Euripides and Gender: The Difference the Fragments Make

Melissa Karen Anne Funke

A dissertation

submitted in partial fulfillment of the

requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

University of Washington

2013

Reading Committee:

Ruby Blondell, Chair

Deborah Kamen

Olga Levaniouk

Program Authorized to Offer Degree:

Classics

University of Washington

Abstract

Euripides and Gender: The Difference the Fragments Make

Melissa Karen Anne Funke

Chair of the Supervisory Committee:
Professor Ruby Blondell
Department of Classics

Research on gender in Greek tragedy has traditionally focused on the extant plays, with

only sporadic recourse to discussion of the many fragmentary plays for which we have

evidence. This project aims to perform an extensive study of the sixty-two fragmentary

plays of Euripides in order to provide a picture of his presentation of gender that is as

full as possible. Beginning with an overview of the history of the collection and

transmission of the fragments and an introduction to the study of gender in tragedy and

Euripides' extant plays, this project takes up the contexts in which the fragments are

found and the supplementary information on plot and character (known as testimonia)

as a guide in its analysis of the fragments themselves. These contexts include the fifth-

century CE anthology of Stobaeus, who preserved over one third of Euripides'

fragments, and other late antique sources such as Clement's *Miscellanies*, Plutarch's

Moralia, and Athenaeus' *Deipnosophistae*. The sections on testimonia investigate

sources ranging from the mythographers Hyginus and Apollodorus to Apulian pottery to

a group of papyrus hypotheses known as the "Tales from Euripides", with a special

focus on plot-type, especially the rape-and-recognition and Potiphar's wife storylines.

The final section turns to fragments and comic parodies of Euripides in Aristophanes,

which are instructive as a contemporary source of information on the playwright. This section focuses on the fragmentary play *Andromeda*, but also includes information on a variety of the other fragmentary plays from lines and scholia from various Aristophanic plays. Finally, I consider the difference that the fragments make to our understanding of larger patterns of gender in Euripides. I consider how the fragments provide an expanded diversity of specific types of Euripidean characters, a more developed image of characters that appear in the extant plays, more examples of specific plot-types, more explorations of masculinity, and further plots taken from famous mythological cycles, concluding that the fragmentary plays expand the possibilities of how gender was portrayed and portrayable in Euripides' plays.

Dedication

To my father, who taught me to approach everything I do with enthusiasm and an open mind and

that there is nothing better than doing what you love with great people.

Contents

you have been essential elements in any successes I may have had here. You have edited, co-presented, shared teaching ideas, been travel-mates, discussed matters both ancient and personal for hours on end, provided beds to Canadian interlopers, acted as couriers, scored golden goals, and accepted myriad nicknames over the last five years. It has been a privilege to share this experience with you all.

Finally I must thank those who have supported me from the beginning, my family. My mother, for never failing to ask how much work I had done on my dissertation that day, my sisters and their children, for providing much-needed perspective and laughter, but especially John, who has spent seven years married to a graduate student, never once questioning this path, and who tirelessly gave rides to the bus to Seattle at five AM or drove the I-5 countless times through rain, snow, and bridge collapses in order to make all of this happen. You are my rock and this accomplishment is as much yours as mine. To my "internal deadline", thank you for providing the final impetus to complete this dissertation.

Introduction

χειρὶ δεῖ θανεῖν. "He must die by (your) hand."

ὁμολογῶ δέ σέ ἀδικεῖν. "I admit I wronged you."[1]

Read in isolation, these fragmentary Euripidean quotes seem like standard tragic fare, not especially revelatory of the content and characters of their individual plays (*Alexander* and *Auge*, respectively). Nor do they give much in the way of clues to who is speaking them (Hecuba and Heracles). They are in fact fragments of fragments, excerpted from a papyrus fragment in the case of the first (fr. 62d, v. 25) and from an anthologist's quotation in the second (fr. 272a, v. 1). Yet despite their brevity these short quotations provide essential evidence of Euripides' approach to characterization and plot, revealing a Hecuba who is prepared to have a man killed to protect the reputation of her son and a Heracles who not only returns to acknowledge a son he fathered with a drunken rape, but apologizes to his victim.

How does one arrive at such striking claims with what appears to be sparse material? Looking beyond the fragments themselves to the contexts in which they have survived helps us piece together the fragmentary picture by using all of the supporting evidence available to us. In the case of Hecuba in *Alexander* another papyrus preserves a dramatic hypothesis for the play,[2] revealing Hecuba's role in the conspiracy against her as yet unrecognized son, Paris, while

---

[1] Unless otherwise noted, all translations of Euripides' fragments are from Collard and Cropp 2008a and b. All other translations are my own.

[2] Fragment 62d of *Alexander* comes from P. Strasbourg 2342.3, a third-century B.C.E. Egyptian papyrus, while the hypothesis is from P. Oxy. 3650, part of a collection of similar Euripidean hypotheses dating anywhere from second century B.C.E. to the second century C.E. See Chapter 5 for a more thorough discussion of the date of this hypothesis and its relationship to our understanding of *Alexander*.

Heracles' apology in *Auge* is only fully understood once considered alongside Aelian's remarks on a different fragment of the same play.[3]

This project aims to investigate Euripides' fragments dealing with issues of gender, such as those mentioned above, by drawing on the contexts in which the fragments have survived, which range from the works of Plato to papyri unearthed in Egypt, in effect "recontextualizing" them. Catherine Osborne established the use of context as a means of illuminating the content of fragments in her 1987 monograph *Rethinking Early Greek Philosophy: Hippolytus of Rome and the Presocratics*. In her book, she disputes the assumption that a text created by the assembly of fragments is sufficient for study on its own. Certainly we ought not to dismiss the work of textual critics like Richard Kannicht (the editor of the most recent Euripidean volumes of the *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*), in which the fragments are provided by themselves with only the textual citation. As an editor of the fragments, it is not his task to address context beyond citing the source of a fragment. But in the methodology employed by Osborne, if we use only their work on the fragments alone, thereby ignoring the interpretations offered by the ancient sources, we are passing over fertile ground for investigating the fragments. Looking at context also allows us to consider how it can influence content, since the sources' own agendas affect what is preserved. In the words of Osborne, "there is no case in which it is irrelevant to consider the text in the context of the interpretation which governs its preservation" (1987: 11).

In addition to the fragments' contexts, I shall also take up the testimonia, supplementary information pertaining to plot, character, or circumstances of performance, and the ways in which they guide our analysis of the fragments. Their information on the plots allows us to isolate the plot-types that Euripides returns to on multiple occasions and therefore to compare his

---

[3] Aelian's remarks on fr. 272a are found in *Misc*. 12.15. For discussion of Heracles' apology, see chapter 4.

adaptation of these templates in different plays. The testimonia are also a rich source for contextualizing the fragments within their own plays, which in turn allows us to more closely examine the interpretations offered by their contexts. This approach thus suggests that the content and context of the Euripidean fragments are inextricable and both must be taken into account in studying them.

This project uses the information gained from this recontextualization to examine how Euripides portrays gender in the fragmentary plays. Gender has long occupied a significant portion of the scholarship on Euripides, due largely to the subject matter of the nineteen plays attributed to him,[4] and the history of the study of gender in Euripides often corresponds to that of the study of gender in Greek drama as a whole. Many of his plays present female perspectives (e.g. *Hecuba, Trojan Women)* or have characters that transgress conventional gender boundaries (e.g. *Bacchae, Medea*). Individual fragments have appeared in discussions of gender in the extant plays (e.g. Foley 2001 and McClure 1999), but the fragments have yet to be studied collectively with this in mind. This project proposes that the fragments are indispensable for achieving a meaningful appreciation of how Euripides portrays gender and using methods that have proved fruitful elsewhere in the process of interpreting fragmentary content.

In the chapters that follow, I begin by recounting the history of the collection and transmission of the fragments and introducing ancient Greek conventions of gender as found in tragedy and the modern scholarship that has explored them. Chapters 2 and 3 examine the contexts of the fragments, beginning with the fifth-century C.E. anthologist Stobaeus, our largest source of Euripidean fragments, and moving on to sources as late as the tenth-century C.E. *Suda*. The fourth and fifth chapters deal with the testimonia, with a special focus on plot-type. I look at

---

[4] I am including *Rhesus* in this total. For a survey of the dispute over its authorship, see Merro (2008).

sources as varied as the mythographers Hyginus and Apollodorus to the collection of hypotheses known as the "Tales of Euripides" in order to augment my arguments from the chapters on context. Chapter 6 looks at the unique case of Aristophanes' comic use of Euripides's plays and of the playwright himself, incorporating both actual fragments and parodies in examining our source closest to Euripides' own time. In the concluding chapter, I consider what my analysis of the fragmentary plays suggests for understanding overall patterns concerning gender in Euripides. Finally, two appendices look at how the Egyptian papyri and the satyr plays contribute to this picture.

Chapter 1: Approaches to Euripides' Fragments, Approaches to Gender

What constitutes a fragment? How have they survived?[5] Before attempting the task of examining the context and content of the fragments, and identifying Euripides' portrayal of gender in them, I must first begin by answering the questions above and in doing so provide the fragments' historical context. In addition, I must address the complex set of conventions that shape ancient Greek views on gender and the modern scholarship that has illuminated these conventions. In this chapter, I first delineate what the term "fragment" means and what a testimonium is, then follow with the history of Euripides' fragments' preservation and collection. Next I summarize the Greek gender conventions that appear as themes and as means of characterization in Euripides' plays, with a description of the plot-types to which he returns on multiple occasions. Finally I take up the thriving body of scholarship on gender in ancient Greece, identifying those scholars whose work has been particularly important to this project.

What is a fragment?

A fragment, as the term is deployed in Classical scholarship, is anything that remains of a work which is no longer extant as a whole. It can be as short as a single word (cf. *Alcmeon A or B* fr. 87a) or longer than one hundred twenty lines (cf. *Hypsipyle* fr. 757). Those that have survived as quotations in other ancient authors, scholars, and anthologists are known as "book fragments". These pose a unique challenge for editors, who, in the absence of identifying words such as "in

---

[5] Euripides' fragments constitute two volumes of the most recent edition of the *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta* (Kannicht's Volumes 5.1 and 5.2), while those of Aeschylus and Sophocles fill one each (Radt's Volumes 3 and 4). The *Suda* claims one hundred twenty-three plays for Sophocles (σ 815) and ninety tragedies for Aeschylus (αι 357), meaning that with the ninety-two plays by Euripides known to Alexandrian scholars (see below), Sophocles was the most prolific of the three, despite only having seven surviving plays.

the words of Euripides", must determine precisely where book fragments begin and end.[6] Editors

of book fragments must also be aware of potential distortion of the original text at the hands of

the quoting author, who often has a distinct agenda in excerpting Euripides.[7] A great number of

fragments from various authors' texts have also come to us on papyri. Most of these were found

in a series of rubbish heaps from the Greco-Roman city Oxyrhynchus in Egypt at the turn of the

nineteenth century. The dig at Oxyrhynchus, led by Bernard Grenfell and Arthur Hunt, yielded

most of our significant fragmentary finds, many of which had been lost during the Middle Ages,

including poems by Pindar, Sappho, Alcaeus, and Callimachus.[8] There are even fragments

surviving on ostraka, most notably Sappho 2 (Lobel-Page).[9]

A testimonium, on the other hand, does not come from the author's hand, but rather is a

source of secondary information on a work of literature or its author. In the case of tragedy these

tell us about a given play, providing details about plot, character, or the circumstances of a play's

performance. Testimonia often come from other ancient authors, both Greek and Latin, and often

accompany book fragments, describing the context or supplying an interpretation for the

fragment itself. Material culture is also a source of testimonia, with inscriptions listing prize

winners at the Dionysia and vase paintings providing evidence about the performance of many

dramatic works.[10]

---

[6] Metre is helpful here, since most book fragments are found in prose authors.

[7] I shall discuss this issue and how it manifests in the subsequent two chapters.

[8] For a full account of the dig at Oxyrhynchus and Grenfell and Hunt's discoveries, see Parsons 2007. I discuss the contribution of papyri to our understanding of Euripides in Appendix 1.

[9] The ostrakon is numbered PSI XIII 1300.

[10] See Green and Handley 1995 and Taplin 2007 for testimonia on dramatic performance from material culture. See Billing 2008 for a discussion of the issues raised by using vase paintings as evidence of performance.

The History of Euripides' Fragments

I turn now to the fragments of Euripides, a diverse collection which has been assembled from such disparate sources as quotations in the Second Sophistic author Athenaeus, various anthologies of gnomic statements, and bits of papyri discovered in Egypt over the last one hundred and thirty years.[11] They represent sixty plays (fifty-four tragedies and six satyr plays),[12] in addition to the nineteen extant plays attributed to Euripides for a total of seventy-nine plays.[13] It is a collection which has grown over the years, most significantly with the discovery of papyrus fragments in Egypt toward the end of the nineteenth century, which added significant sections of several plays (the most notable of these being *Hypsipyle*) and a collection of valuable hypotheses for plays both lost and extant.[14]

The remains of Euripides' lost plays, as they have been collected and published, are separated into two distinct categories: testimonia and fragments. The testimonia include hypotheses to the plays (usually a synopsis of the plot, often including the first line of the play), information about the life of Euripides, information about the production of the plays (often concerned with the place won by a given tetralogy), and mythographical accounts of the stories found in Euripides' plays. Book fragments come from quotations in later authors, often from the Second Sophistic, such as Athenaeus or Plutarch; scholiasts; lexicographers; the collectors of

---

[11] For the purposes of this study, and following the practices of Kannicht (2004), anything securely attributable to Euripides, including titles on their own with no text, is considered a "fragment". Individually, I shall refer to these as fragments, and the supplementary material as testimonia.

[12] This does not include the play *Cadmus*, assigned to Euripides by Probus alone in his commentary on Virg. *Ecl*. 6.31. There is only one fragment (448) dubiously connected to this title, which Wilamowitz describes as "wretchedly corrupt" (*misere corruptos*, 1875:160).

[13] Ninety-two titles were known to Alexandrian scholars, however even at that early point in the history of Euripidean texts, only seventy tragedies and eight satyr plays were available (Collard and Cropp 2008a: xii). For a complete list of the sources of the fragments see Kannicht 2004: 1044-1088. Appendix 3 contains a full list of Euripides' extant and fragmentary plays, with dates from Cropp and Fick 1985.

[14] Roughly half of the papyrus fragments attributed to Euripides were excavated at Oxyrhynchus during the 1890s (Kannicht 2004: 1064-65).

gnomic anthologies (especially Stobaeus); and papyri (fragments of the plays themselves that are found in quotations from other authors that have preserved on papyrus).

The history of the collection of Euripidean fragments is thoroughly intertwined with those of the Aeschylean and Sophoclean fragments. The most recent edition of the "full" collection of Euripidean fragments (as full as any fragmentary collection can be considered to be) was published in 2004 by Richard Kannicht, who, along with Bruno Snell and Stefan Radt, has replaced August Nauck's 1889 second edition of the *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta* (henceforth *TrGF*). The work of Kannicht, Snell, and Radt represents the most recent entry in the history of collecting the tragic fragments, which began in the second half of the sixteenth century (ca. 1570-80) with Theodorus Canterus, who assembled the fragments and testimonia from their sources.[15] The Euripidean fragments were edited and prepared for printing by Joseph Scaliger and André Schott, although they were never actually saw the printing press (Kannicht 2004: 9). Collection of tragic fragments continued in 1619 with Ioannis Meursius' *Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides: Sive de Tragoediis eorum*. In the preface of this work, dedicated to the councils of Groningen (*Illustribus Ordinibus Urbis et Provinciae Groninganae*), Meursius describes how he has gathered what remains of the lost plays of the tragedians: *Visum igitur, quando nihil aliud licet, superstites illarum Titulos, ut naufragii valde deplorandi tabulas, passim hic illic disiectas per Auctorum antiquorum monumenta, summo studio colligere, et conservare*, ("So I decided, since nothing else was possible, to collect and preserve with the greatest care the surviving relics of those [tragedies], which had been scattered here and there throughout the works of ancient authors, like records from a very mournful shipwreck").[16] It is a small collection, encompassing only one hundred twenty-seven pages, yet Meursius' list of sources is representative of those

---

[15] Canter's work is preserved in the Bodleian Library at Oxford as MS D'Orville 121, 122, and 123.

[16] With the exception of the Euripidean fragments and testimonia, for which I shall be adapting the translation of Collard and Cropp (2008a and b), all translations are my own unless otherwise noted.

used for the most recent *TrGF*, including scholiasts on a variety of writers, Diodorus Siculus, the Suda, and Stobaeus.

While Meursius was the first to state that he collected tragic fragments with a view to providing his reader with as complete as possible a picture of the lost tragedies, there were others working at the same time collecting *sententiae* who carefully selected only those fragments which expressed gnomic (and often generic) ideas suitable for educating their audience. Hugo Grotius published two such volumes: the first, an assortment of gnomic fragments taken from those already collected for the same purpose by Stobaeus, and following his arrangement by theme, *Dicta poetarum quae apud Ioannem Stobaeum extant* (1623), and the second, a collection of *sententiae* from tragedies and comedies, both extant and lost, which is arranged by author and play, and with an alphabetical index of sources, *Excerpta ex tragoediis et comoediis graecis, tum quae extant, tum quae perierunt* (1626).[17]

Collection (and re-collection) of tragic fragments continued into the 1700s with Ludwig Caspar Valckenaer's *Diatribe in Euripidis perditorum dramatum reliquas* (1767), in which Valckenaer not only assembled fragments but also attempted reconstructions of several plays. This work marks a merger of the two types of fragment collections, combining philological rigour which would later impress Wilamowitz (Kassel 2005: 14) with the concentration on *sententiae* found in the previous collections of fragments. Karl Wilhelm Dindorf published his first edition of dramatic fragments, *Poetae Scenici Graeci accedunt pertitarum fabularum fragmenta*, in 1830, which, in addition to those of the three major tragedians, included Aristophanic fragments. This was the first of many editions of Dindorf's work, which is central to the field of fragmentary studies because of "his ubiquity, rather than the quality of his

---

[17] Kassel suggests that Grotius' arrangement of his second volume was influenced by the work of Canterus (2005: 11), while Kannicht claims that Grotius came into possession of Canterus' work and used in his 1626 volume (2004: 9).

scholarship" (Harvey 2005: 24). Dindorf appears to have used the work of earlier editors of fragments extensively and his work remained in use into the beginning of the twentieth century (Harvey 2005: 24).[18]

The most important and authoritative edition of the tragic fragments was the first version of the *TrGF*, compiled by August Nauck and published in 1856. Nauck's approach was heavily influenced by August Meineke's *Fragmenta Comicorum Graecorum* and his own edition is duly dedicated to Meineke (Harvey 2005: 26). This was the first truly comprehensive collection of tragic fragments. It was supplemented by Nauck's three-volume edition of Euripides' plays (1869), the final volume of which contained the Euripidean fragments, effectively a second edition of those in the *TrGF* (Harvey 2005: 28). The third volume of this set also included a supplement to the Aeschylean and Sophoclean fragments. A second edition of Nauck's *TrGF* was published in 1889, which remained the standard text of the tragic fragments until Snell, Radt, and Kannicht published their own editions. This version incorporates some plot reconstruction, as well as other testimonia.[19] It also spurred the emendation of countless fragments by a raft of scholars, whom Harvey characterizes as an *insanabile kakoethes emendandi* (2005: 37).[20]

Yet, even though Nauck's volumes represented the best and most thorough work on the fragments at the time, they contain only a single papyrus fragment, since the Egyptian papyri

---

[18] Nauck even included a concordance with Dindorf in his own definitive edition (1856: 776-84).

[19] This was followed by the *Tragicae dictionis index* in 1892, which Nauck worked on with the assistance of Peter Nikitin. Harvey points out that even with publication of the new *TrGF*, there is still "no comparable work" to the *index* (2005: 31).

[20] Harvey also includes a list of those infected by this "fever" for emendation (2005: 37-8).

were only beginning to be unearthed.[21] In the *Tragicae dictionis index* of 1892, which was twenty-five pages long, Nauck added a substantial amount of fragmentary material, the beginning of what Harvey characterizes as a "steady stream" (2005: 33). The "stream" had produced enough fragments by the beginning of the twentieth century that Arthur Hunt was able to publish an Oxford Classical Text titled *Fragmenta Tragica Papyracea*, with fragments from Euripides as well as Sophocles.[22] The papyrus fragments also expanded our knowledge of satyr plays, since before their discovery, Euripides' *Cyclops* had been all that was available of that type of drama. Most important for this project, though, is the expansion of our understanding of Euripides and his plots that took place during this period, primarily through the discovery of the dramatic hypotheses known as the "Tales of Euripides".[23] Since the survival rate of the Egyptian papyri has been estimated at just .002% (Parsons 1982: 191), one can only marvel at what else was surely available to the denizens of Roman Egypt.[24] Certainly the influence of the Alexandrian scholars and the use of Greek literature to forge a Hellenic cultural identity under Roman rule led to the accumulation of Greek works on papyrus at this time. There is evidence of an educational system based on Greek models at Oxyrhynchus, indicating the extent to which those who lived in this Greco-Roman town valued classical Greek literature.[25]

---

[21] This is Radt's fr. 99 from either *Europa* or *Cares* of Aeschylus, included in Nauck's second edition of 1889. For a discussion of all of the various types of literature represented by the Egyptian papyrus finds, see Parsons 1982. I shall indicate all fragments using the numeration from the most recent editions of the *TrGF*.

[22] The Euripidean plays represented in this text are *Hypsipyle*, *Cretans*, and *Melanippe Desmotis*. Significant papyrus fragments of Aeschylus were not unearthed until 1928, when King Fuad I of Egypt stepped in to allow the excavation of a mound beneath a grave considered sacred (Harvey 2005: 34).

[23] See chapter 5 for a discussion of the "Tales of Euripides". The most recent and best text for the "Tales" as well as other types of dramatic hypotheses is Van Rossum-Steenbeck 1997.

[24] Since Parsons put the number of fragments unpublished in 1982 at roughly 50,000 (193), one also wonders what will become available to scholars as they are sifted through.

[25] Scholia give us the names of two teachers of literature at Oxyrhynchus, Dionysius and Lollianus (Parsons 2007: 139). There are also a great number of rhetorical exercises and grammatical school texts in Greek among the papyrus finds at Oxyrhynchus (Morgan 1998: 56).

The next text to assemble dramatic papyrus fragments was D.L. Page's Loeb edition of 1942, with fragments from all three major tragedians and a selection of the *adespota* (fragments that editors have recognized as being tragic but cannot firmly assign to a specific playwright). As part of the Loeb series, Page's volume also contains his translations of the fragments, the difficulty of preparing which he decries due to the incomplete state of his sources (Page 1942: viii-ix). The work on the papyri continued to be supplemented with new publications, the most notable of which was Colin Austin's *Nova Fragmenta Euripidea in Papyris Reperta* (1968), which most significantly brought to light a large fragment of *Erechtheus* (fr. 370).[26]

The papyri were not the only sources of "new" fragments post-Nauck. Since only the first volume (out of a set of five) of the Wachsmuth and Hense edition of Stobaeus' collection of *sententiae* was available to Nauck due to their publication schedule, he was not able to derive the full benefit from an inestimably valuable source of Euripidean fragments. From the mid-twentieth century onward, however, scholars working on Euripides specifically benefitted greatly and produced a plethora of texts dealing with individual plays or groups thereof.[27] The first important addition to the body of work on Euripidean fragments at this point was Bruno Snell's 1956 *Supplementum Euripideum*, which was republished along with a new edition of Nauck in 1964. The first of the major collected editions is Herman Van Looy's *Zes verloren Tragedies van Euripides* (1964), which contains the fragments of the pairs of plays under the names *Alcmeon*,

---

[26] All fragments are marked using the numbers from Kannicht unless referring to a scholar's work that precedes his edition of the *TrGF* and where the numbers of Nauck's second edition do not correspond to Kannicht's edition. In that case I will both mark the fragment with an N[2], indicating Nauck's second edition and also give the number in Kannicht's edition.

[27] For lists of editions of individual plays, see the introductions to the plays in Collard and Cropp 2008a and b. Another useful list is in Harvey (2005: 45-6).There are other works which were published in the intervening period, such as Gilbert Murray's *Athenian Drama: Euripides* (1902), including fragments alongside translations and commentary, which are not specifically devoted to the collection and editing of fragments and are therefore less important to the history of the fragments.

Phrixus, and *Melanippe* along with notes on their sources.[28] He and François Jouan followed this with a complete edition of the fragments plus French translation in 1998-2003. Collard, Cropp, and Lee (1995) and Collard, Cropp, and Gibert (1995) are a pair of useful editions of selected plays with commentary and English translation.[29] Nikolaus Pechstein's *Euripides Satyrographos* (1998) is a careful examination with text of the nine fragmentary satyr plays.[30]

The above works are indicative of what Harvey characterizes as the "golden years of Euripidean thrausmatology" (2005: 45). During this time, the *TrGF* was being updated by Stefan Radt (*Vol. III: Aeschylus*, and *Vol. IV: Sophocles*, 1985) and Bruno Snell (the "*Supplementum*" of 1964 mentioned above, *Vol. I: Minores*, 1971, and *Vol. II: Fragmenta Adespota* with Kannicht, 1981). In addition to this, James Diggle published a selection of tragic fragments in 1998 which made use of the re-worked *TrGF* volumes, as well as the available papyri for Euripides. As a capstone on this productivity in the study of fragments, the "monumental completion of a monumental series" (Cropp 2006), Kannicht published his magisterial two-volume set of Euripides as part of the updated *TrGF*. Because Kannicht has included papyrus fragments that earlier editors did not have access to, this is the best, most comprehensive resource for any scholar of the Euripidean fragments and will therefore be the primary text I use in this project. Kannicht himself has stated that he attempted to put the fragments together in such a way as to help us read the fragmentary plays "*as plays*" (1997: 76, italics in original), and wherever possible, this is my own goal.

---

[28] I.e. *Alcmeon in Corinth* and *Alcmeon in Psophis*, *Phrixus A* and *Phrixus B*, and *Melanippe Wise* and *Melanippe Captive*.

[29] Collard, Cropp, and Lee (1995) contains *Telephus*, *Cretans*, *Stheneboea*, *Bellerophon*, *Cresphontes*, *Erechtheus*, *Phaethon*, and both Melanippe plays, while Collard, Cropp, and Gibert (1995) contains *Philoctetes*, *Alexander*, *Palamedes*, *Sisyphus*, *Oedipus*, *Andromeda*, *Hypsipyle*, *Antiope*, and *Archelaus*.

[30] Pechstein also includes discussions of the evidence for those satyr plays for which we only have a title, *Epeus* and *Theristae*.

Finally, the most recent entry in the collection of Euripidean fragments is the two-volume Loeb edition of Christopher Collard and Martin Cropp (2008). This makes substantial use of the recent editions of Jouan and Van Looy and, in particular, Kannicht (Collard and Cropp 2008a: ix), and reflects the growing interest in tragic fragments that has resulted from the new editions of the *TrGF*. It does not include many fragments which are in such bad condition that they are incomprehensible (e.g. fr. 756a from *Hypsipyle*), or several that consist only of a single word (e.g. fr. 803 from *Philoctetes*), or all of the testimonia, but it is nevertheless an accessible text of the fragments and a comprehensive source of bibliographical information on the individual plays.

Interpretive work on the fragments has been much less prolific, but with the publication of Van Looy and Jouan's, Diggle's, and especially Kannicht's volumes, it is beginning to flourish. Most work on the fragments in the twentieth century centered on reconstruction of various plays (e.g. Hausmann 1958 on *Antiope*) or on fragmentary plays as part of their tetralogies (e.g. Scodel 1980 or Wright 2005). In the last twenty years, the most significant work on the fragments has come in several collections of articles, some devoted to tragic fragments, others to the entire range of fragmentary Greek works, and still others to the fragments of individual tragedians. These include *Fragmenta Dramatica* (1991, edited by Heinz Hofmann and Annette Harder, a former student of Radt's),[31] *Collecting Fragments/Fragmente sammeln* (1997, Glenn W. Most, ed.),[32] *Shards from Kolonos: Studies in Sophoclean Fragments* (2003, Alan Sommerstein, ed.),[33] *Euripide e i Papiri* (2004, Guido Bastianini and Angelo Casanova, eds.), *Lost Dramas of Classical Athens* (2005, Fiona McHardy, James Robson, and David Harvey,

---

[31] This is a collection of articles primarily dealing with textual criticism of the fragments.

[32] This collection originated from a conference at Heidelberg on the topic of fragments in ancient literature, and is important to my study due to its inclusion of Kannicht's account of his work on *TrGF* 5 (1997).

[33] This volume is a *Festschrift* for Radt.

eds.), and most recently *The Play of Texts and Fragments* (2009, J.R.C. Cousland and James R. Hume, eds.).[34]

Gender in Greek Tragedy

I now turn to the ways in which Classical Greeks conceived of gender as it relates to how women were presented onstage. Tragedy has long elicited a question that may be articulated in this way: how is it that a quintessentially Athenian art form, one composed and performed by Athenian citizens,[35] or in the words of Hall, "mediated" by them (1997: 95), for an audience primarily comprised of other Athenian citizens,[36] gives so much voice to female characters, even though real women were otherwise silent in civic life? As Foley puts it, the performance of tragedy entails a de-emphasis of the "interior and private self" (1981: 133), and so in giving female characters prominence, tragedy brings them into the center of civic life, if only for the duration of a play.

The three major tragedians (as well as Aristophanes) all present female characters to such a great extent that Lucian commented on this phenomenon:

> καὶ γὰρ αὖ ὅπερ ἐνεκάλεις τῇ ὀρχηστικῇ, τὸ ἄνδρας ὄντας μιμεῖσθαι γυναῖκας, κοινὸν τοῦτο καὶ τῆς τραγῳδίας καὶ τῆς κωμῳδίας ἔγκλημα ἂν εἴη· πλείους γοῦν ἐν αὐταῖς τῶν ἀνδρῶν αἱ γυναῖκες.

> And in fact the thing which you called pantomimic, those who are men imitating women, that would be a shared charge against both tragedy and comedy; indeed more women are in them than men (*On the Dance*, 28-9)[37]

---

[34] This volume was assembled as a *Festschrift* for Martin Cropp and as a result deals with many aspects of Euripides' plays, both extant and fragmentary.

[35] Unless otherwise specified, I use the term "citizen" to mean only adult male Athenians.

[36] For a discussion of and a list of sources about the composition of the dramatic audience at Athens, see Csapo and Slater 1994: 286-305. Henderson argues that women were present; in their paradoxical role a silent spectators of the women onstage, they "at once counted and didn't count" (1991: 147).

[37] In *Poetics*, Aristotle's comments on women in tragedy are limited to how good a woman can be relative to her position as a woman (1454a20), or treat individual characters (Melanippe and Iphigeneia at 1454a30). Despite their important position in the genre, he does not note the large number of prominent female characters.

Statistics (as gathered by Hall 1997: 105) verify Lucian's claim: in the extant plays, only *Philoctetes* has no female characters, and female choruses outnumber male choruses twenty-one to ten. Euripides in particular developed a reputation for his use of female characters, which often included charges of misogyny against him. Indeed, Aristophanes used this as the premise for *Thesmophoriazusae* in 411.[38]

Despite the many women it portrays onstage, tragedy presents a unique challenge to those who choose to study the role of women within it. As previously mentioned, it is an art form deeply rooted in the civic milieu of fifth-century Athens, as the civic rites and ceremonies of the Dionysia, which occur around the tragic competition, show.[39] Those who took active part in civic life in Athens were adult male citizens, and taking part in the tragic competitions, whether on stage or in the audience, was an important constituent of this identity.[40] Yet for all of this focus on citizen identity, tragedy does not reflect this reality directly, but rather presents a mythical past,[41] or in a few rare cases, the present (often with foreign characters).[42] The costumes, the various modes of speech and song (which do not reflect everyday speech), and the vocal presence of women in a public sphere all differentiate the world presented in tragedy from that of its audience. This differentiation allows the Athenian community to question itself and the tensions that were part of its self-identification in an indirect manner (Foley 2001: 17). We therefore cannot look to tragedy to tell us directly about the position of women in fifth-century

---

[38] Similar accusations appear at *Lys.* 368-9 and in an unattributed comic fragment (test. 111b = fr. 1048 *PCG* Vol.8).

[39] For a full account of these, see Goldhill 1990.

[40] Winkler (1990) has even suggested that taking part in the choruses had an initiatory/military dimension for ephebes.

[41] The closest tragedy comes to representing the Athens of its own day is the court of *Eumenides*, which is nevertheless populated with divine figures.

[42] These include Aeschylus' *Persians* and Phrynichus' *Phoenician Women* and *Sack of Miletus*, which was apparently so poorly received that it caused all those in attendance to burst into tears and resulted in a fine of one thousand drachmas for its playwright (Hdt.6.21.2).

Athens. What we can do, however, is use tragedy, a medium that employs mythological distance as means of exploring the concerns of the contemporary *polis*, to determine how women were conceived of in the ideology of that society, how the strict delineation between the genders was drawn, and what aspects of women's position were considered problematic.

The women portrayed onstage in tragedy are largely defined by their relationships to their families including, if they have them, husbands. Women in Athens were conceived of as fitting into society in much the same way. Legally, they had no meaningful independence or responsibility, instead remaining under the supervision of a *kurios*, first father, then husband, and then, should a husband die, a male relative. The institution of *kurieia* assumes that an Athenian woman "was always to be situated within a family or *oikos* under the guardianship of its head" (Just 1989: 27). Tragic women are likewise identifies as the wives,[43] mothers, or daughters of male characters. The only female characters who are not defined by their familial relationship to male characters are the nurse-figures, who as slaves are nevertheless under the authority of male heads of household. Even figures like Clytemnestra, famously described as having a "heart that plots like a man" (ἀνδρόβουλον κέαρ, 11) in the opening lines of *Agamemnon*, and Medea, who is the antithesis of an ideal wife and mother, are shown reacting to their locations in the domestic sphere (or in the case of Medea her dislocation from it).

Concordant with the mediation between women and the *polis* which *kurieia* entails is the understanding that a woman's means of participating in the *polis* is as the relative of a male citizen, especially as the mother of one (after the Periclean citizenship law of 451/50).[44] A male citizen with the right to participate fully in the political life at Athens was known as a πολίτης;

---

[43] Despite significant differences in their statuses, I extend this category to include characters such as Tecmessa in *Ajax* or Cassandra in *Agamemnon*, who are not wives but concubines won through military conquest.

[44] This law required that a citizen be of Athenian parentage on both sides. [Dem.] 59 is an example of a case which involves a dispute over citizenship on the basis of the mother's origins.

the word πόλιτις, the feminine version of this term, refers to a woman merely inhabiting a *polis* (as at Eur. *El.* 1335).[45] The other term for a female inhabitant of a city, ἀστή, can refer to a woman's involvement in political life through her citizen son(s), since it is used in describing an Athenian citizen as the child of a citizen-father and a mother who is an ἀστή.[46] These women also needed to be legitimately married to their husbands, which their original *kurioi* would arrange. Athenian women, therefore, are important to the *polis* as creators of political status for their children and reinforcement of that of their husbands (Foxhall 1996: 140).[47] Conversely for men, the use of the political status gained through their mothers and wives, that is, participation in the assembly and the courts, was essential to their masculine identity.

If being a mother defines an adult woman in Athenian society, then how the individual operates as a mother is the most common means of delineating important female characters in Euripides' extant plays. Medea, Hecuba, Andromache, Agaue, Creusa, Jocasta, Clytemnestra, and Phaedra (who is a step-mother) are all portrayed on this basis, with most of them inhabiting the less-than-ideal end of the spectrum. Hecuba and Andromache, seemingly the least transgressive of this group, display extreme, destructive, devotion to their children. Even when not characterized primarily through their relationship to their children, female characters in Euripides' plays exist in relation to a *kurios*-type figure and therefore in relation to the *oikos*, as wives (Alcestis and Helen) or as daughters (Electra and Iphigeneia). Alcestis and Helen are both mothers, and although this does figure in Euripides' depiction of Alcestis, the play centers on her

---

[45] Plato also uses this term to refer to the women who dwell in the fantastic city in *Laws* (814c), notably not to real Athenian women.

[46] Cf. Arist. *Pol.* 1278a34 and *Ath. Pol.* 26.3. See Gould 1980: 46, esp. n.56 and n.57, on both terms. Patterson expands the discussion of nomenclature for Athenian women, addressing the use of Ἀττική vs. Ἀθηναῖα in addition to ἀστή and πολίτις (1986).

[47] For a breakdown of women's rights (or lack thereof) *vis-à-vis* the *polis* and a discussion of tragic women and their political actions, see Ormand 2009.

relationship to her husband. Even after the death of their father, Agamemnon, Electra and Iphigeneia are still strongly associated with him and with his *oikos* via Orestes.

Being defined by and dependent on their *kurioi* in business and legal matters meant that Athenian women were functionally voiceless in politics and the courts. The mere mention of a woman's name in court implied such negativity that a respectable woman would be referred to as the daughter or wife of so-and-so.[48] A woman's testimony was related in court by her *kurios* (cf. Demosthenes 55.24),[49] and so in a culture in which the spoken word was linked directly to the exercise of power,[50] a woman's silence in the civic sphere also meant her relative powerlessness. Where and when women could be heard outside of the *oikos* was limited to semi-public occasions, including funerals, weddings, and religious festivities, especially those associated with women, such as the Thesmophoria.[51]

Tragic women, in contrast with real Athenian women, are almost hypervocal, often speaking publicly and without the intercession of a *kurios*. The fact that these were male actors speaking words written by a male playwright complicates but does not eliminate the paradox of female characters' occupying so much "airtime" onstage. Real Athenian women were not permitted to speak in court and yet tragic women often deliver lengthy speeches especially as part of *agones*, the heavily rhetorical debates between two characters.[52] In tragedy women not only speak in a "manly" way, but in certain cases they also act on behalf of the *polis* by doing so.

---

[48] Cf. Schaps 1977 on women in the orators, especially 323-4 in lists of individuals of both genders from single families.

[49] Gagarin 2001 deals with the significance of this type of testimony *vis-à-vis* women's position in Classical Athens.

[50] McClure suggests this may be "the defining feature of Athenian democracy" in the second half of the fifth century (1999: 8).

[51] This is not to say that there was not a great deal of public interaction including women on an informal level (cf. Blok 2001: 110-12), simply that women's voices were limited, if not silenced, in the more regulated civic sphere.

[52] These speeches often mimicked those from the courts in rhetoric, structure, and terminology (McClure 1999: 16).

Euripidean women who participate in *agones* include Medea in *Medea* (465-519), Andromache (184-231) and Hermione (147-180) in *Andromache*, Electra (1060-96) and Clytemnestra (998-1050) in *Electra*, Helen (914-65) and Hecuba (969-1032) in *Trojan Women*, and Hecuba again in her eponymous play (1187-1237).[53] This does not mean that tragic women exclusively take on traditionally male modes of speech, since they also do a great deal of lamenting onstage, a stereotypically "feminine" genre. Lamenting women appear in the plays of all three tragedians (e.g. Electra in Aeschylus' *Libation Bearers* and Sophocles' *Electra*), with Euripides making Hecuba the very embodiment of lamentation (in both *Trojan Women* and her eponymous play).

Because female characters in tragedy both embody the conventions about gender prevalent in Classical Athens through their relationships to their *oikoi* and male relatives, and depart from them by defying traditional public roles for women, they provide a medium for exploring attitudes about gender. According to Foley, such an inversion "indirectly confirms the importance of the ideal" (1981: 153).[54] Though they do not correspond in any direct way to the actual practices of the day, female tragic characters and their actions onstage are a conveniently distant means of exploring and authenticating those practices. This separation from real life is what gives them the opportunity to comment on their circumstances and relationships publicly.

Euripides, in returning to similar basic plots on multiple occasions, has his characters offer varied commentaries on these issues. In both his extant and fragmentary plays, his most common source material is the Trojan Cycle (*Andromache*, *Hecuba*, *Trojan Women*, *Helen*, *Iphigeneia at Aulis*, *Electra*, *Orestes*, and *Iphigeneia at Tauris* of the extant plays and

---

[53] See Lloyd 1992 for a systematic rhetorical breakdown of these speeches.

[54] Foley claims that the inversion of female: domestic (*oikos*) and male: public (*polis*) in tragedy is not always complete (in e.g. *Women of Trachis* or *Phoenician Women*), but that the ideal relationship between the sexes (the opposite of the complete inversion) always informs tragedy (1981: 157). She also comments on the limited role of the state in regulating the position of women within the *oikos* (as opposed to marriage as a means of producing legitimate sons) (2001: 76-7).

Philoctetes, *Protesilaus*, *Alexander*, and *Palamedes* of the fragmentary ones). The linked stories

of Jason and Medea are rich sources for Euripides in *Medea* (extant) and *Peliades*,[55] *Aegeus*, and

Peleus (fragmentary), as are myths from the Cretan Cycle (the fragmentary *Cretans* and *Cretan*

Women and the two Hippolytus plays, one extant and one fragmentary) and stories related to

Heracles (the extant *Heracles*, *Heracleidae*, and *Alcestis*, as well as the fragmentary *Alcmene*

and *Auge*). He also treats the story of Oedipus and his family in *Phoenician Women* and

Suppliants (extant) and *Antigone* and *Oedipus* (fragmentary). Plots that he returns to again and

again include the Potiphar's wife story,[56] in the Hippolytus plays and the fragmentary

Stheneboea and *Phoenix*, and the rape and recognition plot that provides a basis for Menandrian

New Comedy (cf. *Epitrepontes*) in *Ion* (extant) and the Melanippe plays, *Alope*, *Antiope*, and

Auge (fragmentary). Because of the large number of extant plays and the amount of fragments of

Euripides that have survived, we have the opportunity to observe the playwright reconsider these

gender-related issues in numerous ways.

Scholarship on Tragedy and Gender

In the latter part of the twentieth century, many classical scholars became intensely interested in

the position of women in Athenian society, and in the broader ancient world, and due to the

prevalence of female characters in the genre, tragedy was often a useful point of discussion.[57]

The growing amount of theoretical work from outside Classics on a variety of topics, including

anthropology, sexuality, and, most important of all, gender, greatly influenced scholars on

tragedy, so that when combined with earlier work on women, this sub-field of Classics

---

[55] One of whom was Alcestis, who seems to play an important role in *Peliades* and whose own story is portrayed in her eponymous play but is not explicitly connected to Medea and Jason by Euripides.

[56] The name for this plot-type comes from the story of Joseph and Potiphar's wife, who falsely accuses him of rape, found in Genesis 39.1-20. See chapter 5 for a full discussion of the Potiphar's wife plots.

[57] See Gomme 1925 for an important early example, addressing the disparity between life and the stage (including a fragment of Euripides, 10).

blossomed from the late 1970s onward. Although those who work on gender in tragedy employ a range of approaches, the scholarship that they have produced is remarkably complementary.[58]

Helene Foley, working specifically on women in tragedy, summed up the state of the question in this period in her 1981 article "The Conception of Women in Athenian Drama". She delineated two approaches to women in classical literature that were popular at that time, Freudian psychology and sociology. She traced the former to Philip Slater's *The Glory of Hera* (1968), in which Slater connects the images of powerful (and therefore fearful) women in Greek literature to the experiences of Greek male children. In doing so, she exposes the two main flaws of Slater's work: his overreliance on certain poetic sources that do not reflect the Athenian reality (1981: 137-8) and the lack of complexity in an argument applied to the complex depiction of women in tragedy (2001:10). Foley articulated the importance of studying gender in tragedy for its own sake.

The culmination of Foley's work on gender in tragedy is *Female Acts in Greek Tragedy* (2001). Here, she breaks down the presence of women in tragedy into thematic subcategories that are definitive of the role of women in Greek society, including lament, marriage, moral agency, and motherhood. As with her 1981 article, she claims that drama highlights the failure of men to stay within their roles, and that female characters then inhabit the "breach", either challenging or healing it (2001: 9). This leads to her conclusion that tragedy's depiction of gender tends to be more exploratory than affirmative, and that its relation to its fifth-century Athenian context is more oblique than topical (2001: 17). What tragedy does do is to make the domestic world into a world of ethical and moral decision-making on a par with the real

---

[58] Foley lists Lévi-Strauss, Bourdieu, Freud, Foucault, Althusser, Kosofsky Sedwick, Rubin, de Lauretis, Lacan, Klein, and Butler among the non-Classical scholars who influenced work on gender in tragedy (2001: 11). To this list I add Mulvey, in particular her influential article on the Gaze in cinema (1975).

Athenian public sphere (2001: 335), and in this it allows women to take on moral agency in a highly visible and public manner.

Of scholars outside the field of Classics, the anthropologist Claude Lévi-Strauss heavily influenced the study of gender in tragedy throughout the twentieth century, particularly through his work on the exchange of women within kinship systems.[59] Women are exchanged between men, who use this exchange as the basis upon which they establish culture. As the object of this exchange, women become commodified (Rabinowitz 1993: 15, building on Rubin 1975).[60] One of the more prominent scholars to use this model as a means of understanding tragedy was Nancy Rabinowitz in her book on Euripides, *Anxiety Veiled: Euripides and the Traffic in Women* (1993). Despite advising caution in using Lévi-Strauss (she accuses him of "overt androcentrism", 1993: 15), Rabinowitz shows how his understanding of the exchange of women is especially applicable to the practice of marriage in ancient Greece, as controlled by the *kurios*. The exchanged women that she chooses to highlight are sacrificed virgins and wives (Iphigeneia in *IA*, Polyxena, and Alcestis) or vengeful mother figures (Hecuba, Medea, and Phaedra). Rabinowitz also looks at how this system of exchange and its emphasis on male homosocial bonds affects men in tragedy, specifically sons (Hippolytus and Ion) and fathers (Theseus and Xuthus).

Victoria Wohl uses a similar approach, addressing all three major tragedians in her book *Intimate Commerce: Exchange, Gender, and Subjectivity in Greek Tragedy* (1998). Wohl shows how the exchange of women in tragedy is often "in crisis and prone to failure" and that the problematic nature of this exchange calls such a system into question by exposing its flaws

---

[59] Lévi-Strauss' best-known work on this topic, and the one used by the scholars discussed here, is *The Elementary Structures of Kinship* (1969).
[60] Rubin addresses the division of labour between the sexes that is part of Levi-Strauss' theory of exchange and what she calls a "taboo against the sameness of men and women". This taboo then gives rise to the gender binary (1975: 187).

(1998: xiv). Coming shortly after Wohl's book and adding even more nuance to the concept of women's subjectivity in Lévi-Strauss' system, Kirk Ormand's *Exchange and the Maiden: Marriage in Sophoclean Tragedy* (1999) claims that Athenian marriage is not purely an exchange between two men, but also involves transformation on the part of the bride as well as the groom in that it acts as a transition into adulthood (1999: 18). The necessary distinction he makes, though, is that for men, marriage is one of many initiatory rites, while for women, it is the only one, and this is the factor that accounts for women's preoccupation with marriage in tragedy (1999: 19). Men nonetheless retain control over marriage, and therefore over women's transformation. Along with Rabinowitz and many others, Ormand also sees a connection between marriage and death, particularly in the cases of Antigone and Deianeira. As a result of women's place in the tragic system of exchange, they have what Ormand terms "subjectivity under ellipsis", obscured by the system itself (1999: 28).

Nicole Loraux also wrote about women's subjectivity in tragedy. Among this prolific French feminist's work on tragedy, the compact *Tragic Ways of Killing a Woman* (1987) proposes that tragic women gain subjectivity through their dramatic and unusual (by Athenian standards) deaths. Loraux maintains that since the ideal Athenian wife lived most of her life out of the public eye, and since even in death, this type of woman would only be publicly marked by a few lines on her epitaph, their violent deaths marked out women in tragedy as trangressing the ideal (1987: 3). A few are murdered, but the majority commit suicide, which also happens to be the most common means of death for men in tragedy.[61] The noble death of a woman (that is, a death that displays *andreia*) is then "manly" in the tragic context (1987: 63).

Another scholar who has had an exceptional impact on the study of gender in tragedy is Froma Zeitlin. Articles from early in her career handle themes such as myth and gender ("The

---

[61] Loraux includes sacrificial virgins like Iphigeneia and Polyxena in this category (1987: 4).

Dynamics of Misogyny: Myth and Mythmaking in the *Oresteia*", 1978) and Aristophanes' use of gender in his parody of tragedy ("Travesties of Gender and Genre in Aristophanes' *Thesmophoriazusae*", 1981). Her most influential article on gender is probably "Playing the Other: Theater, Theatricality, and the Feminine in Greek Drama", which originally appeared in 1985.[62] In this article, Zeitlin focuses on an essential aspect of any consideration of gender in tragedy, the fact that all of the actors on stage are men, and that all female characters are therefore played by men impersonating women (1996: 343). In doing so, and in her discussion of theatrical space later in the same article (1996: 353), she reminds her reader that tragedy and gender in tragedy in particular must always be understood through the lens of performativity.[63] Zeitlin's other key position is clear from the 1996 volume of essays which collects much of her most important work in this field, where she makes the crucial point that the study of gender is not exclusively the study of women or of men; masculine and feminine cannot exist without one another, and any masculine self-presentation necessarily entails a consideration of the feminine (1996: 3).

---

[62] Originally appearing in *Representations* 11 (1985), this essay also appeared in *Nothing to Do With Dionysos?* (1990), and in a revised version in *Playing the Other* (1996). It is to the last version that I refer.

[63] The title of the *Festschrift* honouring Zeitlin, *Visualizing the Tragic* (2007), illustrates this aspect of her scholarly impact nicely.

Other scholars have tackled the contrast between the world presented onstage and the lived reality of Classical Athens. In *Spoken Like a Woman: Speech and Gender in Athenian Drama* (1999), Laura McClure addresses the role that speech plays in the construction of a male citizen's identity in Athens and the limits placed on women's speech, incorporating genres of women's speech in broader Greek culture/literature.[64] McClure's conclusion is that if speech is the means by which one gains political power in Athens, then by giving women voice in the theatre, tragedy shows the negative outcomes that arise from that power resting in an outsider's hands.

Work on lament, one of McClure's chosen genres, as a female mode of communication in Euripides' plays is, in fact, of great scholarly interest. Important work on this topic includes Charles Segal's *Euripides and the Poetics of Sorrow* (1993). Mourning and the actions arising from it, according to Segal, are a result of the deep emotional connection a woman feels towards her family and household (1993: 228). The lament that remains a constant theme for Euripides makes the private emotions of women public (1993: 233). Loraux deals with mothers who lament in all aspects of Greek culture, including tragedy, in *Mothers in Mourning* (1998), while Casey Dué narrows her scope to the lament of women who have been captured in her book, *The Captive Woman's Lament in Greek Tragedy* (2006).[65] The most recent work on gender-based communication in Euripides is J.H. Kim On Chong-Gossard's *Gender and Communication in Euripides' Plays* (2008). Like McClure (1999), this book encompasses a great number of modes of female communication, but in this case, the varying forms of lyric performed by women in

---

[64] These genres include lamentation, *aischrologia* (ribald jokes often used in a ritual context), choral song, gossip. McClure also takes up women who use persuasion, a type of speech usually practiced by men in Athenian political and legal spheres, showing how they practice a type of "metadiscourse" onstage (1999: 8).

[65] Although Dué's second chapter deals with Aeschylus' *Persians*, the majority of this book concentrates on the captive women in Euripides' plays dealing with the fallout of the Trojan War. All of these studies build on Alexiou's landmark 1974 study of lament in Greece, and in particular its relationship to revenge.

tragedy are used as a means of interpreting women's speech onstage. According to Chong-Gossard, Euripides uses lyric in a multi-faceted way, with the result that there is no single over-arching pattern to his use of female speech (2008: 244-5).

Among these scholars, those who have made the most use of fragments of Euripides are Foley (2001) and Chong-Gossard (2008). Foley tends to introduce individual fragments to support claims that relate to the extant plays,[66] while Chong-Gossard makes use of the more extensive fragmentary plays with more lyric passages available, such as *Hypsipyle*.[67] No one, however, has yet attempted a general survey of the fragments in order to determine what they reveal about Euripides' approach to gender in comparison to the extant plays, while those who work on the collected fragments are generally more concerned with determining the *ipsissima verba* of Euripides and reconstructing the plays from them. Despite the fact that these plays are not complete, however, they provide fertile ground for a discussion of gender and a necessary enhancement of the picture of gender in tragedy.

In my own work, I subscribe most to the approach of Zeitlin, particularly her insistence on the importance of tragedy's performative/mimetic aspect.[68] As I work through the fragments, I shall endeavour at all times to keep in mind the implications of the fact that it is men imitating women who are speaking (or singing) these words. Euripides, through his treatment of women's roles in society (mother, wife, daughter) and through the use of women's modes of speech stages gender just as much as his actors perform it via masks and costumes. In what follows I shall ask what aspects of womanhood Euripides chooses to emphasize (or de-emphasize) in his plays that allow his female characters to be understood as cultural signs. What acts do his characters perform onstage that establish them on either side of the binary of woman/man as understood in

---

[66] See e.g. her discussion of *thumos*, which uses fr.1039 at 2001: 254.
[67] See Chong-Gossard 2008: 75-9.
[68] Foley also insists that tragic characters be understood in light of performance conventions (2001: 16).

Classical Athenian society? How does Euripides manipulate well-known mythical stories in the service of this characterization? My examination of the fragments will be grounded in these questions, as it seeks to understand how the fragments can augment and possibly alter our image of Euripides' portrayal of women and gender.

In what follows I shall use the means by which the fragments of Euripides have been transmitted to us in order to provide some sort of context and organization for a group of seemingly disparate sources. For the second and third chapters and again in the sixth, on Aristophanes' use of Euripides, I use the example of Catherine Osborne's productive study of the Presocratic philosophers, *Rethinking Early Greek Philosophy* (1987), mentioned in the introduction. As Osborne underscores (1987: 8), the fragments we have (perhaps with the exception of the papyrus finds from Egypt) do not come to us entirely at random; the selection we have has already been curated and edited for us, in the case of Osborne's study by Hippolytus of Rome and in the case of the Euripidean fragments by a wide variety of individuals, chief among whom are Stobaeus and Athenaeus. The majority of Euripides' fragments then come to us already mediated by those who preserve them for us, and we must not ignore this reality. Since those who collected and preserved the fragments presumably had access to more of the plays than we do, and more of ancient literature as a whole, this allows us to use their choices as a starting point. As an extension of this return to context, I shall also turn to the testimonia to illuminate plot and characterization in my fourth and fifth chapters.

Chapter 2: Euripidean Quotations in Stobaeus: Context and Content

The largest single source of Euripidean fragments, and hence my first choice for approaching the question of the fragments' contexts, is the massive anthology compiled by the fifth-century C.E. Macedonian writer John of Stobi (commonly known as Stobaeus). Not counting the *Dubia et Spuria*, the total number of Euripidean fragments in Kannicht's volumes is one thousand two hundred and thirty-two,[69] and Stobaeus has provided us with four hundred and eighty-six of those. Indeed, Stobaeus quotes Euripides more often than he quotes any other author (Campbell 1984: 54).[70]

Since his collection is comprised of quotations only, with no accompanying discussion or contextualizing information, we may wonder how useful looking at these fragments as part of Stobaeus' larger project can be, and indeed whether it truly offers any context at all. By examining both how Stobaeus has organized his anthology, however, and where he incorporates Euripidean fragments and with what other quotes from non-Euripidean sources he classifies them, it is my intention to show that, in fact, Stobaeus' anthology does offer a substantial amount of context, thereby determining what he reveals about the fragments as fragments. That is, I shall show how the context in which they have been preserved and its organization affects our understanding of the content of what has been preserved, a process I refer to as "recontextualization", and in doing so, I hope to illuminate how the lost plays of Euripides could have been received by an ancient audience. I shall begin with a brief outline of Stobaeus' work,

---

[69] This number does not match the number indicating the final fragment prior to the *Dubia et Spuria* (1106) because it includes those fragments indicated with a letter in addition to the regular numeral (e.g. 62b) and excludes those fragments found in Nauck that Kannicht has reassigned (e.g. $312aN^2 = 472m$). Those with letters as well as numbers indicate fragments that were likely sequential in the original text, so, for example, fragments 62, 62a, and 62b would come from the same section of text.

[70] While the excerpts of poetry are usually much shorter than some of the lengthy prose quotations, the number of Euripidean excerpts is higher than that of any other author in the *Anthology*. See below for the distribution of Euripidean quotations.

its organization and content, and then take up the question of how Euripidean quotations from both the extant and fragmentary plays fit into this large and, on first impression, unwieldy corpus. After this, I shall consider how this larger picture can help to recontextualize quotations that deal with gender from the fragmentary plays.

Format and Content in Stobaeus

An anthology divided into four books, which have survived intact for the most part,[71] Stobaeus' work was apparently intended as a collection of advice for his son, Septimius, although little is known of either father or son beyond this work. The best clue we have for why and how Stobaeus curated his anthology comes from Photius, the ninth-century Byzantine patriarch, in his own collection, *Bibliotheca*. He tells us, in a paraphrase of the letter with which Stobaeus prefaced the *Anthology*, that it is dedicated to Septimius, for his education and betterment (ἐπὶ τῷ ῥυθμίσαι καὶ βελτιῶσαι τῷ παιδὶ τὴν φύσιν, Wachsmuth 1884: 4).[72] It does not seem that Stobaeus intended his son to take a definite message from all his selections, but rather that he wished to provide both sides of certain issues, as several sections are followed by sections that seemingly contradict them (e.g. 4.22.2, ὅτι οὐκ ἀγαθὸν τὸ γαμεῖν).[73]

The four books were later grouped into two sets of two, the first pair known as the Ἐκλογαί φυσικαὶ καὶ ἠθικαί (*Eclogae*) and the latter pair, comprising the majority of the entire collection, known as the Ἀνθολόγιον (*Florilegium*).[74] These four books are subdivided into

---

[71] Only the first book shows signs of abbreviation (Dickey 2006: 106), while many of the sections for which Photius (see below) lists titles for book 2 are missing. Stobaeus' collection is, in fact, the most complete anthology of its kind to have survived from antiquity (Stanwood 1975: 142).

[72] Photius also describes the structure and subject matter of the entire collection, listing all the sections' and subsections' titles, as well as the authors quoted (*Bibliotheca* 167).

[73] This is particularly appropriate to the ambivalent Greek view of marriage.

[74] For the purposes of this project, I shall follow the majority of scholars and refer to the entire collection as the *Anthology*.

over two hundred sections,[75] each of which Stobaeus heads with a subtitle, or lemma, that relates to the quotations in that section (e.g. section 1.1 has the lemma ὅτι θεὸς δημιουργὸς τῶν ὄντων καὶ διέπει τὸ ὅλον τῷ τῆς προνοίας λόγῳ καὶ ποίας οὐσίας ὑπάρχει, "That god, creator of what is, both arranges everything with providence and is the source of what exists"). Some of these sections are further divided, so that, for example, the twenty-second section of book four (περὶ γάμου, 4.22) actually contains seven subsections, each with its own title (e.g. 4.22.1, ὅτι κάλλιστον ὁ γάμος, "That marriage is the finest thing"). As indicated by the first title given here, the *Anthology* begins with metaphysical topics, moves into political ones, and then, in the latter two books, focuses on ethical concerns. Of particular interest to this project are the sections of book four that focus on marriage and children (4.22, 23, and 24), which contain the majority of Stobaeus' Euripidean quotations on women.

