, ἔφη γὰρ εἶναι τινα φύσιν, ἣ περὶ τὴν γένεσιν καὶ φθίσιν ἐστὶ μέγιστη, περὶ δὲ τὴν ἀκμὴν ἐλαχίστη. λέγει δ' οὕτως

τίς φύσις οὐθ' ὅσα γαῖα φέρει τροφὸς οὐθ' ὅσα πόντος

οὔτε βροτοῖσιν ἔχει γυίων αὔξησιν ὁμοίαν,

ἀλλ' ἐν μὲν γενέσει πρωτοσπόρῳ ἐστὶ μέγιστη,

ἐν δὲ μέσαις ἀκμαῖς μικρά, γήραι δὲ πρὸς αὐτῶι

μορφῆι καὶ μεγέθει μείζων πάλιν ἐστὶν ἀπάντων;

5

5 μείζων C: μείζον A

And Hermippus says in his books about the pupils of Isocrates that Theodectas the Phaselian was very capable at solving any riddle put before him and at skilfully posing riddles for others, for example the

one about the shadow, for he said that there is something whose nature is greatest at its birth and death, but smallest in its prime. He says the following

**What creature is there that is not among those who the nurturing earth nor the sea
bear,
and whose limbs do not grow like those of mortals,
but when first born, it is at its biggest,
in the middle of its prime, it is small, and as it goes towards its old age
it is again bigger in form and size than all? 5**

The riddle in fr. 4 may be the Sphinx's, with Theodectas' *Oedipus* focusing either on Oedipus solving the Sphinx's puzzle, with the Sphinx delivering it onstage,⁸⁴⁸ or on Oedipus' downfall, with the riddle quoted as part of an account (possibly in the prologue) of the events before his kingship of Thebes.⁸⁴⁹ Fr. 18 has also been attributed to Theodectas' *Oedipus*,⁸⁵⁰ since it is a riddle and in hexameters like fr. 4. Moreover, the description of shadows at birth, a high point, and old age in fr. 18 has been compared to the Sphinx's riddle about man, which refers to a man at birth, in the middle of his life, and in old age.⁸⁵¹ For Oedipus in drama see on Carcinus' *Oedipus*.

Fragment 4

These lines are also quoted in Tryphon *Περὶ τρόπων* 3.193.26–7, *AP* 14.40 (without reference to Theodectas), and Georgius Choeroboscus *Περὶ τρόπων* 3.253.26; Athenaeus' citation of these verses is derived from Clearchus who probably had easy access to examples from Theodectas via Aristotle. *AP* 14.40 preserves two additional lines – ὥστε κασιγνήτας οὔσας ἅμα καὶ συνομαίμους, | αὐτοκασιγνήτας κοινῆι καὶ μητέρας εἶναι ('so that being

⁸⁴⁸ Thus Pacelli (2016) 126.

⁸⁴⁹ Cf. Soph. *OT* 35–6.

⁸⁵⁰ Thus Ravenna (1903) 798, Webster (1954) 303.

⁸⁵¹ arg. Eur. *Phoen.*, arg. Soph. *OT*; thus Xanthakis-Karamanos (1980) 99.

sisters and of one blood, they are their own sisters and mothers alike’). These additional verses should be rejected (thus *TrGF* I p. 232) since they repeat the content of the first two lines; the awkward repetition of *κασίγνηται* (vel sim.) three times over four lines also suggests that the additional verses in *AP* 14.40 are a later creation. The unnatural relationship between day and night may be allegorical, alluding to the incestuous relationship between Oedipus and Jocasta (thus Xanthakis-Karamanos (1980) 98); cf. Soph. *OT* 457–60. For riddles in drama see on Chaeremon fr. 41 *TrGF*; for dactylic hexameters used in riddles cf. Eur. *Oedipus* fr. 540a.5–10 *TrGF*, Antiphanes *Sappho* fr. 194.1–5 *PCG*, Drury (1985) 897. For dactylic hexameters in tragedy cf. Soph. *Phil.* 839–42, Eur. *Antiope* fr. 182a *TrGF*, Snell (1971) 167; for other word games in tragedy cf. Chaeremon fr. 14b, 41 *TrGF*. The use of different forms of *τίκτω* encourages the riddling nature of fr. 4 and complicates and convolutes the expression of these lines. Nonetheless, *ἡ μία*, *τὴν ἐτέραν*, *αὐτή*, and *τῆσδε* serve as useful signposts to clarify whom each part of the riddle refers to and thus to allow the puzzle to be conveyed without being completely incomprehensible. For other representations of day and night as sisters, cf. *μητέρ’ ἐμὴν τίκτω καὶ τίκτομαι· εἰμὶ δὲ ταύτης | ἄλλοτε μὲν μείζων, ἄλλοτε μειοτέρη* (‘I give birth to my mother and I am born from her; sometimes I am bigger than her, sometimes I am smaller’, Anonymous *AP* 14.41), which also uses *τίκτω* to describe the relationship between the two. The depiction of day and night as two sisters, each begetting the other, is a variation on the usual tradition in which night gave birth to day, but not vice versa; cf. Hes. *Th.* 124 (with West), Soph. *Tr.* 94–6 and cf. Aesch. *Ag.* 265 (with Fraenkel) for night giving birth to dawn. This fragment does, however, reflect the perpetually symbiotic relationship between the two entities; cf. Hes. *Th.* 749–66, Philostr. *Imag.* 1.11.

Fragment 18

Xanthakis-Karamanos ((1980) 99–100) suggested that these verses did not come from tragedy, since Hermippus does not cite it as a tragic fragment and as Athenaeus refers to the fragment which follows (*Oedipus* fr. 4) as explicitly coming from a tragedy – κὰν τῶι Οἰδίποδι δὲ τῆι τραγωιδίαι (‘and in the tragedy *Oedipus*’). Nonetheless, there is no reason to doubt that fr. 18 is tragic, with Athenaeus’ citation of *Oedipus* fr. 4 as explicitly coming from a tragedy not necessarily intended to show that *Oedipus* fr. 4 was tragic in origin whereas fr. 18 was not.

1–2: For similar representations of shadows to lines 1–2, cf. Plut. *de fac.* 936a, for earth as a nurse, cf. *Hom. Hymn* 30.1, for comparison of abstract concepts with humanity, cf. Theodectas fr. 12.4–5 *TrGF*.

3–5: ἐν μὲν γενέσει πρωτοσπόρωι, ἐν δὲ μέσαις ἀκμαῖς, and γήραι δὲ πρὸς αὐτῶι refer to different stages in the day, most likely describing sunrise, midday, and sunset respectively. For other uses of the progression of time in riddles cf. arg. Eur. *Phoen.*, arg. Soph. *OT*. For similar descriptions of shade throughout the day, cf. Plut. *de fac.* 935f, [Arist.] *Pr.* 15.9 912a 35–912b 4. πρωτοσπόρωι is emphatic, given γενέσει; Theodectas is the only author to use πρωτοσπόρος in pre-Imperial Greek literature. μείζων found in manuscript C of Athenaeus’ *Deipnosophistae* is preferable to μείζον given in manuscript A, since the subject of lines 3–5 is feminine (cf. e.g. μεγίστη) whereas μείζον is neuter.

ΟΡΕΣΤΗΣ

Fragment 5 – Arist. *Rhet.* 1401a 35–1401b 2

ἄλλος τὸ διηρημένον συντιθέντα λέγειν ἢ τὸ συγκείμενον διαιροῦντα. ἐπεὶ γὰρ ταῦτόν δοκεῖ εἶναι οὐκ ὄν ταῦτό πολλάκις, ὁπότερον χρησιμώτερον τοῦτο δεῖ ποιεῖν. ἔστι δὲ τοῦτο Εὐθυδήμου λόγος, οἷον τὸ εἰδέναι ὅτι τριήρης ἐν Πειραεῖ ἐστίν, ἕκαστον γὰρ οἶδεν. καὶ τὸν τὰ

στοιχεῖα ἐπιστάμενον ὅτι τὸ ἔπος οἶδεν, τὸ γὰρ ἔπος τὸ αὐτό ἐστίν. καὶ ἐπεὶ τὸ δις τοσοῦτον νοσοῦδες, μηδὲ τὸ ἐν φάναι ὑγιεινὸν εἶναι, ἄτοπον γὰρ εἰ τὰ δύο ἀγαθὰ ἐν κακόν ἐστίν. οὕτω μὲν οὖν ἐλεγκτικόν, ὥδε δὲ δεικτικόν, οὐ γὰρ ἐστίν ἐν ἀγαθὸν δύο κακά. ὅλος δὲ ὁ τόπος παραλογιστικός. πάλιν τὸ Πολυκράτους εἰς Θρασύβουλον, ὅτι τριάκοντα τυράννους κατέλυσε, συντίθησι γάρ. ἢ τὸ ἐν τῷ Ὀρέστη τῷ Θεοδέκτου ἐκ διαιρέσεως γάρ ἐστίν

δίκαιόν ἐστίν, ἥτις ἂν κτείνῃ πόσιν,

<ταύτην θανεῖν, υἰὸν τε τιμωρεῖν πατρί>

οὐκοῦν καὶ ταῦτα καὶ πεπρᾶχθαι, συντεθέντα γὰρ ἴσως οὐκέτι δίκαιον.

2 ταύτην θανεῖν, υἰὸν τε τιμωρεῖν πατρί Wilamowitz: ἀποθνήσκῃ ταύτην, καὶ τῷ πατρί γε τιμωρεῖν τὸν υἰὸν codd.

Another error is derived from joining what is divided or from dividing what is joined together. Since often what appears to be the same is not the same, it is necessary to adopt whichever solution is more useful. This is the argument of Euthydemus, for example that one can know that there is a trireme in the Piraeus, because he knows each, [i.e. the Piraeus and the trireme]. And that when one knows the letters, one knows the word, since the word is the same thing as the syllables. And saying, since twice as much is unhealthy, that not even one is healthy, since it would be absurd for two good things to make one terrible thing. And this argument can be used in that way for refutation and in the following for demonstration, for two bad things cannot make one good thing. And the whole topic is fallacious. Again, consider the statement made by Polycrates to Thrasybulus, that he defeated thirty tyrants, for he combines them. Or there is that example from division in Theodectas' *Orestes*

It is just <that a woman>, who has killed her husband,

<should die, and that a son should avenge his father>

Hence also that these things have been done, but perhaps if they are brought together, they are no longer just.

Fragment 19 – P.Oxy. 13.1611 fr. 17

Θεοδέκ]τ[η]ς δ' ἐν Ὀρέστη[ι

περί]ατειας φησιν

.θην ὑπο

Δ]ιδ[υ]μος δ[έ

all supplements are by Grenfell and Hunt

And [Theodect]t[a]s in his *Oreste[s]*

[about]... says

I was ... by

[bu]t [D]id[y]mus

The attempt to justify matricide in fr. 5 shows that Theodectas' *Orestes* treated the death of Clytemnestra at the hands of Orestes and the aftermath given Aristotle's πεπρω̃χθαι, with the speaker seeking to defend Orestes' actions.⁸⁵² Fr. 19 has also been attributed to Theodectas' *Orestes*.⁸⁵³ The surviving lemma shows that the text comes from a work entitled *Orestes*, with the letters τ and ς indicating its author. Since Theodectas is the only known writer whose name ends with these letters, Θεοδέκ]τ[η]ς is the likeliest restoration of the lacuna,⁸⁵⁴ meaning that the *Orestes* mentioned in the miscellany is an *Orestes* tragedy by Theodectas; this fragment, however, adds little to our understanding of Theodectas' play. For Orestes in drama see on Carcinus' *Orestes*.

