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University College London  
Department of Greek and Latin

**A COMMENTARY ON EURIPIDES' *DANAE* AND *DICTYS***

A thesis submitted to the University of London  
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

by

**Ioanna Karamanou**

January 2005



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## THESIS ABSTRACT

Euripides' *Danae* and *Dictys* belong to the Danae-myth, treating the earlier and subsequent phase of the legend, respectively. As far as the evidence allows, a cautious reconstruction of the plot of each play is attempted, based on interrogation of the fragmentary material and the *testimonia*. In this effort, Euripidean scene-construction, parallel thematic and structural patterns, parallel rhetoric and general rules of tragic practice are also taken into account as evidence for the dramatist's usage. As regards the generic affiliations of each play, the *Danae* may be paralleled to Euripides' *Alope*, *Melanippe the Wise* and *Auge*, all of which treated the clash of a royal daughter with her paternal *oikos*, due to the disclosure of her illicit motherhood resulting in most cases from her union with a god. The evidence for the *Dictys* indicates that it was probably built upon a central altar-scene (cf. E. *Heraclidae*, *Andromache*, *Suppliant Women*, *Heracles*, *Helen*) and that it had the features of a *nostos*-play, following the 'return-rescue-revenge' pattern (cf. the first part of the *Heracles*). The reception of both plays and their position in the transmission of Euripides are also explored, on the basis of the available evidence.

This is the first commentary on Euripides' *Danae* and *Dictys*; a detailed commentary on language, style, themes and values, aiming also to shed light on various aspects of Euripidean technique (e.g. his rhetoric, imagery, as well as staging directions, where possible). The exploration of issues raised by the fragmentary material seeks to complement our knowledge of Euripides' drama, as derived from surviving plays, which represent only a portion of the whole Euripidean oeuvre. Where appropriate, textual and philological matters are discussed, as well as questions of authenticity, such as a *Danae* 'hypothesis' and 'prologue' (the spurious fr. 1132 Kn.) transmitted in Euripides' manuscript P (Vaticanus Palatinus gr. 287, f<sup>o</sup> 147<sup>v</sup>-148<sup>r</sup>).

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At this point, I need to express my gratitude to Professor Pat Easterling for her scholarly advice and unfailing encouragement throughout my graduate studies, ever since my first tentative steps in the field of research of tragic fragments during my MPhil at Cambridge. I owe a great debt to late Professor Herman van Looy for so kindly encouraging me to work and publish on Euripidean fragments and for making this possible with the four volumes of his full-scale Budé edition in co-operation with Professor F. Jouan.

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## ABBREVIATIONS

The abbreviations of the names of Greek and Latin authors and their works follow those in *LSJ*<sup>9</sup> and Lewis & Short respectively. Abbreviations of journals are cited after *L'Année Philologique*. The editions of the Euripidean fragments by Professors Kannicht and Jouan & van Looy are abbreviated as Kn. and J.-v.L. respectively.

*To my Parents*

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

General Introduction	1
(i) The <i>Danae</i> and <i>Dictys</i> and their Place in the Transmission of Euripides	2
(ii) Exploring the Evidence: The Sources and ‘Reconstruction’	5
 Euripides’ <i>Danae</i>	 8
1. The Myth in Literature and Art	8
2. The Date of the Play	21
3. <i>Dramatis Personae</i> and Setting	22
4. The Structure of the Play	24
5. Reception of the <i>Danae</i>	32
Text: Testimonia	34
Fragmenta	37
Commentary	44
 Euripides’ <i>Dictys</i>	 120
1. The Myth in Literature and Art	120
2. The Date of the Play	129
3. <i>Dramatis Personae</i>	130
4. The Structure of the Play	132
5. The Setting of the Play	137
6. Reception of the <i>Dictys</i>	139
Text: Testimonia	140
Fragmenta	143
Commentary	149
 Appendix: Euripides and Danae’s Legend in Late Antiquity:	
The Spurious fr. 1132 Kn.	226
Text	226
1. Diagnosis of Spuriousness	228
2. The Sources of the ‘ <i>Danae</i> -fragment’	232

3. Imitation of Euripides:	
a. Style	233
b. Dramatic Technique	236
Conclusion	239
Bibliography	240

**Plates**

Plate I: Vas. Apul. (Princeton Art Museum 1989. 40)

Plate II a: *PSI* XII 1286, fr. A and B

Plate II b: *PSI* XII 1286, fr. B



## GENERAL INTRODUCTION

The *Danae* and *Dictys* both belong to the Danae-myth, treating the earlier and subsequent phase of the legend, respectively. It is therefore interesting to explore how Euripides treated different stages of the same mythical cycle and his dramatic predilections in each play. The *Danae* deals with the maiden's clash with her paternal *oikos* and her exposure together with her baby-son. The *Dictys*, on the other hand, provides a change of scenery from Argos to the island of Seriphos and could be described as a *nostos*-play following the pattern of 'catastrophe survived'<sup>1</sup> (cf. *Dictys*, Structure). Likewise, other Euripidean treatments of successive phases of the same legend, as the pairs *Iphigenia in Aulis*-*Iphigenia in Tauris* and *Melanippe the Wise*-*Captive Melanippe* tend to present parallel features; the mythically earlier plays (*Iphigenia in Aulis*, *Melanippe the Wise*) treat the maiden's separation from her native family, whereas those inspired by subsequent phases of the myth (*Iphigenia in Tauris*, *Captive Melanippe*) have the scenery changed to a remote place, dealing with the motif of rescue and reunion between kin.

No commentary has ever been written on either play and the relevant bibliography is very limited. A considerable amount survives from both tragedies and the outline of the plot of the *Dictys* can now be substantiated by combination of the literary sources with recent iconographic evidence from an Apulian volute-crater inspired by a fourth-century revival of the play. Apart from the plot structure, a reconstruction of scenes from each play is attempted, so far as the evidence from the fragments and the relevant sources allows. In building on the fragments, I have also drawn on parallel thematic and structural patterns in Euripidean drama and, where relevant, on the work of the other two surviving fifth-century tragedians. Where appropriate, textual and philological issues are discussed, as well as matters of authenticity, such as the 'hypothesis' of the *Danae* and the spurious fr. 1132 Kn. The commentary sheds light on various aspects of Euripidean technique (as the *agon*, cf. *Danae* frs. 8-12, *Dictys* frs. 4, 5, imagery, cf. *Danae* frs. 2, 15, also staging directions, such as the 'cancelled entry' and the imposing opening tableau in the *Dictys*, cf. Setting), themes (the motif of supplication in *Dictys* T3, T4, T5, the precarious position of women in

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<sup>1</sup> The term belongs to Burnett (1971).

*Danae* fr. 4, 5, 6, the possible self-sacrifice in *Danae* fr. 13, 14, the Euripidean type of the assertive old man in *Dictys* fr. 3) and values (the different definitions of *eugeneia* in *Danae* fr. 9 and *Dictys* fr. 14, the positions for and against wealth in *Danae* fr. 7-12, the consolation in *Dictys* fr. 2, the perception of *eros* as god-sent and overmastering passion in *Dictys* fr. 8, 9, 18). The exploration of issues raised by the fragmentary material and the cautious recovery of lost plays, so far as possible, aim to complement our knowledge of Euripides' drama by contributing to an overview and more comprehensive picture of the dramatist's technique, as the extant tragedies represent only a small portion of his oeuvre. A detailed study of the two plays may thus be well justified.

### **The *Danae* and *Dictys* and their Place in the Transmission of Euripides**

On the basis of the available literary and artistic evidence, the position of the two plays in the transmission of Euripides can be explored up to a certain extent.<sup>2</sup> The Apulian vase-painting inspired by the *Dictys* and dated in 370/360 BC (*Dictys* T3) is suggestive of a fourth-century revival of the play in South Italy. Likewise, the possible allusion to the *Danae* in Menander's *Samia* (*Danae* T6) points to a revival of the play by Menander's time. The edition by Aristophanes of Byzantium towards the end of the third century relied on the official Athenian copy of the plays belonging to the repertory, as instigated by Lycurgus in about 330 BC (cf. Plut. *Mor.* 841F, Galen *In Hipp. Epid.* 3, *Comm.* 2.4);<sup>3</sup> it is estimated to have comprised the surviving 78 out of the 92 plays of Euripides' production (cf. *Vita Eur. TrGF* V, T 1, IA 28, IB 57f.) arranged alphabetically. The plays not included in the edition, and thus missing the opportunity to be cited by later authors, had evidently been already lost during the fourth century. The satyr play *Theristae*, for instance, is mentioned as lost in Aristophanes' hyp. *Med.* (*Dictys* T1), as opposed to the *Medea*, *Philoctetes* and *Dictys* of the same production, which were preserved to be included in Aristophanes' edition. The theme of Polydectes' petrification, as depicted in the Cyzicene relief of the monument of Apollonis dated in the second century BC (*Dictys* T7), may have

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<sup>2</sup> For a detailed study of Euripidean transmission throughout Antiquity, cf. van Looy (1964) pp. 1-14.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Wartelle (1971) esp. pp. 107-110, 113-115.

been appealing in Hellenistic times thanks to the *Dictys*, given Euripides' popularity in that era, particularly the wide reception of Euripidean drama in this collection of Cyzicene reliefs, and the fact that no literary treatment of this phase of the myth is attested after the fifth century (cf. *Dictys*, *The Myth*, p. 128). Further, inscriptional evidence (*Danae T2*) reveals that a copy of the *Danae* was kept in a school library in Piraeus in about 100 BC. Meanwhile, gnomic anthologies of educational character, citing excerpts from Euripides and other authors are estimated to have appeared as early as the fourth century BC;<sup>4</sup> the notorious fr. 7 of the *Danae*, for instance, is cited in a gnomic anthology from Hellenistic Egypt dated in the second century BC.<sup>5</sup> Part of the appeal of the play for the schoolroom may have been the moralizing about wealth.

The earliest attested commentary on the nine plays of Euripides is that by Didymus in the second half of the first century BC/ beginning of the first century AD.<sup>6</sup> These plays must have been eminently popular and probably part of the school syllabus. Having been singled out for commentaries, they were given much greater chance for long-term survival.<sup>7</sup> Accordingly, fewer unannotated (non-select) plays than those with commentaries have been preserved in papyri from the second century BC onwards.<sup>8</sup> Nevertheless, the fact that non-select plays continued to be performed at least till the end of the second century AD<sup>9</sup> and were still obtainable among literary circles<sup>10</sup> suggests that the encroachment of the 'selection' was a slow process and its influence was limited to the school syllabus by that time. Lucian's allusion to the context of the situation of *Danae* fr. 7 (*Timon* 41) and perhaps also of fr. 13 (*D. Mar.* 12), as well as the possibility that the rescue of mother and child by the Nereids might reflect Euripides (cf. note on T5), imply that he could have known the play directly. Likewise, the reference to the situation of *Dictys* fr. 2 by the

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Horna (1935) col. 78f., Barns (1950) pp. 134-137.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Zereteli and Krüger (1925) pp. 60-62.

<sup>6</sup> There is no safe evidence that Aristarchus had previously written *hypomnēmata* on tragic poetry; cf. Pfeiffer (1968) pp. 222-224.

<sup>7</sup> So Zuntz (1965) pp. 254-256, van Looy (1964) p. 14 and Easterling (1997) p. 225.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Roberts (1953) p. 270f.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Luc. *De Salt.* 27 (*HF*), Plut. *Mor.* 556A (*Ino*), 998E (*Cresphontes*), Tatian *Or. ad Gr.* 24. 1 (mime from one of Euripides' *Alcmeon* tragedies).

<sup>10</sup> Cf. the papyri of the *Oedipus* (*P. Oxy.* 2459, 4<sup>th</sup> A.D.), *Phaethon* (*P. Berol.* 9771, 4<sup>th</sup> A.D.) and *Captive Melanippe* (*P. Berol.* 5514, 4<sup>th</sup>/5<sup>th</sup> A.D.) and several quotations from non-select plays, as Luc. *Menipp.* 1 (*HF* 523f.), D.Chr. *Or.* 52 (paraphrasis of the *Philoctetes*), which seem to derive from direct access to the plays and not from intermediary sources, such as anthologies or mythographical hypotheses. Cf. Zuntz (1965) p. 254f.

author of the *Consolation to Apollonius* (perhaps written by Plutarch in his youth or by one of his contemporaries<sup>11</sup>) could suggest his direct knowledge of the play. At the same time, the mythographic hypotheses of Euripides' plays possibly dated in the Imperial period were very popular, saving the toil, which the study of the classical originals entailed.<sup>12</sup> Ps. Apollodorus' account providing the plot of the *Dictys* (*Dictys* T5) presents certain features suggesting that it may have derived from this collection of narrative hypotheses through the use of intermediary sources (cf. note *ad loc.*). Similarly, the Cyzicene epigram (*Dictys* T7) of a much later date (dated in the sixth century at the earliest) seems to be only remotely related to the *Dictys*, perhaps relying on a mythographic manual (cf. note *ad loc.*).

The establishment of Christianity evidently led to the consolidation of the 'selection', as the parts of pagan tradition standing any chance of long-term survival were only those included in the school syllabus. The new book-type of the codex, not allowing for any additions, and its prevalence over the roll in about the fourth century apparently had the same effect.<sup>13</sup> Moreover, the trend of excerpting literature for educational purposes and the compilation of gnostic anthologies presenting passages conveniently arranged by subject<sup>14</sup> eventually resulted in only indirect access to non-select plays. The latest known papyri of plays outside the 'selection' are those of the *Phaethon*, *Oedipus* and *Captive Melanippe* dated in the fourth/ fifth century. The spurious fr. 1132 Kn. written some time between the fourth and seventh century AD points to the appeal of Euripides and of the earlier phase of Danae's myth in later antiquity; nevertheless, if it was an independent composition (e.g. a rhetorical exercise imitating a Euripidean opening on Danae's legend), rather than a specially composed supplement for the lost beginning of the *Danae* in an alphabetic collection of Euripides' plays (the latter is what West assumed<sup>15</sup>), it would not tell us much about the survival of the play by that time (for this issue, cf. Appendix, Diagnosis of Spuriousness). The majuscule manuscripts of the 'select' plays, presumably written in about the sixth or seventh century, were transcribed into minuscule possibly in about the tenth century.<sup>16</sup> A copy of the nine 'alphabetic', non-select plays evidently

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<sup>11</sup> Cf. Defradas, Hani and Klaerr (1985) pp. 4-12.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Zuntz (1955) pp. 139-142, 146.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Zuntz (1965) p. 256.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Morgan (1998) pp. 120-151, Criore (2001b) p. 248f., Barns (1950) pp. 135-137.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. West (1981) p. 78, n. 49.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Zuntz (1965) p. 261 f.

originating in an ancient manuscript in majuscule seems to have been possessed by Eustathius. His twelfth-century copy was discovered by Triclinius, who corrected and annotated the text, thus providing the model for L and, consequently, for P.<sup>17</sup>

### Exploring the Evidence: The Sources and ‘Reconstruction’

The evidence for lost plays is direct, namely the fragments of each play distinguished to papyrus and book-fragments, and indirect, consisting of the testimonia for the plays, either textual or artistic.<sup>18</sup> The lack of papyri for the text of the *Danae* and *Dictys* (the only fragment on papyrus is *Danae* fr. 7, which is, however, an excerpt from a gnostic anthology and not from a papyrus of the play), which, in the case of the *Danae* in particular, may be a matter of coincidence rather than an indication of lesser popularity (cf. *Danae*, Reception), leaves fragments cited by later authors as the sole direct source. In the latter case, it should be taken into account that the nature of the selected passage and the manner, in which the text is cited, primarily depends on the author’s reasons for quoting it.<sup>19</sup> Most of the material comes from Stobaeus’ fifth-century compilation (*Danae* fr. 1-15, except for fr. 10a, *Dictys* fr. 3-10, 12-18), which draws on earlier anthologies. The generalising character of gnostic excerpts entails problems of locating the fragments within the play. Preservation in gnostic anthologies also has implications for the state of the text, partly due to the compilers’ trend to render the quotations self-contained (cf. note on *Danae* fr. 4.1).<sup>20</sup> Plutarch, whose work of youth could have been the source for *Dictys* fr. 2, tends to quote anonymously, though by mentioning the speaker, the addressee and briefly the situation, he generally makes the identification of the play possible, often providing hints at the location of the fragment within the play.<sup>21</sup> Philodemus (the sole source for *Dictys* fr. 1), on the other hand, quotes anonymously, usually with no reference to the context,<sup>22</sup> making

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<sup>17</sup> Cf. Zuntz (1965) p. 185.

<sup>18</sup> For a thorough survey of the various sources for Euripidean fragments, cf. van Looy (1964) pp. 14-57.

<sup>19</sup> For the difficulties in treating fragmentary material surviving thanks to quotation, cf. Dionisotti (1997) p. 1f.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. West (1973) p. 18.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Plutarch’s similar citations of *Cresphontes* fr. 456 Kn., *Hypsipyle* fr. 754 Kn., *Phaethon* fr. 778. Kn. and van Looy (1964) p. 27 and n. 3.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. van Looy (1964) p. 24 and n. 4 with examples.

it difficult to identify the citation confidently in the case of fragments, for which he is the only source. The ancient scholia are often a helpful source, particularly when a fragment is cited as a parallel to the commented passage,<sup>23</sup> which, in certain cases, may give scope for exploring its context (cf. *Dictys* fr. 11). The least helpful sources for locating a fragment within an individual play are evidently lexicographical citations (cf. *Danae* fr. 16, *Dictys* fr. 19), preserving words completely isolated from their context.

The indirect evidence needs also to be assessed in terms of its reliability and degree of access to the play (namely direct or indirect, through intermediary sources). The reliability of inscriptional evidence, for instance, cannot be disputed (cf. the catalogues of Euripidean plays in *Danae* T2 and T3= *Dictys* T2), though it is more informative on questions of transmission than on matters of form and content. The *Dictys* is safely dated thanks to the hyp. *Med.* by Aristophanes of Byzantium (*Dictys* T1). The pieces of evidence in certain cases complement each other; the accounts of Theon (*Dictys* T4) and the *Bibliotheca* (*Dictys* T5) referring to the supplication-scene could not be confidently regarded as reproducing the plot of the *Dictys*, without the further aid of the Apulian vase-painting inspired by the play (*Dictys* T3), which depicts this altar-scene. On the other hand, there are sources, whose reliability should be questioned; the validity, for instance, of what purports to be the ‘hypothesis’ of the *Danae* (*Danae* T5) could be contested for a number of reasons in combination (cf. note *ad loc.*). Further, testimonies depending on the arbitrary and oversimplifying interpretation of sources or on anecdotal material, as those of Pollux (*Danae* T1) and Satyrus (*Danae* fr. 10a) respectively, need to be treated with much caution. In addition, John Malalas’ accounts of tragic plots (cf. *Danae* T4) are not particularly helpful, in view of his evidently indirect knowledge of non-select plays and his habit of fusing material from different sources. One should also distinguish between cases of reception inspired directly by Euripides (cf. Menander in *Danae* T6) and cases where intermediary sources seem to have been used (cf. the Cyzicene epigram in *Dictys* T7).

The lack of papyrus-fragments and of a detailed hypothesis for each play limits the scope for a full recovery of the plot. My purpose therefore is, first, to assign the fragments to the dramatic characters based on the evidence of the *testimonia* and on interrogation of

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<sup>23</sup> So *Antigone* fr. 159 Kn., *Archelaus* fr. 241 Kn., *Bellerophon* fr. 305 Kn., *Cresphontes* fr. 452, 455 Kn., *Oedipus* fr. 541 Kn.



the fragments in terms of theme, gender of speaker and interlocutor, where possible, as well as the speaker's emotional state, rhetoric and ethical stance. Subsequently, I attempt to locate the fragments in scenes on the basis of evidence for the broad plot of the play, particular hints of the fragments at the dramatic situation, parallels from Euripidean scene-construction and tragic conventions. The numbering of the fragments follows their proposed location in scenes, while those, whose position cannot be fixed with much probability, are placed at the end as 'fragmenta sedis magis incertae'.

## EURIPIDES' *DANAE*

### 1. The Myth in Literature and Art

Before studying Euripides' treatment of the earlier phase of Danae's legend, it is important to examine the sources prior and subsequent to his play, in order, firstly, to establish the mythical framework of his production and, secondly, to explore the popularity and versions of the myth at different periods of time. (The possible cases of reception of his *Danae* are explored in the relevant chapter and in the notes on the testimonia for the play).

Danae was daughter of Acrisius, son of Abas<sup>24</sup> and king of Argos, and of his wife Eurydice, daughter of Lacedaemon.<sup>25</sup> Danae's beauty is described in the epics with the conventional epithets *καλλίσφυρος* (*Il.* 14. 319, cf. schol. Eust. *ad loc.*, Hes. *Catalogue of Women* fr. 129.14 M.-W.) and *ἠύκομος* (*Aspis* 216).<sup>26</sup>

The earliest full account of Danae's adventures occurs in Pherecydes (fr. 10 Fowler/*FGrH* 3 F10)<sup>27</sup> and has survived in summarized form in the ancient scholia on Apollonius of Rhodes (4. 1091 Wendel): the genealogist narrates how Acrisius imprisoned his daughter in an underground bronze chamber together with her nurse, on the basis of an oracle saying that he would be killed by the son born from Danae. Zeus, however, managed to impregnate Danae by transforming himself into a shower of gold and the offspring of this union was hidden from his grandfather. When Acrisius found out about Perseus accidentally by hearing the child's shouts, he killed the nurse and, taking Danae to the altar of Zeus Herkeios, demanded to know who the child's father was. When Danae answered that it was Zeus, Acrisius did not believe her and enclosed both mother and son in a chest, which he cast adrift. The chest reached Seriphos, where it was fished up by a fisherman

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<sup>24</sup> Hes. fr. 129, 135 M.-W., E. *Archel.* fr. 228b.5ff. Kn., schol. E. *Hec.* 886b (Schwartz), Paus. 2. 16. 2, [Apollod.] 2. 1.

<sup>25</sup> Hes. fr. 129 M.-W., Pherecyd. fr. 10 Fowler/*FGrH* 3 F10, schol. T ad *Il.* 14.319 (Erbse), [Apollod.] 2. 2.1. Tzetzes in his scholium on Lyc. 838 (Scheer) presents Eurydice as daughter of Eurotas, while Hyginus (*fab.* 63) oddly calls Danae's mother Aganippe (cf. *Dictys*, *The Myth*, p. 128).

<sup>26</sup> For Danae's beauty, cf. also Pi. *N.* 10. 10ff., Sann. *Danae* fr. 10 K.-A., *A.P.* 5. 257, Theophyl. *Ep.* 81, schol. Eust. *Il.* 14. 315-27 (van der Valk), schol. rec. Pi. *P.* 12. 9ff. (Abel). Danae is presented as a traditional model of beauty in Greg. Naz. *Carm. Mor.* 29. 139ff.

<sup>27</sup> Pherecydes' *Genealogy* is estimated to have circulated some time between 508 and 476 BC; cf. Jacoby (1947) p. 33.

named Dictys, son of Peristhenes, who took Danae and Perseus under his protection, treating them as his own family. The text of the scholiast runs as follows:

Φερεκύδης ἐν τῇ β' ἱστορεῖ, ὡς Ἀκρίσιος γαμεῖ Εὐρυδικὴν τὴν Λακεδαίμονος· τῶν δὲ γίνεται Δανάη.<sup>28</sup> χρωμένῳ δὲ αὐτῷ περὶ ἄρσενος παιδὸς ἔχρησεν ὁ θεὸς ἐν Πυθοῖ, ὅτι αὐτῷ μὲν οὐκ ἔσται παῖς ἄρσην, ἐκ δὲ τῆς θυγατρὸς, πρὸς οὗ αὐτὸν δεῖ ἀπολέσθαι. ὁ δὲ ἀναχωρήσας εἰς Ἄργος θάλαμον ποιεῖ χαλκοῦν ἐν τῇ αὐλῇ τῆς οἰκίας κατὰ γῆς, ἔνθα τὴν Δανάην εἰσάγει μετὰ τῆς τροφῆς, ἐν ᾗ αὐτὴν ἐφύλασσαν, ὅπως ἐξ αὐτῆς παῖς μὴ γένηται. ἐρασθεὶς δὲ Ζεὺς τῆς παιδὸς, ἐκ τοῦ ὀρόφου χρυσῷ παραπλήσιος ῥεῖ, ἣ δὲ ὑποδέχεται τῷ κόλπῳ· καὶ ἐκφήνας αὐτὸν ὁ Ζεὺς τῇ παιδί μίγνυται. τῶν δὲ γίνεται Περσεύς, καὶ ἐκτρέφει αὐτὸν ἡ Δανάη καὶ ἡ τροφὸς κρύπτουσαι Ἀκρίσιον. ὅτε δὲ Περσεὺς τριέτης καὶ τετραέτης ἐγένετο, ἤκουσεν αὐτοῦ τῆς φωνῆς παίζοντος, καὶ διὰ τῶν θεραπόντων μετακαλεσάμενος τὴν Δανάην σὺν τῇ τροφῇ, τὴν μὲν ἀναιρεῖ, Δανάην δὲ καταφέρει σὺν τῷ παιδί ἐπὶ τὸν {ὑπὸ τῷ} Ἐρκείου Διὸς βωμόν. μόνος δὲ αὐτὴν ἐρωτᾷ πόθεν εἶη αὐτῇ γεγονῶς ὁ παῖς· ἣ δὲ ἔφη, ἐκ Διός. ὁ δὲ οὐ πείθεται, ἀλλ' εἰς λάρνακα ἐμβιβάζει αὐτὴν μετὰ τοῦ παιδός, καὶ κλείσας καταποντοῖ. καὶ φερόμενοι ἀφικνοῦνται εἰς Σέριφον τὴν νῆσον. καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐξέλκει Δίκτυς ὁ Περισθένους, δικτῶ ἀλιεύων. εἶτα ἡ Δανάη ἀνοῖζει ἰκετεύει τὴν λάρνακα, ὁ δὲ ἀνοίξας, καὶ μαθὼν οἴτινές εἰσιν, ἄγει εἰς τὸν οἶκον καὶ τρέφει ὡς ἂν συγγενεῖς αὐτοῦ ὄντας. ἦσαν γὰρ ὁ Δίκτυς καὶ ὁ Πολυδέκτης Ἀνδροθόης τῆς Κάστορος καὶ Περισθένους τοῦ Δαμιάστορος, τοῦ Ναυπλίου, τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος καὶ Ἀμυμώνης.<sup>29</sup>

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1 β' Matthiae: ἐν τ' ἰβ' L || 3 δεῖ ἀπολέσθαι F: ἀπολεισθαι Keil: ἀπολέσθαι L: ἀπολέσθαι Jacoby || 5 ἐν ᾗ αὐτὴν ἐφύλασσαν L: φυλάσσωσιν αὐτὴν P || 9 καὶ τετραέτης L: ἣ καὶ τετραέτης P || 11 Δανάην δὲ καταφέρει L P H F: Δανάη δὲ καταφεύγει Fraenkel || 12 ὑπὸ τῷ del. Sturz || 17 αὐτοῦ Janko: αὐτοῦ codd.

The oracle leading Acrisius to imprison Danae in a bronze chamber,<sup>30</sup> Zeus' transformation into a shower of gold<sup>31</sup> and the seclusion of Danae and Perseus in the chest<sup>32</sup> occur in

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<sup>28</sup> The scholiast seems to have maintained Pherecydes' phrasing in this sentence and below (l. 8: τῶν δὲ γίνεται Περσεύς), to judge by the same phrasing in the actual quotations from Pherecydes' text in fr. 8, 21, 66, 101 Fowler.

<sup>29</sup> Dictys treats Danae and Perseus as his own family, since he is also a descendant of Danaus, according to this genealogy attested only by Pherecydes; cf. the note by Jacoby (1923-1958) *ad loc.*

<sup>30</sup> For the oracle, cf. schol. Luc. *Gall.* 13 (Rabe), Hyg. *fab.* 63, D-scholium II. 14. 319 (van Thiel), Myth. Vat. 1. 154, 2. 133, schol. Tz. Lyc. 838 (Scheer). Danae's bronze underground chamber is described in Paus. 2. 23.7; cf. Frazer's note (1898) *ad loc.* For Danae's prison, cf. also S. *Ant.* 944ff. and schol. *ad loc.* (Papageorgius), Jebb (1900<sup>3</sup>), p. 169f. and Griffith (1999) pp. 283f., 288f., E. *Archel.* fr. 228b.7 Kn. and Harder (1985) *ad loc.*, A.P. 5. 64, 217, D. Chr. *Or.* 77/78.31, Prop. 2. 31.29, Hor. *Carm.* 3. 16. 1, Paus. 10. 5. 11, Luc. *Men.* 2, *Salt.* 44, Ael. *N.A.* 12. 21, schol. in Luc. *Gall.* 13 (Rabe), Lib. *Or.* 34. 29, Lib. *Prog.* 2. 41, Nonn. *D.* 47. 543ff., D-scholium II. 14. 319 (van Thiel), Myth. Vat. 1. 154, 2. 133. For slight variations evidently originating in later versions, cf. Lucian (*Tim.* 13) referring to a bronze or iron chamber; the latter is also mentioned in Prop. 2. 20.9ff. and schol. Tz. Lyc. 838 (Scheer), while Hyginus refers to a prison made of stone (*fab.* 63). Certain Latin sources refer to Danae's imprisonment in a tower rather than a chamber: cf. Ov. *AA* 3. 415f., *Am.* 2. 19.27f., 3. 4.21f., 3. 8.29, Hor. *Carm.* 3. 16.1, Myth. Vat. 1. 154, 2. 133. The later scholium of Thomas Magister on [A.] *Pr.* 903 (Smyth) mentions Danae's imprisonment in a bronze tower by

most accounts of the legend. Nevertheless, Pherecydes' narrative provides interesting details, which are not found in later accounts, such as the figure of Danae's nurse, who also appears in several early fifth-century vase-paintings (cf. *LIMC* s.v. 'Akrisios' figg. 2, 6, perhaps also fig. 1, *LIMC* s.v. 'Danae' fig. 45). The nurse is a stock character in Euripides (especially in plays involving female intrigue, as the *Hippolytus*, *Stheneboea* and those sharing the tale-pattern of the *Danae*, cf. Structure), though her role in his *Danae* can only be inferred on grounds of probability (cf. *Dramatis Personae*).<sup>33</sup> Moreover, the connotations of the incident at the altar of Zeus Herkeios are significant, as this particular cult protected blood ties and the integrity of the family, defining the framework within which the head of the *oikos* exercised his authority (cf. note on fr. 4.4).<sup>34</sup> Zeus Herkeios was also a guardian of oaths<sup>35</sup> and his cult was popular in Argos<sup>36</sup> among other Greek cities, going back to Homer (*Od.* 22. 335). Acrisius thus binds Danae to reveal the truth by appealing to their kinship and his own power over his daughter, at the altar of a god honoured by Argive families. An eloquent parallel is provided in Herodotus 6. 68, where Demaratus adjures his mother at the altar of the same god to reveal to him who his father was.<sup>37</sup>

A reference to Perseus' divine origin occurs as early as Homer, in a scene where Zeus enumerates his love affairs with mortal women referring to Danae's beauty and to

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Acrisius on the basis of an oracle saying that his grandson would dethrone him, which seems to vaguely occur also in fr. 1132 Kn. (cf. Appendix, The Sources).

<sup>31</sup> For Zeus' transformation, cf. Pi. *P.* 12. 17 and schol. *ad loc.* (Drachmann), A. *Pers.* 79f. and schol. *ad loc.* (Dahnhardt), S. *Ant.* 950, E. *Archel.* fr. 228.9f. Kn., *TrGF* II fr. adesp. 619 Kn.-Sn., Isoc. x 59, Lyc. 838 and Fusillo, Hurst and Paduano (1991) *ad loc.*, A.P. 5. 64, 9. 48, 12. 20, schol. Pi. *I.* 7. 5 (Drachmann) and cf. Bresson (1980) p. 125f., [Erat.] *Cat.* 22, D. Chr. *Or.* 77/ 78.31, Luc. *J.Tr.* 2.7, Ach. *Tat.* 2. 37.2, Ov. *Met.* 4. 610f., 697f., 11. 116f., *Am.* 3. 12.33f., Lucan. 9. 659ff., Stat. *Silv.* 1. 2. 134-6, Hyg. *fab.* 63, Justin. *Dial. cum Tryph.* 67. 2, Lib. *Prog.* 2. 41, Nonn. *D.* 7. 120, 8. 290ff., 25. 113ff., 47. 516ff., 543ff., schol. Stat. *Theb.* 6. 286f. (Sweeney), schol. rec. [A.] *Pr.* 903 (Smyth). For Danae's union with Zeus, cf. also Hecat. fr. 21 Fowler/*FGrH* 1 F21, Luc. *Dial. D.* 4. 2, Nonn. *D.* 7. 355, 16. 239, 46. 30, schol. rec. Ar. *Nu.* 1081 (Koster).