Within each section or subsection, verse quotations come first, then prose, but these are arranged by content rather than author or chronology: so, for example, in section 3.4, Stobaeus begins the poetic segment of the section with an extract from Sophocles, follows it with extracts from Euripides, Hesiod, Menander, and then returns to Sophocles again, with no apparent change in topic. He uses only Greek authors, roughly five hundred of them (in the paraphrased letter mentioned above, Photius refers to philosophers, poets, orators, and politicians, as well as historians, kings and emperors, and others) as early as Homer and as late as the mid-fifth century CE Neoplatonist Hierocles, and never includes any Christian writers. The lengths of the quotations are anywhere from a single line to multiple pages. Because it draws from this wide selection of authors and genres, and provides a convenient gnomic sampling of them, Stobaeus'

---

[75] Photius lists two hundred and eight separate section-titles (*Bibliotheca* 167).

work was itself excerpted many times, particularly during the Renaissance period, due to an emphasis both on returning to classical texts and on collecting *sententiae*.[76]

Stobaeus' process of extracting from other texts has caused some scholars to question the accuracy of the quotations we have in their current state. Hense shows how Stobaeus alters two quotations from Herodas by turning personalized statements into general ones (1916: ix 2584). For example, where Herodas wrote Γυλλί at line 67 of his first mime, Stobaeus has replaced it with γύναι in his quotation (4.50.59).[77] Campbell also shows how Stobaeus achieved such impersonalization through selective quotation (1984: 55).[78] In Theognis' poem addressed to Simonides (467-96), for example, Stobaeus merely omits the lines which call to Simonides directly, and begins his extract with a more generic-seeming second person (3.18.13).[79] Dickey argues that Stobaeus' own sources were probably earlier anthologies, rather than the texts themselves, and so subject to the same kind of distortion before he himself used them (2006: 106). Luria argues that this is true in some cases, using the evidence of a single source quoted twice in two separate sections that shows the same error (in this case, fr. 91 of Philemon contains αὖ for ἄν at both 1.1.32 and 1.10.10) (1929a: 93). As well, he shows that quotations are often credited to authors such as Solon when they are actually from another author such as Plutarch (1929a: 94).

Luria suggests that subsequent copying of Stobaeus' text is the primary cause of its distortion. Distortion is the best term to use in this case, as it does not seem that in quoting them

---

[76] See Stanwood 1975: 141-2 for a list of the print editions and extractors of the *Anthology*.

[77] The original is as follows: Γυλλί, τὰ λευκὰ τῶν τριχῶν ἀπαμβλύνει τὸν νοῦν "Gyllis, white hair blunts the mind," (Herodas 1.67), whereas Stobaeus' version with γύναι in the vocative replaces the proper name, Gyllis, with a general "Woman". In the second example, another vocative, Κοριττοῖ (Herodas 6.37), is replaced with the more general κόρη, τύ in Stobaeus (4.23.14).

[78] Cf. Sider 1996 for omission of lines of poetry in Stobaeus that exemplify this process.

[79] Theognis' poem contains the line μηδ' εὕδοντ' ἐπέγειρε, Σιμωνίδη "Don't wake the sleeping one, Simonides" (469), and Stobaeus' quotation begins nine lines after this at 479.

Stobaeus himself altered the original texts any more significantly than in the above examples, but rather that this distortion crept in later, both unintentionally and intentionally, when the *Anthology* was recopied. Luria's first explantion is that gnomic statements, taken out of context and general (or generalized as above) as they are, lend themselves to misinterpretation and thus mistranscription, despite the original copyists' access to the longer works from which they are drawn (1929a: 81). Beyond this, copyists are vulnerable to confusion caused by marginal notes, and as the manuscript tradition moves forward, it is less and less probable that copyists have access to the original works quoted (1929a: 82-4). Other distortions consist of rendering a line of poetry in prose, such as the lines by an unknown author at 3.16.3, which follow and are followed by poetry. This suggests one of two scenarios: either Stobaeus' source was already flawed and Stobaeus recognized this by grouping it with poetic quotes, or this rendering in prose occurred post-Stobaeus. Intentional distortion in the manuscript tradition of Stobaeus, Luria claims, comes primarily from later copyists with a theological or moral aim, so, for example, θεοί becomes a comfortably monotheistic θεός (1929b: 225).[80]

How then, are we to approach a text which seems so prone to distortion? Clearly we ought to treat the *Anthology* as we do any other classical text, with the same awareness of possible contamination. After all, the sources of distortion upon which Luria focuses are the same vulnerabilities that any text from the ancient world suffered from through manuscript transmission. Stobaeus is far from the only ancient author to lift quotations from their original context, nor is he the only one to distort them or to be distorted in his turn by copyists. For the sake of maintaining the focus of the present study, however, it is most important to focus on those distortions that seem to have come from Stobaeus himself, namely his alteration of names

---

[80] Luria gives the example of 3.1.26, from Isocrates' *To Demonicus* (21), in which the plural τοὺς θεούς, present in four separate manuscripts and codices, has been changed to τὸν θεόν in another.

and the omission of lines in an effort to generalize quotations. In these cases, it is not that Stobaeus is providing us with dramatically incorrect information (such as inserting an entirely different name, or turning a god into a human), but rather that he reduces our ability to use his quotations as a source for understanding the plays from which they are taken. Meter provides a useful bulwark in the first case, since altering a case or replacing a proper name with a pronoun would often be obvious in poetry. In this case, Stobaeus' alteration of his source text is easily spotted. In the second case, corroborating evidence sometimes includes metrical form again, but also consideration of plot wherever possible. As well, the primary context that Stobaeus does contribute, his lemmata, provide some suggestion about how we can interpret the fragments; while a single quotation may not tell us all we would like to know about a given play or character, these section-headings can direct us to what aspects of characterization Stobaeus found salient in them and perhaps indicate what types of distortion have occurred in specific quotes.

Euripides in Stobaeus

Using the context provided by Stobaeus' arrangement of the fragments within the framework of his entire project, I intend to demonstrate that a clear pattern emerges in his use of Euripidean quotations in the *Anthology*, showing that Euripides more than any other author was Stobaeus' first choice when discussing women in general, or marriage and children more specifically due to the playwright's choice of subject matter and his ancient reputation for misogyny. Because Stobaeus had access to the fragmentary plays in ways that we do not, whether drawing from other anthologies or from the play themselves, and because these fragmentary plays are far more

numerous than their extant counterparts,[81] quotations from the fragmentary plays are more numerous in the sections on gender than those from extant plays. In this part I shall first look at the overall picture of all Euripidean quotations in Stobaeus, then at the distribution of the fragments. After this I shall address how each fragmentary play is represented in this distribution, and finally, how and alongside what other quotations those fragments dealing with gender are allocated.

Overall, there are seven hundred sixty-two Euripidean excerpts in the *Anthology*, and only two hundred seventy-six, or approximately thirty-six percent, of these are from the extant plays (four hundred eighty-six are fragments).[82] Of the total number of quotations from Euripides, the vast majority, five hundred and thirty-three, are found in Stobaeus' fourth book. In many ways, this is unsurprising, since the first two books are concerned with metaphysical and philosophical topics and therefore privilege the prose authors who deal with these more directly, as opposed to Euripides, whose discussion of such topics is mediated through his plots.[83] Book 3, which deals with generalized virtues of character, including *arete* (3.1), *sophrosune* (3.5), and *andreia* (3.7), contains one hundred sixty-seven. The fourth book, also the largest of the *Anthology*,[84] has lemmata that mention topics both political and domestic, ranging from the qualities of different types of rule (monarchy is best, 4.6) to slavery (4.19) to advice on marriage (4.23) and the benefits of having children (4.24.1). The individual section containing the most Euripidean excerpts (thirty-six) is 4.22.7, a subsection of 4.22 (περὶ γάμου, "On Marriage"),

---

[81] See ch. 1 for the numbers of extant vs. fragmentary plays.

[82] Cf. the opening of this chapter for the number of fragmentary quotations in Kannicht (twelve hundred thirty-two).

[83] There are only sixty-two Euripidean quotations in books 1 and 2. The missing sections in book 2, for which we have titles from Photius but nothing else, almost certainly contained some Euripidean quotations, but, following the pattern of the sections we do have, were unlikely to have anywhere near the amount in book 4.

[84] As opposed to the others, it occupies two volumes in the edition of Wachsmuth and Hense.

titled ψόγος γυναίκων ("Censure of Women").[85] Quotations from his fragmentary plays follow

basically the same pattern of distribution as the entire group of Euripides' plays, with a slight

majority found in book 4 (three hundred forty-eight). The section containing the highest number

of fragments, twenty-two, is 4.22.7.

Fragments on Gender

When we turn to the fragments dealing with gender, a similar pattern emerges. Stobaeus includes

seventy-nine quotations from fragmentary plays that directly address some topic related to

gender, including masculinity, sexuality, marriage, and femininity.[86] Only four are found outside

of book 4, in book 3, with none in the first two books. The rest are in book 4, and unremarkably

the greatest concentration of these is once again in section 4.22.7. In addition to these, Stobaeus

has an entire section devoted to manliness, περὶ ἀνδρείας (3.7), which contains five Euripidean

fragments.[87] While these do not address the issue of gender in quite the same way as those which

relate the flaws of women do, by dealing with bravery, they do speak to the type of actions which

Stobaeus viewed as constituting the type of masculinity he presumably wished his son to

mirror.[88]

 Because Stobaeus seems to have meant for his anthology to guide his son as a man in

society, his chosen quotations will naturally reflect a particularly male perspective, with an

---

[85] Considering the classical reception of some of Euripides' female characters (cf. Melanippe and Phaedra in Ar. *Thesm.* 546-7) and the reputation for misogyny that the playwright developed, this concentration in such a category is not surprising. There are several sections in Stobaeus titled ψόγος of something, often opposing categories like wealth and poverty (4.31.3 and 4.32.2).

[86] For a complete list of these fragments, see appendix 3.

[87] These are *Bellerophon* fr. 302 = St. 3.7.1, *Archelaus* fr. 245 = St. 3.7.4, *Danae* fr. 329 = St. 3.7.5, fr. 854 (inc.) = St. 3.7.8, and *Oedipus* fr. 552 = St. 3.7.9.

[88] The root of ἀνδρεία clearly illustrates the impossibility of separating masculinity from courageous actions. (Cf. its use in Arist. *Rh.* 1366b.11.) This does not mean that *andreia* as "courage" is the exclusive domain of men. Cf. Soph. *El.* 983, in which Electra describes her own actions as displaying *andreia*.

emphasis on the behavior desirable in a mature, educated man. As a genre created by men and largely for men, tragedy also reflects a male point of view, but Stobaeus' editorial choices nevertheless are likely to distort the female perspectives (however filtered by a male playwright) often present in tragedy. So while the Euripidean fragments found in Stobaeus contribute to a more complex picture of the playwright's use of gender, they probably represent a more exclusively male perspective than do the plays of Euripides themselves. By taking these quotes from their original contexts, Stobaeus replaces the voices of Euripides' characters with his own, erasing both male and female personae, and the circumstances which have shaped these personae, as a means of advancing his own androcentric didactic platform.

The pattern of distribution of the Euripidean fragments raises the following questions: Why is it that the densest concentration of them in the *Anthology* deals with gender? And if Euripides was already known in classical times for his portrayal of women (see above), then what new insight into Euripides' corpus can we glean from Stobaeus' choice of this playwright's words to teach his son about gender? I suggest that a combination of the following factors can answer these questions: the lemmata under which Stobaeus arranges the individual fragments and the distribution of the plays from which these fragments come. As I work through each lemma containing fragments on gender, with an eye to which plays and characters are represented in which part of the *Anthology*, I hope to show that the context in which Stobaeus has placed them can inform our understanding of their content.

I begin with the three fragments connected with gender found in book 3, which are concerned with masculinity, its lack, and the lack of that most masculine quality, self-control.[89] This is demonstrated by the titles of the lemmata under which these fragments are categorized, in

---

[89] In the words of Zeitlin, manliness (*andreia*) requires "a willingness…to maintain control over self and others" (1996: 6).

the order in which I shall discuss them: περὶ φρονησέως ("On Sound Judgement", 3.3), περὶ δειλίας ("On Cowardice", 3.8), and περὶ ἀκρασίας ("On Lack of Self-Control", 3.18). Masculinity, taking action, and self-control are immediately connected by Stobaeus through his choice of quotations. I shall look first at how these three fragments interact with each other, then at how they relate to the other fragments which Stobaeus has chosen as illustrative of *andreia*. I shall also return in greater detail to the plays in which these fragments are found when I move on to book 4 and its large quantity of fragments on gender.

The first fragment, from *Antiope*, comes from a debate between the title character's sons, Zethus and Amphion, at the beginning of the play, spanning fragments 182a-202. The play itself is concerned with the familiar Euripidean motif of a young woman, divinely impregnated, separated from her child(ren) by circumstance, and finally reunited with them.[90] (Antiope in this case has been impregnated by Zeus.) The debate between the brothers contrasts the life of action (as embodied by Zethus) and the intellectual/artistic life (as embodied by Amphion). Amphion is more removed from the mainstream of society than his brother and characterizes himself as preferring inactivity,[91] as well as being a musician (he has just given a history of the lyre in fragments 190 and 192), and the emphasis is on Amphion's intellectual qualities versus Zethus' physical ones.[92] Partially because it represents a significant amount of what survives of the play, partially because of the political situation at Athens when *Antiope* was staged (probably around

---

[90] See both the chapters 1 and 4 for more on this plot-type. This basic plot is also found in the extant *Ion*, and the fragmentary *Alope*, *Auge*, *Danae*, *Melanippe Sophe*, and *Melanippe Desmotes*. For an extended treatment of this motif in Euripides, and the playwright's depiction of the children born of these unions, see Huys 1995.

[91] He claims that one who chooses activity (πράσσειν) over inactivity is a fool (μῶρος) in fr. 193 (= Stob.4.16.2).

[92] Plato refers to this debate in *Gorgias* 485e-486d, where Callicles places Socrates in Amphion's position. For a full discussion of the debate between Zethus and Amphion and its implications regarding participation in Athenian society, see Gibert 2009. For more on Plato's use of the tragic genre as part of his dialogue, see Nightingale 1995. See chapter 4 for a longer discussion of this debate.

410),[93] and partially because this scene was being discussed as early as Plato (see n. 92), the brothers' debate over the virtues of political participation has stimulated much discussion.[94]

Zethus, prior to Amphion's defense of his intellectual bent, criticizes the man who does not properly participate in the *oikos* or the *polis*:[95]

> ἀνηρ γὰρ ὅστις εὖ βίον κεκτημένος
> τὰ μὲν κατ᾽ οἴκους ἀμελίᾳ παρεὶς ἐᾷ,
> μολπαῖσι δ᾽ ἡσθεὶς τοῦτ᾽ ἀεὶ θηρεύται,
> ἀργὸς μὲν οἴκοι κἂν πόλει γενήσεται,
> φίλοισι δ᾽ οὐδείς· ἡ φύσις γὰρ οἴχεται,
> ὅταν γλυκείας ἡδονῆς ἥσσων τις ᾖ.

> A man who possesses a good livelihood
> but neglects matters in his own house and lets them slip,
> and from his pleasure in singing pursues this all the time,
> will become idle at home and in his city,
> and a nobody to those close to him: a man's nature is gone
> when he is overcome by pleasure's sweetness. (fr. 187 = Stob. 3.30.1)

This is from the section περὶ ἀργίας ("On idleness", 3.30), and articulates the idea that an apolitical man who also does not run his household is no man at all, with inactivity resulting in a loss of masculinity. Because masculinity requires constant action, lest it disappear, taking action of the right kind is a means of maintaining masculinity.

Stobaeus also quotes part of Amphion's defense of himself:

> τὸ δ᾽ ἀσθενές μου καὶ τὸ θῆλυ σώματος
> κακῶς ἐμέμφθης· εἰ γὰρ εὖ φρονεῖν ἔχω,
> κρεῖσσον τόδ᾽ ἐστὶ καρτεροῦ βραχίονος.

> You incorrectly blamed the lack of strength and the femininity of my body;
> for if I have good judgement,
> this is a better thing than a strong arm. (fr. 199 = Stob. 3.3.2)

---

[93] As assigned by Collard and Cropp 2008a: 175. Cropp and Fick place it between 427 and 419 on metrical grounds (1985: 70), but there is also a scholion on Ar. *Frogs* 53 (test.ii) that suggests it is post-412. Collard and Cropp make their ca. 410 suggestion based on plot similarities to *Ion* (ca. 414-10) (2008a: 175).

[94] See Podlecki 1996 for an exhaustive account of the scholarship on this scene.

[95] Collard, Cropp, and Gibert note the aristocratic tone in Zethus' comments (1995: 266).

Stobaeus clearly selected this quote for its emphasis on judgement (εὖ φρονεῖν), but the secondary implication of these lines is that two factors can be used to assess masculinity: the strength of the body and the strength of the mind. Amphion first claims that Zethus overemphasizes the body as the center of masculinity, and then corrects this by identifying good judgement as a better attribute than strength. But Amphion also betrays a fundamental assumption: the inactive, weak body is equivalent to a feminine one (τὸ δ' ἀσθενές μου καὶ τὸ θῆλυ σώματος).[96] What both Amphion and Stobaeus assert with this quotation is that good judgement and its corresponding prudence are essential components of masculinity. When reconsidered in the context of the entire *agon*, this fragment shows that Amphion argues that physical activity is only one means of proving one's masculinity. As an intellectual, he privileges the mental over the physical and seeks to show that he is no less masculine, and perhaps even more masculine, for doing so. In selecting this quote, Stobaeus offers two separate versions of manhood to his son rather than a monolithic conception thereof.

The next fragment is from *Archelaus*, a play about a descendant of Heracles who was betrayed by the Thracian king Cisseus, who, having offered Archelaus his kingdom and daughter in exchange for his assistance against Cisseus' enemies, tried to kill his new ally.[97] Collard and Cropp propose that this fragment comes from the initial negotiations between Cisseus and Archelaus (2008a: 231), and I suggest that if this is true, then Archelaus is the speaker, contrasting his own noble and thoroughly masculine character (he is a descendant of Heracles and Zeus, after all) with the cowardice and inaction of Cisseus: ὁ δ' ἡδὺς αἰὼν ἡ κακή τ'

---

[96] Describing something as feminine (θῆλυς) often insinuates that it is delicate and therefore weak (cf. Ar. *Lys*. 708, Soph. *Trach*. 1075, and Eur. *Med*. 928).

[97] Archelaus then travels to Macedonia, where he founds the city Aegeae, and so, along with the biographical tradition, this play is given by Diodorus (17.16.3) as evidence of Euripides' emigration to Macedonia at the end of his career. Collard and Cropp see no reason to disbelieve this (2008a: 232), although Scullion 2003 disputes this based on a reading of Aristophanes' *Frogs*.

ἀνανδρία/ οὔτ' οἶκον οὔτε πόλιν ἀνορθώσειεν ἄν, "An enjoyable life and a sorry lack of manliness can rebuild neither a household nor a city" (fr. 239 = Stob. 3.8.13).[98] Stobaeus' choice of the fragment as illustrative of attitudes towards cowardice supports this assignment. Indeed the theme of courage through action strengthens the association between Archelaus and Heracles, who was famous for this very thing (Collard, Cropp, and Gibert 1995: 336).

The absence of manliness (ἀνανδρία) to which Archelaus refers is defined by the absence of participation in rebuilding. Here rebuilding is a means of participation in society, particularly at the level of the *polis*,[99] but also of the *oikos*, a theme which repeats the content with the *agon* from *Antiope*. This fragment, by its inclusion in the section titled "On Cowardice", insinuates that lack of this kind of action, and therefore lack of manliness, is concordant with cowardice (δειλία), as taking no action at all is ultimately cowardly. Participation in the *polis* and leadership of the *oikos* is a qualification for masculinity; not doing so by pursuing pleasure above all makes one less than a man.

The fourth of these fragments requires discussion in greater detail, since it represents a departure from idealized masculinity as portrayed in the first three fragments. Found in Stobaeus' section on lack of self-control, *akrasia* (3.18), this fragment is from *Auge*, a play of the same plot-type as *Antiope*, this time with Heracles as the (semi)divine rapist, and with the baby recognized in its infancy, rather than as an adult. In this fragment, Heracles apologizes directly to his rape victim, Auge, saying: νῦν δ' οἶνος ἐξέστησε μ'· ὁμολογῶ δέ σε/ ἀδικεῖν, τὸ δ' ἀδίκημ' ἐγένετ' οὐχ ἑκούσιον, "As it is, wine drove me out of my senses. I admit I wronged

---

[98] See Katsouris 2004: 215-6 for a reconstruction of the conversation between Cisseus and Archelaus.
[99] Thus participation in the political sphere is one means of constituting manhood. Cf. Arist. *Pol.* 1252b, in which slaves and women are considered to be of similar status when compared to a male citizen who exercises political rights.

you, but the wrong was not intentional" (fr. 272b = Stob. 3.18.19).[100] I shall address the full ramifications of this apology as an apology for rape and why it is unique in this respect in chapter 4 below. What I am concerned with here is the fact that Heracles has lost control from excessive drinking and therefore has become an example of *akrasia*, which in turn makes him an example of defective masculinity.

In consuming too much wine and then raping Auge, Heracles has shown a loss of self-control so complete that he has committed a major transgression, but as I shall argue, this does not have quite the effect on his masculinity that we would expect. Indeed, I question Stobaeus' motivation for including these lines in a section on *akrasia*. If *sophrosune* (3.5) and *enkrateia* (3.17) are qualities that Stobaeus seemingly wants to inculcate in his son, then why have wine be the source of blame, rather than Heracles himself? Why is an excuse included? Or is it that Heracles himself ought to be blamed, and Stobaeus has chosen these lines to illustrate that very point (a question that our limited information on Stobaeus does not allow us to answer)?[101] Setting aside the fact that Heracles is the speaker of these lines, it seems that Stobaeus has chosen them as part of a larger programme in this section. Of the preceding eighteen quotations in section 3.18, fourteen connect overindulgence in drink with lack of self-control.[102] This suggests that to Stobaeus, overconsumption of wine is practically synonymous with *akrasia*.

---

[100] Although Stobaeus does not indicate the speakers in his dramatic quotations, the apology and mention of drunkenness identify this speaker as Heracles. Huys 1989-1990 and Anderson 1982 both agree on the speaker of fr. 272b in their reconstructions of the plot of this play.

[101] Indeed, Aristotle argues that drunkenness should double the penalty for a given crime (*Nic. Eth.* 1113b8).

[102] These are the following: Soph. fr. 929 = Stob. 3.18.1, Sclerios = Stob. 3.18.2, Eratosthenes fr. 34 = Stob. 3.18.3, Menander fab. inc. fr. 82 = Stob. 3.18.5, Philemon fab. inc. fr. 42 = Stob. 3.18.6, Philemon fab. inc. fr. 99 = Stob. 3.18.7, Philemon fab. inc. fr. 100 = Stob. 3.18.8, Theogn. 627-8 = Stob. 3.18.10, Theogn. 509-10 = Stob. 3.18.11, Aesch. fr. 393 = Stob. 3.18.12, Theogn. 479-86 = Stob. 3.18.13, Theogn. 497-8 = Stob. 3.18.14, Theogn. 499-502 = Stob. 3.18. 15, Theogn. 503-8 = Stob. 3.18.16, and *Od.* 14.463-6 = Stob. 3.18.17.

If we reinsert this fragment back into its play, what does this suggest about Heracles' masculinity? It seems that Heracles the drunk is lacking one of the definitive masculine virtues. This is not, however, unusual in Euripides' portrayal of this character (cf. Heracles' awkwardly comic appearance in *Alcestis*), nor in fact in regard to his mythic persona in general. Despite being a paragon of masculinity in the ways that the quotes from Zethus in *Antiope* and *Archelaus* identify (physical strength, heroic actions), the Heracles seen onstage in Euripides' plays is also one prone to excess, whether it be the drunkenness of *Auge* and *Alcestis*,[103] or the divinely-imposed murderous rage of *Heracles*. As Stobaeus shows us, the Euripidean Heracles displays traits that are not ideally masculine, despite being an archetype of masculinity in Greek culture.[104]

All these fragments suggest that masculinity is something that must be worked at. Although this is true for femininity as well, the risk inherent in not taking action, and therefore not displaying *andreia*, is that the inactive male becomes not only not male, but feminized, as Amphion's comment from *Antiope* shows. In the words of Cawthorne, *andreia* "is not a state the male arrives at and relaxes into, indeed an *aner* must constantly prove, and, in the process risk, his masculinity" (2008: 80).[105] The drunk Heracles of *Auge* reveals that this negotiation of gender is a fraught and not always successful undertaking. From the content of these fragments, it is quite clear that Stobaeus offered action as a means of defining *andreia*, and in accordance with the etymology of the term, the two are entirely bound up in one another in the fragments of Euripides that he chose. That is, masculinity requires action politically (which can take the form

---

[103] E.g. *Alc*. 794-5. It is not uncommon for Heracles to be portrayed as straddling the line between male and female, especially in the accounts of his stay with Omphale, when he dresses as a woman and she takes up his club and lion-skin. See Loraux 1990: 28-9 for more on the feminine side of Heracles.

[104] I shall explore this idea further in my discussion of *Auge* in the chapter on testimonia.

[105] Cf. Ferrari 1993, who points out that the verb ἀνδρόω refers to either making someone into a man (active) or becoming a man (passive) and thus indicates that masculinity is constantly in flux (99).

either of physical action or the practice of good judgement) and domestically (cf. the fragments

from *Antiope* and *Archelaus*), and courageous action makes one masculine.

Turning now to the wealth of Euripidean fragments in book 4, a more nuanced picture of

both masculinity and femininity begins to emerge, as Stobaeus focuses increasingly on matters

related to the domestic and conjugal sphere, with lemmata including περὶ ᾿Αφροδίτης ("On

Aphrodite", 4.20), περὶ γάμου ("On marriage", 4.22) and οἰκονομικός ("The one who manages

the household", 4.28). The five gender-related categories that I have identified in the book 4

fragments are love and sex, marriage, children and parenthood (with a particular concern for the

role of stepmothers), women as an entire category, and, as in book 3, masculinity (although this

is the lens through which all of these subcategories are filtered).[106] In considering the Euripidean

fragments of book 4, I shall work through each of these subcategories, with special attention to

the lemmata under which they are classified as in the fragments I discussed from book 3.

For Stobaeus, as is also the case in Euripides and much of tragedy, love and sex are

primarily heterosexual,[107] and due to the gnomic nature of his compilation, rather genericized.[108]

That said, there is much on offer here that is quite useful, particularly in terms of the individual

plays, in that these fragments can provide insight into how these issues were characterized.

Sexuality is bound to gender, partly because of Stobaeus' favouring of heterosexual

---

[106] As I discussed earlier, Stobaeus' selections are affected by his intended audience, and therefore privilege the male perspective on these domestic issues, so that, for example, when the role of a wife is the topic, it is from the husband's point of view, or when it is children, it is *vis-à-vis* the father.

[107] Two notable exceptions to this are Euripides' *Chrysippus* and Aeschylus' *Myrmidons*. *Chrysippus* told the story of Laius' (Oedipus' father's) rape of the title character. Aelian claims that Euripides characterized Laius as the first Greek pederast (test. iva = Ael. *NA* 6.15). I shall examine this play more thoroughly in chapter 4. *Myrmidons* includes references to the erotic relationship between Achilles and Patroclus (frs. 135-7).

[108] That is to say, Stobaeus has purposefully not included references to the individual romantic/sexual partners in these cases. See Schmidt 2005 on Mimnermus for the effects of Stobaeus' editing process on the content and resulting critical interpretation of fragmentary works. See the earlier discussion in this chapter on Stobaeus' distortion of the original texts.

relationships, but mostly because of the active/passive dynamic usually at play in representations of sexuality in Greek literature.[109] This dynamic conventionally places the male in the active role, and feminizes the passive partner, even when he is male.[110] Any discussion of sexuality, therefore, is implicitly also a discussion about gender.

Section 4.20.1 (a subsection of 4.20, περὶ Ἀφροδίτης) focuses on sex, both its pleasures and its dangers. By beginning the section with the following fragment, Stobaeus makes this dual nature explicit, and sets his programme immediately:

τῇ δ᾽ Ἀφροδιτῃ πόλλ᾽ ἔνεστι ποικίλα·
τέρπει τε γὰρ μάλιστα καὶ λυπεῖ βροτούς·
τύχοιμι δ᾽ αὐτῆς ἡνίκ᾽ εὐμενής.

Aphrodite is very complex;
for she both delights and distresses mortals.
I wish I may meet her when she is kind. (*Aeolus* fr. 26 = Stob. 4.20.1.1)

This fragment is from *Aeolus*, in which Macareus, one of the wind-god's sons, falls in love with and impregnates his sister, Canace. The play, which deals with the delivery of their child, Aeolus' discovery of the infant, and Canace's subsequent suicide, seems to have been Ovid's main point of reference for *Heroides* 11, which tells the story from Canace's perspective.[111] While it does not seem that Macareus' feelings for his sister are reciprocated,[112] it is clear in all

---

[109] Konstan 1994 argues that this is not always the case for the lovers of the Greek novel. Nevertheless, the active/passive dynamic informs these later examples of symmetrical erotic relationships with partners often shifting between being the active or passive partner (cf. Chloe's transformation from active to passive partner in *Daphnis and Chloe*).

[110] Cf. Dover 1978, especially 100-4. This is also famously the thesis of Foucault 1984 which Halperin 1990 develops further.

[111] See Casali 1998 for a comparison between the two.

[112] The papyrus hypothesis for the play says that Macareus fell in love and then "corrupted" her ("[ἐ]ρασθεὶς διέφθειρεν", test. ii, 24-5), which is supported by a non-Euripidean quotation from Stobaeus. (διαφθείρω can be used to refer to rape.) At 4.20.2.72, under the lemma ψόγος Ἀφροδίτης· καὶ ὅτι φαῦλος ὁ ἔρως καὶ πόσων εἴη κακῶν γεγόνως αἴτιος ("Blame of Aphrodite; that *eros* is bad; for how many evils it is responsible once conceived"). An excerpt adapted from Plut. *Para*. 312c says that Macareus "violated" (ἐβιάσατο) Canace. See chapter 5 for a longer discussion of the play, its hypothesis, and other testimonia.

versions of the story that his *eros* is the cause of her tragic downfall. This quote, which may come after Canace's death (Collard and Cropp 2008a: 13), typifies Stobaeus' apparent message to Septimius, that sex and love can be dangerous.

This was not an unusual idea in Euripides (nor is it at all unusual in Greek literature as a whole). Since, like its second iteration,[113] *Hippolytus Veiled* is a play that revolves around two individuals' inability to properly manage sex and love, it provides two quotes that articulate Stobaeus' emphasis on the potential for danger in one's relationship with *eros*. As Foucault showed in his work on the gendered active/passive paradigm of Greek sexuality, *enkrateia* (what he terms "self-mastery") is "virile by definition" (1984: 83). It follows that *akrasia*, especially in the sexual realm, is feminizing. If one is immoderate sexually, one takes on the passive, feminine role (1984: 84). Fragment 428 (= Stob. 4.20.1.3), possibly commentary from the chorus, reveals that both Phaedra and Hippolytus, despite occupying opposite ends of the sexual spectrum, with her being the inappropriate pursuer and him the fugitive from all sexuality, are equally guilty of immoderation, albeit of different types: οἱ γὰρ Κύπριν φεύγοντες ἀνθρώπων ἄγαν/ νοσοῦσ' ὁμοίως τοῖς ἄγαν θηρωμένοις ("Those people who flee too much from Cypris are just as sick as those who hunt for her too much," trans. adapted). Excess and abstinence are equally immoderate.[114] Indeed, in a fragment under the same lemma, a character who seems to be Phaedra, based on the use of the first person and on the actual content of the fragment, admits that the struggle against *eros* is the most difficult of all:

---

[113] Aristophanes of Byzantium tells us that *Hippolytus Garland-bearer* seems to have been a rewrite of *Hippolytus Veiled* due to Euripides' scandalous treatment of the subject matter (test. i). Most believe the negative reception of this play was due to Phaedra directly approaching Hippolytus, as opposed to the Nurse's approach in the extant play. This is supported by Aristophanes' labelling Phaedra a "whore" (πόρνη) at *Frogs* 1043. Roisman 1999 questions this and, unsuccessfully in my opinion, argues that Phaedra's approach to Hippolytus may have been successful in this version (408-9). Gibert 1997 questions Aristophanes of Byzantium's statement, calling it "almost certainly a mere guess" (86).
[114] This sentiment is likely the chorus'.

ἔχω δὲ τόλμης καὶ θράσους διδάσκαλον
ἐν τοῖς ἀμηχάνοισιν εὐπορώτατον,
Ἔρωτα, πάντων δυσμαχώτατον θεόν.

I have a teacher of daring and audacity who
is most inventive amid difficulties–
Eros, the hardest god of all to fight. (*Hipp. Veiled* fr. 430 = Stob. 4.20.1.25)

From this it seems that love in this play must be fought against, and yet one must not fight too hard against it. As in the extant *Hippolytus*, Hippolytus' struggle against *eros* is presented as an evil on par with submitting oneself entirely to it. In order to properly engage with society, the individual must "enter into the necessary but inevitably ambiguous exchanges between self and other" which *eros* entails (Zeitlin 1996: 223).[115]

According to the Foucauldian model, Phaedra takes on the masculinized role of *erastes* as the active pursuer in her relationship with Hippolytus in both of these fragments, and yet, also remains feminized by her inability to exercise self-control. She simultaneously acts out the stereotype of feminine passion in this pursuit. Hippolytus, on the other hand, as a young man who has resisted Zeitlin's "necessary exchanges", is feminized, since he is a boy who refuses to become a man, even beyond the realm of sexuality. This is effectively territory he already occupies. But just as Heracles is feminized by his *akrasia*, Hippolytus retains some masculinity through his *enkrateia* regarding *eros*, and so possesses feminine and masculine traits simultaneously.

A lack of erotic control is assigned not only to women like Phaedra. Stobaeus also includes a quotation from Euripides' *Antigone* to show that men are vulnerable to this. Fragment 162 seems to be a comment on Haemon's love for Antigone, which is fitting considering that

---

[115] This is in reference to the extant Hippolytus play, but I think Zeitlin's words are equally applicable here.

Euripides' version of the story had Antigone marrying Haemon and giving birth to their son, Maeon.[116] This suggests that the play may have ended more happily than Sophocles' version; the inclusion of other fragments referring to love and marriage (161 and 162a) supports this.[117] In the case of fragment 162 (Stob. 4.20.1.4), Haemon's defiance of his father is cast as the outcome of his uncontrolled emotions:

> ἀνδρός δ' ὁρῶντος εἰς Κύπριν νεανίου
> ἀφύλακτος ἡ τήρησις, ὡς κἂν φαῦλος ᾖ
> τἄλλ', εἰς ἔρωτα πᾶς ἀνὴρ σοφώτατος.

> When a young man looks to Aphrodite,
> there's no watch can be kept on him; for even if he's bad
> at other things, every man is clever in the pursuit of love.[118]

Something sinister, especially when applied to the character of Haemon, lurks behind these words. Not only is Haemon struggling with self-control, but he can no longer be controlled by others. Euripides' use of the word τήρησις (a "watching" or "guarding") has both punitive (it is used of a quarry that becomes a makeshift jail in Thuc. 7.86.2) and political undertones (Aristotle refers to a τήρησις τῆς πολιτείας at *Pol.* 1308a30). Haemon's love for Antigone in this play literally places him both beyond punishment, which is a function of the *polis*, and beyond the walls of the city itself as he joins her at the burial of Polynices (as per Aristophanes of Byzantium's hypothesis).

Stobaeus continues his warnings about the darker aspects of *eros* in the following lemma, ψόγος Ἀφροδίτης· καὶ ὅτι φαῦλος ὁ ἔρως καὶ πόσων εἴη κακῶν γεγόνως αἴτιος ("The blame of Aphrodite; that love is bad; for how many evils it is responsible once conceived",

---

[116] Aristophanes of Byzantium relates these details in his hypothesis to Sophocles' play of the same name (test. iia).

[117] In Sophocles' version, Creon characterizes Haemon as enslaved by his love for Antigone (cf. l. 756), but the sense of romantic happiness between the young couple is utterly missing.

[118] I have chosen not to include the fourth line of this fragment, as the Greek is corrupt and suggests that it is a non-Euripidean addition to the fragment. Kannicht obelizes the line and Wagner suggests a lacuna prior to it.

4.20.2).[119] It is likely that the speaker in the following fragment is Atalanta, defending herself, and her choice to remain a virgin prior to setting out to hunt the Calydonian boar to Althaea, the mother of Meleager. Like Hippolytus, she is trying to avoid a necessary transition into adulthood (motherhood in her case) through abstinence, and so rejection of sexual desire is to be expected. Yet, when viewed as part of Stobaeus' collection, with the context of Atalanta's motivation for saying such a thing removed, this fragment seems to get at the heart of what the other fragments taken from Euripides in book 4 suggest: love and the sex that comes from it lead to a shameful loss of self-control. Atalanta positions sex as the opposite of prudent behaviour: ἡ γὰρ Κύπρις πέφυκε τῷ σκότῳ φίλη,/ τὸ φῶς δ' ἀνάγκην προστίθησι σωφρονεῖν ("Cypris is a friend of darkness, while daylight imposes a need for self-restraint," fr. 524 = Stob. 4.20.2.50, trans. adapted).

In addition to it being a source of shame (the reason that Cypris and darkness go together), Stobaeus adds another shade to his presentation of desire, selecting a fragment which pathologizes female desire, this time under a subheading in his chapter on marriage, titled ψόγος γυναικῶν ("Blame of women"). Taken from *Ino*, the plot of which is not entirely clear but which almost certainly involves the return of Ino to her husband's court at Thessaly,[120] these are likely to be the words of Ino herself, who has been spectacularly unlucky in love:[121] ὦ θνητὰ πράγματ', ὦ γυναικεῖαι φρένες·/ ὅσον νόσημα τὴν Κύπριν κεκτήμεθα ("Oh, mortal dealing! O women's hearts! What a great affliction we have acquired in Aphrodite!", fr. 400 = Stob.

---

[119] Describing love as φαῦλος, as both Euripides and Stobaeus do, indicates not only thoughtlessness (both forethought and thought for others, cf. Euripides' use of the adverb φαύλως at *Her.* 89 and *Ion* 1546), but also inferiority, as in the fragment from *Antigone*.

[120] The plot of this play and the plots of the two Phrixus plays are often confused. The best source for this play is Hyginus, *Fab.* 4 (= test.iii). See Luppe 1984 on the reliability of Hyginus for the plot of *Ino*.

[121] I am referring to Ino's frustration with her role as a second wife and stepmother which results in her attempts to kill her stepchildren Phrixus and Helle, likely part of the plot of *Phrixus A*. See chapter 3 for more on the plot of this play.

4.22.7.183). The use of νόσημα, which means "disease" and is frequently used of *eros*,[122] confirms what the other fragments on sexual desire have suggested, that a) erotic desire is inherently dangerous in its assault on the boundaries of the self (cf. the impossibility of fighting off *eros* in fr. 430 above), and b) women, or those who are womanly (note the use of γυναικεῖος), are particularly susceptible to this. It is entirely unsurprising to find such a quote under this lemma.

Since 4.22, περὶ γάμου ("On marriage"), and 4.23, γαμικὰ παραγγέλματα ("Instructions on marriage"), contain the bulk of the fragments from Euripides concerning gender, I now turn to these sections and the image of marriage that they present. Stobaeus often sorts his quotations into subsections which present opposing sides of the same topic, so, for example, the first subsection of 4.22 is titled ὅτι κάλλιστον ὁ γάμος ("That marriage is the finest thing") while the second is titled ὅτι οὐκ ἀγαθόν τὸ γαμεῖν ("That it is not good to marry").[123] He subsequently breaks his topic down even further, into more specific areas such as courtship (4.22.4, περὶ μνηστείας) and the best age to get married (4.22.5, ὅτι ἐν τοῖς γάμοις τὰς τῶν συναπτομένων ἡλικίας χρὴ σκοπεῖν, "That it is necessary regarding marriage to pay attention to the ages of those joining together"). Because of the variety and specificity of the lemmata in 4.22, more than in any other section of the *Anthology*, Stobaeus' selections are revelatory of the types of conflicts about marriage foregrounded by Euripides in his fragmentary plays. I have therefore classified the fragments from Euripides on marriage into two categories: the good and the bad among wives, and the best circumstances for marriage. These circumstances seem to primarily concern the best type of wife (meaning there is some overlap in

---

[122] Νόσημα is similarly used to pathologize other undesirable phenomena, including tyranny (Aesch. *Pr.* 226-7) and injustice (Plat. *Grg.* 480b). Cf. the use of νόσους᾽ in fr. 428.

[123] The first has twenty-seven quotations, while the second has thirty-nine.

ideas, if not content, between these sections). Perhaps the selection of such fragments is a reflection of Stobaeus' overall purpose for his compilation, that of advising his son. (He does not seem to concern himself with the idea that his son may one day be involved in choosing a husband for his own daughter.) On the other hand, this is also consonant with the idea that, in a marriage, it is the woman who is the variable factor; she moves between households as the "(object) of social exchange" (Ormand 1999: 4) and the wedding is her rite of passage into adulthood.[124] The husband stays within his own household and his passage into adulthood is marked by his participation in the *polis*. He is therefore conceived of as the stable factor in a marriage.[125] If the wife is understood as the determining factor that shapes a marriage, then it is fitting that Stobaeus focuses his advice in this way.

A male perspective on marriage is not Stobaeus' only means of discussing marriage. Tragedy as a genre and Euripides in particular also provide female (or rather, purportedly female) perspectives, especially regarding marriage. As I examine the fragments on marriage, I shall pay special attention to the assignment of the lines, so that I may see if Stobaeus favours male or female characters' words on this topic.

I begin with Stobaeus' understanding of the benefits of marriage in 4.22.1, ὅτι κάλλιστον ὁ γάμος ("That marriage is the finest thing"). Stobaeus opens this section with a quote from *Oedipus* that conveys the value of a wife as an object of exchange:[126]

---

[124] By "adulthood", I mean the state of no longer being a *parthenos*. The institution of male *kureia* meant that no woman could claim to be an adult in the same way as a man.

[125] Cf. Ferrari's claim that a marriage was not understood as a necessarily permanent arrangement (2002: 194).

[126] This is the theory applied by both Wohl (1998) and Ormand (1999) to tragedy, and which Rabinowitz uses in her work on Euripides (1993). Lévi-Strauss originated this theory and it gained wide influence; see esp. Rubin's 1975 essay "The Traffic in Women: Notes on the 'Political Economy' of Sex".

μεγάλη τυραννὶς ἀνδρὶ τέκνα καὶ γυνή
        *   *   *
ἴσην γὰρ ἀνδρὶ συμφορὰν εἶναι λέγω
τέκνων θ' ἁμαρτεῖν καὶ πάτρας καὶ χρημάτων
ἀλόχου τε κεδνῆς, ὡς μόνων τῶν χρημάτων
        *   *   *
ἢ περισσόν ἐστις ἀνδρί, σώφρον' ἢν λάβῃ...

Children and a wife are a great kingdom for a man…
for to lose children and fatherland and wealth
is a disaster for a man equal, I say, to losing
a good wife, in that his wealth alone…
Truly, it is better for a man, if he gets a virtuous [wife?]…(fr. 543 = Stob. 4.22.1.1)[127]

Since in this version of the Oedipus myth he is blinded by others (cf. fr. 541) and Jocasta does not take her own life but rather follows him into exile (cf. fr. 545a), this fragment seems to come from a scene in which Jocasta vows to support her husband upon his being sentenced to his punishment and the two discuss their marriage.[128] Wealth (χρήματα) and a wife (as well as children) are compared to each other, as they are in a fragment from *Andromeda*: τῶν γὰρ πλούτων ὅδ' ἄριστος/ γενναῖον λέχος εὑρεῖν ("This is the best kind of wealth, to find a noble spouse," fr. 137= Stob. 4.22.1.11). Thus wives are part of a man's acquisitions, the equivalent of wealth.

The straightforward use of a possessive genitive (and a reappearance of the term λέχος) in a fragment from *Danae* make the wife/possession connection clear:

γυνὴ γὰρ ἐξελθοῦσα πατρῴων δόμων
οὐ τῶν τεκόντων ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ τοῦ λέχους·
τὸ δ' ἄρσεν ἕστηκ' ἐν δόμοις ἀεὶ γένος
θεῶν πατρῴων καὶ τάφων τιμάορον.

---

[127] The first lacuna is suggested by Weil, based on the change of subject from the first line to the second (1889: 339-40), while Meineke, editor of the standard edition of Stobaeus that preceded Wachsmuth and Hense 1884-1923, is the source of the second.

[128] See Collard 2005 for a reconstruction of this play (57-62).

> When a woman has left her ancestral home
> she is not her parents', but belongs to her marriage-bed;
> but male children stand always in a house
> to protect ancestral gods and tombs. (fr. 318 = Stob. 4.22.7.148)[129]

When marriage is conducted properly, the woman ceases to belong to her parents, and moves on to belong to her husband.[130]

A woman can provide benefit to the marriage not simply by being a type of possession and therefore a mere object, but also by her active participation in the marriage. The right kind of wife, such as the σώφρων in the fragment from *Oedipus*, can actually help a husband preserve his possessions; this exercise of subjectivity makes her an "incomplete object" (Wohl 1998: xxx). Though not associated with a specific play, fragment 1055 (= Stob. 4.22.1.9) offers a complementary model of a wife's role in the household, and here, it is the man who shows no control: οἰκοφθόρον γὰρ ἄνδρα κωλύει γυνή/ ἐσθλὴ παραζευχθεῖσα καὶ σώζει δόμους ("A good wife joined with him restrains a husband who is ruining his property, and saves the home"). However, despite the emphasis on her agency, the good wife's role is still to preserve her husband's possessions, which ultimately subordinates her actions by centering them on her husband.

Thus we have seen not only that a good wife is the equivalent of wealth, but also that when her husband is himself unable to, she can preserve the wealth of the household. This is in fact part of her job as a wife (cf. the role of a good wife in Xenophon's *Oeconomicus* 7). What then does a bad wife look like in these fragments? Just as a good wife is a good possession, a bad wife is equally a bad one, as seen in the following quote from *Ino*, from Stobaeus' subsection on why it is not good to marry (4.22.2):

---

[129] This is not from the first subsection of Stob. 4.22, but the seventh, ψόγος γυναικῶν. It is likely Acrisius, Danae's father speaking here about his wish to have sons. This is supported by the version of the story in Apollodorus (2.4.1).

[130] Λέχος can also refer to a male spouse, as at Eur. *El*. 481.

νόμοι γυναικῶν οὐ καλῶς κεῖνται πέρι·
χρῆν γὰρ τὸν εὐτυχοῦνθ᾽ ὅπως πλείστας ἔχειν
{γυναῖκας, εἴπερ τροφὴ δόμοις παρῆν},
ὡς τὴν κακὴν μὲν ἐξέβαλλε δωμάτων
τὴν δ᾽ οὖσαν ἐσθλὴν ἡδέως ἐσῴζετο.
νῦν δ᾽ εἰς μίαν βλέπουσι, κίνδυνον μέγαν
ῥίπτοντες· οὐ γὰρ τῶν τρόπων πειρώμενοι
νύμφας ἐς οἴκους ἑρματίζονται βροτοί.

Laws are not made well concerning wives:
the prosperous man should have as many as possible
{if his house were to maintain them},
so he could throw the bad one out of his home,
and be pleased at keeping the one who actually is good.
Now, however, they look to one wife, and risk much on the throw;
for people take wives into their houses like ballast,
with no experience of their ways. (fr. 402 = Stob. 4.22.2.36, trans. adapted)

This scenario takes the concept of wife as possession to its logical conclusion: a bad wife ought to be jettisoned like so much extra cargo. Collard and Cropp attribute these lines to Ino (2008a: 439). She could be expressing her disapproval of Themisto, perhaps out of bitterness that when her husband thought she was dead, he replaced her. The notion of risk in bringing a wife into an *oikos* in line 6 recalls the idea of the woman as the variable factor in a marriage (as discussed above).

Stobaeus' chosen Euripidean fragments also reveal that a bad wife can be absolutely dangerous to her husband. Fragment 1060 (inc. = Stob. 4.22.7.141)[131] frames a wife as a curse: ἐχθροῖσιν εἴη πολεμιξαν δάμαρτ᾽ ἔχειν ("I wish a hostile wife on my enemies!").[132] Lines from *Cretan Women* thought to belong to Catreus make the threat a wife can pose concrete:[133] γαμεῖτε νυν, γαμεῖτε, κᾆτα θνῄσκετε/ ἢ φαρμάκοισιν ἐκ γυναικὸς ἢ δόλοις ("Well, go on and get married, get married and then die through either poison or plot from your wife!", fr. 464

---

[131] The lemma here is ψόγος γυναικῶν.
[132] The use of πολεμίος couches this in military terms.
[133] These are probably said in response to the discovery of the adultery of his daughter, Aerope (Collard 2005: 54).

= Stob. 4.22.6.121). Just as the truly exemplary wife of fragment 1055 is judged to exercise of agency, so is the absolutely terrible one.

A further set of quotations verifies that this dichotomy is consistently at work in Euripides' fragmentary plays (as in myth and tragedy generally). The first, not assigned to an individual play, sets up the two classes of wife I have discussed above:

> οὐ πάντες οὔτε δυστυχοῦσιν ἐς γάμους
> οὔτ᾽ εὐτυχοῦσι· συμφορὰ δ᾽ ὅς ἂν τύχῃ
> κακῆς γυναίκος, εὐτυχεῖ δ᾽ ἐσθλῆς τυχών.

> Not all men are unfortunate in marriage,
> nor fortunate: but it is disastrous for any who gets a bad wife,
> while any who gets a good one is fortunate. (inc. 1056 = Stob. 4.22.3.70) [134]

Fittingly, Stobaeus places this in the third section of 4.22, ὅτι τοῖς μὲν ἐπωφέλη τὸν γάμον, τοῖς δὲ ἀσύμφρον ὁ τῶν συναπτομένων ἀπετέλεσε τρόπος ("That the character of those being joined aids marriage for some, but is misfortune for others"). The second, from one of the Alcmeon plays,[135] is found under the same lemma and contains the dichotomy within a single woman:

> γυναῖκα καὶ ὠφελίαν
> καὶ νόσον ἀνδρὶ φέρειν
> μεγίσταν...

> That a wife brings a husband
> both the greatest help
> and the greatest harm...(fr. 78 = Stob. 4.22.3.74)[136]

 The third, from the same subsection as the other two, articulates what the second, and to a certain degree the rest of Stobaeus' selections on marriage, implies: μακάροις ὅστις εὐτυχεῖ γάμον λαβὼν/ ἐσθλῆς γυναικός, εὐτυχεῖ δ᾽ ὁ μὴ λαβών ("Blessed the man who has had the

---

[134] This idea is prevalent in Greek literature and can be found as early as Hesiod (cf. *WD* 702-4).
[135] The lack of specific attribution is a common issue with fragments from the plays which share title characters.
[136] The rest of the third line is obelized due to its uncertain metre and unclear sense and thus I have omitted it.

luck to get a good wife, and lucky the one who has not got one at all," fr. 1057 = Stob. 4.22.3.72). According to this fragment, every wife has the potential to be a bad one.

While the above fragments establish the opposing poles of the good and the bad wife, they do little to propose what a good wife actually is, beyond an adequate property manager (cf. fr. 1055). Although this was an important role for a woman, in the tragic world as well as in Classical Athens, these fragments do not address how one should find a wife who can do this. I shall now present the fragments from 4.22 and 4.23 which do this by recommending the ideal character, behaviour, age and even social class for a wife. As seen in the fragments above, good wives are characterized as σώφρων and ἐσθλή (a generic enough term for "good" but consistently used in this context). This is also true in fragment 503 (= Stob. 4.22.6.132), from one of the Melanippe plays:

> μετρίων λέκτρων, μετρίων δὲ γάμων
> μετὰ σωφροσύνης
> κῦρσαι θνητοῖσιν ἄριστον.

> Moderate unions, and moderate marriages
> with self-discipline
> are the best for mortals to find (trans. adapted).

Self-control (σωφροσύνη) in a wife is just as valuable as in a husband, if not the most important virtue a woman can possess (cf. North 1977), although women express this quality somewhat differently than men do. But whether women are capable of this self-control is another question, and the answer in the fragments is "not very". Most likely referring to Atalanta's lack of feminine modesty, Althaea in *Meleager* distinguishes between the good (ἐσθλή) wife and the bad on the basis of their behaviour: ἔνδον μένουσαν τὴν γυναῖκ᾽ εἶναι χρεὼν/ ἐσθλήν, θύρασι δ᾽ ἀξίαν τοῦ μηδενός ("A wife who stays at home is certain to be a good one, and one who spends time out of doors is certain to be worthless," fr. 521 = Stob. 4.23.12). Here, a woman who

confines herself to the controlled sphere of the *oikos* is the best type of wife. The "worthless" one

will probably be unrestrained and therefore not practice self-control.

Fragment 463 (= Stob. 4.23.2) from *Cretan Women* is probably another of Catreus'

laments about the unmanageable nature of women:

> οὐ γὰρ ποτ' ἄνδρα τὸν σοφὸν γυναικὶ χρή
> δοῦναι χαλινοὺς οὐδ' ἀφέντ' ἐᾶν κρατεῖν·
> πιστὸν γὰρ οὐδέν ἐστιν· εἰ δέ τις κυρεῖ
> γυναικὸς ἐσθλῆς, εὐτυχεῖ κακὸν λαβών.
>
> The wise man should never ease the reins on his wife,
> nor relax them and let her take control;
> for there is nothing trustworthy about her. If anyone gets a virtuous wife,
> he enjoys good fortune from something bad.[137]

This recalls fragment 1057 in its ultimate censure of all women, regardless of character. Since a

man cannot watch his wife all the time, a servant will do, as in *Ino* fr. 410 (= Stob. 4.28.2).[138]

Finally, because a wife should stay at home and submit to her husband's control, she becomes

his *de facto* slave: πᾶσα γὰρ δούλη πέφυκεν ἀνδρὸς ἡ σώφρον γυνή,/ ἡ δὲ μὴ σώφρων

ἀνοίᾳ τὸν ξυνόνθ' ὑπερφρονεῖ ("Every sensible wife is her husband's slave; the wife without

sense despises her partner out of folly," fr. 545 = Stob. 4.22.3.85).[139] This indicates that the best

wife is entirely obedient to her husband, in the manner of a slave.[140] When a wife is not under

her husband's control, she will control him: δειλῶν γυναῖκες δεσποτῶν θρασύστομοι ("Weak

masters have outspoken wives," fr. 3 = Stob. 4.22.7.161).[141]

---

[137] The use of χαλινός recalls Aesch. *Ag.* 1066, in which Clytemnestra wishes Cassandra would "take the bit" and behave. Marriage and sex are frequently compared to horse-training in Greek literature.

[138] This is from Stobaeus' section on household management, οἰκονομικός (4.28).

[139] Collard includes this in the scene from *Oedipus* in which Jocasta confirms her support for him (2005: 61).

[140] Aristotle compares the nature of women to that of slaves at *Pol.* 1252b.1-5, suggesting that this dynamic in marriage was thought of as natural in broader Greek society.

[141] This is from *Aegeus*, and thus likely refers to Medea, a prime example of the uncontrolled woman.

Two factors which can augment a man's ability to control his wife are social class and the age of both spouses. In the first case, a line (from either *Antiope* or *Antigone*)[142] urges a man to marry at his own level (καθ' αὑτόν, fr. 214 = Stob. 4.22.4.93), while a passage from one of the Melanippe plays details why not doing this is problematic:

> ὅσοι γαμοῦσι δ' ἢ γένει κρείσσους γάμους
> ἢ πολλὰ χρήματ, οὐκ ἐπίστανται γαμεῖν·
> τὰ τῆς γυναικὸς γὰρ κρατοῦντ' ἐν δώμασιν
> δουλοῖ τὸν ἄνδρα, κοὐκέτ' ἔστ' ἐλεύθερος.
> πλοῦτος δ' ἐπακτὸς ἐκ γυναικείων γάμων
> ἀνόητος· αἱ γὰρ διαλύσεις <οὐ> ῥᾴδιαι.

> Men who marry wives above their rank,
> or marry great wealth, do not know how to make a marriage.
> The wife's interests prevail in the household
> and make a slave of the husband, and he is no longer free.
> Wealth acquired from marriage with a woman is unprofitable;
> for divorces are (not) easy. (fr. 502 = Stob. 4.22.4.94)

A wealthy wife inverts the conventional power structure in a marriage, so that the man is now slavish.

In focussing on the ideal age for marriage in the fifth subsection of 4.22, ὅτι ἐν τοῖς γάμοις τὰς τῶν συναπτομένων ἡλικίας χρὴ σκοπεῖν ("That it is necessary regarding marriage to pay attention to the ages of those joining together"), Stobaeus expands his scope to include recommendations for the best husbands, but the negative consequences of a mismatched marriage still originate with the wife. In more of Acrisius' complaints about his lack of sons from *Danae*, he protests that an elderly husband is hateful (ἐχθρός) to a young woman (fr. 317= Stob. 4.22.5.115). This is echoed in *Phoenix* fr. 807 (= Stob. 4.22.3.116).[143] Fragment 804 (= Stob. 4.22.5.109), line 3 of the same play shows why this is truly dangerous, identifying the same

---

[142] Due to their similar titles and the tendency of ancient scribes to confuse them, several attributions are unclear (Collard and Cropp 2008a: 158).

[143] Here the elderly husband is πικρός ("bitter" and therefore a source of enmity). The speaker is likely to be Amyntor (Collard and Cropp 2008b: 406), who, by favouring his concubine, caused his wife to send their son, Phoenix, to sleep with the concubine in revenge.

reason which is found in the quote on wealth from *Melanippe*, namely the power imbalance: δέσποινα γὰρ γέροντι νυμφίῳ γυνή ("For a wife rules over an aged bridegroom"). These three passages also ascribe a great deal of agency to the wife, for she is the one who hates and rules over her elderly husband, making her a dangerous match.

Stobaeus is somewhat contradictory in his choice of Euripides' fragments that address the alternative, marriage to someone closer in age. In *Aeolus*, the title character, in response to his son's proposal that the wind-god's sons marry his daughters,[144] tells him that marrying a wife of the same age is ill-advised, as women age faster than men (fr. 24 = Stob. 4.22.5.111). But in a fragment of *Antigone*, Haemon expresses his preference for a marriage to Antigone, who is likely close to him in age: ἐγὼ γὰρ ἕξω λέκτρ' ἅ τοι καλῶς ἔχειν/ δίκαιόν ἐστιν οἷσι συγγηράσομαι ("For I shall have a marriage which should rightly do well, I tell you, with a wife with whom I shall grow old," fr. 162a = Stob. 4.22.5.113, trans. adapted). This may be partially due to Haemon's obvious *eros* for Antigone (see above), but this may also be a path to marital success that Stobaeus recommends for his son. This also suggests that, despite the potential for variability in importing a wife into the *oikos*, stability is possible and is in fact the goal in selecting the right wife.