Fragment 5

When quoting fr. 5, Aristotle provides an unmetrical version of line 2 – ἀποθνήσκειν

ταύτην, καὶ τῶι πατρὶ γε τιμωρεῖν τὸν υἱόν; perhaps Aristotle was summarising Orestes'

⁸⁵² Thus Xanthakis-Karamanos (1979) 68; Xanthakis-Karamanos' suggestion that fr. 5 came from a trial scene is possible, but must be treated with caution since it is based on the hypothesis that Theodectas' rhetorical career influenced his plots.

⁸⁵³ Thus Grenfell and Hunt (1919) 132.

⁸⁵⁴ *Ibid.* 137.

argument in the second line or paraphrasing the verse from memory, thus explaining the garbled rendering of the verse. Wilamowitz (unpublished manuscript cited in *TrGF* I p. 232) emended the line to the version found in this commentary. For similar arguments to fr. 5 cf. Eur. *Tr.* 1031–2, Theodectas *Alcmeon* fr. 2.4 *TrGF*. δίκαιον is pointed, given that Orestes' matricide is unjust, but the speaker is defending Orestes; cf. Aesch. *Eum.* 610, Eur. *Or.* 576–8. The demonstrative pronouns ἥτις and ταύτην skilfully avoid reference to Clytemnestra, thereby allowing for omission of the fact that she is Orestes' mother and reducing her to a generic woman whose murder of her husband renders her deserving of punishment. The references to Clytemnestra solely by demonstrative pronouns may highlight the speaker's hatred of her by removing her title of mother; this contrasts with the speaker's description of Agamemnon as πατρί and πόσιν and Orestes as υἱόν. The pronouns ἥτις and ταύτην also allow the speaker to set out the case for Orestes committing matricide without any prejudices surrounding the morality of the act affecting the listeners' views on Orestes' actions, i.e. the matricide is described in generic terms relating to a hypothetical situation. Finally, by omitting mention of Clytemnestra as Orestes' mother and highlighting the relationship between father and son, the perception of Orestes' matricide can be altered from that of a morally indefensible act to one which has been or will be committed out of filial devotion. The conclusion implied in these lines, that the son was right to kill the woman, may have been applied after this fragment onto Orestes' case to argue that his matricide is not automatically unjust.

Fragment 19

Supplements are owed to Grenfell and Hunt (1919) 137. The possible restoration of Δ]ιδ[υ]μος in line 2 may be the name of a grammarian (thus Grenfell and Hunt (1919) 137), and therefore not part of the quotation from Theodectas' *Orestes* (*pace TrGF* I p. 237); this is

also emphasised by δ[έ which shows that the author of the miscellany may be transitioning into a quotation from Didymus.

ΤΥΔΕΥΣ

Fragment 5a – Arist. *Poet.* 1455a 4–10

τετάρτη δὲ ἢ ἐκ συλλογισμοῦ, οἷον ἐν Χοηφόροις, ὅτι ὁμοίός τις ἐλήλυθεν, ὁμοίος δὲ οὐθεις ἀλλ’ ἢ Ὀρέστης, οὗτος ἄρα ἐλήλυθεν. καὶ ἡ Πολυίδου τοῦ σοφιστοῦ περὶ τῆς Ἰφιγενείας· εἰκὸς γὰρ ἔφη τὸν Ὀρέστην συλλογίσασθαι ὅτι ἢ τ’ ἀδελφὴ ἐτύθη καὶ αὐτῷ συμβαίνει θύεσθαι. καὶ ἐν τῷ Θεοδέκτου Τυδεῖ, ὅτι ἐλθὼν ὡς εὐρήσων τὸν υἱὸν αὐτὸς ἀπόλλυται.

And the fourth type [of recognition] is from inference. For example, in [Aeschylus’] *Choephoroi*, that someone similar has come, but no-one is similar except Orestes, and so Orestes has come. And there is the idea of Polyidus the sophist about Iphigenia; for he says that it is likely that Orestes reasoned that his sister had been sacrificed and that it happens that he was being sacrificed as well. And in Theodectas’ *Tydeus*, that having come to find his son, he himself was dying.

Aristotle indicates that Theodectas’ *Tydeus* presented a father, on the cusp of death, looking for his son. The reunion was either between the exiled Tydeus and his father Oeneus⁸⁵⁵ or between a fatally wounded Tydeus and his son Diomedes.⁸⁵⁶ Hence the play may have focused on an episode from the life of Oeneus or from the expedition of the Seven against Thebes when Tydeus was wounded by Melanippus and subsequently died due to Amphiaraus’ scheming.⁸⁵⁷ A reunion between Oeneus and Tydeus is likeliest, since Aristotle attests that the father has travelled to find his son, corresponding with traditions in which Oeneus travelled in old age,⁸⁵⁸ and as at the time of Tydeus’ death, Diomedes was a child and thus would not have been at Thebes to allow a recognition scene between father and son.

⁸⁵⁵ Thus Perrin (1909) 399.

⁸⁵⁶ Thus Xanthakis-Karamanos (1980) 58.

⁸⁵⁷ Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.8.5, Σ Pind. *Nem.* 10.12b Drachmann.

⁸⁵⁸ Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.8.6.

Theodectas' *Tydeus* is the only known play with this title. Nonetheless, Tydeus may have appeared in Sophocles' *Hipponous* as an infant⁸⁵⁹ and is mentioned in Aeschylus' *Seven Against Thebes*, Sophocles' *Oedipus at Colonus*, and Euripides' *Phoenissae*, *Suppliant Women*, and *Oeneus*.⁸⁶⁰ For Tydeus in Greek literature see further Hutchinson on Aesch. *Sept.* 377–421.

ΦΙΛΟΚΤΗΤΗΣ

Fragment 5b I – Arist. *EN* 1150b 6–9

οὐ γὰρ εἴ τις ἰσχυρῶν καὶ ὑπερβαλλουσῶν ἡδονῶν ἠττᾶται ἢ λυπῶν, θαυμαστόν, ἀλλὰ συγγνωμονικὸν εἰ ἀντιτείνων, ὥσπερ ὁ Θεοδέκτου Φιλοκτῆτης ὑπὸ τοῦ ἔχεως πεπληγμένος

For it is not surprising if someone is defeated by strong and excessive pleasures or grief, but it is excusable if he did so after resisting, just as when Theodectas' Philoctetes has been struck by the viper

Aspasius ad Arist. *EN* 1150b 6–9 = p. 133.5–9 Heylbut

οὐ γὰρ εἴ τις ὑπερβαλλουσῶν ἀλγηδόνων ἠττᾶται ἢ λυπῶν θαυμάσιον ἀλλὰ συγγνώμης ἄξιον, οἷον εἴ τις ὥσπερ ὁ παρὰ τῷ Θεοδέκτῃ Φιλοκτῆτης ὑπὸ τῆς ἔχεως πεπαρμένος κρύπτειν βουλόμενος τοὺς περὶ τὸν Νεοπτόλεμον μέχρι μὲν τινος ἀντέχει, ὕστερον δὲ οὐχ ὑπομένων τὸ μέγεθος τῶν ἀλγηδόνων φανερός γίνεται.

For it is not surprising if someone is overcome by excessive pain or grief, but it is worthy of pardon, for example just as Theodectas' Philoctetes who was bitten by the viper and wished to hide it from the men accompanying Neoptolemus held out up to a point, but later, unable to endure the magnitude of his pain, revealed himself.

⁸⁵⁹ See further Finglass (2018) 66.

⁸⁶⁰ Aesch. *Sept.* 375–96, Soph. *OC* 1315–16, Eur. *Phoen.* 131–8, 419, 1119–22, 1141–52, 1165–7, *Supp.* 136, 144, 148, 901–8, *Oeneus* fr. 558 *TrGF*.

Fragment 5b II – Σ Arist. EN 1150b 6–9 = p. 436.33–5 Heylbut

ὁ Θεοδέκτης τραγικός ἦν, καὶ παράγει τὴν χεῖρα δεδηγμένον τὸν Φιλοκτῆτην ὑπὸ ὄφεως, καὶ μέχρι μὲν πολλοῦ ἀντέτεινε πρὸς τὰς λύπας καὶ τοὺς πόνους, ὕστερον δὲ ἠττήθη καὶ ἐβόα

κόψατε τὴν ἐμὴν χεῖρα

Theodectas was a tragic poet and led Philoctetes wounded on his hand by a snake on to the stage, and although for a long time he resisted his pain and grief, later he was defeated and shouted

Cut off my hand

Heliodorus ad Arist. EN 1150b 6–9 = p. 149.18–22 Heylbut

εἰσὶ γὰρ ἡδοναὶ καὶ λύπαι οὕτω μεγάλα καὶ σφοδραί, ὥστε τὸν ἠττώμενον αὐτῶν συγγνώμης τινὸς ἀξιοῦσθαι· τὸ γὰρ τοιούτων ἠττᾶσθαι οὐδὲν θαυμαστόν· ὥσπερ ὁ Φιλοκτῆτης, ὃν εἰσήγαγεν ἐν τοῖς ποιήμασι Θεοδέκτης ὁ ποιητὴς πεπληγμένον ὑπὸ ὄφεως, καὶ μέχρι τινὸς κρατοῦντα τῆς λύπης, εἶτα ἀναβοήσαντα.

For there are pleasures and griefs so great and excessive, that an individual who is overcome by them should be thought deserving of a pardon; since it is not at all surprising that he has been overwhelmed by such things, just like Philoctetes, whom the poet Theodectas brought onto the stage in his play wounded by a snake, and mastering his pain up to a point, but then shouting out.

Aristotle is almost certainly referring to a *Philoctetes* play by Theodectas in fr. 5b II, citing this play by its title character.⁸⁶¹ Aristotle's description of a wounded Philoctetes suggests that Theodectas' *Philoctetes* had a similar plot to Aeschylus', Sophocles', and Euripides' *Philoctetes* plays.⁸⁶² Specifically, Theodectas' tragedy would have been set on Lemnos and treated the attempts of Neoptolemus (and possibly Odysseus) to retrieve Philoctetes and his bow;⁸⁶³ perhaps the men accompanying Neoptolemus formed the chorus. Aspasius also indicates that Philoctetes initially chose to hide his wound from Neoptolemus and his men

⁸⁶¹ See footnote 825.

⁸⁶² Thus Brillante (2009) 64.