<sup>32</sup> Cf. Simonides *PMG* fr. 543, A.R. 4. 1091, Hyg. *fab.* 63, Luc. *D.Mar.* 12. 1, 14. 1, Ach. *Tat.* 2. 36. 4, 37.4, Lib. *Prog.* 2. 41, Nonn. *D.* 10. 113, D-scholium *Il.* 14. 319 (van Thiel).

<sup>33</sup> For the role of the nurse in pre-tragic myths, cf. for instance, the figure of Orestes' nurse in A. *Ch.* 731-782, who is anticipated, though in a different name, in Pherecydes (fr. 134 Fowler) and Pindar (*P.* 11. 18, cf. schol. *vet. ad loc.*).

<sup>34</sup> Priam's murder at the altar of Zeus Herkeios, for instance, alludes to the devastation of his household (E. *Tr.* 17).

<sup>35</sup> Cf. Nenci (1998) p. 234.

<sup>36</sup> Paus. 8. 46. 2. Cf. also Nilsson (1967<sup>3</sup>) I p. 125 and Farnell (1896-1909) I p.54.

<sup>37</sup> I owe this parallel to Mr A. Griffiths.

Perseus, ‘most glorious among men’ (*Il.* 14. 319-20):<sup>38</sup> οὐδ’ ὅτε περ Δανάης καλλισφύρου Ἀκρισιώνης, / ἦ τέκε Περσῆα πάντων ἀριδείκετον ἀνδρῶν. A brief account of his birth is given in Hes. fr. 135. 2-5 M.-W.:

..... ..] ἄβας· ὁ δ’ ἄρ’ Ἀκρίσιον τέ[κεθ’ υἷον.  
 ..... Περσῆα, τὸν εἰς ἄλα λά[ρνακι  
 ..... ἀ]νέτειλε Διὶ χρυσεῖ  
 .....]η Περσῆα φίλον τ[

Danae’s name is not mentioned anywhere in the surviving part of the papyrus, but it should have occurred in this genealogy in its undamaged form. Though the context cannot be restored with confidence, if West’s attractive conjecture is taken into account (ἦ δ’ ἔτεκεν Περσῆα, τὸν εἰς ἄλα λά[ρνακι κοίλῃ/ ἐκβληθεῖς ἄ] νέτειλε Διὶ χρύσει [ον ἄνακτα, *LSJ*<sup>9</sup> s.v. ἀνατέλλω: ‘to give birth’), it looks as if Danae gives birth to Perseus in the floating chest in Hesiod’s version, which suggests a variation of the myth.<sup>39</sup>

Danae’s lament in the chest is the subject of a sensitive fragmentary poem by Simonides (*PMG* fr. 543):

ὅτε λάρνακι  
 ἐν δαιδαλέαι  
 ἄνεμός τε ἴμηνῃ πνέων  
 κινηθεῖσά τε λίμνα δείματι  
 ἔρειπεν, οὐκ ἀδιάντοισι παρειαῖς 5  
 ἀμφί τε Περσεί βάλλε φίλαν χέρα  
 εἶπεν τ’ ὦ τέκος οἶον ἔχω πόνον·  
 σὺ δ’ ἄωτεις, γαλαθηνῶι  
 δ’ ἦθει κνώσσεις  
 ἐν ἀτερπέι δούρατι χαλκεογόμφωι 10  
 <τῶι> δε νυκτιλαμπεῖ,

3 τε μην P M: τ’ ἐμῆ V S: τέ μιν Schneidewin: τε μέμνη Page || 4 τε Brunck: δὲ codd. | δείματι V P: δείμα M || 5 ἔρειπεν M V: ἔριπεν P | οὐκ Thiersch: οὐτ’ codd. || 7 τέκος Ath.: τέκνον Dion. || 8 σὺ δ’ Ath.: οὐδ’ Dion. || 8-9 αὐταῖς ἐγαλαθηνῶδει θει P V: αὐταῖς ἀγαλαθηνῶδει+c in litt. spat. vac. M: αὐτε εἰς γαλαθηνῶ δ’ ἦτορι Ath.: emend. Casaubon (ἄωτεις), Bergk (ἦθει) || 9 κνώσσεις PV: κνώσεις M, Ath. || 10 δούρατι Dion. cod. Guelf.: δούνατι P M: δούνατι V || 11 <τῶι> suppl. Page | νυκτιλαμπεῖ Ursinus: νυκτὶ λαμπεῖ codd.

<sup>38</sup> For Perseus’ divine origin, cf. also Hdt. 6. 53, 7. 61, Isoc. xi 37, D.S. 4. 9.2, schol. vet. and Olymp. Pl. *Alc. I* 120E (Westerink), Hyg. *fab.* 155, Clem. Rom. *Hom.* 5. 17.4, Eus. *Praep.* 2. 2.17, schol. Arat. 249 (Martin), Myth. Vat. 1. 201, 2. Suppl. 273.

<sup>39</sup> Cf. Gantz (1993) p. 300.

κυανέωι δνόφωι ταθείς·  
 ἄχναν δ' ὕπερθε τεᾶν κομᾶν  
 βαθειᾶν παριόντος  
 κύματος οὐκ ἀλέγεις, οὐδ' ἀνέμου 15  
 φθόγγον, πορφυρέαι  
 κείμενος ἐν χλανίδι, πρόσωπον καλόν.  
 εἰ δέ τοι δεινὸν τό γε δεινὸν ἦν,  
 καί κεν ἐμῶν ῥημάτων  
 λεπτὸν ὑπείχες οὔδας. 20  
 κέλομαι δ', εὔδε βρέφος,  
 εὐδέτω δὲ πόντος, εὐδέτω δ' ἄμετρον κακόν·  
 μεταβουλία δέ τις φανείη,  
 Ζεῦ πάτερ, ἐκ σέο·  
 ὅτι δὲ θαρσαλέον ἔπος εὔχομαι 25  
 ἧ νόσφι δίκας,  
 σύγγνωθί μοι

12 ταθείς Schneidewin: ταδ' εἰς codd. || 13 ἄχναν Page: αὐλέαν vel αὐλαίαν codd. || 18 ἦν Sylburg: ἦι P:  
 ἦ M: ἦ V || 20 λεπτὸν Stephanus: λεπτῶν codd. || 23 μεταβουλία: μαιβουλία P: μαιτ βουλίου M:  
 ματαιοβουλία V || 25 ὅτι δὲ Mehlhorn: ὅτι δὴ codd. || 26 ἧ νόσφι δίκας Victorius: ηνοφι δίκας P: ἦν  
 οφειδίας M V: κνόφι δίκας cod. Guelf.

The decorated chest, in which mother and son are imprisoned, is subject to the wild forces of nature (cf. the imagery of the transformations of *aethēr* in fr. 15 and for its connotations, cf. introductory note *ad loc.*); the description of the physical environment serves as a reflection of Danae's emotions.<sup>40</sup> The bronze bolts of the chest allude to the firm confinement of mother and son,<sup>41</sup> also recalling the bronze chamber, that is, Danae's previous prison, and pointing to the possible roots of the legend in the Bronze Age (cf. also *Dictys*, *The Myth*, p. 124).<sup>42</sup> Danae's tender address to baby Perseus, who is completely cut off from the situation, makes her isolation even more poignant. Her speech culminates at a passionate –though respectful and submissive– plea to Zeus to change their fate for the better (cf. her protest in *A. Dictyulci* fr. 47a 783f. R.<sup>43</sup>). An Attic red-figure lekythos of ca. 460 BC (*LIMC* s.v. 'Danae' fig. 53) depicting Danae and Perseus in the floating chest with the sea-birds flying above them seems to be reminiscent of Simonides' poem.<sup>44</sup>

<sup>40</sup> Cf. Hutchinson (2001) p. 306f.

<sup>41</sup> *op. cit.* p. 314.

<sup>42</sup> For the possibly Mycenaean origin of the bronze chamber, cf. Janko's note (1992) on *Il.* 14. 319 and Helbig (1887) p. 439f.

<sup>43</sup> Cf. Hutchinson (2001) p. 319f.

<sup>44</sup> Cf. Woodward (1937) p. 66.



The later account of Ps.-Apollodorus' *Bibliotheca* (2. 4.1) <sup>45</sup> mainly agrees with Pherecydes and runs as follows:

Ἀκρίσιφ δὲ περὶ παίδων γενέσεως ἀρρένων χρηστηριαζομένω ὁ θεὸς ἔφη γενέσθαι παῖδα ἐκ τῆς θυγατρὸς, ὃς αὐτὸν ἀποκτενεῖ. δείσας δὲ ὁ Ἀκρίσιος τοῦτο, ὑπὸ γῆν θάλαμον κατασκευάσας χάλκεον τὴν Δανάην ἐφρούρει. ταύτην μὲν, ὡς ἔνιοι λέγουσιν, ἐφθειρε Προῖτος, ὅθεν αὐτοῖς καὶ ἡ στάσις ἐκινήθη· ὡς δὲ ἔνιοί φασι, Ζεὺς μεταμορφωθείς εἰς χρυσὸν καὶ διὰ τῆς ὀροφῆς εἰς τοὺς Δανάης εἰσρῦεις κόλπους συνῆλθεν. αἰσθόμενος δὲ Ἀκρίσιος ὕστερον ἐξ αὐτῆς γεγεννημένον Περσέα μὴ πιστεύσας ὑπὸ Διὸς ἐφθάρθαι, τὴν θυγατέρα μετὰ τοῦ παιδὸς εἰς λάρνακα βαλὼν ἔρριπεν εἰς θάλασσαν. προσενεχθείσης δὲ τῆς λάρνακος Σερίφω Δίκτυς ἄρας ἀνέθρεψε τοῦτον. 5 10

2 ἀποκτενεῖ E: ἀποκτείνῃ A, Zenobius | δὲ ὁ E, Zenobius: οὖν A || 10 ἀνέθρεψε E, prob. Wagner et Scarpi: ἀνέτρεψε A, Zenobius, prob. Frazer

This account follows the outline of Pherecydes' narrative, while omitting certain details mentioned by the genealogist, such as the figure of the nurse and the incident at the altar of Zeus Herkeios, as they are obviously not essential for the sequence of the story.<sup>46</sup> The sole additional element in the present account is the rationalistic variant of Danae's seduction by her uncle Proetus; considering that accession to the throne in Heroic Greece was often the outcome of marriage to a king's daughter,<sup>47</sup> Danae's rape by her uncle could be explained by an endogamic logic assuring that the power would remain in the hands of a single dynastic group.<sup>48</sup> The D-scholium on *Il.* 14. 319 (van Thiel), a part of which presents striking resemblance to the narrative of the *Bibliotheca*, attributes this variant to Pindar, among other authors: αὕτη δὲ, ὡς φησι Πίνδαρος καὶ ἕτεροι τινές, ἐφθάρη ὑπὸ τοῦ πατραδέλφου αὐτῆς Προίτου, ὅθεν αὐτοῖς καὶ ἡ στάσις ἐκινήθη.<sup>49</sup> However, the papyrus-

<sup>45</sup> This narrative is followed by Zenobius in *Cent.* 1. 41.

<sup>46</sup> Cf. van der Valk (1958) p. 118.

<sup>47</sup> Cf. Finkelberg (1991) pp. 303ff.

<sup>48</sup> Cf. Scarpi (1997<sup>3</sup>) p. 495. An eloquent parallel can be found in [Apollod.] 1. 9. 8 and 11, where Cretheus marries his brother's daughter, Tyro, whom he has raised in his own house. Likewise, the daughter of Pheres (who was one of their sons) marries her paternal uncle. Vernant (1980, p. 59f.) aptly noted in this motif the mythical roots of the *epiclerate* legislated by Solon to ensure the survival of the *oikos*; for this law, cf. note on *Danae* fr. 4. 2. For Proetus, cf. Ovid *Met.* 5. 236ff., mentioning that he was petrified by Perseus as revenge for seizing Acrisius' citadel. Hyginus (*fab.* 244) refers to Perseus' murder by Megapenthes, son of Proetus, to avenge his father's death.

<sup>49</sup> There are a number of cases where the mythographical D-Scholium and the *Bibliotheca* present strong similarities; cf. Wagner (1926<sup>2</sup>) p. xxxiv f. and van der Valk (1963) pp. 305 ff. It seems likely that the source of the D-Scholium, the 'Mythographus Homericus', followed Ps.-Apollodorus, but must have also consulted

text of the Pindaric dithyramb (fr. 70d. 13ff. M. =Pi. *Dith. Oxy.* 4. 13ff.), which was tentatively supposed to have provided this piece of information,<sup>50</sup> seems likelier to refer to Danae's forced cohabitation with Polydectes and his petrification (cf. *Dictys*, *The Myth*, p. 125). Nonetheless, the scholiast's testimony that there was such a treatment of the legend by Pindar confirms the poet's inclination towards the modification and adjustment of well-known myths to his poetic purposes.<sup>51</sup>

For the sake of completeness, it should be mentioned that Acrisius left Argos and fled to Larissa, in the land of Pelasgoi, to avoid being killed by his grandson. Perseus, however, participated in athletic games at Larissa throwing the discus, which accidentally struck his grandfather's foot and killed him.<sup>52</sup> This story probably provided the background for Sophocles' *Larissaioi*. Ashamed of claiming his grandfather's throne in Argos, Perseus exchanged it for Tiryns, leaving the kingship of Argos to Proetus' son, Megapenthes, and founded Mycenae (for the foundation of Mycenae, cf. *Dictys*, *The Myth*, pp. 124-126).

The exposure (sometimes on the basis of an omen) and miraculous survival of the hero (often a god's son) as a baby and his eventual restoration to his proper status belong to a common mythical pattern; cf. the well-known tales of Oedipus, Ion, Telephus (E. *Auge*, *Telephus* fr. 696 Kn.<sup>53</sup>), Alexandros (E. *Alexandros*, possibly also S. *Alexandros*<sup>54</sup>), Jason (Pi. *P.* 4. 108-116, schol. Lyc. 1180 Scheer), Cyrus (Hdt. 1. 108-117), Hippothoon (E. *Alope*<sup>55</sup>), Amphion and Zethus (E. *Antiope*<sup>56</sup>), Neleus and Pelias (S. *Tyro* A and B), Aeolus and Boeotus (E. *Melanippe the Wise* and *Captive Melanippe*<sup>57</sup>), Erichthonius (E. *Ion* 20-26, 268-274, 1427-1429, Hyg. *fab.* 166, [Apollod.] 3. 14.6), Romulus and Remus

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other sources, as emerges from the attribution of the variant to Pindar, as well as the reference to the version, according to which Perseus was raised by Polydectes; cf. *Dictys*, *The Myth*, p. 129.

<sup>50</sup> Cf. Maehler's edition (1989) *ad loc.*

<sup>51</sup> Cf. for instance, his modification of the story of Pelops in *O.* 1. 27, in order to avoid irreverence towards the gods, and other cases where he adjusts his material to the tastes of his patrons; for more detail, cf. Bowra (1964) pp. 285 ff.

<sup>52</sup> Cf. Pherecyd. fr.12 Fowler/ *FGRH* 3 F12. Ps.-Apollodorus (2. 4. 4) followed by Tzetzes (schol. Lyc. 838) mentions that the games at Larissa were held in honour of Teutamides' father. On Acrisius' death, cf. also schol. E. *Or.* 965 (Schwartz), Paus. 2. 23. 7, 2. 25. 7, Clem. Alex. *Protr.* 3. 45.1, Hyg. *fab.* 273, schol. Stat. *Theb.* 1. 255 (Sweeney).

<sup>53</sup> For more sources, cf. Jouan and van Looy (1998) pp. 309-312.

<sup>54</sup> For the myth, cf. Collard, Cropp and Gibert (2004) p. 43f., Jouan and van Looy (1998) pp. 39-42.

<sup>55</sup> Cf. Jouan and van Looy (1998) pp. 137-139, Karamanou (2003) pp. 25-37.

<sup>56</sup> Cf. Jouan and van Looy (1998) pp. 213-220, Collard, Cropp and Gibert (2004) pp. 260-262.

<sup>57</sup> Cf. van Looy (1964) pp. 185-200, 244-253, Collard, Cropp and Lee (1995) pp. 240-245.

(Livy 1. 3.10ff., D.H. 1. 76-79.10, Plut. *Rom.* 3-7).<sup>58</sup> Holley associated the seclusion and ordeal in the floating chest with rites of consecration of the young hero and his mother;<sup>59</sup> their miraculous rescue seems to demonstrate the child's divine election and predestination, as well as his mother's innocence.<sup>60</sup> For Euripides' treatments of the clash of the hero's mother with her paternal *oikos* owing to the disclosure of her illicit motherhood (*Danae*, *Melanippe the Wise*, *Alope and Auge*), cf. Structure.

The earlier stage of Danae's adventures inspired several dramatic treatments (for Aeschylus' tetralogy covering the phase from their rescue by Dictys onwards, cf. *Dictys*, *The Myth*, p. 126). Danae's persecution by her father was treated by Sophocles in his *Acrisius* and *Danae*, which have often been regarded as two titles for the same play.<sup>61</sup> Nevertheless, typical cases of plays with double titles are those, in which one title of the play bears the name of the hero and the other the name of the chorus.<sup>62</sup> Moreover, not even one citation provides the titles *Acrisius* and *Danae* together. The possibility that the second title occurred due to careless citation is quite unlikely, since, as Pearson admitted, the error would have been unusually persistent<sup>63</sup> (sixteen fragments ascribed to the *Acrisius* and six to the *Danae*, of which *Danae* fr. 165 R. is cited by the ancient scholiast).

The most informative fragments of the *Acrisius* do not contain any reference to Perseus' birth; the word *ἀρώματα* (fr. 75 R.), which is often used by Sophocles to denote 'begetting children' (cf. *OT* 1485, 1497), may, in my view, either imply Danae's pregnancy or be part of the oracle given to the king. The terms for wall-construction (fr. 68 R.: ἀκτίτης λίθος<sup>64</sup>) and wall-decoration (fr. 69 R.: μαριεύς ἀλοιμός) have been taken to refer to Danae's imprisonment in the chamber.<sup>65</sup> I believe that such a possibility is strengthened by the fact that the epithet *μαριεύς* derives from Marion, a town of Cyprus famous for its

<sup>58</sup> Cf. Huys (1995) pp. 377-394 for more exposed-hero tales and *passim* for the treatment of this motif in Euripides. For the exposed-hero motif, cf. also Lewis (1980) *passim*, Binder (1975) coll. 1048-1065 and Thompson's inventory (1955-1958<sup>2</sup>) Vol. 5, S 312, 313, 322, 351, 352, 371. For further relevant bibliography, cf. Trenkner (1958) p. 36, n. 3.

<sup>59</sup> Cf. Holley (1949) pp. 39-46.

<sup>60</sup> Cf. Glotz (1904) pp. 16-26, 55-58 and Delcourt (1944) pp. 9-14, 22, 36-46 arguing for primitive ordeals, such as legitimacy-tests, as the substratum of the exposed hero-tales. Cf. also Huys (1995) pp. 19-22, 38f.

<sup>61</sup> For an exposition of these views, cf. Lloyd-Jones (1996) p. 29.

<sup>62</sup> For the Sophoclean plays attested with double titles, cf. Radt (1982) pp. 188-190, expressing serious reservation for any other case.

<sup>63</sup> Cf. Pearson (1917) I p. 38 and Sutton (1984) p. 3.

<sup>64</sup> This was a type of limestone originating either in the Acte of Peloponnese or in the Attic Acte. Cf. also *Syll.*<sup>2</sup> 537. 17.

<sup>65</sup> Cf. Jucker (1970) p. 48 and n. 12.

copper that was widely exported to Greece.<sup>66</sup> Furthermore, the similarity of *άλοιμός* to *πετάλωσις* in terms of technique (i.e. wall-covering with gold-leaf) according to lexicographers,<sup>67</sup> points to a method of metallic wall-plating, which associated with the epithet *μαριεύς* may well imply, I suggest, that the walls were covered with plates of bronze.<sup>68</sup> This piece of information seems to be congruent with the image of Danae's bronze chamber, as attested by the relevant sources. Accordingly, the specific references to the manner in which the chamber was presumably constructed could imply that Danae's seclusion in the chamber was part of the play, thus favouring Sutton's suggestion that the *Acrisius* may have treated the earlier phase of the myth.<sup>69</sup> Sophocles' interest in the earlier part of Danae's legend emerges from *Ant.* 944-954 (ἔτλα καὶ Δανάας οὐράνιον φῶς/ ἀλλάξει δέμας ἐν χαλκοδέτοις ἀύλαϊς/ κρυπτομένα δ' ἐν τυμβήρει θαλάμῳ κατεζεύχθη/ καίτοι <καὶ> γενεᾷ τίμιος, ᾧ παῖ, παῖ,/ καὶ Ζηνὸς ταμιεύεσκε γονὰς χρυσορύτους./ ἄλλ' ἄμοιριδία τις δύνασις δεινά./ οὐτ' ἄν νιν ὄλβος οὐτ' ἄρης,/ οὐ πύργος, οὐχ ἀλίκτυποι/ κελαιναὶ νᾶες ἐκφύγοιεν). Acrisius' fear for the fulfillment of the oracle is prominent in several fragments (fr. 61 R.: βοᾷ τις, ᾧ ἀκούετ'; ἢ μάτην ὑλῶ;/ ἅπαντα γὰρ τοι τῷ φοβουμένῳ ψοφεῖ, 66 R.: τοῦ ζῆν γὰρ οὐδεὶς ὡς ὁ γηράσκων ἐρᾷ, 67 R.: τὸ ζῆν γὰρ, ᾧ παῖ, παντὸς ἥδιον γέρας./ θανεῖν γὰρ οὐκ ἔξεστι τοῖς αὐτοῖσι δίς) and may have been decisive for his actions, at least so far as our scanty evidence goes. Fr. 64 R. points to a scene of confrontation between Danae and her father,<sup>70</sup> while fr. 65 R. may have been addressed to Danae's mother as consolation.<sup>71</sup>

In the *Danae*, on the other hand, Perseus is presented as born, to judge from fr. 165 R. (οὐκ οἶδα τὴν σὴν πεῖραν· ἐν δ' ἐπίσταμαι/ τοῦ παιδὸς ὄντος τοῦδ' ἐγὼ διόλλυμαι), which was evidently spoken by Acrisius rejecting Danae's possible allegation that she was the victim of forcible usage,<sup>72</sup> due to his fear for his own life; what must have reasonably followed is the seclusion of mother and son in the chest and their casting adrift. Sophocles

<sup>66</sup> Cf. *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1675. 18 and note *ad loc.* Cf. also Senff (1999) col. 900f.

<sup>67</sup> *E.M.* s.v. 'άλοιμός' (69, 42-44 Gaisford): 'Αλοιμός· τὰς χρίσεις καὶ τὰς ἐπαλείψεις ἀλοιμὸς ἔλεγον. Σοφοκλῆς 'Μαριεύς ἀλοιμός', ἢ ἐπάνω <τῆς> τοῦ θαλάμου γανώσεως ἐνείισα ἐπάλειψις, καταπερανεὶ πετάλωσις οὐσα ἐν αὐτῷ. Cf. Pearson (1917) *ad loc.*, pointing out that such ornamentation was associated with the art of the Heroic Age.

<sup>68</sup> Cf. the bronze walls in Alcinoüs' palace in *Od.* 7. 86.

<sup>69</sup> Cf. Sutton (1984) p. 4.

<sup>70</sup> Cf. De Dios (1983) p. 50 and n. 84.

<sup>71</sup> Cf. Pearson (1917) *ad loc.*

<sup>72</sup> *op. cit.*, *ad loc.*

could have thus treated Danae's ordeal in two plays, of which the *Acrisius* may have covered the earlier phase of the legend including her imprisonment in the chamber, while the *Danae* apparently dealt with the theme of the exposure. As already noted, Acrisius' fear and attempts to evade the fulfillment of the oracle seem to have been prominent in Sophocles' treatments of the myth; tragic conflict arising from the vain struggle against processes inaccessible to human reason is a typically Sophoclean notion<sup>73</sup> (for the oracle in Euripides, cf. note on fr. 16). At the same time, however, Acrisius' preoccupation to escape from his fate leads him to a series of acts of cruelty against his own daughter. As in most extant plays of Sophocles, where the question of human responsibility is raised along with the role of fate and divine will,<sup>74</sup> the final fulfillment of the oracle given to Acrisius albeit inevitable may have well come about as the deserved punishment for his actions; his fate does not seem to be independent of his character.<sup>75</sup>

The theme of the exposure of Danae and Perseus became popular in Greek art from the beginning of the fifth century until its third quarter, which could imply that early mythology and the literary treatments of the legend, especially tragedy and perhaps also Simonides, provided the material and incentive for these artistic creations, bringing this phase of the myth into prominence (cf. *LIMC* s.v. 'Akrisios' figg. 1-8).<sup>76</sup> A vase-painting of about 440-430 BC (*LIMC* s.v. 'Akrisios' fig. 7) depicting Acrisius and two female figures, probably his wife and Danae's nurse, as witnessing the seclusion of Danae and Perseus in

<sup>73</sup> Cf. Bowra (1944) pp. 148-211, Bushnell (1988) pp. 4-7, 67-85. For Sophocles' pessimism, cf. Opstelten (1952) pp. 49ff., 118ff.

<sup>74</sup> Cf. Winnington-Ingram (1980) ch. 7, Segal (1995) pp. 91-94, Kirkwood (1958) pp. 72-82.

<sup>75</sup> In this light, Lucas (1993) pp. 42ff. proposed a connected tetralogy presenting Acrisius' successive attempts to escape his fate and consisting of the *Acrisius*, *Danae*, *Larissaioi* and perhaps *Andromeda* as the satyr-play; yet, there is no evidence supporting the possibility of the connected tetralogy nor the satyric character of the *Andromeda*. Though didascalic evidence (*TrGF* I, DID B 5. 8) attests that Sophocles produced a 'Telepheia', which was a connected trilogy, he is also known to have stirred the development of the independent single play, according to the *Suda* (σ 815 Adler).

<sup>76</sup> For 'Akrisios' figg. 1-3 and the possibility of their inspiration by a lost early fifth-century *Danae* play, cf. *Dictys*, *The Myth*, p. 126f., n. 266. Jucker (1970, pp. 47 ff.) associated an Attic white lekythos of ca. 460-50 BC (*LIMC* s.v. 'Akrisios' fig. 10) depicting Acrisius sitting on a tomb bearing the inscription ΠΕΡΣΕΩΣ and possibly also the name ΔΑΝΑΕΙΣ with Sophocles' *Acrisius*. The unusual theme and peculiarity of this vase-illustration may imply that it was inspired by tragedy rather than by the myth in general. However, if this illustration is taken to reflect Danae's imprisonment in the chamber, the inscription bearing Perseus' name does not fit this phase of the myth. Maffre (*LIMC* I p. 452) assigning the painting to the same play, suggested that Acrisius may have raised a monument after having Perseus and Danae exposed in the chest, believing that they are dead. I would add that if this scene is to be related to a play of Sophocles, that might be the *Danae*, which treated the theme of exposure; after casting mother and son adrift, Acrisius would have been confident that they would both die. The image of the king sitting on the cenotaph of his daughter and grandson seems to reflect his obsession to evade the oracle (cf. *Danae* fr. 165 R.).

the chest might have been inspired by a dramatic treatment, in view of the theatrical, ‘speaking’ gestures and the dignity of the figures depicted; the unknown date, however, of the *Danae* plays by Sophocles and Euripides, both of which probably dealt with this theme, makes it impossible to specify which treatment might have been in the painter’s mind.

Danae’s confrontation with her father recurs in a Latin *Danae* tragedy by Naevius (fr. 2-12 Traglia). The available evidence for the play does not hint at Acrisius’ fear for the fulfillment of the oracle, which is a persistent notion in Sophocles. By contrast, in the surviving fragments of Naevius’ play, Acrisius’ indignation appears to arise from the social dimension of his daughter’s seduction (fr. 5 T.: Eam nunc esse inventam probris compotem scis and fr. 7 T.: Desubito famam tollunt, si quam solam videre in via). This idea occurs in Euripides’ *Danae* fr. 6 (for further parallels on the social issue of a maiden’s seclusion, seduction and clash with her natal family in Euripides, cf. note on fr. 6.2 and Structure). The king is determined to impose a hard penalty on his daughter for her disgrace (fr. 8 T.: Quin, ut quisque est meritis, praesens pretium pro factis ferat),<sup>77</sup> which recalls E. *Melanippe the Wise* fr. 485 Kn. (εἰ δὲ παρθένος φθαρεῖσα ἐξέθηκεν τὰ παιδιά καὶ φοβουμένη τὸν πατέρα, σὺ φόνον δράσεις;) and fr. 497 Kn. (τείσασθε τήνδε· καὶ γὰρ ἐντεῦθεν νοσεῖ/ τὰ τῶν γυναικῶν· οἱ μὲν ἢ παίδων πέρι/ ἢ συγγενείας εἶνεκ’ οὐκ ἀπώλεσαν/ κακὴν λαβόντες· εἶτα τοῦτο τᾶδικόν/ πολλὰς ὑπερρῦκε καὶ χωρεῖ πρόσω,/ ὥστ’ ἐξίτηλος ἀρετὴ καθίσταται, cf. Collard, Cropp and Lee 1995 *ad loc.*). Fr. 9 T. must be part of Danae’s outburst facing her unfair condemnation to exile (indigne exigor patria innocens).<sup>78</sup> An obscure fragment is ascribed to an earlier *Danae* by Livius Andronicus, coming from a quarrel between two characters, whose identity cannot be established (fr. 14 T.: <Haec> etiam minitas <mi>? Mitte ea quae mea sunt magis quam tua).<sup>79</sup>

The theme of Danae’s seduction by Zeus provided rich material for comedy. The fifth-century poet Sannyrion wrote a *Danae*, a fragment of which presents someone as trying to change form, in order to sneak into somewhere (fr. 8 K.-A.); a reasonable

<sup>77</sup> Cf. Marmorale (1953) p. 188, Traglia (1986) p. 197, n. 11.

<sup>78</sup> Morelli (1974, p. 87, n. 13), following Marmorale (1953, p. 146) and Paratore (1957, p. 68), assumed that the foundation of Ardea by Danae, according to the widespread Latin version of the legend (cf. below, p. 20f.), might have been foretold at the epilogue of Naevius’ play, especially since he was presumably the first to write Roman-focused tragedies (*praetextae*, cf. his *Clastidium* and *Romulus* and Fraenkel 1935, col. 627); however tempting this suggestion may be, no evidence for the play points in this direction.

<sup>79</sup> Ribbeck (1875, p. 32) followed by Carratello (1979, p. 63) suggested that the two persons may be Acrisius and Proetus, while Traglia (1986, p. 166) assumed that it could be a quarrel between Dictys and Silenus inspired by the *Dictyulci* of Aeschylus. The evidence, however, is scanty and inconclusive.



assumption is that this character could be Zeus, trying to transform himself, in order to reach and seduce Danae.<sup>80</sup> Fr. 10 K.-A. of the same play praises the maiden's beauty. Another *Danae*, of which only the title is known, was written by Apollophanes.

The surviving fragment from Eubulus' play of the same title (fr. 22 K.-A.) presents Danae as complaining of being a victim of cruelty:

†ἐκεῖνος δ' ἦν ἰσχυρὸς σφόδρα  
 †καὶ ἀτεράμων, ὅς με κλάουσαν τότε  
 οὐκ ἤλεψε.