This type of sentiment, one in which the possibility of some type of equality (however superficial, as in the example above) within marriage is hinted at, also appears in one of the Phrixus plays. Here, a good wife should share in her husband's problems: δίκαι' ἔλεξε· χρὴ γὰρ εὐναίῳ πόσει/ γυναῖκα κοινῇ τὰς τύχας φέρειν ἀεί ("He spoke justly: a wife should always join the husband of her bed in bearing their troubles," fr. 823 = Stob. 4.23.31).[145] This indicates

---

[144] This is probably an *agon* scene (Collard and Cropp 2008a: 13).
[145] This is probably the chorus speaking. It is unknown whether the speaker the chorus refers to is Ino, possibly after her identity has been revealed.

that viewing one's wife as a difficult slave needing active control and full of evil plots against her husband is not the only model of marriage in the fragmentary plays.

There are two unattributed fragments which speak to the type of husband a man should be. The first praises an affectionate husband: γυναικὶ δ᾽ ὄλβος, ἢν πόσιν στέργοντ᾽ ἔχῃ ("It is happiness for a woman if she has a loving husband," fr. 1062 = Stob. 4.23.15). The second warns of what can happen to the excessively controlling husband, and in doing so offers an image of womanly self-control. In fragment 1063 (= Stob. 4.23.26a), the wise (σοφός) husband is told not to keep his wife indoors (line 3), since giving her access to the world beyond the *oikos* will in fact satisfy her and make sure she stays out of trouble (lines 6-7). In contrast, the husband who controls his wife too much, as fragment 463 suggests, is called foolish (μάταιός, line 11) and helpless (ἀχρεῖος, line 16). This stands out for its contradiction of the usual Greek ideal of the sequestered upper-class woman and in fact suggests a positive, rather than disastrous, outcome when a wife is granted some freedom.[146] Again, it confers a certain degree of agency onto a wife who will balk at her husband's dominance. Of all of the fragments on marriage, this one stands out the most, because nowhere else in Euripides is there another example of this type of advocacy for the freedom for women.

Upon examination of the identifiable speakers in these fragments, something intriguing appears.[147] While the sample size is too small to definitively deem this a pattern, identifying the speakers introduces an element of characterization to these sentiments. Aside from Haemon in 162a, those who express concern over the age of a wife are older men and the fathers of young adults (Aeolus in 24, Acrisius in 317, and Amyntor in 804 and 807). Those who advocate for

---

[146] I say ideal here, because the practice may have been flexible and dependent on social class. As Just points out on the topic of women's seclusion in Classical Athens, ideology and actual day-to-day practice are two very different things (1989: 113-14).

[147] I have excluded those cases in which the speakers are completely unknown and those in which the chorus speaks.

husbands' control though are older women (Jocasta in 545, who says that a woman should be her husband's slave, and Althaea in 521, who expresses concern over women leaving the house).[148] It seems that characters in these plays who have been wives for a long time are more likely to support the traditional view of marriage.

Parenthood is another topic with obvious relevance to gender roles about which Stobaeus advises his son in section 4.24, περὶ παιδῶν ("On children"). The fragments from Euripides dealing specifically with gender roles in connection with this topic appear mostly in its second subsection, ὅτι ἀσύμφορον τὸ ἔχειν τέκνα, καὶ ἄδηλον εἰ ἰδία τῶν ἔχειν νομιζόντων, καὶ μηδὲ θετοὺς ποιεῖσθαι ("That having children is useless, and it is unclear whether they belong to those who think they are theirs, and one shouldn't even adopt"). The lemma alone speaks strongly to anxieties about fatherhood among the ancient Greeks, and the three fragments taken from Euripides included in this group further articulate this, in each case from the father's perspective.

The first source of anxiety is the character of the children, and as with taking a wife, fatherhood can be presented as a no-win situation. In his eponymous play, Oenomaus, the father of Hippodamia, seems to be expressing his concern over his daughter's potential marriage:[149]

> ἀμηχανῶ δ' ἔγωγε κοὐκ ἔχω μαθεῖν,
> εἴτ' οὖν ἄμεινόν ἐστι γίγνεσθαι τέκνα
> θνητοῖσιν εἴτ' ἄπαιδα καρποῦσθαι βίον.
> ὁρῶ γὰρ οἷς μὲν οὐκ ἔφυσαν, ἀθλίους,
> ὅσοισι δ' εἰσίν, οὐδὲν εὐτυχεστέρους·
> καὶ γὰρ κακοὶ γεγῶτες ἐχθίστη νόσος,
> κἂν αὖ γένωνται σώφρονες— κακὸν μέγα—
> λυποῦσι τὸν φύσαντα μὴ πάθωσί τι.

---

[148] The exception to this is Acrisius in 463, who must be reacting to his daughter's sexual freedom.
[149] The story of Oenomaus' condition for the hand of his daughter, winning a chariot race, is well-known from Pind. *Ol.* 1.

> I myself am uncertain and cannot learn for sure
> whether it is indeed better for mortals to get children,
> or to enjoy a childless life.
> For I see that those who have no children are miserable,
> while all those who have them are in no way more fortunate:
> if their children turn out bad, they are a most hateful affliction,
> and if on the other hand they are well behaved— a great distress, this—
> they make their father anxious that something may happen to them. (fr. 571 = Stob. 4.24.2.17)

The uncertainty of being a father (i.e. whether one ought to be a father or not) is even worse here than being a husband in the passage discussed above, since at least husbands have the option of escaping that anxiety through divorce (cf. 1057), while fatherhood is an irreversible state. The idea of fatherhood (or the lack thereof), according to Oenomaus, can be a source of concern to those who have no children to support them into their old age.

But what of those who are adoptive fathers rather than biological? This is a cause for major concern, since the children being raised within the *oikos* are not blood heirs.[150] In *Erechtheus*, the title character needs to sacrifice his own child in order to save Athens from invasion,[151] and it seems that there was some discussion over whether a child ought to be adopted to serve this purpose and prevent the sacrifice of one of Erechtheus' biological children.[152] Erechtheus rejects this plan when he claims that adopted children (θετοί) are only "pretences" (δοκήματα), especially in comparison to biological children (τὰ φύντα, fr. 359 = Stob. 4.24.2.28). This in fact would be "cheating" the gods. The same concern over what is natural also appears in *Melanippe Captive*, in regard to Melanippe's twin sons by Poseidon, who

---

[150] While adoption was rather common, and was especially useful in cases where there was no heir for an *oikos* (see Rubenstein 1993, ch. 4 for the primary reasons for adoption in Athens), adopted children did not have the same rights of inheritance as biological ones, who could not be disinherited in favour of their adopted siblings (MacDowell 1978: 100).

[151] This information comes from Lycurgus' speech *Against Leocrates* 98-101 (= test. ii), in which he uses Erechtheus' sacrifice as an example of the type of patriotism that Athenians should emulate.

[152] For the identity of Erechtheus' own children, and the question of whether he had sons, see Collard, Cropp, and Lee 1995: 151.

have been adopted by Metapontus; perhaps the speaker is his wife, who is protecting the interests

of her own sons with Metapontus.[153] Regardless of who is speaking, adoption is presented as an

aberration:

> ἴστω δ' ἄφρων ὢν ὅστις ἄτεκνος ὢν τὸ πρὶν
> παῖδας θυραίους εἰς δόμους ἐκτήσατο,
> τὴν μοῖραν εἰς τὸ μὴ χρεὼν παραστρέφων·
> ᾧ γὰρ θεοὶ διδῶσι μὴ φῦναι τέκνα,
> οὐ χρὴ μάχεσθαι πρὸς τὸ θεῖον, ἀλλ' ἐᾶν.
>
> A man who has been childless
> and then has adopted the children of others into his home,
> distorting his destined lot into what should not be,
> should realise he is a fool.
> A man who is destined by the gods to be childless
> should not fight their will but should let it be so. (fr. 491 = Stob. 4.24.2.26)

To adopt is to circumvent one's fate (μοῖρα). If this is indeed spoken by Metapontus' wife, by

depicting her stepsons as an aberration, she is by extension claiming protection for herself

through the biological connection to the children of the household.

The reaction of a second wife to her stepchildren is often fraught, at the least, and

Stobaeus chooses two quotes which fit comfortably into the well-established mythological and

literary trope of the *saeva noverca*.[154] The first, from *Aegeus*, is an obvious reference to Medea,

who tried to kill Theseus upon his return to Athens: πέφυκε γάρ πως παισὶ πολέμιον γυνὴ/

τοῖς πρόσθεν ἡ ζυγεῖσα δευτέρα πατρί ("A woman is somehow hostile towards the children

of a previous marriage when she is their father's second wife," fr. 4 = Stob. 4.22.7.157, trans.

adapted). This argument, located under the lemma ψόγος γυναικῶν, normalizes the attempted

crime of Medea, making it seem that this is a choice that any woman would make under the same

---

[153] She may have adopted the boys herself when she was initially unable to have children, as in Hyg. *Fab*. 186 (= test.iii).

[154] See Watson 1995, esp. ch. 1, for a full history of this type of myth.

circumstances.[155] This belief is also expressed elsewhere in Stobaeus' choice of fragments, such as Ino's statement in one of the Phrixus plays, where she says ὡς οὐδὲν ὑγιές φασι μητρυιὰς φρονεῖν/ νόθοισι παισίν, ὧν φυλάξομαι ψόγον ("They say that stepmothers have no good intentions towards another's children; I shall be on my guard against such people's blame," fr. 824 = Stob. 4.22.7.197, trans. adapted).[156]

Children are not always such sources of anxiety though, and Stobaeus, as is his habit, presents both sides of the issue. In the subsection περὶ νηπίων ("On infants", 4.24.4) and in the section ὁποιός τινας χρὴ εἶναι τοὺς πατέρας περὶ τὰ τέκνα, καὶ ὅτι φυσική τις ἀνάγκη ἀμφοτέρους εἰς διάθεσιν ἄγει ("What sort of man a father should be regarding children, and that a natural compulsion brings both into harmony", 4.26), he incorporates fragments which show the natural love children elicit from their parents. In her eponymous play, Danae fantasizes about having a son and its effects on her:[157]

> τάχ' ἂν πρὸς ἀγκάλαισι καὶ στέρνοις ἐμοῖς
> πίτνων ἀθύροι καὶ φιλημάτων ὄχλῳ
> ψυχὴν ἐμὴν κτήσαιτο· ταῦτα γὰρ βροτοῖς
> φίλτρον μέγιστον, αἱ ξυνουσίαι, πάτερ.
>
> Perhaps (he) would fall into and play in my arms and at my breast
> and win my heart with a host of kisses:
> for these things exert the biggest spell over mortals,
> their intimacies, Father. (fr. 323 = Stob. 4.24.4.53, trans. adapted)

It is not only mothers who are susceptible to children, but everyone, as they are considered a love charm (φίλτρον, the same term used by Danae) in *Alcmene* fr. 103 (= Stob. 4.26.6).

The other side of this relationship, the children's feelings toward their parents, is also treated in the Euripidean fragments of Stobaeus. In the section ὅτι χρὴ τοὺς γονεῖς τῆς καθηκούσης τιμῆς καταξιοῦσθαι παρὰ τῶν τέκνων, καὶ εἰ ἐν ἅπασιν αὐτοῖς πειστέον

---

[155] Euripides also has Melanippe comment on this type of hatred in *Melanippe Captive* (fr. 493).

[156] The irony in Ino's statement is obvious, as she plots to get rid of her stepchildren.

[157] This is possibly once she is pregnant after Zeus' visit.

("That it is necessary for parents to be thought worthy of proper esteem by their children, and whether there must be obedience amongst all of them", 4.25), the love of children for their mother is described as incomparable: οὐκ ἔστι μητρὸς οὐδὲν ἥδιον τέκνοις ("Nothing brings children more joy than their mother," *Erechtheus* fr. 358 = Stob. 4.25.4). But in keeping with his emphasis on a man's role, Stobaeus also includes this unattributed fragment, which aligns a son with his father at the expense of his mother:

> ἀλλ' ἴσθ', ἐμοὶ μὲν οὗτος οὐκ ἔσται νόμος,
> τὸ μὴ οὐ σὲ μῆτερ προσφιλῆ νέμειν ἀεὶ
> καὶ τοῦ δικαίου καὶ τόκων τῶν σῶν χάριν.
> στέργω δὲ τὸν φύσαντα τῶν πάντων βροτῶν
> μάλισθ'· ὁρίζω τοῦτο, καὶ σὺ μὴ φθόνει·
> κείνου γὰρ ἐξέβλαστον· οὐδ' ἂν εἷς ἀνὴρ
> γυναικὸς αὐδήσειεν, ἀλλὰ τοῦ πατρός.
>
> Know this, however: it will be my role always
> to hold you dear, Mother;
> it is what right requires, and a return for your giving me birth.
> Yet I cherish him who begot me beyond all mankind:
> this is what I have determined, and you are not to grudge it;
> for it was from him that I sprang, and no man
> would call himself a woman's son, but his father's. (inc. 1064 = Stob. 4.25.7)[158]

So while there is love for a mother, the most familial affection is due to the father. This also fits well with a patrilineal society in which a son (and therefore an heir) identifies with his father and his father's household, as the speaker makes clear in the last two lines.

If mothers and wives, two of the primary roles women occupy in tragedy (and in Greek society), are so open to censure in Stobaeus and receive only a smattering of praise, what about the entire gender of women? Since Stobaeus dedicates an entire subsection to blaming women (4.22.7), the picture is somewhat skewed in favour of the negative, but, as with his selections on wives, this also reflects the general case with tragedy and the broader society to which it

---

[158] Collard and Cropp suggest that this may fit in *Phoenix*, in which the title character shows his loyalty to his father over his mother (2008b: 60, n.1).

responds. Good women who are primary characters are outnumbered by bad ones onstage, and when they do appear, they often cease to be such good women over the course of the play.[159] As with my earlier discussion of wives in Euripides, I shall begin with a collection of the fragments on bad women and then look at the very few that praise women.

Because of subsection 4.22.7, there are many quotes on the evils of women. Unlike many of the other sections that censure, there is no positive counterpart to this subsection. Due to the sheer volume of this type of fragment, I am not able to examine each one at length, but rather I shall group them by content. Unsurprisingly, given Hippolytus' misogynistic bent and the commentary on Phaedra's behaviour in this play (see above), two quotes from *Hippolytus Veiled* appear here. The chorus compares women to a fire, in that they are difficult to fight (δυσμαχώτεροι, fr. 429 = Stob. 4.22.7.176),[160] and Theseus is warned never to trust a woman, even when she speaks the truth (fr. 440 = Stob. 4.22.7.180). This gets at the idea that women are persuasive, and their words are not trustworthy, which Althaea uses against Atalanta in *Meleager*: μισῶ γυναῖκα <πᾶσαν> ἐκ πασῶν δὲ σέ/ ἥτις πονηρὰ τἄργ' ἔχουσ' <εἶτ'>— εὖ λέγει (" I detest every woman– and you above all of them– who has done wicked deeds and then defends them with fine words," fr. 528 = Stob. 4.22.7.190).

---

[159] E.g. Hecuba in her eponymous play. Most of the women who would be characterized as "good" following the standards of Classical Athens are *parthenoi* (e.g. Ismene, Iphigeneia, and Polyxena). "Good" *gunai* (e.g. Helen in her eponymous play, who is intended to contrast with the more famous "bad"version) who remain so throughout the course of a play are very rare.

[160] This exact claim, that women are δυσμαχώτεροι, is made in fr. 544 (= Stob. 4.22.7.140) of *Oedipus*.

Women are also characterized as the most horrible evil of all, in a way that men are not anywhere in tragedy.[161] This occurs in *Phoenix* (fr. 808 = Stob. 4.22.7.191) and in one of the unattributed fragments, in which women are said to be worse than a stormy sea or river, the heat of fire, and poverty (fr. 1059 = Stob. 4.22.36, vv. 1-3). Later in the same fragment, this evil is described as beyond description: οὔτ᾽ ἂν γένοιτο γράμμα τοιοῦτον γραφῇ/ οὔτ᾽ ἂν λόγος δείξειεν ("There could be no such picture drawn, nor could speech describe it," lines 5-6). (Although Euripides has taken a fairly good stab at doing so!)

The results of such a negative view are equally drastic: all women are to be hated, as in fragment 498 (= Stob.4.22.7.146) from either of the Melanippe plays.[162] Because of this hatred directed toward women, men also ought to speak ill of all women, as in *Aeolus* fragment 36 (= Stob. 4.22.7.155). The onslaught of misogyny continues with Bellerophon in *Stheneboea* saying that there is no greater insult than to be called "utterly evil, and a woman!" (παγκακίστη καὶ γυνή, fr. 666 = Stob. 4.22.7.168).[163] Reading these *en masse*, as they have no attribution to specific speakers, Euripides' reputation for misogyny may seem to be well-earned.[164] But looking at them as quotes from speakers with specific motivations causes one to reconsider this by addressing the process of dramatic characterization.

---

[161]*Ino* fr. 401 (= Stob.4.22.7.182) comes closest to describing men in the terms in which women are usually described (i.e. utterly evil), but only does so in a periphrastic manner:

φεῦ,
ὅσῳ τὸ θῆλυ δυστυχέστερον γένος
πέφυκεν ἀνδρῶν· ἔν τε τοῖσι γὰρ καλοῖς
πολλῷ λέλειπται κἀπὶ τοῖς αἰσχροῖς πλέον.

Alas!
How much more unfortunate the female sex is by nature
than that of men: it is left far behind in good conduct,
and yet further in bad.

[162] The speaker's mother is the lone exception to this.
[163] Collard and Cropp suggest that this is directed at Stheneboea's nurse as in *Hipp.* 616-68 (2008b: 137, n. 1).
[164] Cf. the testimonia to this effect at Kannicht 2004: 99-101.

Even though Stobaeus does not provide a positive counterpoint for each negative fragment, there are some that take a more balanced approach. The following fragment from *Protesilaus* makes it clear that this is not the only manner in which to approach all women in Euripides' fragmentary plays:

> ὅστις δὲ πάσας συντιθεὶς ψέγει λόγῳ
> γυναῖκας ἑξῆς, σκαιός ἐστι κοὐ σοφός·
> πολλῶν γὰρ οὐσῶν τὴν μὲν εὑρήσεις κακήν,
> τὴν δ' ὥσπερ ἥδε λῆμ' ἔχουσαν εὐγενές.
>
> Anyone who puts all women together and blames them
> indiscriminately is foolish and not wise.
> There are many of them, and you will find one bad
> while another is of noble character, as this one is. (fr. 657 = Stob. 4.22.3.76)[165]

This passage serves as a reminder that perhaps the characters who utter such absolutist statements about an entire gender are also meant to be read as, if not foolish, then excessive in their opprobrium (cf. fr. 428 from *Hippolytus Veiled*). Because they are deprived of context and condensed in Stobaeus, these statements seem more excessive. Because they are not attached to a specific character or plot point that we can assess alongside these lines, they are harder for us to assess in terms of the strength of their content. That is, we do not have the lens of characterization to aid us in analyzing them.

Conclusion

What then can we take from Stobaeus' organization of his selection of Euripides' fragments? I suggest that his lemmata conveniently identify issues present in Euripides for us. We should not necessarily consider Stobaeus' choices representative of the lost plays, but rather select highlights among the many topics Euripides deals with that illustrate Stobaeus' own preconceived notions. Although the selection of quotations from a given play may not represent

---

[165] The final line may refer to Laodamia, who may or may not have committed suicide at this point.

its main theme, the quotes that Stobaeus has chosen allow us to see some of the concerns that Euripides dealt with in his fragmentary corpus, which in turn confirms patterns that have been identified in his extant works. Although we must always be aware of Stobaeus' programme of selecting advice for his son, Septimius, the issues he identifies that are related to gender are actually representative of those that are prevalent in the fragments as a whole. These include the qualities that a man ought to possess (most of the lemmata in Book 3), the problems associated with erotic desire (4.20), and the many anxieties related to marriage and children (4.22 and 4.24). Because of his interest in providing both sides to most issues, Stobaeus' didactic programme is not always evident, beyond an apparent wish that Septimius seek a middle path between extremes (which corresponds very well to the Classical Athenian mindset).

The fact that an entire subsection, one that is longer than the others in its section, can be devoted to the flaws of women (4.22.7) and contains many Euripidean quotations from both the fragmentary and extant plays indicates that the fragmentary plays too were a fertile hunting ground for this type of rhetoric, and that negotiating the perceived threats that women posed to men occupies a great deal of space in the fragments, as it does in Euripides' extant plays.[166] Even when women are portrayed somewhat positively, as in fragment 463, the threat of their misbehaving remains in the background. In both Euripides and Stobaeus' advice to his son, men must constantly and cautiously negotiate their relationships with women and therefore Stobaeus' choice of quotations reflects Classical Athenian concerns about gender (as identified in the first chapter). Marriage and children figure prominently, as does the role of desire. But in framing his collection as advice for his son, Stobaeus also causes us to look at how these ideas affect men as

---

[166] A survey of the fragmentary quotes on gender-related issues gives a tally of twenty-eight clearly misogynistic quotes and seven that clearly praise women. I have not included those that both praise and blame women.

well as women. His choices therefore draw us to consider masculinity in the tragic as well as the

Classsical Athenian context as much as we do femininity.

Chapter 3: The Contexts of Non-Stobaean Fragments of Euripides

In the previous chapter, I showed how even the minimal context provided by Stobaeus can shape a reading of the fragments through the process of recontextualization. In this chapter, I shall further explore this idea as I take up the contexts of the remaining fragments and the wide variety of sources in which they have survived.[167] Aside from Stobaeus, the remaining Euripidean fragments come from roughly one hundred nineteen authors, lexicographers, and anthologists,[168] which range in date from as early as Plato[169] to as late as the *Suda*, which dates to the 10th century CE.[170] While many of these contain only one or two fragments and none even approaches the massive amount from Stobaeus, three authors stand out for their significant contributions to the corpus of Euripides' fragments: Clement of Alexandria (forty-eight fragments), Plutarch (one hundred thirteen), and Athenaeus (thirty-seven).

The three authors listed above also represent the heaviest concentrations of Euripides' fragments that deal with gender. In this chapter, as I examine the plays which contain significant concentrations of non-Stobaean fragments, I shall also seek to answer the question of why these sources contain so many fragments on gender in comparison to our other sources for Euripides' fragmentary plays. Clement's selections from Euripides, with the exception of a single fragment in his *Protrepticus* (inc. 907), are all found in Στρώματα (most popularly known and so referred to henceforth as *Miscellanies*), a seven-book collection that presents a variety of

---

[167]Those found in Aristophanes will be discussed in chapter 6, while the papyri discoveries will be discussed in Appendix 2.

[168] Due to the nature of these sources, this is merely a rough approximation. In calculating this number, I counted those works falsely ascribed to individual authors separately, such as Pseudo-Plutarch's *On Homer*. Scholia on a single author, such as those on Homer or Pindar, were considered as coming from a single author, as were collections which were compiled over time by many hands, such as the *Suda*.

[169] Plato was born approximately thirty years before Euripides' death, making him a much younger contemporary of the playwright.

[170] For a full list of the sources of Euripidean fragments, see Kannicht 2004.

quotations from Greek authors in order to discuss Greek philosophy and theology from a Christian perspective. Those found in Plutarch come mainly from his Ἠθικά (*Moralia*), a group of writings on a wide variety of topics ranging from the worship of Egyptian deities to erotics, and written in a variety of styles.[171] Athenaeus' are from his Δειπνοσοφισταί (*Learned Banqueters*), his extensive assemblage of Greek culture framed as dinner conversation.

In other cases, individual sources or authors contain the key fragments for a specific play and offer insight into its reception, as in the case of Plato's *Gorgias* and Euripides' *Antiope* or Lycurgus' *Against Leocrates* and Euripides' *Erechtheus*. I shall therefore examine these two plays, several fragments of which are also found in the three authors above, in detail here. I shall begin with an examination of the patterns I have found in the fragments from the three authors with the highest concentrations of fragments from Euripides mentioned above, and then move on to the special cases of *Antiope* and *Erechtheus*, seeking to understand how the contexts which have preserved these fragments can aid in our understanding of their content.

Euripidean Fragments in Clement's *Miscellanies*:

As with Stobaeus, Clement has a very clear *modus operandi* in collecting quotations from Greek authors, that is, showing how they support his own theological perspective. Unlike Stobaeus, his interest lies in Christian theology, as a teacher of the subject in Alexandria in the second half of the second century CE. However, like Stobaeus, he very probably subtly adapted certain excerpted passages to suit his agenda (Mahat 1966: 200), which was often to show how pagan Greek authors could buttress a belief in Christ (Osborn 2005: 24).[172] He approaches his Greek material in a more aggressive manner than Stobaeus does, since he is often trying to prove

---

[171] Several are also found in the sections of *Moralia* attributed to Pseudo-Plutarch.

[172] Osborn also points out that Clement, whom he calls "the most Greek of the early Christian writers", was seeking the truth of these pagan texts in Hebrew scripture as well (2005: 25).

something about the Greek authors that does not apply to their work (i.e. their usefulness for supporting Christianity) and in doing so, seems to manipulate the original cultural context to a greater extent, whereas much of Stobaeus works comfortably within that cultural context.

Miscellanies is a collection of seven books which deal with a wide variety of topics (as the name suggests) ranging from faith and philosophy to a dismissal of paganism. Throughout, Clement includes excerpts from a variety of Classical and Hellenistic authors used to make a given point. Of forty-seven Euripidean fragments in *Miscellanies*, fourteen focus on gender. Each chapter of the *Miscellanies* is given a heading, and again, as with the lemmata of Stobaeus, several of the fragments on gender appear in a section that is focused on women. Thus chapter 20 of book 4 deals with good wives. Clement's overall theme here is that if a husband is sufficiently good, his wife will follow in his footsteps. Yet one of Clement's choices of supporting quotations reveals that he has ignored at least one glaring fact about the marriage it describes. Probably in the closing scene of *Oedipus*,[173] Jocasta is pledging her loyalty to her husband/son as they go into exile:[174]

> οὐδεμίαν ὤνησε κάλλος εἰς πόσιν ξυνάοραν
> ἀρετὴ δ' ὤνησε πολλάς· πᾶσα γὰρ κεδνὴ γυνή,
> ἥτις ἀνδρὶ συντέτηκε, σωφρονεῖν ἐπίσταται.
> πρῶτα μὲν γὰρ τοῦθ' ὑπάρχει· κἂν ἄμορφος ᾖ πόσις
> χρὴ δοκεῖν εὔμορφον εἶναι τῇ γε νοῦν κεκτημένῃ,
> οὐ γὰρ ὀφθαλμὸς τὸ <ταῦτα> κρῖνον ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ νοῦς.[175]
> εὖ λέγειν δ', ὅταν τι λέξῃ, χρὴ δοκεῖν, κἂν μὴ λέγῃ,
> κἀκπονεῖν ἂν τῷ χυνόντι πρὸς χάριν μέλλῃ πονεῖν.
> ἡδὺ δ', ἢν κακὸν πάθῃ τι, συσκυθρωπάζειν πόσει
> ἄλοχον ἐν κοινῷ τε λύπης ἡδονῆς τ' ἔχειν μέρος.
> σοὶ δ' ἔγωγε καὶ νοσοῦντι συννοσοῦσ' ἀνέξομαι
> καὶ κακῶν τῶν σῶν ξυνοίσω, κοὐδὲν ἔσται μοι πικρόν.

---

[173] Following Collard's reconstruction of this play (2005: 57-62).
[174] See my discussion of fr. 543 from this play in the previous chapter. Kannicht has reordered the fragment from Clement's presentation of it, which is as follows: 7-8, 9-10, 11-12, 1-3, and 4-6 (each separately).
[175] This line is defective, probably as a result of Clement's adaptation to suit his needs.

> Beauty has benefitted no wife with her husband,
> but virtue benefits many. Every good wife
> who has melted in union with her husband knows how to be sensible.
> For this is the first foundation: even if a husband is not handsome,
> to a wife with sense at all he ought to seem handsome;
> for it is not the eye that judges (these things), but the mind.
> She must think, whenever he says anything, that he speaks well, even if he does not;
> and work to achieve whatever she means to work at to please her partner.
> It is pleasing too, if he experiences some trouble, for a wife to put on a gloomy face with her husband,
> and to join in sharing his pain and pleasure.
> I will endure sharing your suffering along with you,
> and help to bear your troubles; and nothing will be too harsh for me (fr. 545a = *Misc.* 4.20.125-126, trans. adapted)

Clement has already mentioned the idea that women should be utterly faithful, even indentured, to their husbands in a chapter dealing specifically with women and slaves, when he quotes Jocasta as saying that a woman should be her husband's slave (fr. 545 = *Misc.* 4.8.63.3).[176] But when we return to Clement's inclusion of Jocasta's speech in a section on ideal wives, her devotion to her husband becomes more apparent. When Jocasta's speech is read in the context of the play, the circumstances of the marriage highlight this. Because the events in this play roughly followed those of the Sophoclean play (with the obvious exception of Jocasta's suicide, Collard and Cropp 2008b: 3), we can read Jocasta's speech here as a realistic depiction of what marriage to Oedipus is going to be like now that he has been blinded and they are heading into exile together. Obviously Clement has glossed over the incestuous circumstances of this marriage (which would place it well outside his conception of ideal marriage, cf. *Misc.* 3) in favour of foregrounding an image of a wife as help-meet, an idea which he mentions immediately after quoting lines 4-6. This demonstrates that Clement is essentially "cherry-picking" from Greek literature to find the *sententiae* that support his agenda best, with little to no regard for the original context, literary or cultural, of the quotes.

---

[176] Clement's version of this is likely corrupt, but we have a more trustworthy version of these lines in Stobaeus (4.22.85). Cf. ch. 2, p. 29.

In addition to describing the behaviour of the perfect wife, Clement also shares with Stobaeus an interest in the appropriate ages for marriage-partners, revealing that this was a concern that Euripides returned to several times. In this case though, the fragments that mention this topic are not found in a section dealing with marriage, but rather one in which Clement's concern is to prove that the Greeks plagiarized from one another (6.2). He lists quote after quote, each one sharing an idea with the previous one to demonstrate his point, and so it is here that we find three fragments that are concerned with age and marriage. The first is inc. 914 (= *Misc.* 6.2.8), which says that marrying an age-mate will leave a woman planning evil (βουλεύει κακά) since her husband will be seeking other bedmates. *Aeolus* 24 (=*Misc.* 6.2.8), which I discussed in the previous chapter, immediately follows this, suggesting that a young woman ought to marry an older man, since her youth will fade faster than that of a man her own age. *Phoenix* 807 (= *Misc.* 6.2.14, also mentioned in the previous chapter)[177] claims that an elderly husband is hateful to a young wife. Clearly, since these are not even from a chapter devoted to the topic of marriage, and repeated enough that Clement could choose these excerpts as an example of the author's so-called "plagiarism", this conflict was a distinctive theme in Euripides, and in the case of *Phoenix*, what set the plot in motion.[178]

Although not present in the same large number as they are in Stobaeus, the arrangement of the fragments on gender from Euripides found in Clement reveals much of the same information as that of the anthologist. Marriage seems to be what Clement focuses on in Euripides' fragmentary plays, which is unsurprising since he is known to have been very

---

[177] Clement falsely attributes this to Aristophanes.
[178] This play follows the classic "Potiphar's wife" storyline, from the story of Joseph and Potiphar's wife, who falsely accuses him of rape, found in Genesis 39.1-20, as outlined in Jouan 1990.

interested in marriage and its regulation.[179] By lifting excerpts out of their original context, Clement, like Stobaeus, allows us to observe trends that occur across several of Euripides' plays but due to his obvious agenda in selecting these excerpts, his choices cannot be taken as representative of all such themes.

Plutarch's *Moralia*

Unlike Stobaeus and Clement, the late first-century/early second-century philosopher and biographer Plutarch does not have one overarching goal in collecting quotations from Classical authors, other than engaging in the display of *paideia* that is a hallmark of the Second Sophistic.[180] He quotes from Euripides' fragmentary plays over one hundred thirteen times (many of these are quoted more than once),[181] mainly in his collection of philosophizing essays, dialogues, and speeches on varying topics, known as the *Moralia*. With one exception,[182] the fragments on gender are all found in the *Moralia*, scattered among works on topics ranging from Epicureanism to the oracle at Delphi. As in the cases of Stobaeus and Clement, Plutarch pulls quotations from their original contexts in order to illustrate his own ideas. Unlike the other two, however, Plutarch seems to have no one overarching didactic purpose, but rather a series of individual ones. Instead, he uses these quotations in service of these varied goals, but primarily as a means of displaying his familiarity with Classical Greek culture.

---

[179] He often modifies the word γάμος with σώφρων, which indicates his interest in a marriage that displays "well-ordered desires" (Osborn 2005: 237, n. 34).

[180] For a brief description of how *paideia* and the display thereof operates in the context of the Second Sophistic, see Goldhill 2001: 17. For an outline of the intellectual milieu of the Second Sophistic, see Whitmarsh 2005.

[181] E.g. *Bellerophon* fr. 309 = Plut. *Mor.* 529e and 807e.

[182] This is *Antigone* 161, itself found in a fragment of Plutarch quoted by Stobaeus.

Aside from fragments that are related to individual characters and their portrayals,[183] which I shall address in discussing those plays specifically, Plutarch often seems to have used the lost plays as sources for quotations on love and desire. Two of these are found, unsurprisingly, in Plutarch's Platonizing dialogue on love, *Amatorius*. Told from the perspective of Plutarch's son, it tells the story of a wealthy widow, Ismenodora, and how she falls in love with a younger man, Baccho, pursues, and eventually marries him. In the process of telling this story, *Amatorius* touches on female *eros*, especially as it pertains to marriage.[184] In a discussion of Eros and Aphrodite and their roles as deities, the first line of *Danae* 322 is included as an example of the insults given at times to Eros, but at others to his mother: ἔρως γὰρ ἀργὸν κἀπὶ τοιούτοις ἔφυ ("For desire is naturally idle and inclined to such things").[185] Collard and Cropp suggest that this fragment is about the gold discovered in Danae's chamber, in which her father, Acrisius, has imprisoned her and where Zeus has impregnated her in the form of a golden shower (2008a: 324, cf. Huys 1995: 110). When Plutarch highlights the insulting nature of this apparently neutral line, it becomes clear that this and the lines that follow it are used to reproach Danae (Huys suggests that the gold is assumed to have been used as a bribe to the guards, 1995:110). Acrisius has already complained about the difficulty of guarding women (implicitly suggesting his concern with preserving Danae's virginity) in fragment 320 (οὐκ ἔστιν οὔτε τεῖχος οὔτε χρήματα/ οὔτ' ἄλλο δυσφύλακτον οὐδὲν ὡς γυνή, "There is no wall, no wealth, nothing else so difficult to guard as a woman"), and upon his failure to do so, blames Danae for her pregnancy.

Later in the same dialogue, when discussing the power of *eros* and what it gives to mortals, Plutarch uses an excerpt from *Stheneboea*: ποιητὴν ἄρα/ Ἔρως διδάσκει, κἂν

---

[183] These are *Alexander* 62h = *Mor.* 379d, *Erechtheus* 360 vv. 7-10 = *Mor.* 604d, *Melanippe Wise* 481 v. 11 = *Mor.* 390c and 431a, and *Scyrians* 683a = *Mor.* 34d and 72e.

[184] For more on the Platonizing aspects of this dialogue, see Rist 2001.

[185] The first line and the remaining four lines are also found at Stob. 4.20.30. The latter expand on the idea introduced in the first line, suggesting that the wealthy are more likely to fall in love due to idleness.

ἄμουσος ἦ τὸ πρίν ("After all, Love teaches a poet, even if he's previously lacking in skill," fr. 663). He also quotes the same lines in *On the Pythian Oracle* (405e), where he claims they mean that *eros* can only stimulate a pre-existing talent, and again in *Table-Talk* (622c), where he uses them as the title of a discussion that concludes that *eros* causes the lover to try many things.[186] Another example of the Potiphar's wife plot-type (cf. n. 56), *Stheneboea* tells the story of the title character's failed seduction of Bellerophon, who has come to be purified after committing murder.[187] When she fails, she accuses him of rape to her husband, Proetus, who plots to have Bellerophon killed.[188] Bellerophon himself recounts much of this in the opening lines of the play (fr. 661). The "poet" referred to in this quote must therefore be Stheneboea herself, who has pursued the young man "with words and trickery" (λόγοισι…καὶ δόλῳ, fr. 661, v.8).

This fragment's context in *Amatorius*, with its story of Ismenodora and her younger beloved, adds a sinister shade to both Euripides' play and Plutarch's dialogue, pathologizing both Stheneboea and Ismenodora through connection with one another.[189] That the quote from fragment 663 appears multiple times as an example of what *eros* inspires in lovers (female versions of *erastai* in the case of *Amatorius*) suggests that Euripides used it to characterize Stheneboea negatively. Plutarch confirms the uncontrollable nature of *eros*' effects on her by citing a description of the strength of her desire in *How to Tell a Flatterer from a Friend*: νουθετούμενος δ' ἔρως / μᾶλλον πιέζει ("When desire is reproved, it becomes more pressing," fr. 665 = *Mor.* 71a). He equates this type of desire with an infectious disease (ἡ κακία ἀναπιμπλαμένη, 71b).

---

[186] Cf. Plat. *Symp*. 196e, which quotes the end of this fragment.

[187] Homer tells the same story at *Il*. 6.155-66.

[188] The similarity of this storyline to the Hippolytus plays is noted by Aristophanes when he has Aeschylus label both Stheneboea and Phaedra "whores" (πόρναι) at *Frogs* 1043. Jouan suggests that *Stheneboea* was Euripides' first play to explore this type of plot (1990: 190-1).

[189] The reaction of the speakers of this dialogue to Ismenodora's pursuit of Baccho is quite negative.

Indeed both Plutarch and Euripides seem to find love problematic in excess, but equally when it is absent, and both struggle with the idea of self-control. In *Philosophers Ought to Converse with Men in Power*, Plutarch uses a fragment from *Hippolytus Veiled* to illustrate the idea of moderation in one's personal relationships: οἱ γὰρ Κύπριν φεύγοντες ἀνθρώπων ἄγαν/ νοσοῦσ᾽ ὁμοίως τοῖς ἄγαν θηρωμένοις ("Those of mankind who flee too much from Cypris are just as sick as those who hunt after her too much," fr. 428 = *Mor*. 778b).[190] This is an obvious reference to both Hippolytus' and Phaedra's immoderate approaches to *eros*, and resembles the fragments on Stheneboea's love for Bellerophon discussed above in its pathologizing of *eros*. Aside from the social boundaries these desires cross, it is excess which Plutarch's selections from Euripides bring to the foreground. Like Euripides, Plutarch in *Amatorius* is deeply concerned with female *eros* and its consequences.

Athenaeus' *Learned Banqueters*

In Athenaeus' late second-century CE collection, *Learned Banqueters*, Euripides' concern with *eros* is once again foregrounded. Like that of Plutarch, Athenaeus' work is a product of the Second Sophistic and is concerned mainly with the display of *paideia*. This is perhaps the *ne plus ultra* of this type of collection, both in terms of its scope and its sheer size (fifteen volumes in its current condition plus an epitome).[191] It is structured as an account of a series of banquets hosted by the wealthy Larensius, at which the guests hold forth on a prodigious variety of topics, from philology to cuisine. It follows the tradition of sympotic literature established by Plato and

---

[190] I discuss this in the previous chapter as well, since Stobaeus also uses this quote.
[191] McClure puts the original number of volumes at fifteen, based on the single manuscript of Athenaeus, the Marcianus Codex (2003: 33). Several of the books are incomplete.

Xenophon in the fourth century B.C.E.,[192] and in such a setting, it is only appropriate that the guests broach the topic of *eros*.[193]

I shall begin my discussion of Athenaeus by looking at the fragments quoted in book 13, which deals with *eros* in several forms, but especially as it pertains to women.[194] As is perfectly in keeping with the sympotic genre, at the beginning of this book, the philosophers in attendance take turns reciting quotations about love and beauty,[195] including Perseus' statement from *Andromeda*:

> σὺ δ' ὦ θεῶν τύραννε κἀνθρώπων Ἔρως,
> ἢ μὴ δίδασκε τὰ καλὰ θαίνεσθαι καλά,
> ἢ τοῖς ἐρῶσιν ὧν σὺ δημιουργὸς εἶ
> μοχθοῦσι μόχθους εὐτυχῶς συνεκπόνει.
> καὶ ταῦτα μὲν δρῶν τίμιος θνητοῖς ἔσῃ,
> μὴ δρῶν δ' ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ διδάσκεσθαι φιλεῖν
> ἀφαιρεθήσῃ χάριτας αἷς τιμῶσί σε.

> And you, Eros, tyrant over gods and mortals–
> either don't teach us to see beauty in what is beautiful,
> or help those who are in love to succeed in their efforts
> as they suffer the toils that you yourself have crafted.
> If you do this, you will be honoured by mortals,
> but if you do not, by learning to love as their aim
> they will deprive you of the thanks with which they honour you. (fr. 136 = Ath. 13.561b, trans. adapted)[196]

Perseus' speech is in keeping with a quote from Euripides from one of the other philosophers in attendance at the dinner, which addresses the painful aspects of love, hinted at by Perseus

---

[192] Romeri suggests that the most coherent and fruitful reading of it comes from viewing it as part of this tradition (2000: 256-7). It is also influenced by the genre of *deipna*, comic retellings of dinner parties featuring stock characters familiar from New Comedy, such as slaves, cooks, and parasites (McClure 2005: 34). There are no other extant *deipna*.

[193] As in both *Symposia* and Plutarch's *Amatorius*, Aphrodite, Eros, and *eros* are all used to refer to various aspects of erotic desire.

[194] Book 13 is most famous for its catalogue of famous courtesans from Hellenistic Athens.

[195] Cf. Plat. *Symp.* After the literary symposia of Plato and Xenophon, this becomes one of the tropes of the genre.

[196] Perseus delivers this speech after deciding to rescue Andromeda just as he sets out to slay the Gorgon (Collard and Cropp 2008a: 126).

(συνεκπόνει, v.4). Similar language is used to describe the effects of love in line 8, after the

philosopher has begun by describing the pleasure of love:

> τοῖς δ' ἀτελέστοις
> τῶν τοῦδε πόνων μήτε συνείην
> χωρίς τ' ἀγρίων ναίοιμι τρόπων.
> τὸ δ' ἐρᾶν προλέγω τοῖσι νέοισιν
> μήποτε φεύγειν,
> χρῆσθαι δ' ὀρθῶς, ὅταν ἔλθῃ.
>
> May I not be among those
> uninitiated in his toils,
> and may I also keep clear of his savage ways!
> To the young I say,
> never flee the experience of love,
> but use it properly when it comes. (inc. fr. 895, vv. 6-11 = Ath. 13.561a)

Although this fragment is unassigned, we can nevertheless see a reiteration of the concerns over

the proper use of love (χρῆσθαι δ' ὀρθῶς, v. 11) seen in the fragments from Plutarch (cf. frs.

428 and 665 above).

At the same time, running through the quotes from both Athenaeus and Plutarch is the

idea that love is an externally imposed force, with the god holding the ultimate power, and the

individual, as in the case of Stheneboea, suffering under Eros' or Aphrodite's hand. Toward the

end of Book 13, talk at Athenaeus' table returns to the unconquerable power of love, and after a

quotation from Aphrodite's opening speech on her own powers in the extant *Hippolytus* (3-6), an

excerpt from *Auge* confirms one of the important roles of *eros* in Euripides:

> Ἔρωτα δ' ὅστις μὴ θεὸν κρίνει μέγαν
> ἢ σκαιός ἐστις ἢ καλῶν ἄπειρος ὢν
> οὐκ οἶδε τὸν μέγιστον ἀνθρώποις θεόν.

> Anyone who does not count Love a great god
> is either obtuse or, lacking experience in his benefits,
> is unacquainted with human beings' greatest god. (fr. 269 = Ath. 13.600d, trans. adapted)[197]

Although there is little evidence of how these lines would have fit into *Auge*, their value to this discussion is in their confirmation of *eros* as an important force in humans' lives. The fact that Euripides reiterates this in play after play suggests that when one is reading his characters who are motivated by desire, whether the treacherous Stheneboea or the heroic Perseus, the responsibility for their actions cannot always be securely assigned. I am not suggesting that we read them as mere puppets of the gods or of love, but that the lover in Euripides' plays is, in the words of Zeitlin, "both active and passive at the same time" (1999: 55). In typical Euripidean fashion, there is more to his erotic plots than initially meets the eye and a single character can embody two opposing ideas simultaneously.

Individual Sources on Individual Plays

Having examined the patterns in three of our most important sources of Euripides' fragments, I shall now take up two individual sources which are indispensable for the interpretation of single plays. As opposed to observing general patterns found in a variety of fragments, which are then applicable to specific plays or characters, I shall examine how one source can guide the interpretation of one play.

---

[197] In his quotation of these lines, Stobaeus includes an extra line between vv. 1 and 2 (4.20.11). It reads καὶ τῶν ἁπάντων δαιμόνων ὑπέρτατον ("and highest of all the divine powers"), which does not fundamentally alter the meaning of the other three lines.

Antiope

In the previous chapter, I mentioned the debate on participation in society between the sons of Antiope by Zeus, Zethus and Amphion, which constitutes a majority of the fragments that remain of *Antiope*. I showed how in a Stobaean fragment from this play the inactive body of Amphion (the intellectual and musical brother) was characterized by Zethus as inherently feminine, and on the other hand, how Amphion defended himself with a counterclaim that strength of the mind is as masculine as strength of the body. When we turn to the rest of the fragments of this debate, and the five from Plato's *Gorgias* in particular, we see that the brothers' debate pivots upon the idea of how a man ought to participate in society and how that participation constitutes much of his identity as a man.

Since *Gorgias* is itself concerned with defining rhetoric and its relationship to philosophy, it seems only fitting as a source for fragments which defend rhetoric and the use of the intellect as a means of defining oneself within the *polis*. In this dialogue, Socrates takes on the sophist Gorgias, who famously used rhetoric to lucrative ends, to prove that rhetoric on its own (that is, without philosophy) is mere persuasion. Callicles, Socrates' opponent in Plato's debate, in fact aligns Socrates with Amphion, the intellectual brother, and therefore aligns music with philosophy (485e), and Plato's dialogue follows the structure of the tragedy, complete with its own type of *deus ex machina* at the end (in the form of Socrates' myth; see Nightingale 1992: 136). This discomfort with rhetoric and its place in Athenian society bleeds into tragedy in debates such as this one from *Antiope*;[198] there is also evidence that Athenians viewed the type of rhetoric employed in tragedy as specific to the genre and rather grandiose when compared to other forms of persuasive expression such as speeches in the law courts (cf. Goldhill 1997:

---

[198] This is not an uncommon reaction to the practice of rhetoric and especially sophistry (cf. Ar. *Clouds* 112-115). A speaker who is likely Antiope voices a similar concern with rhetoric in fr. 206.

127).[199] Euripides in particular has many of his characters use (and abuse) this skill.[200] As reconstructed by Collard,[201] the debate between the brothers follows a prologue by the herdsman who raised Zethus and Amphion (frs. 179, 181, and 182), and Amphion's entrance while playing the lyre (frs. 182a, 190-2) (Collard, Cropp, and Gibert 1995: 262-4).

The debate is initially concerned with music, and Zethus' view of it as fundamentally idle, and therefore dangerous: κακῶνκατάρχεις τήνδε μοῦσαν εἰσάγων/ ἀργόν, φίλοινον, χρημάτων ἀτημελῆ ("You start the trouble by introducing music here: it's idle, it loves wine, it neglects affairs," fr. 183).[202] In the following fragment, Zethus introduces what will grow to be the meat of his argument, that being a man means actively participating in society (this is what he means by dedicating oneself where one is best):

> ἐν τούτῳ <γέ τοι>
> λαμπρός θ' ἕκαστος κἀπὶ τοῦτ' ἐπείγεται,
> νέμων τὸ πλεῖστον ἡμέρας τούτῳ μέρος,
> ἵν' αὐτὸς αὑτοῦ τυγχάνει βέλτιστος ὤν.

> It's in this (I tell you)
> that each man is distinguished, and for this that he is eager,
> giving the most part of his day to this—
> where he himself is actually at his best. (fr. 184)[203]

This is then confirmed in fragment 185:

---

[199] Goldhill also points out how Euripides in particular adopts language that causes his speeches to echo those of the rhetors (1997: 134).

[200] For a list of characters who use rhetoric in especially manipulative ways, see Scodel 2010: 64-5.

[201] See Collard, Cropp, and Gibert for a history of the various reconstructions of this play (1995: 260). In both Collard's commentary on this play and in his Loeb edition with Cropp (Collard and Cropp 2008a), he has reordered Nauck's numbering, which is preserved by Kannicht.

[202] This fragment was reconstructed by Wilamowitz (1935: 200). Both lines are paraphrased in Dio Chrysostom's speech *On Trust* (*Orationes* 73.10), while the first appears in a slightly altered form in both Athenaeus (14.616c) and Plutarch (*Mor.* 634e). Sextus Empiricus slightly alters the second line (*Against the Experts* 6.27).

[203] This fragment comes from *Gorgias* 484d-e (vv. 1 and 2 are paraphrased), while vv. 2-4 appear in Arist. *Rh.* 1371b31, and [Arist.] *Pr.* 917a13. Vv. 3-4 are found in Plat. *Alc. II* 146a and Plut. *Mor.* 514a. V. 4 appears in Plut. *Mor.* 622a, 630b, and 43b.

(ἀμελεῖς ὧν δεῖ σε ἐπιμελεῖσθαι·)
ψυχῆς φύσιν <γὰρ> ὧδε γενναίαν <λαχὼν>
γυναικομίμῳ διαπρέπεις μορφώματι·
κοὔτ' ἂν δίκης βουλαῖσι προσθεῖ' ἂν λόγον
οὔτ' εἰκὸς ἂν καὶ πιθανὸν <οὐδὲν> ἂν λάκοις
...................κοὔτ' ἂν ἀσπίδος κύτει
<καλῶς> ὁμιλήσει<α>ς οὔτ' ἄλλων ὕπερ
νεανικὸν βούλυεμα βουλεύσαιό <τι>.

(You neglect things which should be your concern;)
(for) though naturally (endowed) with a noble spirit
you stand out with an appearance imitating a woman's!
You'd neither contribute a word to deliberations about justice
nor voice anything likely or persuasive…
neither would you keep (bravely) close to a shield's hollow
nor offer (any) forceful counsel on others' behalf.[204]

Not only does he accuse Amphion of being inactive but, as in the Stobaean fragment from Amphion's response (fr. 199), not participating in society (in a very Athenian manner with participation in politics, war, and the legal courts) is equated with womanliness. Following Zethus' line of reasoning, the means by which one proves one's manliness is by political and military action. But when we turn to the context of these two fragments, a more nuanced image of Zethus' argument, and the conception of masculinity Euripides puts forward in this play, emerges.

It is not merely that Zethus is automatically the masculine brother because of his emphasis on participation in the *polis* or that Amphion is feminized by his intellectual bent. In *Gorgias*, the speaker who refers to these parts of *Antiope* is Callicles, who argues against Socrates' behaviour and therefore against philosophy itself, basically placing himself in Zethus' position (see above). He uses fragment 184 (as do Aristotle and Plutarch) to demonstrate that each man desires to pursue those activities to which he is naturally suited, and goes on to argue

---

[204] Di Benedetto suggests a different reconstruction of this fragment (2004: 120), which nevertheless retains the same basic ideas about proper masculine activity as Kannicht's version.

that pursuing such activities (in the case of Socrates, philosophy) to excess leads to neglect of one's duties as a citizen (484d-e). Callicles views philosophy as something acceptable for young boys, but utterly inappropriate for a grown man, and Socrates' indulgence in it makes him slavish (485b). His reproach (fr. 185) confirms this— overly intellectual pursuits rank a man not only among slaves, but among women (v. 3).[205] Yet both Zethus and Callicles consider the practice of rhetoric a fundamental part of being a man, alongside participating in the legal system and the military.[206] Even the phrasing of this reference, using the word εἰκός, a term specific to contemporary rhetorical practices,[207] highlights this idea. Rhetoric is therefore identified as a component of masculine action by Zethus. Zethus' words then reflect the necessity for rhetoric in democratic Athens.

The assault on music (by Zethus) and philosophy (by Callicles) continues in the subsequent fragments. These τέχναι are degrading to what is suitable for a man (εὐφυής): καὶ πῶς σοφὸν τοῦτ᾽ ἐστίν, ἥτις εὐφυᾶ/ λαβοῦσα τέχνη φῶτ᾽ ἔθηκε χείρονα; ("And how is this wise— an art that takes a naturally robust man and makes him inferior?" fr. 186 = *Gorg.* 486b). Music and philosophy also directly oppose noble physical labour (πόνος):[208]

> ἀλλ᾽ ἐμοὶ πιθοῦ·
> παῦσαι ματάζων καὶ πόνων εὐμουσίαν
> ἄσκει· τοιαῦτ᾽ ἄειδε καὶ δόξεις φρονεῖν,
> σκάπτων, ἀρῶν γῆν, ποιμνίοις ἐπιστατῶν,
> ἄλλοις τὰ κομψὰ ταῦτ᾽ ἀφεὶς σοφίσματα,
> ἐξ ὧν κενοῖσιν ἐγκατοικήσεις δόμοις.

---

[205] In his commentary on *Gorgias*, Olympiodorus comments that while Euripides said "womanly", Callicles says "childish" (26.21). Jackson, Lycos, and Tarrant point out that it is unknown whether Olympiodorus was working from Euripides' words themselves (1998: 193).

[206] In this respect, Callicles confirms Socrates' distinction between rhetoric and philosophy.

[207] Cf. Collard, Cropp and Lee 1995: 73 on *Cretans* fr. 472e.

[208] See Johnstone 1994: 220-222 on πόνος as definitive of the Athenian citizen male, particularly in light of Xenophon's use of the term.

> No, let me persuade you!
> Cease this idle folly, and practice the fine music of hard work!
> Make this your song, and you will seem sensible,
> digging, ploughing the land, watching over flocks,
> leaving to others these pretty arts of yours,
> which will have you living in a bare home. (fr. 188 = *Gorg*. 486c paraphrased, trans. adapted)

So in Zethus' and Callicles' speeches, rhetoric is aligned with the physical labour of a farmer or a herdsman.

Yet, as I showed in my discussion of Amphion's response to Zethus in fragment 199, good judgement, and by extension intellectualism, can also be employed in political matters, and therefore is just as much a constituent part of masculinity as physical action (cf. *Il*. 9.443). Indeed, it is its own type of political action, as Amphion claims:

> γνώμαις γὰρ ἀνδρὸς εὖ μὲν οἰκοῦνται πόλεις,
> εὖ δ' οἶκος, εἴς τ' αὖ πόλεμον ἰσχύει μέγα·
> σοφὸν γὰρ ἓν βούλευμα τὰς πολλὰς χέρας
> νικᾷ, σὺν ὄχλῳ δ' ἀμαθία πλεῖστον κακόν.

> Cities are well managed by a man's judgements,
> and his house well, and he is a great resource in war;
> for one wise counsel defeats many hands,
> and ignorance partnered with a mob is the greatest evil. (fr. 200, trans. adapted)[209]

Amphion asserts that good judgement (γνῶμαι and βούλευμα) can actually defeat physical action ("many hands"), and in doing so places good judgement on equal, if not higher, ground with physical action. It is also worth noting that Amphion provides specific examples of intellectual activity (managing the *polis* and *oikos*, counselling during times of war); as in the Platonic source of these quotes, not all intellectual activities are to be valued equally.

Amphion's responses to his brother show then that Euripides offers two models of citizen participation in the *polis* (cf. Gibert 2009: 25), and therefore two potential models of masculinity.

---

[209] This fragment comes from Stobaeus (4.13.3) and Orion's *Appendix Euripidea* (18a-b).

As I discussed in the previous chapter, if participation in the *polis* is what makes a man (and Callicles' comments about the philosopher's withdrawal from society making him childlike, slavish, and womanish agree with this), then both Zethus and Amphion represent masculinity, if in different ways. Rhetoric remains troublesome though, and therefore a suspect aspect of masculinity in *Antiope,* as shown in the chorus' interjection in fragment 189: ἐκ παντὸς ἄν τις πράγματος δισσῶν λόγων/ ἀγῶνα θεῖτ' ἄν, εἰ λέγειν εἴη σοφός ("A man could make a contest between two arguments from any matter, if he were a clever speaker"). The brothers' argument emphasizes then how a man's participation in the *polis* must be constant, and how this is done primarily through language. Viewing the debate in *Antiope* through the lens of Plato's *Gorgias*, with its concern about rhetoric and its place in society, sharpens our focus on Euripides' presentation of how language and intellect shape manhood while highlighting the ideology applied to that use of language. This emphasis on language and its influential role in defining masculinity confirm that Euripides' characters make no claims here for a monolithic version thereof.[210] While not all characters' views can be considered of equal worth in the context of the plays themselves, in the case of Amphion and Zethus in *Antiope*, Hermes' instructions to the twins at the end of play (fr. 223), which offer them equal opportunities to build the walls of Thebes, Zethus using his physical strength and Amphion his skill with the lyre, suggests that Euripides assigns an equal value to both brothers' views.

Erechtheus

As with *Antiope*, a single source has significant influence on our knowledge of *Erechtheus*. In this case though, it is the combination of a testimonium and a fragment from a speech by the

---

[210] Cf. Buxton who states that the effect of a Euripidean play is not the privileging of one view over another, but the "complex impact of all the interlocking persuasions, arguments, and cases," (1982: 150).

fourth-century anti-Macedonian orator Lycurgus, both of which shape our understanding of the play. Like the Platonic fragments of *Antiope*, this key fragment from Lycurgus explores political activity as it relates to gender, but here with a unique emphasis on how girls and women can serve their society and in doing so become models of patriotism appropriate for fourth-century Athenians facing the Macedonian threat.[211] Since the play is set at Athens, on the Acropolis itself (cf. fr. 370, 3-4), and deals with a northern invader, it is an ideal choice for Lycurgus' rhetorical point.[212] As with *Gorgias*, an examination of the play using Lycurgus' speech allows us to isolate an important theme.

The play deals with the invasion of Athens by Eumolpus, depicted here not in the traditional manner as an Eleusinian, but as a Thracian, who intends to bring the city under the control of his father, Poseidon.[213] Erechtheus, the autochthonic hero of Athens,[214] consults the oracle at Delphi and is told to sacrifice his daughter before the armies meet in battle in order to ensure victory and save his city (test.ii = Lycurgus, *Against Leocrates* 98-9). Lycurgus tells us that Erechtheus in fact does this and the Thracians are defeated (99), although no report of this from the play itself survives.[215] The emotional crux of the play is the decision by a seemingly reluctant Erechtheus to go through with the sacrifice at the urging of his wife, Praxitheia.

---

[211] Lycurgus delivered this speech in 330, accusing Leocrates of betraying Athens after the battle of Chaeronea in 338.

[212] Cropp and Fick put the play between 421 and 410 on metrical grounds (1985: 70), and its quotations in Ar. *Lys*. and *Thesm*. (411) confirm this *terminus ante quem*, making it a play likely responding to the Peloponnesian War. Wilkins has identified six Euripidean plays which treat the theme of self-sacrifice written during the Peloponnesian War: *Phrixus B*, *Hecuba*, *Phoenician Women*, *Iphigeneia at Aulis*, *Heracleidae*, and *Erechtheus* (1990: 177). He also identifies the ritual steps that each of these plays follow, including an original crisis, an oracle, and the victim's consent (1990: 182).