⁸⁶³ Thus Xanthakis-Karamanos (1980) 37.

until, forced by the unendurable agony of his wound, he begged them to cut off his hand (cf. fr. 5b II). Theodectas' decision to place Philoctetes' wound on his hand departs from previous tragic versions of this myth in which Philoctetes' wound was on his foot and has a significant impact on several aspects of Theodectas' *Philoctetes*. First, since Philoctetes was unable to use his hand, there would have been little use in retrieving him unless both Philoctetes and the bow were required to sack Troy, i.e. if Philoctetes was not required, Neoptolemus could have stolen the bow. Alternatively, this could have allowed for a presentation of a morally-conflicted Neoptolemus, who was keen to retrieve the bow, but unwilling to do so without taking Philoctetes as well. Secondly, Philoctetes' wound would have meant that he was unable to use the bow and thus to hunt for his survival. So it was likely that Lemnos was inhabited in Theodectas' *Philoctetes*, with Philoctetes receiving sustenance from the Lemnians.⁸⁶⁴ Finally, Theodectas' transferral of the wound from Philoctetes' foot to his hand would have meant that Philoctetes was able to walk freely rather than hobble as necessitated in fifth-century dramatic treatments. Such a change in the manner in which Philoctetes moves would have visually emphasised Theodectas' divergence from his fifth-century predecessors, with Philoctetes more easily able to conceal his wound, as Aristotle notes. It would, however, have meant that Philoctetes was unable to use his hands, such as when shaking Neoptolemus' hand as a greeting or in supplication (depending on the hand on which the wound was located). This would have made Philoctetes an interesting part for the protagonist to play, requiring him to restrict his hand movements in his acting.

Pacelli suggested that fr. 15 should be assigned to *Philoctetes* given its sentiment about nobility having unworthy leaders, with the fragment delivered by Philoctetes after discovering Neoptolemus' duplicity; the sententious nature of fr. 15 means that such an

⁸⁶⁴ Pace Pacelli (2016) 168 who argues that Theodectas' *Philoctetes* resembled Sophocles' play of the same name, with Lemnos thus uninhabited; cf. Aeschylus' and Euripides' *Philoctetes*.

attribution should be treated with caution. A twenty-six line papyrus fragment has also been attributed to Theodectas' *Philoctetes*.⁸⁶⁵ In this papyrus, one character, conjectured by West⁸⁶⁶ to be the chorus, asks another to choose between various scenarios causing happiness or grief (4–9). Another character, suggested to be Philoctetes,⁸⁶⁷ then discusses the sack of Troy and Helenus' prophecy that Philoctetes and his bow are required to defeat Troy (10–17), and the papyrus ends with a character telling Philoctetes that Troy cannot be taken without his help (18–25).⁸⁶⁸ West suggested that the style of the papyrus is suitable to a minor tragedian such as Theodectas on the basis of the 'simplicity and the shallowness of [the] fragment'.⁸⁶⁹ Since this is little reason to assign the papyrus to Theodectas, it is not included in this commentary and should be considered an *adespota*, numbered accordingly as *Tr. adesp.* fr. 654 *TrGF*.

In the fourth century, Antiphon also wrote a *Philoctetes* tragedy, though, since only one fragment survives, it is possible that Antiphon is a mistake for Antiphanes who wrote a comedy with this title.⁸⁷⁰ In fifth-century drama, Achaëus and Philocles wrote *Philoctetes* tragedies in addition to those by Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides; Strattis also produced a comedy entitled *Philoctetes*.

Fragment 5b II

Nauck believed this fragment to be spurious; there is, however, no reason to doubt that Theodectas wrote fr. 5b II. The metre of this line is uncertain, with *TrGF* I p. 233 suggesting that it is in dochmiacs; this metre is associated with anguish, emphasising Philoctetes' pain when asking for his hand to be cut off (cf. Eur. *Hec.* 684–720, *Her.* 1178–1213, Dale (1968)

⁸⁶⁵ P.Oxy. 3216; thus West (1977) 42.

⁸⁶⁶ (1977) 40.

⁸⁶⁷ Thus West (1977) 41.

⁸⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

⁸⁶⁹ *Ibid.* 42.

⁸⁷⁰ Thus *TrGF* I p. 196.

104–19, West (1982) 108–14, see Webster on Soph. *Phil.* 740ff for further examples of metrical peculiarities in presentations of Philoctetes’ pain). Philoctetes’ use of the plural κόψατε shows that he is addressing Neoptolemus and his men. For another instance of Philoctetes seeking to have his poisoned body part removed cf. πρὸς θεῶν, πρόχειρον εἴ τί σοι, τέκνον, πάρα | ξίφος χεροῖν, πάταξον εἰς ἄκρον πόδα, | ἀπάμησον ὡς τάχιστα, μὴ φείσῃ βίου. ἴθ’, ὦ παῖ (‘by the gods, if you have a sword to hand, child, strike at my ankle, cut it off as quickly as possible, don’t spare my life’, Soph. *Phil.* 747–9 with Finglass (2009) 223–4), Aesch. *Philoctetes* fr. 254 *TrGF*.

INCERTARUM FABULARUM FRAGMENTA

Fragment 6 – Athen. 10.454b–f (transl. based on Olson)

Εὐριπίδης δὲ τὴν ἐν τῷ Θησεῖ (fr. 382 *TrGF*) τὴν ἐγγράμματον ἔοικε ποιῆσαι ῥῆσιν. βοτῆρ δ’ ἐστὶν ἀγράμματος αὐτόθι δηλῶν τοῦνομα τοῦ Θησεῶς ἐπιγεγραμμένον οὕτως·

ἐγὼ πέφυκα γραμμάτων μὲν οὐκ ἴδρις,
μορφὰς δὲ λέξω καὶ σαφῆ τεκμήρια.
κύκλος τις ὡς τόρνοισιν ἐκμετρούμενος,
οὗτος δ’ ἔχει σημεῖον ἐν μέσῳ σαφές·
τὸ δεύτερον δὲ πρῶτα μὲν γραμμαὶ δύο, 5
ταύτας διείργει δ’ ἐν μέσαις ἄλλη μία·
τρίτον δὲ βόστρυχος τις ὡς εἰλιγμένος·
τὸ δ’ αὖ τέταρτον ἢ μὲν εἰς ὀρθὸν μία,
λοξαὶ δ’ ἐπ’ αὐτῆς τρεῖς κατεστηριγμέναι
εἴσιν· τὸ πέμπτον δ’ οὐκ ἐν εὐμαρεῖ φράσαι· 10
γραμμαὶ γὰρ εἰσιν ἐκ διεστῶτων δύο,
αὗται δὲ συντρέχουσιν εἰς μίαν βάσιν·
τὸ λοίσθιον δὲ τῷ τρίτῳ προσεμφερές.

τὸ δ' αὐτὸ πεποίηκε καὶ Ἀγάθων ὁ τραγωιδιοποιὸς ἐν τῷ Τηλέφῳ (fr. 4 *TrGF*)· ἀγράμματος γάρ τις κἀνταῦθα δηλοῖ τὴν τοῦ Θεσέως ἐπιγραφὴν οὕτως·

γραφῆς ὁ πρῶτος ἦν μεσόμφαλος κύκλος·

ὀρθοὶ τε κανόνες ἐξυγωμένοι δύο,

Σκυθικῶι τε τόξῳ <τὸ> τρίτον ἦν προσεμφερές·

ἔπειτα τριόδους πλάγιος ἦν προσκείμενος·

ἐφ' ἑνός τε κανόνος ἦσαν < . . > δύο·

5

ὅπερ δὲ τὸ τρίτον, ἦν τελευταῖον πάλιν.

καὶ Θεοδέκτης δ' ὁ Φασηλίτης ἄγροικόν τινα ἀγράμματον παράγει καὶ τοῦτον τὸ τοῦ Θεσέως ὄνομα διασημαίνοντα

γραφῆς ὁ πρῶτος ἦν καλόφθαλμος κύκλος.

ἔπειτα δισοὶ κανόνες ἰσόμετροι πάνυ·

τούτους δὲ πλάγιος δία μέτρου συνδεῖ κανῶν·

τρίτον δ' ἑλικτῶι βοστρύχῳ προσεμφερές.

ἔπειτα τριόδους πλάγιος ὡς ἐφαίνετο,

5

πέμπται δ' ἄνωθεν ἰσόμετροι ράβδοι δύο,

αὗται δὲ συντείνουσιν εἰς βάσιν μίαν.

ἕκτον δ' ὅπερ καὶ πρόσθεν εἶπον βόστρυχος

καὶ Σοφοκλῆς δὲ τούτῳ παραπλήσιον ἐποίησεν ἐν Ἀμφιαράῳ (fr. 121 *TrGF*) σατυρικῶι τὰ γράμματα παράγων ὀρχούμενον.

1 καλόφθαλμος Scaliger: μαλακόφθαλμος codd.

Euripides as well seems to have used this (i.e. Maeandrius *FGrHist* 491 F6) as the basis for his speech describing individual letters in his *Theseus*. There, an illiterate shepherd tries to describe the name of Theseus on an inscription as follows:

I am not skilled in reading or writing,

so I shall describe the forms of the letters and give you a clear account.

There is a circle measured out precisely as if by compasses,

and there is a clear point in the middle.

And the second letter first of all has two lines, 5

and another one in the middle keeps them apart;

the third letter is like a curling lock of hair;

in fourth place, one line stands up straight,

and three slanting lines are propped up against it;

the fifth letter isn't easy to describe, 10

there are two lines from separate points,

and they join together into one base;

the remaining letter is like the third.

And the tragic poet Agathon has done the same thing in his *Telephus*; for there as well, an illiterate person describes an inscription bearing Theseus' name as follows:

The first letter is a circle with a dot in the centre;

the second letter comprises two upright bars joined together,

and the third letter was like a Scythian bow;

and then there is a trident lying on its side;

after which there were two ... on a single line; 5

and the third letter was the last as well.

Also Theodectas the Phaselian put an illiterate rustic on stage and he too describes Theseus' name:

The first letter was a circle with a fine pupil.

Then two rods exactly equal in length,

and a horizontal rod joins them through the middle,

and the third resembled a lock of curled hair.

Then there was a trident on its side, so it seemed, 5

and the fifth was two rods of equal length on top,

and these converged into one base.

And the sixth was what I described before, a lock of hair

Sophocles too does something similar to this in his satyr drama *Amphiaraus*, bringing onstage a man who dances the letters.