1-2 ἐκεῖνος δ' ἦν ἰσχυρὸς σφόδρα/ καὶ ἀτεράμων codd.: ἐκεῖνος ἰσχυρὸς σφόδρα/ ἦν  
 κἀτεράμων <x-u-x-u-/ κἀνηλέητος,> Leo: ἐκεῖνος ἰσχυρὸς σφόδρ' ἀτεράμων <τ' ἄν> ἦν (θ' ἄμ'  
 ἦν Austin) <κἀνηλέητος,> Edmonds

This passage may have been part of a paratragic lament in lyric iambics.<sup>81</sup> It has been widely supposed that the incident to which Danae is referring is her rape by Zeus.<sup>82</sup> I think that such an interpretation is plausible, considering that it is Zeus whom she blames for her misfortune in fr. 47a. 783-4 R. of the *Dictyulci* (cf. *Dictys*, *The Myth*, p. 126) and who is also the addressee of her plea in Simonides' poem. Besides, rape was an attractive subject for later Greek comedy<sup>83</sup> and the idea of Zeus as rapist would have given scope for mythological burlesque. Furthermore, the scene presented in this fragment seems to resemble the description of Pamphile's reaction to her rape in Menander's *Epitrepontes* (v. 487 f.: εἴτ' ἐξαπίνης κλάουσα προστρέχει μόνη,/ τίλλουσ' ἑαυτῆς τὰς τρίχας) and Habrotonon's account of her supposed rape in the same play (v. 526f.: ὡς ἀναιδῆς ἦσθα καὶ/ ἰταμός τις, 528 f.: κατέβαλες δέ μ' ὡς σφόδρα/ ἰμάτια δ' οἷ' ἀπώλεσ' ἢ τάλαιν' ἐγώ). Danae's lament is thus consistent with the expected reaction of a seduced maiden, as treated by comic poets.

Danae's seduction became an attractive topic also for New Comedy; in Diphilus' *Chrysochoos* (fr. 85 K.-A.) someone is peeping at a pretty girl from the smoke-hole. Relating this title ('one who pours in as gold', presumably connoting Zeus' transformation)

<sup>80</sup> Cf. *PCG* VII *ad loc.*

<sup>81</sup> Cf. Hunter (1983) p. 114.

<sup>82</sup> Cf. Leo (1960) p. 411 and *PCG* V *ad loc.*

<sup>83</sup> Cf. for instance, the *Aeolus* of Antiphanes (cf. Nesselrath, 1990, pp.205-209) and the *Auge* and *Ion* of Eubulus, which must have treated the subject of rape. Heracles is presented as abducting Auge in a comic vase-illustration perhaps inspired by the *Auge* of Eubulus (Trendall and Webster, 1971, pl. IV 24). Cf. also Webster (1953) pp. 75-77, Lever (1956) p. 181f.

to a fragment from the *Pentathlos* of Xenarchus (fr. 4.11 K.-A.), which presents lovers as sneaking into women's chambers from the smoke-hole, it seems quite tempting to suppose that the surviving fragment of Diphilus could belong to a burlesque of Danae's seduction by Zeus.<sup>84</sup> Comic illustrations of Zeus as secret lover, as the one depicted on a phlyax-vase in the Vatican, also point in this direction.<sup>85</sup>

The theme of Danae's seduction by Zeus transformed into a shower of gold was a source of artistic inspiration, as emerges from fifth and fourth-century Greek vase-illustrations, as well as Roman paintings dating from the first to the fourth century AD (cf. *LIMC* s.v. 'Danae' figg. 1-36). In literature from the end of the fourth century onwards (the earliest occurrence seems to be Menander's *Samia*, cf. T6 and note *ad loc.*), this subject became proverbial for the power of money over virtue (for references, cf. note on fr. 7).<sup>86</sup> On the basis of the surviving evidence for the myth, I suggest below that this idea seems to originate in *Danae* fr. 7 (cf. note *ad loc.*), which was notorious and widely cited by later authors and could have thus inspired the interpretation of Danae's seduction as bribery after Euripides.

A Latin version of Danae's fate is attested in Verg. *Aen.* 7. 371f., 409ff., followed by later authors and scholiasts.<sup>87</sup> According to this story, the chest in which Danae and Perseus were imprisoned reached the coast of Latium, where Danae married the local king Pilumnus and helped found Ardea; Turnus, the leader of the Rutuli who resided in Ardea, is in the *Aeneid* Danae's descendant. Owing to the silence of sources, it cannot be proved whether this adaptation of Danae's legend in Latin foundation-myths is a Virgilian fabrication or goes back to lost sources prior to the poet;<sup>88</sup> Turnus' descent from Danae, at

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<sup>84</sup> Cf. Edmonds (1957-1961) IIIa p. 141 and MacCary (1973) p. 203.

<sup>85</sup> Cf. Bieber (1920) fig. 76.

<sup>86</sup> Horace (*Carm.* 3. 16.1 and schol. Porph. *ad loc.* Holder-Keller) and Lucian (*Gall.* 13) give a rationalistic interpretation of the myth by explaining the shower of gold as bribery of Danae's guards; cf. Williams (1969) p. 100. The Hellenistic poet Hedylus in one of his comic epigrams on gluttonous people (Ath. 8. 344F/ 1865-70 G.-P.) uses the idea of the golden shower presumably as a connotation of bribery, in order to partake of a delicious dish; cf. Gow-Page (1965) *ad loc.* References to Danae's seduction by Zeus often appear in the works of Christian authors to underline the immorality of Greek gods; cf. Athenag. *Contr. Gent.* 12, Orig. *Contr. Cels.* 1. 37, Theodor. *Graec. affect. cur.* 3. 81, 98, [Just.] *Or. ad Gr.* 2. 5, Clem. Rom. *Hom.* 5. 13. 4, *Ambr. Hypomn.* 2. 14.

<sup>87</sup> Cf. Plin. *H.N.* 3. 5. 56 and S. Ital. 1. 659f. Cf. also Solin. 2.5 probably relying on Pliny, and Servius' schol. Verg. *Aen.* 7. 372 (Thilo-Hagen) and Lactantius on Stat. *Theb.* 2. 220f. (Sweeney); these scholia seem to have been the main sources of the later accounts of the Vatican Mythographers (Myth. Vat. 1. 154, 2. 133).

<sup>88</sup> Geffcken (1892, p. 41) followed by Montenegro Duque (1949, p. 85) assumed that this version might go back to Timaeus.

least, is not mentioned in earlier and almost contemporary sources (Cato fr. 9, 11 Peter, Livy 1. 2.1-5, D.H. 1. 64.2). Apart from the traditionalising trends of the Augustan era, which favoured the borrowing of venerable legends from Greek Antiquity,<sup>89</sup> Virgil must have shaped this myth so as to serve his literary goals. Firstly, by attributing the foundation of Ardea to a noble mythical figure, such as Danae, and by connecting this town to Heroic-Age Argos, the poet probably aimed to lend dignity to the roots of Latin people and grandeur to Ardea, once a powerful town in Latium, but desolated by the time of Virgil.<sup>90</sup> Moreover, the Argive ancestry of Turnus in contrast with Aeneas' Trojan identity prepares the ground for a new conflict between old enemies.<sup>91</sup> Considering that there is no archaeological evidence to support the legend of the Argive foundation of Ardea, the connection of the two cities might have been the outcome of popular fallacious traditions, which could have existed before Virgil. It seems likely that the Illyrian race of Dauni mentioned by Lycophron as inhabitants of Latium (1253 ff.) could have been falsely associated with Argos on the basis of popular etymology (Dauni <Danai),<sup>92</sup> which led to the belief that they were descendants of Argives. This idea may have thus found its mythical explanation in the adaptation of Danae's famous legend in Latin foundation-myths.

## 2. The Date of the Play

There is no external evidence as to the date of the *Danae*. As regards internal criteria, the sole means of attaining a very approximate result is metre: from a total of 72 complete trimeters, which is a reasonable sample for metrical analysis, only two resolutions of the third *longum* (fr. 8.4, 12.4), which is a resolution-type common in Euripides' early production,<sup>93</sup> occur out of 360 resolvable syllables, providing a very low resolution-rate of

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<sup>89</sup> Cf. Tilly (1947) p. 44.

<sup>90</sup> Cf. Paratore (1962) p. 97, Della Corte (1972) pp. 212f., 233, Garuti (1984) p. 978.

<sup>91</sup> Cf. Mackie (1991) pp. 262ff. and Horsfall (2000) p. 257.

<sup>92</sup> Cf. Della Corte (1972) p. 232. In this light, the figure of Daunus (<Danaus), father of Turnus and king of Ardea in the *Aeneid*, would have presumably served to strengthen the bonds between Ardea and Argos. Cf. Paratore (1962) p. 93f.

<sup>93</sup> Cf. Cropp and Fick (1985) p. 29f., Devine and Stephens (1980) p. 66, Ceadel (1941) p. 72f.

0.56 %. Cropp and Fick suggested an early date of production (from 455 to 425 BC),<sup>94</sup> estimating a slightly higher rate of 0.83%, as they included in the sample also **fr. 3.2** on the basis of Nauck's conjecture, which seems unnecessary (the manuscript reading can be retained, cf. note *ad loc.*).

### 3. *Dramatis Personae* and Setting

As I argue below, the index personarum of T5 (cf. note *ad loc.*) should be approached very cautiously. We can only be confident for those characters of the index, whose role can be established by the fragments of the play and the relevant sources:

(1) Danae: for her role, cf. T4, T6. **Fr. 13** can be assigned to her with certainty and she seems to be the likeliest speaker of **frr. 11-12**. If Euripides chose to follow the mythical tradition, according to which Danae was kept in a bronze chamber by her father, where she gave birth to Perseus, she may have then remained secluded in the chamber, at least at the beginning of the play. In this case, she would have been confined indoors (that is, behind the *skene*-door, which is the interface between public and private, the latter often representing the secluded space of women<sup>95</sup>) and is thus unlikely to have appeared on stage to deliver the prologue-speech. The earliest appearance of Danae, as suggested by the fragments, could be her possible participation in the formal debate with Acrisius (**frr. 8-12**), after the latter's discovery of her seduction (cf. introductory notes on **frr. 7, 8**), though Euripides might have found a dramatic 'excuse' to present her on stage earlier than that. Hence, if Danae did not appear from the beginning of the play, the possible stratagem to protect baby Perseus from his grandfather (cf. Structure) may have been implemented with the help of another female character (cf. note on **fr. 1**), perhaps her nurse (and also her mother?), whose roles can only be inferred (cf. below). Danae, after whom the play is named, must have been at the centre of dramatic interest, especially at the climactic point of her possible self-sacrifice for her son (cf. note on **fr. 13**: her plea to Acrisius to be enclosed in the chest together with Perseus poignantly presents her emotional force and attachment

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<sup>94</sup> Cropp and Fick (1985) pp. 70 and 78. Webster (1967, p. 4) placed the *Danae* in the 'Severe Style' category, suggesting a date from 455 to 428 BC.

<sup>95</sup> Cf. Zeitlin (1989) pp. 75-77, Lowe (1988) p. 37, Seaford (1990,) p. 89f.

to her baby-son, and for the vocabulary of self-sacrifice, cf. note on **fr. 14**). Her possible participation in the *agon* perhaps with Acrisius, where she is likely to have defended herself against the accusation that she was bribed to be seduced (**frr. 8-12**, cf. note on **fr. 8**) by refuting the opponent's position on the superiority of wealth and power of money over love would illustrate her *dianoia* (cf. similarly Melanippe's articulate defence in *Melanippe the Wise* **frr. 483-485** Kn. and Collard, Cropp and Lee 1995 *ad loc.*).

(2) Acrisius: for this character, cf. **T4**. He is the strongest candidate for **frr. 2-4, 6-10**.<sup>96</sup> His figure appears to have been modeled upon the cruel father-type from Euripides' plays about royal daughters giving birth to illegitimate (often divine) offspring; cf. Cercyon in the *Alope*, Aeolus and Hellen in the *Melanippe the Wise*, Aleos in the *Auge*, Aeolus in the play of the same title (for more detail, cf. Structure).

(3) Female chorus, as attested in **T1**, perhaps consisting of Argive maidens; the comment of **fr. 14** and possibly also **fr. 5** are likely to have been uttered by the chorus-leader.

(4) Danae's nurse is mentioned in the doubtful index of **T5**. She had a part in early versions of Danae's legend, as attested by Pherecydes and pictorial evidence (cf. The Myth, pp. 8-10). The nurse is the usual 'accomplice' in Euripides' plays involving female intrigue, as the *Hippolytus*, *Stheneboea* (**fr. 661. 10-14** Kn.) and tragedies sharing the pattern of the *Danae* and focusing on women giving birth to illegitimate children, as the *Melanippe the Wise*, *Cretans*, *Aeolus*, *Alope* and *Auge*.<sup>97</sup> **Fr. 1** hints at a female strategem possibly planned by Danae helped by another woman, who may well be her nurse.

(5) Acrisius' wife and Danae's mother, whose name is attested as Eurydice in the mythical tradition (cf. Hesiod **fr. 129** M.-W., Pherecydes **fr. 10** Fowler and [Apollod.] 2. 2.1 and she is also illustrated in a vase-painting of ca. 440-430 BC, cf. *LIMC* s.v. 'Akrisios' **fig. 7**). She appears to have had a role in Sophocles' *Acrisius* (cf. **fr. 65** R.).<sup>98</sup> She could be the king's female interlocutor in **fr. 2**<sup>99</sup> (whom he addresses as *γύραι* in **fr. 2.1**: if the speaker is Acrisius, it seems reasonable to assume that he is expressing his personal delight

<sup>96</sup> Cf. Webster (1967) p. 95, Aélion (1986) p. 154.

<sup>97</sup> Cf. *Alope* (**fr. 108** Kn. and *Hyg. fab.* 187), *Cretans* (**frr. 472bc, 472e. 47** Kn.), *Aeolus* (*hyp. P.Oxy.* 2457 l. 34), *Melanippe the Wise* (hypothesis by I. Logothetes and Apulian illustration of the play, Trendall and Cambitoglou 1991, I 162, no. 283d) and *Auge* (**frr. 271b, 271a, 271** Kn.).

<sup>98</sup> Cf. Sutton (1984) p. 4.

<sup>99</sup> Cf. Kannicht (2004) I p. 371.

to someone intimate, as his wife, rather than another female character, e.g. the nurse— Danae would have not been addressed as *γύναι*, cf. note *ad loc.*) and perhaps also in **fr. 3** and **4** and a possible speaker of **fr. 5**,<sup>100</sup> all of which could belong to the same context.

(6) a messenger is needed to narrate the off-stage exposure of the chest containing Danae and Perseus.<sup>101</sup> **Fr. 15** describing the fragility of human fortune may have been the concluding evaluation of his account (cf. note *ad loc.*)

(7) the rescue of mother and child is likely to have been foretold by a *deus ex machina*. The index in **T5** mentions Athena; even if we doubt the authority of the index, Athena or Hermes would be feasible candidates for this role, in view of their involvement in Perseus' adventures (cf. Pherecyd. fr. 11 Fowler and [Apollod.] 2. 4.2). If Lucian's *D. Mar.* 12 (and thus also **T5**) goes back to Euripides, then a Nereid, perhaps Thetis<sup>102</sup> (who is narrating Danae's story in Lucian), might have appeared to announce their rescue.

(8) Hermes as prologue-speaker is uncertain, as is pointed out in the note on **T5**. Apart from the doubtful authority of the index, there is no obvious benefit from introducing here a divine rather than mortal speaker, as he would not have possessed information which could not be reported by other dramatic characters (for the function of gods as prologue-speakers, cf. Appendix, Dramatic Technique). Though Hermes cannot be ruled out, the *προπεπραγμένα* could have well been narrated by Danae's nurse, who would have been aware of the situation and assisted her or by Danae herself (cf. Structure), unless she was secluded in the chamber at the beginning of the play.

The setting was evidently Acrisius' palace in Argos,<sup>103</sup> as suggested by the mythical sources (cf. Pherecyd. fr. 10 Fowler, [Apollod.] 2. 4.1) and alluded to in **fr. 2. 7** (ἐν δόμοις).

#### 4. The Structure of the Play

Apart from the lexicographical citation of **fr. 16**, the quotations from the *Danae* are of a gnomic nature, thus making the location of the fragments within the play conjectural up to

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<sup>100</sup> Cf. Webster (1967) p. 95.

<sup>101</sup> Cf. Jouan and van Looy (2000) p. 59. For the necessity of a messenger-speech reporting events, which are not feasible on stage, cf. Bremer (1976) pp. 35ff., De Jong (1991) pp. 117-131, 172ff., Rehm (1992) p. 61f.

<sup>102</sup> Cf. Jouan and van Looy (2000) p. 59.

<sup>103</sup> *op. cit.* p. 53, Kannicht (2004) I p. 371.

an extent. In addition, the absence of a reliable hypothesis (cf. note on T5) leaves aspects and possible complications of the plot unclear. On the basis of the fragments and the relevant mythographic accounts (Pherecyd. fr. 10 Fowler, [Apollod.] 2. 4.1 and T4, reproducing the *vulgata*), we are in a position to distinguish the following scenes:

(1) a narrative prologue could have been delivered by the nurse<sup>104</sup> (cf. *Medea* and probably *Aeolus*<sup>105</sup>) or Danae (as by Melanippe in the structurally and thematically similar *Melanippe the Wise* fr. 481 Kn., provided that Danae was not secluded in the chamber early in the play) setting out the *προπεπραγμένα*: presumably the oracle received by Acrisius leading to Danae's seclusion (fr. 16 might belong here), her seduction by Zeus transformed into golden shower and Perseus' secret birth. Fr. 1 points to a female intrigue possibly aiming to protect Perseus from his grandfather (for plots with the same purpose, cf. p. 28). Unless coming from a deliberation-scene between Danae and a female confidant, presumably her nurse (cf. *Andr.* 56-90, *Auge* fr. 271a-b Kn.), this fragment may be located at the end of the prologue-speech following the reference to the stratagem for Perseus' safety (cf. note *ad loc.*). Hermes mentioned as prologue-speaker in T5 cannot be ruled out absolutely, though the reliability of the index is questionable (cf. note *ad loc.*) and the appearance of a divine speaker has no obvious purpose here (cf. *Dramatis Personae* and Appendix, Dramatic Technique).

(2) a scene where a character, possibly Acrisius, is expressing his enthusiasm at the sight of a new-born child (fr. 2. 7) and is presented as an old man praising fatherhood, which he regards as his own situation (fr. 3), pointing out the superiority of male to female offspring (fr. 4). The addressee could be his wife (cf. fr. 2. 1: *γύναι* and note *ad loc.*). The specific reference to the new-born (fr. 2.7) may well point to infant Perseus and Acrisius' joy can be explained only if we assume that he is ignorant of the baby's identity, that is, if it was introduced to him as coming from a mother other than Danae. Taking into account also fr. 2. 6 corresponding to the mythographically attested yearning of Acrisius for a son (cf. esp. Pherecyd. fr. 10 Fowler, [Apollod.] 2. 4.1) and fr. 3 suggesting that he has become father (presumably of a male child, as implied in fr. 4) at an old age, it is conceivable that part of the intrigue of fr. 1 might have been to introduce the baby to Acrisius under false

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<sup>104</sup> Cf. Jouan and van Looy (2000) p. 58.

<sup>105</sup> Cf. Jouan and van Looy (1998) p. 24.

pretences and, as the fragments seem to suggest —though it is ultimately unprovable— as the solution to his lack of male descendant, perhaps with his wife’s consent (for more detail, cf. introductory note on **fr. 2**). Van Looy made this suggestion, drawing a parallel to the analogous situation in Menander’s *Samia*, which, in this case, might have originated in Euripides’ *Danae* (cf. note on **T6**).<sup>106</sup> **Fr. 5** is expressive of the social inferiority of women and may have thus belonged to the same context (spoken perhaps by Acrisius’ wife or the female chorus-leader).

(3) Acrisius’ discovery of Danae’s seduction (**fr. 6**). On finding gold in her chamber, he appears to have assumed that his daughter was seduced by a rich man (cf. note on **fr. 7**).<sup>107</sup> **Frr. 8 –10a** asserting the power of wealth and **frr. 11 and 12** refuting this idea could be assigned to Acrisius and Danae respectively in the context of an *agon*,<sup>108</sup> possibly a trial-debate with Acrisius as plaintiff and Danae as defendant (cf. notes *ad loc.*). The debate may have ended with Acrisius’ condemnation of Danae’s illicit motherhood (cf. also p. 30) and his possible decision to eliminate Perseus, which could have raised Danae’s plea in **fr. 13** (cf. next scene).

(4) Danae pleads with and persuades Acrisius (as emerges from the final exposure of Danae and Perseus, cf. **T4**) not to be separated from her child (**fr. 13**), thus choosing to be exposed in the sea together with Perseus, presumably over death for her son and a lesser penalty for herself;<sup>109</sup> the vocabulary of self-sacrifice in praise of her act possibly by the chorus-leader in **fr. 14** also points in this direction (cf. note *ad loc.*).

(5) a messenger-speech reporting presumably to Acrisius (cf. *Hipp.* 1153ff.) the off-stage exposure of the chest in the sea (cf. *Dramatis Personae*).<sup>110</sup> The general reflection in **fr. 15** may have been located at the end of the messenger-speech (cf. note *ad loc.*).

(6) a *deus ex machina* (Athena and Thetis are feasible candidates, or even Hermes, if he had not delivered the prologue-speech, cf. *Dramatis Personae*)<sup>111</sup> is likely to have addressed Acrisius, confirming that Perseus is son of Zeus (cf. Athena’s similar

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<sup>106</sup> Cf. Jouan and van Looy (2000) p. 59f. and much earlier, Hartung’s reconstruction (1843-1844, I p. 88), which is, however, highly conjectural.

<sup>107</sup> Cf. Webster (1967) p. 95, Aéliion (1986) p. 154, Jouan and van Looy (2000) p. 58.

<sup>108</sup> These fragments were located in the context of an *agon* by Duchemin (1968<sup>2</sup>) p. 91 and Jouan and van Looy (2000) p. 58.

<sup>109</sup> Cf. Webster (1967) p. 95, Huys (1995) p. 259.

<sup>110</sup> Cf. Jouan and van Looy (2000) p. 59.

<sup>111</sup> Cf. *loc. cit.* and Aéliion (1986) p. 154.



confirmation in *Ion* 1560-1568) and foretelling the rescue of mother and child and perhaps also Perseus' heroic deeds and Acrisius' accidental death at the hands of his grandson.

The motif of the seduction and impregnation of a royal daughter usually by a god recurs in several Euripidean plays. The dramatist handles this subject in two main directions: he either focuses on the clash of the princess with her natal *oikos* and the persecution of mother and offspring by her father upon the discovery of her illicit motherhood (*Danae*, *Melanippe the Wise*, *Alope*, *Auge* and partly the *Aeolus*<sup>112</sup>) or on the crucial recognition between mother and her grown-up offspring, from whom she has long been separated (*Ion*, *Captive Melanippe*, *Antiope*, *Hypsipyle*).<sup>113</sup>

On the basis of metrical evidence (cf. Date), the *Danae* seems to have been one of the earliest Euripidean treatments of the first group of plays. Euripides' preoccupation with the tale-pattern of rape and infant exposure, which occurs in these plays (in the *Danae* the young hero is exposed together with his mother),<sup>114</sup> seems to have been motivated by contemporary life up to an extent; female chastity before marriage would ensure the production of legitimate offspring, which would preserve not only the dignity of the *oikos*, but also that of the *polis*, since any male child of a married Athenian woman would receive the rights of Athenian citizenship (cf. note on fr. 6). Social norms thus imposed the seclusion of women, as well as infant exposure.<sup>115</sup> The Euripidean tale-pattern of rape and infant exposure widely recurs in New Comedy transferred from the divine/ heroic to the human sphere (cf. Satyr. *Vit. Eur.*, *P. Oxy.* IX 1176, fr. 39, col. vii).<sup>116</sup>

In all these plays, the pattern of intrigue is employed as a means of protecting the child from its grandfather. Stratagems are often set up in tragedy by characters finding themselves at a state of weakness against another figure's power and thus having to resort to their own wits (cf. indicatively, the ambush against Lycus in *HF* 707ff., against Clytaemestra in *S. El.* 47ff., 673ff. and *E. El.* 651-660, 998ff., Iphigenia's plot in *IT*

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<sup>112</sup> The main deviation of the *Aeolus* from this group lies in the poet's apparent focus on the father-son (rather than father-daughter) conflict.

<sup>113</sup> This distinction was first made by Borecky (1955) pp. 86-89 and more systematically by Huys (1995) p. 40f. Sophocles' *Tyro* B apparently followed the second type of plot-structure; cf. Collard, Cropp and Lee (1995) p. 246.

<sup>114</sup> For the 'exposed hero' tale-pattern, cf. Huys (1995) *passim*.

<sup>115</sup> Cf. Huys (1989) pp. 190-197, Kudlien (1989) pp. 30-35, Clark (1989) p. 24.

<sup>116</sup> Cf. the *Epitrepontes* and *Heros* containing both rape and exposure. Girls are seduced and often give birth to illegitimate children in the *Samia*, *Georgos*, *Kitharistes*, possibly in the *Perinthia*, as well. Infant exposure also occurs in the *Periceiomene*.

1153ff.).<sup>117</sup> The *Danae* seems to have also contained the pattern of self-sacrifice (cf. the relevant vocabulary in fr. 14),<sup>118</sup> since the princess possibly chose to be exposed together with her baby-son, in order to avoid his elimination by Acrisius (cf. introductory note on fr. 13).

The outline of the plays of the first category follows a story-pattern consisting of the mother's intrigue to protect the baby, her father's discovery of her illicit motherhood and the punishment of mother and child. In more specific terms:

(1) Intrigue to hide/ protect the baby from its grandfather:

- *Danae*

Fr. 1 hints at a possible stratagem organized presumably by Danae; a possible 'accomplice' in such a plot could be her nurse (for an exploration of what this intrigue might have involved, cf. above, scene 2 and note on fr. 2).

- *Melanippe the Wise*

She hid her twins at the cowshed helped by her nurse (cf. hyp. *Melanippe the Wise*, as attested by I. Logothetes, Comm. on Hermog. *Περὶ μεθόδου δεινότητος* 28 Rabe).

- *Alope*

She gave her baby-son to her nurse to expose, evidently hoping that he would be rescued by a childless person (Hyp. *fab.* 187, also fr. 108 Kn. hinting at the plot between the two women).

- *Auge*

She hid infant Telephus at the temple of Athena Alea ([Apollod.] 2. 7.4, 3. 9.1, in conjunction with fr. 264a Kn.) probably helped by her nurse (cf. fr. 271b, 271a Kn.).

- *Aeolus*

Canace pretended that she was ill, in order to hide her new-born baby (hyp. *Aeolus P. Oxy.* 2457, l. 25f.).<sup>119</sup> Macareus then managed to persuade Aeolus to marry his sons with his daughters, without revealing his personal involvement with Canace (hyp. *Aeolus P. Oxy.* 2457, l. 27f. and also fr. 20, 22, 23 Kn.).

<sup>117</sup> For the pattern of intrigue in Euripides, cf. Trenkner (1958) p. 46f.

<sup>118</sup> Cf. Lattimore (1964) pp. 47-49, Trenkner (1958) pp. 69-71.

<sup>119</sup> Cf. Ov. *Her.* 11. 69-76 and Jäkel (1979) p. 112f.

(2) Discovery: the maiden's father finds out about his daughter's illicit motherhood:

- *Danae*

Acrisius' discovery of gold in Danae's chamber (as suggested by fr. 7), from which he is likely to have inferred that she was seduced by a rich man (cf. frr. 7-10), could have partly led to the revelation of truth;<sup>120</sup> no evidence as to how he found out about Perseus. Danae could have defended herself in a debate against her father's accusation of having been bribed with gold to be seduced; frr. 11-12 rejecting the power of money formed presumably part of her reply to Acrisius' allegation that Eros is attracted by wealth (frr. 7-10).

- *Melanippe the Wise*

Melanippe's twins were discovered by a herdsman at the cowshed and condemned to be burnt as monstrous progeny of the cow (hyp. *Melanippe the Wise*). Melanippe vainly interceded for the lives of the twins to her father by arguing against this idea (frr. 484, 485 Kn.).<sup>121</sup> No evidence as to how the truth came out (from the nurse or Melanippe herself?<sup>122</sup>).

- *Alope*

Alope's baby-son was found by two herdsmen, who argued over the baby's trinkets in front of Alope's father as judge (Hyg. *fab.* 187). The latter recognized his daughter's garment, into which the baby was wrapped and by interrogating the nurse, he found out the truth (Hyg. *fab.* 187).

- *Auge*

Auge's baby seems to have been discovered by Aleos after his inspection of Athena's temple in search of the cause of the plague (cf. [Apollod.] 2. 7.4, 3. 9.1 and fr. 266 Kn. pointing to the plague sent by Athena).

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<sup>120</sup> Cf. Webster (1967) p. 95, Aéliou (1986) p. 154, Jouan and van Looy (2000) p. 58.

<sup>121</sup> Cf. Collard, Cropp and Lee (1995) p. 241.

<sup>122</sup> *loc. cit.*

- *Aeolus*

Macareus failed to draw the lot, on which Canace's name was written (hyp. *Aeolus*). No evidence as to how Aeolus discovered the baby (in *Ov. Her.* 11. 70-76, he heard the baby's cries).

(3) On the basis of our evidence, the father-daughter conflict seems to have touched on the social issue of the maiden's illicit pregnancy (for more detail, cf. note on **fr. 6**):

- *Danae*

**Fr. 16** implies that the oracle foretelling Acrisius' death at the hands of his grandson may have affected his decision to eliminate the child. Yet, **fr. 6** and **fr. 7-10** (alleging the power of gold over love and possibly spoken by Acrisius) refer to the social issue of Danae's seduction.

- *Melanippe the Wise*

The gravity of Melanippe's misconduct at the eyes of her father is expressed in fr. 485 and possibly also in fr. 497 Kn.

- *Alope*

Alope's seduction is strongly reproached by her father in fr. 109, 110, 111 Kn. possibly in the context of an *agon* (perhaps a trial-debate, cf. the formal proem of Cercyon's *rhesis* in fr. 110 Kn.).<sup>123</sup>

- *Auge*

No evidence survives for Auge's conflict with her father; the apologetic lines of fr. 272b Kn. evidently spoken by Heracles refer to the seriousness of his offence.

- *Aeolus*

Though the main confrontation appears to have occurred between father and son, Aeolus seems to be the likeliest speaker of fr. 36 Kn. strongly censuring female misconduct.<sup>124</sup>

<sup>123</sup> Cf. Duchemin (1968<sup>2</sup>) p. 83, Karamanou (2003) p. 31.

<sup>124</sup> Cf. Jouan and van Looy (1998) p. 26.

(4) The father decides to punish his daughter severely and often has her illegitimate offspring exposed:

- *Danae*

Danae and Perseus are both imprisoned in the chest, which is cast adrift (cf. above, scene 4 and notes on **frr. 13-14**).

- *Melanippe the Wise*

There is no sound evidence for Melanippe's sentence nor for the fate of the twins (if fr. 497 Kn. belonged to the *Melanippe the Wise*, it could point to her father's or grandfather's intention to have her severely punished;<sup>125</sup> Hyg. *fab.* 186 cannot be completely trusted). The background of the *Captive Melanippe* at least presupposes her separation from her sons, though it may tell us nothing of Euripides' untying of the plot in the *Melanippe the Wise*. It is unknown whether the purpose of the appearance of Melanippe's mother, Hippo *ex machina* (Pollux 4. 141 Bethe) was to avert their punishment or merely to foretell future events.

- *Alope*

Hyg. *fab.* 187 reports that Alope was imprisoned and left to die (for a possible allusion to her prison cf. fr. 112a Kn.<sup>126</sup>) and that Hippothon was exposed again.

- *Auge*

Webster tried to reconcile the versions of Moses of Chorene (*Prog.* 3.3) and Strabo (13. 1.69) for the reconstruction of the *Auge*: baby Telephus may have been exposed by Aleos for the first time and found by Heracles. It is unclear whether the hero managed to rescue mother and child from punishment; if Strabo's testimony is reliable, then Heracles might have interceded with Aleos to commute their punishment from death to imprisonment in the chest and exposure in the sea, thus leaving a hope of safety for them.<sup>127</sup>

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<sup>125</sup> Cf. Collard, Cropp and Lee (1995) *ad loc.*

<sup>126</sup> Cf. Jouan and van Looy (1998) p. 146.

<sup>127</sup> Cf. Webster (1967) p. 239f., also Huys (1990) p. 171f. and Huys (1995) p. 82.

- *Aeolus*

Canace seems to have been driven to suicide by her father, to judge by a Lucanian vase-painting inspired by the *Aeolus* (Trendall and Webster 1971, III 3.4, cf. Ov. *Her.* 11.122). No evidence survives as to the fortune of the baby in the play.<sup>128</sup>

The parallel survey of the treatment of these myths by Euripides, so far as our evidence goes, reveals a recurring theme and a roughly common sequence of events. Nevertheless, since we are dealing with lost plays, their plot-structure cannot be safely recovered, therefore, one cannot confidently argue for a common structural plan, especially in terms of placement of events such as discovery as part of the *desis* or *lisis* of the plot.