[213] On Eumolpus the Eleusinian, see Thuc. 2.15.1. If Eumolpus had won, he would have reversed the famous contest between Poseidon and Athena over patronage of Athens.

[214] Cf. *Il*. 2.546-9. For the role of autochthony in Athens and Erechtheus' place in it, see Loraux 1993, ch. 1.

[215] Lines 68-70 of fr. 370, a lengthy papyrus fragment (P. Sorbonne 2328) indicate that Erechtheus' daughter has been sacrificed, as her sisters have also committed suicide as part of what seems to be a pact

Because Lycurgus preserved her speech at length in *Against Leocrates* 100, we are able

to see in detail how Praxitheia presents herself to Erechtheus,[216] as a participant in and saviour of

the *polis* via her children, and how she equates the sacrificed girl[217] with sons who would go into

battle:[218]

> τὰς χάριτας ὅστις εὐγενῶς χαρίζεται,
> ἥδιον ἐν βροτοῖσιν· οἱ δὲ δρῶσι μέν,
> χρόνῳ δὲ δρῶσι, δυσγενέστερον <τόδε>.
> ἐγὼ δὲ δώσω παῖδα τὴν ἐμὴν κτανεῖν...
> ἔπειτα τέκνα τοῦδ᾽ ἕκατι τίκτομεν,
> ὡς θεῶν τε βωμοὺς πατρίδα τε ῥυώμεθα.
> πόλεως δ᾽ ἁπάσης τοὔνομ᾽ ἕν, πολλοὶ δέ νιν
> ναίουσι· τούτους πῶς διαφθεῖραί με χρή,
> ἐξὸν προπάντων μίαν ὕπερ δοῦναι θανεῖν;

> When someone gives favours generously,
> people find it more pleasing— but to act
> yet take one's time is considered ill-bred.
> I for my part shall offer my daughter to be killed…
> Next, we bear our children for this reason,
> to protect the gods' altars and our homeland.
> The city as a whole has a single name, but many
> inhabit it: Why should I destroy them
> when I can give one child to die for all? (fr. 360, 1-4, 14-18)

At first, she offers both herself and the child to be sacrificed as saviours of the city, using the

one-for-all argument common in the sacrifice of young women in Euripides.[219] Next, Praxitheia

compares her daughters to the sons of other families who are sent out to war:

---

between the three girls. This is confirmed in Apollod. 3.15.4. Fr. 357 refers to a "three-maiden yoke"
(ζεῦγος τριπάρθενον), which must mean Erechtheus' three daughters.

[216] On Erechtheus as the audience of this speech, see Kamerbeek 1991:114.

[217] Whether the sacrificed daughter is the youngest (as in Apollod. 3.15.4) is unknown. For more on her
name, which also remains uncertain, see Cropp in Collard, Cropp, and Lee 1995: 150.

[218] Due to the length of this fragment, I have omitted those sections of Praxitheia's speech which are not
immediately applicable to this argument.

[219] This is found at *Hercleidae* 579-8-0 and *IA* 1390.

εἰ δ' ἦν ἐν οἴκοις ἀντὶ θηλειῶν στάχυς
ἄρσην, πόλιν δὲ πολεμία κατεῖχε φλόξ,
οὐκ ἄν νιν ἐξέπεμπον εἰς μάχην δορός,
θάνατον προταρβοῦσ'; ἀλλ' ἔμοιγ' εἴη τέκνα   25
<ἃ> καὶ μάχοιτο καὶ μετ' ἀνδράσιν πρέποι,
μὴ σχήματ' ἄλλως ἐν πόλει πεφυκότα.
τὰ μητέρων δὲ δάκρυ' ὅταν πέμπῃ τέκνα,
πολλοὺς ἐθήλυν' εἰς μάχην ὁρμωμένους.
μισῶ γυναῖκας αἵτινες πρὸ τοῦ καλοῦ   30
ζῆν παῖδας εἵλοντ' ἢ παρήνεσαν κακά.
καὶ μὴν θανόντες γ' ἐν μάχῃ πολλῶν μέτα
τύμβον τε κοινὸν ἔλαχον εὔκλειάν τ' ἴσην·
τιμῆ δὲ παιδὶ στέφανος εἷς μιᾷ μόνῃ
πόλεως θανούσῃ τῆσδ' ὕπερ δοθήσεται,   35
καὶ τὴν τεκοῦσαν καὶ σὲ δύο θ' ὁμοσπόρω
σώσει· τί τούτων οὐχὶ δέξασθαι καλόν;

If our house had males instead of females,
and the flame of war was besetting our city,
would I be refusing to send them out to battle
for fear of their deaths? No, give me sons   25
(who) would fight and stand out amongst the men,
not mere figures raised uselessly in the city.
When mothers' tears accompany their children,
they soften many as they set off to battle.
I detest women who choose life for their sons   30
ahead of honour, or encourage them to cowardice.
Indeed sons who die in battle with many others
get a communal tomb and glory equally shared—
but my daughter, when she dies for the city
will be given a single crown for herself alone,   35
and will save her mother, and you, and her two sisters:
which of these things is not a fine reward? (22-37)

Because she is without sons, and cannot send her daughters to the front lines of battle, she will

accomplish the equivalent by giving up a daughter through sacrifice. After all, the usual model of

self-sacrifice on behalf of the city is the hoplite in battle (Wilkins 1990: 179). This model is the

best means of understanding these types of deaths; if, as Wilkins shows, the victim must be

willing (cf. n. 212), this is a glorious death on behalf of the nation, just like a hoplite's (Loraux

1987: 46). But Praxitheia makes the distinction between how her daughter will serve Athens and

how the sons she does not have would: her daughter will not be commemorated collectively with comrades like a son who has died in battle but rather individually.[220] She then reiterates twice more that she will give up her daughter for the good of all (38-41 and 50-2). Lycurgus in fact lauds this act on her part, saying that if even a woman can show such bravery on behalf of her country, men ought to be unsurpassed in their loyalty to Athens (101).

But why does the decision to give up a child fall to Praxitheia, and not to her husband, Erechtheus, as the child's *kurios*? In her speech, she insults mothers who reluctantly send their sons into battle (28-31). As a mother, she ought to do this and understands the reasons why this must happen. This does not necessarily grant all mothers the authority to sacrifice their children on behalf of the *polis*. But as Cropp points out, her willingness gives Erechtheus the opportunity to be seen to be unsure about the sacrifice: "The crucial decision may be centered on Praxitheia because renunciation of personal and family attachments in favour of the community's survival is best epitomised in the mother…; her acceptance legitimises the sacrifice while also allowing the king a seemly reluctance" (Collard, Cropp, and Lee 1995: 154-5). As a wife, Praxitheia has already left behind her natal family in order to become a wife and mother, which benefits the *polis*, and so sacrificing her daughter is just an extension of this type of action. Giving up one's personal happiness on behalf of the community at large is a theme seen again and again when it comes to the mothers and widows of those who die for their *polis*[221] and Praxitheia herself says, "I love my children, but I love my fatherland more" (φιλῶ τέκν᾽, ἀλλὰ πατρίδ᾽ ἐμὴν μᾶλλον φιλῶ, fr. 360a, trans. adapted).[222]

---

[220] Cf. Pericles' funeral oration at Thuc. 2.35. Athena's speech in fr. 370 will prove this prediction incorrect (see below).

[221] Pericles again at Thuc. 2.45.

[222] This line is quoted at Plut. *Mor.* 809d, in regard to the good treatment of one's enemies for the benefit of the state.

Praxitheia and her daughters will in fact be lauded by Athena at the end of the play in fragment 370, where the goddess ordains that the girls receive treatment not unlike hoplites killed in war: they are buried together in the same tomb (67-70). Athena then also makes them the center of a cult, in which the girls are to be offered the first sacrifice prior to going battle (83).[223] (Praxitheia's reward is to become a priestess of Athena, 95-6.)

Lycurgus' choice of Praxitheia's words, and of a speech about the sacrifice of girls, rather than soldier sons, highlights Euripides' replacement of the hoplite with a *parthenos*. We see that it is Praxitheia, rather than her husband (likely for the reasons mentioned above), who makes the brave choice, or at least convinces Erechthteus to do so, which then serves as Lycurgus' example to his fellow Athenians. Because the crisis of the impending invasion affects the entire city, and not just the soldiers who will face the Thracians in battle, Praxitheia and her daughters are forced out of their domestic realm to take on the very public challenge of defending the city, as Lycurgus acknowledges.

Conclusion

The contexts of Euripidean fragments underscore some of the most important themes in the lost plays and thereby immediately provide us with an interpretive framework on which to base our understanding of fragments that seem frustratingly enigmatic at first glance, such as fragment 663 from *Stheneboea*. Recontextualization using the readings of these fragments that our sources provide takes up a diverse collection of fragments from a variety of plays, as in the cases of Clement, Plutarch, and Athenaeus, and especially with Stobaeus, or on an individual basis as

---

[223] Presumably this would be offered by either soldiers or army commanders. For more on the cult of the Hyacinthids at Athens, as Athena decrees the daughters of Erechtheus be known henceforth, see Ekroth 2002: 172-6. This fits with Euripides' establishment of aetiologies for local cult practice at the end of several of his plays (e.g. *Hipp.* 1424-5).

with *Gorgias* and *Antiope* or Lycurgus and *Erechtheus*. In the case of the first three authors, their agendas are served by choosing from more than one play to demonstrate the breadth of their knowledge. As is often the case with Clement's works, the purpose is to highlight specific ideas that he wants to foreground. Euripides did return to these ideas on multiple occasions, so the results of recontextualization in Clement are similar to those in Stobaeus, since both Stobaeus and Clement respond to prevalent Greek ideologies of marriage and gender. In the case of Clement particularly, the quoter's agenda must never be forgotten. In the case of the two individual sources I discussed subsequently, Plato and Lycurgus, we are able to get a sense of the almost contemporary reception of these plays. Thus we can see that the negotiation of masculinity in terms of the *polis* and the contributions of women to the *polis* were ideas that Athenians responded to in Euripides' plays. *Antiope* and *Erechtheus*, and the reactions to them, suggest that the strict binary of masculinity and femininity is actually more labile than it first seems, and that there can be positive consequences for the *polis* when individuals take up roles that are not perfectly masculine or feminine.

The pattern that emerges from retrieving the contexts of the fragments on gender is threefold. First, and perhaps unsurprising, is that fragments that deal with gender are often found in works that have an interest in matters that are directly related to gender, such as marriage in the case of Clement, and *eros* and its management in Plutarch and Athenaeus. Second is the fact that they resort to Euripides for erotic concerns, particularly the characterization of *eros* as a powerful external force, and especially for female *eros* as pathological (as in *Amatorius*). While this idea is not without many precedents in ancient literature, Euripides is the dramatist who repeatedly both foregrounds this issue and gives it female voice on stage. Third, when recontextualizing, there must be a balance between reading Euripides and reading those who

quote him. Reading the collectors of quotations, whether anthologists like Stobaeus or theologists like Clement, allows us to observe the currents running through Euripides' fragmentary plays which can at times go unnoticed in our efforts to reconstruct them. We see, for example, Jocasta's role as wife in the foreground of her portrayal in *Oedipus* thanks to Clement's special interest in marriage, or the ways in which Euripides portrays the *eros* of women thanks to Plutarch's story of female desire. Moreover, looking at sources from Athens itself, like Plato's *Gorgias* or Lycurgus' speech, which deal with single plays, gives us a sense of how Euripides' own audience could have interpreted these plays. We must, however, always keep in mind that these authors are using Euripides' words for their own purposes and that the quotes they have selected illustrate their own ends just as much as those of Euripides.

Chapter 4: Testimonia on the Fragmentary Plays of Euripides

Having already explored the ways in which the sources which preserve the fragments can inform our understanding of the fragmentary plays, I shall now turn to a broad spectrum of testimonia, from the mythographers Hyginus[224] and Pseudo-Apollodorus[225] to the fifth-century C.E. grammarian/historian Moses of Chorene. The mythographers are not always an accurate source of information on Euripides' plots (as with the papyrus hypotheses I shall discuss in the following chapter, this can be determined by comparing their information on the extant plays with the plays themselves). Nevertheless, when combined with the fragments and with other testimonia, even the mythographers can prove useful. My task in this chapter, therefore, is to use whatever testimonia are available for a given play in tandem with the actual fragments in order to reach a better understanding of Euripides' use of specific plot-types and mythological cycles as they relate to gender. I shall first return to what constitutes a testimonium, how one differs from a fragment, in what sources they are found, and how they can contribute to our understanding of the plays. After this, I shall proceed through several categories of plays that highlight Euripides' portrayal of gender, concluding with a brief analysis of the contributions of the testimonia to what remains of these plots in the fragments.

Testimonia on the plays are unlike the fragments that I have discussed thus far in that they are not actual quotations or paraphrases of any given fragmentary play but rather provide supplementary information about the circumstances of its performance, features of the plot, or

---

[224] Hyginus is the name assigned to the author of a ca. second-century C.E. collection of mythological stories written in Latin. Originally titled *Genealogiae*, but now known as *Fabulae* from the title of the *editio princeps*, these brief and clumsily-written stories were likely intended for use in schools.

[225] Although assigned to his name, the *Library* and *Epitome* are not the work of Apollodorus of Athens, the second-century B.C.E. scholar active in Alexandria. This association arose from the manuscripts of the *Library*, which name the author as "Apollodorus the Athenian, Grammarian" (Frazer 1921: ix). In order to avoid awkwardness, however, I shall refer to the author of the ca. first-century C.E. *Library* and *Epitome* as Apollodorus.

details about specific characters.[226] They can provide as much information as full synopses of the plays, as in the case of several of the "Tales from Euripides",[227] or as little as a title (from the three catalogues of titles in various states of completion).[228] The testimonia on Euripides' fragmentary plays come from sources which range from Byzantine scholars to red-figure pottery to scholia on his own extant plays.[229] The most prolific contributors of testimonia on Euripides are Apollodorus and Hyginus, as well as Aristophanes, whom I shall discuss in chapter 6. The large body of testimonia on Euripides' plays is useful to us for two reasons: its guidance in plot reconstruction and its assistance in the sometimes tricky process of dating and/or sorting the plays, both fragmentary as well as extant, into tetralogies. When we are able to see how Euripides works with and alters existing stories, we can observe his hand at work in characterization more clearly; seeing which plays were produced together and when further assists with this.

In order to examine the role of the testimonia, I have grouped the plays for which they add most to our understanding according to basic plot points. These are the plays which center on divinely impregnated women/child recognition (*Antiope*, *Auge*, and the Melanippe plays),[230] false accusations of rape (*Hippolytus Veiled*, *Stheneboea*, and *Phoenix*), and the Cretan cycle (*Cretans* and *Theseus*). In addition, there are several plays which present intriguing individual characters, about whom the testimonia reveal striking details: Haemon's rebellion in *Antigone*, Althaea's rejection of her son in *Meleager*, Laodamia's mourning in *Protesilaus*, and Laius'

---

[226] There is also a large body of testimonia on the life of the poet himself, but few of these are relevant to this discussion.

[227] I shall discuss this special kind of testimonia in more detail in the following chapter.

[228] Catalogues I and II (following Kannicht's numbering) are inscriptions (*IG* XIV 1152 and II/III^2 2363 respectively), while III comes from an Egyptian papyrus (P.Oxy. 2456).

[229] For a full list of the sources of these testimonia, see Kannicht 2004.

[230] All of these are discussed at length in Huys' 1995 examination of the heroic offspring of divine rapists in this plot-type in Euripides.

sexuality in *Chrysippus*. As with the previous chapter, I shall discuss how in each case the testimonia and fragments interact to reveal Euripides' depiction of gender in the fragmentary plays.

Rape and Recognition Plots

Antiope, *Auge*, and the Melanippe plays are all examples of a popular Euripidean plot-type which follows these steps:[231] first, a young woman is impregnated by a god or semi-divine hero (Zeus, Poseidon, Apollo, or Heracles) and she either attempts to hide the result of this rape from her father by exposing her child or is ordered to expose the child. Even when a *parthenos* has been raped (in the current sense of the term, i.e. the sex was not consensual), she is in danger from her father, since she is no longer eligible to be married. After this the child is recognized by its father, thereby saving both mother and child.[232] In this discussion, it is the initial rapes and their impacts on the victims on which I wish to focus, with the assistance of the testimonia. I shall look at these encounters in *Antiope* and the Melanippe plays first, and then take up the special case of *Auge*, with its unusual interaction between rapist and victim.

In chapters 2 and 3, I discussed the famous *agon* in *Antiope* between the brothers Amphion and Zethus. While the conflict over political participation is an important aspect of that part of the play, the brothers' origin and the fate of their mother is the crux of the plot. As

---

[231] Other plays using this plot are *Alope*, *Danae*, and the extant *Ion*, although several other of Euripides' plays share elements of this plot, including *Aeolus*, *Alexander*, and *Oedipus*. Together with the plays I shall discuss here, they constitute the predecessors of the rape-plots of Menandrian New Comedy, as seen most clearly in *Epitrepontes*. Burkert refers to this plot-type as "the girl's tragedy" (1979: 6).

[232] Huys (1995) has discussed this motif in Euripides at length, emphasizing the *ekthesis* of the future hero. See especially 27-40 for a list of various Greek sources of this plot and an account of this type of story in other cultures.

outlined in Hyginus 8 (= test. iiia), an account that purports to tell the Euripidean version,[233] the story is as follows: Antiope, the daughter of the Boeotian king Nycteus, is raped and impregnated by Zeus. Fearing her father's punishment, she flees and marries a man named Epaphus. As Nycteus is dying, he commands his brother and heir, Lycus, to punish his daughter. He does so by killing Epaphus and bringing Antiope back to Boeotia in chains (*vinctam*). While returning home she gives birth to and exposes her twins on Mount Cithaeron,[234] where they are found and raised by a herdsman. Lycus gives Antiope to his wife Dirce to torture (*in cruciatum*), from whom Antiope later escapes. (This marks the beginning of the action in the play and since the twins are now adults, can be presumed to have taken place many years after the rape.) She makes her way to her sons, but Zethus is unwilling to receive her. Dirce soon follows after, in the throes of Dionysiac possession, and begins to drag Antiope away with the intention of killing her (*ad mortem*). The herdsman tells Amphion and Zethus about their origins and they rescue their mother, killing Dirce by tying her to a bull by her hair (*crinibus*). Hermes arrives on the scene to prevent them from also killing Lycus, and grants the kingdom to Amphion. The version of Antiope's story in Apollodorus also names Zeus as the father of the twins and tells of Dirce's gory death (3.5.5 = test iiib).[235]

Two fragments of this play raise a difficult question that Antiope's twin sons ask regarding the circumstances of their conception: was the encounter between Antiope and Zeus consensual or not? This is a question that reflects the nature of many of the stories from Greek myth that tell of divine rape, in which a god seduces or abducts a young girl and has sex with

---

[233] It is labelled "The Same by Euripides" (*Eadem Euripidis*, 8), and follows the story of Antiope in Hyginus 7.

[234] Fr. 207 confirms this detail.

[235] Quoting the poet Asius, Pausanias includes the detail that Antiope conceived with both Zeus and the herdsman (called Epopeus here) (2.6.4). In a different section, he mentions Dirce's death (9.25.3).

her,[236] and she later derives honour from the encounter (as the prologue of Aeschylus' *Kares* claims of Europa after she was abducted by Zeus in the form of a beautiful bull).[237] First, Amphion, after being reunited with Antiope, accuses his mother either of sleeping with Zeus willingly or, as seems more likely based on the following fragment, of sleeping with a mortal man and blaming the results on the god:[238]

οὐδὲ γὰρ λάθρα δοκῶ
θηρὸς κακούργου σχήματ' ἐκμιμούμενον
σοὶ Ζῆν ἐς εὐνὴν ὥσπερ ἄνθρωπον μολεῖν.

Nor do I think
that Zeus secretly imitated the form of an evil beast
and came into your bed just like a man. (fr. 210)

When he arrives *ex machina* to end the play and rectify Zeus' actions,[239] Hermes addresses Amphion's concerns about his paternity, but further confuses what seem to be Antiope's claims of rape:[240]

καὶ πρ[ῶ]τα μέν σπ[ῶν μητ[ρὸ[ς] ἐξερῶ πέρι,
ὡς Ζεὺς ἐμείχθη κ[οὐκ ἀ]παρνῆται τάδε·
τί δητανει...[ca. 7 ll.]αλλο...ετο
Ζηνὸς μολοῦσα λέ[κτρα

First I shall speak openly to (both of you) about your mother,
Zeus lay with her and does (not) deny it;
why indeed(?)…
when she had come to Zeus' (bed)…? (fr. 223.71-4)[241]

---

[236] The line between consensual and non-consensual sex is often blurred in literary versions of these encounters, or is not a concern for the author at all.

[237] Lefkowitz cites this fragment (fr. 99 Radt) as evidence from tragedy that in Greek myth the gods either seduce or abduct their victims rather than raping them in the current sense of the term (1993: 25). She interprets Creusa's version of her encounter with Apollo at *Ion* 887-906 more favourably than I do (for more on this, see below).

[238] This is presumably after she has told the story of the twins' birth. Heracles expresses a similar doubt about gods' relations with mortal women at *Her.* 1341.

[239] This is similar to Athena's appearance on behalf of Apollo at the end of *Ion*.

[240] No fragments remain in which Antiope makes this claim directly, but Amphion's accusation suggests that she did at some point in the play.

[241] I have chosen Blass' conjecture for the lacuna in the second line over Kannicht's version, which reads κ[αὶ ἐὰν ἀ]παρνῆται, since it makes better sense than the introduction of a condition here.

Although this section of the papyrus fragment cannot be reconstructed fully, in representing Zeus' version of events, two words that are clear seem to refute Antiope's claim. The use of μίγνυμι of Zeus' actions, a term that is used for consensual intercourse (cf. *Il*. 15.33) and the participle μολοῦσα,[242] almost certainly describing Antiope in the feminine singular, imply that what occurred was, in fact, not rape.

Two testimonia, on the other hand, suggest that the opposite is true. A scholion on *Argonautica* 4.1090 (= test. iiic), in which Antiope is named alongside Danae, tells the basic story of the Euripidean play and says that Zeus slept with her in the form of a satyr (Ἀντιόπη..., ἣν Ζεὺς σατύρῳ ὁμοιωθεὶς φθείρει).[243] Ioannes Malalas, the fifth-century chronicle-writer from Antioch, tells the same version and explicitly attributes it to Euripides: ὁ γὰρ σοφώτατος Εὐριπίδης ποιητικῶς ἐξέθετο δρᾶμα, ὡς ὅτι ὁ Ζεὺς εἰς σάτυρον μεταβληθεὶς ἔφθειρε τὴν Ἀντιόπην[244] ("The very wise Euripides produced a drama in poetry, that Zeus, having changed into a satyr, corrupted Antiope," *Chronographia* 2.16.23-4 = test. ivc).[245] The use of φθείρω by both writers hints at the possibly violent nature of the encounter, or at the least that something bad (the corruption of Antiope via seduction) has occurred,[246] but

---

[242] Euripides uses a similar expression at *Tr*. 1037-8 of Helen sleeping with Paris (ἑκουσίως τήνδ' ἐκ δόμων ἐλθεῖν ἐμῶν/ ξένας ἐς εὐνάς "She [Helen] willingly went to a strange bed from my home"), which indicates that it can have a fairly innocuous meaning equivalent to the modern expression "go to bed with (someone)". The mention of a "strange bed" also plays up Helen's willingness to betray her husband and therefore the consensual nature of her encounter with Paris.

[243] Zeus' choosing the form of a satyr may correspond to the presence of a Dionysiac cult in the region where the play is set (Kambitsis 1972: 78).

[244] The presence of μεταβληθείς in this place is debated by various editors (see Thurn 2000: 36, app. crit.).

[245] Ovid also includes the satyr detail at *Met*. 6.110-1.

[246] φθείρω can also mean "to seduce", which in the context of seducing a *parthenos* would be considered *moicheia*, a serious offence in Classical Athens that seems to have made no distinction over whether the sexual act was consensual or not (Omitowoju 2002: 115).

the fact that Zeus took on the form of a satyr, a figure not usually depicted participating in consensual intercourse with young women,[247] suggests that it was rape.

Despite what Antiope appears to have claimed, the doubt that Amphion expresses at his mother's version of events is not unprecedented; indeed it is similar to that expressed by Ion at hearing Creusa's story of her rape by Apollo (*Ion* 341). Hermes' appearance at the end of the play indicates that since reparations have now been made any possibility of Antiope's original victimization and its potential fallout have effectively been erased (fr. 223.76-7).[248] Athena expresses a similar sentiment at *Ion* 1604-5. The fact that Euripides may have characterized what happened to Antiope as rape, combined with Amphion's denial of the event and the absolution of Zeus cast a shadow, presumably, over the "happy" ending, leaving the resolution for Antiope's story ambiguous, since her suffering as an impregnated *parthenos* is never acknowledged (cf. Creusa at the end of *Ion*).

The other factor darkening the ending of the play is the violent death of Dirce. Since she is the wife of Antiope's captor, Lycus, and is her torturer (Hyg. 8),[249] Zethus and Amphion kill her by tying her to a bull and having it drag her to death (Hyginus adds the gory detail that she was tied by her hair).[250] Fragment 175 appears to be a conversation between Amphion and Dirce preceding her death, in which Dirce seems to have resigned herself to her punishment (she refers

---

[247] See McNally 1978 on the interactions between satyrs and maenads in vase paintings. She traces a pattern of hostility in these images that peaks in the mid-fifth century (1978: 106). As Lissarrague points out, satyrs represent what is opposite from "normal" behaviour in their bestial natures (1990: 235).

[248] See Lefkowitz 1993: 25 for positive outcomes of divine rapes.

[249] The female tormentor of a victim of divine rape recurs in stories of this type, as I shall demonstrate in my discussion of the Melanippe plays.

[250] Apollodorus 3.5.5 and the scholion on Apollonius also mention her death, but not the detail of the hair. An early fourth-century calyx-krater from Sicily also depicts this scene. For more on how the images on this pot relate to potential productions of this play see Taplin 2007: 188-9.

to bearing punishment "with equanimity", εὐόργως, making her appear more sympathetic).[251]

Fragment 221, presumably spoken as part of a messenger speech, mentions the circumstances of the death itself, as does a character who seems to be Amphion at fragment 223.62. Although Dirce is guilty of tormenting Antiope, her punishment stands out due to its severity and its misapplication (i.e. Nycteus and Lycus, who are most responsible for the ongoing suffering of Antiope and her sons, escape significant punishment). Zeus, who, as a god, would not face punishment, nevertheless sends an envoy rather than resolve the situation himself, a pattern which *Ion* shares. Perhaps Amphion's accusation of his father holds true, even for the ruler of the gods:

> σοὶ δ' ὃς τ]ὸ λαμπρὸν αἰθέρος ναίεις πέδον
> λέγω τ]οσοῦτον· μὴ γαμεῖν μὲν ἡδέως,
> γήμαν] τα δ' εἶναι σοῖς τέκνοις ἀνωφελῆ·
> οὐ γὰρ κ]αλὸν τόδ'...

> (But to you who) dwell in heaven's bright expanse,
> do not lie with a woman for pleasure,
> and after doing so fail to help your children.
> That is (not) honourable… (fr. 223.11-14)

Nor are Zethus and Amphion made to face any repercussions for the death of Dirce; Hermes tells them that they are now free of pollution (fr. 223.86), while Lycus is spared any punishment at all, meaning that Antiope and Dirce have borne nearly all of the fallout from Zeus' actions.

Euripides works with this pattern of rape and recognition in the Melanippe plays as well, extending his treatment of it over two plays, *Melanippe Wise*, which deals with the immediate results of Melanippe's rape, and *Melanippe Captive*, which takes place after her children have grown. According to Cropp and Fick, production of *Melanippe Wise* likely preceded that of

---

[251] Ascription of this fragment to *Antiope* has been disputed (the original *TrGF* assigned it to *Antigone* due to Stobaeus' assignment of lines 14-15 to that play). Diggle (1998: 87) supports the original reassignment of Luppe (1981) on the grounds of the reference to the fawnskin and therefore to Bacchic worship in line 7.

Melanippe Captive, although secure dating for either is impossible to establish (1985: 70). As with the other paired plays (the Phrixus, Alcmeon, and Autolycus plays), Euripides explores more than one story about Melanippe, including details that contradict each other. These stories follow the basic pattern which I have outlined above: Melanippe (who is herself the product of rape) is raped by Poseidon,[252] she either exposes her children to hide her pregnancy from her father (*Melanippe Wise*) or is ordered to expose them (*Melanippe Captive*),[253] and they are recognized by their father and reunited with their mother (as adults, as in *Antiope*).

I begin my discussion of these linked plays with the one that represents the beginning of Melanippe's story chronologically. As I shall discuss in the following chapter, the papyrus hypothesis for *Melanippe Wise* tells us that Poseidon fathered her twin sons, whom she then had her nurse expose in a cattle-barn. Upon their discovery by her father, she defended them from him in a speech famous in antiquity for its rhetorical display. Like *Antiope*, it is the testimonia that confirm Euripides' characterization of the initial encounter between Poseidon and Melanippe as rape. This is confirmed not only in two testimonia by different authors, Pseudo-Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*Rhet.* 9 = test. iia) and Nonnus (*Dionysiaca* 8.235 = test. iiid), but also in a paraphrase from her famous speech ([Dion.Hal.] *Rhet.* 9 = fr. 485).[254] Unlike Antiope, however, Melanippe speaks out in defense of herself, if indirectly, as she defends the "anonymous" young woman who exposed the infants, which makes her the only rape victim in

---

[252] A scholiast on Aratus *Phaen.* 205 says that Euripides mentions the detail that Melanippe's mother, Hippe, was corrupted (φθαρῆναι) by Aeolus, in his *Melanippe* (which one is not specified). Like her daughter and the other impregnated *parthenoi* in Euripides' plays, she is sought out for punishment by her father (= test. vb (a)).

[253] In both versions, the babies are exposed and found in a barn with cattle.

[254] [Dionysius] uses the phrase ἐπεράνθη ὑπὸ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος ("penetrated by Poseidon"). περαίνω usually refers to bodily penetration by inanimate objects, or even abstract ideas (cf. Aesch. *Ch.* 57), but can appear in a sexual context. The paraphrase uses a form of φθείρω in fr. 485, a term which may be used for rape, as I have discussed above.

the plays using this plot-type given the opportunity to publicly defend her victimization in this way.[255]

Because the papyrus hypothesis and the testimonia focus on either Melanippe's rape ([Dion. Hal.] *Rhet*. 9 = test. iia, Nonn. *Dionys*. 8.235-6 = test. iiid) or her bold speech ([Dion. Hal.] *Rhet*. 9 = test. iia and *Rhet*. 8 = test. iib, Arist. *Poet*. 1454a28 = test. iiia), the ending of the play remains in question. Does Aeolus catch on to Melanippe's ruse and identify her as the mother of the twins? A second exposure ordered by her father and a resolution via a *deus ex machina* (as in *Antiope* and *Ion*) would fit this plot-type,[256] and one detail from a visual testimonium suggests as much: the presence of a horse being crowned in a vase painting depicting this story.[257] This Apulian volute-krater from the late fourth century has two galleries, the upper full of divinities, and the lower of mortals, whom the painter has labelled, with Poseidon placed directly above Melanippe and next to Aphrodite and Eros. In the center of the lower gallery, an old man labelled ΒΟΤΗΡ ("Herdsman") holds out twin infants to a figure labelled ΕΛΛΗΝ (Hellen, the progenitor of the Hellenes and Aeolus' father according to both line 20 of the papyrus hypothesis and line 2 of fragment 481). Aeolus stands to the left of the herdsman, and left of him a figure named ΚΡΗΘΕΥΣ, possibly Melanippe's brother, crowns a horse with laurel. Melanippe is sheltered by a fierce-looking elderly woman labelled ΤΡΟΦΟΣ ("Nurse").

Both Melanippe's prologue (fr. 481) and the scholion on *Phaenomena* 205 (= test. vb (a)) support the supposition that the horse is in fact Melanippe's mother, Hippe. In the prologue, Melanippe relates the story of how Hippe was turned into a horse by Zeus because of the

---

[255] See the following chapter for a discussion of the ramifications of this defense.
[256] See Huys 1995: 153 on the likelihood of a second exposure here (as in *Danae* and *Alope*).
[257] See Figure 1.

apparent threat of her oracular powers (fr. 481.15-17).[258] In the form of a horse, she could have been the figure to deliver the final speech of resolution, much like Hermes in *Antiope*. Although a horse seems an unlikely character to appear onstage in a speaking role,[259] Pollux does include this very character in his list of special masks (Ἵππη ἡ Χείρωνος ὑπαλλαττομένη εἰς ἵππον Εὐριπίδη),[260] along with horned Actaeon and blind Phineus (Pollux 4.141 = test. va). This mention combined with her oracular powers makes the possibility of Hippe appearing onstage to save her daughter and grandsons far greater (Taplin 2007: 195). Presumably Melanippe, now recognized as the mother of a god's children, would have been saved from her grandfather and father's anger.

In the second of the two Melanippe plays, the action and recognition of the twins' parentage take place once they have grown, as in *Antiope*, *Ion*, and *Hypsipyle*. Although confused about several of the details of the story,[261] Hyginus provides a basic guide for locating the action of *Melanippe Captive*. According to his retelling of her story (186 = test. iii), after she is impregnated by Poseidon, her father blinds and imprisons Melanippe as punishment. Seeing that the exposed twins have been nursed by a cow, a cowherd decides to raise them. Metapontus, king of Icaria, threatens to exile his wife, Theano, should she not produce any sons, and so she takes the twins and presents them to her husband as her own (*pro suis supposuit*) after which she bears two sons of her own. Jealous of the attention that Metapontus pays to Melanippe's sons,

---

[258] The scholiast on Aratus says that Hippe was transformed in order to protect her from her father's anger on discovering her pregnancy (test. vb (a)).

[259] Xanthus, one of Achilles' team, is the most well-known speaking horse in Greek literature, given the power of speech by Hera. After Xanthus tells Achilles that it was Apollo who killed Patroclus, the Erinyes take away his ability to speak (*Il.* 19.404-18).

[260] The specific mention of Euripides indicates that this is not a comic mask. Pollux' list suggests that the various categories of stock dramatic masks were not static and that the tragedians in particular added special masks for specific plays (Webster 1965: 10).

[261] Hyginus, for example, calls Melanippe the daughter of Desmontes [sic], an obvious misunderstanding of the play's title, Μελανίππη ἡ δεσμῶτις (186 = test. iii).

Theano sends her own sons to kill them while hunting, revealing that the two sets of boys are not actually brothers. With the aid of Poseidon, Melanippe's sons kill their foster-brothers, causing Theano to kill herself, using the same weapon with which she had armed her sons (a *culter*, or hunting-knife). After Melanippe's sons flee, Poseidon reveals that he is their father, the boys free their mother, who is still being held captive by her father, and Poseidon restores her sight. She then marries Metapontus and the boys go on to found cities.

What aspects of this story is Euripides likely to have portrayed onstage? Since the twins are grown (at least old enough to kill, cf. fr. 495), the blinding and imprisonment of Melanippe must have happened long before the beginning of the play. Their foster-mother, who is called Siris rather than Theano in the play,[262] and her plot against them fit in quite feasibly, although here it is her brothers, and therefore the boys' "uncles", with whom she plots (fr. 495). Her concern need not be focused on her own children, for whom there is no evidence in the play itself, but rather on the fact that Melanippe's twins make her an unnecessary addition to the household of Metapontus.[263] A messenger reports the ambush of the twins by Siris' brothers and their successful self-defense, but Poseidon's aid is not mentioned. Nor do I find it plausible that Poseidon would have appeared onstage at the end of the play. As we have already seen in *Antiope*, as I have mentioned is the case in *Ion*, and as I will mention in further discussion of this type of play, the god responsible for his victim's suffering in the examples we have of this type of plot does not normally take care of the results of his actions personally, but sends an envoy for this purpose. Thus I suspect that while Melanippe is freed and cured of her blindness as part of the action of the play, it is not Poseidon himself who appears onstage to take care of this, but rather another of the gods.

---

[262] Cf. Athen. 12.523d = test. iib.

[263] Siris is likely the speaker of fr. 491, which decries adoption. See also my discussion of stepmothers in the next chapter.

Auge, by contrast, departs from this situation in a way that I believe is unique among Greek dramas,[264] when Heracles appears onstage to apologize directly to the title character. I suggest however that Heracles, unlike Zeus, Poseidon, or Apollo, is able to do this because of his unique status in both myth and tragedy. In the case of this play, two testimonia, a plot summary and a comment on a fragment, are the keys to understanding the onstage action. Based on the plot summary (test. iia),[265] written in Armenian by the fifth-century historian/grammarian Moses of Chorene who took it from late Greek sources, most scholars agree that the basics of the plot are as follows:[266] Auge, a priestess of Athena at Tegea, is raped by Heracles, who is drunk, while participating in nocturnal festivities.[267] He leaves a ring behind, which Auge keeps. She is impregnated, and gives birth to Telephus. When her father, Aleus, discovers this, he orders that the infant be exposed and Auge drowned in the sea. Before this can happen, Heracles returns to Tegea, recognizes the child by means of the ring, and saves Auge and Telephus. In telling his version of this story, Apollodorus adds that Auge's baby was born in Athena's sanctuary, and the resulting pollution is what brought the matter to Aleus' attention (*Bibl.* 2.7.4 = test. iii), which is confirmed by Auge's question to the goddess in fragment 266:

---

[264] I include comedy, specifically New Comedy, in this due to its many storylines set in motion by rape. Menander's *Epitrepontes* is the best point of comparison here, linked as it is by basic storyline to *Auge*. This was intentional on Menander's part, which is evident from his quoting *Auge* in the play (*Epitr.* 1123-4 = *Auge* fr. 265a).

[265] There is also a badly damaged papyrus hypothesis for *Auge*, but it reveals little information other than the setting of the play (Arcadia) and that someone had consumed wine (οἰνωμένο[ς, test. iia.13). Luppe (1983) offers the best reconstruction of the hypothesis.

[266] Most notable among these is Wilamowitz (1875: 189). The most significant opponent of using the Armenian summary to reconstruct the plot is Anderson (1982), who, incorrectly in my opinion, conflates mythographical information on Telephus from Strabo with the plot of *Auge*. A. Mai and J. Zohrab translated the Armenian into Latin in the early nineteenth century, which is the text included in Kannicht (2004).

[267] The term that Mai and Zohrab use for Auge and Heracles' encounter is *habere rem cum*, a relatively neutral term for intercourse. But Heracles' interruption of what are exclusively women's rites combined with his drunkenness and the use of *furtum* to refer to his actions imply that what happened between Heracles and Auge would be considered *moicheia*. Drunken rape at a *pannychis* was a trope in Greek drama (cf. Men. *Sam.* and *Epit.*).

σκῦλα μὲν βροτοφθόρα
χαίρεις ὁρῶσα καὶ νεκρῶν ἐρείπια,
κοὐ μιαρά σοι ταῦτ' ἐστίν· εἰ δ' ἐγὼ 'τεκον,
δεινὸν τόδ' ἡγῇ;

You enjoy looking on spoils stripped from
the dead and the wreckage of corpses;
these do not pollute you. Yet you think it
a dreadful thing if I have given birth?

The plot thus contains all the basics of the plot-type I have already explored in *Antiope* and the Melanippe plays: a young woman is raped, not by a god in this case, but by a semi-divine hero, the baby is exposed under pressure from the young woman's father, who punishes her, and reparations are made by the end of the play when Heracles rescues Auge and their son, Telephus.

Two aspects of this rescue make it stand out among all the other plays of this plot-type: first, Heracles actually apologizes for what he has done and second, as I mentioned, he arrives in person to save Auge and his son. As we have already seen with Hermes' appearance in *Antiope*,[268] the resolution of these plays does not usually address the original harm done to the victim, but rather glosses over what caused the problem in the first place by rewarding the mother and child with a secure new social position, often far away from the setting of the original crime and its punishment (cf. Melanippe's marriage to Metapontus). Yet in his apology to Auge, Heracles does the opposite of this, drawing attention to the very moment of the rape by recalling his drunkenness: νῦν δ' οἶνος ἐξέστησέ μ'· ὁμολογῶ δέ σε/ ἀδικεῖν, τὸ δ' ἀδίκημ' ἐγένετ' οὐχ ἑκουσιον ("As it is, wine made me lose control. I admit I wronged you, but the wrong was not intentional," fr. 272b). Neither in other tragedies nor in New Comedy does the rapist himself acknowledge the act of rape directly to his victim.

---

[268] This is also true of Athena in *Ion*.

Others have proposed differing versions of this scene, especially Anderson who claims that these lines are spoken by Auge, quoting what Heracles said in his self-defense, and that she is addressing either her father or Athena, who is angry over the pollution of her sanctuary.[269] Huys proposes an apology from Heracles to Athena, again on the basis of Auge's pollution of her sanctuary, using Athena's appearance onstage in *Ion* as a precedent for her presence here (1989-90: 180 and 1995: 115). But Heracles is not the object of Athena's anger (if she appears in *Auge* at all), and his reference to drunkenness makes it clear that he is apologizing for the actual moment of loss of control, the rape itself.

There are two fragments which I believe place Heracles onstage alongside Auge at the moment of his apology. The first has him playing with his infant son's toys: τίς δ' οὐχὶ χαίρει νηπίοις ἀθύρμασιν; ("Who does not take pleasure in childish toys?" fr. 272). The second continues in this vein: παίζω· μεταβολὰς γὰρ πόνων ἀεὶ φιλῶ ("I'm playing; I always like a change from my labours," fr. 272a). This second fragment comes from Aelian's *Varia Historia* and is accompanied by a discussion of Heracles' well-known love of play and children. As proof of this, Aelian points out this line from *Auge*, and says that Heracles said it while holding a baby (λέγει δὲ τοῦτο παιδίον κατέχων, 12.15). If Heracles is holding the infant Telephus onstage, then Auge is presumably present with him, and must therefore be the recipient of his apology.

But why is it that Heracles can apologize onstage while gods, especially his own powerful father, apparently cannot? I suggest that this is due to his semi-divine status and his unique position in drama. First, the stakes for Heracles are far lower with his apology than if Zeus, Poseidon, or Apollo were to do the same; Athena says as much in *Ion* when she tells

---

[269] This is based on his rejection of Moses of Chorene's summary in favour of Strabo's version of the story of Auge and Telephus at 13.1.69 (1982: 70). Van Looy has demonstrated that Strabo did not use Euripides as a source (1964: 260) and Wilamowitz had already refuted this argument as proposed by Matthiae (1829) and Hartung (1843-4) (1875: 189).

Creusa that she has come as his envoy in order for him to avoid the inevitable censure (1555-8).

(Athena does not explain why Apollo is concerned about this.) Avoiding censure is simply not an

issue for Heracles, who is already in the midst of his labours after killing his own children, nor

does he have the same power over mortals that the others do. As well, the excuse of drunkenness

in his apology brings to mind the comic Heracles of *Alcestis*, and his ignorant, inappropriate

behaviour at the house of Admetus. If this play served as a prototype for New Comedy, as the

use of fragment 265a in *Epitrepontes* suggests, would it not be fitting that *Auge* highlight

Heracles' more ridiculous characteristics (like drunkenness), as the proto-satyric *Alcestis*

does?[270] Fragment 278, likely a joke referring to Heracles' erect penis (κέρας ὄρθιον),[271] also

suggests a brutish Heracles. Whatever the reasons, however, *Auge*, with Heracles' appearance

and apology, merits special attention among Euripides' plays about rape and recognition.

False Accusations of Rape

In the previous section, I discussed what happens to the victims of divine rapists in Euripides'

plays and how the testimonia inform our understanding of this. In this section, I shall look at the

fragmentary plays in which women make false accusations of rape, *Hippolytus Veiled*,

Stheneboea, and *Phoenix*,[272] and at their accompanying testimonia, examining whether Euripides

establishes as clear a pattern in these plays as he does in his rape and recognition plays. I shall

also contrast the role of sexual consent here as opposed to in the rape and recognition plays and

discuss how it plays a role in this type of revenge, which is sought only by married women. As

---

[270] For comic elements in Euripides, see Segal 1995.

[271] For a full rundown of the lengthy debate over the meaning of these words, see Huys 1989-90: 181. Henderson shows how κέρας is used in comic double-entendres (1975: 127, no. 91).

[272] *Peleus* also shares this plot, but since its single testimonium is from Ar. *Fr.* 863, I shall discuss it in the chapter on Aristophanes.

examples of the Potiphar's wife plot,[273] they all share these basic points, as outlined by Sommerstein (2006: 234): a woman who is married (but not necessarily much older than the young women in my previous discussion) makes erotic overtures to a young man, he refuses them, and she then accuses him of rape. The accused is punished, but when the truth is established the accuser pays a significant price (usually death) for what she has done.

The first play I shall discuss is based on what is perhaps the most famous Greek story of this type, that of Phaedra and Hippolytus, which Euripides dramatized twice, with the fragmentary version, *Hippolytus Veiled*, preceding the extant version, *Hippolytus Garland-Bearer*.[274] In his hypothesis for the extant *Hippolytus*, Aristophanes of Byzantium, the late third/early second-century B.C.E. scholar, mentions that it is Euripides' second version of the story in which "what was unseemly and reprehensible has been put right" (τὸ γὰρ ἀπρεπὲς καὶ κατηγορίας ἄξιον ἐν τούτῳ διώρθωται, test. i).[275] What is "unseemly and reprehensible" is usually understood to be Phaedra's outrageous behaviour, in contrast with her inner conflict and attempts to preserve her modesty which are featured in the extant version. It is my intention here to investigate precisely what this reference means, using both the testimonia and fragments.

The mythographical sources portray a Phaedra who is far more direct than the one in the extant play. In a scholion on *Odyssey* 11.321 (which mentions Phaedra), Asclepiades tells the same story with the same basic points as the extant play (i.e. Phaedra is struck with love for

---

[273] The name for this plot-type comes from the biblical story of Joseph and Potiphar's wife, who falsely accuses him of rape, found in Genesis 39.1-20.

[274] Sophocles also wrote a *Phaedra*, of which only fragments remain that reveal very little about its plot.

[275] The *Vita Euripidis* claims that Euripides wrote the first version out of spite at his wife's licentious behaviour (T I III. C. 2 = test. iiib), while Griffin suggests that Euripides abandoned the traditional portrayal of Phaedra as a challenge to make the story subtler (1990: 132). Only the date of the extant *Hippolytus* (428) is certain, from Aristophanes of Byzantium (= test. i), while Cropp and Fick put *Hippolytus Veiled* anywhere from 455-429 (1985: 70). Jouan suggests (tenuously in my opinion) that the extant *Hippolytus* must be the latest of the plays on this theme on the grounds of its dramatic presentation of the theme (1990: 190).

Hippolytus and pines away for him), but says that she decided to persuade him to sleep with her

(διενοεῖτο πείθειν τὸν νεανίσκον ὅπως αὐτῇ μιγείη, test. iic (1). 12-13).[276] This would seem

to have removed from the equation the Nurse, who is the one who reveals Phaedra's desire in

Hippolytus. Apollodorus' version of the story contains the same detail, that Phaedra sought out

Hippolytus directly (δεῖται συνελθεῖν αὐτῇ, *Epit*. 1.18 = test. iic (2)), but also includes the

incriminating circumstance that Hippolytus fled her company (τὴν συνουσίαν ἔφυγεν, 1.18),[277]

confirming that she went after him personally in this version.[278] There is also the suggestion that

Phaedra attempted to justify her feelings for her step-son by blaming Theseus for treating her

poorly (Plut. *De aud. poetis* 8 = test. v).[279]

This aggressive, blame-avoiding version of Phaedra could very well have been the one

that Euripides put onstage in *Hippolytus Veiled*; when we turn to the fragments, several support

this depiction of Phaedra. Fragment 430 reveals the lovestruck and bold Phaedra:

> ἔχω γὰρ τόλμης καὶ θράσους διδάσκαλον
> ἐν τοῖς ἀμηχάνοισιν εὐπορώτατον
> Ἔρωτα, πάντων δυσμαχώτατον θεόν.

> I have a teacher of daring and audacity
> who is most inventive amid difficulties—
> Eros, the hardest god of all to fight.

Fragment 444, although not securely assigned to an individual character, uses language similar to

that of Pasiphae in *Cretans* fr. 472e.30 in defense of her mating with the bull (θεήλατος,

"godsent"): ὦ δαῖμον, ὡς οὐκ ἔστ' ἀποστροφὴ βροτοῖς/ τῶν ἐμφύτων τε καὶ θεηλάτων

κακῶν ("O you deity, how mortals have no way to avert their inborn or godsent troubles!"). If

---

[276] For more on the connection between *peitho* and eroticism, see Buxton 1982: 31-48.

[277] συνουσία is a standard euphemism for sexual intercourse (e.g. Xen. *Cyr.* 6.1.31). If this is its meaning in Apollodorus, Phaedra's approach may have been especially bold.

[278] I.e. he would not flee her without reason.

[279] Her mother, Pasiphae, also uses her husband's treatment of her to justify her bizarre behaviour in *Cretans* fr. 472e, vv. 20-6.

this is indeed spoken by Phaedra, as the correspondence with Pasiphae's words suggests, then the Phaedra of *Hippolytus Veiled* seeks to avoid responsibility on some level for her actions, which she herself characterizes as bold. In addition to this, there is no evidence for Aphrodite's presence onstage in this play,[280] which causes Phaedra's claim that she is manipulated by the gods to seem more hollow than in the extant *Hippolytus*. Although she may succumb to the power of *eros*, with all of its divine associations, having Aphrodite onstage outlining her plans against Hippolytus is a clear means of characterizing Phaedra as manipulated. In any case, this would not have been seen as an especially successful defense, even by Phaedra herself; in the extant version, when Phaedra mentions that her desire for her stepson has a divine origin (*Hipp*. 241), she assumes responsibility by saying that she must die to escape this passion (248-9).

Beyond the evidence for Phaedra's direct approach to Hippolytus, the proof we have of the boldness of her actions relates to the accusation of rape. Although none of the fragments mentions the accusation directly, two make it clear that a falsehood has affected the action of the play. A speaker who is likely Theseus laments the type of language that manipulates the truth, recalling Euripides' foregrounding of the problematic nature of rhetoric in the *agon* from *Antiope*:[281]

> φεῦ φεῦ, τὸ μὴ τὰ πράγματ' ἀνθρώποις ἔχειν
> φωνήν, ἵν' ἦσαν μηδὲν οἱ δεινοὶ λέγειν.
> νῦν δ' εὐρόοισι στόμασι τἀληθέστατα
> κλέπτουσιν, ὥστε μὴ δοκεῖν ἃ χρὴ δοκεῖν.

> Alas, the facts have no voice for human beings,
> so that clever speakers would be nothing!
> Now they disguise what is most truthful with fluent tongues,
> so that what should seem so, does not. (fr. 439, trans. adapted)

---

[280] Jouan proposes Phaedra as the first speaker, placing fr. 443 at the beginning of the play (1990: 193).
[281] Conacher suggests that Euripides used rhetoric both as a means of characterization without commenting on the morality of its use (as in Helen's speech from *Trojan Women*, mentioned above) and as a means of questioning a character's morality (as in Hecuba's and Odysseus' speeches in *Hecuba*, 251-95 and 299-331 respectively) (1998: 68-9).

Someone else, addressing Theseus, warns him against believing a woman's words: Θεσεῦ, παραινῶ σοὶ τὸ λῷστον, <εἰ> φρονεῖς,/ γυναικὶ πείθου μηδὲ τἀληθῆ κλύων ("Theseus, I advise you for the best, <if> you are sensible: don't trust a woman even when you hear the truth from her," fr. 440).

The question remains, though, of how Phaedra goes about making her accusation. Two details found in Apollodorus' version of the story are distinctly different from the extant play and therefore support Aristophanes of Byzantium's description of the play (i.e. that Phaedra approached Hippolytus directly). The first has Phaedra, fearing that Hippolytus will reveal her advances to Theseus, setting the scene so that it will appear that she has been raped by throwing open the doors to her bedchamber and tearing her clothing (Apollod. *Epit*. 1.18 = test. iic (2)). A pair of very badly damaged papyrus hypotheses for this play offer slight but corroborating evidence for these details, mentioning the bed chamber (θα]λαμοις[, test.iib, fr. A.10) and possibly scratching, presumably self-inflicted by Phaedra as indicated by the feminine singular form of the participle (χαράξασα, test. iia, Col. II.2) and]ενχαρ[, test iib, fr. A.11.[282] The other detail in Apollodorus is that Phaedra does not commit suicide until after Hippolytus has died and her actions have come to light, contrasting with the extant play, in which her accusation comes in her suicide note and its false nature is not discovered until well after she is dead.[283] Again, the remnants of the hypothesis suggest that Phaedra is still alive after her accusation has been made and Theseus has confronted his son; from fragment B of testimonium iib, line 31 refers to

---

[282] Van Rossum-Steenbeek attributes these papyri to *Hippolytus Veiled* by virtue of details which do not correspond to the hypothesis of the extant play, despite the absence of the conventional title and first line of the play found on the hypotheses in the collection known as "Tales of Euripides" (1998: 16). There is significant overlap between the two, indicating that they come from the same hypothesis.

[283] Apollodorus also has her commit suicide by hanging, as in the extant play (*Epit*. 1.19 = test. iic (2)).

Hippolytus being veiled (κα]λυψάμενον) and line 34 to some type of inquiry being made (ἔλ]εγχον), while Phaedra is named in line 35, making it possible that she is present for this.

The evasion of responsibility, the creation of false evidence to support her allegations, and her suicide only after the truth is revealed are all particular to the fragmentary version of the play and could have added to the bad reputation in antiquity of this version of Phaedra. But is she unique in this degree of behaviour among the Potiphar's wives in Euripides? With this question in mind, I shall now turn to *Stheneboea* to examine a case in which the desiring woman's actions are similar to Phaedra's,[284] but the object of desire, Bellerophon, acts in a manner very dissimilar to Hippolytus.

Of the evidence available for *Stheneboea*, a testimonium and a fragment from the same source reveal vital information about the title character's actions. Since it has a remarkably complete papyrus hypothesis (= test. iia), there is little doubt over the details of the plot, and Bellerophon's opening soliloquy (= fr. 661) identifies the point at which the play itself begins. The first three lines of P. Oxy 2455 (the standard title of the play followed by the first line and then ἡ δ'ὑπόθεσις) are somewhat damaged, but the rest of the hypothesis is quoted with minor variations in Ioannes Logothetes' commentary on [Hermogenes] *Means of Rhetorical Effectiveness* (30), confirming that it indeed describes the action of *Stheneboea*. Ioannes Logothetes follows the hypothesis with the opening lines of the play.[285] Because of the complexity of the plot, I have reproduced the hypothesis in its entirety:[286]

---

[284] Aristophanes connects these two characters (without specifying which Phaedra) in *Frogs* 1049-52.

[285] Logothetes identifies the opening lines as belonging to Bellerophon, and various other sources quote at least part of this speech (vv. 1-3 = Ar. *Fr.* 1217-9, v. 1 = Men. *Shield* 407, vv. 4-5 = Stob. 4.22.46, vv. 24-5 = Aeschin. 1.151).

[286] Lines 1-3 represent the contents of the papyrus, while the rest represent the edited version using both the papyrus and Ioannes Logothetes' version found in Collard and Cropp 2008b.

Σθ[ε]ν[έ]βοια, ἧς ἀρχή·
'οὐκ ἔστιν, ὅστ]ις πάντ' ἀνὴρ εὐδαιμο[νεῖ'
    [ἡ δ'] ὑπόθεσις·
Προῖτος Ἄβαντος μὲν ἦν υἱός, Ἀκρισίου
δὲ ἀδελφός, βασιλεὺς δὲ Τείρυνθος.   5
Σθενεβοίαν δὲ γήμας ἐξ αὐτῆς ἐγέν-
νησε παῖδας. Βελλεροφόντην δὲ φεύ-
γοντα ἐκ Κορίνθου διὰ φόνον αὐτὸς
μὲν ἥγνισε τοῦ μύσους, ἡ γυνὴ δὲ αὐ-
τοῦ τὸν ξένον ἠγάπησε. τυχεῖν δὲ οὐ   10
δυναμένη τῶν ἐπιθυμημάτων δι-
έβαλεν ὡς ἐπιθέμενον ἑαυτῇ τὸν
Κορίνθιον [ξένο]ν. πιστεύσας δὲ
ὁ Προῖτος αὐτὸν εἰς Καρίαν ἐξ-
έπεμψεν, ἵνα ἀπόληται. δέλτον   15
γὰρ αὐτῷ δοὺς ἐκέλευσε πρὸς Ἰοβάτην
διακομίζειν. ὁ δὲ τοῖς γεγραμμένοις
ἀκόλουθα πράττων προσέτακεν αὐτῷ
διακινδυνεῦσαι πρὸς τὴν Χιμαιραν.
ὁ δὲ ἀγωνισάμενος τὸ θηρίον ἀνεῖλε.   20
πάλιν δὲ ἐπιστρέψας εἰς τὴν Τείρυνθα
τὸν <μὲν> Προῖτον κατεμέμψατο, ἀνέσει-
σε δὲ τὴν Σθενεβοίαν ὡς <εἰς> τὴν Καρίαν ἀπά-
ξων. μαθὼν δὲ παρ' αὐτῆς ἐκ Προίτου δευτέ-
ραν ἐπιβουλὴν φθάσας ἀνεχώρησεν. ἀνα-   25
θέμενος δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν Πήγασον τὴν Σθενέ-
βοιαν μετέωρος ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν ἤρθη.
κατὰ Μῆλον δὲ τὴν νῆσον γενόμενος ἐκεί-
νην ἀπέρριψεν. αὐτὴν μὲν οὖν ἀπο-
θανοῦσαν ἁλιεῖς εὑρόντες εἰς Τείρυν-   30
θα διεκόμισαν. πάλιν δὲ ἐπιστρέψας
ὁ Βελλεροφόντης πρὸς τὸν Προῖτον αὐ-
τὸς ὡμολόγησε πεπραχέναι ταῦτα·
δὶς γὰρ ἐπιβουλευθεὶς παρ' ἀμφοτέρων
δίκην εἰληφέναι τὴν πρέπουσαν, τῆς   35
μὲν εἰς τὸ ζῆν, τοῦ δὲ εἰς τὸ λυπεῖσθαι.