Fr. 6 has been attributed to satyr drama, given that its speaker is described as an ἄγροικος, a comic word (cf. Ar. *Eq.* 41, 808, *Nub.* 47) and thus possibly an indication by Athenaeus of the fragment's genre, and given that the illiteracy of the ἄγροικος may have created humour (Kraus (2000) 324). Other features which have been used to support a satyric attribution include the speaker's uncertainty over the identity of the letters of Theseus' name and his use of real-world objects in their comprehension (Ceccarelli (2013) 237; cf. Aesch. *Dictyulci* fr. 46a.8–9, *Sisyphus* fr. 227 *TrGF*, Soph. *Ichneutae* fr. 314.301–12 *TrGF*). In addition, Athenaeus cites fr. 6 alongside Sophocles' *Amphiaraus* (Ceccarelli (2013) 238), a known satyr drama; there is also a high rate of resolution (seven times in eight lines) in comparison with Theodectas' other fragments and a breach of Porson's law in line 8 (Sutton (1978) 53). Finally, Theodectas perhaps included fr. 6 in the play from which it comes to create an intertextual connection with Eur. *Theseus* fr. 382 *TrGF* and Agathon *Telephus* fr. 4 *TrGF*; cf. Python *Agen* fr. 1.2–3 *TrGF* (appropriating Soph. *El.* 7–8, fr. 748 *TrGF*), fr. 1.11 *TrGF* (alluding to Soph. *Tr.* 302) for other examples of intertextuality in satyr drama. Since all of these aspects barring metre and intertextuality, however, equally apply to Euripides' *Theseus*, a tragic provenance for fr. 6 should not be discounted. The description of Theseus' name has suggested that fr. 6 came from a play entitled *Theseus* (thus Weissenberger (2002) 310), with the dramatic context of this fragment similar to Eur. *Theseus* fr. 382 *TrGF*, i.e. that the speaker read Theseus' name (ὡς ἐφάινετο, thus Xanthakis-Karamanos (1980) 102).

Nonetheless, the description of Theseus' name in Agathon's *Telephus* means that the play from which fr. 6 came need not have been related to the myth of Theseus (thus Xanthakis-Karamanos (1980) 102), with the speaker of fr. 6 perhaps reading the name from an inscription which was part of the scenery. Moreover, Theodectas' adoption of Agathon's

compressed style, at times coming close to copying Agathon, indicates Theodectas' engagement with both Euripides and Agathon.

For other letter-by-letter descriptions of names cf. Achaëus *Omphale* fr. 33 *TrGF*, [Callias] *The Grammatical Play* 31A, B, C, D *PCG*, Sedgwick (1931) 156–7. For other examples of literacy in drama cf. Eur. *Hipp.* 856–65, Ar. *Ran.* 52–3, Harris (1989) 107–11, Novokhatko (2015) 9. Theodectas' description of Theseus' name fits into a wider tradition in the fourth century of an increasingly literate society in which individuals had access to books (Pl. *Phd.* 98b), some writers were said to be more suited to reading (Arist. *Rhet.* 1413b 12–14), and manuscripts of Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides were being collected (Plut. *Vit. X Orat.* 841f); the ability of audiences to read is also evidenced by the inclusion of literary games in fourth-century tragedy (cf. Chaeremon fr. 14b). To counter any illiteracy among his audience, however, Theodectas may have chosen to spell out Theseus' name because it was widely found on Attic inscriptions (cf. *IG* II² 30.11, 1672.10) and thus a name likely to be recognised by Theodectas' audience regardless of reading ability (Ceccarelli (2013) 238); for the use of inscriptions as an indicator of literacy see Harvey (1966) 598–601. Moreover, since Euripides and Agathon had previously described Theseus' name in similar terms, Theodectas could have expected his audience to be familiar with the trope and thus the image of Theseus' name, allowing even the illiterate members of his audience to laugh at the attempts of the shepherd to describe the letters in Theseus' name. This would also allow Theodectas to show that he could find a way of describing Theseus' name different to those of Euripides and Agathon.

1: μαλακόφθαλμος, attested in the manuscripts of Athenaeus' *Deipnosophistae*, is unmetrical and makes little sense; καλόφθαλμος is the likeliest emendation (thus Scaliger *ap.* Casaubon). καλόφθαλμος is a hapax and picks up on Agathon's μεσόμφαλος and by extension Euripides' σημεῖον ἐν μέσῳ σαφές.

2–3: In describing eta, Theodectas is similarly reliant on both Euripides and Agathon. κανόνες were straight poles which had a variety of functions in the ancient world from being staves in shields to maintain their shape (Hom. *Il.* 13.407) to weaving (*ibid.*, 23.761). ισόμετρος is rarely used in Greek drama, found only here and in Ehippus *Shipwrecked* fr. 14.9 *PCG*. πάνυ is colloquial (thus Collard (2005) 366), found more often in comedy than tragedy or satyr drama; cf. Aesch. *Ag.* 1456, *Choeph.* 861, *Pers.* 926, Eur. *Cyc.* 646, Soph. *OC* 144, *Phil.* 650, Dover (1985) 332.

4: Theodectas' comparison of sigma to a lock of hair shows clear reliance on his Euripidean model, whereas Agathon compares sigma to a Scythian bow.

5: The comparison of an epsilon to a trident lying sideways (τριόδους πλάγιος) is derived from Agathon. Both Theodectas' and Agathon's descriptions of epsilons have been evidence for this letter not being lunate in the late fifth and early fourth centuries (thus Schneider (1996) 233); cf. *IG* Γ^3 68 (426/5), 107 (408/7). Lunate epsilon is, however, found on fourth-century inscriptions; cf. *IG* Π^2 2679 (early fourth century), Woodhead (1959) 64–5. Nonetheless, Theodectas may have chosen to describe epsilon as not being lunate because this might well have seemed a suitably 'archaic' form for a story set in the mythic past; moreover, it would still be reasonable to imagine the audience were familiar with the older form from inscriptions.

6–7: The description of upsilon from the top down suggests that Theodectas follows Euripides in lines 6–7.

8: Theodectas, like Euripides and Agathon, refers back to his previous description of sigma for the final letter of Theseus' name; unlike his predecessors, however, Theodectas repeats part of the description of the sigma (βόστρυχος) in reference to the final letter.

Fragment 7 – Stob. 1.1.1

Θεοδέκτου

ἐκ τῶν θεῶν ἀρχὴν δὲ ποιεῖσθαι πρέπον

ἐκ Nauck: ἀπὸ codd.

Theodectas

It is fitting to begin from the gods

Nauck emended Stobaeus' ἀπὸ to ἐκ, citing as a parallel Eur. *Hel.* 1024 – ἐκ τῶν θεῶν δ' ἄρχεσθε (begin from the gods); cf. fr. 6, 10 for other examples of Theodectas' engagement with and appropriation of Euripidean phrasing. ἄρχεσθαι ἐκ in relation to the gods is found in invocations and proems; cf. Μουσάων Ἑλικωνιάδων ἀρχώμεθ' αἰεῖδεν ('let us begin to sing from Heliconian Muses', Hes. *Th.* 1), Δήμητρ' ἠύκομον, σεμνήν θεόν, ἄρχομ' αἰεῖδεν ('I begin to sing of lovely-haired Demeter, the holy goddess', *H.Dem.* 1), ἀφ' Ἑστίας ἀρχόμενος ('beginning from Hestia', i.e. to make a good start, Ar. *Vesp.* 846 with Biles and Olson), ἐκ Διὸς ἀρχώμεσθα ('let us begin from Zeus', Aratus *Phaen.* 1, with scholium), Pind. *Nem.* 2.1–3, Xanthakis-Karamanos (1980) 130. For similar substitutions of ἀρχὴν ποιεῖσθαι for ἄρχεσθαι cf. Thuc. 1.128.4, Isoc. 5.86, Pacelli *ad loc.* For gods as the beginning cf. Cleanthes fr. 1 CA, Soph. *Aj.* 824 (with Finglass), Arist. [*Mund.*] 401a 27 with Payne (1986) 125. A similar sentiment is found in Latin literature; cf. *ab Iove principium* ('the beginning is from Jupiter', Verg. *Ecl.* 3.60 with Coleman), Ov. *Fast.* 5.111. δέ suggests that the speaker may have mentioned some alternative subject matter before this line, only to self-correct and to postpone discussion of this topic until after the invocation of the gods, allowing the proper arrangement of a speech to be restored.

Fragment 8 – Stob. 1.3.2

Θεοδέκτου

ὅστις δὲ θνητῶν μέμφεται τὰ θεῶ, ὅτι
οὐκ εὐθύς, ἀλλὰ τῷ χρόνῳ μετέρχεται
τοὺς μὴ δικαίους, πρόφασιν εἰσακουσάτω·
εἰ μὲν παραυτίκ' ἦσαν αἱ τιμωρίαι,
πολλοὶ διὰ φόβον κού δι' εὐσεβῆ τρόπον 5
θεοὺς ἂν ἠΐξον· νῦν δὲ τῆς τιμωρίας
ἄπωθεν οὔσης, τῆι φύσει χρῶνται βροτοί,
ὅταν δὲ φωραθῶσιν ὀφθέντες κακοί,
τίνουσι ποινὰς ὑστέροισιν ἐν χρόνοις

6 ἠΐξον Meineke: ἠΐξαντο *F*, *P*²: ἠΐξατο *P*¹

8 ὀφθέντες κακοί codd.: ἔρξαντες κακά Meineke

Theodectas

**And whoever among mortals blames the gods because
they do not pursue unjust men
immediately, but later on, let him listen to my explanation;
if punishments were immediate,
many men would magnify the gods on account of fear rather than piety; 5
but now when vengeance is
far away, people behave according to their own nature.
But whenever people, being seen to be bad, are found out
they pay the penalty at a later date**

See on *Lynceus* against the attribution of fr. 8 to that play. The concept of delayed divine retribution discussed in this fragment is well established; cf. χρόνῳ τοι κυρίῳ τ' ἐν ἡμέραι | θεοὺς ἀτίζων τις βροτῶν δώσει δίκην ('at the right time and day I assure you that any

mortal who dishonours the gods will pay the penalty’, Aesch. *Supp.* 732–3), Solon fr. 13.9–32 *IEG*, Thgn. 197–208, Dover (1974) 259–68, Xanthakis-Karamanos (1980) 124. In the fourth century, however, there was increasing focus on justifying the decision of the gods to delay punishing wrongdoers (cf. Pl. *Leg.* 716a–b); presumably this was due to recognition that non-punishment or delayed punishment of wrongdoers by the gods was problematic in a world controlled by the gods.

1–3: For similar sentiments to lines 1–3 and 8–9 about the delayed punishment of wrongdoers, cf. ἀλλὰ σῆγα καὶ βραδεῖ ποδὶ | στεῖχουσα μάρψει τοὺς κακοὺς, ὅταν τύχηι (‘but going silently and at a slow pace [Justice] will seize wrongdoers, whenever she chances upon them’, Eur. fr. 979.3–4 *TrGF*), Plut. *De sera* 548c. τὰ θεῖα for οἱ θεοί is otherwise unattested in tragedy except here and Soph. *Phil.* 452. πρόφασιν εἰσακουσάτω is reminiscent of the phrasing and sentiments of comic parabases; cf. ὦ θεώμενοι κατερῶ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐλευθέρως | τάληθῆ (‘spectators, I will freely tell you the truth’, Ar. *Nub.* 518–19). Nonetheless, it is a call out to the world at large (Bain (1975) 13, (1977) 98), since this fragment is explicitly addressed to any mortal who criticises the gods for being slow to punish wrongdoers; cf. εἰ δ’ ἔστιν ὅστις δαιμόνων ὑπερφρονεῖ, | ἐς τοῦδ’ ἀθρήσας θάνατον ἡγείσθω θεοὺς (‘if there is anyone who thinks little of the gods, let him look upon the death of this man and acknowledge them’, Eur. *Bacch.* 1325–6), Carcinus fr. 5 and cf. Astydamos *Heracles* fr. 4 for similar language.