On a larger scale, this group of tragedies is thematically affiliated to other ‘plays about unhappy women’, as described by Webster,<sup>129</sup> such as the *Cretans*, *Scyrioi* and *Alcmene* (misconduct and pregnancy kept as a secret- discovery by the father in the *Scyrioi*/ by the husband in the *Cretans* and *Alcmene*- punishment in the *Cretans*/ averted punishment in the *Alcmene*/ no evidence for Lycomedes’ reaction in the *Scyrioi*).<sup>130</sup>

## 5. Reception of the *Danae*

Euripides’ *Danae* appears to have been a popular play. The notorious fr. 7 in praise of gold, the speaker of which was possibly accusing Danae of having been bribed to be seduced, was widely cited by later authors and seems to have instigated the interpretation of Danae’s seduction as bribery from the end of the fourth century BC onwards (cf. note *ad loc.*). The first surviving allusion to this idea occurs in the *Samia* (T6), with reference to a performance of the *Danae*, which points also to a revival of the play in Menander’s time. In the context of the assertion on the overwhelming power of money, the content of fr. 10a was arbitrarily taken by ancient biographers to refer to Socrates as the sole person able to

<sup>128</sup> For an exploration of possibilities, cf. Jouan and van Looy (1998) p. 26 and n. 22.

<sup>129</sup> Cf. Webster (1967) pp. 86ff.

<sup>130</sup> For the plots of these plays, cf. indicatively Collard, Cropp and Lee (1995) pp. 53-58, Jouan and van Looy (1998) pp. 121-128, Jouan and van Looy (2002) pp. 62-69.

resist wealth (cf. note *ad loc.*). Though the possibility of Naevius' influence from Euripides in his treatment of Danae's legend cannot be established on the basis of the surviving evidence, it should be noted that the social issue of the maiden's seduction, which occurs in *Danae* fr. 6 and is a recurring theme in Euripides' plays following the same pattern (cf. p. 30 and note on fr. 6), is also raised by the Latin dramatist in his *Danae* (cf. *The Myth*, p. 18). The appeal of Euripides' treatment of Danae's legend even in later Antiquity emerges from fr. 1132 Kn. (cf. Appendix). The fact that the author of this spurious fragment mainly draws on Lucian may imply that the latter was regarded as alluding to the Euripidean *Danae* in *D. Mar.* 12 (cf. note on T5). As regards artistic inspiration, though the theme of the exposure of mother and son was popular in fifth-century pottery, the unspecified date of Euripides' play, in conjunction with the unknown date and similar theme of the Sophoclean *Danae*, hinder any attempt to relate any vase-painting from mid-fifth century onwards to either play (cf. *The Myth*, p. 17f.).

## TESTIMONIA

### T 1

τῶν δὲ χορικῶν ἄσμάτων τῶν κωμικῶν ἔν τι καὶ ἡ παράβασις, ὅταν ἂ ὁ ποιητὴς πρὸς τὸ θέατρον βούλεται λέγειν, ὁ χορὸς παρελθὼν λέγει. ἐπεικῶς δ' αὐτὸ ποιοῦσιν οἱ κωμφοδοποιηταί, τραγικὸν δ' οὐκ ἔστιν· ἀλλ' Εὐριπίδης αὐτὸ πεποίηκεν ἐν πολλοῖς δράμασιν. ἐν μὲν γε τῇ Δανάῃ τὸν χορὸν {τὰς γυναῖκας} ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τι ποιήσας παράδειν, ἐκλαθόμενος ὡς ἄνδρας 5 λέγειν ἐποίησε τῷ σχήματι τῆς λέξεως τὰς γυναῖκας. καὶ Σοφοκλῆς δ' αὐτὸ ἐκ τῆς πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ἀμίλλης ποιεῖ σπανιάκις, ὥσπερ ἐν Ἰππόνῳ.

### T 2

ΔΑΝΑΗ

### T 3

ΔΑΝΑΗ

### T 4

Ὁ δὲ προειρημένος Πῖκος ὁ καὶ Ζεὺς ἐν τοῖς ἀνωτέροις χρόνοις ἔσχε μετὰ τὸν Ἑρμῆν καὶ τὸν Ἡρακλέα καὶ ἄλλον υἱόν, τὸν Περσέα, ἀπὸ εὐπρεποῦς γυναικὸς ὀνόματι Δανάης, θυγατρὸς τοῦ Ἀκρισίου τοῦ καταγομένου ἐκ τῆς Ἀργείων χώρας· περὶ ἧς ἐμυθολόγησεν Εὐριπίδης ὁ

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T1 Pollux, 4. 111 (ed. Bethe)

T2 *I.G.* II/ III<sup>2</sup> 2363, 42 (a dextra), *TrGF* V,1 Test. B 7a | Piraeus; Catalogus Librorum fortasse e bibliotheca gymnasii, fin. s. II vel init. s. I<sup>a</sup>

T3 *I.G.* XIV, 1152, 18 (a sinistra), *TrGF* V,1 Test. B 6 | Roma; Euripidis Fabularum Index, fortasse s. II<sup>p</sup>

T4 I. Malalas *Chron.* 2. 11 (ed. Thurn)

T1 2 βούλεται cod. Antverp: βούληται A Π Β C | λέγει Bethe: λέγει Π Β C || 3 κωμφοδοποιηταί B: κωμφοδοί A || 4 Δανάη B: Δαναή Π: δαναίδι C | τὰς γυναῖκας del. Radt *TrGF* IV 269 || 5 παράδειν B: παριδεῖν A || 6 τῷ σχήματι B: ἐν τῷ σχήματι A Π | τῆς λέξεως B: τῆσδε τῆς λέξεως Π C || 7 Ἰππόνῳ B: ἰππώνω A

T4 2 Ἡρακλέα Chilmeadus: Ἡρακλέαν O



σοφώτατος ἐν τῇ συντάξει τοῦ αὐτοῦ δράματος ἐν κιβωτίῳ τινὶ 5  
βληθεῖσαν καὶ ῥιφεῖσαν <κατὰ θάλασσαν> τὴν Δανάην, ὡς φθαρεῖσαν  
ὑπὸ Διὸς μεταβληθέντος εἰς χρυσόν.

## T5

### Ἵπόθεσις Δανάης

Ἄκρίσιος Ἴργους ὦν βασιλεὺς κατὰ χρησμόν  
δὴ τινα τὴν παῖδα Δανάην κατάκλειστον  
ἐν τοῖς παρθενώσιν ἐφύλαττε καλλίστην  
οὖσαν ἥς ἐρασθεῖς ὁ Ζεὺς, ἐπεὶ οὐκ εἶχεν ὄπως  
μιχθεῖη αὐτῇ χρυσὸς γενόμενος καὶ ῥυεῖς 5  
διὰ τοῦ τέγους εἰς τὸν κόλπον τῆς παρθένου  
ἐγκύμον' ἐποίησεν. ἐξήκοντος δὲ τοῦ χρόνου  
βρέφος {τὸν Περσέα} ἀπέτεκε. τοῦτο μαθὼν  
Ἄκρίσιος εἰς κιβωτὸν ἀμφοτέρους, τὴν τε  
μητέρα καὶ τὸ βρέφος, ἐνέβαλε καὶ κελεύει ῥίπτειν 10  
κατὰ τὴν θάλατταν. ἰδοῦσαι δὲ ταῦθ' αἱ Νηρηίδες  
καὶ κατελεήσασαι τὸ γεγονός ἐμβάλλουσι τὴν  
κιβωτὸν εἰς δίκτυα Σεριφίων ἀλιέων,  
κάντεῦθεν περιεσώθη ἡ τε μήτηρ καὶ τὸ βρέφος  
ὅπερ ἀνδρωθὲν Περσεὺς ὠνομάσθη. 15  
Τὰ τοῦ δράματος πρόσωπα· Ἑρμῆς Δανάη Τροφός  
Ἄκρίσιος Ἄγγελος Χορός Ἀθηνᾶ

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T5 Argumentum *Danaes* in cod. Vatic. Palat. gr. 287, f<sup>o</sup> 147<sup>v</sup>.

T4 6 κατὰ θάλασσαν ex Chron. Pasch. 69. 12 add. Thurn: om. O

T5 6 τέγους cod.: στέγους Nauck || 8 τὸν Περσέα del. Lupre *ZPE* 87, 4 || 11 τὴν θάλατταν cod.:  
τῆς θαλάσσης Nauck || 15 ὅπερ cod.: ὅσπερ Nauck

T 6

(Δη) οὐκ ἀκήκοας λεγόντων, εἰπέ μοι, Νικήρατε,  
τῶν τραγωιδῶν ὡς γενόμενος χρυσὸς ὁ Ζεὺς ἔρρη  
διὰ τέγους καθειργμένην τε παῖδ' ἐμοίχευσέν ποτε;

(Νι) εἶτα δὴ τί τοῦτο;

(Δη) ἴσως δεῖ πάντα προσδοκᾶν. σκόπει,  
τοῦ τέγους εἴ σοι μέρος τι ρεῖ.

(Νι) τὸ πλεῖστον. ἀλλὰ τί

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τοῦτο πρὸς ἐκεῖν' ἐστί;

(Δη) τότε μὲν γίνεθ' ὁ Ζεὺς χρυσίον,  
τότε δ' ὕδωρ. ὄρῳις· ἐκείνου τοῦργον ἐστίν. ὡς ταχὺ  
εὔρομεν.

(Νι) καὶ βουκολεῖς με.

(Δη) μὰ τὸν Ἀπόλλω, ἴω μὲν οὔ.

ἀλλὰ χεῖρων οὐδὲ μικρὸν Ἀκρισίου δῆπουθεν εἶ-

εἶ δ' ἐκείνην ἠξίωσε, τήν γε σὴν-

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T6 Men. *Samia* 589-598 (ed. Sandbach)

T6 1 λεγόντων εἰπέ μοι B: εἰπέ μοι λεγόν [των C || 2 χρυσὸς ὁ Ζεὺς plerique.: ὁ Ζεὺς χρυσὸς B  
C (ut vid.) || 3 διὰ τέγους B: διὰ τοῦ τέγους C | καθειργμένην B: κατειργμένην C | τε B: δὲ C ||  
4 τοῦτ' C: τοῦτο B || 6 γίνεθ' C: γὰρ γείνεθ' B || 7 ὄρῳις C: ὄρῳις τ' B || 10 εἶ δ' C: εἶδ' B<sup>a c</sup>: ὡς  
B<sup>p c</sup> | γε C: τε B

## FRAGMENTA

Fr. 1 (321 Kn., 6 J.-v.L.):

ἦν γάρ τις αἴνος, ὡς γυναιξὶ μὲν τέχνη  
μέλουσι, λόγῃ δ' ἄνδρες εὐστοχώτεροι.  
εἰ γὰρ δόλοισιν ἦν τὸ νικητήριον,  
ἡμεῖς ἂν ἀνδρῶν εἴχομεν τυραννίδα.

Fr. 2 (316 Kn., 2 J.-v.L.):

γύναι, καλὸν μὲν φέγγος ἡλίου τόδε,  
καλὸν δὲ πόντου χερσὶν ἰδεῖν εὐήνεμον,  
γῆ τ' ἠρινὸν θάλλουσα πλούσιόν θ' ὕδωρ,  
πολλῶν τ' ἔπαινον ἔστι μοι λέξαι καλῶν·  
ἀλλ' οὐδὲν οὕτω λαμπρὸν οὐδ' ἰδεῖν καλὸν  
ὡς τοῖς ἀπαισι καὶ πόθῳ δεδηγμένοις  
καίδων νεογνῶν ἐν δόμοις ἰδεῖν φάος.

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Fr. 1 Stob. 4. 22g. 172 W.-H. (Περὶ γάμου· ψόγος γυναικῶν) Εὐριπίδου Δανάης S M A

Fr. 2 Stob. 4. 24a. 5 W.-H. (Ὅτι καλὸν τὸ ἔχειν παῖδας) Εὐριπίδου Δανάη<ι> S M A

Fr. 1 1 ἦν γάρ τις αἴνος Voss.<sup>2</sup> et Trinc.: †την† γάρ τις αἴνος S M A: αἴνός τις ἦν ἄρ' coniecti:  
ἦν ἄρα τις αἴνος Meineke *Anal. Ath.* 16, coll. Moschion *TrGF* I 97 F8, Cratin. fr. 28 K.-A.:  
<ἔτυμος ἄρ' ἦν>/ γέρων τις αἴνος van Herwerden *Adnotationes* I 28, prob. Nauck: ἔστιν τις αἴνος  
Blaydes: ἡ μάρτυς αἴνος Munro *JPh* 11, 267 || 2 μέλουσι B: μέλλουσι S M A

Fr. 2 1 καλὸν van Herwerden *RPh* 2, 56, prob. Nauck, Hense, Friis Johansen: φίλον S M A, prob.  
Kannicht || 2 εὐήνεμον S M: ἔκνεμον ut videtur A || 3 θάλλουσα S A: θάλασσα M | πλούσιόν θ'  
ὕδωρ S: πλούσιόν τ' ὕδωρ M A: ποτάμιόν θ' ὕδωρ Meineke (sed cf. Hsch. π 2622 πλούσιον·  
θαλασσοειδές. οἱ δὲ τὸ ὕδωρ): πλούσιον θάλος Schneidewin apud Wachsmuth-Hense || 4  
ἔπαινον Gaisford: ἐπαίνων S M A || 6 πολλῶν S M A: ἄλλων Meineke || πόθῳ S M: πόθου A ||  
7 νεογνῶν ἐν δόμοις ἰδεῖν φάος S M A, prob. Kannicht: νεογνὸν ἐν δόμοις ἰδεῖν θάλος Schmidt  
*Anal. Soph.* 132, prob. Nauck, Jouan-van Looy

Fr. 3 (317 Kn., 3 J.-v.L.):

καὶ νῦν παραινῶ πᾶσι τοῖς νεωτέροις  
μὴ πρὸς τὸ γῆρας τοὺς γάμους ποιουμένους  
σχολῆ τεκνοῦσθαι παῖδας —οὐ γὰρ ἡδονή,  
γυναικί τ' ἐχθρὸν χρῆμα πρεσβύτης ἀνήρ—,  
ἀλλ' ὡς τάχιστα. καὶ γὰρ ἐκτροφαὶ καλαὶ  
καὶ συννεάζων ἡδὺ παῖς νέφ πατρί.

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Fr. 4 (318 Kn., 4 J.-v.L.):

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

Fr. 5 (319 Kn., 5 J.-v.L.):

συμμαρτυρῶ σοι· πανταχοῦ λελείμμεθα  
πᾶσαι γυναῖκες ἀρσένων ἀεὶ δίχα.

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Fr. 3 Stob. 4. 22e. 115 W.-H. (Περὶ γάμου· ὅτι ἐν τοῖς γάμοις τὰς τῶν συναπομένων ἡλικίας χρῆ σκοπεῖν) Εὐριπίδου Δανάης S M A

Fr. 4 Stob. 4. 24c. 34 W.-H. (Περὶ παίδων· ὅτι κρείττονες οἱ ἄρρενες τῶν παίδων) Εὐριπίδου fab. nom. om. S M A, ecl. cum lemm. hab. S M, sine lemm. A. vv. 1-2 hab. Stob. 4. 22g. 148 W.-H. (Περὶ γάμου· ψόγος γυναικῶν) Εὐριπίδου Δανάης S A: Εὐριπίδου δαναη M

Fr. 5 Stob. 4. 22g. 174 W.-H. (Περὶ γάμου· ψόγος γυναικῶν) S M A, Εὐριπίδου Δανάης S A: Δανάης M

Fr. 3 2 τοὺς γάμους S M A: ἀναβολὰς Nauck coll. Men. *Thesaurus* fr. 176. 8 K.-A., prob. Jouan-van Looy, Kannicht | ποιουμένους S M A: ποιουμένους Bothe || 4 del. Jouan-van Looy | τ' S M A, prob. Kannicht: δ' Elmsley ad Ba. 859 || 5-6 om. S || Goossens huc fr. inc. 1007e+f traxit

Fr. 4 1 γὰρ Stob. 4. 22g. 148 prob. Nauck, Jouan-van Looy, Kannicht: μὲν Stob. 4. 24c. 34 || 3 ἔστηκ' ἐν edd.: ἔστηκεν ἐν S: ἔστηκεν M || 4 τιμάρορον Valesius apud Wachsmuth-Hense: τιμᾶ ὄρον S M A

Fr. 5 2 δίχα S M A: δίκη Madvig *Adv. Cr.* I 719: λίαν Schmidt *Krit. Stud.* II 463

Fr. 6 (320 Kn., 7 J.-v.L.):

οὐκ ἔστιν οὔτε τεῖχος οὔτε χρήματα  
οὔτ' ἄλλο δυσφύλακτον οὐδὲν ὡς γυνή.

Fr. 7 (324 Kn., 8 J.-v.L.):

ὦ χρυσέ, δεξίωμα κάλλιστον βροτοῖς,  
ὡς οὔτε μήτηρ ἡδονὰς τοίας ἔχει,  
οὐ παῖδες ἀνθρώποισιν, οὐ φίλος πατήρ,  
{οἴας σὺ τοῖς σὲ δώμασιν κεκτημένοις.}  
εἰ δ' ἡ Κύπρις τοιοῦτον ὀφθαλμοῖς ὄρα,  
οὐ θαῦμ' ἔρωτας μυρίους αὐτὴν τρέφειν.

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Fr. 6 Stob. 4. 23.13 W.-H. (Γαμικὰ παραγγέλματα) Εὐριπίδου (om. S) Δανάης (Δανάη M A), idem locus cum lemm. Ἀλέξιδος legitur Stob. 4. 22g.154 W.-H. (Περὶ γάμου· ψόγος γυναικῶν); inter dubia Alexidis fr. 340 K.-A.

Fr. 7 1-3, 5-6 P.Ross.Georg. I 9 (edd. Zereteli et Krüger), Stob. 4. 31a.4 W.-H. (Περὶ πλοῦτου· ἔπαινος πλοῦτου) Εὐριπίδου Δανάη S M A | 1-6 Ath. 4. 159B om. fab. et poet. nom. οὔτοι γὰρ καὶ οἱ τοιοῦτοι μονονουχὶ βοῶντες ἀποθνήσκουσιν \_\_\_\_\_ τοιαύτη τις ἦν ἡ φιλοχρηματία παρὰ τοῖς ποτε || 1-4 S.E. M. 1. 279 om. fab. et poet. nom. οὕτως ἔστι καὶ ὁ τῶναντίον ἀποφαινόμενος \_\_\_\_\_ || 1-2 D.S. 37. 30.2 om. fab. et poet. nom., Const. Porph. Sent. 460 τοσαύτην ὁ χρυσὸς ἔχει δύναμιν ἐπὶ κακῷ προτιμώμενος ἀφρόνας παρὰ ἀνθρώποις, οἵτινες διὰ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς πρὸς τοῦτον ἐπιθυμίας παρ' ἕκαστα προφέρονται τούτους τοὺς στίχους τῶν ποιητῶν \_\_\_\_\_ | Athenag. Supp. Pro Christ. 29 ἡ τοίνυν θεοὶ ἦσαν, καὶ οὔτε αὐτοὺς πρὸς χρυσὸν εἶχον \_\_\_\_\_ ἀνεπίδεες γὰρ καὶ κρείττον ἐπιθυμίας τὸ θεῖον | 1 Luc. Gall. 14 om. fab. et poet. nom. ὄραξ ὅσων ἀγαθῶν ὁ χρυσὸς αἴτιος, εἴ γε καὶ μεταποιεῖ τοὺς ἀμοφοτέρους καὶ ἐρασιμίους ἀπεργάζεται ὡσπερ ὁ ποιητικὸς ἐκεῖνος κεστός. ἀκούεις δὲ καὶ τῶν ποιητῶν λεγόντων \_\_\_\_\_ | Luc. Tim. 41 om. fab. et poet. nom ἀλλὰ μὴν χρυσίον ἔστιν ἐπίσημον, ὑπέρυθρον, βαρὺ καὶ τὴν πρόσωπιν ὑπερήδιστον \_\_\_\_\_ | Greg. Nyss. Ep. 14.2 falso Pindaro tribuit τὸ κάλλιστον ὄντως δεξίωμα κατὰ Πίνδαρον | Tz. Ep. 43 ὦ χρυσέ δεξίωμα κάλλιστον || 1-3, 5-6 Sen. Ep. 115. 14 latine vertit sed errore Bellerophonti tribuit: pecunia ingens generis humani bonum/ cui non voluptas matris aut blandae potest/ par esse prolis, non sacer meritis parens./ tam dulce siquid Veneris in vultu micat./ merito illa amores coelitum atque hominum movet. cum hi novissimi versus in tragoedia Euripidis pronuntiat essent, totus populus ad eiciendum et actorem et camen consurrexit uno impetu, donec Euripides in medium ipse prosiluit petens ut expectarent viderentque quem admiratori auri exitum faceret. dabat in illa fabula poenas Bellerophontes.

Fr. 6 1 χρήματα Stob. 4. 23. 13 et S Stob. 4. 22g. 154: χρῆμα M A Stob. 4. 22g. 154 || 2 οὔτ' Stob. 4. 23.13: οὔδ' Stob. 4. 22g.154 | οὐδὲν Stob. 4. 23.13 et S Stob. 4. 22g.154: οὐθὲν M A Stob. 4. 22g.154, cf. Arnott Alexis 89s.

Fr. 7 1 χρυσέ plerique: χρυσίον S.E. E D | δεξίωμα Stob., Ath. C, S.E., D.S., Athenag. S: δεξίωμα P. Ross. Georg., Ath. A, Athenag. N P, Luc. Gall. β γ, Luc. Tim. P, Tzetz. | βροτοῖς plerique.: βροτοῖσιν Athenag. P: κτέρας Luc. Gall. γ: κτέαρ Luc. Gall. U || 2 οὔτε P. Ross. Georg., Ath., S.E., Athenag., D.S.: οὐδὲ Stob. | ἡδονὰς codd.: ἡττονας P. Ross. Georg. | τοίας Stob. S, S.E.: τοιάσδ' P. Ross. Georg., Stob. A, Ath., Athenag. || 3 ἀνθρώποισιν plerique: ἀνθρώποισι P. Ross. Georg.: ἐν δόμοισιν Ath.: ἀθαίμοισιν Schmidt apud Nauck || 4 om. P. Ross. Georg., Stob. et Seneca, delevi; spurium esse censuerunt iam Grotius apud Nauck, Zereteli et Krueger, Jouan et van Looy | τοῖς σὲ δώμασιν κεκτημένοις Schmidt Zfa 14 (1856) 550, prob. Nauck: χοῖ σὲ δώμασιν κεκτημένοι Ath., S.E. || 5 ὀφθαλμοῖς plerique.: ὀφθαλμοῖσιν Stob. S || 6 τρέφειν Stob.: ἔχειν P. Ross. Georg., Ath.

Fr. 8 (322 Kn., 17 J.-v.L.):

ἔρωσ γὰρ ἀργὸν κάπι τοῖς ἀργοῖς ἔφυ·  
φιλεῖ κάτοπτρα καὶ κόμης ξανθίσματα,  
φεύγει δὲ μόχθους. ἔν δέ μοι τεκμήριον·  
οὐδεὶς προσαιτῶν βίον ἠράσθη βροτῶν,  
ἐν τοῖς δ' ἔχουσιν † ἠβητῆς κέφυχ' ὄδε.

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Fr. 9 (326 Kn., 11 J.-v.L.):

ἄρ' οἴσθ' ὀθοῦνεχ' οἱ μὲν εὐγενεῖς βροτῶν  
κένητες ὄντες οὐδὲν ἀλφάνουσ' ἔτι,  
οἱ δ' οὐδὲν ἦσαν πρόσθεν, ὄλβιοι δὲ νῦν,  
δόξαν φέρονται τοῦ νομίσματος χάριν  
καὶ συμπλέκοντες σπέρμα καὶ γάμους τέκνων ;  
δοῦναι δὲ πᾶς τις μᾶλλον ὀλβίῳ κακῷ  
πρόθυμός ἐστιν ἢ κένητι κάγαθῷ.  
κακὸς δ' ὁ μὴ ἔχων, οἱ δ' ἔχοντες † ὄλβιοι.

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Fr. 8 Stob. 4. 20b. 40 W.-H. (Περὶ Ἀφροδίτης: ψόγος Ἀφροδίτης) Εὐριπίδου Δανάη<i>i> S M A | 1 Plut. *Amatorius* 13.757a (ed. Hubert) om. poet. et fab. nom. ἀλλ' ἀπὸ μιᾶς σκηνῆς ἀκούομεν \_\_\_\_\_ *ibid.* 17.760d σκόπει τῶν ἀθῆς ἔφη τοῖς ἀρῆσις ἔργοις ὅσον ἔρωσ περίεστιν, οὐκ ἀργὸς ὢν, ὡς Εὐριπίδης ἔλεγεν, οὐδ' ἀστράτευτος οὐδ' ἐν μαλακαῖσιν ἐννουχέων παρειαῖς νεανίδων.

Fr. 9 Stob. 4. 31b. 41 W.-H. (Περὶ πλοῦτου: ὅσα πλοῦτος ποιεῖ διὰ τὴν πλείστων ἄνοιαν) Εὐριπίδου Δανάης M A om. S | Stob. 4. 31a.29 W.-H. (Περὶ πλοῦτου: ἔπαινος πλοῦτου) Εὐριπίδου † Ἐκάβη (S A M<sup>p.c.</sup>: αἰκ- M<sup>a.c.</sup>)

Fr. 8 1 κάπι Plut. Xyl.: καὶ ἐπὶ Plut. E B | τοῖς ἔργοις S M A emend. Pierson apud W.-H., prob. Jouan et van Looy: τοιοῦτοις Plut., prob. Nauck || 5 ἠβητῆς S M A corruptum: εὐπετῆς Schmidt: ἐγγενῆς Stadtmüller *WkPh* 7, 286-293: ἐγκρατῆς Wagner: δεσπότης Kayser *RhM* 7, 126: ἀβροβάτης Gomperz *SAWW* 29, 183-185: ἐργάτης Müller

Fr. 9 1 ὀθοῦνεχ' οἱ μὲν edd: ὄθ' οὔνεχ' οἱ μὲν Trinc.: ὄτοῦν ἔχομεν Stob. 4. 31a.29 S: ὄτ' οὔν ἔχομεν utrobique M A: ὄθ' οὔνεχ' οἱ μὲν iam Barnes || 2 ἀλφάνουσ' Stob. 4. 31b.41 M: ἀναφαίνουσ' A utroque loco: ἐμφαίνουσ' Stob. 4. 31a. 29 S M: ἐκφανεῖς Musgrave: ἐμφανεῖς Dindorf *Thes.Gr.L.* 3, 926C || 4 habent M A in Stob. 4. 31b. 41, inter lineas add. S, om. Stob. 4. 31a. 29 M A || 5 συμπλέκοντες Stob. 4. 31a.29: συμπλέκονται Stob. 4. 31b.41: εὐ συμπλέκοντες Enger *Adnot. ad Trag. Graec. Fr.* p. 12 | καὶ γάμους utrobique: γενναῖον Hense || 6 δὲ Stob. 4. 31a.29: τε Stob. 4. 31b.41 | πᾶς τις μᾶλλον ὀλβίῳ Stob. 4. 31b. 41: μᾶλλον πλουσίῳ πᾶς τις Stob. 4. 31a.29 || 8 om. Stob. 4. 31a.29 | ὄλβιοι Stob. utrobique, corruptum: εὐγενεῖς Hense, prob. West *BICS* 30, 72: οὐκέτι West: οὐ κακοὶ Blaydes

Fr. 10 (325 Kn., 9 J.-v.L.):

κρείσσων γὰρ οὐδεις χρημάτων πέφυκ' ἀνήρ,  
πλὴν εἴ τις— ὅστις δ' οὐτός ἐστιν οὐχ ὀρῶ.

Fr. 10a (325a Kn., 10 J.-v.L.):

Sententia περὶ πλεονεξίας

Fr. 11 (327 Kn., 12 J.-v.L.):

φιλοῦσι γὰρ τοι τῶν μὲν ὀλβίων βροτοὶ  
σοφοὺς τίθεσθαι τοὺς λόγους, ὅταν δέ τις  
λεπτῶν ἀπ' οἴκων εἰδὼ λέγει πένης ἀνήρ,  
γελᾶν· ἐγὼ δὲ πολλάκις σοφωτέρους  
πένητας ἀνδρας εἰσορῶ τῶν πλουσίων  
καὶ <τοὺς> θεοῖσι μικρὰ θύοντας τέλη  
τῶν βουθυτούντων ὄντας εὐσεβεστέρους.

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Fr. 10 Stob. 3. 10.18 W.-H. (Περὶ ἀδικίας) Εὐριπίδου (τοῦ αὐτοῦ S) Δανάης M A

Fr. 10a Satyr. Vit. Eur. P. Oxy. IX 1176, fr. 38 col. iv + fr. 39 col. i (Arrighetti) μετήλθεν [δ]ὲ πρὸς τὸ αἰ[σχρ]ὸν π[αρά τῶι] ὄ[χ]λωι τ[ῶι] θαυμά[ζειν] τὸν Σω[κρά]τη πολὺ [μάλι]σ[τα] ὥστ' ἀπ[ο]φ[α]ινόμενος [ἐν] τῇ Δανάη[ι] [π]ερὶ πλεονεξίας μόνον [αὐ]τὸν πάν[των] ἐποιή[σα]τ' ἐξαιρέτων.

Fr. 11 Stob. 4. 33.14 W.-H. (Σύγκρισις πενίας καὶ πλούτου) Εὐριπίδου (poet. nom. om. S) Δανάη <ι> S M A | 6-7 Ath. 2. 12.2 (om. nom. fab.) \_\_\_\_\_ Εὐριπίδης φησί καὶ σημαίνει ὧδε τὸ τέλος τὴν θυσίαν | 6 Schol. Eust. II. 12.59 (van der Valk) δῆλον δ' ὅτι τέλος καὶ ἡ θυσία Εὐριπίδης \_\_\_\_\_ ὅθεν καὶ αἱ τελεταὶ θυσίας ἔχουσαι.

Fr. 10 1 οὐδεις S M A: οὔτις tacite Nauck | χρημάτων M A: ῥημάτων S || 2 εἴ τις S M A<sup>m. sec.</sup>: οὐ τις vel ὅστις A<sup>m. pr.</sup>: εἰς τις Porson *Adversaria* p. 274 | οὐχ ὀρῶ S M A: οὐκ ἐρῶ Badham *Iph. T.* praef. p. 3: οὐ λέγω Schmidt *Sat. Crit.* p. 5

Fr. 11 2 τίθεσθαι Valckenaer *Diatr.* p. 8, prob. Nauck et Jouan-van Looy: ἡγεῖσθαι S M A: νομίζειν Blaydes, prob. Kannicht: ἄγεσθαι Conington apud Nauck || 3 λεπτῶν S M A: λειπῶν Nauck || 4 πολλάκις sup. lin. add. S<sup>m. pr.</sup> || 6 θεοῖσι μικρὰ θύοντας Ath., τοὺς add. Meineke, prob. Nauck, Blaydes, Collard *RFIC* 97, 174, Jouan-van Looy: τοῖς add. Grot. *Dict. Poet.* p. 551 prob. Heath: θεοῖς (θεοῖσι Canter, Grotius, prob. Musgrave et Kannicht) μικρὰ χειρὶ θύοντας Stob.

**Fr. 12** (328 Kn., 13 J.-v.L.):

δοστις δόμοις μὲν ἤδεταί πληρουμένοις,  
γαστρὸς δ' ἀφαιρῶν σῶμα δύστηνος κακοῖ,  
τοῦτον νομίζω κἄν θεῶν συλᾶν βρέτη  
τοῖς φιλάτοις τε πολέμιον πεφυκέναι.

**Fr. 13** (323 Kn., 14 J.-v.L.):

τάχ' ἂν πρὸς ἀγκάλαισι καὶ στέρνοις ἐμοῖς  
πηδῶν ἀθύροι καὶ φιλημάτων ὄχλω  
ψυχὴν ἐμὴν κτήσαιτο· ταῦτα γὰρ βροτοῖς  
φίλτρον μέγιστον, αἱ ξυνουσίαι, πάτερ.

**Fr. 14** (329 Kn., 15 J.-v.L.):

φεῦ, τοῖσι γενναίοισιν ὧς ἀπανταχοῦ  
πρέπει χαρακτήρ χρηστὸς εἰς εὐψυχίαν.