Stheneboea, which begins, '(There is no) man (who) is completely fortunate'; (the) plot is as follows: Proetus was the son of Abas, brother of Acrisius, and king of Tiryns. He married Stheneboea and had children by her. When Bellerophon fled Corinth because of a killing, Proetus purified him of the pollution but his wife fell in love with their guest. When she was unable to achieve her desires, she betrayed the Corinthian (guest) as having assaulted her. Believing (her), Proetus sent him to Caria to be killed: he had given him a tablet-letter and told him to take it to Iobates, who followed what was written and ordered Bellerophon to risk himself against the Chimaera. Bellerophon fought and killed the creature, however; returning to Tiryns he denounced Proetus but enticed Stheneboea with the idea of taking her back to Caria. When he learned from her of a second plot by Proetus, he forestalled it by going away. He mounted Stheneboea on Pegasus and rose high over the sea; when he was close to the island of Melos he threw her off. After her death fishermen found and carried her to Tiryns. Returning again to Proetus, Bellerophon himself admitted his actions; having twice been the subject of plots, he had exacted the appropriate justice from both— from her with her life, and from him with his painful grief. (test iia)

The basic elements, as found in both Hippolytus plays, are present: a married woman falls in love with a young man, he rejects her advances, and she seeks revenge by claiming rape. But based on the details revealed in the hypothesis, both Stheneboea and Bellerophon are quite different from Phaedra and Hippolytus in their actions. Bellerophon turns what was to be his punishment, being sent against the Chimaera, into a triumph and uses it to gain his own revenge on Stheneboea and Proetus upon his return.[287] Because Stheneboea's transgressions are never found out, she is not forced into suicide as Phaedra is in *Hippolytus Veiled*, but is killed by the man she has falsely accused.

Bellerophon's lines, which begin the play, indicate that Stheneboea has already made her unsuccessful advances on him, and that he is disgusted by her attempts to persuade him. He calls her a "silly woman" (γυνὴ…νηπία, fr. 661.5) and tells of her approaches to him, as well as those of her nurse:

---

[287] Ioannes Tzetzes also includes the detail about Bellerophon's revenge in his comment on Ar. *Fr*. 1051 (= test. iib).

λόγοισι πείθει καὶ δόλῳ θηρεύται
κρυφαῖον εὐνῆς εἰς ὁμιλίαν πεσεῖν.
ἀεὶ γὰρ ἥπερ τῷδ' ἐφέστηκεν λόγῳ
τροφὸς γεραιὰ καὶ ξυνίστησιν λέχος
ὑμνεῖ τὸν αὐτὸν μῦθον· 'ὦ κακῶς φρονῶν,
πιθοῦ· τί μαίνῃ; τλῆθι δεσποίνης ἐμῆς

             *   *   *

κτῆσαι δ' ἄνακτος δώμαθ', ἓν πεισθεὶς βραχύ'.

(Stheneboea) persuaded me with words and hunted me with trickery
so that I would fall into the secret intimacy of her bed.
For her old nurse, who started this talk
and was trying to contrive a union,
always recited the same story: 'You think wrongly,
be persuaded; why are you mad? Be daring as my mistress

             *   *   *

You will gain the king's palace, once you are persuaded of this one little thing.' (fr. 661.
8-14, trans. adapted)[288]

He then relates his plan to leave the palace because he is unwilling to disgrace both his host and
hostess by taking part in an affair (fr. 661.27-31). This means that the play begins prior to
Stheneboea's accusation, which must be what sets the play itself in motion.[289] Stheneboea is
using her nurse as a go-between and so resembles the more reticent Phaedra of the extant
Hippolytus, but her offer of the throne along with herself indicates that she is also boldly
attempting to convince Bellerophon to kill Proetus.[290] Euripides characterizes Stheneboea as he

---

[288] There is a lacuna at line 13.

[289] Zühlke proposes that the action concerning the Chimaera has already occurred at this point in order to
avoid the complex plot and large gaps of time within a single play (1961: 4), but the plot as laid out in the
hypothesis in combination with the surviving fragments cannot be stretched far enough to accommodate
this.

[290] This is a common implication in cases of royal wives and potential adultery (cf. Clytemnestra and
Aegisthus in *El.* 11-3, Hippolytus' assumption in *Hipp.* 1011, and Candaules' wife in Hdt. 1.11.2; see
Collard in Collard, Cropp, and Lee 1995: 93).

does the bolder version of Phaedra by describing her as hunting her beloved (v. 8), identical imagery to fragment 428 of *Hippolytus Veiled*.[291]

Stheneboea also resembles Phaedra in the way her persuasion is depicted. Her inventiveness is highlighted in the same way as Phaedra's boldness, with *eros* once more receiving the credit: ποιητὴν δ' ἄρα/ Ἔρως διδάσκει, κἂν ἄμουσος ᾖ τὸ πρίν ("After all, Love teaches a poet, even if he's previously lacking in skill," fr. 663).[292] She is described as pining for Bellerophon by "toasting" him with table scraps (fr. 664)[293] and as "beside herself" (ἀλύει, fr. 665.1) after he has gone to Lycia and presumably been killed fighting the Chimaera.

Although no fragments relate the accusation of rape, Bellerophon is not likely to know that it has been made when he first sets off for the court of Iobates in Lycia, based on the fact that he apparently does not understand the message he carries in the *Iliad*.[294] That Bellerophon finds out and that his revenge also occurs within the action of the play is proven with his apparent offer to take Stheneboea away to Lycia on Pegasus, the means by which he gains this revenge (fr. 669). As in the hypothesis, he throws her off the winged horse over the sea, and her body is recovered by fishermen, at least one of whom reports this (fr. 670). Stheneboea's corpse is brought onstage, leading Proetus to say, "Carry her inside. A sensible man should never put any trust in a woman" (κομίζετ' εἴσω τήνδε· πιστεύειν δὲ χρὴ/ γυναικὶ μηδὲν ὅστις εὖ φρονεῖ βροτῶν, fr. 671). Stheneboea's death has not come at her own hands, like Phaedra's, but

---

[291] The use of hunting and pursuit imagery in an erotic context appears as early as Sappho (1.21) and recurs in the extant *Hippolytus*.

[292] Collard and Cropp suggest that the nurse speaks these lines (2008b: 135, n.1). The second line of the fragment appears in Agathon's speech in Plat. *Symp*. 196e.

[293] Athenaeus describes this practice at 10.427e where he quotes this fragment and Aristophanes parodies it at *Thesm*. 404.

[294] According to Homer, who refers to Stheneboea as Anteia, Bellerophon carries a tablet with "baneful signs" (σήματα λυγρά) to the Lycian king (*Il*. 6.168-9). This is the earliest example of the Potiphar's wife storyline as well as the first "letter" recorded in Greek sources.

she has been killed while willingly committing (attempted) adultery, making Bellerophon's reversal of the three plots against him unique among the Potiphar's wife storylines.[295]

Turning now to *Phoenix*, we find Euripides departing from the pattern he uses in both the Hippolytus plays and in *Stheneboea* and producing a play which focuses less on the accuser (who is nameless in all the evidence we have for this play and probably does not even appear onstage),[296] and more on the experience of the accused. In this play, Euripides adapted the basic story of Phoenix from Homer (*Iliad* 9.447-77), where Phoenix' mother sends him to sway the affections of his father's concubine, he sleeps with the concubine, and is cursed with childlessness by his father as a result.[297] Based on evidence gleaned primarily from the testimonia for this play, Euripides' version differs from Homer's in the following ways: Phoenix refuses his mother's request,[298] is falsely accused of rape by his father's concubine, and is blinded by his father as punishment.[299]

The fragments reveal very little of the action of the play, beyond complaints over the value of sons to their fathers (fr. 803b), issues between young wives and elderly husbands (frs. 804 and 807), and Phoenix's suffering after being blinded (fr. 816). It is clear, though, that the perspective of the concubine is not given the same amount of attention as that of Phaedra or Stheneboea.[300] Perhaps this is due to her status as a concubine and not a wife, since few

---

[295] I.e. Stheneboea's accusation, the trip to Lycia, and the plot upon his successful return.

[296] Apollodorus gives the concubine the name Phthia (*Libr*. 3.13.8 = test. iiid), although this may be due to confusion over Phoenix's connection to Peleus and Achilles.

[297] This is how Phoenix ends up at the household of Peleus as tutor to Achilles. Peleus himself was falsely accused of rape by the wife of Acastus, king of Iolcus, where Peleus, like Bellerophon, had sought refuge after committing murder (Hes. fr. 208).

[298] A scholion on *Il*. 9.453 (= test. iia) includes the detail of the "guiltless" (ἀναμάρτητος) Phoenix in Euripides, connected to the emendation of the Homeric text to say that Phoenix did not obey his mother.

[299] Apollodorus includes the false accusation and the blinding in telling Phoenix's story (*Libr*. 3.13.8 = test. iiid), as does Hieronymous of Rhodes, mentioning Euripides and this play by name (fr. 32 = test. iva).

[300] Jouan puts fr. 804 (on elderly husbands and young wives) in the mouth of the concubine during her seduction of Phoenix (1990: 199), but there is nothing to support this attribution.

concubines appear on stage in Greek tragedy,[301] or perhaps this is a means of foregrounding Phoenix's suffering while disregarding hers, or both. Although the Hippolytus plays and *Stheneboea* do give the lovesick accusers' perspectives, *Phoenix* may not be alone in focussing on the young man's. *Peleus* has no testimonia and no fragments that reveal anything about the play's plot, but it may very well have been about Acastus' punishment of the title-character after his wife falsely accused Peleus of rape.[302] Euripides therefore could have had two templates from which to choose when portraying this type of storyline, one with a love-struck wife featured prominently, or one exclusively about the young man's experience.

One issue that stands out in these plays (including the extant *Hippolytus*), especially when compared with the rape and recognition plots which I have already discussed, is the fact that all of these accusations of rape result in attempts on the part of the husbands to seek revenge on the rapist. At no point prior to the discovery of the truth is the woman in any danger from her husband because of being "raped", in contrast to the impregnated maidens who must all fear what punishments their fathers will give, while their rapists face no consequences.[303] In all of these cases the father or husband acts as *kurios*.[304] But it seems that for the young girls who are raped, their consent (or rather the lack thereof) is not a factor in how their fathers react to the situation, rather their pregnancies are, but for married women and concubines, their lack of consent is what preserves their honour in the eyes of their husbands. As Sommerstein points out, if the rape of which these young men are accused is never supposed to have happened, that is, it

---

[301] Iole in *Women of Trachis* and Tecmessa in *Ajax* and the special case of Cassandra in *Agamemnon* (whose role as a prophet means she must speak) are exceptions.

[302] Sophocles' play of the same name has Peleus as an old man, which prevents us from attributing this plot to the Euripidean fragments with complete certainty.

[303] The fact that their rapists are divine or semi-divine is not important here, since the mortally-impregnated girls of New Comedy fear their fathers as well (cf. *Epitrepontes*).

[304] In Athens, a woman's family retained some power over her after marriage via the dowry, but this is not as much a factor in the mythological world of tragedy. Regardless, the rape of either daughter or wife affects the *kurios* directly, and so I see no reason to treat either type of victim differently.

was only an attempt, then the wives have not been defiled and the distinction holds up (2006: 234). But when we take into account the evidence from the papyrus hypotheses for *Hippolytus Veiled* (test. iia and b) that Phaedra created evidence of an actual attack,[305] it seems that at least one of these accusations is of an attack that actually occurred, so the question of whether Phaedra consented or not seems relevant.[306] As with the *parthenoi* of the rape and recognition plots, it is not their initial consent (or lack thereof) but the end result, the corruption of the woman, that matters.

The pattern that emerges from this comparison is that the unmarried women are not believed (or see no possibility of being believed) that the encounter was against their will, nor is this questions even relevant, while the married women are. If we look at the fact that all is considered to be well when the divine rapists claim their children,[307] even for their victims (the victims' perspectives being another matter entirely), but that rape of a married woman or concubine (i.e. a woman also under the control of a *kurios*) is presented as deserving a punishment as severe as death, the woman's consent as a factor in shaping these storylines disappears. The offense is the violation of what is essentially a man's property and not the trauma to the woman. The wives who falsely claim to have been raped also claim that it happened in their own homes (or rather their husband's homes).[308] In the Potiphar's wife storylines, the "rape" is both literally and figuratively a violation of the *kurios*' property. In terms of the unmarried young women, their rapes have made them unmarriageable except by the rapist, so they are now ineligible to become the property of any other husband, their own shame notwithstanding, while they are now considered "damaged" property by their fathers. Consent is

---

[305] There is no evidence that an attack actually occurred for *Hipp. Veiled*.
[306] Cf. Sommerstein on the extant *Hippolytus* and the other plays I have discussed here (1990: 235-6).
[307] Cf. the "happy" endings of New Comedy in which a victim is married to her rapist.
[308] Cf. Phaedra's bedchamber in disarray in *Hipp. Veiled*.

only a factor in preservation of the married women's shame (i.e. she must be shown to have resisted and must be so ashamed that she commits suicide) and even so is secondary to the violation of her husband's property.

The Cretan Cycle

Since I have already mentioned how Euripides draws a parallel between the reasoning of Phaedra and that of her mother, I shall now turn to the play in which he explores Pasiphae's actions, *Cretans*, followed by a discussion of the play that features her monstrous offspring, *Theseus*. *Cretans*, in particular, stands out among the tragedies, and in Greek literature, for Pasiphae's speech in defense of having mated with a bull, while the action of *Theseus* likely involves his brief romance with Ariadne and ends with the announcement that Theseus will marry Phaedra. I am therefore interested in how Euripides explores the complex relations between the women of the house of Minos and why, in the words of Reckford in his discussion of Phaedra and her mother, "you can't get away from Crete" (1974: 319).

Although none of the fragments of *Hippolytus Veiled* mentions Phaedra's Cretan origins, the extant *Hippolytus* does mention them at least five times.[309] When combined with Euripides' use of the same language (θεήλατος, see above) by both mother and daughter in defending their behaviour, it becomes apparent that the fragmentary Pasiphae can be read as a link of sorts between the fragmentary and extant Phaedras.[310] *Cretans* was as much the story of Pasiphae as the Hippolytus plays were of Phaedra; Ioannes Malalas says as much in referring to this play as

---

[309] *Hipp*. 156, 372, 719, 752, and 758-9.
[310] Since Cropp and Fick suggest that *Cretans* is early in the range of dates they give for it (455-428, 1985: 82), there is a likelihood that it was produced prior to the extant *Hippolytus* of 428, meaning that it could have fallen between the two Hippolytus plays.

περὶ δὲ τῆς Πασιφάης ("about Pasiphae", *Chron.* 4.16 = test. iib).[311] The play itself centers on

Minos' discovery of the Minotaur's birth,[312] and Daedalus' punishment and subsequent escape

from Crete.[313] The basics of Pasiphae's divinely-imposed lust and the Minotaur's origins are as

follows, as found in Apollodorus 3.1.3-4 (= test. iiia):[314] while sacrificing to Poseidon, Minos

prays for a bull to appear from the sea, promising that he will sacrifice it. Poseidon sends the

bull, and Minos does not sacrifice it but adds it to his herds, using it as a divine sign in order to

seize the throne of Crete, sacrificing another of his bulls instead. As punishment for this affront,

Poseidon has Pasiphae begin to desire it (ἐλθεῖν εἰς ἐπιθυμίαν, 3.1.4). Daedalus then constructs

a wooden, wheeled cow with a cow's hide stitched onto it, into which Pasiphae climbs and mates

with the bull, thus conceiving the Minotaur.[315] Upon discovering this, Minos imprisons

Daedalus,[316] but he and Icarus escape with Pasiphae's help, leading to Icarus' death as the two

fly to Sicily (Hyg. 40).

The divine origin of Pasiphae's passion is her primary means of defending herself from

Minos and the chorus and, as I have already mentioned, the same defense that Phaedra uses in

Hippolytus Veiled; she also blames Minos for her situation, as the testimonium from Plutarch

suggests Phaedra does with Theseus (Plut. *De aud. poetis* 8 = test. v). This forms the central

platform of her lengthy speech, which has the same function as Phaedra's long speech of self-

defense at *Hippolytus* 373-430 and fragment 430 of *Hippolytus Veiled*, which was presumably

---

[311] Libanius also highlights this aspect of *Cretans* (*Or.* 64.73 = test. v).

[312] Both frs. 472a and 472b.29 mention the mixed nature of the baby, and someone who is likely Minos asks at whose breast it nurses (fr. 472b.38), indicating that Pasiphae has only recently given birth.

[313] A scholion on Ar. *Fr.* 849 (= fr. 472g) mentions Icarus singing a monody in *Cretans*, which likely took place just before he and his father departed on their final flight.

[314] Hyginus 40 overlaps the information from 3.1.4.

[315] Apollodorus has the Minotaur named Asterius, after the childless king of Crete whose throne Minos assumed (3.1.4).

[316] This imprisonment is likely imported from stories about Theseus' visit to Crete (cf. Apollod. *Epit.* 1.12).

part of a similar speech. Pasiphae's rhetorical strategy is to deflect blame initially, then place it

on the gods, and finally on Minos:

ἀρνουμένη μὲν οὐκέτ᾽ ἂν πίθοιμί σε·
πάντως γὰρ ἤδη δῆλον ὡς ἔχει τάδε.   5
ἐγ[ω] γὰρ εἰ μὲν ἀδρὶ προὔβαλον δέμας
τοὐμὸν λαθραίαν ἐμπολωμένη Κύπριν,
ὀρθῶς ἂν ἤδη μάχ[λο]ς οὖσ᾽ ἐφαινόμην·
νῦν δ᾽— ἐκ θεοῦ γὰρ προσβολῆς ἐμηνάμην—
ἀλγῶ μέν, ἔστι δ᾽ οὐχ ἑκο[ύσ]ιον κακόν.   10
ἔχει γὰρ οὐδὲν εἰκός· ἐς τί γὰρ βοός
βλέψασ᾽ ἐδήχθην θυμὸν αἰσχίστῃ νόσῳ;
ὡς εὐπρεπὴς μὲν ἐν πέπλοισιν ἦν ἰδεῖν,
πυρσῆς δὲ χαίτης καὶ παρ᾽ ὀμμάτων σέλας
οἰνωπὸν ἐξέλαμπε περ[καί]νων γένυν;   15
οὐ μὴν δέμας γ᾽ ευ. [ca. 8 ll. ν]υμφίου·
τοιῶνδε λέκτρω[ν οὕνεκ᾽ εἰς] πεδοστιβῆ
ῥινὸν καθις. [ca. 15 ll.]ται
ἀλλ᾽ οὐδὲ παίδων. [ca. 9 ll.]πόσιν
θέσθαι· τί δῆτα τῇ[δ᾽ ἐμαι]νόμην νόσῳ;   20
δαίμων ὁ τοῦδε κἄμ᾽ ἐ[νέπλησεν κα]κῶν,
μάλιστα δ᾽ οὗτος οισε[ca. 11 ll.] ων·
ταῦρον γὰρ οὐκ ἔπραξ[ε......ηύ]ξατο
ἐλθόντα θύσειν φάσμα [πο]ντίω[ι θε]ῷ.
ἐκ τῶνδέ τοί σ᾽ ὑπῆλθ[ε κἀ]πετείσ[ατο
δίκην Ποσειδῶν, ἐν δ᾽ ἔμ᾽ ἔσκηψ[εν short long.   25
κἄπειτ᾽ αὐτεῖς καὶ σὺ μαρτύρῃ θεούς
αὐτὸς τάδ᾽ ἔρξας καὶ καταισχύνας ἐμέ.
κἀγὼ μὲν ἡ τεκοῦσα κοὐδὲν αἰτία
ἔκρυψα πληγὴν δαίμονος θεήλατον,   30
σὺ δ᾽— εὐπρεπῆ γὰρ κἀπιδείξασθαι καλά—
τῆς σῆς γυναικός, ὦ κάκιστ᾽ ἀνδρῶν φρονῶν,
ὡς οὐ μεθέξων πᾶσι κηρύσσεις τάδε.
σύ τοί μ᾽ ἀπόλλυς, σὴ γὰρ ἡ 'ξ[αμ]αρτία,
ἐκ σοῦ νοξοῦμεν. Πρὸς τάδ᾽ εἴτε ποντίαν   35
κτείνειν δοκεῖ σοι, κτε[ῖ]ν᾽· ἐπίστασαι δέ τοι
μιαιφόν᾽ ἔργα καὶ σφαγὰς ἀνδροκτόνους·
εἴτ᾽ ὠμοσίτου τῆς ἐμῆς ἐρᾷς φαγεῖν
σαρκός, πάρεστι· μὴ λίπῃς θοινώμενος.
ἐλεύθεροι γὰρ κοὐδὲν ἠδικηκότες   40
τῆς σῆς ἕκατι ζημ[ία]ς †ονούμεθα.

Denials from me will no longer convince you;
for the facts are now quite clear.   5
If I had thrown myself at a man
in love's furtive commerce,
I should rightly now be revealed as lascivious.
As it is, because my madness was a god's onslaught,
I hurt, but my trouble is not voluntary.   10
Why, it has no probability! What did I see in a bull
to have my heart eaten away by a most shaming affliction?
Was it that it was handsome to the eye in robes,
and threw out a bright gleam from its ruddy hair and eyes,
the beard on its cheeks darkly red?   15
Certainly it wasn't the (well-formed?) body of a bridegroom!
Was it for a union like that…
of an animal's hide…?
Not (to get) children…to make it my husband!
Why then was I (maddened) by this affliction?   20
It was this man's destiny
that (brought) me too (my fill) of trouble, and he especially…
since he did not slaughter (that) bull (which) he vowed
to sacrifice to the sea-god when it appeared.
This is the reason, I tell you, why Poseidon undermined you   25
and exacted punishment, but launched (the affliction) upon me.
And then you cry out and call the gods to witness,
when you did this yourself and brought shame upon me?
While I, who gave birth and was at fault in nothing,
concealed the god's stroke launched by heaven,   30
you– fine and splendid things to put on show!–
you proclaimed them to all as if you want no part in your wife,
you worst of husbands in your intention!
It is you who destroyed me, yours was the wrongdoing,
you are the cause of my affliction! So either, if you have decided   35
to kill me by drowning, go on and kill me– you understand
acts of foul murder and the slaughter of men–
or if you desire to eat my flesh raw,[317]
here it is: don't skimp on your banquet!
Because of the punishment upon you, we are to die,   40
who are free and quite innocent of wrongdoing. (fr. 472e. 4-41)

The initial comparison to a woman who commits (or attempts to commit) adultery (vv. 6-8)

would seem to distinguish Pasiphae from Phaedra, due to the obvious difference between their

objects of desire, but straightaway she describes her actions as caused by a god and therefore

---

[317] Cf. Polymestor's anticipated form of revenge at *Hec.* 1072-3.

involuntary (ἑκούσιος, v. 10), offering as proof the freakishness of human attraction to an animal[318] (vv.11-16, although her detailed description of the beauty of human males as a contrast to the bull's appearance implies the presence of vestiges of her alleged former madness).[319] Although she and Phaedra blame the same source, *eros*, Pasiphae's actions make insanity a far more plausible defense in her case. She then lays the blame squarely upon Minos' shoulders, making Poseidon's actions secondary to those of her husband (vv. 25-6). Once more, Pasiphae reiterates her innocence (οὐδὲν αἰτία, v. 29), and her husband's guilt three more times in an ascending tricolon that ends with Pasiphae assigning the cause of her madness to Minos (vv. 34-5).

It seems that this speech was sufficient to convince the chorus of priests, who ask Minos to withdraw his sentence of death for Pasiphae (ἐπίσχ[ες, v. 50).[320] Minos' negative response to this request (v. 52) raises the question that Euripides explores, through the characters of both Phaedra and Pasiphae, of how to evaluate this kind of claim. How much responsibility can be assigned to one reacting to the external force of desire? When both versions of Phaedra are placed alongside Pasiphae, it would seem that, in typical Euripidean fashion, a variety of attitudes are expressed. Since they both give in to external influence and pursue the objects of their desire, Pasiphae and the Phaedra of *Hippolytus Veiled* are responsible for the results of their

---

[318] Rivier points out that unwillingness was a frequently-used defense in Athenian law-courts (1975: 59). Collard gives the first several lines of this speech as an example of an ἀντικατηγορία, in which the defendant seeks to redirect responsibility to the plaintiff in the face of damning evidence. He also highlights Pasiphae's appeal to probability (τὸ εἰκός) (in Collard, Cropp, and Lee 1995: 73).

[319] See Collard in Collard, Cropp and Lee 1995: 74 for a comparison of Pasiphae's description of the bull with descriptions of human objects of desire in Euripides.

[320] Pasiphae's punishment appears to have been a Euripidean innovation (Collard in Collard, Cropp, and Lee 1995: 54).

actions.[321] In *Hippolytus*, though, since Euripides emphasizes Aphrodite's deeds by having her on stage, he underscores the role of the gods in creating desire. He also emphasizes Phaedra's own role in managing her desire by having the nurse play a more forceful role and having the suicide come prior to Theseus' discovery of her desire. In the end of all three plays, though, the result is the same: as a result of giving in on some level to a wrongful desire, the woman dies and her family suffers, which suggests the inescapability of such forces and the inability of mortals, at least mortal women, to withstand them.

Reckford suggests that in *Cretans* and the Hippolytus plays, Crete is represented as a center for "the inevitability of moral failure" (1974: 326). It seems that the house of Minos is as cursed as the house of Atreus,[322] and when we turn to *Theseus*, we see that the moral failings of Minos' household continue. In telling the story of Theseus' heroism on Crete, Euripides focuses on Ariadne's attraction to Theseus, which allows this play's depiction of desire to be read alongside those in *Cretans* and the Hippolytus plays. He also depicts Minos' anger, but this anger, rather than aligning him more closely with the fathers in the rape and recognition plays, seems to be directed as much at Theseus as at his daughter.[323]

The play seems to be set on Crete, near the labyrinth, since Ariadne is a character in the play and there is a messenger speech about Theseus killing the Minotaur (fr. 386b). Despite significant damage to its left side, a papyrus hypothesis (test. iiia) reveals much about the plot: Theseus kills the Minotaur with the assistance of Daedalus (Δαιδάλου βοηθήσαντος, v. 4) and

---

[321] Comparing Pasiphae to Phaedra and Medea, Rivier does not think it is possible to compare their motivations to Pasiphae's attraction to an animal, preferring it to correspond to what is "savage" in desire (1975: 53).

[322] The house of Atreus in fact comes into contact with Crete via Aerope, the Cretan princess who is Atreus' wife and mother to Menelaus and Agamemnon. It is Thyestes' seduction of Aerope that triggers Atreus serving him the flesh of his own children. Euripides' play featuring Aerope, *Cretan Women*, deals with the results of Aerope's relations with Thyestes and subsequent punishment by her father, Catreus, the king of Crete (schol. on Soph. *Aj*. 1295-7 = test. iiia).

[323] Cf. Apollod. *Epit*. 1.12, in which Minos is angry over Theseus' escape.

Ariadne (τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως … συναγωνιώσης, v. 5-6, with the feminine singular of the participle, plus the genitive referring to Minos, indicating that Ariadne is referred to despite the absence of her name). The skein of thread she gives him appears in fragment 386aa, possibly part of a messenger speech.[324] Ariadne is acting out of desire for Theseus (line 11 refers to her ἐπιθυμία), which causes her to try to persuade her father (v. 12) and convince Theseus to take her away from Crete (vv. 13-14).[325] Ariadne's abandonment by Theseus is implied by a mention of her marriage to Dionysus (Ἀ[ρ]ιάδνην…]ἔγημε, vv. 14-15).

The end of what remains of the hypothesis, though, is what is most intriguing:

> Μείνω δεθυμ……με
>] κελεύσασα γάμῳ τὴν ὀ[ρ]γὴν μεσο—
> λαβ—] τὴν νεωτέραν θυγατ[έ]ρα π[

And when Minos…
…ordered him…his anger with a marriage
…his younger daughter…(vv. 15-17)

Minos is ordered, presumably at the end of the play, by a female character (shown in the nominative feminine participle κελεύσασα) to diffuse (presumably) his anger through a marriage. Collard and Cropp offer Athena as the speaker here (2008a: 419), which works well, since she appears as a *dea ex machina* in several other plays and is Theseus' tutelary deity. Thus it is likely that the play ends with a pronouncement to Minos of Theseus' future. The marriage will be of course to Phaedra, Minos' younger daughter, and so what seems to be a resolution is in fact a prelude to more misfortune after the play ends. The pattern of desire and disaster established with Pasiphae continues through Ariadne (who at least gets her happy ending) and, as

---

[324] Apollodorus confirms that the thread comes from Ariadne (*Epit*. 1.8 = test. iiib (1)).
[325] Apollodorus (*Epit*. 1.8 = test. iiib (1)) and Diodorus Siculus (4.61.4- 5= test. iiib (2)) confirm Ariadne's desire for Theseus.

Euripides' mention of her suggests, on to Phaedra, and so the escape from Crete will be unsuccessful, even for Theseus.

Individual Characters

The characters I shall now discuss fit less into established plot-types than those I have already examined, but rather stand out by virtue of how they relate to prevailing conceptions of their gender in terms of marriage (Haemon in *Antigone* and Althaea in *Meleager*) or how they conduct erotic relationships (Laodamia in *Protesilaus* and Laius in *Chrysippus*). In the first two cases, Euripides works from well-established myths and makes choices in plot and characterization which highlight how Haemon and Atalanta defy the expectations that come with their gender, while in the final two, he adds unusual details which make Lamia and Laius stand out among all tragic characters. For all of these characters, the testimonia provide this information.

Since Sophocles' *Antigone*, produced circa 440,[326] is the earliest extant version we have of this story,[327] Euripides could have been reacting to the story line of rebellion and filial loyalty that Sophocles had first established. In Sophocles' version, Haemon asks his father, Creon, to spare Antigone and then commits suicide after she is walled into a tomb while still alive. The thwarted marriage of Haemon and Antigone initially seems secondary to the main plot point of the play, which is Antigone's defiance of her uncle's order not to bury her brother Polyneices, but as Ormand points out, this is not the case, as shown in Sophocles' use of marital and erotic imagery in depicting her death (1999: 79). If a marriage that is never realized in Sophocles' play is a "node of conflicting power relations" (Ormand 1999: 80), and Haemon defies his father by

---

[326] For more on the date of *Antigone*'s production see Griffith 1999: 1-2.
[327] The only earlier evidence for Antigone is her being listed as one of Oedipus' daughters by Pherecydes (*FGrH* 3, fr. 95).

supporting his bride-to-be, then Euripides expands this theme, ultimately redefining the relationship between father and son by having the marriage actualized in his play.

Aristophanes of Byzantium, in his hypothesis for the Sophoclean play, mentions Haemon and Antigone's marriage as the defining detail of Euripides' play:

> κεῖται ἡ μυθοποία καὶ παρὰ Εὐριπίδῃ ἐν Ἀντιγόνῃ· πλὴν ἐκεῖ φωραθεῖσα μετὰ τοῦ Αἵμονος δίδοται πρὸς γάμου κοιωνίαν· καὶ τέκνον τίκτειτὸν Μαίονα.

> The plot is also found in Euripides in *Antigone*, except that there Antigone is detected with Haemon and is joined with him in marriage; and she gives birth to a child, Maeon. (test. iia)

The detail of the marriage also appears in a scholion on line 1351 of Sophocles' play (= test. iib (2)). Because the fragments for *Antigone* come mostly from gnomic anthologies, those that pertain to Haemon deal with love and marriage and we know little of the character beyond this. As I mentioned in my chapter on Stobaeus, fragment 162 (= Stob. 4.20.4), which calls a young man in love ἀφύλακτος ("unguardable", v. 2) and σοφώτατος "very clever", v. 3, cf. *Hipp. Veiled* fr. 430), takes Haemon beyond the reach of the *polis*' punitive structures as embodied in Creon. Fragment 162a reinforces Haemon's dedication to Antigone: ἐγὼ γὰρ ἕξω λέκτρ᾽ ἅ τοι καλῶς ἔχειν/ δίκαιόν ἐστιν οἷσι συγγηράσομαι ("For I shall have a marriage which should rightly do well, I tell you, in which I shall grow old", trans. adapted).[328]

This marriage then aligns Haemon even more securely with Antigone in her dispute with Creon. Euripides' Haemon allows Antigone to affect his relationship with his father earlier on in the play, as opposed to his eventual defiance via suicide in Sophocles, and so the couple operates together rather than separately against Creon. Siding with his bride against his father also means

---

[328] Euripides uses λέκτρα of a marriage-bed (and therefore a marriage) at e.g. *Alc.* 925, *Or.* 939, *Hipp.* 944, *Med.* 436 and 594.

that Haemon upends the exchange of the bride that underpins traditional Greek matrimony,[329] and ends up transferred to his bride's family and away from his own, as part of a marriage that Creon must have arranged himself.[330] This reversed transfer partners Haemon with his wife against his father. Left with little more than this tantalizing information about Haemon and Antigone, we can only speculate on how Creon reacted to his son's abandonment of his natal family.

Althaea in *Meleager* reverses Haemon's situation by rejecting her son and therefore her marital family in favour of her natal family. The earliest version of Althaea's story comes from the *Iliad*, and is told by Phoenix in an attempt to lure Achilles back to battle (9.529-605). It only briefly mentions the curses that Althaea directs toward her son, Meleager, but does tell us their cause, the killing of her brother (κασιγνήτοιο φόνος, 9.567).[331] Not found in the *Iliad*, Meleager's reason for slaying his uncles, the Thesteids,[332] is the awarding of the Calydonian boar's hide, which the Thesteids tried to seize.[333] Euripides' play most likely tells the story of the hunt, the subsequent disagreement over the boar's hide, and the killing of the Thesteids. Atalanta, who probably entered the tradition of the Calydonian boar hunt by the sixth century,[334] adds another dimension to the narrative, which explores Meleager's attraction to her and Althaea's reaction to this.[335]

---

[329] As examined in Rabinowitz 1993, Wohl 1998, and Ormand 1999.

[330] Ormand points out that this transfer occurs in Sophocles as well, and is fitting given Antigone's status as *epikleros* (1999: 98).

[331] This story is separate from the tradition of the Fates telling Althaea that her son would live as long as the log on the hearth at his birth, and her later burning it in revenge (cf. Bacch. 5.93-154, Aesch. *Lib*. 602-11, and Hyg. 174). This may have been part of Euripides' play, but there is no proof of it. Although Althaea burns the log to kill her son in Accius' *Meleager* (frs. 444 and 445), there is no evidence that this was part of the Euripidean storyline.

[332] Despite the singular form in Homer, other sources refer to Althea's two or more brothers, cf. fr. 530.

[333] Cf. Apollod. *Libr*. 1.8.3 (= test. iiic) and Ovid *Met*. 8.446.

[334] Bacchylides 5 is the earliest text that includes Atalanta among the hunters.

[335] Euripides was probably the first to add Meleager's love for Atalanta to the story (Page 1937: 179, esp. n. 2).

Althaea reacts against her own son in this play because of Atalanta's presence in the narrative: Meleager falls in love with Atalanta (there is no trace of his wife from the *Iliad*, Cleopatra), wishes to award her the boar's hide, and so kills his uncles who wish to claim it for themselves,[336] drawing his mother's vengeance upon himself. Much of what remains of the play deals with Althaea's fraught relationship to her son, beginning with fragment 518, in which he defends to her his choice to go out on the hunt (the vocative τεκοῦσα makes it clear that the addressee is Althaea).[337] Atalanta is a divisive presence between mother and son in fragments 520-8, in which all three characters seem to debate marriage to a transgressive woman such as Atalanta.[338] For her part, Atalanta never expresses interest in marrying Meleager, but defends the type of match that would result from such a marriage (fr. 525). Althaea's rejection of Atalanta as a suitable wife for her son is based on the most traditional of grounds, that Atalanta is too manly in her pursuits, and this upsets the boundary between men and women:

> εἰ κερκίδων μὲν ἀνδράσιν μέλοι πόνος,
> γυναιξὶ δ' ὅπλων ἐμπέσοιεν ἡδοναί·
> ἐκ τῆς ἐπιστήμης γὰρ ἐκπεπτωκότες
> κεῖνοί τ' ἂν οὐδὲν εἶεν οὔθ' ὑμεῖς ἔτι.

> …if men concerned themselves with the labour of weaving,
> and the joys of armed fighting overcame women;
> cast out from their proper sphere of knowledge,
> they would be good for nothing and so would we. (fr. 522)[339]

She then seems to escalate her rhetoric against Atalanta, again expressing concern over the latter's behaviour as a woman: μισῶ γυναῖκα <πᾶσαν>– ἐκ πασῶν δὲ σέ–/ ἥτις πονηρὰ

---

[336] The argument stems from who actually killed the boar, with Atalanta striking the first blow, Amphiarus next, and Meleager finishing the kill (Apollod. *Libr.* 1.8.2-3 = test. iiic).

[337] Fr. 517, a pun on Meleager's name ("wretched hunt"), could be part of Althaea's attempt to keep him from going.

[338] See Barringer 1996: 59 for an examination of Atalanta in comparison with other women who are portrayed as hunters, including maenads and Amazons.

[339] Fr. 528a, which refers to the "work of the singing shuttle" (κεκίδος ἀοιδοῦ μελέτας), may have been part of this rhetorical strategy of dividing up women's and men's work.

τἄργ᾽ ἔχουσ᾽ <εἶτ᾽> εὖ λέγει ("I detest every woman— and you above all of them— who has done wicked deeds and then defends them with fine words", fr. 528).

But if Althaea defends traditional roles for husband and wife within a marriage, she ultimately disregards her own in condemning Meleager to death with her curse. Unlike Haemon, who takes on the position of a woman in marriage when he leaves his natal family to side with his wife in untenable circumstances, when the situation escalates, Althaea chooses her brothers over her sons. In having her do so, Euripides underscores the labile position of a wife who has joined a new household, since Althaea rejects not a husband, to whom she has no biological ties, but her own son in favour of her natal family. This is the concern that the marital exchange of women between households foregrounds. The result of this choice is that Althaea effectively becomes a filicide, which puts her in the category of Themisto from *Ino*, Agave from *Bacchae*, and Medea.[340] Agave is a particularly interesting comparanda for Althaea here, since as a maenad she is a female hunter like Atalanta (see. n. 339 above). By killing her own son, even at a remove, Althaea has drawn herself closer to the woman she rejected so forcefully earlier in the play.

In *Protesilaus*, Euripides explores mourning one's spouse through the character of Laodamia, who represents the other side of the situation he presents with Admetus in *Alcestis*, much as Althaea's situation is similar to that of Haemon but with a different gender-based slant. *Protesilaus* tells the story of the title character's return from Hades for single day,[341] in order to visit his wife, Laodamia. Since Protesilaus and Laodamia had only recently married prior to his death at Troy (he was the first Greek to die there, *Il*. 2.695-710), her grief is so immense that she

---

[340] See McHardy 2005: 145-8 for Althaea in comparison to filicides from the fragmentary plays of Aeschylus and Sophocles.
[341] The limitation to a single day is found in a scholion on the conversation between Protesilaus, Persephone, and Hades at Luc. *D.Mort*. 28.2 (= test. ii).

has created an image of him to allay it (Apollod. *Epit*. 3.29 and Eust. on *Il*. 2.700-2 = test. iiia and Hyg. 104 = test. iiib).[342] While striking, this is not the only instance of Euripides referring to an inanimate surrogate beloved; he has Admetus suggest this as an antidote to the grief he will feel after Alcestis has taken his place in the Underworld (348-52). Since the two plays could be quite close chronologically,[343] Euripides could very well have meant them to echo one another. Supporting this idea are the innovation of Protesilaus' return from Hades, which is just like Alcestis' return, despite being limited, for which there is no evidence earlier than this play, and the fact that both stories have Thessalian origins (Jouan and Van Looy 2000: 573).

Euripides does not merely reverse the circumstances of *Alcestis* by making Laodamia into a female Admetus, but rather expands on the presence of the statue and has her commit suicide at the final departure of her husband, unlike Admetus when Alcestis dies.[344] Because the statue is so prominent in the various testimonia it was probably equally prominent in the play.[345] In Hyginus' version, Laodamia's father discovers its existence and orders it burned (104 = test. iiib). This provides a potential opening conflict for the play, prior to the arrival of Protesilaus (Mayer 1885: 117).[346] Laodamia's pledge of loyalty may come from such a scene: οὐκ ἂν προδοίην καίπερ ἄψυχον φίλον ("I shall not forsake a loved one, even though he is lifeless,"

---

[342] Apollodorus goes so far as to insinuate that she has intercourse with the statue (προσωμίλει, *Epit*. 3.29). This recalls Pygmalion and his statue at Ovid *Met*. 10.253-8. Steiner traces the practice of "replacing" a dead loved one with an image in the ancient world to the Bronze Age, although the examples she uses have the primarily ritual purpose of replacing an absent body and aiding the *psyche*'s transition to Hades (2001: 5-8). These statues are therefore part of an acceptance of death. In the case of *Protesilaus* (and *Alcestis*), the statue is meant to *be* the loved one and to allay the grief of Laodamia, which is emphatically not an acceptance of Protesilaus' death.

[343] *Alcestis* was produced in 438 and Cropp and Fick propose a *terminus ante quem* of 425 for *Protesilaus* (1985: 70).

[344] The chorus comments on Admetus' cowardly choice to send his wife in his stead, suggesting that he should commit suicide (227-9, cf. Loraux 1978: 16).

[345] Protesilaus' statue is featured on a Roman sarcophagus from the middle of the second century C.E. (= test. iiic (1).

[346] Jouan and Van Looy propose that the play begins with a prologue by Aphrodite due to her connection to the war at Troy and the fact that her vengeance was developed in Protesilaus' dialogue in Lucian (2000: 577).

fr. 655).[347] The ephemeral return of Protesilaus precipitates Laodamia's suicide by the end of the play (fr. 656), and thus Euripides differentiates her from her male counterpart, Admetus, by means of her choice. Admetus has been feminized by his choice to allow Alcestis to die nobly in his stead (Loraux 1987: 29); Laodamia, in contrast, has chosen a heroic and therefore manly death.

Finally, I turn to Laius in *Chrysippus*, whose little-known story exists on the fringes of the famous Theban cycle and the plays about the house of Atreus. The play is one of the rare known instances of same-sex desire portrayed in tragedy, with Aeschylus' fragmentary *Myrmidons* being another.[348] *Chrysippus* focuses on pederasty, specifically Laius' abduction and rape of Pelops' son, and there appears to be no earlier evidence for this story, which may be a Euripidean invention.[349] Only six fragments remain of the play itself, and so reconstruction is heavily dependent on the testimonia. According to Athenaeus, Laius was visiting Pelops at Pisa and fell in love with Chrysippus, whom he carried off in his chariot (13.602f).[350] This seems like a plausible plot for the play, which then would have focused on Laius' betrayal of Pelops' hospitality and could have ended with a curse that forecast the story of Oedipus.[351]

Even more intriguing is the fact that Euripides seems to have presented this as the first instance of male homoeroticism among the Greeks. This is according to Aelian in his

---

[347] ἄψυχος can be used to refer to statues, cf. Timaeus 127.

[348] Fragments 64-6 of this play seem to refer to an erotic relationship between Achilles and Patroclus. For instances of homosexuality implied if not explicitly portrayed in Euripides, see Poole 1990.

[349] Lloyd-Jones claims that Euripides must have taken this plot from a lost epic (not the *Oedipodeia*) or from Aeschylus, who wrote a play titled *Laius* as part of trilogy on the Theban cycle (1983: 120-1). Since no fragments of this play remain, it is not possible to prove or deny that it dealt with this subject matter.

[350] Apollod. *Libr*. 3.5.5 relates that Laius was exiled from Thebes.

[351] A lengthy scholion on *Phoenician Women* 1760 (known as the Peisander-scholion) mentions a curse on Laius due to his unholy love (ἔρως ἀσεβήσας, 3-4) for Chrysippus, but ascribes it to Hera. See Mastronarde 1994: 31-8 for a detailed account of the use of this scholion in various reconstructions of the play.

comparison of a dolphin that falls in love with but accidentally kills a young boy (described as an

ephebe) with Laius' conduct toward Chrysippus:

> Λάιος δὲ ἐπὶ Χρυσίππῳ, ὦ καλὲ Εὐριπίδη, τοῦτο οὐκ ἔδρασε, καίτοι τοῦ τῶν ἀρρένων ἔρωτος, ὡς λέγεις αὐτὸς καὶ ἡ φήμη διδάσκει, Ἑλλήνων πρώτιστος ἄρξας.
>
> …Laius did not do this over Chrysippus,[352] O noble Euripides, even though he was the very first of the Greeks to practice *eros* for males, as you yourself say and tradition tells us. (*NA* 6.15 = test. iva, trans. adapted)

Laius' destruction of his beloved through desire[353] puts him in the same category as Phaedra,

whose *eros* leads to the death of Hippolytus (although Hippolytus' death is not a suicide). In

fragment 841, Laius' faults are divinely-sent: αἰαῖ, τόδ᾽ ἤδη θεῖον ἀνθρώποις κακόν,/ ὅταν

τις εἰδῇ τἀγαθόν, χρῆται δὲ μή ("Alas, this is a truly divine evil for men, when someone

knows the good but does not practice it").[354] Laius also remarks on the strength of his desire, and

its compulsion, emphasizing his passivity in the face of *eros*: γνώμην δ᾽ ἔχοντά μ᾽ ἡ φύσις

βιάζεται ("Though I am mindful of it, nature compels me," fr. 840.2). In *Chrysippus* Euripides

depicts male desire using the same language that he uses for female desire, aligning those who

are overcome by *eros* by characterizing them as passive and therefore feminized.

All of these desires, however, are depicted as out of control; after all, Euripides

characterizes Laius' love for Chrysippus in the same way as he does Pasiphae's for a bull. A

chorus from the play comments on the production and fertility of heterosexual relationships by

describing the cycle of life that begins with Earth and Heaven (fr. 839). This has the effect of

casting fertility as natural and the sterility of Laius' desire as unnatural (Poole 1990: 148). While

there is no evidence that Euripides wrote this play to be anti-pederastic (at least as pederasty was

---

[352] The dolphin beaches himself beside his beloved out of grief.

[353] A scholion on *Phoen.* 1760 says that Chrysippus killed himself out of shame (ὑπὸ αἰσχύνης).

[354] In quoting this fragment, Albinus compares Laius to Medea for his conflict between passion and reason (*Intro. to Plato* 24). Poole also makes the comparison to Phaedra on the basis of her similar situation (1990: 142).

practiced at Athens),[355] I do think that the comparison with Phaedra and Pasiphae shows that he was interested in exploring the potential for extreme results when desire goes uncontrolled.

Conclusion

The testimonia are of the utmost importance in determining Euripides' depiction of gender in the fragmentary plays. Without them, we would not know of significant plot elements in several plays, including the appearance of Hippe at the ending of *Melanippe Wise* or the onstage presence of Heracles in *Auge*, nor would we have a sense of just how fervent the desires of characters like Phaedra in *Hippolytus Veiled* or Laius in *Chrysippus* are. We would not fully grasp the significance within the Euripidean corpus of Haemon's rebellion in *Antigone* or Laodamia's bereavement in *Protesilaus*. There is no choice but to turn to the testimonia when studying gender in the fragments, since without them, we would not fully grasp the transgressive nature of women like Pasiphae or Laodamia and men like Haemon and Chrysippus. In cases like those of Haemon and Althaea or Laodamia and Admetus, we do not see the parallels between characters of opposite genders as easily.

---

[355] Indeed Aelian (rather preposterously) says that he wrote this play due to his love for Agathon (*VA* 2.21 = test. ivc). Hubbard suggests that this play comments negatively on the link between the upper class and pederasty, with Laius as the arrogant prince (2011: 243).

Chapter 5: Plot and Characterization in the "Tales of Euripides"

Having just discussed the means by which the mythographers and other sources of testimonia can supplement our understanding of Euripides' lost plays, we are left with yet more pieces to the puzzle that the fragmentary plays present. There is a kind of source which I have only briefly touched upon so far in which the basics of Euripidean plots are covered and which has proven itself to be an invaluable resource for understanding how gender operates in the plots of several of the fragmentary plays. The so-called "Tales from Euripides" is a collection of tragic hypotheses of both extant and non-extant plays in Hellenistic prose, first given the name Εὐριπίδου Ἱστορίαι by Zuntz (1955: 136).[356] In addition to dealing exclusively with Euripidean plays, this group also stands out from the main Alexandrian and Byzantine collections of dramatic hypotheses by virtue of its mythographic focus and the presence of distinctive stylistic features.[357] The "Tales" share the following structural characteristics, as outlined in Van Rossum-Steenbeek (1997: 2-3)[358]: the first line contains the title of the play followed by οὗ/ἧς/ὧν ἀρχή, the second line is a quotation of the opening verse of the play, and

---

[356] Although Zuntz provided this group of hypotheses with its name, Wilamowitz was the first to observe that several mythographic summaries and scholia dealing with Euripides' plays seemed to share a common source (1875: 183-4). For a list of all the hypotheses, from plays both fragmentary and extant, and the papyri they were found on, see Van Rossum-Steenbeek 1997, chapter 1. For a list of the mythographical works and scholia, with the hypotheses from which they are derived, see Rusten 1982: 357, n.2.

[357] Zuntz includes the recurring use of μέν…δέ antitheses, connecting phrases with τοῦτον μὲν οὖν…τὸν δέ, and participles used substantively (in a "somewhat strained" fashion) in his list of identifying features (1955: 135, n.1 and 2). In addition to these, Van Rossum-Steenbeek mentions the use of relatively simple syntax and vocabulary, pointing out that the "Tales" rarely make use of technical or poetical terms, and that they use either the aorist or the imperfect, as opposed to the present tense employed in other types of hypotheses (1997: 7-12).

[358] Van Rossum-Steenbeek includes the "Tales from Euripides" in her category of "narrative and learned" hypotheses, as opposed to those she calls "descriptive" (referring to the hypothesis of a comedy) or those she calls "prose and metrical" (of Menandrian plays) (1997: 1).

the third line is ἡ δὲ ὑπόθεσις,[359] after which the hypothesis summarizes the events of the

tragedy in prose, usually in the order in which they appear in the play itself, never referring to

didascalic information or to the author. These hypotheses are between 33 and 42 lines in length,

with 27 to 31 letters per line. The consistent appearance of these shared characteristics suggests

that the "Tales" are the work of a single author, who was likely composing them not as an

accompaniment to the text of a given play, but as a substitute, in which one could find

information about the Euripidean version of a given myth (Zuntz 1955: 135).

In the past, the search for this lone author centered on the figure of Dicaearchus, a student

of Aristotle. This identification stems primarily from a passage in Sextus Empiricus' *Against the

Mathematicians* naming Dicaearchus as a writer of hypotheses of Euripidean as well as

Sophoclean plays,[360] and secondarily from Demetrius Triclinius' late addition of Δικαιάρχου to

the hypothesis of Alcestis in manuscript L.[361] Most scholars who have worked on the "Tales",

however, have dismissed this connection as tendentious, concluding that while it is not

impossible that Dicaearchus wrote this particular set of hypotheses, it is highly unlikely.[362] At

this point, therefore, the authorship of the "Tales" remains unknown.

---

[359] For example, the hypothesis of *Auge* begins like this:

Αὔγη] ἧς ἡ ἀρχή·
'Αλέας 'Αθά]νας ὅδε πολ[ὑχρυσος δόμος'
ἡ δ' ὑπό]θεσις· (1-3)

[360] Sextus Empiricus gives one of the definitions of ὑπόθεσις as: ἡ δραματικὴ περιπέτεια, καθὸ καὶ τραγικὴν καὶ κωμικὴν ὑπόθεσιν εἶναι λέγομεν καὶ Δικαιάρχου τινὰς ὑποθέσεις τῶν Εὐριπίδου καὶ Σοφοκλέους μύθων (*Adv. Math. 3.3*). Gallavotti (1933) was first to put forward Dicaearchus' name in connection with the "Tales". There is no collection of Sophoclean hypotheses that is even mentioned in medieval MSS.

[361] Zuntz points out that *Alcestis'* hypothesis, despite some similarities with the rest of the "Tales", is sufficiently different from the rest stylistically to consider it unique in the corpus (1955: 144). Rusten presents this as an argument in favour of Dicaearchan authorship (1982: 360).

[362] Zuntz is of this opinion (1955: 145), which is shared by Rusten, who considers the "Tales" to be a prime example of the mythological handbooks popular in the second and first centuries B.C.E., such as Apollodorus of Athens' Περὶ Θεῶν (1982: 365).

The "Tales" are found in a collection of eighteen papyri, all of which date from the first four centuries C.E., with the majority dating from the second century (Van Rossum-Steenbeek 1997: 22). Rusten, however, places these hypotheses themselves in the last two centuries B.C.E. (1982: 365). Due to their alphabetical organization, Zunzt gives them a *terminus post quem* of roughly the third century B.C.E., after alphabetization had become popular.[363] Diggle, using metrical clausulae as his means of investigation, places them anywhere from the second century B.C.E. to the first century C.E. (2005: 67).

Aside from their obscure origins, there are several caveats to observe when working with the "Tales" as a guide to the tragic fragments. These issues were sharply illuminated by Hamilton in his review of Coles' 1974 publication of the hypothesis of *Alexander*. His concerns, based on the hypotheses of extant plays in the "Tales" and their relationship to their sources, include inaccuracy of detail and chronology, the addition of supplementary information not found in the plays, and the tendency of the hypotheses to focus on the conclusions of the plays at the expense of the opening segments (1976: 68). His recommendations for avoiding these pitfalls are not considering the beginning of the hypothesis (that is, the section immediatelyfollowing ἡ δ' ὑπόθεσις) definitive proof of contents of the prologue,[364] not placing complete trust in the chronology of events presented in the "Tales", and not placing undue weight on word choice in these hypotheses (1976: 69). I share Hamilton's apprehensions, and so I will endeavour to keep them in mind as I work through the "Tales" and discern how they can best be used to complement the image of a given play created by the fragments.

Yet, despite these concerns, I believe that these hypotheses can provide a great deal of value to my study of gender in the fragments. Viewing the "Tales" as they were originally

---

[363] For a chronology of the introduction of alphabetization, see Rusten 1982: 363.
[364] Williams, on the other hand, points out that beginning with a significant portion of exposition mirrors the structure of the extant plays, which all begin with an expository prologue (1992: 202).

intended, as a compendium of works organized to allow the reader straightforward access to a body of knowledge, allows us to make use of them in much the same way as the ancient readers would have done. Although we are impoverished by not having access to these fragmentary plays in their entirety, we have what was created as the next best thing, intended to aid the reader to "easily master that body of knowledge" i.e. the Euripidean corpus (Van Rossum-Steenbeek 1997: 157). In short, these hypotheses are the best sources for the plots of the lost plays that we currently have and as such are invaluable for the task of assigning and arranging the fragments. They therefore provide a rough, but nevertheless solid, framework that can be put to productive use, to organize and gain insight into the literary fragments.[365] Because not all of the "Tales" are sufficiently extensive to study in conjunction with the tragic fragments of their plays, however, I have chosen to study those that have at least ten to fifteen lines in good condition and those which contain characters whose characterization is largely shaped by their gender roles (e.g. characters who are known primarily as mothers).[366] I will examine how the hypothesis of each play I have chosen interacts with the tragic fragments and then assess this group of plays as a whole.

Five of the plays from the "Tales" which I have chosen to work with are *Aeolus, Melanippe Wise, Alexander, Hypsipyle,* and *Phrixus A*. (One other will be addressed at the end of the chapter.) Problematic motherhood is a dominant theme in all of these, as it is in many of the extant plays. Motherhood is fundamental to our understanding of gender in Classical Greece, as it is the primary means of defining a woman's role in Greek society. In Euripides' Athens, the

---

[365] An excellent example of this process is the chapter on *Alexander* in Scodel's *Trojan Trilogy of Euripides* (1980), in which she reconstructs this play using the hypothesis from the "Tales".

[366] The fragmentary plays which have surviving hypotheses (of varying length and quality) from the "Tales" are *Aeolus, Alexander, Auge, Bellerophon, Busiris, Melanippe Wise, Oedipus, Peliades, Stheneboea, Scyrioi, Temenidae, Hypsipyle, Phoenix, Phrixus A* and *B*, and *Chrysippus*.

main purpose of marriage between "citizens"[367] was procreation and the resulting transfer of property to a man's children.[368] Foley argues that this is the main reason for the focus in tragedy on women's roles *vis-à-vis* reproduction (2001: 59). Although they come from a later date than Euripides' floruit, lines 1013-14 of Menander's *Perikeiromene* nicely illustrate this emphasis, casting childbearing as *the* purpose of marriage: ταυτὴν γνησίων/ παίδων ἐπ᾽ ἀρότῳ σοι δίδωμι ("I give this girl to you for the plowing of legitimate children").[369] If the societal ideal in Classical Athens is the bearing of heirs and future citizens within a legitimate marriage, then anything that does not fit comfortably into this category should accordingly be considered problematic and it is precisely the problematic nature of their motherhood that drives many female characters' actions in Euripides.[370]

Another problematic facet of motherhood of any kind is that despite its societal purpose, it is in many ways "without mediation" (Loraux 1998: 38); that is, although social constructions (primarily marriage) may influence mother-child relationships, they do not define them (cf. my discussion of Althaea and Meleager in the previous chapter). This is especially true in Euripides' plays. The relationships between mother and child in the plays I am about to discuss can be so intense that they result in extraordinary actions, usually with negative consequences with the mothers often undertaking extraordinary actions when motivated by their relationships to their children (for better and for worse).

---

[367] Because a woman was not considered a true citizen, with full rights in the *polis*, I use this to mean people of Athenian parentage on both sides (see chapter 1).

[368] For discussion of how childbirth and motherhood are the female means of participation in the *polis*, see Demand 1994, chapter 7.

[369] For more discussion of how this phrase reflects the Athenian attitude toward marriage, see Oakley and Sinos 1993: 9-10. See also Lape 2004: 21 on New Comedy's "democratic nationalism" in the Hellenistic period as expressed through plots centered on marriage.

[370] Because marriage in Athens was configured in this way, the result was that for women, sexual activity outside marriage (which would threaten the bearing of heirs for the *oikos* and result in offspring that were not fully Athenian) was "legally proscribed" (Lape 2004: 100).

Aeolus

My first example of problematized motherhood comes from *Aeolus*, a play in which Macareus, one of the sons of the ruler of the wind, has impregnated his sister Canace. This play follows many of the conventions of the rape and recognition plots I discussed in the previous chapter. Macareus persuades his father to allow his sons to marry their sisters, but Aeolus has them draw lots to be assigned wives. Canace is not assigned to Macareus, and his transgression is exposed. The recognition is therefore not a happy one, nor does it keep Canace from harm as in the resolutions of the other rape and recognition plots:[371]

$$\text{Αἴολος, οὗ [ἀρ]χή·}$$
‘ἦ δεινὰ καὶ δύσγνωστα βουλεύει θεός’.
        ἡ δὲ ὑπόθεσις·
Αἴολος παρὰ θεῶν ἔχων τὴν τῶν ἀνέμων δ[εσποτεί-
αν ᾤκησεν ἐν ταῖς κατὰ Τυρρηνίαν νήσο[ις υἱοὺς ἓξ   5
καὶ θυγατέρας τὰς ἴσας γεγεννηκώς. τ[ούτων δ’ ὁ
νεώτατος Μακαρεὺς μιᾶς τῶν ἀδελ[φῶν   ἐ-
ρασθεὶς διέφθειρεν. ἡ δ’ ἔγκυος γενη[θεῖσα
τὸν τόκον ἔκρυπτεν τῷ νοσεῖν πρ[οσποιη-
τῶς. ὁ δὲ νεανίσκος ἔπεισε τὸν πατέρ[α τὰς θυ-   10
γατέρας συνοικίσαι τοῖς υ[ἱ]οῖς. ὁ δὲ συνκα[λεσά-
μενος κλῆρον τοῦ γάμου πᾶσιν ἐξέθη[κεν.
πταίσας δε περὶ τὸν πάλον ὁ ταῦτα μ[ηχα-
νησάμενος ἠτύχει· τὴν γὰρ ὑπὸ τούτου ἐ[φθαρ-
μένην ὁ κλῆρος πρὸς ἄλλου συμβίωσ[ιν ἐνυμ-   15
φαγώ[γ]ει. συνδραμόντες δ’ εἰς τὸ αὐτ[ὸ?
κουτ.. [..].ι τὸ μὲν γεννηθὲν ἡ τροφὸς [

---

[371] Here and in all subsequent plot descriptions, I will be following the "Tales". The hypothesis here is supported by Ar. *Clouds* 1370-3 (= test. iva).