4–6: Line 6 as found in the manuscripts of Stobaeus’ *Anthologium* is unmetrical, with ηὔξαντο given in manuscripts *F* and *P*² and ηὔξατο given in manuscript *P*¹; ηὔξον (owed to Meineke) is the likeliest emendation. The belief that the gods should be worshipped due to piety rather than fear shows that the gods are concerned not only with whether mortals behave correctly, but whether they do so for the right reasons. Nonetheless, some believe that fear has an important role in worship; cf. καὶ εἰ μηδένα ἀνθρώπων ἡισχύνου, τοὺς θεοὺς

ἐχρῆν σε ... δεδιέναι ('even if you felt no shame before any man, you ought to have feared the gods', Lys. 32.13, transl. Lamb)

6–9: ὀφθέντες κακοί has also been deemed corrupt (thus Meineke, *TrGF* I p. 234); Meineke emended the text to ἔρξαντες κακά. There is, however, no reason to doubt ὀφθέντες κακοί, since it is metrically sound and conveys a coherent sentiment; for ὀφθέντες κακοί cf. οὔτοι διαπτυχθέντες ὤφθησαν κενοί ('when these men are laid bare, they are seen to be empty', Soph. *Ant.* 709). For ὑστέροισιν ἐν χρόνοις (vel sim.) cf. Eur. fr. 1007d.1 *TrGF*; plural χρόνος is rare in tragedy (cf. Soph. *OT* 561, 1137, Ezekiel *Exagoge* 192 *TrGF*). ὑστέροισιν ἐν χρόνοις may refer to men being punished during their lifetime. Alternatively, this phrase may allude to the fifth- and fourth-century doctrines on delayed divine retribution, in which individuals would be punished for their wrongdoing in the afterlife; cf. Aesch. *Eum.* 267–75, 339–40, *Supp.* 228–31, 413–16, Pl. *Phdr.* 249a. Perhaps ὑστέροισιν ἐν χρόνοις is deliberately vague, reflecting both traditions and highlighting that man cannot escape punishment for his crimes (Xanthakis-Karamanos (1980) 125–6).

Fragment 9 – Stob. 1.8.6

Θεοδέκτου

ἀλλ', ὦ τάλαν Θυέστα, καρτέρει δάκνων
ὀργῆς χαλινόν· παρακελεύομαι δέ σοι
τεθηγμένω νῦν· ἀλλ' ὁ μυρίος χρόνος
τὰ πάντ' ἀμαυροῖ χυπὸ χεῖρα λαμβάνει

1 δάκνων Grotius: δαθανών *F*: διαθανών *P*¹: θανών *P*²

Theodectas

**But, wretched Thyestes, be strong, biting on
the bit of anger; and I advise you**

though your anger is whetted at this moment; but endless time

dims all things and takes them into its hands

The direct address of Thyestes in this fragment indicates that Theodectas wrote a play about this figure (thus Ravenna (1903) 801). The description of Thyestes as τάλαν and references to Thyestes' anger and that he has been provoked indicate that Thyestes suffered during Theodectas' play, perhaps after discovering that he had unwittingly consumed his sons (thus Xanthakis-Karamanos (1980) 136); this would mean that fr. 9 came from near the end of Theodectas' tragedy. Alternatively, Theodectas' play could have treated Thyestes' deposition from the throne of Mycenae (Eur. *El.* 699–746). The speaker of these lines, though unknown, appears to be well disposed to Thyestes given his compassionate and pitying τάλαν (Dickey (1996) 162), his advice to Thyestes to restrain his anger, and his reassurances that his troubles will lessen in time. For Thyestes in drama see on Carcinus' *Thyestes*.

1–2: For other references to Thyestes as τάλαν (vel sim.) cf. Aesch. *Ag.* 1588, for similar sentiments to lines 1–2 about restraining one's anger cf. Μενέλαε, παῦσαι λῆμ' ἔχων τεθηγμένον ('Menelaus, calm your whetted anger', Eur. *Or.* 1625), Aesch. *Eum.* 832–3, *PGM IX* 12–13 (with Schmidt (1934) 184–5). All three manuscripts of Stobaeus' *Anthologium* preserve different versions of the end of line 1, with manuscript *F* giving δαθανών, *P*¹ διαθανών, and *P*² θανών. None of these readings can be correct, with δαθανών and διαθανών making line 1 metrically defective and with θανών nonsensical; δάκνων (owed to Grotius) is the likeliest emendation. For δακών (vel sim.) in relation to one's emotions cf. τὸν θυμὸν δακών ('having restrained his anger', Ar. *Nub.* 1369 with Dover), Tyrtaeus fr. 10 *IEG*. χαλινόν usually describes a horse's bit or bridle (LSJ⁹ s. v. χαλινός, cf. Hom. *Il.* 19.393, Xen. *Eq.* 3.2), but can be used of a restraint of any kind, metaphorical or otherwise; cf. Eur. *IT* 1043 (used to describe an anchor). For other metaphors involving biting at the bit cf. δακών δὲ στόμιον ὡς νεοζυγῆς | πῶλος βιάζηι καὶ πρὸς

ἠνίας μάχηι (‘having taken the bit in your mouth like a newly-yoked colt, you struggle and fight against the reins’, [Aesch.] *PV* 1009–10). In Theodectas’ verses, the χαλινόν is not made of anger, but curbs it. If fr. 9 came from a *Thyestes* play dealing with Thyestes’ consumption of his sons, the metaphor involving δακῶν would be especially pointed, reflecting Thyestes’ feast.

2–3: παρά tempers κελεύω, allowing the speaker to exhort Thyestes not to seek revenge, while at the same not being too forceful and thus causing Thyestes to remain entrenched in his views. The passive τεθηγμένωι (owed to Nauck) is similarly persuasive, showing that the speaker is attempting to empathise with Thyestes, perhaps to strengthen his appeal to Thyestes to remain calm. θήγω is elsewhere used in relation to metaphors involving using one’s anger to inflict wounds on an enemy and is often found in relation to boars; cf. Hom. *Il.* 11.416, 13.475, Eur. *Phoen.* 1380. The speaker may choose a more violent metaphor in lines 2–3 as the argument touches on the current crisis.

3–4: For similar sentiments to lines 3–4, cf. ὁ χρόνος ἀπάσης ἐστὶν ὀργῆς φάρμακον (‘time is the remedy for every kind of anger’, Critias fr. 22 *TrGF*), Soph. *Aj.* 646–7, fr. 954 *TrGF*; the speaker’s comments are likely to have met with little success, since Thyestes is hardly likely to have drawn comfort from or been concerned with the perception of Atreus’ actions in the future, only with seeking revenge for them in the present. ὁ μυρίος χρόνος (vel sim.) is a rare phrase in pre-Imperial Greek, found on just three other occasions: Pind. *I.* 5.28, Soph. *OC* 397, 617–18.

Fragment 10 – Stob. 3.10.8

Θεοδέκτου

ὦ καλλιφεγγῆ λαμπάδ’ εἰλίσσων φλογὸς

Ἥλιε, ποθεινὸν πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις σέλας,

εἶδές τιν' ἄλλον πώποτ' εἰς οὔτῳ μέγαν
ἐλθόντ' ἀγῶνα καὶ δυσέκφευκτον κρίσιν,
ὅπου κατηγορεῖ μὲν ἐν λόγοισί μου 5
γυνή, πρὸς ὃν δ' εἶρηκε, τυγχάνει πόσις,
κρατοῦσι δ' οἵπερ καὶ κατηγοροῦσί μου

Theodectas

**Helios, whirling your beautifully burning lamps of fire,
a light desired by all mortals,
have you ever seen another man going into such a great struggle
and inescapable judgment,
when a woman denounces me with words, 5
and the person to whom she has spoken happens to be her husband
and they are powerful, those who slander me**

Conjectures for the origin of this fragment include Theodectas' *Alcmeon* (*TrGF* 1 p. 235), *Helen* (Xanthakis-Karamanos (1979) 75), *Orestes* (Del Grande (1934) 200), an otherwise unknown *Bellerophon* play (Gaisford (1824) 38), and, given the similarities with Eur. *Phoen.* 3 and Accius *Phoenician Women* fr. 585–8 Warmington (as noted by Carrara (1994) 49), a *Phoenician Women* tragedy. Of these, *Bellerophon* is most likely, given that the dispute between the speaker and a woman and her husband best corresponds to Stheneboia's false accusation of rape against Bellerophon (here μου, and thus the speaker) to her husband Proetus; cf. Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.3.1, Hyg. *Fab.* 57. Alternatively, fr. 10 could come from a *Hippolytus* play, since Phaedra falsely accused Hippolytus of raping her. Both suggestions are also supported by Stobaeus' placement of this quotation alongside other passages in which the speaker is in an unfair position; cf. e.g. Eur. *Hclid.* 1–4 (= Stob. 3.10.1). The invocation of the sun in the first two lines suggests that this fragment opens the tragedy from

which it comes (thus Deufert (1999) 578); cf. Soph. *Tereus* fr. 582 *TrGF* with Fitzpatrick and Sommerstein, Eur. *Andromeda* fr. 114 *TrGF*, Carcinus *Semele* fr. 2 *TrGF* for the invocation of celestial bodies at the start of plays and Eur. *Phoen.* 3–4 (with Haslam (1975) 149–66 on the spuriousness of lines 1–2 of Euripides’ play), Accius *Phoenician Women* fr. 585–8 Warmington (with Warmington (1936) 525) for similar opening lines. The reference to a woman and her husband’s slandering of the speaker shows that this must have thus taken place before the start of the play, meaning that, if this tragedy presented an episode from the life of Bellerophon, it probably followed a similar plot to Euripides’ *Stheneboia*; cf. Eur. *Stheneboia* fr. 661 *TrGF*. If, however, the tragedy dealt with Phaedra’s false accusation of rape against Hippolytus, then it probably treated Phaedra’s suicide and Hippolytus’ death. In the fourth century, the Hippolytus myth is otherwise mentioned only in Eubulus *Chrysis* fr. 115.12 *PCG*. In fifth-century drama, Euripides produced a *Hippolytus* and *Hippolytus Veiled*, Sophocles a *Phaedra*, and Phaedra was mentioned in Ar. *Thesm.* 153, 497, 547, 550, *Ran.* 1043, 1052, *Polyidus* fr. 469.2 *PCG*. For Bellerophon in drama see on Astydamas’ *Bellerophon*.