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**Fr. 12** Stob. 3. 16.6 W.-H. (Περὶ φειδωλίας) Εὐριπίδου (τοῦ αὐτοῦ S) Δανάης M A

**Fr. 13** Stob. 4. 24d.53 W.-H. (Περὶ παιδῶν· περὶ νηπίων) Εὐριπίδου Δανάης S M A

**Fr. 14** Stob. 3. 7.5 W.-H. (Περὶ ἀνδρείας) Εὐριπίδης Δανάη M A om. S

**Fr. 12** 1 δόμοις ... πληρουμένοις M A<sup>m. sec.</sup> prob. Kannicht, coll. *Heracl.* 605: δόμους...  
πληρουμένους S A<sup>m. pr.</sup> prob. Nauck, Jouan-van Looy || 2 δύστηνος S M A<sup>m. pr.</sup>: δύστηνον A<sup>m. sec.</sup> ||  
3 νομίζω S M A: νόμιζε Wilamowitz coll. fr. 142.4, 396.2, 941.3 Kn., Chaerem. *TrGF* I 71 F28 |  
κἄν Pflugk apud Nauck: καὶ S M A | συλᾶν S M A<sup>p. c.</sup>: ἐλᾶν A<sup>a. c.</sup>

**Fr. 13** 2 πηδῶν S M A: πεσῶν vel πίτων Nauck || 3 βροτοῖς om. A || 4 φίλτρον μέγιστον M A:  
μέγιστον φίλτρον μέγιστον S

**Fr. 14** 2 πρέπει M A: βλέπει Jacobs apud Jouan-van Looy: ῥέπει Heath apud Nauck



Fr. 15 (330 Kn., 16 J.-v.L.):

ἔς ταῦτόν ἦκειν φημί τὰς βροτῶν τύχας  
τῷδ' ὄν καλοῦσιν αἰθέρ', οὐ τὰδ' ἔστι δῆ·  
οὔτος θέρους τε λαμπρὸν ἐκλάμπει σέλας,  
χειμῶνά τ' αὖξει συντιθεῖς πυκνὸν νέφος,  
θάλλειν τε καὶ μῆ, ζῆν τε καὶ φθίνειν ποεῖ·  
οὔτω δὲ θνητῶν σπέρμα· τῶν μὲν εὐτυχεῖ  
λαμπρῶ γαλήνη, τῶν δὲ συννέφει πάλιν,  
ζῶσιν τε σὺν κακοῖσιν, οἱ δ' ὄλβου μέτα  
φθίνουσ' ἑτείους προσφερεῖς μεταλλαγαῖς.

5

Fr. 16 (330a Kn., 1 J.-v.L.):

χρησμοφῶδια

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Fr. 15 Stob. 1. 7.8 W.-H. (᾽Ὅτι ἀλόγιστος ἡ φορὰ τῆς τύχης) Εὐριπίδου Δανάης F om. P  
Fr. 16 *Lex. Messanense de iota adscripto* fol. 282<sup>v</sup> 13 ed. Rabe *RhM* 47, 410 χρησμοφῶδος σὺν τῷ ι..  
Σοφοκλῆς Ταντάλωι.(fr. 573 R.) παρ' ὃ ...καὶ χρησμοφῶδια. Εὐριπίδης Δανάηι

Fr. 15 1 τὰς βροτῶν τύχας P: τὰς τῶν βροτῶν τύχας F: ταῖς βροτῶν τύχαις Musgrave, prob.  
Nauck || 2 τῷδ' Blydes, prob. Kannicht: τόνδ' F P, prob. Nauck : τόν θ' Grotius, prob. Jouan-van  
Looy | οὐ non genitivus originis, ut Bothe coniecit ('ex quo mundus genitus'), sed genitivus  
possessivus: ᾗ F P: ὅστις ἐστὶ δῆ Porson (teste Nauck): ὄν πάρεστ' ἰδεῖν Schmidt *Krit. Stud.* II  
465 || 3 ἐκλάμπει F P: ἐκπέμπει Nauck coll. A. Ag. 281 || 6 δὲ Heeren apud Nauck: δῆ FP | σπέρμα  
τῶν Canter apud Nauck: σπερμάτων F P || 6-7 τῶν μὲν...τῶν δὲ F P: τοτὲ μὲν...τοτὲ δὲ Gomperz ||  
9 ἑτείους προσφερεῖς Valckenaer: αἰτίους προσφόροις F P: προσφερώς Wachsmuth: προσφόρως  
Meineke

## COMMENTARY

### T 1:

According to Pollux's testimony, the chorus was female, perhaps consisting of Argive women or maidens sympathetic to Danae's situation (for the sympathy towards Danae possibly expressed by the chorus, cf. fr. 14). Female choruses are also a basic medium for the creation of the image of intimacy within the *oikos*, as women in tragedy have a separate place from the male sphere of activity,<sup>131</sup> not least Danae who has been literally subject to seclusion. What needs to be questioned, however, is the validity of Pollux's statement that Euripides inserted a type of *parabasis*, where he used the chorus as his mouthpiece and accidentally made them refer to themselves in masculine gender. The interpretation of tragic passages as containing the poet's direct address to the audience is common in ancient criticism (cf. schol. *Alc.* 962 Schwartz,<sup>132</sup> Plut. *Mor.* 539B-C) and can be attributed to the commentators' zeal to assign viewpoints expressed by the chorus-leader in the first person singular to the poet himself, in order to accumulate as much biographical detail as possible.<sup>133</sup> This sort of interpretation is thus arbitrary and there is no evidence from the tragic texts to support it (cf. note on fr. 10a).<sup>134</sup> An interestingly parallel case to Pollux's statement is provided by the ancient scholiast of *Hipp.* 1102 (Schwartz), who assigned the masculine participles *κεύθων* (1105) and *λεύσσων* (1107) to the female chorus, thus supposing that they are speaking on behalf of the poet: γυναικες μὲν εἰσιν αἱ τοῦ χοροῦ. μεταφέρει δὲ τὸ πρόσωπον ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ ὁ ποιητῆς καταλιπὼν τὰ χορικὰ πρόσωπα· μετοχαῖς γὰρ ἀρσενικαῖς κέχρηται. Nevertheless, as Bond convincingly argued,<sup>135</sup> the strophe of the ode containing the masculine participles must have been sung by the subsidiary male chorus of Hippolytus' followers prompted by the hero to escort him from his country on 1098f. (ἴτ', ὦ νέοι μοι τῆσδε γῆς ὀμήλικες, / προσείπαθ' ἡμᾶς καὶ προπέμψατε χθονός).

<sup>131</sup> Cf. Easterling (1987) p. 25.

<sup>132</sup> The same phrasing is used to describe the comic *parabasis* in schol. vet. *Ar. Nu.* 518 Holwerda (the poet is thought of as speaking through the *πρόσωπον* of the chorus). Aeschines (i 151) cites Euripidean passages as bearing the poet's own voice for the purposes of his argumentation. Cf. also Ael. Aristides xxviii 97 Keil.

<sup>133</sup> Cf. Bain (1975) pp. 15, 16 and n. 1.

<sup>134</sup> *op.cit.* pp. 14-23.

<sup>135</sup> Cf. Bond (1980) pp. 59-63.

Considering that secondary choruses are often misleadingly designated as *χορός* in the manuscripts (in *Hipp.* 61, *Pha.* 227, *A. Eum.* 1032),<sup>136</sup> the scholiast could have been easily deluded into thinking that the strophe of the ode was sung by the female chorus. Likewise, Pollux or, more likely, his source (perhaps a scholium or biographer)—considering that his work is mainly derivative<sup>137</sup>—might have supposed that the main female chorus referred to themselves using masculine forms as the poet’s mouthpiece, based on a manuscript designating a feasible subsidiary chorus of men as *χορός*.<sup>138</sup> Alternatively, there are cases in tragedy, where a female character refers to herself using the masculine plural, which has generalizing overtones;<sup>139</sup> cf. the chorus-leader in *A. Supp.* 204 and also *S. Ant.* 926, *Tr.* 491, *E. Alc.* 383, *Med.* 315f., *IA* 824. It is thus conceivable that the female chorus-leader of the *Danae* may have referred to herself using the masculine plural, which would explain Pollux’s remark on the use of masculine forms by a female chorus. The reference to Sophocles’ use of the chorus as his mouthpiece in the *Hipponous* could be attributed to the trend of ancient criticism to regard Sophocles and Euripides as overt rivals (cf. for instance, schol. vet. *E. Ph.* 1 Schwartz).<sup>140</sup>

## T2:

This inscription dated at the end of the second/ beginning of the first century BC is likely to be a list of the contents of book-rolls donated to the Library of a Gymnasium in Piraeus presumably by epheboi from various demes of Attica.<sup>141</sup> The remains of the list preserve the titles of twenty plays of Euripides (*Scyrioi*, *Stheneboea*, *Sciron*, *Sisyphus*, *Thyestes*, *Theseus*, *Danae*, *Polyidus*, *Peliades*, *Pleisthenes*, *Palamedes*, *Peleus*, *Protesilaus*, *Philoctetes*, *Phoenix*, *Phrixus*, *Alcmene*, *Alexandros*, *Eurystheus*, *Alcestis*) and, according

<sup>136</sup> Cf. Barrett (1964) p. 167.

<sup>137</sup> Cf. *OCD*<sup>3</sup> s.v. ‘Pollux’.

<sup>138</sup> Cf. Barrett (1964) p. 366.

<sup>139</sup> Cf. Kühner-Gerth (1904<sup>3</sup>) I 83: ‘so tritt an die Stelle der Femininform die Maskulinform, als die allgemeinere Bezeichnung der Persönlichkeit überhaupt’, Langholf (1977) p. 291, Petersmann (1979) p. 148, also Kannicht (2004) on *Ino* fr. 413.4.

<sup>140</sup> Cf. Bain (1975) p. 17 and n. 1. Comparison between Sophocles and Euripides in terms of dramatic technique occurs often in ancient scholia; cf. schol. *S. Ai.* 520 (Christodoulou), schol. *S. OT* 264 (Papageorgius), schol. *S. OC* 220 (De Marco) and Bain (1975) p. 17, n. 2.

<sup>141</sup> Cf. note on *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 2363, Zuntz (1965) p. 251, n. 6, Marrou (1948) p. 259, Tod (1957) p. 139.

to Wilamowitz's estimation, about thirty-one titles appear to have been mentioned,<sup>142</sup> that is, thirty-one out of the seventy-eight surviving Euripidean plays of Aristophanes' edition. It should be noted that this catalogue antedates the earliest attested commentary on the nine plays of Euripides, which was written by Didymus in the second half of the first century BC/ beginning of the first century AD. The nine annotated tragedies were made very prominent and thus given much greater chance for long-term survival. This inscription seems to indicate that some plays, which in the centuries to follow were presumably obtainable mainly among literary circles,<sup>143</sup> were widely read by the beginning of the first century BC. On the basis of our evidence, the appeal of the *Danae* appears to have continued until late antiquity (cf. General Introduction, p. 3f., Reception and Appendix).

### T3:

Roman seated relief-statuettes of Euripides found on Esquiline and kept in Louvre (Richter 1965, I fig. 760-1),<sup>144</sup> tentatively dated in the second century AD.<sup>145</sup> The poet's name is inscribed on the plinth and forty-one titles of his plays (thirty-seven titles with *Alcmeon*, *Autolycus*, *Iphigenia* and *Melanippe* counted twice) are preserved in the background in alphabetic order. At the missing part of the background, there is room for the remaining thirty-seven titles of Euripides' seventy-eight *σωζόμενα* of the Alexandrian edition.<sup>146</sup> To the same era belongs the alphabetic list of the Euripidean corpus in *P.Oxy.* xxvii 2456, from which the eighteen last titles have been preserved. The process of consolidation of the 'selection' (i.e. the nine plays annotated by Didymus) seems to have been gradual, to judge from the number of papyri of 'non-select' plays dating to that era and even later and presumably studied in literary circles<sup>147</sup> and the revivals of such plays till the end of the second century (cf. General Introduction, p. 3 and n. 9). The *Danae* seems to have been

<sup>142</sup> Cf. Wilamowitz (1875) p. 138.

<sup>143</sup> Cf. Zuntz (1965) p. 254f.

<sup>144</sup> Cf. Richter (1959) II p. 21f.

<sup>145</sup> Cf. Kannicht (1996) p. 22, n. 2, Kannicht (2004) I p. 57.

<sup>146</sup> Cf. note on *IG* XIV 1152.

<sup>147</sup> Cf. *Archelaus* (*P.Oxy.* iii 419, second/ third AD), *Cretans* (*P. Berol.* 13217, second century AD), *Hypsipyle* (*P.Oxy.* vi 852, late second/ early third AD), *Cresphontes* (*P.Oxy.* xxvii 2458, third century AD), *Phaethon* (*P. Berol.* 9771, fourth century AD), *Oedipus* (*P.Oxy.* xxvii 2459, fourth century AD), *Captive Melanippe* (*P. Berol.* 5514, fifth century AD).

among those plays obtainable in literary circles, to judge by Lucian's allusion to the context of the situation of *Danae* fr. 7 (*Timon* 41) and the possibility of his inspiration from the play in *D. Mar.* 12 (cf. note on T5). The appeal of the play in late antiquity is suggested also by fr. 1132 Kn. (cf. Appendix and Reception).

#### T 4:

According to John Malalas, Euripides treated the disclosure of Danae's seduction and her exposure in the chest. This brief reference accords with the accounts of Pherecyd. fr. 10 Fowler and [Apollod.] 2. 4.1, and is confirmed by fr. 6 (the revelation of Danae's seduction) and 13 (Danae's plea to be exposed together with her baby-son). Malalas is not usually the most helpful source for the restoration of Euripidean lost plays, firstly because he seems to have had only indirect knowledge of Euripides, possibly deriving his material from Domninos,<sup>148</sup> and secondly in view of his fusion of material from Hellenic, Old Testament, Christian and Antiochene sources. These two factors account for his quite vague (as the present testimonium, which adds nothing to our knowledge of the play) and at times inaccurate references to Euripidean treatments of certain myths (e.g. he mentions that Euripides wrote on the three-eyed Cyclops [5. 18 Thurn] and attributes the content of *Ba.* 28f. to Pentheus rather than Dionysus [2. 15 Thurn]). Malalas' aetiological reasoning often leads him to reject firmly the Euripidean versions mentioned in his work in favour of more rationalizing ones.<sup>149</sup> In the case of the *Danae*, for instance, he juxtaposes Euripides' treatment to Boutios' more truthful version of the story, according to which Picus Zeus — the figure of the ruler as conflated from Hellenic and Eastern sources — lured Danae by offering her much gold (cf. fr. 7 and note *ad loc.* for the interpretation of Danae's seduction by later authors). Likewise, Zeus' transformation into a satyr to seduce Antiope is contrasted to Cephalion's rationalizing narrative (2. 16 Thurn).

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<sup>148</sup> Cf. Bourier (1900) II pp. 58, 61, Jeffreys (1990<sub>b</sub>) pp. 179, 196f.

<sup>149</sup> Cf. Jeffreys (1990<sub>a</sub>) p. 62.

## T5:

This passage transmitted in the fourteenth-century Ms P (Vaticanus Palatinus gr. 287, f<sup>o</sup> 147<sup>v</sup>) as *Υπόθεσις Δανάης* follows the spurious *IA* 1578-1629<sup>150</sup> and precedes the sixty-five lines from the equally spurious ‘*Danae*–prologue’ (fr. 1132 Kn., cf. Appendix).<sup>151</sup> On metrical and linguistic grounds, *IA* 1578-1629 and the spurious fr. 1132 Kn. are dated between the fourth and seventh century.<sup>152</sup> In view of their similarity in technique, West suggested that both pieces could have been composed by the same author and that fr. 1132 Kn. may have been written with the same purpose as the spurious ending of the *Iphigenia in Aulis*, namely as a specially composed supplement aiming to replace the lost beginning of the play by someone who had volumes from an alphabetic collection of Euripides’ plays at his disposal.<sup>153</sup> The implications of this suggestion are dealt with in the relevant discussion (cf. Appendix, Diagnosis of Spuriousness), where the question whether the ‘*Danae*–prologue’ could have been written as an independent composition, perhaps as a rhetorical exercise aiming to imitate a Euripidean opening, is also raised and regarded as worth exploring. *IA* 1570-1629 followed by the *Danae* ‘hypothesis’ and ‘prologue’ were added in P (f<sup>o</sup> 147<sup>r</sup>- 148<sup>r</sup>) by a second hand, aptly identified by Turyn as that of the learned rubricator Ioannes Katrares.<sup>154</sup>

The ‘hypothesis’ (97 words) is clearly much shorter than the narrative papyrus-hypotheses of Euripidean plays, which are estimated to have been written in about the first century BC<sup>155</sup> and amount to 170-200 words. The manuscript hypothesis of the *Alcestis*, which seems to be a synopsis of the original papyrus-hypothesis (partially surviving in *P. Oxy.* 2457, ll. 1-17),<sup>156</sup> also amounts to 90 words. Luppe noted in this account some elements of vocabulary and style, which he suggested that could originate in narrative hypotheses of Euripides’ plays and attempted to reconstruct the original hypothesis on the

<sup>150</sup> Cf. indicatively Page (1934) p. 197, Pohlenz (1954<sup>2</sup>) I p. 459, Lesky (1972<sup>3</sup>) p. 449.

<sup>151</sup> Cf. Elmsley (1811) p. 77 and (1813) p. 432, Jacobs (1834) pp. 607-635, Wünsch (1896) pp. 138-153, Rein (1926) pp. 109-129, Zielinski (1925) pp. 285-304.

<sup>152</sup> Cf. West (1981) p. 75.

<sup>153</sup> *op. cit.* pp. 75, 78, n. 49.

<sup>154</sup> Cf. Turyn (1964) p. 127 and Zuntz (1965) p. 179.

<sup>155</sup> Cf. Zuntz (1955) p. 138f.

<sup>156</sup> Cf. Austin (1968) p. 89, Haslam (1975) p. 152f., Luppe (1982) pp. 14-16.

basis of this narrative.<sup>157</sup> These elements are: the beginning of the ‘hypothesis’ with the name and social position of a central character: Ἀκρίσιος ἄργους ὦν βασιλεὺς (here, however, with participle instead of sentence, and omission of the regular genealogy): cf. hyprr. *Hipp.* (*P. Mil. Vogl.* 2. 44, l. 6f.): Θησεὺς υἱὸς μὲν ἦν Ποσειδῶνος, βασιλεὺς δὲ Ἀθηναίων, *Sitheneboea* (*P. Oxy.* 2455, fr. 5, l. 10f.), *Phrixus A* (*P. Oxy.* 2455, fr. 14. 3, l. 7), κατὰ χρησμὸν: hyp. *IT* (l. 1 Diggle), ἐρασθεὶς: hyp. *Aeolus* (*P. Oxy.* 2457, l. 25), ἐγκύμονα (ἐγκυον originally) ἐποίησεν: hyprr. *Ion* (l. 1 Diggle), *Scyrioi* (*PSI* 1286, l. 47f.), *Melanippe the Wise* (*P. Oxy.* 2455, fr. 2, l. 7), κελεύει (ἐκέλευσε originally): hyprr. *Med.* (*P. IFAO inv.* P.S.P. 248, l. 12), *Ba.* (l. 9 Diggle), *Veiled Hippolytus* (*P. Mich.* 6222 A, l. 30), κατελεήσασαι (ἐλεήσασαι originally): hyp. *Ph.* (*P. Oxy.* 2455, fr. 17.4, l. 15), τὸ γεγονός: hyprr. *Hec.* (l. 14 Diggle), *Ba.* (l. 14 Diggle).

Nevertheless, there is a serious issue to be tackled before accepting Luppe’s reconstruction. The Nereids of the ‘hypothesis’ are found also in Lucian’s *D. Mar.* 12, where Doris and Thetis rescue Danae and Perseus by pushing the chest into the nets of Seriphian fishermen. On this basis, Kannicht expressed his reservation as to the provenance of ‘hyp.’ *Danae* from the original narrative hypothesis of the play, also in view of certain common stylistic elements between this narrative and Lucian’s dialogue, which could suggest that ‘hyp.’ *Danae* derived from Lucian.<sup>158</sup> The dialogue runs as follows:

ΔΩΡΙΣ Τί δακρύεις, ὦ Θέτι;

ΘΕΤΙΣ Καλλίστην, ὦ Δωρί, κόρην εἶδον ἐς κιβωτὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐμβληθεῖσαν, αὐτὴν τε καὶ βρέφος αὐτῆς ἀρτιγέννητον· ἐκέλευσεν δὲ ὁ πατήρ τοὺς ναύτας ἀναλαμβάνοντας τὸ κιβώτιον, ἐπειδὴν πολὺ τῆς γῆς ἀποσπάσωσιν, ἀφείναι εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν, ὡς ἀπόλοιτο ἢ ἀθλία, καὶ αὐτὴ καὶ τὸ βρέφος.

ΔΩΡΙΣ Τίνος ἔνεκα, ὦ ἀδελφή; εἶπέ, εἴ τι ἔμαθες ἀκριβῶς.

ΘΕΤΙΣ Ἄπαντα. ὁ γὰρ Ἀκρίσιος ὁ πατήρ αὐτῆς καλλίστην οὔσαν ἐπαρθένευεν ἐς χαλκοῦν τινα θάλαμον ἐμβαλὼν· εἶτα, εἰ μὲν ἀληθὲς οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν, φασὶ δ’ οὖν τὸν Δία χρυσοῦν γενόμενον ῥύῆναι διὰ τοῦ ὀρόφου ἐπ’ αὐτὴν, δεξαμένην δὲ ἐκείνην ἐς τὸν κόλπον καταρρέοντα τὸν θεὸν ἐγκύμονα γενέσθαι. τοῦτο αἰσθόμενος ὁ πατήρ, ἄγριός τις καὶ ζηλότυπος γέρων, ἠγανάκτησε καὶ ὑπὸ τινος μεμοιχεῦσθαι οἰηθεὶς αὐτὴν ἐμβάλλει εἰς τὴν κιβωτὸν ἄρτι τετοκυῖαν.

ΔΩΡΙΣ Ἡ δὲ τί ἔπραττεν, ὦ Θέτι, ὁπότε καθίετο;

ΘΕΤΙΣ Ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς μὲν ἐσίγα, ὦ Δωρί, καὶ ἔφερε τὴν καταδικην. τὸ βρέφος δὲ παρητεῖτο μὴ ἀποθανεῖν δακρύουσα καὶ τῷ πάππῳ δεικνύουσα αὐτό, κάλλιστον ὄν· τὸ δὲ ὑπ’ ἀγνοίας τῶν κακῶν ὑπεμειδία πρὸς τὴν θάλασσαν. ὑποπίπλαμαι αὐθις τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς δακρῶν μνημονεύσασα αὐτῶν.

<sup>157</sup> Luppe (1991) pp. 2-7.

<sup>158</sup> Kannicht (1992) p. 33f.



ΔΩΡΙΣ Κάμῃ δακρῦσαι ἐποίησας. ἀλλ' ἤδη τεθνήασιν;  
 ΘΕΤΙΣ Οὐδαμῶς· νήχεται γὰρ ἔτι ἡ κιβωτὸς ἀμφὶ τὴν Σέριφον ζῶντας αὐτοὺς  
 φυλάττουσα.  
 ΔΩΡΙΣ Τί οὖν οὐχὶ σφίζομεν αὐτοὺς τοῖς ἀλιεῦσι τούτοις ἐμβαλοῦσαι ἐς τὰ δίκτυα  
 τοῖς Σεριφίοις; οἱ δὲ ἀνασπάσαντες σώσουσι δῆλον ὅτι.  
 ΘΕΤΙΣ Εἰδὲ λέγεις, οὕτω ποιῶμεν· μὴ γὰρ ἀπολέσθω μήτε αὐτὴ μήτε τὸ παιδίον οὕτως  
 ὄν καλόν.

As regards the thematic resemblance between Lucian's dialogue and 'hyp.' *Danae*, it can be argued that Euripides was very popular in the second sophistic<sup>159</sup> and evidently the second most quoted poet after Homer in Lucian's work.<sup>160</sup> The latter regularly cites and alludes to Euripides<sup>161</sup> and in certain cases he even makes unassigned references to lines or scenes from Euripidean drama, probably assuming that they are easily recognizable by his readers (cf. *Med.* 340 in *Cat.* 8, *Ph.* 18f. in *J. Conf.* 13, *Ph.* 359f. in *Bis Acc.* 21, *Danae* fr. 7 in *Gall.* 14 and *Tim.* 41 on the power of gold). Lucian's knowledge of Euripides does not seem to be indirect and merely based on the narrative hypotheses, which were popular in that era. He apparently had access also to plays outside the 'selection';<sup>162</sup> his unassigned citation of *Danae* fr. 7.1 in *Tim.* 41 and allusion to the context of the situation (i.e. the power of gold over love, as alleged also in fr. 8, 9) may suggest that he knew the play directly and not through intermediary sources. In this direction points also his description of Danae's plea for her child's life to Acrisius in this *Marine Dialogue*, which recalls *Danae* fr. 13 (for the possible context, cf. note *ad loc.*). It is thus conceivable that Lucian may have been inspired in this dialogue by the epilogue of the *Danae*, where it could have been foretold that mother and child would be rescued—supposedly by the Nereids.<sup>163</sup> Even so, he cannot be regarded as reproducing Euripides faithfully, given his known literary creativity and the possibility that multiple sources could have been conflated in his account.

Hence, in terms of the thematic coincidence between the 'hypothesis' and *D. Mar.* 12, the latter might have found its point of departure in the Euripidean play. As regards the similarity in phrasing, the common stylistic elements are the following: (1) καλλίστην

<sup>159</sup> Cf. Householder (1941) pp. 44, 59.

<sup>160</sup> *op.cit.* p. 41.

<sup>161</sup> Overt expressions of Lucian's fondness of Euripides: *Nec.* 1. 25- 2. 1, *J. Tr.* 1. 20, *Pseud.* 32. Cf. Householder (1941) p. 13f., Bompaire (1958) pp. 621-630, 643f., Camerotto (1998) pp. 29-36, 148-156, 277, 287f., 292-294, Helm (1906) pp. 56, 136f., 298, 324f., 343, Jones (1986) p. 151.

<sup>162</sup> Cf. General Introduction, p. 3 and n. 9 and 10. For a list of these references, cf. Householder (1941) p. 14. 'Non-select' plays were still studied and performed in Lucian's era; cf. Luc. *De Salt.* 27, Philostr. *Vit. Apoll.* 7.5 and Zuntz (1965) p. 254f.

<sup>163</sup> For this possibility, cf. Rein (1926) pp. 115-129.



οὔσαν,<sup>164</sup> (2) χρυσὸς γενόμενος, (3) ἐγκύμονα, (4) the asyndeta τοῦτο μαθῶν ('hyp.' *Danae*) and τοῦτο αἰσθόμενος (*D. Mar.* 12),<sup>165</sup> (5) εἰς κιβωτὸν ἐνέβαλε ('hyp.' *Danae*), ἐμβάλλει εἰς τὴν κιβωτὸν (*D. Mar.* 12), (6) ἐμβάλλουσι εἰς δίκτυα Σεριφίων ἀλιέων ('hyp.' *Danae*), τοῖς ἀλιεῦσι ἐμβαλοῦσαι ἐς τὰ δίκτυα τοῖς Σεριφίοις (*D. Mar.* 12),<sup>166</sup> (7) κελεύει ῥίπτειν κατὰ τὴν θάλατταν ('hyp.' *Danae*), ἐκέλευσεν δὲ ὁ πατὴρ τοὺς ναύτας . . . ἀφείναι εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν (*D. Mar.* 12). Of these, (2), (3 with ἔγκυον instead of the later ἐγκύμονα), (5), (6) and (7) could go back to the original narrative hypothesis, on which Lucian supposedly might have drawn, as suggested by Luppe.<sup>167</sup> However, the phrase καλλίστην οὔσαν in Lucian and 'hyp.' *Danae* (instead of the fixed phrase of mythographic hypotheses κάλλει διαφέρουσιν<sup>168</sup>) and the asyndeton τοῦτο μαθῶν (completely alien from the style of the hypotheses, instead of the possible phrase μαθῶν δὲ τὰ γεγενημένα<sup>169</sup>), which resembles the asyndeton τοῦτο αἰσθόμενος of *D. Mar.* 12, cannot have derived from the original hypothesis.<sup>170</sup> It is rather improbable that Lucian had read 'hyp.' *Danae*, if we suppose that this is a synopsis of the original hypothesis, firstly because there is not even one case of abridged narrative hypothesis from the bulk of the surviving papyrus-hypotheses, which date from the first to the third century AD, and secondly because hypotheses are rather unlikely to have become liable for abbreviation and modification before being prefixed to the corresponding dramatic texts<sup>171</sup> (the earliest case of prefatory material transmitted with the dramatic text is the metrical hypothesis, didascalia and *personarum index* of the *Dyscolus* in the Bodmer papyrus of Menander dated in late third century AD<sup>172</sup>). It would also be very unusual for Lucian to imitate a source *verbatim* in this way.

A survey of the '*Danae*-prologue' (the spurious fr. 1132 Kn., cf. Appendix) brings to light its relation to both 'hyp.' *Danae* and Lucian's *D. Mar.* 12. The 'prologue' accords with the 'hypothesis' in terms of the oracle given to Acrisius (ll. 7-18), which is absent

<sup>164</sup> Cf. Kannicht (1992) p. 33f., Rein (1926) p. 127, n. 1.

<sup>165</sup> Cf. Kannicht (1992) p. 33f.

<sup>166</sup> Cf. Rein (1926) p. 125, Zielinski (1925) p. 298.

<sup>167</sup> Luppe (1993) p. 66.

<sup>168</sup> Cf. hyp. *Hipp.* (*P. Mil. Vogl.* 2. 44, col. i, l. 9f.), *Melanippe Sophe* (*P. Oxy.* 2455, fr. 2, l. 3f.), *Auge* (*P. Colon.* 264, l. 5f.) and Luppe (1991) p. 3.

<sup>169</sup> Cf. Luppe (1991) p. 4.

<sup>170</sup> So Kannicht (1992) p. 33f.

<sup>171</sup> Cf. Barrett (1965) p. 62f., who found it highly unlikely that full and abbreviated versions of narrative hypotheses were circulating side by side in the second century AD.

<sup>172</sup> Cf. Turner (1958) p. 9 and n. 1.

from *D. Mar.* 12, and Danae's seclusion *ἐν παρθενώσι* (ll. 22-24), which is not specified as the widely attested bronze chamber. Certain linguistic similarities are also worth noting: 'prologue' l. 39: *ἐγκατάκλειστον* and 'hyp.' l. 3: *κατάκλειστον*,<sup>173</sup> 'prologue' l. 39: *μαθὼν πατήρ* and 'hyp.' l. 8: *τοῦτο μαθὼν Ἀκρίσιος*. For the wide use of Lucian in fr. 1132 Kn., cf. Appendix, The Sources. Hence, both the 'hypothesis' and the 'prologue' are congruent with Lucian's treatments of Danae's legend and, at the same time, congruent with each other. Whether Lucian was inspired by Euripides' *Danae*, as Rein suggested,<sup>174</sup> is ultimately unprovable, though, apart from the points made above in favour of this possibility, the fact that the author of a composition aiming to imitate a Euripidean opening on the Danae-myth (fr. 1132 Kn.) has chosen to widely consult Lucian might also point in this direction.

As to the provenance, purpose and worth of 'hyp.' *Danae*, I can see the following possibilities:

(i) if West's suggestion is taken into account and the 'prologue' (fr. 1132 Kn.) was written as a supplement of the lost beginning of the *Danae*, its author would have presumably drawn on Lucian and might have also supposedly consulted the original narrative hypothesis of the *Danae*. Subsequently, according to Luppe,<sup>175</sup> he might have used Lucian to epitomize the hypothesis of the play to what survives today as 'hyp.' *Danae* and prefixed it to the text of the *Danae*, in accordance with the trend of adding prefatory material before dramatic texts. Such a possibility may account for the instances of common phrasing in 'hyp.' *Danae* and *D. Mar.* 12. Still, it raises two crucial questions: firstly, why would one use another text to create a synopsis, instead of directly reducing the original? And secondly, why would a full hypothesis of the play be changed to an epitome, which is completely uninformative of the plot and refers to the myth in general<sup>176</sup> (the sole new piece of information is the reference to the Nereids, for which one could well argue that it may have derived from Lucian). By contrast, the manuscript hyp. *Alcestis* already mentioned, albeit a synopsis of the original papyrus-hypothesis, is informative of the peculiarities of the Euripidean plot.