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

Issues of incest are superseded in this play when Aeolus agrees to allow his children to marry each other. In any case, such concerns are not particularly relevant to the gods (e.g. the marriage and offspring of the siblings Zeus and Hera are not viewed as problematic).[372] Mülke discusses the idea of sibling incest in *Aeolus* in the context of Euripides' Athens, concluding that Canace's eventual suicide reflected the Athenian mindset concerning sibling incest at the time. But although there are indications that the play was received in this way,[373] the trespass of having pre-marital sex (voluntarily or not) carries far more weight in this play than sibling incest.[374] This hypothesis foregrounds a more important issue with Canace's pregnancy; she has been sexually "corrupted"– whether through rape or seduction is unclear– via impregnation by Macareus: Μακαρεὺς μιᾶς τῶν ἀδελ[φῶν ἐ/ρασθεὶς διέφθειρεν.[375] The first line (as quoted in the hypothesis), most likely spoken by Canace's nurse,[376] addresses the problematic nature of Canace's pregnancy and its potential for a negative outcome: Ἦ δεινὰ καὶ δύσγνωστα βουλεύει θεός ("The designs of heaven are both frightening and inscrutable," fr. 13a). The

---

[372] None of the extant tragedies treats incest among divine characters as problematic, nor does any of Euripides' fragmentary plays.

[373] See Plat. *Laws* 8.838a (= test. iiib), in which Macareus is compared to Thyestes and Oedipus.

[374] Cf. my discussion of the *parthenoi* in the rape and recognition plots from the previous chapter.

[375] For the use of διαφθείρω to indicate corruption through inappropriate sexual activity see e.g. *Bacchae* 318. See also my discussion of φθείρω, rape, and *moicheia* in my previous chapter (n. 246).

[376] I am comfortable assigning this line (as do Collard and Cropp 2008a: 13) to the Nurse, since her role as confidante in matters of sexual transgression is paralleled by the nurses in the extant *Hippolytus* and the fragmentary *Cretans*.

problem with Canace's pregnancy is clarified when Aeolus expresses his wish to have grandchildren in fragment 15 (ἴδοιμι δ αὐτῶν ἔκγον᾽ ἄρσεν᾽ ἀρσένων, v. 1), presumably uttered when discussing Macareus' plan for his sons to marry his daughters. That they should come from marriages he has legitimized by giving his permission is understood. The hypothesis also tells us that Canace hides her pregnancy by pretending to be ill (25-6). Canace's actions, in combination with her brother's plans, confirm that the pregnancy must be concealed because it is not within the proper confines of marriage.[377]

Despite the abbreviated ending of the hypothesis, Canace's destruction (most likely by suicide) by the end of the play is clear from fragment 32, which refers to troubles and suffering: κακῆς ἀπ᾽ ἀρχῆς γίγνεται τέλος κακόν ("A bad end comes from a bad beginning"). *Heroides* 11, written from Canace's perspective, alludes to this outcome, which is further repeated in the accounts of this story in Sostratus (*FGrHist* 23 F 3 = test. iiia (1)) and Pseudo-Plutarch (*Parallel Lives* 28A = test. iiia (2)).[378]

Melanippe Wise

Melanippe Wise portrays a situation similar to that of Canace, with the happier outcome more usually seen in the rape and recognition plays. Along with its name-partner, *Melanippe Captive*, this play presents a challenging case, as early records rarely distinguished between plays that

---

[377] The other main source for the story, Ov. *Her.* 11, has Canace claiming to have attempted to abort her pregnancy (39-44). *Heroides*, however, should be approached very cautiously as a means of reconstruction of Euripides' fragments, as Ovid often departs from the plots of the tragedies with which he works. Williams gives the example of *Heroides* 12, in which Ovid uses Apollonius as well as Euripides as sources for his own version of Medea's story (1992: 205). Unlike the "Tales" or even Hyginus, Ovid does not purport to give us Euripides' version of a given story.

[378] Pseudo-Plutarch's language is suggestive of that used in the hypothesis itself, particularly when relating the relationship between Macareus and Canace (Μακαρεὺς δ᾽ ὁ νεώτατος ἔρωτι ἔφθειρε μίαν, test. iiia.2). Compare to lines 24-5 of the hypothesis (above). Sostratus and Pseudo-Plutarch are to be approached with the same caution that applies to the mythographers; they are useful but best combined with other corroborating sources.

shared name-characters, and so we are left with more than half of the fragments from both plays

not securely assigned to either.[379] Fortunately, we do have a rather well-preserved hypothesis

from the "Tales" that describes the action of at least the first part of the play:

Με[λανίππη ἡ Σοφή, ἧς ἀρχή·
Ζεὺς δ.[- - - -
  ἡ δὲ ὑπόθεσις·
Ἕλληνος τοῦ Διὸς Αἴολος τεκνωθεὶς
ἐκ μὲν Εὐρυδίκης ἐγέννησε Κρηθέα καὶ   5
Σαλμωνέα καὶ Σίσυφον, ἐκ δὲ τῆς Χείρω-
νος θυγατρὸς Ἵππης κάλλει διαφέρου-
σαν Μελανίππην. αὐτὸς μὲν οὖν φόνον
ποιήσας ἐπ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἀπῆλθε φυγάς,
τὴν δὲ Μελανίππην Ποσειδῶν διδύμων   10
παίδων ἔγκυον ἐποίησεν. ἡ δὲ διὰ τὴν προσ-
δοκίαν τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς παρουσίας τοὺς γεν-
νηθέντας εἰς τὴν βούστασιν ἔδωκε τῇ
τροφῷ θεῖναι κατὰ τὴν ἐντολὴν τοῦ κα-
τασπείραντος. ὑπὸ δὲ τὴν κάθοδον τοῦ   15
δυνάστου τὰ βρέφη τινὲς τῶν βουκόλων
φυλαττόμενα μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ ταύρου, θη-
λαζόμενα δὲ ὑπὸ μιᾶς τῶν βοῶν ἰδόντες,
ὡς βουγενῆ τέρατα τῷ βασιλεῖ προσή-
νεγκαν. ὁ δὲ τῇ τοῦ πατρὸς Ἕλληνος γνώ-   20
μῃ πεισθεὶς ὁλοκαυτοῦν τὰ βρέφη κρί-
νας Μελανίππῃ τῇ θυγατρὶ προσέτακεν
ἐνταφίοις αὐτὰ κοσμῆσαι. ἡ δὲ καὶ τὸν
κόσμον αὐτοῖς ἐπέθηκε καὶ λόγον εἰς
παραίτησιν ἐξέθηκε φιλότιμον.   25

---

[379] The pairs of plays under the titles *Alcmeon, Autolycus,* and *Phrixus* present the same problem.

(*Melanippe Wise*, which begins,) 'Zeus…'; the plot is as follows: Aeolus, son of Hellen son of Zeus, fathered Cretheus, Salmoneus, and Sisyphus by Eurydice, and by Chiron's daughter Hippe (he fathered) the exceedingly beautiful Melanippe.[380] Now he himself went into exile for a year after committing a murder, and Poseidon made Melanippe pregnant with twin sons. Expecting her father's return, she gave the infants she had borne to her nurse to put in the ox-stable, as their father had instructed. About the time of the king's return, some of the herdsmen saw the babies being watched over by the bull and suckled by one of the cows, and thinking they were the cow's monstrous offspring they brought them to the king. He took his father Hellen's advice and decided to burn the babies alive, and so he instructed his daughter Melanippe to dress them in funeral clothing. Melanippe clothed them and made an ambitious speech in their defence. (trans. adapted)

Like Canace and the *parthenoi* I discussed in the previous chapter, Melanippe has been impregnated outside of wedlock without her father's knowledge. The father of Melanippe's children in this case is the god Poseidon, who has instructed her to conceal the children in an ox-stable (8-15). The babies are discovered and Melanippe's father (named Aeolus, not to be confused with the wind-god)[381] orders her to dress them in clothing for burial, which she does, but she then, in an act which illustrates her fundamental difference from Canace and from the other impregnated *parthenoi*, gives what the hypothesis characterizes as an "ambitious speech" (λόγον φιλότιμον) in their defense (20-5).

The certain fragments of this play are few, but there are two in particular, from her speech in defense of the children, and of herself too it seems, that depict Melanippe as the "ambitious" speechmaker of the hypothesis, who is far less a victim of circumstance than her age-mate Canace. This is not to say that her speech was well-received: Aristophanes links her with Phaedra as an immoral woman and Aristotle gives her speech as an example of deficient

---

[380] Melanippe's mother is variously known as Hippe or Hippo ("Mare"). For the purpose of simplicity, I shall refer to her as Hippe.

[381] This is not the king of the winds, but rather son of Hellen and grandson of Zeus, as identified in both line 4 of the hypothesis and lines 1-2 of fragment 481, Melanippe's opening speech.

character.[382] Unlike Phaedra and especially Euripides' other *parthenoi*, though, Melanippe is shown as having access to an unusual amount of knowledge, in her case through her mother, Hippe, daughter of the famous centaur Chiron. Here, she tells of Hippe's punishment for sharing her special knowledge:

> Χείρωνος δέ με
> ἔτικτε θυγάτηρ Αἰόλῳ. κείνην μὲν οὖν
> χανθῇ κατεπτέρωσεν ἱππείᾳ τριχί
> Ζεύς, οὕνεχ' ὕμνους ᾖδε χρησμῳδοὺς βροτοῖς
> ἄκη πόνων φράζουσα καὶ λυτήρια·

> Chiron's daughter bore me to Aeolus. Now Zeus gave
> her a coat of tawny horse-hair because she sang
> oracular songs to men, telling them cures and ways to
> relieve their pains. (fr. 481.13-17)

Melanippe is unafraid to claim this wisdom for herself, saying at the opening of her defense, ἐγὼ γυνὴ μέν εἰμι, νοῦς δ' ἔνεστί μοι, "I am a woman, but I have intelligence" (fr. 482 = Ar. *Lys.* 1124).[383] The use of μέν...δέ highlights her self-presentation as a woman; this speech is clearly meant to be understood from that perspective. The implication of the correlatives is that this knowledge somehow makes her less (or perhaps more) than feminine.

She follows this with a question that follows Euripides' pattern of having his characters express empathy with women (cf. *Medea* 230-251 on the position of women). Although the wording does not follow that of Euripides exactly,[384] the sentiment is obvious: εἰ δὲ παρθένος

---

[382] Ar. *Thesm.* 546-7 (= test. iiib): ἐπίτηδες εὑρίσκων λόγους ὅπου γυνὴ πονηρά/ ἐγένετο, Μελανίππας ποιῶν Φαίδρας τε, "Purposefully devising words for any shameful woman, writing of Melanippes and Phaedras." Arist. *Poet.* 1454a28-31 (= test. iiia): ἔστιν δὲ παράδειγμα πονηρίας μὲν ἤθους μὴ ἀναγκαίας οἷον...ἡ τῆς Μελανίππης ῥῆσις, "An example of unnecessary baseness of character is...the speech of Melanippe." Unlike Aristophanes' reference, which could be to either of the Melanippes or Phaedras that Euripides put on stage, Aristotle must be referring to the wise Melanippe by virtue of mentioning her speech and therefore he objects to the fact that is clever, rather than to her sexual morality.

[383] The scholion on this line of Aristophanes reads: ὁ στίχος ἐκ Σοφῆς Μελανίππης.

[384] This unmetrical fragment comes from a quotation in Dionysius of Halicarnassus' *Art of Rhetoric* in which he recounts Melanippe's arguments (9.11 = test. iia).

φθαρεῖσα ἐξέθηκεν τὰ παιδία καὶ φοβουμένη τὸν πατέρα, σὺ φόνον δράσεις; "But if a girl exposed the children because she had been raped and was in fear of her father, will you then commit murder?" (485). The idea of being raped and fearing the consequences from one's father speaks directly to Melanippe's situation (which she shares with Canace in *Aeolus* along with all of the *parthenoi* from the rape and recognition plays), but unlike Canace, Melanippe is able to articulate her position because of the wisdom passed down to her by her mother. Wisdom like this, that originates in the legendarily wise Chiron, is something unusual for a mortal, let alone a woman; Collard, Cropp, and Lee refer to this as an "alien element" (1995: 246). Her rhetorical point is that she has no control over the circumstances in which she finds herself (it is in this that she is most like Canace), and that murdering these children is unjust. Perhaps she even brought the children onstage dressed in their funereal garb to strengthen her defense of them, not unlike what Megara does in *Heracles* 451-97. As in the case of her own mother, her unusual intellectual ability and concomitant ability to defend herself mark Melanippe out as an atypical woman.

Alexander

In *Alexander*, Hecuba, a figure strongly identified with maternal grief, rage, and vengeance in Euripides' extant Trojan plays,[385] presents an unexpected version of problematic motherhood. In this, the first play of a trilogy including the fragmentary *Palamedes* and the extant *Trojan Women*, she, unlike Canace and Melanippe, has given birth within the confines of legitimate marriage. The results of her exposure of that child, which are depicted in this play, add to our understanding of how Euripides shifted his characterization of her in *Trojan Women* and *Hecuba*. In addition to her role as the grieving mother *extraordinaire* in the extant plays, in *Alexander*,

---

[385] The ending of *Hecuba* illustrates this grief-driven rage: after hearing the prophecy that she will turn into a dog, Hecuba responds with οὐδὲν μέλει μοι σοῦ γέ μοι δόντος δίκην ("It is nothing to me, since you have paid the penalty to me," 1274).

Hecuba's interactions with her cursed son prior to recognizing him show her as a mother who is protective of her acknowledged children and even willing to kill in order to protect them. This play, much like *Hecuba* and *Trojan Women*, presents a Hecuba for whom there is no emotional middle ground,[386] and ultimately revolves around the Trojan queen as a mother.

The hypothesis for *Alexander* is remarkably full and relates Hecuba's earlier exposure of the child due to a dream (4-5) in which, as Apollodorus tells us in his *Library* (3.12.5 = test. ivb), she dreamt that she had given birth to a blazing firebrand:[387]

```
        Ἀλέξαν]δρ[ος, οὗ ἀρχή·
            ]καὶ τὸ κλεινὸν ['Ί]ιον'
        ἡ δὲ ὑ]πόθεσις·
            ]Ἑκάβης καθ' ὕπνον ὄψεις
            ἔ]δωκεν ἐκθεῖναι βρέφος                    5
            ]ν ἐξέθρεψεν υἱὸν Ἀλέ-
ξανδρ[ον Π]άριν προσαγορεύσας· Ἑκά-
βη δὲ τὴ[ν ἡ]μέραν ἐκείνην πενθοῦ-
σα ἅμα κ[αὶ] τιμῆς ἀξιοῦσα κατωδύ-
ρατο μὲν [τὸ]ν ἐκτεθέντα, Πρίαμον [δ' ἔ-         10
πε[ι]σε πο[λυτ]ελεῖς ἀγῶνας ἐπ' α[ὐ]τῷ κα-
ταστήσ[ασ]θα[ι]· διελθόντ[ων δὲ ἐτῶ]ν εἴ-
κοσι ὁ μὲν παῖς ἔδοξε [κρείττων τ]ὴν
φύσιν εἶναι βουκόλο[υ τοῦ θρέψα]ντος,
οἱ δ' ἄλλοι νομεῖς διὰ [τ]ὴν ὑπερήφανον       15
συμβίωσιν [δ]ήσαντες ἐπ[ὶ] Πρίαμον ἀνήγα-
γον αὐτόν ..... ηθεὶς [δ]ὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ δυνά-
στου....ω[.]....π. [...]ρειτο καὶ τοὺς δι-
αβάλλοντας ἑκάστ[ο]υς ἔλαβε καὶ τῶν
ἐπ' αὐτῷ τελ[ο]υμέν[ων] ἀγώνων εἰάθη          20
μετασχεῖν· δρόμον δὲ καὶ πένταθλον,
ἔτι  δαπαξῇ την ττεφ....ἀπεθηρίωσε
τοὺς περὶ Δηίφοβον· οἵτινες ἡττᾶσθαι δια-
λαβ[ό]ντες ὑπὸ δούλου κατηξίωσαν τὴν
Ἑκάβην, ὅπως ἂν αὐτὸν ἀποκτείνη<ι>· πα-      25
ραγενηθέντα δὲ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον
Κασ[σάν]δρ[α μ]ὲν ἐμμανὴς ἐπέγνω
```

---

[386] This is reflective of Hecuba's dramatic transition from queen to slave (Michelini 1987: 154).

[387] Exposure or concealment of unwanted childbirth as a prelude to Euripidean plots, what Huys refers to as the "exposed-hero tale-pattern" (1995: 69), also occurs in *Ion*, *Melanippe Captive*, *Melanippe Wise*, *Oedipus, Danae, Aeolus,* and *Auge*.

καὶ π[ερὶ τῶ]ν μελλόντων ἐθέσπισεν,
Ἑκάβη [δὲ ἀπο]κτεῖναι θέλουσα διεκω-
λύθη· π[α]ρα[γενό]μενος δ' ὁ θρέψας αὐτὸν   30
διὰ τὸν κίνδυνον ἠναγκάσθη λέγειν τὴν
ἀλήθειαν· Ἑκάβη μὲν οὖν υἱὸν ἀνεῦρε.

Alexander, which begins, '…and famous Ilium'; the plot is as follows: (because) Hecuba (had seen) visions in her sleep, (Prima) gave her infant son to be exposed. (The herdsman who took him) reared him as his son, calling Alexander Paris. But Hecuba, grieving because of that day but also thinking it should be honoured, lamented the exposed child and persuaded Priam to establish lavish games for him. When twenty years had passed, the boy seemed to have a nature (superior) to that of the herdsman (who had reared him), and the other shepherds, because of his arrogant behaviour towards them, bound him and brought him before Priam. When he (was arraigned?) before the ruler, he (readily defended himself?) and caught out each of those slandering him, and was allowed to take part in the games which were being celebrated in his honour. By (winning the crown?) in running and the pentathlon, and also (in boxing?), he enraged Deiphobus and his companions who, realising that they had been worsted by a slave, called on Hecuba to kill him. When Alexander arrived, Cassandra became possessed and recognized him, and prophesied about what was going to happen; and Hecuba tried to kill him and was prevented. The man who had raised him arrived, and because of the danger (to Paris) was compelled to tell the truth. Thus Hecuba rediscovered her son…

The fact that ἔ]δωκεν ἐκθεῖναι βρέφος (5) would comfortably conclude an iambic trimeter suggests that this could very well have come from Euripides' play, possibly from the prologue (Collard, Cropp, and Gibert 1995: 70). Afterward, out of grief for the child (Hecuba is described as πενθοῦσα in 8-9), she has Priam host games in the child's honour. Hecuba mentions this grief in the play itself: ἐ[γὼ δὲ θρ]ηνῶ γ' ὅτι βρ[εφ, "And yet I grieve because (I/we killed/exposed our) child" (46, 2); it seems that this fragment was part of the parodos, her conversation with the chorus emphasizing the importance of Hecuba's maternal suffering in the play (cf. οἱ παθόντες at 4 and κακ[at 10).[388] That she had exposed an ill-omened child does not make Hecuba automatically a bad or necessarily an unconventional mother, but highlighting her grief over the act in the beginning of the play shows that Euripides did characterize the exposure of Paris as an

---

[388] Scodel allots a scene to the development of Hecuba's grief in her reconstruction of the play (1980: 25).

event that does not fit with the image of ideal motherhood. That is, having to expose a child, however ill-omened it may be, does not indicate a "successful" motherhood, regardless of the expectations of society for a mother in that position. Possibly this is the source of Hecuba's grief, that she exposed her child and in doing so gave up a part of her identity as a mother.

Twenty years later, Paris is brought to Priam on account of his arrogant interactions with his fellow herdsmen (15-17). Because he successfully defends himself against his accusers (18-19), he is then allowed to participate in the very games honouring him, but runs afoul of Deiphobus, who has taken offense at being defeated by a slave. Deiphobus then calls on Hecuba to kill the offender (or have him killed) (24-5). It seems odd here that Deiphobus, a grown man old enough to be participating in games, turns to his mother to execute his enemy (why not Priam, for example?), but the hypothesis is clear that it is indeed Hecuba to whom he appeals:

οἵτινες ἡττᾶσθαι δια-
λαβ[ό]ντες ὑπὸ δούλου κατηξίωσαν τὴν
Ἑκάβην, ὅπως ἂν αὐτὸν ἀποκτείνη<ι>·

Realising that (Deiphobus and his companions) had been worsted by a slave,
[they] called on Hecuba to kill him. (23-25)

At first glance, this seems improbable; as Kovacs, pointing out the hypotheses' potential for fallibility, puts it, "If our hypothesis told us that Hecuba put on a suit of armor and a false beard and pretended to be a hoplite, we would be forced to doubt either its veracity or our interpretation of its wording" (1984: 55). Yet Kovacs' interpretation of the wording provides the key to understanding how this scene may play out. He takes ἀποκτείνω as referring not to actual physical murder but rather to a judge condemning someone to death (1984: 55, see also LSJ s.v. 2). This allows Hecuba an opportunity for vengeance on behalf of her acknowledged son without

actually having to carry it out, a more probable scenario.[389] Huys reads this section of the

hypothesis to mean that Hecuba acted as the lead plotter with Deiphobus' companions,

mentioned in line 23 (τοὺς περὶ Δηίφοβον). Hecuba in either case is definitely implicated in the

plot to kill Paris. This is confirmed by fragment 62d, in which Hecuba is depicted plotting Paris'

death with Deiphobus, stating "he must die by (my *or* your) hand,"]ιδε χειρὶ δεῖ θανεῖν (v.

25).[390]

What would Hecuba's motivation be to commit what seems to be a rather extreme form

of vengeance on behalf of Deiphobus? Unlike the case of Creusa and her returned exposed child

in *Ion*, the offending shepherd presents no real threat to Hecuba's status, or even that of her

family. Scodel speculates that Hecuba's motivation is concern that the interloper may supplant

her own children in Priam's favour. She adds that perhaps Paris may somehow resemble Priam

and thus appear to be an illegitimate child, adding to Hecuba's concern for her own children with

Priam (1980: 33-4). But no such motive is necessary. That someone who seemed to be a slave

had defeated her son, a member of the royal house, in a venue with a great deal of prestige at

stake, might be sufficient cause for a character known to the audience as a notoriously protective

mother (cf. *Il.* 22. 79-89 and 24. 212-13). Indeed, Hecuba is not just protective, she is

frighteningly so. Having Hecuba shift from grief to vengeful anger is something that Euripides

had already done in *Hecuba*. These are the two emotions with which she would already have

been associated due to the earlier production date of *Hecuba*.[391] *Alexander* acts as a prequel of

---

[389] This is not to say that women cannot be murderers in tragedy (cf. Clytemnestra and Medea), but that in this circumstance, it seems odd for a group of young men to appeal to the queen of Troy to kill a rival. Paris' slave status may also provide a key to why Hecuba is his potential killer.

[390] Collard, Cropp, and Gibert offer τῇιδε following Crönert, suggesting "he must die by *this* (= *my*) hand" (1995: 83).

[391]Ceadel sets the date of *Hecuba* as between 426-3 (1941: 75) while the trilogy of *Alexander, Palamedes,* and *Trojan Women* dates securely to 415. See Rabinowitz 1993:107-8 for a discussion of how *Hecuba* is

sorts, a preview of what Hecuba can be capable of doing, but here she does not have the benefit of a sympathy-inducing pretext, nor has Euripides structured the play with her murderous reaction as the climax (cf. Michelini 1987: 148 on *Hecuba*).

The hypothesis goes on to relate that Hecuba did indeed attempt to kill Paris, but was prevented by the arrival of his foster-father, who facilitated Hecuba's recognition of her son (29-32). In its final line before breaking off, the hypothesis underscores that the recognition is Hecuba's: Ἑκάβη μὲν οὖν υἱὸν ἀνεῦρε..., "Thus Hecuba rediscovered her son…" (32). It is not Priam and Hecuba, their family, or even the Trojan people who are reunited with Paris, but Hecuba alone who receives the emphasis.[392] If we accept Scodel's discarding of attempts to reconstruct a subsequent scene (with yet another attack on Paris by either Cassandra or one of the gods), the play probably ended shortly after the recognition. As Scodel points out, the hypothesis itself could have been neatly tied up in another line with a δέ clause to answer the μέν of the last extant line (1980: 38), indicating that the plot is basically concluded at this point in the hypothesis. Making Hecuba leader of the plot to kill Paris enhances the dramatic impact of his recognition. Hecuba's rage in *Alexander* then reminds the audience of her eventual fate as foretold at the end of *Hecuba* as well as her furious punishment of Polymnestor in the same play.

Reading this play as part of its trilogy, we can see that Hecuba going from grief to rage in *Alexander* prepares the audience for the potent combination of these emotions that she will go on to display in *Trojan Women*, the third play in the trilogy. Another way of reading Hecuba's remarkable capacity for vengeance in *Alexander* is to see that it undermines her righteous grief in

---

structured chiastically around the characters of Polyxena and Polydorus, whose fates lead to vengeance and mourning.

[392] The use of μὲν οὖν and the singular verb here fortify this argument, that it is Hecuba alone on whom the emphasis of the reunion falls.

Trojan Women, as well as in *Hecuba*.[393] The Hecuba of *Alexander* can be viewed as especially prone to vengeance, with her reaction to her son's loss at the games just as strong as her reaction to a child's death. Since the "carefully manufactured conditions" (i.e. the deaths of Polyxena and Polydorus), which Michelini identifies as the cause of Hecuba's extraordinary grief and a means for the audience to view her actions with "clarity" in *Hecuba* (1987: 132), are not a factor, Hecuba's response to Paris' triumph is entirely out of proportion. Her wish to murder Paris is not based in a meaningful type of reciprocity, as her vengeance against Polymnestor is in *Hecuba*. Rage is then her default reaction, rather than a justified response to horrendous circumstances. This is made more effective by manipulating the image familiar from the *Iliad* and Euripides' own *Hecuba*, in showing how, even prior to the Trojan War, Hecuba is capable of anything when her children are involved.

Hypsipyle

Another play with a climactic recognition scene between mother and children is *Hypsipyle*. With a significant backstory that includes the voyage of the Argo and the Seven against Thebes, it fits comfortably among Euripides' later plays that tend to incorporate epic themes and expand upon the conventional scope of tragic plays.[394] Hypsipyle had twin sons (Thoas and Eunoos) with Jason during his time on Lemnos, and these children were taken from her when he left. She was then taken from Lemnos and sold into slavery. In this way she provides an ideal bridge between characters like Canace and Melanippe (of *Melanippe Wise*), who, like Hypsipyle, are *parthenoi* prior to becoming pregnant by men who are not their husbands, and a character like Hecuba, who

---

[393] This reading of the events in *Alexander* was originally suggested to me by Olga Levaniouk.
[394] See Michelini 1999-2000 for a discussion of this in *Phoenician Women, Orestes,* and *Iphigeneia at Aulis*.

is reunited with her child after many years.[395] Since Hypsipyle is now a slave outside of Nemea,

the nurse of the son of Lycurgus and his wife, Eurydice,[396] she can encapsulate in one character

the roles of illegitimate mother (Canace and Melanippe), surrogate mother (to Opheltes, the

infant child of her owner, Lycurgus), and mother reunited with her children.

Although *Hypsipyle* is one of the best-preserved fragmentary plays and therefore merits a

lengthier discussion than many of the others, its hypothesis is in rougher shape than those

discussed above (the lines up to 19 and 31ff. are in too poor a condition to glean anything

useful):[397]

> κρήνην ἔδ<ε>ιξ[ε   …   δρά-
> κ[ο]ντος διεσπ[ca. 7 ll.] αδε.[
> τ[ό]πους οἱ γεγονότες̣ [….]̣.̣ παῖδες παρ[ῆσ]αν
> ἐπὶ τὴν τῆς μητρὸς ζήτησιν καὶ κατα-
> λύσαντες παρὰ τῇ τοῦ Λυκούργου γυναικὶ
> τὸν ἐπιτάφιον τοῦ παιδὸς ἠθέλησαν ἀ-
> γωνίσασθαι· ἡ δ[ὲ] τοὺς π[ρ]οειρημέν[ο]υ̣[ς
> ξενοδοχήσασα τουτους μὲν ἐπήνεσ[ε]ν,
> τὴν μητέρα δ'αὐτῶν ἀποκτείνειν [ἤμελ-
> λεν [ὡ]ς ἑκουσίω[ς ἀπ]ολωλεκυ[ί]ας α]ὐ-
> τῇ[ς τὸ τ]έ̣κνον· Ἀ[μφια]ράου δὲ…….[
> σαμ[….] τ̣ουτω[…] χ[ά]ριν ἔδω[κε

> (Hypsipyle) showed (them) the spring…(torn asunder by?) a serpent…the sons
> born…arrived (in the) vicinity in search of their mother and having lodged with
> Lycurgus' wife wanted to compete in the boy's funeral games; and she having
> received the aforesaid youths as guests approved them, but (planned) to kill their
> mother (as) having killed (her) son on purpose. But when Amphiarus...(she?)
> thanked him… (19-30)

What remains is useful nevertheless, due to the section detailing the arrival of Hypsipyle's sons

and Eurydice's (Lycurgus' wife) plot against Hypsipyle (21-30).

---

[395] Cf. Creusa in *Ion* or Melanippe in *Melanippe Chained*.

[396] Eurydice refers to her as δμωῒς ἡ τροφός at fr. 754c, v. 5.

[397] The text for this play comes primarily from P. Oxy. 852, published in 1908 (and therefore not available to Nauck for his 1889 edition of the fragments). Reconstruction of the papyrus was greatly aided by the layout of the text and markings that indicated every hundred lines of the play (Collard, Cropp, and Gibert 1995: 170).

These plot details, which lead to the recognition scene, are key for understanding Hypsipyle as a mother. In one of the first scenes of the play, she greets Thoas and Eunoos at the door of Lycurgus' home, and in a moment that highlights her ignorance and heightens the dramatic irony, exclaims that their mother must be blessed (μακαρία) (fr. 752d.5). As she does so, Hypsipyle holds her master and mistress' baby in her arms.[398] Holding her master's baby, Opheltes, in the presence of her biological children heightens the effect of her misplaced identification.

This image of warm domesticity, with Hypsipyle as surrogate mother to the baby Opheltes at its center, is reinforced in fragment 752f, as she sings to the child and speaks of how she comforts him with song. However, in the same fragment she points out that this song is not Lemnian, as the Muse would prefer her to be singing (παραμύθια Λήμνια/ Μοῦσα θέλει με κρένειν, vv. 10-11). That her song is not the one she ought to be singing at home on Lemnos reinforces Hypsipyle's role as both insider (child-minder) and outsider (foreign slave).[399] This charming but sad scene is shattered, however, later in the play when the baby Opheltes is killed after Hypsipyle leads a visiting seer, Amphiarus, to a spring, and brings along Opheltes, who is attacked by a serpent. After she returns without the baby, there is an exchange with the chorus in which Hypsipyle cries out:

> γυνα]ῖκες οἵας εἴθε᾽ ọ᾽ ῃ.(.)[
> οἲ] ἐγώ·

> …women, what…Woe is me! (fr. 753d. 13-14)

---

[398] We know this because she refers to distracting the child from crying earlier in the same fragment, vv. 1-2.

[399] Chong-Gossard details the implications of the lyric portion and the suggestion of genre found in Hypsipyle's song that follows this in frs. 752a-h (2008: 75-9).

Despite the very rough condition of the papyrus, the combination of the extant sections of these two lines reveals what is likely to be some kind of an appeal to the women of the chorus combined with a classic female lament. The phrase οἲ ἐγώ first appears in Aeschylus' *Agamemnon*, in Cassandra's mantic ravings about her fate (1257), but more importantly it appears in Euripides when, in their eponymous plays, Helen laments the death of her mother (685) and Hecuba laments the fate of the Trojans (155). After what appear to be non-verbal cries from Hypsipyle (fr. 753e), she continues her dialogue with the chorus and begins to discuss her options now that her ward has been killed in her care (fr. 754b).[400] As Hypsipyle sees it, her only option is to flee Nemea, as she is now a woman of no use to the household and has allowed its future to be destroyed. As a slave and a childless woman, Hypsipyle is without protection of any kind. Since she has just lost her only connection to Lycurgus' and Eurydice's household, this fear is with good reason.

When Eurydice finds out what has happened to her infant son, she immediately calls for Hypsipyle's death, as mentioned in the hypothesis (27-8). Hypsipyle defends herself to Eurydice by appealing to her role as surrogate mother and wet-nurse to the boy:

> ὡς τοῦ θανεῖν μὲν οὕνεκ' οὐ μέγα ϲτ[έν]ω,
> εἰ δὲ κτανεῖν τὸ τέκνον οὐκ ὀρθῶς δοκῶ,
> τοὐμὸν τιθήνημ', ὃν ἐπ' ἐμαῖσιν ἀγκάλαις
> πλὴν οὐ τεκοῦσα τἄλλα γ' ὡς ἐμὸν τέκνον
> στέργουϲ' ἔφερβον, ὠφέλημ' ἐμοὶ μέγα.

> I do not greatly complain that I must die, but if
> I wrongly seem to have killed the child, my
> nursling, whom I fed and cherished in my arms
> in every way except that I did not bear him—
> he was a great blessing to me. (fr. 757.8-12)[401]

---

[400] Collard, Cropp, and Gibert point out that this stichomythic exchange, plotting drastic action such as an escape or a murder, is a common feature of later Euripidean plays, giving *Iphigeneia in Tauris* 1020-151 and *Helen* 1035-85 as examples (1995: 242).

[401] This appeal to Eurydice on the grounds of her role as the woman who breast-fed the child evokes the famous scene in *Libation Bearers* where Clytemnestra appeals for mercy to Orestes by pointing to her

Hypsipyle is laying an emotional claim to motherhood here, but since she did not actually bear

the baby, she is not his mother in social or legal terms, with any claim to a role in Lycurgus'

household. Immediately after this, though, she calls out to her own children (ἰὼ παῖδ', ὡς

ἀπόλλυμαι κακῶς, fr. 757.845), not having realized that the two visitors are the sons who were

taken from her on Lemnos. Amphiarus intervenes on her behalf by calling on Eurydice's sense of

justice, which saves Hypsipyle, and so the stage is set for Thoas and Eunoos, who are still at

Nemea, to be recognized and reunited with their mother.

When she is finally reunited with her children,[402] she also discovers that her father,

Thoas, whom she rescued from the slaughter of the men on Lemnos, is still alive (fr.

759a.1627).[403] The three piece together the boys' departure from Lemnos as infants and their life

since. Hypsipyle describes Thoas and Eunoos as ἀπομαστίδιον ("off the breast") when they

were taken from her, which makes their departure from their mother all the more dramatic by

reminding the audience that she was no surrogate to these children. After being momentarily

without any connection to society at all, Hypsipyle has suddenly been reintegrated into her own

family. This is an interesting variation on a conventional recognition, where the rediscovered

child must be brought back into its proper household. Here, the household is represented by

Hypsipyle's children, who are her remaining male relatives and therefore her connection to

society, and who erase her previous identity as a slave surrogate mother and replace it with one

as a free biological mother. Recognition scenes such as the one in *Hypsipyle* need not be

---

breast and claiming to have nursed him (897-9). The irony is that Orestes' nurse has recently mentioned
her nursing of him (749), making her the closer parallel to Hypsipyle.

[402] Fr. 765a must be from this scene (περίβαλλ', ὦ τέκνον, ὠλένας, "Throw your arms around me, my
child!").

[403] The boys also tell of how Jason took them to Colchis (fr. 759a.1614), and one wonders if they
encountered the wicked stepmother *par excellence*, Medea, while there. Yet they also relate that Jason
died while at Colchis, a departure from the Jason/Medea story that Euripides himself had established
years earlier in *Medea*.

understood as just the reunion of parent and child since they also incorporate the assumption of one's true identity. In this case, Hypsipyle's identity was damaged when she was separated from her children and repaired upon their recognition.

Phrixus A

In both *Phrixus A* and *B*, we see another type of surrogate mother, the stepmother. Ino, in contrast to the affectionate surrogate Hypsipyle, desires to be rid of her foster children, Phrixus and Helle.[404] Although both plays have extant hypotheses, I will be focusing on *Phrixus A*, as its hypothesis contains more material that deals with Ino as a scheming stepmother and thus draws more attention to gender, detailing her plot with the Thessalian women to roast the seeds for the following year's planting, and therefore prevent any yield from the crops:[405]

<div style="text-align:center">

Φρί[ξο]ς πρῶτος, οὗ ἀρχή·
‘εἰ μὲν τόδ’ ἦμαρ πρῶτον ἦν κακουμέ-
    νῳ’· ἡ δ’ ὑπόθεσις·
Ἀθάμας υἱὸς μὲ[ν] ἦν Αἰόλου, βασιλεὺς
δὲ Θετταλίας· ἔ[χων] δὲ παῖδα[ς] ἐκ   5
Νε]φέλης Ἕλλη[ν τε κ]αὶ Φρίξον, [σ]υν[ῴι-
κησ]εν Ἰνοῖ τῆ[ι] Κάδμου, παῖδα[ς
.]ο[·κα]τὰ δὲ τῶν προ-
γόνω[ν ἐπιβουλὴν] ἐμηχανᾶτο καθα-
περ φο[βουμένη, μὴ τ]ὸν τῆς μητρυιᾶς   10
πικρόν. [   ]η· συγκαλέ-
σασα γὰρ τῶν [Θετταλῶν γ]υναῖκας ὅρ-
κοις κατησφαλ[ίσατο φρύγειν σπέρμα πύρι-
νον ἐπὶ τὴν χε[ιμερινὴν σποράν· τῆς δὲ

</div>

---

[404] The stereotype of the stepmother is so loaded with negativity that at line 727 of *Prometheus Bound*, the dangerous coastline of Salmydessus can be referred to as μητρυιὰ νεῶν, a "stepmother of ships". See also fr. 4 of *Aegeus*, likely in reference to Medea.

[405] *Phrixus A* and *B*, like *Melanippe Wise* and *Melanippe Captive*, have a group of unassigned fragments. The hypothesis to *B* reveals that this play deals with the maddening of Helle and Phrixus by Dionysus, as opposed to Ino's plot to have the children sacrificed in *A* (test. iia). The existence of two plays of this name by Euripides was uncertain until both hypotheses were discovered. In the first line of both, the plays are referred to as πρῶτος (*A*) and δεύτερος (*B*). For a list of the differences between the two plays, see Collard and Cropp 2008b: 426.

ἀκαρπίας [[αγε.[15
λυσιν, εἰ Φρίξος [σφαγείη Διί· τὸν γὰρ
εἰς Δελφοὺς ἀπ[ἄγγε-
λον ἔπεισε ὡς.[

> The first *Phrixus*, which begins, 'If this were (my) first day of trouble'; its plot is as follows: Athamas was the son of Aeolus, and king of Thessaly; (with) Helle and Phrixus, his children from Nephele, he (lived with) Ino the daughter of Cadmus; …child(ren)… Against his previous children Ino contrived (a plot), inasmuch as she feared…the cruel…of a stepmother; calling the women (of the Thessalians) together, she secured an oath (that they would roast the seed corn) for the (winter sowing)…and deliverance (from?) barren crops if Phrixus (were sacrificed to Zeus); for she persuaded the (envoy) to Delphi that…(1-18)[406]

There is only one tragic fragment (as opposed to several testimonia) securely assigned to *A*, in which Athamas (Helle and Phrixus' father and Ino's husband) groans over his troubles, and so my discussion will be limited to what we can gather from the hypothesis itself.

In this hypothesis, lines 8-11 suggest that Ino's actions against the children were motivated by fear concerning her position as a stepmother.[407] Like Hypsipyle, she has no biological link to the household, but unlike Hypsipyle, who has the role of a nurse for the baby of another woman, Ino's position is threatened by the presence of Athamas' children who are a fundamental part of the household. It is clear that Ino's actions have one motivation: her anxiety over her position in the household. In one of the unassigned fragments from this pair of plays, Ino expresses a similar fear:

ὡς οὐδὲν ὑγιές φασι μητρυιὰς φρονεῖν
νόθοισι παισίν, ὧν φυλάξομαι ψόγον.

---

[406] After this section, there are thirteen missing lines and four incomplete lines.

[407] Euripides' fragmentary *Ino* depicts a plot against Ino's own children with Athamas by their stepmother (Athamas' third wife, Themisto) that ends in her suicide. She is also the sister of Agaue, who killed her son, Pentheus, in a Bacchic frenzy (see E.*Ba.*), and the sister of Semele, who died bearing Dionysus. She therefore comes from a family full of problematic mothers. Cropp and Fick place *Ino* anywhere from 455-425, and *Phrixus A* and *B* anywhere from 455-ca. 416 (1985: 70), which means that we have no sense of which version of Ino's story may have influenced which.

> Men say that stepmothers have no good intentions towards another's children; I shall be on my guard against such men's blame. (fr. 824)[408]

Ino's position as a stepmother automatically makes her an object of suspicion to the community at large, and her drastic actions against Helle and Phrixus fulfill this stereotype.

Despite the differences in age, class, and marital status, all of the women I have discussed so far are characterized by their relationship with motherhood. These five plays confirm that motherhood is one of the most important ways as well as perhaps the most common way to understand a woman's interactions with her society in Euripidean tragedy. Motherhood is a well-defined category with clear boundaries in Classical Athenian society (i.e. within marriage for the purpose of producing heirs for the *oikos*/citizens for the *polis*). In tragedy, the same stricture of motherhood within marriage applies and is destructive to those who are mothers, but not in a socially-sanctioned manner (Canace, Melanippe, and Ino) or is safe only when a woman sits comfortably inside those limits (post-recognition Hypsipyle).

Scyrians

I now turn to a play that focuses on how a man's role in society is shaped by gender as much as those of the women discussed above. As I have mentioned, motherhood is the most important way for a woman to participate in Athenian society. Since men's roles in society are more multivalent, there are accordingly many ways for Athenians to conceptualize the operation of

---

[408] Euripides' use of νόθος here to describe stepchildren is intriguing, since it usually applies either to illegitimate children (cf. Hdt. 8. 103) or to a child with an Athenian father but an alien mother (cf. Dem. 23.213). The insinuation in Ino's comment is that as far as she is concerned, these children might as well be bastards. For more on the status of bastards and legitimacy, see Ogden 1996.

masculinity.[409] The play that best illustrates this is *Scyrians*, which, in its depiction of Achilles'

time on the island of Scyros prior to his departure for the Trojan War, demonstrates that

masculinity is defined in opposition to femininity.[410] The hypothesis tells of Thetis' wish to

prevent her son from going to Troy at all, and how she dressed him up as girl and sent him to the

household of Lycomedes, the king of Scyros. It also tells of Achilles being raised alongside

Lycomedes' daughter, Deidameia:

      Σκύριοι, ὧν ἀρχή·
ʽὦ Τυνδαρεία παῖ Λάκαινα [
    ἡ δ' ὑπόθεσις·
Θέτιδος τοῦ παιδὸς Ἀχιλλέω[ς τὴν εἱμαρ-
μένην ἐπεγνωκυίας, τῆ[ς πρὸς Ἴλι-   5
ον στρατείας αὐτὸν α[πείργειν θέ-
λοουσα κόρης ἐσθῆτ[ι κρύψασα παρέθε-
το Λυκομήδει τῷ Σκυρί[ων δυνά-
στῃ. τρέφων δ' ἐκεῖνος [θυγατέρα
μητρὸς ὀρφανὴν ὄνομα [Δηϊδάμει-   10
αν, ταύτηι συνεπαρθένευε[ν αὐτὸν ἀ-
γνο[ούμ]ενον ὅς ἐστιν. ὁ δ[ὲ λαθραῖ-
ος [ὑπο]κλέψας τὴν Δηϊδά[μειαν ἔγ-
κυ[ον ἐπ]οίησεν. οἱ δὲ περὶ τ[ὸν Ἀγαμέ-
μνον[α] χρησμῶν αὐτοὺς κ[ελευόν-   15
των χ[ωρ]ὶς Ἀχιλλέως μὴ π[οιεῖσθαι
τὴν στ[ρα]τεί[α]ν.(.)[...]..[
Διομήδ[..] καιν[
καταν[ο]ήσαν[τες

Scyrians, which begins, 'O daughter of Tyndareus from Sparta…'; the plot is as follows: Thetis, having learned of (the destiny) of her son Achilles, wanted (to keep) him out of the expedition (against Troy), and so (she concealed) him in a girl's clothing (and deposited him) with Lycomedes the (ruler) of the Scyrians. (Lycomedes) was raising (a daughter) named (Deidameia) whose mother had died, and he brought (Achilles) up as a girl together with her, his real identity being unrecognized; and Achilles…secretly took Deidameia and made her pregnant. Agamemnon and his comrades (were told) by an oracle not (to make their expedition) without Achilles…Diomedes…(they,) learning… (trans. adapted)

The use of συνεπαρθένευεν in this hypothesis is intriguing, both because it implies a female object (which is not the case here), but also because Euripides uses the verb παρθενεύω in this sense only once in the extant plays at *Suppliants* 452.[411] In both cases there is the implication that one is not just raising a female child, but protecting her virtue while doing so.[412] The subsequent lines of the hypothesis enhance the irony of this word choice, revealing that Achilles impregnated Deidameia while sharing this protective upbringing (20-2). The remaining lines which mention the oracle received by Agamemnon, telling him not to go to Troy without Achilles, set the scene for the arrival of Odysseus, who will persuade the young hero to join the Greek expedition.

The play opens with a character, presumably Deidameia's nurse, revealing to Lycomedes that Deidameia is ill, an act which recalls Canace concealing her own pregnancy with the excuse of illness. This is a conventional way to begin a play with a rape and recognition plot, however Achilles' continued presence on Scyros departs from the usual brief encounter between the *parthenos* and the man who impregnates her, while the recognition centers not on the child, but on Achilles himself. Lycomedes' response to the nurse exposes either just how effective

---

[411] It is attested in only one other instance, by Lucian in *Dialogues of the Sea-Gods* 12.
[412] In Lucian, this connection is explicit, since the girl in question has been locked up in a bronze chamber.

Achilles' disguise has been, or how confident Lycomedes has been of his success in segregating

his daughter from outside influence:

> πρὸς τοῦ; τίς αὐτὴν πημονὴ δαμάζεται;
> μῶν κρυμὸς αὐτῆς πλευρὰ γυμνάζει χολῆς;

> What is the cause? What ailment is overcoming her? Is some chill in her bile troubling her chest? (fr. 682)

In several other versions of Achilles' time at Scyros, Lycomedes aids in hiding Achilles (e.g.

Hyginus 96). The choice to have Lycomedes be ignorant of Achilles' true presence heightens

both the shock of Deidameia's pregnancy and Achilles' inevitable (and perhaps literal?)

unveiling.[413] In a way, it is only appropriate that Achilles impregnate his companion, since for

Achilles to assume his destined position, he cannot discard his masculinity. Achilles'

impregnation of Deidameia is a clue as to just who it is under that feminine clothing. The

greatest Greek warrior is a candidate to be disguised as a woman precisely because his masculine

identity as warrior is well established.[414] A male character in the same position with a less than

stable masculine identity would provoke more unease from the audience than Achilles does,

since he would not be able to discard his feminine identity as easily as Achilles does.

The arrival of Odysseus to retrieve Achilles reinforces how humiliatingly ridiculous the

idea of a warrior in women's clothing is to the Greeks and Euripides plays with this idea, giving

---

[413] For a discussion of the inherently deceptive and concealing nature of women's clothing and its implications for cross-dressing scenes, see Bassi 1998: 105ff.

[414] Although Achilles is still an adolescent and has yet to obtain his greatest *kleos* for his deeds at Troy, his being sought as the key to Greek victory at Troy implies that his reputation as a warrior is already well-known. Ament discusses Achilles' (and Theseus') cross-dressing as reflective of ritual androgyny, one of the rites a young man may pass through on the way to adulthood (1993: 19-20). As Ament points out, later authors (Hyginus and Bion) view this as a means of escaping manhood rather than assuming it (1993: 19). I believe that Achilles in *Scyrians* straddles both interpretations. His female disguise is intended to put off assumption of adulthood through his position as the greatest Greek warrior, but it is inevitably discarded when he acts "like a man" and impregnates Deidameia. Putting an end to the cross-dressing signifies his final passage into manhood.

Achilles the most womanly task of all.[415] Odysseus derides Achilles both as a warrior and as a son to Peleus:

> σὺ δ', ὦ τὸ λαμπρὸν φῶς ἀποσβεννὺς γένους,
> ξαίνεις, ἀρίστου πατρὸς Ἑλλήνων γεγώς;

> And you, extinguisher of your family's brilliant light, are you combing wool–
> you, born of the most valiant father in Greece? (fr. 683a)

Whether or not Odysseus is aware of Deidameia's condition at this point is unimportant. His point is that it would be far more damaging for Achilles to stay in a domestic setting and work at the ultimate female task, wool-working, than to go to war. Staying back in this womanly manner is equivalent to destroying his family's reputation, and possibly the family itself. For the female characters I have discussed, association with a household, with a husband, or with one's legitimate children, is the key to assuming one's proper role in society, but for Achilles it is precisely the opposite. He has impregnated Deidameia but not married her, which paradoxically has proved his masculinity, despite his being dressed as a woman, and now he must leave behind his adopted household, or any household at all, in order to assume the role he ought to identify with, that of a warrior.

A fragment that is possibly a part of Odysseus' persuasion of Achilles confirms this idea:[416]

> οὐκ ἐν γυναιξὶ τοὺς νεανίας χρεών
> ἀλλ' ἐν σιδήρῳ κἀν ὅπλοις τιμὰς ἔχειν.

> Young men should get honours not amongst women but amidst arms and
> weaponry. (fr. 880)

---

[415] Cf. the magistrate at Ar. *Lys*. 532-8 and the gender reversals in Herodotus' Egypt (2.35.2).
[416] Fr. 880 is placed among the *incerta* by Kannicht; Collard and Cropp, however, include it with the fragments of *Scyrians* as a likely addition to Odysseus' speech to Achilles on the basis of Odysseus' comment to Achilles about wool-working and war (2008b: 167).

It could not be much more explicit than this: young men do not gain esteem by associating with women and doing womanly things, but rather from war.[417] Putting on armour signifies adoption and acceptance of masculine identity, the active life that Zethus endorses in *Antiope*, in contrast to the femininity signified by carding wool in a dress. Collard and Cropp suggest that in the final scene of the play Achilles may have made the decision to leave Deidameia and their son for Troy (2008b: 160-1).[418] There is no way that Achilles can remain on Scyros and maintain his status as a great warrior. Achilles the warrior confirms the expectations of how he ought to behave by leaving. Even if he married Deidameia and became a father to their child, Achilles would be no man, according to Odysseus' implication, and so Achilles' female disguise strengthens the dramatic impact of his ultimate assumption of the role of a warrior.

Masculinity in *Scyrians*, then, can also be limiting, just as femininity in terms of motherhood is in the plays examined in the first part of this chapter. Despite there being a greater variety of roles available to the male characters in Greek tragedy, Euripides shows that these masculine roles are at times mutually exclusive and that shifting between these roles can cause problems. Employing a story from the Trojan Cycle, Euripides engages with the idea that to be a warrior, a man must give up fatherhood and household, at least temporarily. The distinction that is seen in this play though is the fact that a choice is given to Achilles (whether the outcome of the myth allows it or not), but not to the female characters I have discussed. When he takes up a female guise at the behest of his mother, it is a voluntary means of deception. When Melanippe claims to be masculine-thinking, it is because a display of her innate wisdom (which she inherited from her mother) automatically entails this shift toward masculinity. She cannot dissociate herself from this trait as Achilles can set aside his spindle. Achilles ostensibly has the

---

[417] Staying at home when one ought to be at war in fact makes a man womanly (cf. the chorus calling Aegisthus a woman who waited at home while other men went to Troy at *Ag*. 1625).

[418] There is no indication of whether this is a difficult decision for Achilles or not.

option to be a father to Deidameia's child (although this would align him with feminized characters like Aegisthus) or to leave, which in fact is the more socially-sanctioned choice. Deidameia must remain on Scyros with the baby. For her, there is no other option. Nor can Hecuba, Melanippe, et al. leave behind their characterization as mothers. As Foley puts it in her paraphrase of Aristotle, "Women are good for their function" (2001: 110), their primary function in society being motherhood. Mothers who do not perform this function in a satisfactory manner are simply not "good". Men, on the other hand, do have more options (e.g. father, husband, warrior), but as the case of Achilles in *Scyrians* illustrates, these can be mutually exclusive.

Conclusion

This chapter has looked at how the tragic hypotheses in the "Tales of Euripides" can illuminate our understanding of gender in the fragmentary plays. The plots of the six plays examined above are revealed by the hypotheses while my remarks on characterization are based on the combination of the hypotheses and the actual fragments. For the women discussed here, characterization occurs primarily through motherhood, while for men, the depiction of Achilles in *Scyrians* indicates that there are more options, but they are equally constraining.

Chapter 6: Fragments and Testimonia in Aristophanes

In the previous chapters, I considered a wide array of sources and testimonia for Euripides' fragmentary plays. These sources range in date from as early as Classical Athens to as late as the Byzantine period and vary from philosophical dialogues to collections of papyri. I now turn to a set of texts that are more homogeneous than those mentioned above since they originate from a single author, Aristophanes, who seems to have had a special affinity for Euripides. This phenomenon was remarked upon in antiquity to the extent that his fellow Old Comic poet Cratinus coined the term εὐριπιδαριστοφανίζειν (according to the *LSJ*, "to write in the style of Euripides and Aristophanes").[419] As early as Pollux (second century C.E.), scholars have suggested that this influence went in both directions, with Aristophanes affecting Euripides' work in turn.[420] The comedies of Aristophanes, *Thesmophoriazusae*, *Frogs*, and *Acharnians* in particular, are a prodigious source of both fragments and testimonia on Euripides' lost plays and it is because of this intertwining of the two poets' work that I shall take up Aristophanes together with the later commentary on his work, which is a valuable resource for determining where he quotes or parodies Euripides. Due to this relationship between the two playwrights, I shall treat Aristophanes' plays as well as the commentary on them as a separate type of source for the fragments. Aristophanes is also our most significant contemporary source for fragments from Euripides, having produced his plays on the same stage and possibly even on the same day as those of Euripides on several occasions.[421]

---

[419] The fragment containing the term is as follows: τίς δὲ σύ; κομψός τις ἔροιτο θεατής./ ὑπολεπτολόγος, γνωμιδιώκτης, εὐριπιδαριστοφανίζων ("'And who are you?' A refined spectator might ask. Overly-subtle, sententia-hunter, Aristophanic copier of Euripides", fr. 342 *PCG*).

[420] *Onom.* 4.111. For more recent (and somewhat opposing) takes on the back-and-forth between Euripides and Aristophanes, see Taplin 1986 and Segal 1995.

[421] Individual comedies were likely performed at the City Dionysia after a tragic poet's tetralogy during the Peloponnesian war (Foley 2008: 16).

In this chapter, I shall first discuss paratragedy and parody, outlining both and identifying how they are used in Aristophanes. Then I shall list the most important Aristophanic sources of Euripides' fragments and testimonia, classifying which come directly from Aristophanes and which are products of the ancient scholarship on his plays. After this, I shall examine how Aristophanes responds to Euripides' portrayal of gender in his fragmentary plays, especially *Andromeda*, the main source of parodied material in *Thesmophoriazusae*. Finally, I shall consider the contribution of Aristophanes and his scholiasts to our knowledge of gender in the fragmentary plays of Euripides.

Paratragodia

Before beginning this discussion of the Aristophanic fragments and testimonia, I must first address the issue of what constitutes an actual fragment vs. what we consider paratragic vs. what is a testimonium. This process is sticky to say the least, and in this undertaking, I shall strive to be conservative in assigning these terms to the excerpts with which I am working. In the case of Aristophanes, as in my previous chapters, fragments may be defined as direct quotations or paraphrases without significant alteration of the content of Euripides' text.[422] Testimonia are all other references to the title, plot, characters, or circumstances of performance. Aristophanes, however, also parodies tragic plays, so that a new category, paratragedy, emerges, which merits special care due to its unique nature. In Aristophanes, those passages imitating either tragic language or tragic action can be considered paratragedy, but because these passages are intentional distortions of the original, rather than attempts to faithfully reproduce Euripidean content, they must be examined with a great deal of caution. The oldest attested use of the term

---

[422] An example of this type of paraphrase is fr. 485 of *Melanippe Wise* (= [Dion. of Halicarnassus] *Rhet*. 9.11).

παρῳδός indicates the obscure nature of parody: ἀνακαλύψω γὰρ λόγους,/ κοὐκέτι παρῳδοῖς χρησόμεσθ' αἰνίγμασιν ("For I will reveal my meaning, and no longer use obscure riddles," Eur. *IA* 1446-7). Although the speaker, Clytemnestra, is not talking about comedy here, the opposition between speech that is clear and speech that is not readily understood is apparent.[423] Paratragedy, therefore, must be treated as a valuable, but suspect, source on Euripidean drama.

In a review of Rau's 1967 study of paratragedy, Dover identified four circumstances in which Aristophanes employs tragic elements: when the plot requires the quotation of tragedy and the script itself acknowledges this (e.g. *Peace* 1012-13), when Aristophanes is trying to achieve a serious effect (often in choral passages), when he highlights the contrast between a character's words and action, and finally, when he is directly critical of a tragedy (1968: 827).[424] Dover also makes the important distinction between using tragedy "as a weapon and using it as a target" (1968: 827). This raises the question of how Aristophanes uses parody and what we can safely glean from paratragedy.

There are several means of determining where the boundary between quotation and paratragedy lies. Scholia, in particular, are helpful in this since ancient scholars often noted that specific lines in Aristophanes were based on Euripides' works or that specific lines were actual quotations from the tragedian, such as *Thesmophoriazusae* 1065-9 (= *Andromeda* fr. 114).[425] Metre can be useful, but since tragedy and comedy can share certain metres (e.g. iambo-

---

[423] See Rose 1993, esp. ch. 1, for a history of the term "parody", beginning from this use.

[424] Since the first category refers to actual quotation (i.e. fragments), it cannot be considered paratragic in the sense of the other three.

[425] Cf. Klimek-Winter's 1993 commentary on *Andromeda* for a thorough list of all lines in *Thesmophoriazusae* designated as direct quotations from Euripides.

choriambic, dactylo-epitrite) and Aristophanes uses metre allusively, this is not conclusive.[426]
The appearance of tragic themes or references in language that is not tragic itself fall under the
category paratragic.