1–2: For similar descriptions of the sun cf. Eur. *Phoen.* 3 “Ἡλιε, θοαῖς ἵπποισιν εἰλίσσων φλόγα (‘sun, whirling your flame on swift horses’), *Hom. Hymn* 31.8–15a, Pacelli *ad loc.* As observed by Carrara (1994) 49, in both Eur. *Phoen.* 3 and this fragment, the phrase εἰλίσσων φλογός is used, with its close proximity to “Ἡλιε and the similarities in their sound possibly creating word play (see Craik on Eur. *Phoen.* 3). For association of the sun with lamps, cf. Soph. *Ant.* 878–80, Eur. *Ion* 1467, [Eur.] *Rh.* 59–60 and see Liapis on [Eur.] *Rh.* 59–62 for further examples in both ancient literature and English verse. καλλιφεγγῆ is a compound otherwise used only by Euripides among the tragedians (*Hipp.* 455, *Tro.* 860, *Phaethon* fr. 781.11 *TrGF* with Diggle); for καλλι- compounds see on Chaeremon *Oeneus* fr. 14 *TrGF*. For ποθεινὸν πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις (vel sim.) cf. ὦ γῆρας, ὡς ἅπασιν ἀνθρώποισιν

εἶ | ποθεινόν (‘old age, how you are desired by all men’, Antiphanes *The Heiress* fr. 94.1–2 *PCG*). The description of the sun as desired by all may hint at the speaker’s reason for invoking the sun, that, as a constant in the lives of all, it can be depended upon and be a source of relief for him even when he is abandoned by everyone else; this means that the sun is a source of comfort to the speaker. The sun may also be invoked because it witnesses everything (thus Fantuzzi (1982) 66 with Habelt (1983) 12).

3–4: For invocation of a celestial body followed by description of a negative situation (as in lines 3–4 of this fragment), cf. Men. *Misoumenos* 1–5, Mastronarde on Eur. *Phoen.* 3–4, Cropp on Eur. *El.* 54. μέγας ἄγών (vel sim.) is a phrase otherwise found only in Euripides among the fifth-century tragedians; cf. *Hec.* 229, *Hipp.* 496, *Med.* 235, *Phoen.* 860 (with Mastronarde).

Fragment 11 – Stob. 3.29.35 (transl. based on Wright (2016) 239)

Θεοδέκτου

x—v—x—v—x πολλά δεῖ

μοχθεῖν τὸν ἥξοντ’ εἰς ἔπαινον εὐκλεῶς·

ῥαιθυμία δὲ τὴν παραυτίχ’ ἠδονὴν

λαβοῦσα λύπας τῶι χρόνῳι τίκτειν φιλεῖ

Theodectas

A great deal of toil is needed

for the one striving nobly towards praise;

whereas an easy life, though it gains short-term pleasure,

is wont to bear grief in time

1–2: The first two metra of line 1 are not quoted by Stobaeus. For praise of hard work see on Carcinus *Tyro* fr. 4. For toil leading to praise cf. ἀρετὰ βαίνει διὰ μόχθων (‘virtue comes

through toil', Eur. *Hclid.* 625), Eur. *Archelaus* fr. 233, 240 *TrGF*. Such a sentiment is emphasised in this fragment through juxtaposing its positive outcomes (ἔπαινον and εὐκλεῶς) at the end of discussion of working hard, thereby focusing on its benefits.

3–4: For similar sentiments to lines 3–4 cf. Critias fr. 23 *TrGF*, Babrius 114. Despite admitting that leisure also provides pleasure, ἡδονήν can have a negative connotation (LSJ⁹ s. v. ἡδονή, cf. Dem. 18.138, Pl. *Phlb.* 50a) and in any case is short-lived, given λύπας. For τίκτειν φιλεῖ (vel sim.) cf. Aesch. *Ag.* 763, *Supp.* 769–70.

Fragment 12 – Stob. 3.32.14 (transl. based on Wright (2016) 239)

Θεοδέκτου

ἅπαντ' ἐν ἀνθρώποισι γηράσκειν ἔφω
καὶ πρὸς τελευτὴν ἔρχεται τακτοῦ χρόνου,
πλήν, ὡς ἔοικε, τῆς ἀναιδείας μόνον.
αὕτη δ' ὅσωιπερ αὖξεται θνητῶν γένος,
τοσῶιδε μείζων γίγνεται καθ' ἡμέραν 5

3 μόνον codd.: μόνης Meineke

Theodectas

**Everything in human life naturally grows old
and comes to the end of its allotted time,
except, so it seems, only shamelessness.
As much as the race of mortals increases,
so she grows bigger by the day 5**

1–2: Since line 2 is read *inter lineas* in manuscript *S* of Stobaeus' *Anthologium*, Nauck deemed this verse spurious. Given, however, that the sentiment of fr. 12 emphasises how shamelessness only grows bigger whereas everything else connected with humanity

eventually perishes, line 2 should be considered part of fr. 12. The lack of a particle in the first line suggests that these lines may have been the start of a speech, probably a reply to a speech which the respondent (i.e. the speaker of fr. 12) considers shameless. Humanity being subject to time is a concept found elsewhere in antiquity (cf. Chaeremon fr. 20 *TrGF*) and corresponds more broadly with mankind being subject to the constraints of external forces, such as fortune.

3: Meineke's emendation of μόνον (in the manuscripts of Stobaeus' *Anthologium*) to μόνης is unnecessary; cf. Aesch. *Supp.* 1012, [Aesch.] *PV* 211, Eur. *Cyc.* 219 for adverbial μόνον.

4–5: For the growth of shamelessness cf. Thgn. 291–2, 647–8. Lines 4–5 correspond to the phrasing of Eur. fr. 1029.4–5 *TrGF* – ἀρετὴ δ' ὅσῳ περ μᾶλλον ἂν χρῆσθαι θέληις, | τοσῶιδε μείζων αὔξεται τελουμένη ('virtue, the more you are willing to practise it, the more it will grow greater and be perfected', transl. Collard and Cropp). Here, Theodectas replaces Euripides' focus on ἀρετὴ with shamelessness. The authenticity of Eur. fr. 1029 *TrGF* is, however, doubted and so it is uncertain whether fr. 12 inspired Eur. fr. 1029 *TrGF* (Gomperz (1912) 133) or was based upon it (Liapis (2014b) 326).

Fragment 12a – Stob. 4.22.54

Θεοδέκτου

<...>

<...>

παραπλήσιον πράγμα' ἐστὶ γῆρας καὶ γάμος,
τυχεῖν γὰρ αὐτῶν ἀμφοτέρων σπουδάζομεν·
ὅταν δὲ τύχωμεν, ὕστερον λυπούμεθα

Theodectas

<...>

<...>

Old age and marriage are closely related matters,
because we are eager to attain both;
yet whenever we do attain them, we suffer later on

The attribution of fr. 12a to Theodectas cannot be correct, since its sentiment is more appropriate to comedy (thus Wachsmuth and Hense) and given two non-initial anapaestic feet. Wachsmuth and Hense thus inserted a lacuna between the lemma Θεοδέκτου and fr. 12a in their edition of Stobaeus' *Anthologium*, in which would have been a quotation from Theodectas related to the topic of 4.22 – ὅτι οὐκ ἀγαθόν τό γαμεῖν ('that marrying is not good'). The lacuna would have also contained the name of the comic poet to whom the above verse belongs, now numbered as *com. adesp.* fr. 899 *PCG*.

Fragment 13 – Stob. 4.22.67

Θεοδέκτου

ὅταν γὰρ ἄλοχον εἰς δόμους ἄγῃ πόσις,
οὐχ ὡς δοκεῖ γυναῖκα λαμβάνει μόνον,
ὁμοῦ δὲ τῆιδ' ἐπεισκομίζεται λαβῶν
καὶ δαίμον' ἦτοι χρηστὸν ἢ τούναντίον

3 ἐπεισκομίζεται Jacobs: ἔτ' εἰσκομίζεται codd.

Theodectas

**For whenever a husband brings a wife into his house,
he does not, so it seems, receive only a wife,
but along with her he also brings in
a great power, I tell you, either good or the opposite**

Meineke assigned these verses to comedy, believing their sentiment more appropriate to this genre. There is, however, no reason to do so, since this fragment is securely assigned to

Theodectas in all three manuscripts of Stobaeus' *Anthologium* and as tragedy could include similarly negative sentiments about women; cf. Eur. *Hipp.* 630–3, *Melanippe Captive* fr. 493.4–5, *Oedipus* fr. 546 *TrGF*. Theodectas' authorship of fr. 13 is also supported by three instances of tragic diction in the first line, i.e. ἄλοχος (cf. Aesch. *Pers.* 63, Soph. *OT* 181), εἰς δόμους (cf. Aesch. *Pers.* 530, Eur. *Melanippe Captive* fr. 501.3 *TrGF*), πόσις (cf. Aesch. *Ag.* 1405, Eur. *Cresphontes* fr. 451.1 *TrGF*); by contrast, these words are rarely found in comedy, ἄλοχος attested once (Ar. *Lys.* 1286), εἰς δόμους once (Eubulus *Nurses* fr. 111.1 *PCG*), and πόσις four times (Ar. *Thesm.* 866, 901, 913, Epicharm. fr. 146.2 *PCG*).

Attribution to Theodectas is also suggested by ὡς δοκεῖ and ἦτοι, both rhetorical flourishes.

ἐπεισκομίζεται (owed to Jacobs (1827) 112) is preferable to Stobaeus' ἔτ' εἰσκομίζεται, since the ἐπ- prefix at the start of Jacobs' emendation emphasises the sense of the middle voice of the verb and the sentiment of this fragment better than ἔτ' εἰσκομίζεται does. For similar distinctions between women and marriage as a blessing and as a curse cf. γάμοι δ' ὅσοις μὲν εὖ καθεστᾶσιν βροτῶν, | μακάριος αἰὼν, οἷς δὲ μὴ πίπτουσιν εὖ, | τὰ τ' ἔνδον εἰσὶ τὰ τε θύραζε δυστυχεῖς ('for those mortals whose marriages have been on a good footing, there is a blessed life, but those whose marriages do not turn out well, they are unfortunate in both their household and external affairs', Eur. *Or.* 602–4), διοριῶ [δ' ἐ]γὼ λόγῳ· | τῆς μὲν κακῆς κάκιον οὐδὲν γίγνεται | γυναικός, ἐσθλῆς δ' οὐδὲν εἰς ὑπερβολὴν | πέφυκ' ἄμεινον· ('I will draw this distinction, nothing is worse than a bad woman, but by far nothing is better than a good one', Eur. *Melanippe Captive* fr. 494.26–9 *TrGF*), Hom. *Od.* 24.192–202, Hes. *Op.* 702–5, Semonides fr. 6 *IEG*, Pacelli *ad loc.* It is unclear whether the speaker imagines the δαίμων to be embodied in the wife or whether it accompanies the wife.

Fragment 14 – Stob. 4.26.8

Θεοδέκτου

γονέων τὰ τέκν' ἔσωσαν αἱ συμβουλίαι

τέκν' ἔσωσαν Mekler: τέκνα σώιζουσιν codd.

Theodectas

The advice of parents keeps children safe

The text of fr. 14 as found in the manuscripts is corrupt, since it is unmetrical; Mekler's ((1882) 15) emendation of σώιζουσιν to the gnomic aorist ἔσωσαν is most likely correct, with a copyist altering ἔσωσαν to σώιζουσιν to make the fragment more obviously a generalisation. For the benefit of good advice cf. ὄσωι κράτιστον κτημάτων εὐβουλία; ('by how much is sound judgment the best of possessions?', Soph. *Ant.* 1050), βουλή δ' εἰς ἀγαθὸν καὶ νόον ἐσθλὸν ἄγει ('planning leads to benefit and good sense', Thgn. 1054, transl. Gerber), Stevens (1933) 104–120.