<sup>173</sup> Cf. Rein (1926) p. 126.

<sup>174</sup> Rein (1926) pp. 115-129.

<sup>175</sup> Luppe (1993) p. 67.

<sup>176</sup> Cf. Kannicht (1992) p. 34, Jouan and van Looy (2000) p. 58.

(ii) The ‘hypothesis’ may have been written by the author of the ‘prologue’ as prefatory material to the text of the *Danae*, again in the light of West’s argument that fr. 1132 Kn. was a specially composed supplement; this person seems to have been well-learned on Euripides and the myth of Danae and evidently consulted Lucian to write his ‘prologue’, which would explain Lucian’s echoes on the ‘hypothesis’, as well. It is also worth bearing in mind that the fixed stylistic features of the hypotheses observed by Luppe would be easily imitable for someone who had read a number of narrative hypotheses, not least for someone who could imitate a Euripidean opening. This likelihood could account for all the similarities between the ‘hypothesis’ and the ‘prologue’ and the former and Luc. *D. Mar.* 12.

(iii) If the spurious fr. 1132 Kn. was written as a rhetorical exercise, which may seem likelier than the argument for a specially composed supplement (for the shortcomings of the latter, cf. Appendix, Diagnosis of Spuriousness), then the present narrative may have been a school exercise as well, perhaps a *διήγημα* possibly written by the same person, in view of the similarities between the ‘hypothesis’ and the ‘prologue’ observed above. Among the *Progymnasmata* of rhetorical schools, *διηγήματα* was a particular kind of exercise in composition, aiming to briefly retell a mythological story sometimes popular from epics or drama (cf. [Hermog.] *Prog.* 2. 12f., Quint. *Inst.* 2.4).<sup>177</sup> Purpose of this kind of composition was to introduce students to the technique of *narratio* of a judicial speech, by teaching them to write in clarity and briefly state the acting person and those involved, the action, place, manner and cause of events,<sup>178</sup> which are features also found in the narrative in question. A brief account of this type inspired by the myth of Danae occurs in Lib. *Prog.* 2. 41. Likewise, Lib. *Prog.* 2. 15, which is of comparable length with the present account, is a retelling of the story of Alcestis with no allusion to a dramatic production (cf. on the other hand, the manuscript synopsis of hyp. *Alc.* already mentioned).<sup>179</sup> The author of our narrative, which shares the features of *διηγήματα* noted above and does not hint at a dramatic plot either, seems to have drawn material from Lucian, as emerges from the resemblance of style and theme. As in the case of the ‘prologue’ (cf. Appendix, The Sources), he may have additionally consulted other mythical sources, since the reference to

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<sup>177</sup> Cf. Webb (2001) pp. 294-299, Kennedy (1994) pp. 202-204, Schouler (1984) 169-79.

<sup>178</sup> Cf. Clark (1957) pp. 183-186.

<sup>179</sup> For further examples of *διηγήματα*, cf. Ziebarth (1913) No 40, Beudel (1911) p. 58f.

the oracle does not originate in Lucian. Considering that hypotheses of books of Homer and drama seem to have been used for educational purposes (cf. Plut. *Mor.* 14E)<sup>180</sup> and perhaps for rhetorical exercises in particular,<sup>181</sup> it is possible that in this process the author could have also used the original narrative hypothesis of the *Danae* directly or through an intermediary source, which would account for the stylistic similarities observed by Luppe. Nevertheless, in view of the loss of the original hypothesis and relevant evidence from the play (which might have referred, for instance, to the intervention of the Nereids), what can only be diagnosed with probability is the relation of the transmitted account and of the ‘prologue’ with Lucian, whereas it cannot be firmly proved that Lucian goes back to Euripides. Even if the original hypothesis was consulted for the writing of this narrative, the author does not seem to have aimed to reproduce the Euripidean plot, which would account for the loss of dramatic information; this would suggest, in turn, that the present narrative cannot assist in the recovery of the peculiarities of the plot of the *Danae*.

An equally important question concerns the *index personarum* transmitted with the ‘hypothesis’; it is worth noting that not even one surviving narrative hypothesis of Euripidean plays is followed by a catalogue of *dramatis personae*, therefore, this index is very unlikely to have belonged to the original hypothesis. A further shortcoming of the transmitted index is that for the main part of the plot—leaving aside Hermes as prologue-speaker and Athena as *dea ex machina*—only four dramatic characters are mentioned (Acrisius, Danae, Nurse, Messenger) plus the chorus. Such a short number of main characters is unparalleled<sup>182</sup> and raises serious doubts about the authenticity of the index. It thus seems quite likely that this list of *dramatis personae* is a later addition.

To assess the weight of the index, it may be worth exploring hypothetically the implications of West’s assumption that fr. 1132 Kn. could have been a specially composed supplement of the lost opening of the *Danae* by someone who had volumes from an alphabetic collection of Euripides’ plays, including the *Danae*, at his disposal;<sup>183</sup> the *index personarum* might have then been added by the author of fr. 1132 Kn., supposedly on the

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<sup>180</sup> Cf. Marrou (1948) p. 229, van Rossum (1998) p. 73.

<sup>181</sup> Cf. for instance, *P. Vindob. G.* 19766 (hyp. *Autolycus I*, second century AD), *P. Mich.* Inv. 1319 (hyp. *Temnidae*, third/ fourth century AD), *P. Oxy.* 420 (third century AD) and van Rossum (1998) p. 15 and n. 39, p. 31, Zuntz (1955) p. 141, n. 5, p. 142 and n. 1.

<sup>182</sup> In Euripides’ extant plays, the minimum number of dramatic characters excluding gods is six (cf. *Alcestis*, *Electra* and *Ion*).

<sup>183</sup> Cf. West (1981) p. 78, n. 49.

basis of the remaining text of the Euripidean *Danae*. The possibility that more leaves of the volume containing the *Danae* might have been lost may account for characters which remained unknown to the author of the catalogue and thus for the shortness of the index. Still, the inclusion of Hermes in the index remains a problem: if the false prologue was composed as substitute for the lost prologue of the play, how did the author of fr. 1132 Kn. know the prologue-speaker? Unless he knew the speaker from a source lost by now (e.g. by a lost argument of Aristophanes of Byzantium mentioning the name of the *προλογίζων*), it is reasonable to suppose that he may have invented him, perhaps based on Luc. *D. Deor.* 4. 2, on the god's mythographically attested involvement in Perseus' adventures (cf. *Dramatis Personae*) and perhaps also on Hermes' delivery of the prologue-speech in the *Ion* with reference to a similar situation (cf. Appendix, The Sources). Hermes as prologue-speaker is thus uncertain. Athena's role as *dea ex machina* could have been known to the author, presumably if he had access to either the epilogue of the *Danae* or the original mythographic hypothesis of the play (referring to the *deus ex machina*, cf. hypp. *Hipp., Andr., Or., Ba.*). Even if he had not, Athena would easily occur to someone for this role, in view of her involvement in Perseus' exploits (cf. *Dramatis Personae*) and again perhaps in view of her closing role in the *Ion*. A messenger is required to report the off-stage event of the exposure of the chest with Danae and Perseus (cf. *Dramatis Personae*). Danae and Acrisius are the obvious characters of the play and the Nurse (the usual 'accomplice' in such plots) would be expected to have a role as well. On the whole, it should be noted that the catalogue of dramatic characters looks like a combination of learning and common sense—and not necessarily the outcome of one's direct access to the play—which might imply that the characters mentioned may have well been inferred, even if the author of the index did not have the play available, that is, even if fr. 1132 Kn. was not meant to be a supplement, but rather an independent composition, such as a rhetorical exercise (cf. Appendix, Diagnosis of Spuriousness). The fact that the 'hypothesis', '*personarum index*' and 'prologue' have been added in Ms P by the hand of Ioannes Katrares may deserve attention; this rubricator (i) has in several cases added prefatory material in Ms P (e.g. the *personarum index* of the *Electra* and the hypothesis of the *Helen*, which could be of his own composition<sup>184</sup>), presumably since it was intended for the book-trade, which, in turn,

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<sup>184</sup> Cf. Zuntz (1965) p. 139.

required that every play in this manuscript was provided with this standard kind of material<sup>185</sup> and (ii) has copied in Esc. Φ-II-19, f. 91<sup>v</sup> another dramatic pastiche on a fictitious theme amounting to 35 lines and preceded by a list of dramatic characters with no obvious function, since what follows is only a monologue;<sup>186</sup> it may be assumed that Katrares prefixed this index of characters to the pastiche in the Escorialensis, perhaps on the basis of his familiarity with the arrangement of prefatory material in dramatic manuscripts (cf. also Appendix, Diagnosis of Spuriousness). In this light, it is conceivable that having the spurious fr. 1132 Kn. and the relevant narrative transmitted to us as ‘hypothesis’ (which may have been independent compositions, such as rhetorical exercises) at his disposal, Katrares might have (a) entitled the present account as “Υπόθεσις”, prefixing it to the tragic pastiche of fr. 1132 Kn. and (b) invented and inserted a list of anticipated characters in a *Danae* play (fr. 1132 Kn. already provided Hermes as prologue-speaker and presented also Acrisius) to suit the arrangement of prefatory material in Ms P.

#### T6:

In this scene of the *Samia*, wealthy Demeas is trying to calm down his poor neighbour Niceratus, who has just found out that his unmarried daughter has born a child to the former’s stepson. He refers to Danae’s impregnation by Zeus transformed into golden shower that dropped through the roof of her chamber, as told by tragic actors. This theme was treated by Sophocles in his *Acrisius* and *Danae* and by Euripides in his own *Danae* and the reference to a tragic performance known to Demeas and Niceratus seems to point to the revival of a tragedy on Danae in Menander’s time.<sup>187</sup>

Demeas draws a parallel between the tragic example and the particular situation of the comic play; his use of the diminutive *χρυσίον* (here ‘money’<sup>188</sup> rather than an everyday word for ‘gold’) instead of *χρυσός*, in association with Niceratus’ poverty, which is

<sup>185</sup> Cf. Zuntz (1965) pp. 138, 141-143.

<sup>186</sup> Cf. De Andrés, Irigoien and Hörandner (1974) p. 205.

<sup>187</sup> Cf. Gomme and Sandbach (1973) p. 612, Bain (1983) p. 126.

<sup>188</sup> For the ironic use of the word, cf. van Leeuwen (1919<sup>3</sup>) p. 237, Austin (1970) p. 92. Menander often uses the diminutive *χρυσίον* denoting ‘money’ (rather than ‘gold’); cf. *Aspis* 239, *Dis Exapaton* 27, 52, 55, 60, 94, *Kolax* 126.

particularly stressed in this context by means of his leaking roof,<sup>189</sup> implies that Niceratus would certainly benefit from his daughter's marriage to Demeas' rich son.<sup>190</sup> **Fr. 7-10** of Euripides' *Danae* assert the power of gold over love and it thus seems quite likely that this is the tragic play, to which Demeas is alluding in l. 3,<sup>191</sup> given also the notoriety and wide citation of **fr. 7** (cf. note *ad loc.*), as well as the large number of fourth-century revivals of Euripidean plays.<sup>192</sup> Hence, Demeas is using his experience as tragic spectator to accredit his case, like Syriscus in *Epitr.* 325-333, who is referring to the story of Neleus and Pelias as performed on tragic stage,<sup>193</sup> and Onesimus in *Epitr.* 1123-1126, citing E. *Auge* fr. 265a Kn. as a piece of proverbial wisdom applying to the circumstances of that play.<sup>194</sup>

#### Fr. 1:

The first person plural (*ἡμεῖς*) identifying the speaker with female *dolos* clearly points to a female character. The notion of plotting as a feature of women *par excellence* is emphasized in this fragment and could point to an intrigue set up by Danae to protect infant Perseus from his grandfather presumably early in the play (for her possible stratagem to deceive Acrisius, cf. notes on **fr. 2-4** and Structure). Plotting with such a purpose recurs in Euripidean plays thematically affiliated to the *Danae* (*Melanippe the Wise*, *Alope*, *Auge* and partly *Aeolus*, for detail, cf. Structure). Taking these parallel cases into consideration, this fragment could be located in a deliberation-scene between Danae and her nurse (cf. *Andr.* 56-90 and the parallel scene possibly between Auge and her nurse in *Auge* fr. 271 b Kn.). The confidence of the statement pointing to the speaker's experience might tell in favour of the nurse as speaker of these lines rather than Danae (cf. similarly *Hipp.* 480f., and for the nurse's skill in ruse, cf. *Stheneboea* fr. 661. 10-14 Kn.). Alternatively, these trimeters may have been the closing lines of the narrative prologue (perhaps likelier to have been

<sup>189</sup> Cf. Blume (1974) p. 238, n. 106, Lamagna (1998) p. 593.

<sup>190</sup> Cf. Offermann (1978) p. 152f.

<sup>191</sup> Cf. Dedoussi (1965) p. 74, Reinhardt (1974) p. 168, n. 4.

<sup>192</sup> Cf. *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 2320 attesting that revivals only of Euripidean tragedies were produced for three successive years (341-339 BC). For the popularity of Euripides in the fourth century, cf. Xanthakis-Karamanos (1980) pp. 28-34.

<sup>193</sup> *Tyro* plays were written by Sophocles, Astydamos and Carcinus II; the allusion here might involve one of the two Sophoclean *Tyro* plays, which were evidently more prominent.

<sup>194</sup> Cf. Hurst (1990) pp. 106-113, Zagazi (1994) p. 55f., Webster (1960<sup>2</sup>) p. 155f.

delivered by the nurse rather than Danae, cf. Structure), following the reference to the stratagem to protect Perseus. In this case, the first person would not be an inclusive reference to two participants in a dialogue, but simply to women as a sex. For the closure of the opening monologue with a *gnome*, cf. *Alc.* 75f., *Med.* 48, *Su.* 40f. (and Collard 1975<sub>a</sub> *ad loc.*), *HF* 57-59, *Tr.* 95-97, *Or.* 70.

1-2: Men are born for fighting and outdoor activities; cf. indicatively X. *Oec.* 7.23, *A. Ch.* 918, *Ar. Lys.* 626f., *Med.* 248 (and Mastronarde 2002 *ad loc.*), 263f. and Just (1989) p. 157, Dover (1974) p. 97, Garland (1990) p. 199f. The strict definition of roles, which imposed outdoor life for men and seclusion and domestic life for women, may account for the particular features and attributes of each gender. Women are generally regarded as the resourceful sex; cf. *Med.* 407-409, *Hipp.* 480f., 670, *Andr.* 85 (and Lloyd 1994 and Stevens 1971 *ad loc.*), 911, *IT* 1032, *Ion* 843f. (and Lee 1997, p. 255), 985, *Hel.* 1621, *Ba.* 487, *Cressae* fr. 464 Kn., *Alope* fr. 108 Kn., *Auge* fr. 271a Kn., *A. Ag.* 1636, *Ar. Eccl.* 238, *Lys.* 12, *Th.* 290, 435 (and Ehrenberg 1943, pp. 201-203). Euripides tends to reflect on female insecurity and social impotence, which leads women to plotting as the sole means of subverting the dominant power of the superior; the lines from *Hec.* 883-885 (cf. Gregory 1999, p. 150) are expressive of the same notion as our fragment: καὶ πῶς γυναιξὶν ἀρσένων ἔσται κράτος;/ δεινὸν τὸ πλῆθος σὺν δόλωι τε δύσμαχον./ δεινόν· τὸ μέντοι θῆλυ μέμφομαι σθένος. Cf. also the vindictive plots of Medea, Electra and Creusa and the defensive stratagems of Iphigenia, Helen, Melanippe and Auge. Cf. Buxton (1982) p. 64, Zeitlin (1990) pp. 79-84, Just (1989) p. 196, Heath (1987) p. 160, Dover (1974) p. 100.

ἦν γάρ: the Imperfect of *εἰμί* is generally accompanied by *ἄρα* to denote that a common fact or truth has just been recognized (a colloquialism, cf. Stevens 1976, p. 62f. and Denniston 1954<sup>2</sup> p. 36f. and note on *Dictys* fr. 4. 4). This seems to be the case here as well, since the speaker recognizes the authority of the proverb as corresponding to her own situation. The absence of *ἄρα*, however, raised suspicions that the text could be corrupt. In order to include it in the line, Meineke proposed *ἦν ἄρα τις αἴνος*, which is unsuitable on metrical grounds, since this particular resolution-type (first-foot dactyl) does not appear in Euripides' plays of 'severe style',<sup>195</sup> among which the *Danae* has been classified (cf. Date). A structure that occurs to me, in order to fit *ἄρα* into this line in accordance with metre and

<sup>195</sup> Cf. Ceadel (1941) p. 71 and Devine and Stephens (1980) p. 67f.



style, presupposes transposition of words: *αἰνός τις ἦν ἄρ'*, . . . (for the word-order, cf. *Tr.* 412: οὐδέν τι κρείσσω τῶν τὸ μηδέν ἦν ἄρα, *Alcmeon in Corinth* fr. 75 Kn.: ὦ παῖ Κρέοντος, ὡς ἀληθὲς ἦν ἄρα, *IT* 369: Ἔαιδης Ἀχιλλεὺς ἦν ἄρ', οὐχ ὁ Πηλέως, *Alexandros* fr. 54 Kn.: κακόν τι παιδεύμ' ἦν ἄρ' εἰς εὐανδρίαν). Nevertheless, ἄρα may not be indispensable; it is absent in *Ion* 184-189, where the imperfect of *εἰμί* also occurs in the same sense (cf. Lee 1997, p. 179): οὐκ ἐν ταῖς ζαθέαις Ἀθά-/ ναις εὐκίονες ἦσαν ἀν-/ λαί θεῶν μόνον οὐδ' ἄγυι-/ ἀτιδες θεραπείαι. ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ Λοξίαι/ τῶι Λατοῦς διδύμων προσώ-/ πων καλλιβλέφαρον φῶς. Hence, our line may not necessarily be corrupt and *γάρ* could be used as confirmatory (cf. Denniston 1954<sup>2</sup>, p. 58), following the speaker's possible reference to the stratagem. The occurrence of the second *γάρ* in l. 3 is not an obstacle, since the accumulation of *γάρ* is not rare in tragedy; cf. for instance, fr. 3, *El.* 368f., *IT* 1325, *Hel.* 1430, *S. Ai.* 20, 215, *OT* 317 and Denniston *loc. cit.* On balance, since the reading of the manuscripts can be accepted in stylistic and metrical terms, I would incline towards favouring the manuscript tradition.

*αἶνος*: here 'proverb'; cf. *Dictys* fr. 17, *Melanippe the Wise* fr. 508 Kn.: παλαιὸς αἶνος, Moschion *TrGF* 97 F8: ἦν ἄρα τρανὸς αἶνος ἀνθρώπων ὅδε, Theoc. 14. 43 (and Gow 1952 *ad loc.*): αἶνός θην λέγεται τις, Call. fr. 178. 9 Pf.: αἶνος Ὀμηρικός, for references to proverbial wisdom, cf. also Pi. *N.* 9.6: ἔστι δέ τις λόγος ἀνθρώπων, A. *Ag.* 264: ὥσπερ ἡ παροιμία, 750f.: παλαίφατος δ' ἐν βροτοῖς γέρον λόγος/ τέτυκται, S. *Tr.* 1 (and Davies 1991<sub>a</sub>, p. 55f.): λόγος μὲν ἐστ' ἀρχαῖος ἀνθρώπων φανείς, E. *Bellerophon* fr. 285.1 Kn.: ἐγὼ τὸ μὲν δὴ πανταχοῦ θρυλούμενον κράτιστον/ εἶναι φημι μὴ φῦναι βροτῶ, *Stheneboea* fr. 668 Kn. (and Collard, Cropp and Lee 1995 *ad loc.*), Eriphus *Aeolus* fr. 1 K.-A., Cratin. *Deliades* fr. 28 K.-A.: ἦν ἄρ' ἀληθὴς ὁ λόγος, *Pylaia* fr. 182 K.-A. The exploitation of maxims is a rhetorical manner of establishing one's position by assuming an old-age authority; cf. Ar. *Rh.* 1395a. 10-12: χρῆσθαι δὲ δεῖ καὶ ταῖς τεθρυλημέναις καὶ κοιναῖς γνώμαις, ἐὰν ὄσι χρήσιμοι· διὰ γὰρ τὸ εἶναι κοιναί, ὡς ὁμολογούντων πάντων, ὀρθῶς ἔχειν δοκοῦσιν.

The meaning of *αἶνος* as 'proverb' evidently originates in its sense as 'an allusive tale containing an ulterior purpose' (see Verdenius 1962, p. 389); cf. for instance, Hes. *Op.* 202-212 (and Puelma 1972, pp. 87-109, Pucci 1977, pp. 62-76), Archil. fr. 174, 185 W., Call. fr. 194 Pf. and Alden (2000) pp. 30-37, Nagy (1979) pp. 237-240. Related is the sense

of ‘riddle’ (‘to speak allegorically, in covert terms’, cf. indicatively Hdt. 5. 56, S. *Ph.* 1380).

**τέχνηαι:** ‘art, skill, craft, cunning’, here clearly the meaning of ‘deceit/ intrigue’, in combination with *δόλοισιν*, for the same sense, cf. indicatively *Alc.* 34, *Med.* 322, *Hipp.* 670, 680, *IT* 24, 89, 1032, *Ion* 692, 1279, *Ar. Eq.* 63, *Th.* 430, *Pl.* 160.

**2 λόγχη εὔστοχώτεροι:** ‘more accurate with spear’; cf. *Ph.* 140: *λόγχαις εὔστοχώτατοι*, for *λόγχη* connoting *βία* as opposed to *σοφία*, cf. also *Or.* 712.

**3-4:** the speaker uses an *adynaton* evidently to stress the gnome of ll. 1-2 more vividly; cf. Manzo (1988) p. 177 and Canter (1930) p. 32f. The idea of the superiority of mental over physical capabilities occurs in broader terms in *Or.* 709-713, *Bellerophon* fr. 289-291 Kn., *Antiope* fr. 199 Kn. (and Kambitsis 1972 *ad loc.*), [A.] *Pr.* 212f., S. *Ai.* 1250-1252.

**τὸ νικητήριον:** as substantive it denotes ‘the prize of victory’; cf. for instance *Alc.* 1028, *Tr.* 963, S. *Salmones Satyricus* fr. 537 R., *Ar. Eq.* 1253, Eubulus *Agkylion* fr. 3 K.-A., X. *Cyr.* 8. 3.33.

**4 ἡμεῖς:** the speaker, the addressee and women in general.

**τυραννίδα:** ‘absolute power’; the use of the *adynaton* as regards female dominance of men entails that it is the latter who have absolute power over women; this idea is strongly expressed in fr. 5 (cf. note *ad loc.*). For the range of connotations of *τύραννος*, cf. note on *Dictys* fr. 5.

## Fr. 2:

This fragment contains a priamel (cf. note on ll. 1-7) stressing the delight felt by someone yearning for a child (l. 6: *πόθῳ δεδηγμένοις*) at the sight of a newborn (l. 7). Likewise, fr. 3 is spoken by an evidently old man (cf. l. 1f.), who is asserting the pleasures of parenthood and fr. 4 comments on the significance of male children for the preservation of the *oikos* (fr. 5 seems to reply to fr. 4). Acrisius’ yearning for a male offspring is widely attested in mythography (cf. particularly Pherecyd. fr. 10 Fowler and [Apollod.] 2. 4.1) and he thus seems to be the likeliest speaker of the present fragment, expressing his enthusiasm at the

sight of a newborn child.<sup>196</sup> Though we cannot absolutely dismiss the slight possibility that the play introduced another character, whose situation in some way resembled that of Acrisius, on present evidence it is difficult to assume that the old man of **fr. 3** (cf. also Luc. *D. Mar.* 12 describing him as γέρον) expressing the same joy and possibly also the speaker of the thematically relevant **fr. 4** could be someone other than Acrisius. In our effort to roughly reconstruct the context, we should bear in mind that Danae probably tried to protect her baby-son from his grandfather, perhaps in view of the oracle saying that Acrisius would be killed by his grandson (cf. note on **fr. 16**) and also because of her illicit pregnancy (cf. Structure, for the similar efforts of Melanippe, Auge, Canace and Alope to protect their illegitimate offspring from their fathers). The reference to the newborn (**fr. 2. 7**) is far too specific to belong to the context of a general wish<sup>197</sup> and could point to infant Perseus, while the *καὶ νῦν* in **fr. 3. 1** hints to a particular fact, due to which the old man is praising parenthood and advising other men not to delay begetting children. In addition, **fr. 2-5** occupying nineteen lines in total are evidently excessive for the expression of a general hope, while the technique of priamel moving from the general to the specific also points to a particular situation. Acrisius' affection towards the baby Perseus can only be explained if we assume that he is ignorant of its identity. It is thus conceivable that the baby may have been introduced to him under false pretences, namely as coming from a mother other than Danae. The lines uttered possibly by Acrisius in **fr. 3** (and **fr. 4**, which appears to continue the thoughts expressed in **fr. 3**) seem to suggest that he has just begotten a male offspring. Hence, on the basis of the evidence examined so far, it is conceivable —if ultimately unprovable—that Perseus might have been presented to Acrisius as a solution to his lack of a male descendant (namely as his own child or as an adopted one).<sup>198</sup> In Menander's *Samia* a baby is cunningly introduced to his grandfather as his own son; given Menander's trend to exploit Euripidean patterns by remodelling them to fit his own dramatic purposes,<sup>199</sup> if this situation in the *Samia* originated in the supposedly similar

<sup>196</sup> Cf. Webster (1967) p. 95, Jouan and van Looy (2000) p. 59, Kannicht (2004) *ad loc.*

<sup>197</sup> Webster (1967, p. 95) and Aélion (1986, p. 154) regarded **fr. 2, 3** and **4** as merely expressive of Acrisius' wish for a son.

<sup>198</sup> Cf. Jouan and van Looy (2000) p. 59f. and Hartung (1843-1844) I pp. 88-90.

<sup>199</sup> Cf. for instance, his probable reception of the general situation from E. *Auge* and of the arbitration-scene from E. *Alope* in the *Epitrepontes* (for the latter, cf. *Epitr.* 218-375), as well as of the messenger-speech from E. *Or.* 866-956 in *Sic.* 176-271; cf. Handley (1970) p. 22f., Hunter (1985) pp. 129f., 134f., Katsouris (1975) pp. 29-54, 147-150, Porter (2000) p. 158f., Arnott (1968) p. 10f. In a forthcoming paper, I observe certain

circumstances of Euripides' *Danae*, the allusion to the *Danae* in T6 might further point to the comic poet's hypothetical debt to the Euripidean pattern.<sup>200</sup>

The speaker (i.e. possibly Acrisius) is addressing a female character, as evident from the vocative *γύναι*, which in tragedy denotes 'lady', 'wife', and also occurs as address to nurses (in *Med.* 136, *Hipp.* 267, 656). Danae is unlikely to have been the addressee, as she is a maiden and would have probably been called *παῖ* (cf. *Heracl.* 484, *Hec.* 172, 194, 513, *Ph.* 154, S. *OC* 188, 322, 330), *τέκνον* (cf. *Heracl.* 539, 556, *Hec.* 172, 175, 180, *Tr.* 256, 345, 349, *Ph.* 139, 193, *IA* 638, 649, S. *Ant.* 855, *OC* 9, 81, 327, 845, 1102) or *θύγατερ* (cf. *Hec.* 334, 382, 415, 439, *Ph.* 1272, 1280, 1683, *IA* 665, 1117, S. *OC* 170, 225, 398). On the other hand, *γύναι* is a husband's most common address to his wife (cf. *Alc.* 386, *Hipp.* 827, 841, *HF* 530, *Hel.* 779, *IA* 725, S. *Ai.* 685, *OT* 700, 726, 755, 767, 800). Though the nurse cannot be completely excluded as addressee, Acrisius is much likelier to have expressed his personal feelings of enthusiasm to his wife, if she had a role in the play,<sup>201</sup> rather than the nurse.

1-7: A typical case of priamel, i.e. accumulation of parallel statements (*illustrantia*), which through contrast or comparison lead up to the idea with which the speaker is primarily concerned (*illustrandum*); cf. Fraenkel (1950) II, p. 407, n. 3. In priamels it is the notion of amplification (αὐξησις) that dominates, by which the superiority (ὑπεροχή) of the *illustrandum* is highlighted; cf. Arist. *Rh.* 1368a. 21-29 (and Cope and Sandys 1877, I p. 186). This is the case of a Contrast-Priamel (for this type of priamel, cf. particularly Krischer 1974, pp. 81-87 and Schmid 1964, pp. 51-66). The Contrast-Priamel in E. fr. inc. 1059. 1-4 Kn. follows the same structure (*anaphora*, connection of parallel examples with *μέν-δέ* and the use of *ἀλλά* to signal the climax, cf. also Kurtz 1985, p. 167f.): δεινὴ μὲν ἀλκὴ κυμάτων θαλασσιῶν,/ δεινὰ δὲ ποταμῶν καὶ πυρὸς θερμοῦ πνοαί,/ δεινὸν δὲ πενία, δεινὰ δ' ἄλλα μυρία,/ ἀλλ' οὐδὲν οὕτω δεινὸν ὡς γυνὴ κακόν. Cf. the Contrast-Priamel in fr. 6 (and note *ad loc.*). We have numerous cases of priamel in Greek literature; cf. *Il.* 6. 450-455, *Od.* 11. 416-420, 24. 87-92, Hes. *Op.* 435f. (and West 1978 *ad loc.*), Sol. fr. 9 W.,

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structural and thematic patterns from Euripides' *Alcmeon in Corinth*, which recur in Menander's *Periceiomene*.

<sup>200</sup>Cf. Jouan and van Looy (2000) p. 59f. Likewise, the quotation of *Auge* fr. 265a Kn. in *Epitr.* 1123-1126 may be Menander's acknowledgement of his debt to the Euripidean play, of which he seems to have borrowed the general situation; cf. Hunter (1985) p. 135f.

<sup>201</sup> Webster (1967, p. 95), Mette (1982, p. 109) and Kannicht (2004, I p. 372) regard Acrisius' wife as addressee.

Sappho fr. 16. 1-4 L.-P. (and Tzamali, pp. 131-133), Pi. O. 1. 1. ff. (and Gerber 1982, pp. 3-7), 3. 42-44, N. 7. 1-8 (and Carey 1981, p. 139), 8. 37-39, I. 1. 47-51 (and Privitera 1982, p. 150, for Pindar's technique of priamel, cf. particularly Dornseiff 1921, pp. 98-102), Bacchyl. 3. 85 (and Maehler 1997, p. 56, Carey 1977-78, pp. 69-71), A. Ag. 899-902 (and Fraenkel 1950 *ad loc.*), Ch. 585ff. (and Garvie 1986, p. 202), E. Hec. 1181f., *Supp.* 267ff. (and Collard 1975<sub>1</sub>, p. 178), HF 101-104, 860-863, A.P. 5. 169, 9. 363. Cf. also Friis Johansen (1959) pp. 34-49 and Kröhling (1935) pp. 32-34 and for further examples, Race (1982) pp. 31-113.

The present Priamel focuses on the idea of prosperity and beauty, as introduced by the *illustrantia* (sunlight, calmness of sea, *the locus amoenus*, cf. below), reaching its climax with the *illustrandum* (the radiance of a new-born child and the happiness it brings).

1 **καλόν**: van Herwerden's emendation of the transmitted reading *φίλον*, in view of the constant occurrence of *καλόν* in ll. 2, 4 and 5. A case of *anaphora*, which frequently occurs in priamels; cf. fr. 6, *Hipp.* 530-532, *Ba.* 902-911 (and Dodds 1960<sup>2</sup> *ad loc.*), fr. inc. 1059. 1-4 Kn., *Il.* 9. 378-391, 13. 729-734, 14. 315-328, 394-401, Tyrtaeus fr. 12. 1-14 W., Alcman fr. 1. 64-77, S. *Tr.* 1058-1063 (and Davies 1991<sub>a</sub>, p. 239f.). Professor C. Carey draws my attention to passages such as *Alc.* 722: φίλον τὸ φέγγος τοῦτο τοῦ θεοῦ, φίλον, also *Tr.* 1157: λυπρὸν θέαμα κοῦ φίλον λεύσσειν ἐμοί, *Andromeda* fr. 122. 20f. Kn.: οὐ γὰρ ἔτ' ἄθανάταν φλόγα λεύσσειν/ ἔστιν ἐμοί φίλον, ὡς ἐκρεμάσθην, by recollection of which the reading *φίλον* may have replaced *καλόν*. This is one of many instances in Greek literature of answers to the question what is *τὸ κάλλιστον* or *τὸ ἥδιστον*, from the many examples cited by Fraenkel (1950, II p. 407f.), cf. indicatively Thgn. 255f., Bacch. *Epin.* 4. 18-20, E. *Heracl.* 892-896 (and Wilkins 1993, p. 170), Ar. *Pax* 1140, *Av.* 785.