Parody and paratragedy are not synonymous. Since parody can be applied to any genre,
paratragedy is rather a subcategory of parody. In her 1993 work on parody, Rose isolated the
specific types of changes that a parodist can make to the original passage. Those that apply to
Aristophanic paratragedy include absurd changes to the message/subject; changes that highlight
irony, satire, or comedy; syntactic change; changes in grammatical features (e.g. person or
tense); juxtaposition of passages from the parodied work with new passages; and changes of
metre (37). Awareness of these changes can therefore help us safely assign paratragic status,
especially in the case of those fragments which contain both quotation (as indicated by scholia)
and parody (e.g. *Andromeda* fr. 122). For these alterations to be worth making, Aristophanes
certainly counted on an audience that would be aware of Euripides' original play and one that
would be sensitive to Euripides' portrayal of gender. (How else to explain the accusations of
misogyny levelled at Euripides that are a central theme in *Thesmophoriazusae*?) Whether all of
Aristophanes' more subtle references would have been apparent to all is questionable, but
nevertheless, we can conjecture with relative certainty that where paratragedy is present,
Aristophanes intended it to be apparent to at least some of his audience.

Distribution of Aristophanic Sources of Euripidean Fragments and Testimonia

Aristophanes and the scholia on his works provide us with one hundred and two fragments and
forty testimonia, making him the third most prolific source of fragments from Euripides after

---

[426] Aristophanes, for example, also uses resolution, a Euripidean metrical signature, making this particular
tool less useful (Rau 1975: 353).

Stobaeus and Plutarch. Of Aristophanes' plays, *Frogs* offers the highest number of all fragments and testimonia (thirty-four and eighteen, respectively). This is not surprising, since Euripides appears in this play as a character and quotes many of his own works in self-defense against Aeschylus. Of the thirty-four fragments, fourteen come (at least partially) from scholia commenting on paratragic passages, while another fourteen are accompanied by scholia identifying the Euripidean source of the quotation, meaning that only six of the fragments come from the text of *Frogs* by itself. All of the testimonia come from scholia on *Frogs*. This basic pattern of distribution applies to the rest of Aristophanes' plays that provide fragments from Euripides,[427] meaning that the importance of the scholia for the purposes of identifying and supplying fragments is paramount. Other Aristophanic plays with a large concentration of material from Euripides are *Acharnians*, with its parody of costume in *Telephus*,[428] and *Thesmophoriazusae*, which parodies several scenes from Euripides' plays, but especially the rescue of the titular character in *Andromeda*.[429]

Of the one hundred and two fragments of Euripides from Aristophanes, I have identified thirty-three which take up some aspect of gender. Seven of the forty testimonia also do this. The three plays of Aristophanes which contribute the most fragments and testimonia on gender unsurprisingly deal directly with either gender (*Lysistrata*) or Euripides (*Frogs*), or both (*Thesmophoriazusae*). Aside from *Thesmophoriazusae*, which, as I have mentioned above, parodies *Andromeda* in an extended rescue scene, most of the Aristophanic fragments and testimonia on gender focus on individual characters from Euripides' plays (such as Stheneboea at *Wasps* 111-12) or on the lot of women in general (*Frogs* 1476-8 = *Polyidus* 638). Because of this

---

[427] These are *Acharnians*, *Knights*, *Birds*, *Peace*, *Thesmophoriazusae*, *Wasps*, *Lysistrata*, and several fragments of Aristophanes.

[428] Six of seventeen Euripidean fragments in *Acharnians* come from the text alone.

[429] Seven of nineteen Euripidean fragments in *Thesmophoriazusae* are from the text alone. Kannicht 2004 has a full list of the sources of the fragments, including the rest of Aristophanes' plays.

pattern, I shall begin with an extended treatment of *Andromeda* and then take up individual characters and comments as they are referred to in Aristophanes. At times, I shall consult other sources on these plays, such as Eratosthenes, who tells us about the *exodus* of *Andromeda* in his astronomical work, *Catasterisms*.

Andromeda and *Thesmophoriazusae*

Andromeda seems to have been a particularly innovative play among Euripides' corpus, since it depicts a pair of young lovers happily united after overcoming several obstacles, a plot which seems more suited to New Comedy than tragedy.[430] Much of our reconstruction of the play is dependent upon *Thesmophoriazusae*, since the Aristophanic play features his kinsman, Mnesilochus,[431] defending himself against the angry women of Athens by enacting scenes from *Telephus*, *Palamedes*, *Helen*, and, most importantly, *Andromeda*, with the assistance of Euripides.[432] Mnesilochus has incurred their wrath by infiltrating the women-only festival wearing women's clothing at the bidding of Euripides, who wishes to defend himself against the women's revenge for his supposed misogyny. Singing lyric passages from the song of Andromeda, Mnesilochus is rescued from his captor, a Scythian archer (i.e. the Athenian equivalent of a policeman), by Euripides, who (at first unsuccessfully) plays the role of Perseus. Aristophanes' choice of this particular rescue scene may have been due to *Andromeda*'s

---

[430] The agency and voice of Andromeda in this play suggest that, along with Helen in her eponymous play, she stands out among female characters who are part of a romantic match at the end of a play. This sets the play apart from New Comedy (Gibert 1999-2000: 91).

[431] Mnesilochus is the name traditionally given to the kinsman, who is only identified as the κηδεστής ("in-law", a male relative by marriage) of Euripides in the text of the play itself. The name comes from the scholia on this play (Austin and Olson 2004: 77). The *Vita Euripidis* assigns this name to the father of Euripides' first wife (5.5)

[432] Bowie notes that the last two plays in this list have more comic aspects (both in characterization and plot), and that Euripides' final, successful means of rescuing Mnesilochus is to dress up as a procuress, which is highly comic. He claims that this progression is Aristophanes' means of demonstrating the "superiority of comedy as a dramatic form" (1993: 220).

production in the year prior.[433] Since the play ends with a happy romantic union, it stands out among other tragedies, which provide only one parallel for this type of happy ending,[434] and is therefore a fitting reference for Aristophanes.

The erotic overtones of this play caused it, in fact, to be received as an exemplar of this type of love in antiquity. As early as *Frogs* (405, cf. n. 12), authors remarked on this aspect of the play.[435] In the opening of *Frogs*, Dionysus remarks that upon reading *Andromeda*, a yearning has stricken his heart (52-4 = test. iib), which he later calls "desire" (ἵμερος, 59).[436] In Diogenes Laertius 4.29, Arcesilaus' passionate love for philosophy (or perhaps for his teacher of philosophy) is described using a quote from *Andromeda* (= fr. 129a). Thus this play seems to have enjoyed a lasting reputation for its erotic content.

Andromeda appears to have opened with Andromeda bound to a rock situated by the sea waiting for the sea-monster to attack her (she has been placed there by her father, Cepheus).[437] In a novel addition to tragedy, Echo repeats her lament from offstage (cf. fr. 118.2). The chorus is composed of Ethiopian maidens (cf. fr. 117), with whom Andromeda exchanges complaints

---

[433] A scholion on *Frogs* 53 puts the production of *Andromeda* five years prior to that play. *Frogs* is dated to 405 by the mention of the archon in its hypothesis, giving *Andromeda* a date of 412 (counting inclusively). At 1060-61 of *Thesm.*, Euripides (playing Echo) claims to have helped Euripides "last year in this very place" (πέρυσιν ἐν τῷδε ταὐτῷ χωρίῳ).

[434] As Konstan points out, the happy ending of *Helen* is based on "conjugal loyalty", rather than *eros* (1994: 177). Nevertheless both plays can be said to have an ending based on love, if not *eros* in its strictest sense. The remaining fragments of Sophocles' version of *Andromeda* do not indicate whether *eros* played as significant a part in his version of the story.

[435] The passage in which "Perseus" declares his love for "Andromeda" (1106-18), while certainly not Euripidean, is surely a parody of similar erotic content in Euripides' play (Gibert 1999-2000: 79). Heracles' assumption that reading *Andromeda* has inflamed Dionysus' sexual desire at *Frogs* 56 confirms the erotic reputation of this play (Moorton 1987: 435).

[436] A scholiast on *Frogs* 53 refers to *Andromeda* as one of Euripides' best plays (τῶν καλλίστων Εὐριπίδου δρᾶμα ἡ Ἀνδρομεδα). Sfyroeras (2008) suggests that this reference draws attention not only to Euripides' play, but also to its parody in *Thesmophoriazusae*, and more specifically to both *Frogs*' and *Thesmophoriazusae*'s narratives of rescue.

[437] The sea-monster was sent as punishment for the boast of Cassiopeia, Andromeda's mother, that she was more beautiful than the Nereids (Hyg. *Astr.* 2.10 = test. iiib). Several vases seem to depict this scene, with Andromeda bound in the center of the image. For more on these images, see Taplin 2007: 176-80. The scholia on MS *R* of *Thesmophoriazusae* indicate that this is the opening scene of Euripides' play.

about her situation.[438] Perseus arrives, most likely on the *machina*, and after some exchange

between the two, Andromeda promises herself to Perseus should he rescue her (fr. 129a). The

presence of Andromeda's parents, especially her father, at this point has been debated (Gibert in

Collard, Cropp, and Gibert 1995: 133), but it is clear that Perseus goes off to fight the sea-

monster after his initial meeting with Andromeda. There is perhaps an *agon* between

Andromeda, Cepheus, and Cassiopeia, in which the parents attempt unsuccessfully to convince

their daughter to remain with them (cf. Hyg. *Astr.* 2.11 = test iiia(b)).[439] After a messenger

relates Perseus' triumph, Andromeda follows through on her original promise and accompanies

Perseus to Argos (cf. Eratos. *Catast.* 17 = test. iiia(a)). It is Athena who probably resolves the

conflict between Perseus and Andromeda and her parents with her arrival *ex machina* at the end

of the play.

The suffering of Andromeda and her rescue by a man who falls in love with her, and with

whom she also apparently falls in love,[440] appear to be the significant themes of this play. In the

context of Aristophanes' parody, this leads to three lines of investigation: was Andromeda's

suffering portrayed with special reference to her gender, how did Euripides portray Andromeda's

and Perseus' love in his play, and how did Aristophanes make this an object of fun in his version

of their encounter? I begin with the first question.[441] Fragments 114-122 all center on

Andromeda's predicament at the beginning of the play, and all come from *Thesmophoriazusae*'s

---

[438] Schmid suggests that Andromeda's lyric laments took up most of the first half of the play (1940: 518).

[439] Andromeda's fiancé, her uncle Phineus, may have also taken part in this, but he is not mentioned in any of the fragments or testimonia.

[440] None of the surviving fragments tell us explicitly that Andromeda reciprocates Perseus' *eros*, which is described in detail in fr. 136. Frs. 137 and 138 nevertheless imply that the play ends with an ostensibly happy marriage and reciprocated feelings between the two. Eratosthenes ascribes the final decision to marry Perseus as Andromeda's (*Catast.* 17 = test iiia(a)).

[441] In order to avoid making overly tendentious claims about the content of Euripides' play, I shall specify where the scholia clearly indicate a Euripidean quotation vs. paratragedy.

parody of this scene. In fragment 115 (= *Thesm.* 1070-72),[442] Andromeda claims "a share of

suffering above all others" (περίαλλα κακῶν μέρος) and calls herself a "wretch" (τλήμων).

Neither of these are examples of language that is used by one gender more than by the other, but

both are rather generic expressions of suffering.[443] Fragment 117 (= *Thesm.* 1016) indicates the

entrance of the chorus, who must be peers of Andromeda, since she addresses them as

παρθένοι.[444] Once the chorus has entered, Andromeda dismisses Echo:

> κλύεις ὤ;
> προσαυδῶ σε τὰν ἐν ἄντροις,
> ἀπόπαυσον, ἔασον, Ἀχοῖ, με σὺν
> φίλαις γόου πόθον λαβεῖν
>
> Hello, do you hear?
> I appeal to you in the cave,
> stop, Echo, allow me along with
> my friends to have desire for mourning. (fr. 118 = *Thesm.* 1018-20, trans. adapted)[445]

In her choice of γόος ("mourning/weeping"), Andromeda has chosen a word that has strongly

feminine overtones in Euripides' plays. Although Euripides does use it in describing a man's

mourning (cf. *Supp.* 1142, *Or.* 1121), it is most often applied to a very female expression of

emotion (cf. *Or.* 1022).[446] In fragment 119, from Stobaeus (4.48.17) rather than Aristophanes,

---

[442] MS Σ indicates that these lines are from Euripides' play, marking them as ἐκ τοῦ προλόγου.

[443] τλήμων, for example, is used of Admetus at *Alc.* 144 and of Creon's daughter at *Med.* 1233.

[444] MS Σ attributes these words to Euripides' play. The rest of Aristophanes' line (beginning πῶς ἄν) scans differently than this beginning section, indicating paratragedy (cf. Kannicht 2004: 241, n. on fr. 117).

[445] MS Σ indicates that these lines are from Euripides' play, with an adscript on line 1021 indicating a return to Aristophanes' words. Euripides (the character) speaks these lines, as opposed to Mnesilochus, who gets most of Andromeda's lines.

[446] E.g. of forty-four uses of the term in Euripides, only six are applied to male characters, while the rest of its uses are in an explicitly female context. This is likely due to the association of women with mourning and lamentation in Greek culture.

Andromeda then calls on her friends to share her pain (συναλγέω), claiming that this will lessen her burden as she suffers (κάμνω).[447]

Fragment 122 demonstrates the difficulty of ascertaining what is actually tragic vs. what is paratragic. Mnesilochus nimbly alternates between tragedy and comedy, sometimes within a single line. There are several small jokes slipped in, absurdities and comments on Mnesilochus' predicament, but as Austin and Olson point out, the humour of these lines comes mainly from an old fool repeating the words of a beautiful young woman (2004: 315-16):[448]

> ὁρᾷς; οὐ χοροῖσιν οὐ-
> δ᾽ ὑφ᾽ ἡλίκων νεανίδων
> <u>κημὸν ἕστηκ᾽ ἔχου-</u>
> σ᾽, ἀλλ᾽ ἐν πυκνοῖς δεσμοῖσιν ἐμπεπλεγμένη
> κήτει βορὰ <u>Γλαυκέτῃ</u> πρόκειμαι,
> γαμηλίῳ μὲν οὐ ξὺν
> παιῶνι, δεσμίῳ δέ.
> γοᾶσθε μ᾽, ὦ γυναῖκες, ὡς
> μέλεα μὲν πέπονθα μέλεος
> <u>–ὢ τάλας ἐγώ, τάλας–</u>
> ἀπὸ δὲ συγγόνων †ἄλλαν† ἄνομα πάθεα,
> <u>φῶτα</u> λιτομέναν,
> πολυδάκρυτον Ἀίδα γόον φλέγουσαν.
> –αἰαῖ αἰαῖ ἒ ἔ–
>
> Do you see? Not in choruses nor
> among girls of the same age
> <u>do I stand holding my voter's funnel,</u>[449]
> but tangled in tight bonds
> I am offered as food to the sea-monster <u>Glauketes</u>,
> with a paean not for my wedding,

---

[447] The chorus' response, fragment 120, comes partially from *Thesm.* 1022 and the scholia on this line. These two fragments are linked by a first/second-century C.E. papyrus (P. Oxy. 2628) which contains only the last several letters of each line of these fragments, along with an additional five very badly damaged lines.

[448] I follow the practice of Collard and Crop (2008a) in printing the paratragic parts in a smaller font. Underlined sections are definite parody.

[449] This line has created a great deal of confusion, since MS *R* offers ψῆφον κημόν ("voting pebble funnel"). This makes no sense and is not metrical, the grounds for the removal of ψῆφον. Since it would be more likely for a voter to hold the pebble rather than the funnel, Austin and Olson suggest the gloss on κημός offered by Hsch. κ 2514 and Phot. κ 665 of "an ornament for women". This may in fact fit with the image of Mnesilochus in drag. Rau, following Leeuwen, suggests κῶμον ἕστηκ᾽ ἄγουσ᾽ ("I stand participating in a revel", 1967: 74) as the original line from *Andromeda*, a fitting lament in her position.

but for my binding.
Weep for me, women, since
I, being wretched, have suffered wretched things
–<u>O wretch, wretch that I am</u>–
other uncustomary sufferings at the hands of my relatives
as I begged the <u>man</u>,
lighting tear-filled grief at my death.
–Oh! Oh! Woe! Woe!– (= *Thesm.* 1029-42, trans. adapted)

If we read the scholia conservatively, they indicate that only the lines reproduced here in full-size

(1, 2, 6, the first word of 7, the first two words of 8, 9, and 11) are directly from Euripides.

Because of this, I shall address those lines only, since the likelihood of the rest of this passage

being Euripidean is quite small.[450]

Andromeda's first appeal in this passage is to the social role she ought to be playing at

her age (vv. 1-2), which includes participating in the choruses of *parthenoi* that also function as

initiatory rites.[451] Her absence from her rightful place in this ritual is underscored by the presence

of that exact type of chorus onstage beside her. Since lament over leaving one's age-mates

behind upon entering marriage is a common feature of this type of choral performance and it is

common to depict unmarried girls together as dancing like a chorus (cf. e.g. Bacch. 13. 83-90),

Andromeda is effectively performing this type of song for herself.[452] Her complaint therefore

becomes a fitting if unintentional precursor to her impending marriage to Perseus. Andromeda

next expands on the list of rituals she will miss and further foreshadows her fate after being

---

[450] Metre is not very useful in this passage, since Aristophanes has surrounded the passages that are most probably Euripidean with a metrical hodgepodge. Gibert suggests this heterogeneity of metre is Aristophanes' means of parodying Euripides' "New Music" (in Collard, Cropp, and Gibert 1995: 159).

[451] The most famous song performed by this type of chorus in Greek literature may be the Louvre Partheneion of Alcman, from Sparta. There are also many examples of choruses of young women outside of Sparta, often dedicated to Artemis. For a more detailed examination of these, see Calame 1997, esp. ch. 3, pp. 91-101. Performances by young women at the type of all-night festival known as a *pannychis* are mentioned several times in Euripides (cf. *Heraclid.* 781-3). Although these may not always be exclusively initiatory (cf. Stehle 1997: 87), they are the territory of *parthenoi* and not married women, making them a clear marker of societal status.

[452] Cf. the similar complaint made by Electra at Eur. *El.* 175-80.

rescued by Perseus by mentioning the next social ritual she will miss, her wedding (vv. 6-7). She

has also moved on to the next genre of song she expects to miss out on, the wedding paean.[453]

Next Andromeda commands the chorus to weep for her loss, using the verb γοᾶσθε.[454]

As discussed above, the stem γο-, used of mourning and lament, has heavily female overtones.

The term is particularly fitting here, since Andromeda appeals to her peers on the basis of their

common gender and the experiences she expected to share with them. Her final claim of having

been treated against custom (ἄνομα) by her family (v. 11) shows how absolutely these

expectations of her social role have been reversed, since her father ought to have organized her

marriage, the loss of which she now grieves.

At this point in the play, as she waits for the sea monster while bound to a rock,

Andromeda has taken on the role of sacrificial victim shared by several other *parthenoi* in

Euripides' plays.[455] By calling attention to the replacement of marriage with death, Euripides

aligns Andromeda with the other *parthenoi*.[456] While the conflation of marriage and death is a

common theme in many tragedies and is not limited to sacrificed *parthenoi*,[457] there is a certain

poignancy in the early death of an unmarried young girl which these characters themselves

articulate. In *Heracleidae*, the young girl about to be sacrificed laments the loss of her

marriageability due to her premature death (579-80), just as Andromeda does. Polyxena does the

same in *Hecuba* (416-18), while Agamemnon says that his daughter will marry Hades in

---

[453] The connection of this type of song to weddings appears in Sappho 44.31-3 and Ar. *Birds*. 1764.

[454] She uses the same vocabulary (γοᾶσθε) that Hecuba uses at *Trojan Women* 288, when she makes a similar demand of the chorus, in this case asking that they weep at her enslavement by the Greeks.

[455] These include Iphigeneia in *IA*, Macaria in *Heracleidae*, Polyxena in *Hecuba*, and Erechtheus' daughter in *Erechtheus* (cf. ch. 3).

[456] In several other sources for the story of Andromeda (Ovid *Met*. 4.663-5.249, Apollod. 2.4.3-5, and Eratosth. *Catast*. 15-17), she is engaged to be married prior to her exposure, making the replacement of marriage with death literal as well as figurative. See Wright 2005: 68 for a list of variants of the Andromeda myth.

[457] E.g. Rehm 1994, ch. 3 on Helen, Iphigeneia, Clytemnestra, and Cassandra in *Agamemnon* as brides of death.

Iphigeneia in Aulis (461).[458] As with the other *parthenoi*, Andromeda's death is meant to protect

the wider community (cf. Loraux 1987: 33), but unlike them, her sacrifice will not be the ritual

sphagia to which the others are subjected. Instead of a wedding turned sacrifice, as happens with

the other *parthenoi*, the sacrifice of Andromeda turns into her eventual marriage to Perseus, and

so she will not lose her *partheneia* through having her throat cut like an animal,[459] but rather in

the conventional way. The arrival of Perseus to save Andromeda and kill the sea-monster thereby

represents a return to the "correct" order of circumstances, in which a male hero saves the *polis*

rather than a young girl.[460]

Upon his arrival, Perseus' initial misperception of Andromeda as a statue (ἄγαλμα, fr.

125)[461] recalls the statues as erotic partners of Admetus (*Alcestis* 348-52) and Laodamia

(*Protesilaus* test. iiia and b),[462] but more importantly the description of Polyxena's exposed chest

prior to her sacrifice as ὡς ἀγάλματος κάλλιστα ("very beautiful, like a statue" *Hec.* 560-1).

This heightens the eroticism of the hero's first encounter with Andromeda while recalling her

current sacrificial status. When Perseus first speaks to her, Andromeda seems to respond (or

rather not respond) in a way that follows appropriate social convention for a *parthenos*

---

[458] The use of the Thesmophoria as the context of this play within the play reinforces the idea of Andromeda as a potential bride of death, since it celebrates Demeter and Persephone, the original virginal bride of Hades. Tzenetou shows how Aristophanes' dramatic plot and its use of Euripides' plays culminating with *Andromeda* mirrors the myth of Demeter and Persephone at the center of the festival (2002: 340).

[459] As Loraux points out, their sacrifice allows these *parthenoi* to be "virgins and yet not virgins" (1978: 41), completing the transition into womanhood without the ritual of marriage.

[460] Since they depart the exotic Ethiopian setting of the play to be married in Greece, Perseus and Andromeda`s marriage can also be seen as a return to the properly civilized (i.e. Greek) order of things (cf. Wright on this motif in *Helen* and *IT* as well as *Andromeda*, 2005: 219).

[461] This fragment is partially from a scholion on *Thesm.* 1105 (vv. 1-2) and Maximus Confessor's *Scholia on the Works of Dionysius the Areopagite* 234 (vv. 2-4). Ovid makes a similar comparison, likening Andromeda to a "work of marble" (*marmoreum…opus*, *Met.* 4.675). Likening Andromeda to a statue seems to be Euripides' innovation (Wright 2005: 78).

[462] Although Admetus does not actually create such a statue, even proposing the idea suggests the eroticism of this type of statuary. For the connection between Laodamia and Admetus, see ch. 4.

encountering a strange man by remaining silent: σιγᾷς; σιωπὴ δ᾽ ἄπορος ἑρμηνεὺς λόγων ("You are silent? But silence is a poor interpreter of words," fr. 126, trans. adapted).[463]

The following pair of paratragic fragments suggests that Perseus immediately takes pity on Andromeda's plight and that she breaks her initial silence to ask for his help. In fragment 127, "Perseus" (Euripides arriving to rescue Mnesilochus from the Scythian) expresses his concern for "Andromeda": ὦ παρθέν᾽, οἰκτίρω σε κρεμαμένην ὁρῶν ("Maiden, I pity you seeing you hanging there" = *Thesm.* 1110). Fragment 128 has "Andromeda" asking for "Perseus'" help: ὦ ξένε, κατοίκτιρόν με, τὴν παναθλίαν ("Stranger, take pity on me, all wretched as I am" = *Thesm.* 1107).[464] While the vocabulary of these two lines is suitably tragic (cf. Rau 1967: 87), and the lines resemble *Ion* 618-19 and *Iphigeneia in Aulis* 1336-7 (Gibert in Collard, Cropp and Gibert 1995: 161), they are more likely paratragic, since the scholia do not comment on their origins as they do with the other fragments from Euripides in Mnesilochus' rescue scene. A retelling of Perseus' story in Lucian's *Dialogues of the Sea Gods* supports the idea that these lines reflect an actual exchange in *Andromeda*, since Perseus is described as feeling pity immediately upon seeing Andromeda (τὸ μὲν πρῶτον οἰκτείρας, 14.3).

This exchange marks the end of the Aristophanic parody of this scene, but not the end of Perseus and Andromeda's dialogue. Perseus' pity seems to morph into something more self-serving, when he suggests that Andromeda will be in his debt if he saves her: ὦ παρθέν᾽, εἰ σώσαιμί σ᾽, εἴσῃ μοι χάριν; ("Maiden, if I should rescue you, will you show me gratitude?," fr. 129). Andromeda responds with the following: ἄγου δέ μ᾽ ὦ ξέν᾽, εἴτε πρόσπολον θέλεις/

---

[463] Fr. 126 = Stob. 3.34.12. Ovid also describes Andromeda as hesitant to speak to an unknown man (*Primo silet illa, nec audit, adpellare virum virgo*, *Met.* 681-2).

[464] Kannicht has omitted the following line, λῦσόν με δεσμῶν ("Free me from my bonds" = *Thesm.* 1108), which Nauck kept and Canter, Barnes, and Matthiae attributed to Euripides (Kannicht: 2004: 247). It is possible that Perseus does not free Andromeda until after killing the sea monster, based on Ovid and Lucian's versions of the story (Webster 1965b: 31).

εἴτ' ἄλοχον εἴτε δμωΐδ' ("Take me with you, stranger, whether you want me as a servant, a wife, or a slave," fr. 129a).[465] Perseus' question to Andromeda is laden with erotic overtones. Since χάρις can refer to sexual favours (cf. e.g. *Agamemnon* 1206), Perseus seems to be asking for quite a reward for rescuing her. This also confirms his *eros* for the maiden. The quotation of these two fragments by Diogenes Laertius in an erotically charged conversation supports this interpretation. Crantor, a teacher of philosophy who is smitten (ἐρωτικῶς διατεθείς) with his student, Archesilaus, cites Perseus' question to him.

Archesilaus' response, fragment. 129a, suggests that he reciprocates Crantor's feelings, but when voiced by Andromeda in the original text, this is definite self-assertion on the part of a *parthenos*. In offering herself up to Perseus in a variety of roles, Andromeda introduces the idea that he could marry her, effecting a double rescue, first from the sea monster, then from the father who put her in its path. In doing so Andromeda has transitioned from powerless virgin sacrifice, so inert that she can be confused with a statue, to a woman who is advocating, however obliquely, on her own behalf. If the play ends as Eratosthenes describes it, Andromeda herself chooses to leave for Argos with Perseus (he calls her αὐθαίρετος, "choosing on her own", *Catasterisms* 17 = test iiia(a)). Having the couple set off to marry confirms the funerary-marital connection that Euripides introduced earlier in the play, while continuing *Andromeda*'s reversal of the usual pattern involving sacrificed *parthenoi* (see above).

Aristophanes' parody of Andromeda's rescue is, then, to be understood in terms that are explicitly focused on gender. Aside from the immediate humour generated by the old man Mnesilochus playing a beautiful young *parthenos*, there are several aspects of female identity at

---

[465] The presence of δέ as a connective prevents most scholars from reading fr. 129a as the immediate response to fr. 129. The source of these fragments, Diogenes Laertius, however, characterizes fr. 129a as τὰ ἐχόμενα ("what follows", cf. Pl. *Gorg.* 494e), suggesting that these lines are not very far apart in the original play. The end of the second line of 129a is missing several syllables.

play which Aristophanes foregrounds in his choice of quotes and therefore in *Thesmophoriazusae* more broadly. The choral overture that immediately precedes Euripides' final attempt at rescuing Mnesilochus makes continual reference to the dance that the chorus is actually performing, specifically the type of female-only chorus that "Andromeda" will long for shortly (947-1001, esp. 968, 971, and 974). Mnesilochus, keeping up his female disguise, appeals to this chorus on terms that are as feminine as those used in Andromeda's expression of despair at losing access to such festivities. Mnesilochus then takes up Andromeda's complaints from the beginning of Euripides' play (fr. 115 = *Thesm*. 1070-2). The evidence that we have of Andromeda's laments that does not come from *Thesmophoriazusae* indicates a conventionally feminine type of lament, and the Athenian audience was likely to have understood it as such. Even if Mnesilochus does not quote these complaints directly, his identification as Andromeda lends his own laments a feminine air and heightens the comedy of an old man first playing Helen, the most beautiful woman of all, and then a beautiful *parthenos*. When the chorus again make reference to their women-only dancing by calling on Athena to watch their dance (they use the epithet φιλόχορος, "fond of choruses", at 1136), they draw even more attention to the invasive nature of Mnesilochus' and Euripides' presence, reminding the audience that such festivities are forbidden to men (οὗ δὴ ἀνδράσιν οὐ θέμις εἰσορᾶν, 1150). As Zeitlin indicates, the Thesmophoria is not a time and space "appropriated by the women as a crucial and outrageous strategy to further their plans," as in Aristophanes' other "women on top" plays (1996: 376), rather it is already assigned to them by convention.[466] This convention, however, itself involves the temporary adoption of an otherwise traditionally male space (the Pnyx) by

---

[466] Despite the women's legitimate presence at their festival within the play, Zeitlin addresses the paradox of their presence on the Pnyx and on stage, both civic spaces usually reserved for men.

women, so Mnesilochus and Euripides are in effect mirroring the women's actions.[467] That is to say that the Thesmophoria grants the Pnyx, which is usually male, to women, who then have their female space appropriated by the two men.

Since it is in his guise as Andromeda that Mnesilochus is finally freed (albeit with the help of a sexy flute-girl and Euripides in disguise as a procuress), it is worthwhile to compare her both to the other Euripidean heroine he impersonated (namely, Helen) and to Euripides' characters that caused the women's original anger at the playwright. Why is it that the Andromeda ruse is successful compared to the others? Is there anything related specifically to Andromeda or to her play that reduces the women's anger? When first caught by the women at the festival, Mnesilochus attempts to escape by "playing" male characters from Euripides, Telephus (from his eponymous play) and Oiax (from *Palamedes*). When neither of these works, he turns to the impersonation of a female character, Helen. He is finally assuming the female role for which he has been dressed since the beginning of the play and subjecting himself to a "female experience" (Zeitlin 1996: 391). This Helen is the virtuous version from Euripides' play of the same name, who did not actually go to Troy (in this version of the story it was an image sent by the gods).[468] Like Andromeda, she also must escape a male figure to be with her desired partner. (In this case it is not her father, but the king of Egypt who wishes to marry Helen.) Both *Helen* and *Andromeda* are what Wright terms "escape-tragedies", and are two of the few examples of this type of tragic plot for which we have evidence.[469] Since the women from these plays both escape their captors, they are apt choices for an escape ruse based on Euripides' plays.

---

[467] Women gathering in traditionally male seats of power at the Thesmophoria occurred outside of Athens too, including in its celebration at Thebes and Thasos (Bowie 1993: 207).

[468] *Helen* had been presented at the Dionysia along with *Andromeda* the year prior to the production of *Thesmophoriazusae*.

[469] Wright includes *IT* in this category, as well as Sophocles' version of *Andromeda* and Aeschylus' lost *Prometheus Unbound* (2005: 124).

However, in the case of his version of Helen, despite the blamelessness of this character and the possibility of redemption for Euripides, claiming to be her is a bridge too far for Mnesilochus: he is called out for this unbelievable impersonation by his "audience", Critylla, the woman guarding him (863-4).

What of the characters who are the cause of the women's anger? While they are not named beyond Phaedra and Melanippe (546-8),[470] there are several clues to help us identify who else is implied. In the First Woman's list of the ways in which Euripides has slandered women, she includes terms like προδότις ("traitress", 393), a noun form which is only used by Euripides at this point (Austin and Olson 2004: 179).[471] He uses it of Medea (*Med.*1332) and Helen (not the virtuous version, *Cyc*. 182, *Andr*. 630, *El*. 1028, and *Hel.* 834, 931, 1148). The reference to the Corinthian stranger at 404 clearly points to Stheneboea (the stranger being Bellerophon, cf. chapter 4). These are not examples of virtuous women, especially compared to the innocent and virginal Andromeda. Mnesilochus' versions of Andromeda and the Egyptian Helen are then to be read as the opposites of Euripides' earlier Medeas and Stheneboeas, an attempt at redeeming Euripides by reminding the angry women of his "good" female characters while saving himself.

Fragments on Gender in Aristophanes

Turning now to Aristophanes' broader pattern of engagement with Euripides' depiction of gender *vis-à-vis* the fragments, I shall demonstrate that Aristophanes does not use individual plays as he does in *Thesmophoriazusae*, but rather "cherry-picks" from Euripides' plays that

---

[470] Since there are two versions of each of these characters, it is not possible to determine at which version of Melanippe or Phaedra this opprobrium is directed. I suggest either Phaedra on the grounds of her attempted adultery, but the Melannipe of *Melanippe Wise*, since her speech was well-known in antiquity (see chapter 5).

[471] Προδίδωμι appears in earlier texts (e.g. Hdt. 3.45) as does the masculine form προδότης (e.g. Hdt. 8.30), but Euripides is the first to use this term to refer specifically to a female traitor.

address issues of gender in a way that reflects patterns within Euripides' own work. The lost plays were one of Aristophanes' favorite sources for additional commentary on the roles of women and men, as well as for references he must have expected at least a segment of his audience to pick up on. As discussed above, these references were not limited to simple quotation, but could include metrical devices, vocabulary, melody, plot, and character. As well, Aristophanes both quotes and alludes to Euripides so repetitively that an audience could practically expect Euripides' material to pop up somewhere in one of his plays.[472]

Aside from his use of *Helen* and *Andromeda* in *Thesmophoriazusae*, produced the year after Euripides' plays (see above), Aristophanes does not seem to have specifically chosen plays that had been recently produced, meaning that he was also counting on some of his audience to recognize his references to Euripides years after their original performance.[473] I therefore suggest that when Aristophanes uses Euripidean quotations on gender, he often does so as a sort of shorthand, an efficient means of communicating a given point about the roles of men and women in society or about a specific character. If these references were well-known enough that a portion of the audience could pick up on them, then the associations Aristophanes wished to make would be clear with one reference. The pattern that emerges is as follows: Aristophanes uses certain Euripidean quotations on gender as commentary on women and their behaviour and to refer to specific female characters like Stheneboea and Melanippe, often highlighting their negative actions in light of their gender. I shall address the quotations with an eye to this pattern and note when Aristophanes is using Euripides to make a general comment on society, to

---

[472] There are quotations and allusions to at least forty of Euripides' plays in Aristophanes (Harriott 1962: 3).

[473] *Telephus*, for example, was performed in 438 (as recorded in the hypothesis to *Alcestis*), but is extensively parodied in both *Thesmophoriazusae* (411) and *Frogs* (405). See above for a discussion of the dating of the comedies. See Harriott for a table of the distribution of Aristophanes' quotations of Euripides including both extant and fragmentary plays (1962: 6).

comment on a character in his own play, or to poke fun at Euripides (or all three). As with *Andromeda*, the scholiasts on Aristophanes are also a significant source for Euripidean fragments, so I shall discuss them at the same time.

As I have already mentioned, in *Thesmophoriazusae* the women of Athens wish to take Euripides to task for slandering their gender with his female characters. As the First Woman details the ways in which women have suffered due to this, she both directly refers to and alludes to several of Euripides' female characters (see above). In this speech (383-432) she also quotes Euripides several times, reproducing lines from *Stheneboea* (404 = fr. 664 v. 2), *Phoenician Women* (406 = *Phoen.* 1246), and *Phoenix* (413 = fr. 804, v. 3). The two brief fragmentary quotations are references to adulterous behaviour, in both cases from plays that fall under the Potiphar's wife plot-type (cf. chapter 4). In the first case, the quotation unambiguously refers to Stheneboea by using the phrase τῷ Κορινθίῳ ξένῳ, a reference to Bellerophon, with whom she tries to commit adultery. Aristophanes does not even need to mention Stheneboea's name, indicating that her story is well-known among his audience and she is a sort of exemplar of the adulterous woman.[474]

The line from *Phoenix*, however, does not call directly on the audience's knowledge of a specific character, but rather its awareness of the Potiphar's wife plot-type and its frequent use by Euripides. It rehashes the sentiment we have already seen used on several occasions and quoted in Stobaeus, that a young wife is dangerous to an old man: δέσποινα γὰρ γέροντι νυμφίῳ γυνή ("For a wife rules over an aged bridegroom," fr. 804, v. 3). When the First Woman repeats the line, claiming that it is the reason old men will no longer marry young women, she introduces it with διὰ τοὔπος τοδὶ ("on account of this line"). In having her do so,

---

[474] Stheneboea's toast to Bellerophon (whom she supposes to be dead) in fr. 664 seems to have been especially resonant with Athenian audiences, since it also appears as parody in Cratinus fr. 299, where a woman playing *kottabos* calls out τῷ Κορινθίῳ πέει ("to the Corinthian cock").

Aristophanes elicits recognition of the play itself, but more importantly of Euripides' use of that type of story. Including this line in a speech with the reference to Euripides' Stheneboea reinforces the tragedian's reputation for depicting adulterous women, confirming that this reputation was current among his contemporaries.

An unassigned fragment that appears in *Lysistrata* provides the same type of observation on Euripides. When the choruses of men and women have an argument, the men counter that Euripides' reflections on women are correct: οὐκ ἔστ' ἀνὴρ Εὐριπίδου σοφώτερος ποιήτης·/ οὐδὲν γὰρ οὕτω θρέμμ' ἀναιδές ἐστιν ὡς γυναῖκες ("No man is a wiser poet than Euripides, 'for no creature is so shameless as a woman'", *Lys.* 368-9, v. 2 = fr. 882b). Although this fragment is not assigned to a specific play and its wording is not certain,[475] Aristophanes once again selects a sentiment, the superlative evil of women, seen elsewhere in Euripides (*Phoenix* fr. 808, cf. chapter 2). As with the First Woman's speech, this should be read not as Aristophanes' commentary on women, but rather as his selection of a common Euripidean trope in service of the male chorus' commentary on women.[476]

When Aristophanes highlights specific characters, he emphasizes the features of their portrayals that seem to be most prominent in the plays themselves and that seem to have resonated most with his Athenian audience. As we have already seen, Aristophanes uses Stheneboea as shorthand for an adulterous woman. When he again quotes from the play about

---

[475] Despite its lack of attribution to a specific play, most editors accept this as Euripidean due to its meaning. Henderson claims the Euripidean sentiment is sufficient (1987: 126). Even if it is not from Euripides, the fact that Aristophanes associates such an idea with Euripides indicates that this was Euripides' reputation in Classical Athens.

[476] In what seems to be a reference to the fragment from *Phoenix*, an unassigned comic fragment from an *ostrakon* mentions Euripides by name in association with this type of sentiment: νὴ τὸν Δία τὸν μέγιστον, εὖ γ' Εὐριπίδης εἴρηκεν <εἶναι> τὴν γυναικείαν φύσιν πάντων μέγιστον τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις κακῶν ("Yes, by Zeus, the greatest, Euripides has spoken well (saying) that a woman's nature is the greatest of all evils among humans", *PCG* VIII fr. 1048). For more on this fragment, see Fraenkel 1924.

her in *Wasps*, describing the deranged mental state of Philocleon, the line he uses refers to her erotically-tinged madness: τοιαῦτ' ἀλύει· νουθετούμενος δ' ἀεί/ μᾶλλον δικάζει ("Such is his madness; always giving advice, he passes judgement more", 111-2). A scholion on line 111 identifies its source as *Stheneboea*, while the same fragment's quotation in Chrysippus' *On Passions* (= fr. 475) and Plutarch (*Moralia* 71a) gives us the actual Euripidean wording: τοιαῦτ' ἀλύει· νουθετούμενος δ' ἔρως/ μᾶλλον πιέζει ("Such is her madness; when desire is rebuked, it presses more", fr. 665, trans. adapted). Even without any sense of the audience's recognition of this line, we can see that Aristophanes turned to Euripides' portrayal of Stheneboea as driven mad by *eros* for a description of the extremities of madness (cf. chapter 4). If noticed, the comparison between Philocleon's love of the law courts and Stheneboea's desire for Bellerophon heightens the comedy of this description. Because Aristophanes draws on the Potiphar's wife plot, he also emphasizes how mistaken Philocleon's love is.

Melanippe is another of Aristophanes' favorite targets/comparanda. As mentioned above, she comes up in *Thesmophoriazusae* as an example of the type of negative female character Euripides puts onstage (along with Phaedra, 546-8). As with Stheneboea, Aristophanes turns to the most notable aspect of Euripides' depiction of her, her intelligence.[477] The play *Melanippe Wise*, in fact, centers on this aspect of Melanippe, with her famous speech in defence of her children. So when Lysistrata, addressing the Spartans and the Athenians, wishes to remind her male audience that she as a woman ought to be listened to, she uses a line from this play: ἐγὼ γυνὴ μέν εἰμι, νοῦς δ' ἔνεστί μοι ("I am a woman, but I have intelligence", *Lys.* 1124 = fr.

---

[477] All Aristophanic references to the character Melanippe are to the play *Melanippe Wise*, which features her cleverness as a plot-point (cf. chapter 5).

482).[478] As with the lines in *Wasps* pertaining to Stheneboea, the connection with Euripidean characterization enriches Aristophanes' own characterization. Lysistrata is a woman using rhetoric to convince men, and what better source to draw upon than one of the most famous speeches by a woman? Lysistrata can safely describe herself as a Melanippe, since in the comic world, all will return to normal as the plays ends, with men returning to their customary positions of power in the *polis* and the *oikos*. As a character in a Euripidean tragedy, however, Melanippe becomes a target for censure (cf. *Thesm.* 546-8 and Arist. *Poet.* 1454a28ff.), since she represents an aberration from societal norms that will not be corrected.

Conclusion

The use of Euripides' fragments by Aristophanes provides us with as near to contemporary reception as we have. By looking at Euripides' presence in Aristophanes, we are able to determine which plays, characters, and aspects of those characters resonated with the Athenian audience. While Aristophanes is not likely to have been his only contemporary responding to these aspects of Euripides, he is our only surviving example of this and as a playwright with a defined audience he gives us a perspective on the tragedian that relies on at least part of his audience understanding these quotations and references in his comedies.[479] Were we to rely exclusively on Aristophanes' direct commentary on Euripides (such as the anger of the women at the tragedian in *Thesmophoriazusae* or the observation of the chorus of men in *Lysistrata*), we

---

[478] The scholia indicate that this line is Euripidean. Dindorf and Welcker included the following line of *Lysistrata* thinking the scholia referred to this line, but Kannicht and Rau argue that it can only refer to 1124 (Kannicht 2004: 533).

[479] The strongest argument in favour of Aristophanes' audience understanding these very nuanced references is his participation in competition. If he wanted to win, as he did several times, Aristophanes is not likely to have wanted to confuse or alienate his judges with references they would not comprehend.

could come away with the mistaken idea that Athenians' sole consideration of Euripides was that he was deeply misogynistic.

I propose a more nuanced take on the relationship between Euripides and Aristophanes. When we look more closely at specific plays and characters related to issues of gender, we see two modes for Aristophanes' use of Euripides. First, Aristophanes can draw on key aspects of characterization to enhance his own comic portrayal of characters, as when he uses Andromeda the *parthenos* to contrast with Mnesilochus the old man, and the love-maddened Stheneboea as a comparanda for the lawcourt-enamoured Philocleon. Bringing Helen and Andromeda into *Thesmophoriazusae* for this purpose proves that Aristophanes' own appreciation of Euripides extended to his "good" female characters. Second, when a dynamic based on gender is at play and much of the comedy of a given play (*Thesmophoriazusae* and *Lysistrata*) centers on this dynamic or the reversal thereof, Aristophanes turns to Euripides as a source for well-known and dramatic examples of this. While some of the commentary on specific characters like Melanippe suggests that Euripides was a source for "bad" women for his contemporaries, it also indicates that his use of such characters was provocative and raised uncomfortable questions among his fellow Athenians that transcend mere misogyny. That is, characters such as Melanippe were not used merely to show the fundamental flaws of women, but rather to probe the ideology surrounding Athenian women. In Aristophanes' plays, Euripides' works are employed as a means to articulate the contradictions of the female role in Athenian society.

Conclusion: What Difference *Do* the Fragments Make?

When I originally undertook this project, the job ahead of me was to look for the *difference* that the fragmentary plays represent: where they add to or alter what we know of gender in Euripides' plays rather than fill in all the blanks. My conclusion is that the fragmentary plays expand on the understanding we have from the extant plays, and in doing so, confirm that there is no monolithic Euripidean approach to any one issue related to gender, but rather a constantly shifting set of responses to the position of both women and men in Classical Athenian society.

The recurrent themes I have observed in Euripides' depiction of gender in the extant plays are as follows: virgin sacrifice,[480] widows' lament,[481] negotiation of motherhood (whether a character is defined by it or rejects it),[482] negotiation of the role of a wife,[483] the relationship of a daughter to the *oikos*,[484] and the negotiation of masculine identity.[485] The mythological cycles that Euripides returns to on multiple occasions in the extant plays include the Trojan Cycle (*Andromache*, *Hecuba*, *Trojan Women*, *Helen*, and *Iphigeneia at Aulis*), the Theban Cycle (*Suppliants* and *Phoenician Women*), and the story of the House of Atreus (*Electra*, *Iphigeneia at Tauris*, *Orestes*, and *Iphigeneia at Aulis*). In individual plays, Euripides takes up such themes directly related to gender as the Potiphar's wife storyline (*Hippolytus*), the role of the stepmother (*Hippolytus* again), and rape and recognition (*Ion*). *Hippolytus* also touches on the Cretan Cycle of myth. From these plays we see a Euripides deeply interested in the dynamics of gender and

---

[480] Cf. Macaria in *Heracleidae*, Polyxena in *Hecuba*, and Iphigeneia in *IA*.

[481] Cf. Andromache in her eponymous play, the chorus in *Suppliants*, and the chorus in *Trojan Women*.

[482] Cf. Medea in her eponymous play, Andromache in her eponymous play, Hecuba in her eponymous play, the majority of the characters and the chorus in *Trojan Women*, Creusa in *Ion*, Jocasta in *Phoenician Women*, and Clytemnestra in *IA*.

[483] Cf. Alcestis in her eponymous play, Medea in her eponymous play, Phaedra in *Hippolytus*, and Helen in her eponymous play.

[484] Cf. Macaria in *Heracleidae*, Electra in her eponymous play, Iphigeneia in *IT* and in *IA*.

[485] Cf. Hippolytus in his eponymous play and Pentheus in *Bacchae*.

the influence of these dynamics on his characters' behaviour. They show us that Euripides was a master of the art of *ethopoieia*, the common rhetorical practice of answering the question "What would X do in this situation?",[486] and that he used this technique particularly skillfully with female characters. Although imagined and composed by a man, these plays bring exclusively female experiences into the spotlight and explore how differently they can play out, depending on individual characters and their choices. In doing this, they show us that Euripides' mothers, wives, and daughters are not homogeneous in any way.

Why then has it been necessary to take up the fragmentary plays? What can this admittedly difficult form of evidence tell us that the extant plays cannot? Looking at gender in the fragmentary plays has five major advantages over looking at the extant plays alone: first, we get an expanded image of the heterogeneity of specific types of Euripidean characters; second, we get a more developed image of recurrent individual characters; third, we get more examples of specific plot-types; fourth, we have more instances of Euripides exploring how masculinity is defined; and finally, we have more examples of Euripides' approach to famous mythological cycles. Beyond these reasons, we also have access to characters that we wouldn't otherwise. In the first case, there is a far greater range of mothers, wives, and daughters in the fragmentary plays, with specific aspects of these familial roles only touched upon briefly in the extant plays. This notably includes repeated meditations on the role of the stepmother in *Aegeus*, *Ino*, *Hippolytus Veiled*, *Melanippe Captive*, and *Phrixus A* and *B*. In all of these plays the stepmother is a danger to her stepchildren, who in all but one of these plays have the potential to threaten her position within the *oikos*, while *Hippolytus Veiled* adds the erotic dimension of the Potiphar's wife storyline. Hecuba in *Alexander* and Althaea in *Meleager* join Medea as destructive mothers, in Hecuba's case of the unrecognized Paris and in Althaea's of Meleager who has murdered her

---

[486] See Russell 1983, especially chapter 5 on *ethopoieia* and its role in rhetorical practice.

brothers. Laodamia in *Protesilaus* stands beside Alcestis as an example of extreme marital devotion with her suicide upon the death of her husband at Troy. Ariadne in *Theseus* and Antigone in her eponymous play are opposites in terms of their displays (or lack thereof) of filial loyalty, as Ariadne goes against the wishes of her father in helping Theseus and leaving Crete and Antigone disregards the edicts of her father-in-law to be in favour of burying her brother.

In the second case, specific characters recur in the fragmentary plays, showing how Euripides explored alternative scenarios, multiple aspects of characterization, or the histories of single characters. The distinction between the extant and fragmentary Phaedras is the most famous example of this. Whether the story of Euripides reworking this storyline in the extant version to make his Phaedra more palatable to the judges is true or not,[487] our evidence for the fragmentary version gives us a more manipulative Phaedra, who, in her attempts to control her situation by "framing" Hippolytus, takes on more personal responsibility than the Phaedra in the extant play. In *Aegeus*, we see Medea continue her destructive ways as a stepmother, rather than as a mother (and thus with a different motivation for wanting to get rid of Theseus than when she kills her own sons in *Medea*). Rather than the more maternal figure of *Phoenician Women*, the Jocasta of the fragmentary *Oedipus* is primarily understood as a wife based on the fragments that have survived in Stobaeus and Clement of Alexandria. In *Peliades* and *Alexander*, by looking at the earlier stories associated with these characters in ostensibly happier times, Euripides gives us an indication of the capacity for vengeance that both Medea and Hecuba possess and which we see reach its fullest expression in the extant plays. In the case of *Alexander*, its position as the first play of a trilogy that concluded with *Trojan Women* indicates that Euripides was interested in exploring the character of Hecuba before and after the Trojan War.

---

[487] Cf. test. i on the extant play (Aristophanes of Byzantium's hypothesis of the play).

In terms of the third advantage of looking at the fragmentary plays, two plot-types that occur only in single extant plays appear with far more frequency in the fragmentary plays, demonstrating that these were some of Euripides' favorite plots to explore rather than one-off attempts. The Potiphar's wife plot, which occurs in the extant *Hippolytus*, appears at least three more times in Euripides' corpus, with the amorous stepmother motif of *Hippolytus Veiled* (touched on more obliquely with the presence of Phoenix's father's concubine in *Phoenix*), Stheneboea's pursuit of Bellerophon in her eponymous play, and an exploration of the male perspective on this plot in *Phoenix*. The rape-and-recognition plot, which appears only in *Ion* among the extant plays, appears six more times in the fragments (in *Alope*, *Antiope*, *Auge*, *Danae*, and the *Melanippe* plays), with four more fragmentary plays that incorporate elements of this plot (*Aeolus*, *Alcmene*, *Skyrians*, and *Hypsipyle*). Without the fragmentary contribution to our understanding of this plot-type, we would not have the many examples of recognition of infants (Ion is recognized as Apollo's son when he is an adult) and therefore the accompanying explorations of the dangerous position of a raped *parthenos*, nor would we have Heracles' striking apology to Auge, the only example of such an apology that survives in Greek drama.

The fourth advantage, further examples of Euripides exploring masculinity, allows us to see his investigation of the other side of the ancient dynamic of gender more clearly. If a woman can be defined through her relationship to the *oikos*, how is a man defined? In *Bacchae*, Euripides approaches this question through a deity that possesses many traditionally feminine qualities and is involved in a lengthy scene in which he helps Pentheus cross-dress in order to more closely observe female bacchants. A similar situation occurs in *Skyrians*, in which the most powerful (and arguably most masculine) of all Greek heroes, Achilles, cross-dresses to avoid going to the Trojan War. In *Scyrians*, Euripides gives us the hyper-masculine paired with the

feminine in one character. In the extant *Hippolytus*, Euripides questions whether a man ought to isolate himself from participation in the *oikos* as well as the *polis* and explores the potential consequences of this isolation. This question is also part of his first version of the story in *Hippolytus Veiled*, but the idea that participation in the *polis* is an essential aspect of masculinity receives its fullest expression in the debate between Zethus and Amphion in *Antiope*. This is the most explicit exploration of masculinity and its place in the *polis* in Euripides due to its agonistic nature.

Finally, without the fragments, we would not have nearly as many examples of how Euripides uses themes centered on gender in his various depictions of the famous mythological cycles. His extant plays on the Trojan Cycle focus primarily on the experience of the defeated and enslaved women of the Trojan royal family, whereas the fragmentary plays show us that Hecuba was an equally fierce and protective mother prior to the downfall of her family and city. The fragmentary plays also give us an example of widowhood from the Greek rather than Trojan perspective, with Laodamia in *Protesilaus*. The fragments also give us two more plays from the Theban Cycle, in which Euripides foregrounds Jocasta's role as a devoted wife (*Oedipus*) and Antigone's loyalty to her natal *oikos* (*Antigone*). Since the Theban Cycle is more famously associated with Sophocles and his plays have become the canonical version, Euripides' *Oedipus* and *Antigone* give us insight into how a different author could tackle this set of stories, perhaps in response to the Sophoclean plays.[488] From the Cretan Cycle, only touched upon obliquely in the extant *Hippolytus*, the fragmentary plays give us one of the most striking fragments of all in Pasiphae's speech of self-defense after mating with the bull and conceiving the Minotaur. The

---

[488] Since Sophocles' play about Antigone is the earliest evidence of her story, it is likely that Euripides was responding to this version. In his hypothesis to the Sophoclean version, Aristophanes of Byzantium mentions that both stories are essentially the same, but that the happier ending for Antigone and Haemon is Euripides' innovation (= test. iia). Euripides' *Oedipus* is likely post-419 (cf. Cropp and Fick 1985), and so must be read in light of the Sophoclean version of roughly twenty years prior.

depiction of Pasiphae in *Cretans* also gives us an excellent companion to the two versions of Phaedra in its extreme depiction of god-sent *eros*.

We must also consider that there are many characters in the fragments of Euripides whom we do not find in any of the extant plays by any of the three major tragedians. Some, such as Canace, Hypsipyle, and Andromeda are familiar to us from other ancient sources (Ovid's *Heroides* in the first two cases and the parody in *Thesmophoriazusae* in the third case). But these extant sources distort Euripides' original material in service of their own artistic agendas, whereas returning to Euripides' own words and drawing on other testimonia for *Aeolus*, *Hypsipyle*, and *Andromeda* allows us to see how Euripides explored the distress of all three women.

Other fragmentary plays are our only sources that give voice to characters who are voiceless in other versions of their stories. Pasiphae's scandalous speech of self-defense in *Cretans* would not have survived except for the felicitous discovery of a papyrus in Egypt, nor would we have either version of the feisty Melanippe without the fragments. The story of Erectheus' wife and daughters and their role in defending Athens and the debate between Antiope's sons exist only in the fragmentary plays. Each of these examples is unique in Euripides' corpus in its direct presentation of a specific gender-related issue, such as Melanippe's defense after being raped in *Melanippe Wise* or the debate on manhood and participation in the *polis* in *Antiope*.

In isolating these advantages gained by including the fragments in a study of gender in Euripides' plays, this project has attempted to weave in as many of the useful strands of evidence as possible. My purpose in incorporating the testimonia and the contexts in which the fragments are preserved is in step with my original motivation for studying gender in the fragments: using

all the available evidence in order to arrive at a fuller image of how Euripides works with gender in his plays. Looking at the fragments has both confirmed and contradicted what I originally understood of Euripides' interest in how gender affects the actions of his characters. The famous characters I expected to find (Medea, Hecuba, Phaedra) are all present, but with new shades added. The characters that are found only in the fragmentary plays (e.g. Pasiphae and Melanippe) are perhaps the most fascinating of all. Masculinity is more explicitly a factor for several characters, such as Achilles and the twins, Zethus and Amphion, than I would have expected based on the extant plays. Perhaps most importantly, the richness and diversity of Euripides' work is better understood after looking at the fragments, with a tantalizing hint of what the whole image might be were we in possession of the complete corpus.

Appendix 1: Gender in the Papyrus Fragments

Papyri excavated from the sands of Egypt have contributed much to our understanding of ancient literature. Inhabiting an area occupied by Greeks in the Hellenistic period and Romans from the dawn of the empire onwards, the populace of Egypt had access to a great body of literature, especially those in the area around Alexandria, with its great library and culture of learned *paideia*. Much of this literature was recorded on papyrus, which was plentiful in the valley of the Nile River.[489] Although papyrus was widely used throughout the Greco-Roman world, the vast majority of the papyrus that has survived until now comes from Egypt, thanks to the exceptionally dry climate in many parts of that country.[490] There are at least five hundred thousand scraps of Greek papyrus from Egypt (Parsons 2007: 41), a massive accumulation which has provided such essential Greek literature as poetry by Pindar, Sappho, Bacchylides, and Callimachus, and much of Menander's corpus. Many of these fragments were unearthed in the fertile literary hunting ground that is Oxyrhynchus, a Hellenized city roughly two hundred kilometres up the Nile from modern-day Cairo.

The papyrus finds are equally important to our reconstruction of lost Euripidean plays. Of the one thousand two hundred and thirty-two fragments identified as belonging to Euripides (cf. Kannicht), sixty-seven (or parts thereof) are preserved not in quotations from other ancient authors, but on papyrus. The dramatic hypotheses known as "Tales from Euripides" are also preserved on papyrus (see chapter 5). These papyrus fragments and the hypotheses are from at

---

[489] For a description of the process of making papyrus and the conventions of reading a papyrus scroll, see Parsons (2007: 39-40).

[490] Papyrus does not survive in strata below the level of ground-water, and so the parts of Egypt subject to the annual flooding of the Nile have not preserved any papyrus fragments. Papyri from other parts of the Mediterranean include the only papyrus book remaining from Classical Greece, charred on a funeral pyre and thus made waterproof; a library from Herculaneum, baked in ash from Vesuvius; and several from other arid climates including the area around the Dead Sea and Petra in Jordan.

least twenty-four different plays.[491] Without the papyrus fragments we would not have most of

what remains of *Alexander* and *Hypsipyle*, the two biggest Euripidean papyrus finds. The former

has nine fairly lengthy papyrus fragments and a relatively complete papyrus hypothesis, while

the latter has twenty-one fragments found on papyrus to go with its hypothesis (cf. my discussion

of both plays in chapter 5). The papyrus fragments are often dozens of lines long, therefore

providing continual narrative flow that the shorter book fragments usually lack. The hypotheses

themselves, the "Tales from Euripides", have proven to be invaluable in piecing together plots.

As with many of the important Egyptian papyri, the majority of Euripidean papyri were found at

Oxyrhynchus (forty-nine of sixty-seven).[492] In this appendix, I shall briefly explain how these

papyrus finds have added to our overall knowledge of Euripides' entire corpus and then isolate

the specific contributions of the papyri finds to our understanding of gender in the fragmentary

plays.