Fragment 15 – Stob. 4.29.5

Θεοδέκτου

ἐγὼ μὲν οὐποτ' εὐγένειαν ἤνεσα

τὴν προστάταισι χρωμένην ἀναξίῳ

2 ἀναξίῳ Stob.: ἀναξίως Arsenius

Theodectas

I have never praised nobility

when it has unworthy leaders

See on *Philoctetes* against the attribution of these verses to that play. This fragment is also quoted in Arsenius *Apothegmata* 6.48f.1–2, where it is similarly assigned to Theodectas. Fr. 15 has been deemed corrupt (thus *TrGF* I p. 236); there is, however, little reason to emend the text, since it is metrically sound and conveys a coherent sentiment. Nonetheless,

discrepancies have arisen over the transmission of the final word of this fragment, with Stobaeus giving ἀναξίοις and Arsenius ἀναξίως. Stobaeus' ἀναξίοις is most likely correct (thus *TrGF* 1 p. 236), since the sentiment of this fragment discusses how εὐγένεια is automatically afforded to those of high social status rather than lamenting its misuse by this section of society. Mockery of leaders for their dishonourable behaviour is frequently found in Old Comedy; cf. Ar. *Ach.* 5–8 (aimed at Cleon), Cratinus *Thracian Women* fr. 73 *PCG* (where Pericles is sarcastically likened to Zeus). In fr. 15, such criticism may similarly resonate with the audience, without breaking the dramatic illusion (Bain (1975) 13, (1977) 98), especially given the use of προστάταισι, a word which can be used to describe leaders of any kind such as those in Athens (LSJ⁹ s. v. προστάτης); cf. Thuc. 3.75.2, Stanford on Ar. *Ran.* 569. The prominence of ἐγὼ μὲν suggests that the speaker is setting up his or her opinion as controversial (thus Pacelli *ad loc.*).

Fragment 16 – Stob. 4.41.25

Θεοδέκτου

πολυσπερεῖ μὲν, ὧ γέρον, καθ' Ἑλλάδα
 φήμηι πλανᾶται καὶ διέγνωσται πάλαι,
 τὸ μὴ βεβαίους τὰς βροτῶν εἶναι τύχας

Theodectas

**Old Man, it travels through Greece via widespread rumour
 and has long been known,
 that the fortunes of mortals are not secure**

Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* 6.2) also quotes line 3, attributing it to Theodectas.

1–2: γέρον indicates that fr. 16 was addressed to an old man onstage; Pacelli's hypothesis that γέρον is an address to the coryphaeus is equally valid.

3: For the fortunes of mortals not being secure cf. on Carcinus fr. 5a *TrGF*. Given the nature of this sentiment, lines 1–2 may apply not only to the dramatic context of fr. 16, but resonate with the audience as well.

Fragment 17 – Strab. 15.1.24

Ὀνησικρίτῳ (*FGrHist* 134 F 22) δὲ δοκεῖ τόδε τὸ ὕδωρ αἴτιον εἶναι τῶν ἐν τοῖς ζώοις ἰδιωμάτων, καὶ φέρει σημεῖον τὸ καὶ τὰς χροῶς τῶν πινόντων βοσκημάτων ξενικῶν ἀλλάττεσθαι πρὸς τὸ ἐπιχώριον. τοῦτο μὲν οὖν εὔ, οὐκέτι δὲ καὶ τὸ τοῦ μέλανα εἶναι καὶ οὐλότριχας τοὺς Αἰθίοπας ἐν φιλοῖς τοῖς ὕδασι τὴν αἰτίαν τιθέναι, μέμφεσθαι δὲ τὸν Θεοδέκτην εἰς αὐτὸν τὸν ἥλιον ἀναφέροντα τὸ αἴτιον, ὅς φησιν οὕτως

ἥς ἀγχιτέρμων ἥλιος διφρηλατῶν

σκοτεινὸν ἄνθος ἐξέχρωσε λιγνύος

εἰς σώματ' ἀνδρῶν, καὶ συνέστρεψεν κόμας

μορφαῖς ἀναυξήτοισι συντήξας πυρί

1 ἥς *C D F*: οἷς *E*

But Onesicritus thinks that this water [i.e. rainwater] is responsible for the differences among living beings, and he produces as proof that the colour of foreign animals who drink that water is changed to the native colour (i.e. according to the locality). In this he is correct, but no longer is he so when he places the responsibility for the black skin and woolly hair of the Ethiopians on merely the waters, and when he censures Theodectas for ascribing the cause [of the Ethiopians' dark skin and woolly hair] to the sun itself, he [Theodectas] who says thus

The sun driving a chariot near the borders of that place

stained the bodies of men with the dark flower of sooty fire

and it rolled up their hair into stunted curls having melted it together with fire

Manuscript *E* of Strabo's *Geographica* gives the first word of line 1 as οἷς whereas manuscripts *C*, *D*, and *F* present ἥς. The version found in manuscripts *C*, *D*, and *F* is

preferable (*pace TrGF* I p. 236), avoiding οἷς and ἀνδρῶν referring to the same people and with ἥς referring to Ethiopia; οἷς may have been found in manuscript *E* since ἀγχιτέρμων can govern either a genitive or a dative. For other descriptions of Ethiopians as having black skin cf. Theocr. 17.87 (with Hunter), [Arist.] *Phgn.* 812a 12 and for other representations of this people as having short curly hair cf. Hdt. 7.70.1, Arist. *Gen. an.* 782b 24–783a 1 (with the discussion of Geffcken (1933) 437–8 on the similarities between this passage and Theodectas fr. 17); see Snowden (1947) 266–92, (1970) 1–14, 22–9, 101–11 and Skinner (2012) 95–8 for further remarks on the portrayal of Ethiopians in Greco-Roman art and literature. For similar iconographic depictions, cf. Aithiopes 1, 2 *LIMC*. Theodectas’ description of the Ethiopians’ hair suggests that they are from Africa rather than the far East; cf. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀπὸ ἡλίου Αἰθίοπες ἰθύτριχες εἰσὶ, οἱ δ’ ἐκ τῆς Λιβύης οὐλότατον τρίχωμα ἔχουσι πάντων ἀνθρώπων (‘the Ethiopians from the east have straight hair, whereas those from Africa have the woolliest hair of all men’, Hdt. 7.70.1). Nonetheless, Ethiopians were also believed to be in what was then thought to be the far east, India, given their proximity to the sun’s chariot; cf. Mimnermus fr. 12.7–11 *IEG*, [Aesch.] *Prometheus Unbound* fr. 192.4–8 *TrGF*, see Diggle on Eur. *Phaethon* 1, 4 for other examples of the association of the Ethiopians of the Near East with the sun and Lesky (1959) 27–38 for further discussion of Diggle’s references and of the various types of Ethiopians in the ancient world. Proximity to the sun’s chariot is also used as an aetiology for black skin in Euripides’ *Phaethon* – θερμὴ δ’ ἄνακτος φλόξ ὑπερτέλλουσα γῆς | καίει τὰ πόρσω, τὰ γγύθεν δ’ εὐκρατ’ ἔχει (‘the lord’s extremely hot flame burns the furthest regions of the earth, but keeps those near here temperate’, fr. 772 *TrGF*, transl. based on Collard and Cropp). ἀγχιτέρμων is rarely used in pre-Imperial Greek, found only in Soph. *Lemnians* fr. 384 *TrGF*, [Eur.] *Rh.* 426, Xen. *Hier.* 10.7.1, Lycoph. *Alex.* 729, 1130. διφρηλατῶν is similarly rare, mainly attested in verse, particularly tragedy; cf. Soph. *Aj.* 845, Eur. *IA* 216, *Rhesus* fr. 660a, fr. 1108.1 *TrGF*, [Eur.]

Rh. 781. σκοτεινόν and ἥλιος in conjunction with ἄνθος to describe the Ethiopians' skin colour is somewhat of an oxymoron, given that ἄνθος is usually used to describe bright colours (LSJ⁹ s. v. ἄνθος), although contrast Thgn. 452, where this connotation of ἄνθος is used with μέλας; see Borthwick (1976) 1–7. In tragedy, συντήκω is usually used of physical or metaphorical withering; cf. Eur. *El.* 240, *Med.* 689, *Supp.* 1105–6, Liapis (2014b) 341. σύντηξις (vel sim.) is otherwise used most often in medical works, associated with being responsible for illness; cf. Arist. *Gen. an.* 726a 22, [Arist.] *Pr.* 5.4 881a 24. ἀναύξητος is similarly otherwise found only in medical works, though fr. 17 is its earliest attested usage.

Fragment 20 – BKT P9772 col. i.12–14

Θεοδ]έκτ[ου

[γ]ης ὑπ' ἀγκά[λαις

[]ιδ' ἀποθάνω βατ[ων

Θεοδ]έκτ[ου Schubart and Wilamowitz

1 γ]ης Sims

1 ἀγκά[λαις Schubart and Wilamowitz

2 βατ[ων Schubart and Wilamowitz

Theod]ect[as

[]beneath the earth(?) with bent a[rms

[] am I to die, Bat[on]?

Fr. 20 is found in BKT P9772, a florilegium dated to the second century BC (thus BKT v p. 124). The surviving ἐκτ in the lemma to fr. 20 should perhaps be restored as Θεοδ]έκτ[ου (*ibid.*), since Theodectas is the only known writer to have the combination ἐκτ in his name. If βατ is restored as Βατ[ων (*ibid.*), it could be vocative, with another character telling Baton that they are going to die; this would presumably be Amphiaraus, with Baton his charioteer. The suggestion that Βατ[ων refers to the third-century comic poet Bato is incorrect, if the author of fr. 20 is Theodectas. Assuming the speaker of fr. 20 is Amphiaraus, then the play

from which these lines come would have focused on the events of the expedition of the Seven against Thebes, perhaps the attempts to persuade Amphiaraus to join the expedition in spite of his knowledge of his impending death given that fr. 20 indicates that Amphiaraus knows he is going to die. The presence of Baton suggests that fr. 20 comes from a scene in which Amphiaraus was departing to join the expedition. For plays about Amphiaraus see on Carcinus' *Amphiaraus*. Baton is not otherwise mentioned in tragedy.

ἀγκά[λαις (owed to BKT v p. 124) is a tragic word, rarely found in comedy; cf. Aesch. *Ag.* 723, *Supp.* 481, Eur. *Alc.* 351. ἀγκά[λαις may govern the word preceding ὑπ', possibly as a partitive genitive, if ης is the feminine, genitive, singular ending; perhaps ης should be restored as γῆς, alluding to Amphiaraus' and Baton's deaths from being swallowed up by the earth (Paus. 2.23.2, Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.6.8). Despite being associated with death in this line, ἀγκά[λαις is more often used in relation to cradling babies in one's arms, adding to the pathos of these lines; cf. Aesch. *Ag.* 723, Eur. *Ion* 1598.