**φέγγος ἡλίου τόδε**: *τόδε* implies that the speaker may be pointing to the sun. Sunlight often connotes joy, brightness and prosperity, as in A. Ag. 1577, *Danaides* fr. 43 R., S. *Ant.* 100 (and Griffith 1999 *ad loc.*), E. *Supp.* 650, 990 (and Collard 1975<sub>a</sub> *ad loc.*), *El.* 586 (and Denniston 1939 *ad loc.*). Cf. Pi. fr. 52k M., where the disappearance of the sun is taken as a sign of danger. Sunlight is one of the *illustrantia* also in the priamel in Pi. O. 1.5. The reference to sunshine could also be related to the *locus amoenus* of l. 3 (for sunlight as a standard feature in this kind of imagery, cf. indicatively Thesleff 1981, p. 32).

2 πόντου χεῦμα: 'stream, flow'; cf. *Andromeda* fr. 124 Kn. (and Klimek-Winter 1993 *ad loc.*): ὑπέρ τε πόντου χεῦμα, *El.* 152: ποταμίους παρὰ χεύμασιν, *Ph.* 793: Ἴσμηνοῦ τ' ἐπὶ χεύμασι, *Hel.* 1304: ποτάμιόν τε χεῦμα, *IA* 166: Εὐρίπου διὰ χευμάτων, *A. Supp.* 1028: λιπαροῖς χεύμασι, *Prometheus Lyomenos* fr. 192 R.: ἱερόν/ χεῦμα θαλάσσης. For nautical imagery in Euripides, cf. Lesky (1947) pp. 226-230, 246-250, Barlow (1971) pp. 97f., 118f. and Elliger (1975) pp. 260-262.

ιδεῖν: cf. its repetition in ll. 5 and 7. It occurs regularly in priamels focusing on what is τὸ κάλλιστον or τὸ ἡδιστον (cf. note on l. 1); cf. *Heracl.* 895f.: τερπνὸν δέ τι καὶ φίλων/ ἄρ' εὐτυχίαν ιδέσθαι, *A. Ag.* 900: κάλλιστον ἤμαρ εἰσιδεῖν ἐκ χείματος, *Asclepiades A.P.* 5. 169.1f.: ἡδὺ θέρους διψῶντι χιῶν ποτόν, ἡδὺ δὲ ναύταις / ἐκ χειμῶνος ιδεῖν εἰαρινὸν Στέφανον, *Lucr.* 2. 1-7 and Fraenkel (1950) II p. 408.

εὐήνεμον: 'serene, calm' (cf. *Andr.* 749, *A. Ag.* 740, *S. El.* 899, *Theoc.* 28. 5), as opposed to κλύδων, which indicates crisis. The phrase is apparently used in literary, as well as metaphorical terms, connoting prosperity. The opposite metaphor of a 'sea of troubles' is popular in poetry; cf. *Med.* 362, *Hipp.* 824, *Andr.* 748f., *Supp.* 824, *Tr.* 696, *Ion* 927 (and Lee 1997, p. 265), *Ph.* 859, also *Il.* 9. 4, 14. 16, *Sol.* fr. 13. 17-25 W., *A. Th.* 758-761, *Pers.* 433, *Ch.* 202, [A.] *Pr.* 1015, *S. Ant.* 586-590 (and Griffith 1999 *ad loc.*), *Tr.* 112-119, *OC* 1239 (and Kamerbeek 1984, p. 175), also van Nes (1963) pp. 34-45.

3 γῆ τ' ἠρινὸν θάλλουσα: the idea of growth presented here is very relevant to the context of birth; cf. *fr.* 15. 5: θάλλειν τε καὶ μῆ, ζῆν τε καὶ φθίνειν ποεῖ, *Ba.* 1186f.: γέννον ὑπὸ κόρουθ' ἀπαλότριχα/ κατάκομον θάλλει, *IA* 1225: ζῶσάν τε καὶ θάλλουσαν, *fr. inc.* 898. 13 Kn.: δι' ὧν βρότειον ζῆ τε καὶ θάλλει γένος. Here, as traditionally, the *locus amoenus* is depicted as well-watered (cf. *πλούσιον ὕδωρ*); cf. similarly *Cyc.* 44-46, *Hipp.* 73-78, 209-211, *IA* 420-423, 1294-1299, also *Hes. Op.* 582-596, *Sappho* fr. 2. 5f. L.-P., *Ibyc.* S 286. 1-7 Davies, the long description of the land of Colonus in *S. OC* 671-691 (and McDevitt 1972, pp. 230, 232-234), *Ezechiel* 248-253, *Theoc. Id.* 1. 1-3, 7f., 13. 40-43, *Longus* 2. 3, *Ach. Tat.* 1. 1.3- 1. 1.5. The imagery of this kind of landscape alludes to beauty and to a dream world of human sensual pleasures. Cf. Thesleff (1981) pp. 31-45 (and p. 31, n. 2 for relevant bibliography), Elliger (1975) pp. 248-251, 259f., Parry (1957) pp. 7-29, Nicolson (1951) pp. 9-21. For further references to blooming land in Euripides, cf. *Hel.* 1485, *Ba.* 866f., *Temenidae* fr. 740 Kn., *Hypsipyle* fr. 754 Kn., also *h. Hom. Cer.* 401f., *Pi.* fr. 129 M.

**πλούσιον ὕδωρ**: Pace Meineke (who suggested *ποτάμιον ὕδωρ*) and Kurtz (1985, p. 166), I can see no particular reason why the reading *πλούσιον* may need emendation: it occurs here in the sense of ‘ample, abundant’ (*LSJ*<sup>9</sup>), as in A.R. fr. 2 Powell: *πλουσίω Νείλου*, cf. also E. *Hel.* 295f.: *πρὸς πλουσίαν/ τράπεζαν ἕζουσ’*, *Tr.* 1249: *πλουσίω κτερισμάτων*, *Or.* 394: *ὁ δαίμων δ’ ἐς ἐμὲ πλούσιος κακῶν*. Water in abundance is a blessing, considering its life-sustaining qualities, and fits the context of fertility and family growth; cf. *Hipp.* 121-128, *Archelaus* fr. 228. 2: *κάλλιστον ἐκ γαίας ὕδωρ*, also *Il.* 14. 246, *Pi. O.* 11. 2f., *Hdt.* 7. 16, *Pl. Euthyd.* 304b. 3f., *Schol. vet. Pi. O.* 1. 1d-1e (Drachmann) and Rudhardt (1971) p. 117. Owing to its vital role, water often appears among *illustrantia* in priamels; cf. *Pi. O.* 1. 1 (and Instone 1996 *ad loc.*), 3. 42, *Bacchyl.* 3. 85ff.

**5 ἀλλ’**: the use of *ἀλλά* in priamels serves to dismiss the foil and signal the climax; cf. for instance, *Pi. I.* 1. 1-13 (and Bundy 1962, I p. 22, n. 50, II p. 36 and n. 3), *S. Tr.* 503 (and Davies 1991<sub>a</sub> *ad loc.*), E. fr. inc. 1059 *Kn.* and Race (1982) p. 14, n. 39.

**λαμπρὸν**: literally ‘bright, radiant’ and metaphorically ‘joyous, splendid’. Here, it is used both literally alluding to *φέγγος ἡλίου* (l. 1) and metaphorically, referring to the *illustrandum*, i.e. the splendid sight of the newborn (l. 7). Cf. the similar phrasing in *Ar. Pl.* 144: *εἴ τί γ’ ἐστὶ λαμπρὸν καὶ καλὸν*, also *Pi. P.* 8. 97, *A. Ch.* 810, *S. El.* 1130, *OT* 81, *E. Supp.* 608. .

**6 ἄκαιοι**: For the significance of having children, cf. note on fr. 4. 3-4 (for male children) and on *Dictys* fr. 2. 6.

**πόθῳ δεδηγμένοις**: ‘bitten by yearning (for children)’. Cf. *Rh.* 596: *λύπηι καρδίαν δεδηγμένοι*, *Lyc.* 954: *συμποραῖς δεδηγμένος*, also *Heracl.* 483, *Hipp.* 1314, *El.* 242, *HF* 94, *IA* 385, *A. Pers.* 846, *S. Ai.* 1119, *Ph.* 1358, *Ar. Ach.* 1. The same notion occurs in *Med.* 714f.: *ἔρωσ παίδων*, *Ion* 67: *ἔρωτι παίδων*, 1227: *παίδων εἰς ἔρον*, *Archelaus* fr. 228b. 21 *Kn.*: *τέκνων ἔρωτι*.

**7 παίδων νεογνῶν φάος**: I agree with Friis-Johansen (1959, p. 42f., n. 81) and Prof. Kannicht (2004, I p. 372) that the reading of the manuscript-tradition should be kept, firstly because light is frequently used as metaphor for a long-desired and precious person (and in more general terms, for deliverance and happiness); to *HF* 531: *ὦ φάος μολῶν πατρὶ* and *Ion* 1439 (cf. Lee 1997 *ad loc.*): *ὦ τέκνον, ὦ φῶς μητρὶ κρεῖσσον ἡλίου*, which are cited by Kannicht *ad loc.*, I would add *IT* 848f. (with reference to Orestes): *μοι συνομαίμονα τόνδε*

δόμοις/ ἐξεθρέψω φάος, A. *Ch.* 131: φίλον τ' Ὀρέστην φῶς ἄναψον ἐν δόμοις, S. *El.* 1224 (to Orestes): ὦ φίλτατον φῶς, and as early as *Od.* 16. 23: ἦλθες, Τηλέμαχε, γλυκερὸν φάος. Cf. also Lossau (1994) pp. 89-92. Moreover, the reference to the φάος of the newborn corresponds with the φέγγος of the sun in l. 1; this is the case of an effective ring-composition based on imagery of light.

### Fr. 3:

The speaker of these lines is evidently an old man (cf. l. 1: πᾶσι τοῖς νεωτέροις, l. 2: πρὸς τὸ γῆρας, l. 4: πρεσβύτης ἀνὴρ). So far as our evidence goes, it is difficult to suppose that this old man is someone other than Acrisius (Lucian in *D. Mar.* 12.1 also describes him as old).<sup>202</sup> The phrase *καὶ νῦν* seems to allude to a particular event, which leads Acrisius to praise parenthood (and more precisely, the merits of begetting a male offspring, since he already has a daughter, cf. l. 6: συννεάζων ἠδὲ παῖς νέω πατρί for the relationship of fathers with their sons, even more explicitly in **fr. 4** and for Acrisius' desire for a son, cf. also Pherecyd. fr. 10 Fowler and [Apollod.] 2. 4.1) As very tentatively observed in the introductory note on **fr. 2** (taking also **fr. 3** and **4** into account), Acrisius might be regarding baby Perseus as the solution to his lack of a male descendant, in ignorance of its true identity.<sup>203</sup> His reference to marriage at an old age in our fragment (l. 2 and the *parenthesis* in l. 3f.) may not necessarily reflect his own situation (though if it does, it would bear implications as to whether his wife in the play—and presumably the addressee of **fr. 2**— is Eurydice, Danae's mother, or he has re-married or has a *pallake*, like Amyntor in the *Phoenix*); it appears more like an incidental detail, to judge also by the *parenthesis*, which serves as clarification in passing. Moreover, it is worth bearing in mind that Euripidean rhetoric often moves beyond the limits of the immediate situation; cf. *Med.* 230-251 (and Page 1938, p. 89, Mastronarde 2002 *ad loc.*), where Medea identifies herself with the chorus as to the nature of female misfortune, though not all the examples, which she gives, apply to her own situation. Cf. on a larger scale, the generalizing discourses in *Hipp.*

<sup>202</sup> Cf. Kannicht (2004) *ad loc.*

<sup>203</sup> Cf. Jouan and van Looy (2000) p. 59f.



375-387 (and Barrett 1964, p. 275, Schadewaldt 1966, pp. 119, 122f.), *Hec.* 592-602 and Conacher (1981) pp. 9-17, 22-25. Likewise, our speaker may be pointing out the general fact that having children at an old age—which is his preoccupation—usually results from getting married late, thus referring to a norm, in order to substantiate his position.

**2 τὸς γάμους ποιουμένους:** Nauck suggested *ἀναβολὰς ποιουμένους* referring to Men. *Thesaurus* fr. 176. 8 K.-A.: οἱ δ' εἰς τὸ γῆρας ἀναβολὰς ποιούμενοι. His conjecture is consistent with metre, as resolutions of the third *longum* occur frequently in Euripides' early plays (cf. Cropp and Fick 1985, p. 29f., Devine and Stephens 1980, p. 66, Ceadel 1941, p. 72f.). Nevertheless, there is no compelling reason why the manuscript reading should be questioned. Moreover, the word *ἀναβολὰς* creates tautology with *σχολῆ* (l. 3: 'tardily'), while *μὴ πρὸς τὸ γῆρας τοὺς γάμους ποιουμένους* is clearly explained by the *parenthesis* in l. 3f. (why one should not get married at an old age: οὐ γὰρ ἡδονή/ γυναικί δ' ἐχθρὸν χρῆμα πρεσβύτης ἀνήρ), which looked redundant with Nauck's conjecture.

**4 γυναικί δ' ἐχθρὸν χρῆμα πρεσβύτης ἀνήρ:** Jouan and van Looy deleted this line, as it seemed redundant on the basis of Nauck's conjecture on l. 2 (cf. note *ad loc.*). As argued above, however, the *parenthesis* (in ll. 3-4) aptly serves to explain the shortcomings of marriage at an old age (l. 2: *μὴ πρὸς τὸ γῆρας τοὺς γάμους ποιουμένους*) and should thus be preserved. The same idea occurs in *Phoenix* fr. 807 Kp.: πικρὸν νέα γυναικί πρεσβύτης ἀνήρ, fr. 804 Kp., *Aeolus* fr. 23 Kp.: ἀλλ' ἢ τὸ γῆρας τὴν Κύπριν χαίρειν ἔα,/ ἢ τ' Ἀφροδίτη τοῖς γέροντιν ἄχθεται. Cf. also Thgn. 457-460: οὐ τοι σύμφορον ἔστι γυνὴ νέα ἀνδρὶ γέροντι./ οὐ γὰρ πηδαλίω πείθεται ὡς ἄκατος,/ οὐδ' ἄγκυραι ἔχουσιν· ἀπορρήξασα δὲ δεσμά/ πολλάκις ἐκ νυκτῶν ἄλλον ἔχει λιμένα (parodied in Theophilus' *Neoptolemus* fr. 6 K.-A.).

Old age entails physical debilitation and disfigurement; in Greek consciousness to become old was to become ugly and physically undesirable. Traditional epithets for old age occur as early as Homer: cf. *στυγερόν* ('hateful', *Il.* 19. 316), *λυγρόν* ('miserable', *Il.* 10. 79, 18. 434, 23. 644), *χαλεπόν* ('harsh', *Il.* 8. 103, 23. 623, *Od.* 11. 196). In Hes. *Th.* 211-225 *Γῆρας*, the personification of old age, is mentioned in the same context with other antisocial monstrosities. As in the present case, distress over aging often acquires an erotic focus; cf. for instance, *h. Hom. Ven.* 218-238, *Mimn.* fr. 1, 4, 5 W., *Sappho* fr. 58 L.-P., *Thgn.* 1131, *Crates* fr. inc. 18 K.-A., *A.P.* 11. 51. Cf. on the other hand, the comic chorus of elders in Ar.

V. 1077, 1090 asserting their manliness (and Hubbard 1989, pp. 100, 104f.). Cf. also Bertman (1989) pp. 159-169 and Garland (1990) p. 252f.

5 ἐκτροφαί: ‘upbringing’; particularly from fourth-century literature onwards (cf. Arist. *De Mundo* 399a. 28, *HA* 542a. 30, Men. *Phasma* 85, Plut. *Mor.* 496E 10). The v. ἐκτρέφω, however, occurs earlier; cf. Hdt. 1. 122, A. *Ch.* 759, S. *El.* 13, *OT* 827, E. *Supp.* 1222, Ar. *Nu.* 796.

6: συννεάζων: ‘to be young with another’ (*LSJ*<sup>9</sup>); this is the sole occurrence of the verb in its compound form with σύν before the fourth century AD (cf. Philostr. *VS* 2. 21.2, Alciphr. *Ep.* 4. 18.3), while in its simple form it occurs in *Ph.* 713, 1619, also A. *Supp.* 105, *Ag.* 764, S. *Tr.* 144, *OC* 374. For the idea expressed in this line, cf. particularly Men. fr. inc. 831 K.-A.: ὡς ἦδὺ πρῶτος καὶ νεάζων τῷ τρόπῳ/ πατήρ. In Menander, however, the focalizer is the son, while in Euripides it is the father, which reflects the emphasis throughout the fragment on the parent’s benefits and joy. *Hδύ* nicely balances *ἡδονή* in l. 3; pleasure is to have children while still young.

#### Fr. 4:

These lines asserting the significance of a male offspring for one’s *oikos* seem to be related to **fr. 2** and **3** (praising parenthood, particularly the birth of a son, for Acrisius’ desire for a son, cf. Pherecyd. fr. 10 Fowler and [Apollocl.] 2. 4.1, cf. also introductory note on **fr. 3**) and could have been uttered by the same person, i.e. Acrisius,<sup>204</sup> who might be regarding baby Perseus as a solution to his lack of a male heir, ignorant of its identity (cf. Structure and introductory notes on **fr. 2** and **3**). This passage offers an interesting insight into Euripides’ rhetorical ability to approach the same issue from different perspectives depending on the situation, in which his characters find themselves;<sup>205</sup> while in Medea’s monologue (*Med.* 230-251, cf. similarly Procne’s rhesis in S. *Tereus* fr. 583 R.) the maiden’s transition from her natal to the marital *oikos* is described as a traumatic experience from the female perspective, the same process is viewed here from the male point of view in pragmatic rather than emotional terms.

<sup>204</sup> Cf. Kannicht (2004) *ad loc.*, Jouan and van Looy (2000) pp. 58, 60 and Hartung (1843-1844) 190.

<sup>205</sup> Cf. Dale (1969) pp. 149, 152f.

1 γυνή γάρ: this reading is transmitted in Stob. 4. 22g. 148, whereas Stob. 4. 24c. 34 reads γυνή μέν. Though the latter is wholly acceptable in terms of syntax, it renders the passage more self-contained and thus more suitable for anthologies, unlike γάρ, which tends to be replaced in anthology excerpts, where possible, in view of its links with the context of the passage; cf. West (1973) p. 18 citing two excerpts from Solon (fr. 6.3, 15.1 W.) in Theognis 153, 315, where τοι has substituted γάρ, in order to make the quotations self-contained. Hence, on the basis of the principle *utrum in alterum abiturum erat*, γάρ seems likelier to be the original reading of the present fragment, introducing the speaker's explanation of his preference of male to female offspring.

2 οὐ τῶν τεκόντων ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ τοῦ λέχου: a maiden's *kyrios* (i.e. the man responsible for her legal representation and her general welfare) was her father until she was given to marriage, from which point onwards she would be under the tutelage of her husband (cf. Is. iii 2.3, where the husband acts as his wife's *kyrios*, and MacDowell 1978, p. 84f., Erdmann 1934, pp. 267-276, Foley 1981, p. 129f.). Nevertheless, it seems that in certain cases a girl's bonds with her native family were not completely cut off; according to the law of the *epiclerate* (established by Solon, cf. Plut. *Sol.* 20. 2-3), in the absence of a male heir, one's *oikos* could be perpetuated through a daughter, the 'epicleros', who even if already married, could be claimed in marriage by her father's nearest relative, in order to produce a son, who would become the *kyrios* of her father's *oikos* (cf. Is. iii 64, x 19 and Harrison 1968, II pp. 132-138, Todd 1993, p. 230f., Cox 1998, pp. 94-99). In addition, the father had the moral authority to dissolve his daughter's marriage (whether his authority was also legally established is unclear; cf. D. xli 4, Men. *Epitr.* 655-724, P. *Didot* fr. adesp. 1000 K.-A. and Scafuro 1997, pp. 307-309, Harrison 1968, II pp. 30-32, Just 1989, p. 74f.). The ending of a marriage would entail return of the woman's dowry, which according to the *engye* does not belong to the husband, but its purpose is to procure for her sons a share in the estate of their maternal family (cf. Wolff 1944, pp. 48-50, 61f. and Foxhall 1989, p. 37f.).

The strictly patrilinear type of succession, to which the speaker refers, was a typical feature of marriage-law in fifth-century Athens. In Heroic Greece, however, to which Danae's legend belongs, the matrilinear pattern of succession (i.e. transmission of inheritance and kingship through the female line by marriage to the king's daughter) was

very common (cf. particularly Finkelberg 1991, pp. 304-316, also Leduc 1991, pp. 274-280, for the occurrence of both patterns in Homer, cf. Finley 1955, p. 172, Pomeroy 1975, p. 19f.). Oblique anachronistic references mainly in terms of culture, politics and technical achievements tend to recur in tragedy; cf. indicatively the allusion to the Athenian democratic institutions in *A. Supp.* 601, 604, 942f. and *E. Supp.* 404-408 and Easterling (1985) pp. 2-10, Lowe (1988) p. 41f., Walcot (1976) pp. 95-102. Cf. also note on fr. 9. 4.

On the basis of our evidence, the ambiguous position of women between their natal and marital *oikos* seems to have been an issue in fifth-century Athens and is a recurring theme especially in Euripidean drama; Euadne (*Supp.* 1034-1071), Laodameia (in *E. Protesilaus*, as attested in *Hyg. fabb.* 103, 104, *Schol. Eust. Il.* 2. 701 van der Valk, [Apollod.] *Ep.* 3. 30) and possibly Alpheisiboea (if the plot of *E. Alcmeon in Psophis* is reflected in [Apollod.] 3. 7.5f.) clash with their natal families for their husbands' sake (cf. Seaford 1990a, pp. 151-156, 165f. and Blundell 1995, p. 118f.). Cf. also *Men. Epitir.* 714-724 and fr. adesp. 1000 K.-A. On the other hand, Procne's speech in *S. Tereus* fr. 583. 6-12 R. is expressive of the maiden's sorrow at her departure from the paternal household: ὅταν δ' ἐς ἡβην ἐξικώμεθ' ἔμφρονες,/ ὠθούμεθ' ἔξω καὶ διεμπολώμεθα/ θεῶν πατρῶων τῶν τε φυσάντων ἄπο,/ αἱ μὲν ξένους πρὸς ἄνδρας, αἱ δὲ βαρβάρους,/ αἱ δ' εἰς ἀγηθῆ δώμαθ', αἱ δ' ἐπίρροθα./ καὶ ταῦτ', ἐπειδὴν εὐφρόνη ζεύξη μία,/ χρεῶν ἐπαινεῖν καὶ δοκεῖν καλῶς ἔχειν. Cf. *S. Tr.* 141-152, *E. Med.* 232-245 and also *Andr.* 147-153 (on Hermione's attachment to her father's *oikos* rather than her husband's).

3-4: a male offspring ensures the perpetuation of his father's *oikos* by inheriting the paternal estate and undertaking the task of keeping the domestic cult and tending the family graves (cf. note *ad loc.*). According to a law introduced by Solon, a man without any sons could make a will disposing of his property to an adopted heir (*Is.* ii 10, 13, 46f., cf. Rubinstein 1993, pp. 68-76, underlining that on the basis of the sources, the need to perpetuate the *oikos* and its cults are the driving force in adoption, also Harrison 1968, II pp. 82-96 and Garland 1998, p. 66). Cf. *IT* 57: στῦλοι γὰρ οἴκων παῖδες εἰσιν ἄρσενες, 697f., 984f., *A. Ag.* 896-898 (and Fraenkel 1950 *ad loc.*): λέγοιμ' ἂν ἄνδρα τόνδε τῶν σταθμῶν κῦνα,/ σωτήρα ναὸς πρότονον, ὑψηλῆς στέγης/ στῦλον ποδήρη, μονογενὲς τέκνον πατρί, *IA* 1394 (and Stockert 1992, p. 589): εἷς γ' ἄνηρ κρείσσων γυναικῶν μυρίων ὄραν φάος, *Ar. Th.* 564f., *Eccl.* 549, also *Ar. Th.* 502-516 (for one's yearning for a son, and

Blundell 1998, pp. 41-44) and *Od.* 11. 538-540, 24. 514f. (for a father's pride in his son and Strauss 1993, pp. 73-75). Female offspring, on the other hand, were unwelcome (cf. *Men. Dysc.* 19-21, *Alieis* fr. 22 K.-A., *Anepsioi* fr. 58 K.-A., *Diphilus* fr. inc. 134 K.-A.) and often exposed (cf. indicatively *Posidippus Hermaphroditus* fr. 11 K.-A., *P.Oxy.* IV 744 and Golden 1990, p. 94f., Cantarella 1987, p. 43f.). Affection for daughters is less frequently expressed; cf. *Supp.* 1101-1103, *S. OT* 1474, 1522, *OC* 1108-1122.

4 θεῶν πατρῶων καὶ τάφων: succession from father to son involved not only material inheritance, but also the primary duty of preserving the *sacra* of the house, that is, domestic religion and the observances in honour of the dead ancestors (ἀγχιστεία ἱερῶν καὶ ὀσίων); cf. *Is.* ii 46, vi 47, iv 19, *D.* xxxix 35, xliii 51, 65 and Harrison (1968) I pp. 123, 130 and n. 2 and 3. Aristotle (*Ath. Pol.* 55. 2-3) refers to the scrutiny of candidates for the higher magistracies in Athens as to whether they have in their households altars of Ζεὺς Ἐρκεῖος and Ἀπόλλων Πατρῶος and where their family-tombs are, which indicates that these criteria served as proof of Athenian citizenship (cf. *D.* lvii 66 and Sjövall 1931, pp. 30f., 35). *Zeus Herkeios* was regarded as protecting blood-ties and the authority of the head of the household as early as Homer (cf. *Il.* 11. 771-775, *Od.* 22. 335, *Hdt.* 6. 68, *S. Ant.* 487 and Jebb 1900<sup>3</sup>, p. 96, Griffith 1999, p. 350, *E. Tr.* 17, schol. Pl. *Euthyd.* 302d Greene, Harpocration s.v. ἔρκειος Ζεύς p. 134 Dindorff and Nilsson 1940, p. 66f., Burkert 1985, p. 255, Vernant 1980, p. 97). In Pherecydes' account of Danae's legend (fr. 10 Fowler, cf. the *Myth*, p. 10), it is at the altar of *Zeus Herkeios*, where Acrisius adjures Danae to reveal who seduced her, appealing to their kinship and to his own authority over her as head of the household. The domestic cult of *Apollo Patrōos* became public in Athens towards the end of the fifth century and was closely associated with the organization of phratries in the fourth century (cf. *Plut. Alc.* 2 and Hedrick 1988, Nilsson 1967<sup>3</sup>, I p. 556f., Farnell 1896-1909, IV pp. 154, 373, n. 54). Hestia, the goddess of the domestic hearth, was the least anthropomorphic of all household deities and details of her cult are scanty; she was honoured first in libations (cf. *h. Hom. Vest.* 4-6, *E. Phaethon* fr. 781.35 Kn. and Diggle 1970, p. 161, *S. Chryses* fr. 726 R.), cf. also *Hes. Op.* 733f., 748f., *h. Hom. Ven.* 29f., *E. Alc.* 162, *HF* 599 (and Bond 1981 *ad loc.*) and Rose (1957) p. 104f. For her public cult in the *Prytaneia* of the Greek states, cf. Farnell (1896-1909) V pp. 369-373. The figure of *Zeus Patrōos* represented paternal authority and filial obligation towards parents (cf. *El.*

671, Ar. *Nu.* 1468-1470 and Sommerstein 1982, p. 230f., Pl. *Lg.* 9. 881b); he was worshipped in phratries in Chios, Delphi and Ionia, but apart from literary references there is no archaeological evidence for his cult in Athens (cf. De Schutter 1987, p. 121, n. 105, Sjövall 1931, pp. 50-52). A widespread domestic cult was that of *Zeus Klēsios* ‘the god of the store-room’, who ensured the prosperity and imperishability of the household (cf. A. *Supp.* 442-445 and Friis Johansen and Whittle 1980, p. 352, *Ag.* 1038 and Denniston and Page 1957 *ad loc.*, Is. viii 16, Men. *Pseuderacles* fr. 410 K.-A., Sud. s.v. *Ζεὺς Κτήσιος* ζ 40 Adler and Rose 1957, pp. 100-103, Sjövall 1931, pp. 53-58); his symbol was a jar containing *ambrosia* (a mixture of water, honey and various fruits), into which things found by chance were to be put (cf. Ath. 473 B-C). On other domestic cults of Zeus, such as *Meilichios* and *Philios*, cf. Sjövall 1931, pp. 75-116. For the necessity of preserving the cults of the household, cf. *Heracl.* 877 (and Wilkins 1993 *ad loc.*), *Ph.* 604, *h. Hom. Ven.* 29f., A. *Th.* 582, 640, 914, 1010, 1018, *Pers.* 404f., *Supp.* 704, S. *El.* 67, 411, 1135, *Ant.* 199, 659, 839, 938 (and Griffith 1999 *ad loc.*), *Ph.* 933, Ar. *Ach.* 1527, *V.* 388 (and Sommerstein 1983 *ad loc.*), [D.] vii 17, Aeschin. ii 152, Lycurg. i 25, X. *Hell.* 2. 4.21.

The extinction of a household entailed the decline of the domestic cult and the oblivion of its dead ancestors. For the significance of performing the observances in honour of the latter, cf. *Alc.* 1003, 1015, *Tr.* 1180-1184, *Hel.* 1163-1168, also A. *Ch.* 122-135, S. *Ant.* 451, Pl. *Lg.* 717e, 927b, [D.] xliii 79, 84, D. xxiv 107, lvii 28, 40, Lycurg. i 59, 147, [Lys.] ii 75, Aeschin. i 13, Is. vii 30, viii 17f., X. *Mem.* 2. 2.13, Plut. *Sol.* 21 and Humphreys (1983<sup>2</sup>) p. 87f., Fustel de Coulanges (1980) pp. 13-17, 27f., 32-34, Dover (1974) p. 245.

**τιμώρον:** doric form, here in the sense of ‘one who pays honour to s.o./sth.’ (cf. Pi. *O.* 9. 84), and ‘protector, succourer’ (cf. A. *Supp.* 42, *Ag.* 514). It also denotes ‘avenger’ (cf. A. *Ag.* 1280, 1324, 1578, *Ch.* 143) and widely occurs in its contract attic form *τιμωρός* (cf. Hdt. 2. 141, 4. 200, 7. 171, Antiph. 1. 2, 5. 37, S. *El.* 14, 811, E. *Hec.* 790, 843, *El.* 676, Th. 4. 2.3, Pl. *Lg.* 716a, 872e). In late epic it occurs as *τιμήρορος*; cf. A.R. 4. 709, 1309, 1323, 1358, Nonn. *D.* 2. 567, 8. 70, 26. 80, 30. 207 and *EM* s.v. *τιμήροροι* (τ 759 Gaisford): ἥρωες καὶ ἔφοροι.

## Fr. 5:

These lines are spoken by a female character (cf. *γυναίκες* and the first person plural) asserting the disadvantaged position of women and seem to stand in agreement with the remark in fr. 4 (possibly spoken by Acrisius, cf. introductory note *ad loc.*), which is stressing the significance of having a son rather than a daughter for the preservation of one's *oikos*. Our fragment could have been spoken by the female chorus-leader,<sup>206</sup> in view of the clearly consenting tone of the distich (cf. *Alc.* 369f., *Med.* 906f., *Hipp.* 431f., *HF* 583f., 1311f., *Hel.* 1030f., *IA* 469f., 504f., 917f.), which is stressed by the use of *συμμαρτυρῶ* and the pleonasm *πανταχοῦ- πᾶσαι- ἀεὶ*. Another candidate may be the addressee of fr. 4 (which is thematically related to fr. 2 and 3 and if they all belonged to the same context, Acrisius' interlocutor may have been his wife, cf. introductory note on fr. 2).<sup>207</sup> In such a case, the sweeping acceptance of female inferiority might be disingenuous, with the purpose of manipulating Acrisius, if we take into account the possible stratagem implied in fr. 1. The pleonasm *πανταχοῦ- πᾶσαι- ἀεὶ* could thus be very effective. Cf. Medea and Clytaemestra outmaneuvering Jason (*Med.* 869-905 and Mastronarde 2002, p. 312f.) and Agamemnon (*A. Ag.* 861-905) respectively, by appealing to their female weakness. The possibility that these lines were uttered in the context of a deliberation-scene perhaps between Danae and her nurse, in which case fr. 1 might have followed our fragment as a contrasting reference to female intellect,<sup>208</sup> may seem less likely in view of the occurrence of *δίχα*; the speaker does not just allege that 'we women are inferior to men', which could be a preparation for the reference to female *dolos* as the sole means of subverting male power, but that 'we women are deficient without men', that is, 'we need men'. This statement may allude to the fact that women are under male tutelage throughout their lives, which could further connect this distich to the idea expressed in fr. 4. 1-2.