Prior to the discovery of the Egyptian papyri in the late nineteenth century,[493] it was the

manuscript tradition that had preserved Euripides' work, meaning that in addition to the plays

that had survived whole, book fragments were all that remained of the non-extant plays. The

individual who selected a quotation from Euripides did so for a specific purpose and likely had

access if not to the entire text, certainly to more of the original text than we do. Everything that

had survived to this point had done so through the intention of individual scholars and authors

and therefore can be said to have been mediated by them. The papyrus fragments on the other

---

[491] Twenty-one are not securely attributed to individual plays, suggesting the number of plays is ultimately higher than twenty-four. Fr. 86 (from PSI 1302) may be from either *Alcmeon in Corinth* or *Alcmeon in Psophis*. For a complete list of the sources of the fragments see Kannicht 2004: 1044-1088.
[492] See Donovan 1966: 9-10 for a list of the evidence for Euripides' work attested in the Oxyrhynchus papyri.
[493] Greco-Roman papyri had been found here and there in Egypt prior to this point, but most archaeological work done there in the nineteenth century focused on the remains of pharaonic Egyptian culture.

hand have survived only through serendipity. To a certain extent, the editorial influence of the ancient excerpters is less of a factor in their survival.[494] Because of this, scenes that the ancient excerpters may have found distasteful or unworthy of attention have survived.[495]

The great discoveries (especially those at Oxyrhynchus) unearthed not only bits of the lost plays, but valuable additions to our knowledge of the surviving plays, with only *The Children of Heracles*, *Ion*, *Suppliant Women*, and the satyr play *Cyclops* not represented among these finds.[496] In many cases, the papyri reveal readings that vary from the manuscript versions, some rather intriguing,[497] some less so.[498] In other cases, the papyri support readings offered by certain manuscripts but not by others, while some papyri suggest a different ordering of lines from the manuscripts.[499] Still others have musical notation,[500] which is invaluable to those scholars working on dramatic performance. Many Euripidean papyri were only published in the latter half of the twentieth century and many continue to be re-edited (cf. van Rossum-Steenbeek's work on the "Tales from Euripides"), meaning that much of the information they contain has come to light only relatively recently.

The sixty-seven papyri from the non-extant plays have preserved either actual fragments or testimonia from the following identified works: *Aeolus*, *Alexander*, *Alcmeon in Corinth*, *Alcmene*, *Antigone*, *Antiope*, *Archelaus*, *Auge*, *Autolycus*, *Danae*, *Erechtheus*, *Theseus*, *Ino*,

---

[494] This does not apply to the excerpts that survive in anthologies or quotations in other authors on papyrus.

[495] E.g. the references to Pasiphae's bestiality in *Cretans*.

[496] This is based on the inventory of papyri in the second edition of Pack 1964.

[497] P. Harris 38 contains *Medea* 1282-1308, and confirms the reading ἅλαις in line 1285, which had previously been offered as a conjecture (Athanassiou 1999: 14).

[498] An example of this is the fragment of *Medea* published by Page in 1938, which provides what Page characterizes as an "inferior variant" in line 1176 (μέλος rather than the preferable μέγαν of the MSS, 45).

[499] Cf. Longman's discussion of *Orestes* 332-40 based on the fragment published by Wessely in 1892 (1962). As of 1966, one hundred sixty-eight variant readings had been noted in the Euripidean papyri from Oxyrhynchus, with sixty-nine being entirely new (Donovan 1966: 58).

[500] The papyrus from *Orestes* mentioned above has musical notation.

Hippolytus Veiled, *Cresphontes*, *Cretans*, *Melanippe Wise*, *Melanippe Captive*, *Oedipus*, *Polyidus*, *Protesilaus*, *Scyrians*, *Telephus*, *Hypsipyle*, *Phaethon*, *Philoctetes*, *Phoenix*, *Phrixus A*, and *Phrixus B*. Of the sixty-seven papyrus fragments, I have identified twenty-five that deal with issues of gender.

In some cases, the papyrus hypotheses reveal crucial information on plot as it relates to gender.[501] Relating the story of *Aeolus*, the hypothesis on P. Oxy. 2457 (ed. E. Turner) gives us information on Macareus impregnating Canace and the young man's plot to gain permission to marry his sister. Without this, we would be overly reliant on the version in Ovid *Her.* 11 to piece together this play.[502] The hypothesis of *Alexander*, on P. Oxy. 3650 (ed. R.A. Coles), provides us with Hecuba as a willing potential murderer of Paris on behalf of the defeated Deiphobus (23-5 and 29-30). *Auge*'s hypothesis, in far worse condition than the previous two on P. Köln 1 (ed. B. Kramer), nevertheless suggests the night-time festivities and drunkenness that are hallmarks of this plot, especially as a precursor to New Comedy (7, 8, and 13) (cf. Barrett 2007: 460). The hypothesis of *Theseus*, on P. Oxy. 4640 (col. i, ed. M. van Rossum-Steenbeek), may refer to the hero's marriage to Phaedra as a resolution to the play (16-17, cf. ch. 4). The badly damaged hypothesis from *Hippolytus Veiled*, found on two separate papyri,[503] hints at Phaedra's bed-chamber (P. Mich inv. 6222A, fr. A. 10) and her scratching of her own cheeks (P. Oxy. 4640, ed. M. van Rossum-Steenbeek, col. ii 2), both of which may be part of her attempt to frame Hippolytus in that play and are key distinctions from the Phaedra of the extant version.

The hypothesis of *Melanippe Wise* is particularly well-preserved on two papyri (P. Oxy. 2455, ed. E. Turner, 1-2 and 5-19 and P. Leiden inv. 145, ed. R. Daniel, 18-23), with the

---

[501] See ch. 5 for extended discussions of most of the following hypotheses.

[502] See Lloyd-Jones 1965: 443 for a list of the suppositions on the plot of *Aeolus* confirmed in this hypothesis.

[503] See van Rossum-Steenbeek 1998: 16 and 22 on the overlap between the two papyri and Luppe 2004 on the ordering of the hypothesis.

combination giving us the full story of her rape by Poseidon and Melanippe's defense of her sons. *Scyrians* has a hypothesis which may depict Achilles raping Deidameia as opposed to seducing her (PSI XII.1286, ed. C. Gallavotti).[504] Although the two papyri on which it is found are fairly damaged (P. Oxy. 2455, ed. E. Turner and P. Oxy. 3652, ed. H. M. Cockle), the hypothesis of *Hypsipyle* provides clues to the play's complex plot. The hypotheses of *Phrixus A* and *Phrixus B* indicate that the first play focussed much more on the misdeeds of Ino as a wicked stepmother (P. Oxy. 2455 1-12 and 19-23, ed. E. Turner, re-ed. Van Looy and P. Oxy. 3652, ed. H. M. Cockle and P. J. Parsons), while the second dealt more with the fallout from those misdeeds and Dionysus' rescue of Ino from certain death (P. Oxy. 2455).

In terms of the actual fragments, much of our information on characterization of individuals comes from the Egyptian papyri. This information often adds shades to a specific character that other plays or the more famous book fragments do not depict while confirming plot points found in the hypotheses. The many papyrus fragments of *Alexander* include Hecuba's grief at exposing her son (frs. 46 and 46a) and her concern that Deiphobus has been defeated by the son of a slave-woman (fr. 62c), which is a precursor to her homicidal anger in fragments 62d and 62e, corroborated in the hypothesis of this play (see above).[505] Fragment 223 of *Antiope* includes Amphion's condemnation of those who impregnate a woman but do not help the resulting children (alluding to Zeus' role regarding his mother, vv. 10-14).[506] This contradicts his earlier accusation in fragment 210, as quoted by Clement (*Misc.* 5.14.111.2), and Hermes

---

[504] In lines 20-21 of this hypothesis, describing Deiadameia's pregnancy by Achilles, Latte conjectured λαθραῖ]ος ("secretly"), which Kannicht includes in his edition. Diggle rejects this, suggesting something along the lines of μετ᾽ ἰσχύ]ος ("with force"), based on rules of syllable division at line-ends, Ov. *Ars* 1. 699-700, and St. *Ach*. 1.640-2 (2004: 53).

[505] All of these fragments are from P. Strasbourg 2342-4 (ed. W. Crönert).

[506] The papyri on which fragment 223 is found, P. Petrie 1 and 2 have a complex editorial history, beginning with J. Mahaffy (with J. B. Bury and H. Weil) in 1891. Part of this process has centered on numbering vv. 28-116 (or 57-145) since several editors, Kannicht among them, believe that twenty-nine lines are missing after v. 27. Diggle 1998 is the most significant recent re-editing.

verifies Antiope's claims later in the same papyrus fragment (v. 72), when he arrives *ex machina* to end the play. Several of the papyrus fragments of *Hypsipyle* depict her as a caring maternal figure, highlighting both what will happen to the child in her care and her eventual reunion with her own sons. Fragment 752d accomplishes both in the span of a few lines, as Hypsipyle soothes baby Opheltes and greets her (unrecognized) sons (P. Oxy. 852, ed. B. P. Grenfel and A. S. Hunt). Other fragments from the same papyrus, one of Grenfel and Hunt's most significant discoveries, have her singing to the infant (752f), telling of her journey from Lemnos (752g and 752h), then lamenting after Opheltes has been killed (753f, 754, 754a, 754b, and 757). P. Oxy. 852 also includes her happy reunion with her sons (fr. 759a), thereby preserving the full range of emotion centered on Hypsipyle in this play and confirming much of the complex plot.

The papyri can also offer downright surprising details from the fragmentary plays. This is certainly true of fragments 472b (P. Oxy. 2461, ed. E.G. Turner) and 472e (P. Berlin 13217, ed. U. von Wilamowitz and W. Schubart) of *Cretans*, which reveal Minos receiving the news of Pasiphae's monstrous offspring in the former case and her striking and passionate speech of self-defense in the latter (cf. chapter 4).

Other papyrus fragments further strengthen the understanding of individual plays or characters that we have gleaned from the book fragments and testimonia, and sometimes even confirm the accuracy of the quotations. From *Erechtheus*, fragment 370 depicts the grieving but proud Praxitheia and Athena's reward to her for the sacrifices highlighted in Lycurgus' speech (vv. 96-7, cf. chapter 4, P. Sorbonne 2328, ed. C. Austin). Fragment 494 of *Melanippe Captive* features her lengthy encomium of womankind, in which she criticizes those who find fault with the entire gender (P. Berlin 9772, ed. U von Wilamowitz and W. Schubart). This fragment both confirms the image of Melanippe as keen-witted from the play depicting her as a younger

woman and her reputation in the classical era (cf. Aristotle). It also weaves together individual lines found in sources varying from Stobaeus (vv. 27-9 = 4.22.78) to another papyrus (vv. 5-16 = Satyrus, *Life of Euripides*, P. Oxy 1176).[507] Fragments 822 (P. Oxy. 2685, ed. J. Rea) and 822b (PSI 1474 col. i, ed. G. Vitelli), from either of the Phrixus plays,[508] show Ino confronted by her husband and accused of ruining the corn-seed.

Finally, the unassigned fragments (both the *incerta* and the *adespota*) preserved on papyrus provide us with a tantalizing passage, which may yet be securely identified as more and more papyri are published. The passage is on P. Strasbourg W.G. 306, which contains part of an anthology of tragic lyrics, also found on P. Stras. W.G. 305 and 307. Editors have identified fragment 953m from this papyrus as Euripidean, since not only does the style correspond to that of the playwright, but there are also passages from *Medea* and *Phoenician Women* in the same anthology written in the same hand.[509] The fragment, in poor condition, seems to be concerned with the death of a child (or children) at the hands of its own mother (vv. 21-35) and refers to the husband of the woman in question (v. 40). We have, therefore, another scene in which a woman is made to face the consequences for killing a child. Since *Medea* is extant and the fragment includes a mention of Cadmus (v. 25), the play in question could very well be *Ino*, with the murderess being Themisto (who kills her own children after being tricked by Ino) or Ino herself (who will commit suicide by throwing herself into the sea with her son Melicertes in her arms). The two plays share the theme of infanticide, and with *Medea* quoted on the same papyrus, it is likely that this passage is from *Ino* (Fassino 1999: 44). Despite its poor condition, this papyrus provides us the opportunity to examine Euripides' portrayal of infanticide beyond the most

---

[507] The various sources for this fragment apart from P. Berlin 9772 are vv. 1-3 = *Anon. Vit. Eur.* 4.2, vv. 5-16 = Satyrus, *Life of Euripides*, P. Oxy 1176, vv. 9-10 = Ath. 14.613d, vv. 27-9 = Por. fr. 409f and Stob. 4.22.78.

[508] Diggle assigns fr. 822b to *Phrixus A* (1998: 163).

[509] 306 has *Med*. 841-65 and 1251-92, while 307 has *Phoen*. 1499-1581.

famous version in *Medea*. There are similarities between the two plays (both Ino and Medea are motivated by vengeance) as well as differences related to the variant shades of infanticide in both plays. These points of comparison include the *pathos* of a woman mistakenly killing her own children (Themisto), the vengeance of a first wife on her husband and his new bride (Ino and Medea), and sheer desperation due to inescapable circumstances (Ino). Again, the fragmentary play gives us another take on a single issue of gender.

The papyri have revealed some of the most striking aspects of Euripides' fragmentary plays. Without the felicity of their survival we would not have Hecuba wishing to kill her own son, Pasiphae's mad lust, or Hypsipyle's reversal of fortune. More importantly, we would be overly reliant on relatively short book fragments. While this latter type of fragment is obviously very useful, the extensive texts found on papyri, both hypotheses and actual fragments, provide much of the information on plot and character that we otherwise piece together with much effort using only book fragments.

Appendix 2: Gender in the Satyr Plays

 Among Euripides' fragments there are remnants of at least six satyr plays, in addition to the extant *Cyclops*, the sole surviving example of this genre by Euripides. The fragmentary satyr plays are *Autolycus*,[510] *Busiris*, *Eurystheus*, *Sisyphus*, *Sciron*, and *Syleus*,[511] which represent a total of forty fragments and nineteen testimonia. The sources which preserve these fragments and their distribution among them are similar to the main body of tragic fragments, with Stobaeus contributing the most (seven total), and Athenaeus and Plutarch also represented. Pollux also makes a significant contribution to the satyric collection with six fragments.

Since the fragments are for the most part quite short, and the papyrus record has yet to contribute a longer fragment as in the case of several of the tragedies,[512] we are left with rather scanty information about character. In terms of plot, however, we have much more evidence, mainly in the form of narrative hypotheses on papyrus that are in the same format as the "Tales from Euripides" (cf. chapter 5). *Busiris*, *Sisyphus*, *Sciron*, and *Syleus* all have hypotheses, which provide important clues to the plots of these plays despite being in rather poor condition.[513] The hypothesis for *Busiris* (= test. iiia) gives us one very important word: apples (presumably the golden apples, χρυσ]ᾶ μῆλα, 4). In combination with a mid-fifth century Attic cup showing

---

[510] The belief that Euripides wrote two plays by this name comes from the testimonium in Athenaeus accompanying fr. 282, referring to "the first *Autolycus*" (τῷ πρώτῳ Αὐτολύκῳ, 10.413c = test. iiia). A badly damaged papyrus hypothesis refers to a drama (τὸ δρᾶμα) of this name by Euripides, a departure from beginning with the tragic title alone (cf. *Alexander* test. iii) or referring to the play as σατυρικός (cf. *Syleus* test. ii). Due to irregularities in the hand, van Rossum-Steenbeek does not consider it part of the "Tales from Euripides", but claims that it is likely based on a lost hypothesis from that sort of collection (1998: 14).

[511] We have only the title for the satyric *Harvesters*, which Aristophanes of Byzantium says was produced in 431 with *Medea*, *Dictys*, and *Philoctetes* (argum. *Med*. 90.40).

[512] Aside from the opening lines provided by the papyrus hypotheses, only one fragment (282 from *Autolycus*) comes (partially) from a papyrus source. Lines 1-9 are on the badly damaged P. Oxy. 3699, and are already present in book fragments from Athen. 10.413c and Gal. *Pro*. 10.

[513] The badly damaged hypothesis of *Autolycus* (= test. iiib) is only four lines long and provides little other than the names of Euripides, the title character, and Hermes.

Heracles being led in bondage to Busiris (Berlin 2534), this tells us that this play dealt with Heracles' trip to Egypt after claiming the golden apples of the Hesperides. The hypothesis of *Sisyphus* (= test. iii) does not signpost its plot as clearly as that of *Autolycus* (in which Sisyphus probably also appears),[514] but the play seems to feature the release of satyrs from slavery by Heracles,[515] since the hypothesis includes terms such as "yoked" (ἐπέζευξεν, 3), "escaping" (φυγών, 4, and φυγεῖν, 11), and "fighting" (possibly against their masters) (μαχόμ[ε]νος, 5). *Sciron*'s hypothesis includes the title at the beginning, and is in better shape than the others, revealing that the title character, a robber (6), leaves his rocky dwelling (5) to be guarded, most likely by Silenus.[516] Satyrs (12) bring prostitutes (ἑταιρῶν, 13) to this place. According to its hypothesis and Philo's lengthy discussion of this play with quotations in *Every Good Man is Free*, *Syleus* tells the story of Heracles sold to the title character as a slave (6), his ill treatment at Syleus' hands, and his subsequent murder of his master. He saves Syleus' daughter (either Xenodice or Xenodoce, 16-17),[517] but for his own erotic purposes.

In the case of the plays without hypotheses, testimonia and the fragments themselves give us information on plot. For *Autolycus*, Tzetzes' *Chiliades* gives us a great deal of detail on Autolycus' story, and mentions that Euripides has told his story "accurately" (ἀκριβῶς, 8.453 = test. iv). Autolycus, a son of Hermes, is a very talented thief who tricks his victims by replacing

---

[514] Because the title is missing from this hypothesis, but it is included in the Σ section of the collection of hypotheses on P. Oxy. 2455 (the source of most of the "Tales from Euripides"), scholars have debated whether this hypothesis belongs to *Sciron* and the one assigned to that play belongs to *Sisyphus*, or if perhaps these belong to *Syleus*. Jouan and Van Looy provide a list of who has attributed which hypothetical fragment to which play (2002: 38). Pechstein is the most prominent voice in opposition to the assignment of these hypotheses as it is in Kannicht 2004 (1998: 204).

[515] The lone fragment of this play (673) includes a vocative addressing Heracles: ὦ βέλτιστον Ἀλκμήνης τέκος ("O most excellent son of Alcmene").

[516] This part of the line is missing. Lloyd-Jones was the first to conjecture the name Silenus as the διάκονος ("servant") (1965: 440).

[517] Apollodorus gives her name as Xenodoce (2.6.3 = test. iiic), while Tzetzes gives it as Xenodice (*Chil.* 2.435 = test. iiic). The first option ("Guest-hostess") allows for a pun that corresponds to her eventual relationship with Heracles.

the goods he has stolen with something of lesser value (e.g. an ass for a horse, 446, or a satyr in place of a *parthenos*, 448-9). We have no testimonia for *Eurystheus*, but the fragments, especially 371, make it clear that the play is about Heracles' twelfth labour, the trip to Hades to fetch Cerberus.

Since only *Sciron* and *Syleus* feature females onstage, and the evidence we have for the male characters in the fragmentary satyr plays indicates that they adhere to the generic conventions for their gender, I shall limit my discussion to these two plays, in the first case to the prostitutes accompanying the satyrs and in the second to Heracles and Xenodice. I shall attempt to avoid commenting on gender in Euripides' works from this genre as a whole, since our evidence is far too scant for that purpose. Work on gender in the entirety of the genre has historically focussed on masculinity in satyr plays and this will form the basis for my brief discussion of the women in these two plays.[518]

In the hypothesis to *Sciron*, the women accompanying the satyrs are characterized as ἑταῖραι (conventionally translated as "courtesans", test. iia.13).[519] The presence of prostitutes alongside hypersexual satyrs is not surprising and the fragments give us more detail about what kind of prostitutes they are. Fragment 675 relates the prices for the individual prostitutes:

> καὶ τὰς μὲν ἄξῃ, πῶλον ἢν διδῷς ἕνα,
> τὰς δὲ, ξυνωρίδ'· αἱ δέ κἀπὶ τεσσάρων
> φοιτῶσιν ἵππων ἀργυρῶν. φιλοῦσι δὲ
> τὰς ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν παρθένους, ὅταν φέρῃ
> πολλάς <τις>...

---

[518] See Hall 1998 for an excellent discussion of the role of the satyr-play viz. collective masculinity in Athens. See also Voelke 2001: 410-11 on the masculine aspect of satyr-plays vs. the feminine aspect of tragedy.

[519] This does not automatically assign them the status of famous *hetaerae* like Lais or Phryne, but is likely used as a generic term here. There seems to have been a great deal of flexibility between the terms *hetaera* and *porne* ("prostitute") (cf. Glazebrook and Henry 2011: 5 on the "fluid status" of prostitutes in Athens). Even though *hetaera* is the term used of upscale *demimondaines* like the two mentioned above, its use in sources such as the speech *Against Neaera* and the comedies of Menander suggests that it could be used more generically of prostitutes in general (McClure 2003: 11).

> You can take them, if you pay one colt,
> and those, if you pay a team; but these go for four
> silver horses. They love
> the girls from Athens, when someone's got
> a lot…(trans. adapted)

Assigning very specific prices to the individual women indicates a lower status than the grand *hetaerae* (who would be quite out of place in a satyr play as urban women who navigated the complex system of gift exchange with their lovers).[520] The equestrian references are to types of coins (based on the images on them, according to Pollux 9.76), rather than to actual horses. Fragment 676 contains further proof that these are ordinary *pornai*, in which a speaker likely to be Silenus acts as a pimp by offering a Corinthian girl to a passer-by.[521]

In *Syleus*, Xenodice is also present for sexual purposes, much like the prostitutes of *Sciron*, after Heracles has killed her father.[522] Fragment 693 is a crude pun on Heracles' club as he appears to be preparing to sleep with her (cf. *Auge* fr. 278): εἶα δή, φίλον ξύλον,/ἔγειρέ μοι σεαυτὸ καὶ γίγνου θρασύ ("Come on then, my dear club, stir yourself, please, and be bold!").[523] In fragment 694, he makes his intentions with the girl clear, despite having just killed her father: βαυβῶμεν εἰσελθόντες· ἀπόμορξαι σέθεν/ τὰ δάκρυα ("Let's go inside and 'go to sleep'; wipe away your tears!").[524] Thus the only evidence we have for women in Euripides' satyr plays is as sexual objects.

---

[520] This is one of the primary distinctions between a common prostitute and the famous *hetaerae*. An *hetaera* receives "gifts" from her lovers and gives "favours" in return, while a *porne* charges by the act. See Davidson 1997: 201 on the distinction between *pornai* and *hetaerae* and Kurke 1999: 185 on *hetaerae* and gift exchange.

[521] Middle Comedy especially plays on the fame of Corinth for its prostitutes, and the infamous Neaira is supposed to have worked in Corinth at the beginning of her career. McClure attributes the reputation of Corinthian prostitutes to the city's location on a busy port (2005: 142).

[522] It is unclear whether she has a speaking role in this play or not.

[523] Hesychius has this fragment under τ, with τύλον ("penis") instead of ξύλον. This is probably an adaptation of these lines, but nonetheless points to the validity of a ribald interpretation.

[524] Βαυβάω is used euphemistically here.

The fragments and testimonia of *Sciron* and *Syleus* depict female characters as present for the sexual gratification of male characters, specifically satyrs, silenoi, and Heracles. These characters are particularly suited to the rural aspects of the genre and both represent an image of hyperactive male sexuality in these plays. The evidence that remains of the *pornai* and Xenodice suggests that they are present in their plays as foils and objects for this sexuality, rather than as characters in their own right. If we look at the hypersexuality of the satyrs and of Heracles in *Sciron* and *Syleus* in the broader context of satyr-plays as a genre, it seems that, in these instances, Euripides conforms quite easily to what little evidence we have of the genre. It must be said, though, that due to the scant evidence for the satyric genre and for Euripides' work within it, this is not conclusive and so must not be treated as such.

Appendix 3: Dates for Euripides' Fragmentary Plays[525]

Aegeus: 455-30 (?)

Aeolus: 455-21

Alcmene: 455-10

Alcmeon in Corinth: 405*

Alcmeon in Psophis: 438*

Alexander: 415*

Alope: any

Andromeda: 412*

Antigone: 420-06

Antiope: 427-19

Archelaus: post-408/7*

Auge: 414-06

Autolycus (A and B): ca. 420*

Bellerophon: 455-25

Busiris: any*

Chrysippus: any

Cresphontes: 455-24

Cretan Women: 438*

Cretans: 455-28

Danae: 455-25

Dictys: 431*

Erechtheus: 421-10

Eurystheus: any*

---

[525] The above dates are based on Cropp and Fick 1985: 70, who determined dates for many of these plays based on rates of metrical resolution. An asterisk indicates a date taken from Cropp and Collard 2008a or b based on evidence other than metre.

Hippolytus Veiled: 455-29

Hypsipyle: post-412*

Ino: 455-25

Ixion: ca. 420-06

Licymnius: any

Melanippe Captive: 426-12

Melanippe Wise: 455-11

Meleager: 418-06

Oedipus: 419-06

Oeneus: 455-25

Oenomaus: any

Palamedes: 415*

Peleus: 455-17

Peliades: 455*

Phaethon: 427-14

Philoctetes: 431*

Phoenix: 455-26

Phrixus A: any

Phrixus B: any

Pleisthenes: 455-14

Polyidus: 421-06

Protesilaus: 455-25

Sciron: any*

Scyrians: any

Sisyphus: 415*

Stheneboea: 455-22

Syleus: ca. 430s*

Telephus: 438*

Temenidae: 422-06

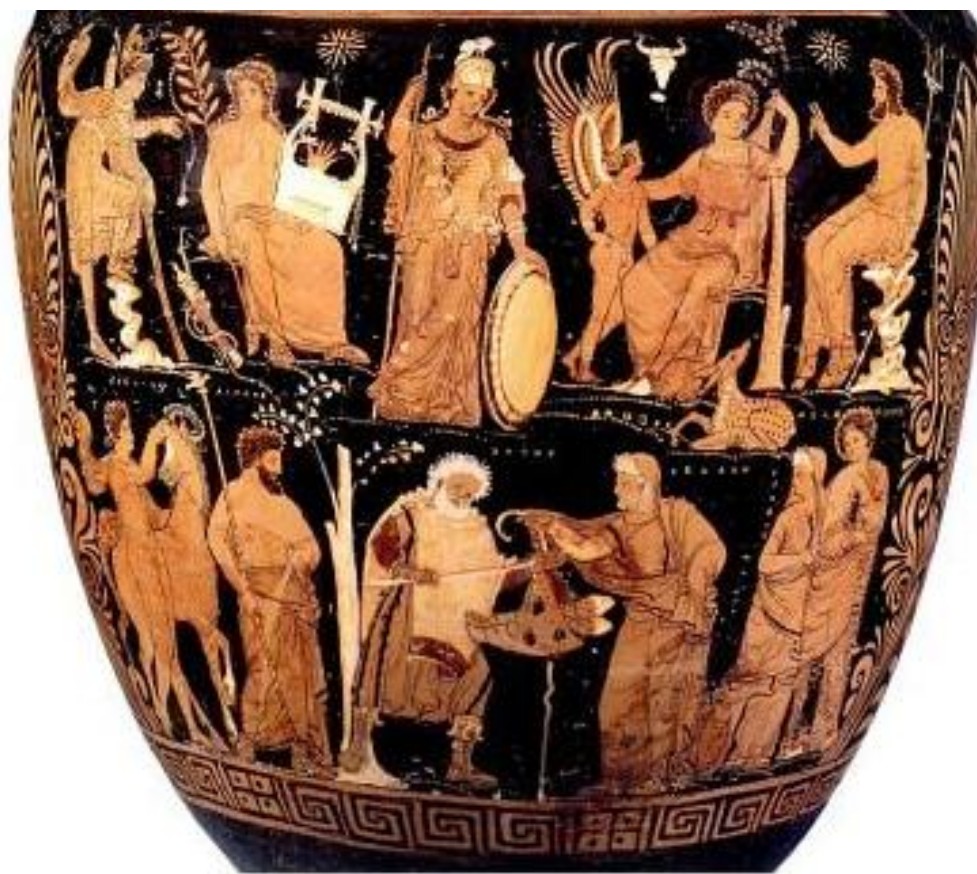*Temenos*: 455-22

Theseus: 455-22

Thyestes: 455-25

Figure

Figure 1. 4th-century Apulian volute krater, in Taplin 2007: 194.

Works Cited

Allen, T.W. and Monro, D.B. 1902. *Homeri Opera, Vol. 1*. Oxford: Oxford UP.

Ament, E.J. 1993. "Aspects of Androgyny in Ancient Greece," *Women's Power, Man's Game: Essays in on Classical Antiquity in Honour of Joy K. King*, M. DeForest, ed. Wauconda, IL: Bolchazy-Carducci. 1-31.

Anderson, W.S. 1982. "Euripides' 'Auge' and Menander's 'Epitrepontes'," *GRBS* 23: 165-77.

Athanassiou, N. 1999. *Marginalia and Commentaries in the Papyri of Euripides, Sophocles, and Aristophanes*. Diss. University of London.

Austin, C. and Olson, S.D. 2004. *Aristophanes Thesmophoriazusae*. Oxford: Oxford UP.

Barrett, W.S. 2007. *Greek Lyric, Tragedy, and Textual Criticism: Collected Papers*. M.L. West, ed. Oxford: Oxford UP.

Barringer, J.M. 1996. "Atalanta as Model: The Hunter and the Hunted," *CA* 15: 48-76.

Bassi, K. 1998. *Acting Like Men: Gender, Drama, and Nostalgia in Ancient Greece*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Billing, C.M. 2008. "Representations of Greek Tragedy in Ancient Pottery: a Theatrical Perspective," *New Theatre Quarterly* 24: 229-45.

Blok, J.H. 2001. "Virtual Voices: Toward a Choreography of Women's Speech in Classical Athens," *Making Silence Speak: Women's Voices in Greek Literature and Society*, A. Lardinois and L McClure, eds. Princeton: Princeton UP. 95-116.

Bowie, A. M. 1993. *Aristophanes: Myth, Ritual, and Comedy*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP.

Burkert, W. 1979. *Structure and History in Greek Mythology and Ritual*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Buxton, R.G.A. 1982. *Persuasion in Greek Tragedy: A Study of Peitho*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP.

Caedel, E.B. 1941. "Resolved Feet in the Trimeters of Euripides and the Chronology of the Plays," *CQ* 35: 66-89.

Calame, C. 1997. *Choruses of Young Women in Ancient Greece: Their Morphology, Religious Role, and Social Functions*. Trans. D. Collins and J. Orion. Oxford: Rowman and Littlefield.

Casali, S. 1998. "Ovid's Canace and Euripides' *Aeolus*: Two Notes on *Heroides* 11," *Mnemosyne* 51: 700-10.

Cawthorne, K. 2008. *Becoming Female: The Male Body in Greek Tragedy*. London: Duckworth.

Chong-Gossard, J.H.K.O. 2008. *Gender and Communication in Euripides' Plays: Between Song and Silence*. Leiden: Brill.

Collard, C. 1999. "Review of J. Diggle, *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta Selecta*," *BMCR* 3.01.

---. 2005. "Euripidean Fragmentary Plays: The Nature of Sources and their Effect on Reconstruction," *Lost Dramas of Classical Athens: Greek Tragic Fragments*, F. McHardy, J. Robson, and D. Harvey, eds. Exeter: University of Exeter Press. 49-62.

Collard, C. and M. Cropp. 2008a. *Euripides, Vols. VII: Fragments*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP.

---. 2008b. *Euripides, Vol. VIII: Fragments*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP.

Collard, C., M. Cropp, and J. Gibert. 1995. *Euripides: Selected Fragmentary Plays, Vol. 2*. Warminster: Aris and Phillips.

Collard, C., M. Cropp, and K.H. Lee. 1995. *Euripides: Selected Fragmentary Plays, Vol. 1*. Warminster: Aris and Phillips.

Conacher, D. 1998. *Euripides and the Sophists: Some Dramatic Treatments of Philosophical Ideas*. London: Duckworth.

Cropp, M. 2006. "Review of R. Kannicht, *TrGF Vol. 5*," *BMCR* 5.23.

Cropp, M. and G. Fick. 1985. *Resolutions and Chronology in Euripides: The Fragmentary Tragedies*. London: Institute of Classical Studies.

Csapo, E. and W.J. Slater. 1994. *The Context of Ancient Drama*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Davidson, J. 1997. *Courtesans and Fishcakes: The Consuming Passions of Classical Athens.* New York: St. Martin's Press.

Demand, N.H. 1994. *Birth, Death, and Motherhood in Classical Greece.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP.

Denniston, J.D. and D. Page. 1957. *Aeschylus: Agamemnon*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Di Benedetto, V. 2004. "Osservazioni su alcuni frammenti dell' *Antiope*," *Euripide e i papyri*, G. Bastianini and A. Casanova, eds. Florence: Istituto Papirologico G. Vitelli. 97-122.

Diggle, J. 1998. *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta Selecta*. Oxford: Oxford UP.

---. 2005. "Rhythmical Prose in the Euripidean Hypotheses," *Euripide e i papyri*, G. Bastianini and A. Casanova eds. Florence: Istituto Papirologico G. Vitelli. 27-68.

Dindorf, K.W. 1830. *Poetae Scenici Graeci accedunt pertitarum fabularum fragmenta*. London: Black, Young and Young.

Dodds, E.R. 1959. *Plato, Gorgias*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Donovan, B.E. 1966. *Studies in the Papyri of Euripides from Oxyrhynchus*. Diss. Yale University.

Dover, K. 1968. "Review of *Paratragodia: Untersuchung einer komischen Form des Aristophanes*," Gnomon 40: 826-28.

----. 1978. *Greek Homosexuality*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP.

Dué, C. 2006. *The Captive Woman's Lament in Greek Tragedy*. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Ekroth, G. 2002. *The Sacrificial Rituals of Greek Hero-Cults in the Archaic to the Early Hellenistic Periods*. Liége: Centre international d'étude de la religion grecque antique.

Fassino, M. 1999. "Revisione di P. Stras. W. G. 304-307: Nuovi frammenti della Medea e di un'altra tragedia di Euripide," *ZPE* 127: 1-46.

Ferrari, G. 1993. "Coming of Age in Ancient Greece," *Gender, Race, and Identity*, C. Barrow, K. Frank, J. Phillips, and R. Sanderlin, eds. Southern Humanities Press: Cambridge. 99-110.

---. 2002. *Figures of Speech: Men and Maidens in Ancient Greece.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Foley, H. 1981. "The Conception of Women in Athenian Drama," *Reflections of Women in Antiquity*, H. Foley, ed. Philadelphia: Gordon and Breach. 127-68.

---. 2001. *Female Acts in Greek Tragedy*. Princeton: Princeton UP.

---. 2008. "Generic Boundaries in Late Fifth-Century Athens," *Performance, Iconography, Reception: Studies in Honour of Oliver Taplin*, M. Revermann and P. Wilson, eds. Oxford: Oxford UP. 15-36.

Foxhall, L. 1996. "The Law and the Lady: Women and Legal Proceedings in Classical Athens," *Greek Law in its Political Setting: Justifications not Justice*. L. Foxhall and A.D.E. Lewis, eds. New York: Oxford UP. 133-52.

Foucault, M. 1984. *The History of Sexuality, Vol. 2: The Use of Pleasure*. Trans. Robert Hurley. New York: Pantheon Books. 1985.

Fraenkel, E. 1924. "Fragmente der Neuen Komödie," *Hermes* 59: 362-8.

Frazer, J.G. 1921a. *Apollodorus: The Library Vol. I*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP.

---. 1921b. *Apollodorus: The Library Vol. II*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP.

Gagarin, M. 2001. "Women's Voices in Attic Oratory," *Making Silence Speak: Women's Voices in Greek Literature and Society*, A. Lardinois and L McClure, eds. Princeton: Princeton UP. 161-76.

Gallavotti, C. 1933. "Nuove hypotheseis dei drammi euripidei," *RivFC* 11: 177-88.

Gibert, J.C. 1997. "Euripides' Hippolytus Plays: Which Came First?" *CQ* 47: 85-97.

---. 1999-2000. "Falling in Love With Euripides' *Andromeda*," *ICS* 24-25: 75-91.

---. 2009. "Euripides' *Antiope* and the Quiet Life," *The Play of Texts and Fragments: Essays in Honour of Martin Cropp*, J.R.C. Cousland and J.R. Hume, eds. Leiden: Brill. 23-34.

Glazebrook, A. and M. M. Henry. 2011. "Introduction: Why Prostitutes? Why Greek? Why Now?" *Greek Prostitutes in the Ancient Mediterranean 800 BCE – 200 CE*, A. Glazebrook and M. M. Henry, eds. 3-13.

Goldhill, S. 1990. "The Great Dionysia and Civic Ideology," *Nothing to do with Dionysos? Athenian Drama in Its Social Context*, J.J. Winkler and F. Zeitlin, eds. Princeton: Princeton UP. 97-129.

---. 1997. "The Language of Tragedy: Rhetoric and Communication," *The Cambridge Companion to Greek Tragedy*, P.E. Easterling, ed. Cambridge: Cambridge UP.

---. 2001. "Introduction. Setting an Agenda: 'Everything is Greece to the Wise'," *Being Greek Under Rome*, S. Goldhill, ed. Cambridge: Cambridge UP. 1-25.

Gomme, A.W. 1925. "The Position of Women in Athens in the Fifth and Fourth Centuries," *CP* 20: 1-25.

Gould, J. 1980. "Law, Custom, and Myth: Aspects of the Social Position of Women in Classical Athens," *JHS* 100: 38-59.

Green, R. and E. Handley. 1995. *Images of the Greek Theatre*. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Griffin, J. 1990. "Characterization in Euripides: Hippolytus and Iphigeneia in Aulis," *Characterization and Individuality in Greek Literature*, C.B.R. Pelling, ed. Oxford; Oxford UP. 128-49.

Griffith, M. 1999. *Sophocles Antigone*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP.

Grotius, I. 1623. *Dicta poetarum quae apud Ioannem Stobaeum extant*. Paris: Apud Nicolaum Buon.

---. 1626. *Excerpta ex tragoediis et comoediis graecis, tum quae extant, tum quae perierunt.* Paris: Apud Nicolaum Buon.

Haffner, M. 2001. *Das Florilegium des Orion*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag.

Hall, E. 1997. "The Sociology of Greek Tragedy," *The Cambridge Companion to Greek Tragedy*, P.E. Easterling, ed. Cambridge: Cambridge UP. 93-126.

---. 1998. "Ithyphallic Males Behaving Badly, or, Satyr Drama as Gendered Tragic Ending," *Parchments of Gender: Deciphering the Bodies of Antiquity*, M. Wyke, ed. Oxford: Oxford UP. 13-37.

Hall, F.W. and Geldart, W.M. 1907. *Aristophanes Comoediae, Vol. 2*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Hamilton, R. 1976. "Review of *A New Oxyrhynchus Papyrus: The Hypothesis of Euripides' "Alexandros"*, by R.A. Coles," *AJP* 97: 65-70.

Harmon, A.W. 1936. *Lucian: Vol. V*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP.

Harriott, R. 1962. "Aristophanes' Audience and the Plays of Euripides," *BICS* 9: 1-8.

Hartung, J.A. 1843-4. *Euripides Restitutus*. Hamburg: Sumptibus Friderici Perthes.

Harvey, D. 2005. "Tragic Thrausmatology: The Study of Fragments of Greek Tragedy in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries," *Lost Dramas of Classical Athens: Greek Tragic Fragments*, F. McHardy, J. Robson, and D. Harvey, eds. Exeter: University of Exeter Press. 21-48.

Hausmann, U. 1958. "Zur *Antiope* des Euripides ein hellenistischer Reliefbecher in Athen," *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*: 50-72.

Henderson, J. 1975. *The Maculate Muse: Obscene Language in Attic Comedy*. New Haven: Yale UP.

---. 1987. *Aristophanes Lysistrata*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

---. 1991. "Women and the Athenian Dramatic Festivals," *TAPA* 121: 133-47.

Hercher, R. 1866. *Claudii Aeliani De Natura Animalium Libri XVII, Varia Historia, Epistolae, Fragmenta, Vols. 1 and 2*. Leipzig: Teubner.

Hubbard, T. K. 2011. "History's First Child Molester: Euripides *Chrysippus* and the Marginalization of Pederasty in Athenian Democratic Discourse," *BICS* 49: 223-244.

Hunt, A.S. 1912. *Fragmenta Tragica Papyracea*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Huys, M. 1989-1990. "Euripides, *Auge*, Fr. 265, 278, 864 N.^{2} and the Role of Herakles in the Play," *Sacris Erudiri* 31: 169-85.

---. 1995. *The Tale of the Hero Who Was Exposed at Birth in Euripidean Tragedy: A Study of Motifs*. Leuven: Leuven UP.

---. 1997. "Euripides and the 'Tales from Euripides': Sources of the *Fabulae* of Ps.-Hyginus? Part II", *Archiv für Papyrusforschung und verwandte Gebiete* 43: 11-30.

Jackson, R., K. Lycos, and H. Tarrant. 1998. *Olympiodorus Commentary on Plato's Gorgias*. Leiden: Brill.

Johnstone, S. 1994. "Virtuous Toil, Vicious Work: Xenophon on Aristocratic Style," *CP* 89: 219-240.

Jouan, F. 1990. "Femmes ardentes et chastes héros chez Euripide," *Sacris Erudiri* 31: 187-208.

Jouan, F, and H. Van Looy. 1998. *Euripide Tragédies: Fragments Aigeus – Autolycus*. Paris: Les Belles Lettres.

---. 2000. *Euripide Tragédies: Fragments Bellérophon - Protésilas*. Paris: Les Belles Lettres.

---. 2002. *Euripide Tragédies: Fragments Sthénébée - Chrysippos*. Paris: Les Belles Lettres.

---. 2003. *Euripide Tragédies: Fragments de drames non identifiés*. Paris: Les Belles Lettres.

Just, R. 1989. *Women in Athenian Law and Life*. New York: Routledge.

Kambitsis, J. 1972. *L'Antiope d'Euripide*. Athens: Éditions Élie Hourzamanis.

Kamerbeek, J.C. 1991. "En relisant les fragments de *l'Erechtheé* d'Euripide," *Fragmenta Dramatica: Beiträge zur Interpretation der griechischen Tragikerfragmente ind ihrer Wirkungsgeschichte*, H. Hofmann and A. Harder, eds. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht.111-16.

Kannicht, R. 1997. "*TrGF* V Euripides," *Collecting Fragments/Fragmente sammeln*, G.W. Most, ed. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht. 67-77.

---. 2004. *TrGF Vols. 5.1 and 2: Euripides*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht.

Kannicht, R. and B. Snell. 1981. *TrGF Vol. 2: Fragmenta adespota, testimonia volumini I addenda, indices ad volumina 1 et 2*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht.

Kassel, R. 2005. "Fragments and Their Collectors," *Lost Dramas of Classical Athens: Greek Tragic Fragments*, F. McHardy, J. Robson, and D. Harvey, eds. Exeter: University of Exeter Press. 7-20.

Kassel, R. and C. Austin. 1983-2001. *Poetae Comici Graeci Vols. I-VIII*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.

Katz, M. 1994. "The Character of Tragedy: Women and the Greek Imagination," *Arethusa* 27: 81-103.

Klimek-Winter, R. 1993. *Andromedatragödien Sophokles Euripides Livius Andronikos Ennius Accius: Text, Einleitung und Kommentar*. Stuttgart: Teubner.

Knox, B. 1964. *The Heroic Temper: Studies in Sophoclean Tragedy*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Kovacs, D. 1984. "On the *Alexandros* of Euripides," *HSCP* 88: 47-70.

Konstan, D. 1994. *Sexual Symmetry: Love in the Ancient Novel and Related Genres*. Princeton: Princeton UP.

Kurke, L. 1999. *Coins, Bodies, Games, and Gold: The Politics of Meaning in Archaic Greece*. Princeton: Princeton UP.

Lape, S. 2004. *Reproducing Athens: Menander's Comedy, Democratic Culture, and the Hellenistic City*. Princeton: Princeton UP.

Lee, K.H. 1976. *Euripides Troades*. London: Macmillan.

Lefkowitz, M. 1993. "Seduction and Rape in Greek Myth," *Consent and Coercion to Sex and Marriage in Ancient and Medieval Societies*, A.E. Laiou, ed. Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection. 17-37.

Lewis, R.G. 1988. "An Alternative Date for Sophocles' *Antigone*," *GRBS* 29: 35-50.

Lissarrague, F. 1990. "Why Satyrs are Good to Represent," *Nothing to do with Dionysus? Athenian Drama in Its Social Context*, J.J. Winkler and F. Zeitlin, eds. Princeton: Princeton UP. 228-236.

Lloyd, M. 1992. *The Agon in Euripides*. Oxford: Oxford UP.

Lloyd-Jones, H. 1965. "*The Oxyrhynchus Papyri, Part 27* by E.G. Turner, John Rae, L. Koenen, José Maria Fernandez Pomar, Review," *Gnomon* 35: 433-55.

---. 1983². *The Justice of Zeus*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Longman, G.A. 1962. "The Musical Papyrus: Euripides, *Orestes* 332-40," *CQ* 12: 61-6.

Loraux, N. 1987. *Tragic Ways of Killing a Woman*. Trans. A. Forster. Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP.

---. 1998. *Mothers in Mourning: with the Essay 'Of Amnesty and its Opposite'*. Trans. C. Pache. Ithaca, NY: Cornell UP.

Luppe, W. 1981. "Das Neue Euripides-Fragment P. Oxy. 3317," *ZPE* 42: 27-30.

---. 1983. "Die Hypothesis zu Euripides' 'Auge'," *Archiv für Papyrusforschung und verwande Gebiete* 29: 19-24.

---. 1984. "Euripides Hypotheseis in den Hygin-Fabeln 'Antiope' und 'Ino'," *Philologus* 128: 41-59.

---. 2004. "Die *Hypothesis* zum ersten *Hippolytos*; ein Versuch der Zusammenführung des P.Mich inv. 6222A und des P.Oxy. LVIII 4640," *Euripide e i papyri*, G. Bastianini and A. Casanova, eds. Florence: Istituto Papirologico G. Vitelli. 87-96.

MacDowell, D.M. 1978. *The Law in Classical Athens*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell UP.

Mahaffy, J.P. 1891. "New Fragments of the "Antiope" of Euripides," *Hermathena* 8: 38-51.

Mahat, A. 1966. *Étude sur les 'Stromates' de Clément d'Alexandrie*. Paris: Éditions du Seuil.

Marshall, P.K. 2002. *Hyginus Fabulae*. Leipzig: Teubner.

Mastronarde, D. 1994. *Euripides Phoenissae*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP.

Matthiae, A. 1829. *Euripidis Tragoediae et Fragmenta*. Leipzig: Weigel.

Mayer, M. 1885. "Der Protesilaos des Euripides," *Hermes* 20: 101-43.

McClure, L. 1991. "Rhetoric and Gender in Euripides: A Study of Sacrifice Actions," Diss. University of Chicago.

---. 1999. *Spoken Like a Woman: Speech and Gender in Athenian Drama*. Princeton: Princeton UP.

---. 2005. *Courtesans at Table: Gender and Greek Literary Culture in Athenaeus*. New York: Routledge.

McHardy, F. 2005. "From Treacherous Wives to Murderous Mothers: Filicide in Tragic Fragments," *Lost Dramas of Classical Athens: Greek Tragic Fragments*, F. McHardy, J. Robson, and D. Harvey, eds. Exeter: University of Exeter Press. 129-50.

McNally, S. 1978. "The Maenad in Early Greek Art," *Arethusa* 11: 101-35.

Merro, G. 2008. *Gli scoli al Reso euripideo*. Messina: Dipartimento di scienze dell'antichità.

Meursius, I. 1619. *Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides. Sive de Tragoediis eorum, Libri III*. Leiden: Apud Godefridum Basson.

Michelini, A. N. 1987. *Euripides and the Tragic Tradition*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.

---. 1999-2000. "The Expansion of Myth in Late Euripides: *Iphigeneia at Aulis*," *ICS* 24/25: 41-57.

Moorton, R. 1987. "Euripides' *Andromeda* in Aristophanes' *Frogs*," *AJP* 108: 434-36.

Morgan, T. 1998. *Literate Education in the Hellenistic and Roman Worlds*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP.

Mülke, C. 1996. "ΠΟΙΩΝ ΔΕ ΚΑΚΩΝ ΟΥΚ ΑΙΤΙΟΣ ΕΣΤΙ: Euripides' 'Aiolos' und der Geschwisterinzest im klassischen Athen," *ZPE* 114: 37-55.

Mulvey, L. 1975. "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema," *Screen* 16.3: 6-18.

Murray, G. 1902a. *Athenian Drama: Euripides*. London: George Allen.

---. 1902b. *Euripidis Fabulae, Vol. 1*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

---. 1913. *Euripidis Fabulae, Vol. 3*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Nauck, A. 1856. *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*. Leipzig: Teubner.

---. 1869. *Euripidis Tragoediae*. Leipzig: Teubner.

Nightingale, A.W. 1992. "Plato's 'Gorgias' and Euripides' 'Antiope': A Study in Generic Transformation," *CA* 11: 121-41.

---. 1995. *Genres in Dialogue: Plato and the Construct of Philosophy*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP.

Oakley, J.H. and R.H. Sinos. 1993. *The Wedding in Ancient Athens*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.

Ogden, D. 1996. *Greek Bastardy in the Classical and Hellenistic Periods.* Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Omitowoju, R. 2002. *Rape and the Politics of Consent in Classical Athens*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP.

Ormand, K. 1999. *Exchange and the Maiden: Marriage in Sophoclean Tragedy*. Austin: University of Texas Press.

---. 2009. "Electra in Exile," *Bound by the City: Greek Tragedy, Sexual Difference, and the Formation of the Polis*, D.E. McCoskey and E. Zakin, eds. Albany: SUNY Press. 247-74.

Osborn, E. 2005. *Clement of Alexandria*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP.

Osborne, C. 1987. *Rethinking Early Greek Philosophers: Hippolytus of Rome and the Presocratics*. London: Duckworth.

Pack, R.A. 1964^2. *The Greek and Latin Literary Texts from Egypt*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Page, D.L. 1937. "A New Fragment of Greek Tragedy," *CQ* 31: 178-81.

---. 1938. "A New Papyrus Fragment of Euripides' *Medea*," *CQ* 32: 45-6.

---. 1942. *Greek Literary Papyri*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP.

Parsons, P. 1982. "Facts from Fragments," *G & R* 29: 184-95.

---. 2007. *City of the Sharp-Nosed Fish: Greek Lives in Roman Egypt*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson.

Patterson, C. 1986. "*Hai Attikai*: The Other Athenians," *Rescuing Creusa: New Methodological Approaches to Women in Antiquity,* M. Skinner, ed. Lubbock, TX: Texas Tech Press. 49-67.

Pechstein, N. 1998. *Euripides Satyrographos: ein Kommentar zu den Euripideischen Satyrspielfragmenten*. Stuttgart: Teubner.

Podlecki, A. 1996. "Had the *Antiope* of Euripides Political Overtones?" *The Ancient World* 27: 131-46.

Poole, W. 1990. "Male Homosexuality in Euripides," *Euripides, Women, and Sexuality*, A. Powell, ed. New York: Routledge. 108-50.

Rabinowitz, N. 1993. *Anxiety Veiled: Euripides and the Traffic in Women*. Ithaca: Cornell UP.

Radt, S.L. 1977. *TrGF Vol. 4: Sophocles*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht.

---. 1985. *TrGF Vol. 3: Aeschylus.* Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht.

Rau, P. 1967. *Paratragodia: Untersuchung einer komischen Form des Aristophanes. Munich: C.H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung.*

---. 1975. "Das Tragödienspiel in den 'Teshmophoriazusen'," *Aristophanes und die alte Komödie*. H.-J. Newiger, ed. Darmstadt: Wissenschaft Buchgesellschaft. 339-356.

Reckford, K.J. 1974. "Phaedra and Pasiphae: The Pull Backward," *TAPA* 104: 307-28.

Rehm, R. 1994. *Marriage to Death: The Conflation of Wedding and Funeral Rituals in Greek Tragedy*. Princeton: Princeton UP.

Rist, J.M. 2001. "Plutarch's "Amatorius": A Commentary on Plato's Theories of Love?", *CQ* 51: 557-75.

Rivier, A. 1975. *Études de littérature grecque: theatre, poésie lyrique, philosophie, médecine*. Geneva: Librairie Droz S.A.

Roisman, H. M. 1999. "The Veiled Hippolytus and Phaedra," *Hermes* 127: 397-409.

Romeri, L. 2000. "The λογόδειπνον: Athenaeus Between Banquet and Anti-Banquet." Trans. L. Romeri. *Athenaeus and His World: Reading Greek Culture in the Roman Empire*, D. Braund and J. Wilkins, eds. Exeter: University of Exeter Press. 256-71.

Rose, M. 1993. *Parody Ancient, Modern and Postmodern*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP.

Rubenstein, L. 1993. *Adoption in IV Century Athens*. Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press.

Rubin, G. 1975. "The Traffic in Women: Notes on a 'Political Economy' of Sex," *Toward an Anthropology of Women*, R.R. Reiter, ed. 175-210.

Russell, D.A. 1983. *Greek Declamation*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP.

Rusten, J. 1982. "Dicaearchus and the *Tales from Euripides*," *GRBS* 23: 357-67.

Schaps, D. 1977. "The Woman Least Mentioned: Etiquette and Women's Names," *CQ* 27: 323-330.

Schmid, W. 1940. *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur III*. Munich: Beck.

Schmidt, M. 2005. *The First Poets: Lives of the Ancient Greek Poets*. New York: Knopf.

Schwartz, E. 1887. *Scholia in Euripidem Vols. 1 and 2*. Berlin: George Reimer.

Scodel, R. 1980. *The Trojan Trilogy of Euripides*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht.

---. 2010. *An Introduction to Greek Tragedy*. New York: Cambridge UP.

Segal, C. 1993. *Euripides and the Poetics of Sorrow: Art, Gender, and Commemoration in Alcestis, Hippolytus, and Hecuba*. Durham, NC: Duke UP.

Segal, E. 1995. "'The Comic Catastrophe': An Essay on Euripidean Comedy," *BICS* 40: 46-55.

Sfyroeras, P. 2008. "Πόθος Εὐριπίδου: Reading *Andromeda* in Aristophanes' *Frogs*," *AJP* 129: 299-317.

Slater, P. 1968. *The Glory of Hera: Greek Mythology and the Greek Family*. Boston: Beacon Press.

Snell, B. 1956. "*Supplementum euripideum*," *WS* 69: 86-95.

---. 1964. *Supplementum ad A. Nauck, TrGF, continens nova fragmenta Euripidea et adespota*. Hildesheim: G. Olms Verlagsbuchhandlung.

---. 1971. *TrGF Vol. 1: Minores*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht.

Sommerstein, A.H. 2006. "Rape and Consent in Athenian Tragedy," *Dionysalexandros: Essays on Aeschylus and His Fellow Tragedians in Honour of Alexander F. Garvie*, D. Cairns and V. Liapis, eds. 233-251.

Stehle, E. 1997. *Performance and Gender in Ancient Greece: Nondramatic Poetry in its Setting*. Princeton: Princeton UP.

Steiner, D. 2001. *Images in Mind: Statues in Archaic and Classical Greek Literature and Thought*. Princeton: Princeton UP.

Taplin. O. 1986. "Fifth-Century Tragedy and Comedy: A Synkrisis," *JHS* 106: 163-74.

---. 2007. *Pots and Plays: Interactions Between Tragedy and Greek Vase-Painting of the Fourth Century B.C.* Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum.

Thurn, J. 2000. *Ioannis Malalae Chronographia.* Berlin: De Gruyter.

Tzanetou, A. 2002. "Something to Do with Demeter: Ritual and Performance in Aristophanes' *Women at the Thesmophoria*," *AJP* 123: 329-67.

Valckenaer, L.C. 1767. *Diatribe in Euripidis perditorum dramatum reliquas*. Leiden: Apud Ioannem Luzac et Ioannem le Mair.

Van Looy, H. 1964. *Zes verloren Tragedies van Euripides*. Brussels: Paleis der academiën.

Van Rossum-Steenbeek, M. 1997. *Greek Readers' Digests?: Studies on a Selection of Greek Subliterary Papyri*. Leiden: Brill.

Voelke, P. 2001. *Un théâtre de la marge: aspects figuratifs et configurationnels du drame satyrique dans l'Athènes classique*. Diss. Université de Lausanne.

Wachsmuth, C. and O. Hense. 1884-1923. *Ioannis Stobaeum: Anthologium Vols. I-V*. Bern: Apud Weimannos.

Watson, P.A. 1995. *Ancient Stepmothers: Myth, Misogyny, and Reality*. Leiden: Brill.

Webster, T.B.L. 1965a. "The Poet and the Mask," *Classical Drama and Its Influence: Essays Presented to H.D.F. Kitto*, M.J. Anderson, ed. London: Methuen. 3-12.

---. 1965b. "The *Andromeda* of Euripides," *BICS* 12: 29-33.

---. 1967. *The Tragedies of Euripides*. London: Methuen.

Weil, H. 1889. "Observations sur les fragments d' Euripide," *Revue des études grecques* 2: 322-42.

Whitmarsh, T. 2005. *The Second Sophistic*. Oxford: Oxford UP.

Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, U. 1875. *Analecta Euripidea*. Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlagsbuchhandlung.

---. 1935. *Kleine Schriften 1*. Berlin: Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften.

Wilkins, J. 1990. "The State and the Individual: Euripides' Plays of Voluntary Self-Sacrifice," *Euripides, Women, and Sexuality*, A. Powell, ed. New York: Routledge. 177-94.

Williams, G. 1992. "Dramatic Irony in *Heroides* 11," *CQ* 42: 201-9.

Winkler, J.J. 1990. "The Ephebes' Song: *Tragoidia* and *Polis*," *Nothing to do with Dionysus? Athenian Drama in Its Social Context*, J.J. Winkler and F. Zeitlin, eds. Princeton: Princeton UP. 20-62.

Wohl, V. 1998. *Intimate Commerce: Exchange, Gender, and Subjectivity in Greek Tragedy*. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Wright, M. 2005. *Euripides' Escape Tragedies: A Study of Helen, Andromeda, and Iphigenia among the Taurians*. Oxford: Oxford UP.

Zeitlin, F. 1978. "The Dynamics of Misogyny: Myth and Mythmaking in the *Oresteia*," *Arethusa* 11: 149-84.

---. 1981. "Travesties of Gender and Genre in *Thesmophoriazusae*," *Reflections of Women in Antiquity*, H. Foley, ed. Philadelphia: Gordon and Breach. 169-218.

---. 1985. "Playing the Other: Theater, Theatricality, and the Feminine in Greek Drama," *Reflections* 11: 186-217.

---. 1990. "Playing the Other: Theater, Theatricality, and the Feminine in Greek Drama," *Nothing to do with Dionysus? Athenian Drama in Its Social Context*, J.J. Winkler and F. Zeitlin, eds. Princeton: Princeton UP. 63-96.

---. 1996. *Playing the Other: Gender and Society in Classical Greek Literature*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

---. 1999. "Reflections on Erotic Desire in Archaic and Classical Greece," *Constructions of the Classical Body*, J.I. Porter, ed. 50-76.

Zühlke, B. 1961. "Euripides' Stheneboia," *Philologus* 105: 1-15.

Zuntz, G. 1955. *The Political Plays of Euripides*. Manchester: Manchester UP.