Appendices

Appendix 1: Carcinus *Medea* fr. 1h (with musical notation)

This section presents the text of Carcinus' *Medea* fr. 1h complete with the musical notation which accompanies Medea's lines. Since a note is marked above the alpha in τεκοῦσα in line 3, this section presents the verse as on the papyrus, i.e. τεκοῦσα ἐπόμνυμαι, rather than τεκοῦσ' ἐπόμνυμαι as earlier in the commentary. For reconstructions of the musical sections of this fragment see Bélis (2004) 1317–23, West (2007) 8–10 = (2013) 347–50.

<ΙΑΣΩΝ> εἰ δ' —] θ' ὦ[s] φῆς παῖδας οὐκ ἀπέκτονας,
 ῥῦσαι] σεαυτήν, δεῖξον οὐς οὐκ ὤλεσας.
 [] . X̣ A . Z I Z A A Z̄ /

<ΜΗΔΕΙΑ> [x—v—]να σοὶ τεκοῦσα ἐπόμνυμαι
 II . [] IZ Z ZIKOC /
 Σκυθική...[]ν ὡς οὐκ ὤλεσα
 C KOCOC : .IK Z . /
 οὐς ἔτεκον αὐτῆ παῖ[δας, ἐξέπεμψα δέ] 5
 Z I I K I:ZI Φ C : KII IK^O C ΦΠΟCΟ
 αναπ[.]τ. πιστεύσασα γῆς ἔξω τροφῶι.

<ΚΡΕΩΝ> δῆλη ἴστι]ν ἡ ἀσ[έ]βεια Μηδείας, κακῆς
 τῶ.[...]σεῖας· ὤλεσεν Γλαύκην πυρί
[.]ς Κολχίς· ὁμολογεῖ τάδε·
 καὶ τοῦτο δῆτ' ἔ]δρα[σ]εν· ἔκτεινεν τέκ[ν]α. 10
 εἶεν,] τί μέλλεις; πρὸς φόνους τὴν βάρβαρον
 ἄγει]ν ἔχεις, ἴα[σ]ον· ὡς βούλει κτάνε.

Appendix 2: Family trees

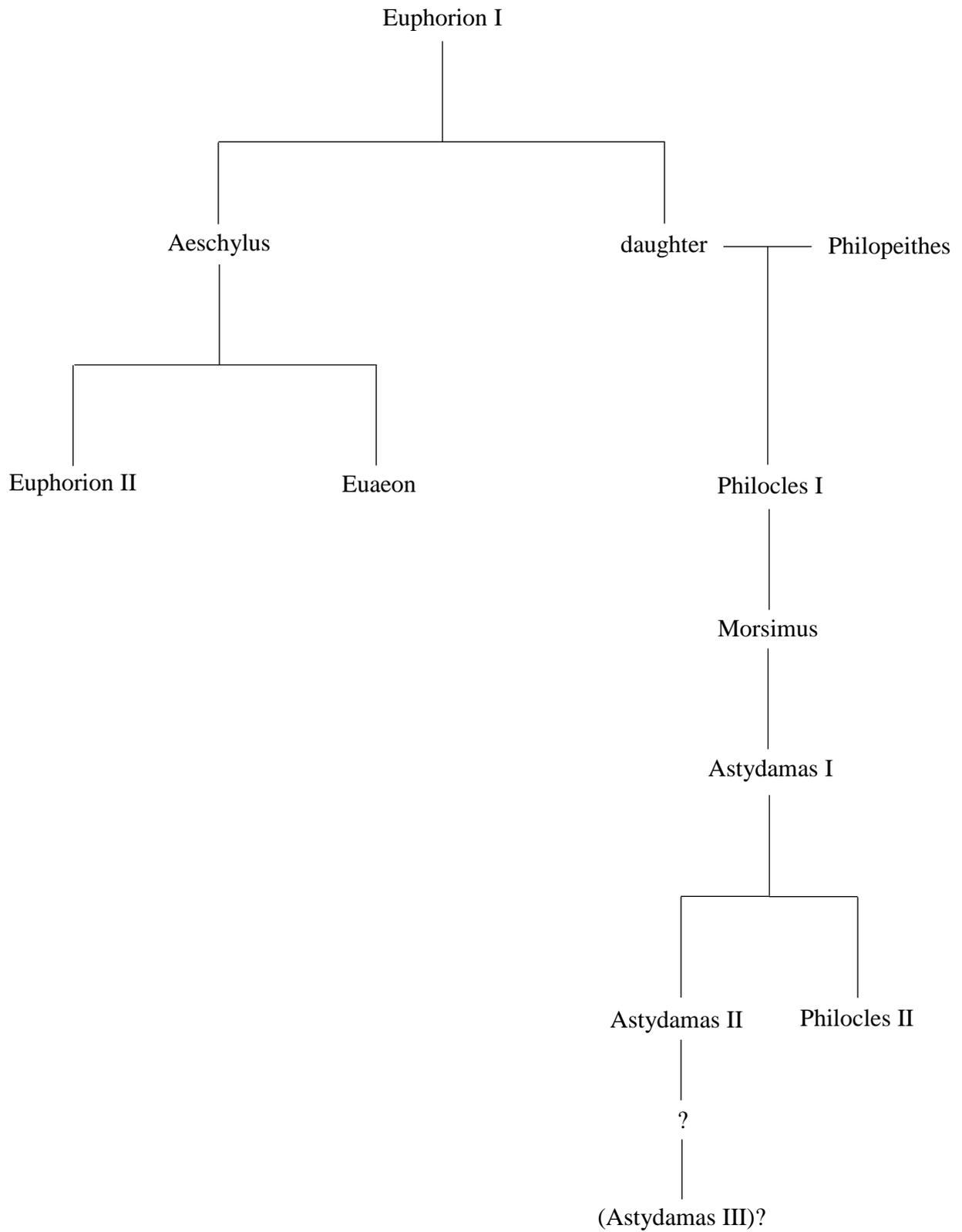


Fig. 1 – Family tree of Astydamos II

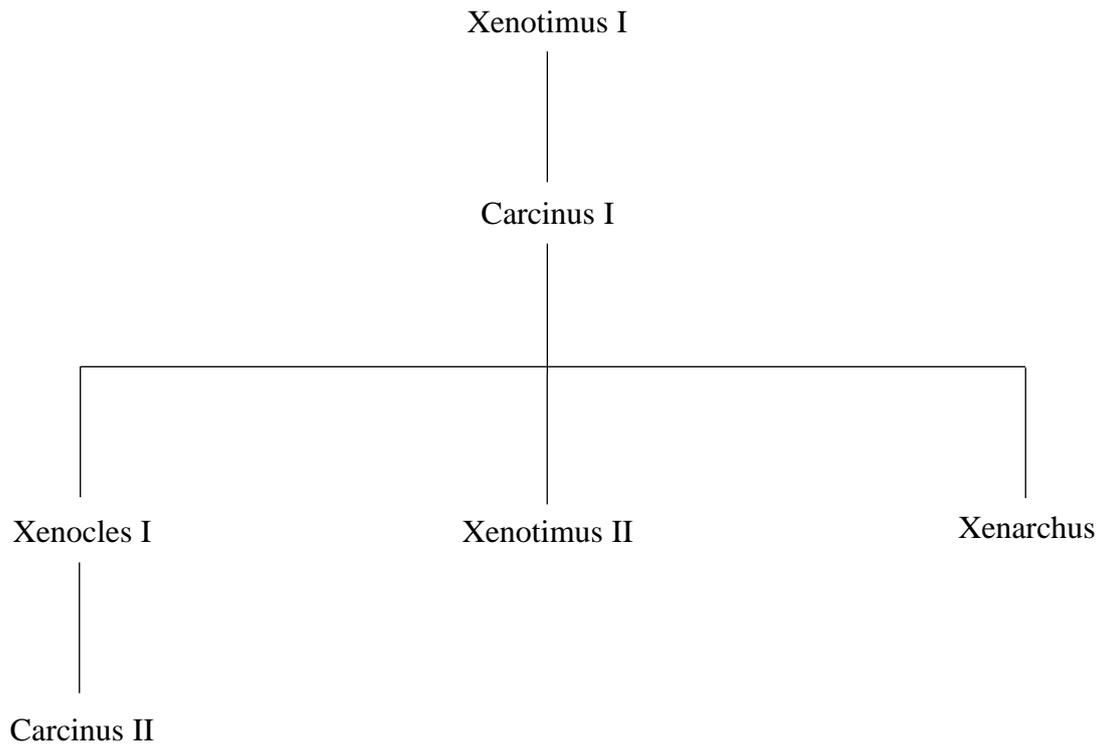


Fig. 2 – Family tree of Carcinus II

Appendix 3: Comparatio numerorum

My numeration matches that of *TrGF* except in the following cases:

	Sims	<i>TrGF</i>
Astydamas II	–	1
	–	1a
	1b I	1b
	1b II	–
	–	1d
	–	1e
	–	1f
	–	1g
	–	2b
	3a	–
	3b	3
	–	4a
	–	5a
	–	5c
	–	5d
Carcinus II	1a I	1
	1a II	1
	1b	1a
	1c II	1b I
	1c II	1b II
	1d	1c

	1e 1f 1g I 1g II 1h 1i 1j	1d 1 1e I 1e II – 1f 1g
Chaeremon	– – – 4a 4b	1a 1b 1c 4 4
Theodectas	1a I 1a II 1b 3a I 3a II 19 ⁸⁷¹	1 1 1a 3a 3a 19

⁸⁷¹ I assign this to *Orestes* and discuss it between frs. 5 and 5a.

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Abbreviations: reference works

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- ARV*² J. D. Beazley, *Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painters*², 3 vols. (Oxford 1963).
- BKT* H. Diels and W. Schubart *et al.* (eds.), *Berliner Klassikertexte*, 10 vols. to date (Berlin 1904–).
- CA* J. U. Powell (ed.), *Collectanea Alexandrina: reliquiae minores poetarum graecorum aetatis Ptolemaicae, 323-146 A.C., epicorum, elegiacorum, lyricorum, ethicorum* (Oxford 1925).
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- D-K* H. Diels (ed.), *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*, 3 vols., rev. W. Kranz (Berlin 1951–2).
- FCG* A. Meineke (ed.), *Fragmenta comicorum Graecorum*, 5 vols. (Berlin 1839–57).
- FGE* D. L. Page (ed.), *Further Greek Epigrams*, revised and prepared for publication by R. D. Dawe and J. Diggle (Cambridge 1981).
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- FHG* C. Müller and T. Müller (eds.), *Fragmenta historicorum Graecorum* (Paris 1841–73).
- GEF* M. L. West (ed.), *Greek Epic Fragments from the Seventh to the Fifth Centuries BC* (Loeb Classical Library 497; Cambridge, MA and London 2003).
- ID* A. Plassart, J. Couprey *et al.* (eds.), *Inscriptions de Délos*, 7 vols. (Paris 1926–72).
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- PCG* R. Kassel and C. Austin (eds.), *Poetae comici Graeci*, 8 vols. to date (Berlin and New York 1983–).
- PGM* A. Henrichs and K. Preisendanz (eds.), *Papyri Graecae magicae. Die griechischen Zauberpapyri*, 2 vols. (Stuttgart 1973–4).
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