The same notion occurs in E. *Supp.* 40f.: πάντα γὰρ δι' ἀρσένων/ γυναίξιν πράσσειν εἰκὸς αἴτινες σοφαί, A. *Ag.* 861f. (part of Clytaemestra's intrigue, cf. above): τὸ μὲν γυναῖκα πρῶτον ἄρσενος δίχα/ ἦσθαι δόμοις ἔρημον ἔκπαγλον κακόν, and on female inferiority in general, cf. *Med.* 230f.: πάντων δ' ὄσ' ἔστ' ἔμψυχα καὶ γνώμην ἔχει/ γυναῖκές

<sup>206</sup> Cf. Kannicht (2004) I p. 374.

<sup>207</sup> So Webster (1967) p. 95, Aélion (1986) p. 154 and n. 11.

<sup>208</sup> So Jouan and van Looy (2000) p. 59, Mette (1982) p. 109 and earlier Hartung (1843-1844) I p. 88.

ἔσμεν ἀθλιώτατον φυτόν, *Ino* fr. 401 Kn.: φεῦ, / ὄσω τὸ θῆλυ δυστυχέστερον γένος / πέφυκεν ἀνδρῶν· ἔν τε τοῖσι γὰρ καλοῖς / πολλῶ λέλειπται κάπῃ τοῖς αἰσχροῖς πλέον, Theodectes' *Alcmeon TrGF* I 72 fr. 1a Sn. with clear echoes from the *Medea* passage (cf. Xanthakis-Karamanos 1980, p. 151): σαφῆς μὲν ἐν βροτοῖσιν ὑμνεῖται λόγος / ὡς οὐδέν ἐστιν ἀθλιώτερον φυτόν / γυναικός and also S. *Tereus* fr. 583. 1-3 R.: πολλάκις / ἔβλεψα ταύτη τὴν γυναικείαν φύσιν, / ὡς οὐδέν ἐσμεν. For this theme, cf. Vellacott (1975) pp. 95-99, 125f.

Medea's monologue illustrates certain aspects of female inferiority in fifth-century Athens (*Med.* 230-251), such as marital misfortune and male underestimation of the domestic contribution of women, including childbirth (the significance of female role in domestic and religious life is stressed in *Captive Melanippe* fr. 494. 1-22 Kn.). The restrictions imposed on women included their being under legal tutelage throughout their lives, first under the control of their fathers, then their husbands (cf. note on fr. 4. 1-2), limited rights to education and their withdrawal at home, in a private sphere of activities, as opposed to the public field of male participation, where it would be improper for a woman to be seen; cf. *Andr.* 876-878 (and Lloyd 1994 *ad loc.*), *Hec.* 974f., *HF* 527 (and Bond 1981 *ad loc.*), *El.* 343f. (and Denniston 1939 *ad loc.*), *Tr.* 648f. (and Biehl 1989, p. 268): πρῶτον μὲν, ἔνθα (κᾶν προσῆι κᾶν μὴ προσῆι / ψόγος γυναιξίν) αὐτὸ τοῦτ' ἐφέλκεται / κακῶς ἀκούειν, ἥτις οὐκ ἔνδον μένει, *IA* 821-834, 1029-1032, *Meleagros* fr. 521 Kn., also A. *Th.* 232 (and Hutchinson 1985 *ad loc.*): ἀνδρῶν τάδ' ἐστί, σφάγια καὶ χρηστήρια / θεοῖσιν ἔρδειν, πολεμίων πειρωμένων / σὸν δ' αὖ τὸ σιγᾶν καὶ μένειν εἴσω δόμων, *Ar. Th.* 397-417, *Lys.* i 8 (and Carey 1989 *ad loc.*), *Lycurg.* i 40, [D.] lix 122, *Is.* iii 14, *Hyp.* i 5f. (and Just 1989, p. 124f.), *X. Oec.* 7. 30: τῇ μὲν γὰρ γυναικὶ κάλλιον ἔνδον μένειν ἢ θυραυλεῖν, τῷ δὲ ἀνδρὶ αἴσχιον ἔνδον μένειν ἢ τῶν ἔξω ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, 35, *Men.* fr. inc. 815 K.-A., *Theophr. Char.* 28, *Plut. Mor.* 242e and Blundell (1998) pp. 59-75, Cohen (1996) pp. 140, 142, Foley (1981) pp. 148-152, Blundell (1995) pp. 113f., 132-138, Des Bouvrie (1990) p. 54, Cantarella (1987) pp. 46, 51, and for the seclusion of maidens, cf. note on fr. 6.

1 **συμμαρτυρῶ**: 'to bear witness with/ in support of s.o.', cf. S. *Ph.* 438: ξυμμαρτυρῶ σοι, *El.* 1224: ᾧ φίλτατον φῶς. - φίλτατον, ξυμμαρτυρῶ, E. *Hipp.* 286: καὶ σύ μοι ξυμμαρτυρῆς, *Hec.* 1080, *IA* 1158: συμμαρτυρήσεις ὡς ἄμεμπτος ἢ γυνή, *Solon* fr. 36.3



W.: συμμαρτυροίη ταῦτ' ἄν ἐν δίκῃ Χρόνου, Pl. *Lg.* 680d, *Hp. Ma.* 282b: συμμαρτυρήσαι δέ σοι ἔχω ὅτι ἀληθῆ λέγεις, Isoc. iv 31. 8, xvii 42.2, X. *Hell.* 7. 1.35.

λελείμμεθα: 'to be deficient/ inferior, to be left behind'; cf. Hdt. 7. 48, 7. 86, S. *OC* 495, Ar. *Ra.* 37, Th. 6. 72.

2 δίχα: here 'without', cf. A. *Ag.* 861f., S. *Ai.* 768, E. *Ion* 775, *Ba.* 804, also 'separately, at different sides, at variance'.

#### Fr. 6:

These lines are assigned also to Alexis by Stobaeus (4. 22g. 154 W.-H.). Though the possibility of an error of ascription in one of the two lemmata cannot be ruled out, I would side with Kock (1880-1888, II p. 407) and Arnott (1996, p. 846) as to the likelihood that Alexis could have quoted this distich from the *Danae* in the context of parody; mythological burlesque, which is a distinctive feature of middle comedy, involved quotation of tragic lines, mostly Euripidean: cf. for instance, Eub. *Nannion* fr. 67. 10 K.-A. quoting *IA* 370, the quotation of *Med.* 476 in Eub. *Dionysios* fr. 26 K.-A., where *Andromeda* fr. 129 Kn. is also cited, *Or.* 37 in Eub. *Medea* fr. 64 K.-A., *Auge* fr. 265a Kn. in Anaxandr. fr. inc. 66 K.-A. and Webster (1953) p. 82f., Nesselrath (1990) pp. 205-235, 245, 279, Lever (1956) p. 178.

The emphasis on the futility of guarding a woman points to the disclosure of Danae's seduction. Such a disparaging statement on female misconduct must have naturally been uttered by a man and the likeliest candidate is Acrisius,<sup>209</sup> whose effort to restrain his daughter by enclosing her in the bronze chamber—if Euripides chose to follow the mythical tradition—has proved to be fruitless. There is no evidence as to how Danae's illicit motherhood was revealed, though fr. 7 (praising the power of gold over love) and frr. 8-11 (possibly from an *agon* on the power of wealth, cf. introductory note on fr. 8) seem to support the widely held view that Acrisius may have found the pieces of gold in her chamber, thus inferring that she was bribed to be seduced (cf. introductory note on fr. 7). The present fragment may thus hint at the reversal of dramatic action, which could have

<sup>209</sup> So Jouan -van Looy (2000) p. 59 and Arnott (1996) p. 846.

brought about the *agon* on the power of wealth possibly between Danae and Acrisius (frr. 8-12) and her self-sacrifice by choosing to be exposed together with her baby-son (frr. 13, 14).

A case of Contrast-Priamel (for this type of priamel, cf. particularly Krischer 1974, pp. 81-87 and Schmid 1964, pp. 51-66), where the *illustrantia* are introduced with *anaphora* (οὔτε... οὔτε... οὔτ'..., cf. Lausberg 1998, pp. 281-283). Cf. the elaborate Contrast-Priamel of fr. 2 (and for more detail, cf. note *ad loc.*) and the structurally similar priamels in *Hipp.* 530-532 : οὔτε γὰρ πυρὸς οὔτ' ἄστρον ὑπέρτερον βέλος/ οἶον τὸ τὰς Ἀφροδίτας ἴησιν ἐκ χερῶν/ Ἔρωσ ὁ Διὸς παῖς, *Hec.* 1181f.: γένος γὰρ οὔτε πόντος οὔτε γῆ τρέφει/ τοιόνδ', *HF* 861-863 : οὔτε πόντος οὔτω κύμασι στένων λάβρος/ οὔτε γῆς σεισμὸς κεραυνοῦ τ' οἶστρος ὠδίνας πνέων/ οἶ' ἐγὼ στάδια δραμοῦμαι στέρνον εἰς Ἡρακλέους, fr. inc. 1029 *Kn.*: οὐκ ἔστιν ἀρετῆς κτῆμα τιμιώτερον/ οὐ γὰρ πέφυκε δοῦλον οὔτε χρημάτων/ οὔτ' εὐγενείας οὔτε θωπείας ὄχλου.

1 οὔτε τεῖχος οὔτε χρήματα: the *illustrantia* refer to basic elements ensuring the well-being of the *polis* (city-wall) and prosperity in private life (domestic wealth), thus pointing out the necessity as well as difficulty of guarding a woman. If the speaker is Acrisius, as he seems to be, the reference to *χρήματα* could hint at his preoccupation with the value of wealth, which is what is alleged in the possible *agon* (cf. frr. 7, 8-10 likely to have been uttered by Acrisius).

2 δυσφύλακτον: here 'hard to guard', cf. its similar usage in *Plb.* 2. 55.2, *D.S.* 15. 68.5 (for cities), and *Strabo* 9. 3.8 (for wealth), 11. 4.2, *Plut. Mor.* 49b and *E. Andr.* 727f.: ἀνεμμένον τι χρήμα πρεσβυτῶν γένος/ καὶ δυσφύλακτον ὄξυθυμίας ὑπο ('hard to keep off'), *Ph.* 924: δυσφύλακτ' αἴνει κακά ('hard to avert').

Though the comment on the difficulty of guarding a woman arises from the particular situation of Danae's seclusion, the generalizing overtones of the statement could also allude to sexual segregation in Classical Athens, which aimed to ensure female chastity before marriage and thus the production of legitimate offspring (cf. *Lys.* i 33). The dignity of the *oikos* was regarded as concerning the *polis* as a whole, since any son of a married Athenian woman would receive the rights of Athenian citizenship. Hence, female honour involved sexual purity and male honour assumed the responsibility of defending the purity of the female members of his household; cf. *Heracl.* 43f. (and Allan 2001 *ad loc.*): νέας

γὰρ παρθένους αἰδούμεθα/ ὄχλοι πελάζειν κάπιβωμιοστατεῖν, 476f.: γυναικὶ γὰρ σιγὴ τε καὶ τὸ σωφρονεῖν/ κάλλιστον εἶσω θ' ἥσυχον μένειν δόμων, *Ph.* 93-95 (and Craik 1988 *ad loc.*), *Or.* 108 (and West 1987 *ad loc.*): ἐς ὄχλον ἔρπειν παρθένοισιν οὐ καλόν, *E. fr. inc.* 1061 Kn.: μοχθοῦμεν ἄλλως θῆλυ φρουροῦντες γένος / ἦτις γὰρ αὐτὴ μὴ πέφυκεν ἔνδικος,/ τί δεῖ φυλάσσειν κάξαμαρτάνειν πλέον; *Lys.* iii 6 (and Carey 1989 *ad loc.*), *D.* xlvii, *Is.* iii 13 f., *Men. Dysc.* 222-224: ἄκακον κόρην μόνην ἀφεις ἐν ἐρημίαι/ ἐὰς, φυλακὴν οὐδεμίαν ὡς προσῆκον ἦν/ ποιούμενος and Cohen (1991) p. 140f., Des Bouvrie (1990) pp. 44-48, 51f., Blundell (1995) pp. 135-138, Pomeroy (1975) p. 86, Walcot (1996) pp. 91-93, Clark (1989) pp. 17-19, Fantham, Foley, Kampen, Pomeroy and Shapiro (1994) p. 79f. The gravity of this issue emerges from the legislation for *moicheia* mentioned in *Lys.* i 28, *Aeschin.* i 90, *Plut. Sol.* 23 (a more general reference in *D.* xxiii 53-55), which enabled the aggrieved party, i.e. a woman's *kyrios* in this case, to kill the *moichos* on the spot, if caught *in flagrante* with her, provided that the offender admitted to the charge; cf. Carey (1995) p. 412f.

The difficulty of guarding a woman, as asserted in our fragment, reveals men's perception of female sexuality; cf. *Med.* 569-573, *Hipp.* 967-970, *Andr.* 220f., *Ion* 1090-1095 (and Lee 1997, p. 278), also *Hes. fr.* 275 M.-W., *Anaxandr. fr. inc.* 61 K.-A., *Men. Sam.* 349f. and Cohen (1991) p. 144f., Dover (1974) p. 101f. A law established by Solon, but perhaps not applied in the fifth and fourth century, allowed fathers to sell as slaves any unmarried daughters who had lost their virginity (*Plut. Sol.* 23. 2). Likewise, Aeschines (i 182) refers to the cruel punishment of a seduced daughter, who was imprisoned by her father in a deserted house together with a horse; cf. *schol. ad loc.* (Dilts). The social issue of a maiden's seduction and her clash with her natal family seems to have preoccupied Euripides in his *Danae*, *Alope*, *Melanippe the Wise* and *Auge*, where the father-daughter confrontation appears to have been a climactic point in dramatic action (cf. Structure); cf. *Alope fr.* 109 Kn. (probably uttered by Cercyon): οὐ μὴν σύ γ' ἡμᾶς τοὺς τεκόντας ἠδέσω, *fr.* 111 Kn.: τί δῆτα μοχθεῖν δεῖ γυναικεῖον γένος/ φρουροῦντας; αἱ γὰρ εἶ τεθραμμέναι πλέον/ σφάλλουσιν οἴκους τῶν παρημελημένων (cf. Borecky 1955, p. 88f., Karamanou 2003, p. 34f.), *Melanippe the Wise fr.* 485 Kn. (prose paraphrase in [D.H.] *Rhet.* 9. 11.34, the speaker is Melanippe): εἰ δὲ παρθένος φθαρεῖσα ἐξέθηκεν τὰ παιδιά καὶ φοβουμένη τὸν πατέρα, σὺ φόνον δράσεις; *fr.* 497 Kn. (assigned to Hellen or Aeolus against Melanippe and

likelier to belong to the *Wise* rather than the *Captive Melanippe*, cf. Collard, Cropp and Lee 1995 *ad loc.*): τείσασθε τήνδε· καὶ γὰρ ἐντεῦθεν νοσεῖ/ τὰ τῶν γυναικῶν· οἱ μὲν ἢ παίδων πέρι/ ἢ συγγενείας εἶνεκ' οὐκ ἀπώλεσαν/ κακὴν λαβόντες· εἶτα τοῦτο τᾶδίκον/ πολλαῖς ὑπερρύηκε καὶ χωρεῖ πρόσω,/ ὥστ' ἐξίτηλος ἀρετὴ καθίσταται. Similarly, Naevius' *Danae* evidently touched on the social aspect of the girl's seduction, to judge from fr. 5 Traglia: *eam nunc esse inventam probris compotem scis* and fr. 7 Traglia (and his note *ad loc.*): *desubito famam tollunt, si quam solam videre in via* (the notion of impropriety for a maiden to be seen in public, cf. *The Myth*, p. 18). In these plays, the father, the *kyrios*, often imprisons his daughter after the disclosure of her misconduct, using spatial confinement as a means of reasserting his control over her; cf. Seaford (1990<sub>b</sub>) pp. 81, 84 and Guidorizzi (2000) p. 468.

#### Fr. 7:

This fragment illustrates the overwhelming power of gold over people and even over love. The widely held view is that Acrisius may have uttered these lines upon discovering the pieces of gold left from Zeus' transformation, assuming that his daughter was seduced by a rich man <sup>210</sup> (it has been suggested that Amphitryon in the *Alcmene* could have made the same assumption, on the basis of fr. 95, 96 Kn.<sup>211</sup>). This possibility can be supported by a number of factors in combination: (a) the reference to gold in a play about Danae reasonably points to Zeus' transformation into golden shower (b) the association of Cypris with gold links this fragment with fr. 8 stressing the power of money over love (and on a larger scale, with fr. 9 for wealth as a basic criterion for marriage), which could be assigned to Acrisius in the context of an *agon* possibly between him and Danae (cf. introductory note on fr. 8) and (c) there are many references to Danae's seduction as bribery after Euripides (and not before, on the basis of the available evidence): cf. T6, Hedylus 1865-70 G.-P. (and Gow-Page 1965 *ad loc.*), Antipater *A.P.* 5. 31, Parmenion *A.P.* 33, 34, Ov. *Am.* 3. 8.29ff., Petron. *Sat.* 137 (and Walsh 1996, p. 200), Mart. 14. 175 (and Leary 1996, p. 237), Hor.

<sup>210</sup> So Webster (1967) p. 95, Aélion (1986) p. 154, Jouan and van Looy (1998) p. 58.

<sup>211</sup> Cf. Webster (1967) p. 93, Jouan and van Looy (1998) p. 126.

*Carm.* 3. 16 and schol. Porph. *ad loc.* (Holder-Keller), *Luc. Gall.* 13, *Philostr. Ep.* 35. 1, 38. 9, *Aes. Prov.* 3, *Nonn. D.* 8. 258-261, *P. Silent. A.P.* 217 (and Viansino 1963, p. 71f.), *Theophyl. Ep.* 81, *Epiph. Ancor.* 105. 7, *Malalas* 2.11 Thurn, *Sud.* s.v. ‘Δανάη’ (δ 57 Adler). The notoriety of this fragment emerges from its numerous citations in later authors suggesting that it became proverbial for the power of money over virtue (cf. *D.S.* 37. 30.2, *Ath.* 4. 159B, *Luc. Gall.* 14, *Tim.* 41, *Athenag. Supp. Pro Christ.* 29), and could have thus instigated the interpretation of Danae’s seduction as bribery from the fourth century BC onwards.

As noted above, this fragment is thematically related to **frr. 8-12**, the rhetorical argumentation of which points to the context of an *agon* (cf. introductory note on **fr. 8**), where Acrisius could have accused Danae of having been overwhelmed by gold and thus bribed to be seduced (**frr. 8-10**) and she may have refuted the accusation by denouncing wealth (**frr. 11-12**). The present fragment is a general reflection evidently motivated by the disclosure of Danae’s seduction (for such exclamations commenting on one’s conduct, cf. note on l. 1) and does not display the argumentative character of **frr. 8-12**, which locates them in the context of a formal debate with much probability. Nevertheless, it is consistent with the view held in **frr. 8-10** and may thus fit the beginning or closure of Acrisius’ possible *rhexis* in the debate; cf. similarly the general reflections at the start of the agonistic speeches in *Hipp.* 935-942 (and Barrett 1964, p. 335), *Andr.* 183-185, 693-702, *Ph.* 469-472, 499-502 and at the closure of Medea’s *rhexis* in *Med.* 516-519 (and Mastronarde 2002, p. 256), also Friis Johansen (1959) pp. 152-155 and n. 17, p. 158, n. 26.

Aphrodite’s association with gold originates in Homer, where she is the only goddess to be described as ‘golden’; cf. *Il.* 3. 64 (μή μοι δῶρ’ ἐρατὰ πρόφερε χρυσέης Ἀφροδίτης), 5. 427 (χρυσῆν Ἀφροδίτην), 9. 389, 19. 282 (χρυσέη Ἀφροδίτη), 22. 470, 24. 699 and *Od.* 4. 14 (ἡ εἶδος ἔχε χρυσῆς Ἀφροδίτης), 8. 337, 342, 17. 37, 19. 54. However ornamental the Homeric epithet may have been, the image of ‘golden Aphrodite’ recurs in *Mimn.* fr. 1 W. (τί δὲ τερπνὸν ἄτερ χρυσῆς Ἀφροδίτης;), *Thgn.* 1381f. (χρυσῆς Κυπρογενοῦς), *Bacch. Epin.* 5. 174 (νῆιν ἔτι χρυσέας Κύπριδος θελξιμβρότου), *Theoc.* 15. 101 (χρυσῶ παίζοισ’ Ἀφροδίτα), *Philodemus A.P.* 5. 121 (ὦ χρυσέη Κύπρι), *Antipater A.P.* 5. 30 (χρυσῆν ὅτι τὴν Ἀφροδίτην, / ἔξοχα καὶ πάντων εἶπεν ὁ Μαιονίδης) and *D.S.* 1. 97 (τὴν τε Ἀφροδίτην ὀνομάζεσθαι παρὰ τοῖς ἐγχωρίοις χρυσῆν ἐκ παλαιᾶς παραδόσεως, καὶ

πεδίων είναι καλούμενον χρυσῆς Ἀφροδίτης, which may also be related to Aphrodite's cult in Egypt, cf. Gow-Page 1965, II p. 293). Likewise, in this praise of the power of gold, Euripides seems to be 'playing' with Cypris' irresistible 'golden gaze', which rouses erotic passion (cf. the textual note on l. 5), and relating it to Danae's situation and to the false inference that she was bribed with gold. Cf. Eustathius' interpretation of Danae's seduction as bribery in his scholium on 'golden Aphrodite' (schol. *Il.* 3 .64 van der Valk): χρυσῆ δὲ Ἀφροδίτη ἢ χρυσοφόρος, ὡς καὶ χάλκεος Ἴαριος διὰ τὸ φόρημα, ἢ ἢ καλὴ ἢ, ὅτι χρυσῶ καταπράττεται, ᾧ καὶ Ζεὺς τὴν Δανάην χειροῦται.

1 ᾧ χρυσέ: speeches commenting on —often denouncing— someone's conduct tend to start with an exclamation of more universal import; cf. *Andr.* 319f.: ᾧ δόξα δόξα, μυρίοισι δὴ βροτῶν/ οὐδὲν γεγῶσι βίοτον ὄγκωσας μέγαν, *Supp.* 1108-1113, *Ion* 1512-1514, *Or.* 126 (and Willink 1986 *ad loc.*): ᾧ φύσις, ἐν ἀνθρώποισιν ὡς μέγ' εἰ κακόν, *Phoenix* fr. 813 Kp.: ᾧ πλοῦθ', ὅσῳ μὲν ῥᾶστον εἰ βάρος φέρειν,/ πόνοι δὲ κἂν σοὶ καὶ φθοραὶ πολλαὶ βίου/ ἔνεισ', *Phrixus II* fr. 820b Kp.: ᾧ θνητὰ παραφρονήματ' ἀνθρώπων, μάτην/ οἷ φασιν εἶναι τὴν τύχην ἀλλ' οὐ θεοῦς/ ὡς οὐδὲν ἴστε κεῖ λέγειν δοκεῖτέ τι, frr. inc. 916, 1080 Kp.: ᾧ γῆρας, οἷαν ἐλπίδ' ἠδονῆς ἔχεις,/ καὶ πᾶς τις εἰς σὲ βούλετ' ἀνθρώπων μολεῖν/ λαβὼν δὲ πείραν, μεταμέλειαν λαμβάνει,/ ὡς οὐδὲν ἔστι χειρὸν ἐν θνητῷ γένει, *S. OT* 380-382: ᾧ πλοῦτε καὶ τυραννὶ καὶ τέχνη τέχνης/ ὑπερφέρουσα, τῷ πολυζήλω βίῳ / ὅσος παρ' ὑμῖν ὁ φθόνος φυλάσσεται, *Eriphyle* fr. 201a R. Cf. Mastronarde (1979) p. 78, Schadewaldt (1966) p. 124f.

*TrGF* II fr. adesp. 129 Kp.-Sn. deriving from a choral ode presents a striking similarity with our fragment as to the illustration of the overwhelming power of gold over love and nature as a whole (Hartung 1843-1844, I p. 92 attempted to associate this fragment with the *Danae*, on the basis of the common theme): ᾧ χρυσέ, βλάστημα χθονός,/ οἷον ἔρωτα βροτοῖσι φλέγεις,/ πάντων κρατιστεῦτων τύραννε-/ πολέμοις δ' Ἴαριος/ κρείσσον' ἔχων δύναμιν,/ <τᾶ> πάντα θέλγεις· ἐπὶ γὰρ Ὀρφεΐαις μὲν ὠδαῖς/ εἶπετο δένδρεα καὶ θηρῶν ἀνόητα γένη,/ σοὶ δὲ καὶ χθὼν πᾶσα καὶ πόντος καὶ ὁ παμμήστωρ Ἴαριος. Greek poetry abounds in praises of gold as the most valuable of commodities; cf. *Od.* 1. 165, 6. 232, Alcman *PMG* fr. 1. 54, Sol. fr. 24. 2 W., Simon. *PMG* fr. 12, Pi. *O.* 1. 1f. (and Gerber 1982, p. 10f.): ὁ δὲ χρυσὸς αἰθόμενον πῦρ/ ἄτε διαπρέπει νυκτὶ μέγανος ἔξοχα πλούτου, 2. 72, 3. 42: κτεάνων δὲ/ χρυσὸς αἰδοιέστατος, 13. 78, *N.* 4. 82f., *I.* 5. 1-3, *E. Med.* 965:

χρυσὸς δὲ κρείσσω μυρίων λόγων βροτοῖς, *Andromeda* fr. 142 Kn. (and Klimek-Winter 1993, p. 278f.): χρυσὸν μάλιστα βούλομαι δόμοις ἔχειν./ καὶ δοῦλος ὦν γὰρ τίμιος πλουτῶν ἀνὴρ,/ ἐλεύθερος δὲ χρεῖος ὦν οὐδὲν σθένει./ χρυσοῦ νόμιζε σαυτὸν εἶνεκ' εὐτυχεῖν, *Philoctetes* fr. 794 Kn. (and Müller 2000, p. 409): ὁρᾶτε δ' ὡς κὰν θεοῖσι κερδαίνειν καλόν,/ θαυμάζεται δ' ὁ πλεῖστον ἐν ναοῖς ἔχων/ χρυσόν, *TrGF* II fr. adesp. 294 Kn.-Sn.: χρυσὸς γὰρ ἐστὶν ὃς βροτῶν ἔχει κράτη, *Diphilus* fr. inc. 103 K.-A.: ἰσχυρότερον κρίνω τὸ χρυσίον πολὺ./ τὰ πάντα τούτῳ τέμνεται καὶ πράττεται, *Men. Mon.* 826 Jäkel. Cf. however, the opposite view on the corrupting power of gold, which is often associated with tyranny and injustice: *Archil.* fr. 19 W.: οὐ μοι τὰ Γύγεω τοῦ πολυχρύσου μέλει,/ οὐδ' εἶλέ πῶ με ζῆλος, οὐδ' ἀγαίομαι/ θεῶν ἔργα, μεγάλης δ' οὐκ ἐρέω τυραννίδος, *HF* 774-776 (and Barlow 1996, p. 158): ὁ χρυσὸς ἅ τ' εὐτυχία/ φρενῶν βροτοῦς ἐξάγεται/ δύνασιν ἄδικον ἐφέλκων, [*Phocyl.*] 42-47 and for more detail on the corrupting power of wealth, cf. notes on **fr. 11** and *Dictys* **fr. 15**. Gold is also suggestive of Oriental *olbos*; cf. *A. Pers.* 3f., 9, 45, 53, 159 E. *Andr.* 2, 169, *Hec.* 492 (and Gregory 1999 *ad loc.*), 1002, *Ba.* 13, also Hall (1989) pp. 154-156 and note on *Dictys* **fr. 2.7**.

**δεξίωμα:** 'welcome thing' (*LSJ*<sup>9</sup>); rare word from *δεξιόμαι* 'to greet, to welcome', hence 'gift most welcome to men' (Jebb's translation 1900<sup>3</sup> b, p. 105), with two further occurrences before Byzantine Greek as 'pledge or mark of friendship' in *S. OC* 619 (with Jebb 1900<sup>3</sup> b and Kamerbeek 1984 *ad loc.*) and *D.Chr.* lviii 5. *P. Ross. Georg.* (preserving an excerpt from an anthology from Hellenistic Egypt dated in the second century BC) and certain mss of Athenaeus, Lucian and Athenagoras read *δεξίαμα*, which occurs as a variant for *δεξίωμα* also in some mss of *S. OC* 619. *Δεξίαμα* appears occasionally in texts written in the *Koinē* — used by the time the text was copied in our papyrus — to judge from the occurrence of *δεξιασθεις* (instead of *δεξιωθεις*) in *LXX 2 Ma.* 4. 34, while even later, in the fourth century AD, the verb occurs in the middle voice as *δεξιάζομαι* (*P. Lips.* 41.5).

**2 ἡδονὰς ἔχει:** 'gives pleasure'; similar phrasing in *E. Polyidus* fr. 642 Kn.: τὰ χρήματ' ἀνθρώποισιν ἡδονὰς ἔχει, *HF* 732: ἔχει γὰρ ἡδονὰς θνήσκων ἀνὴρ/ ἐχθρὸς τίνων τῶν δεδραμένων δίκην. For the joy felt between close kin, cf. *E. El.* 596: φίλας μὲν ἡδονὰς ἀσπασμάτων, *Tr.* 371f.: τὰ φίλτατ' ὄλεσ', ἡδονὰς τὰς οἰκοθεν/ τέκνων, *Ion* 1461, 1468f.: μήτηρ, παρών μοι καὶ πατήρ μετασχέτω/ τῆς ἡδονῆς τῆσδ' ἧς ἔδωχ' ὑμῖν ἐγώ, *IT* 842, *Hel.*

634f. (and Kannicht 1969, p. 185): *περὶ δὲ γυῖα χέρας ἔβαλον ἡδονάν,/ ὦ πόσις, ὡς λάβω*, *Ph.* 314, 338: *παιδοποιὸν ἄδονάν*, *S. El.* 1276f., *OC* 1204f.

*τοίας*: attested in cod. S of Stobaeus and in the text of Sextus Empiricus, whereas the papyrus, cod. A of Stobaeus, Athenaeus and Athenagoras read *τοιιάσδ'*. Both readings fit the metre. In view of its poetic style, *τοίας* occurs in stylistically elaborate passages in tragedy (cf. *Alc.* 453, 870, 1004, *Hec.* 907, *Theseus* fr. 383 Kn., *A. Pers.* 606, *S. Ant.* 124, *Hippodameia* fr. 474 R.) and, in this light, it would fit the context of the rhetorical *apostrophe* better than *τοιιάσδ'*, which could have replaced the *lectio difficilior* in certain manuscripts during the process of transmission.

4: this line is absent from nearly all the basic sources for this passage, namely the papyrus, which is our earliest source, Stobaeus and Seneca, and is poorly transmitted in the mss of Athenaeus and Sextus Empiricus (*χοί σὲ δώμασιν κεκτημένοι*). Even with Schmidt's emendation (*τοῖς σὲ δώμασιν κεκτημένοις*), the style remains prosaic as compared to the rest of the passage and the line does not add anything to the meaning, rather it makes explicit what is self-evident. Hence, this could be the case of an explanatory interpolation, perhaps a histrionic one (for such cases, cf. Page 1934, pp. 56, 117); a *terminus ante quem* for its occurrence would be the second century AD, as the line must have been in the sources of Athenaeus and Sextus Empiricus.

5 *τοιούτων ὀφθαλμοῖς ὄρᾳ*: 'has such an expression/ glance— i.e. the glance of gold— in her eyes'. Seneca (*Ep. Mor.* 115. 14) accordingly translates 'tam dulce siquid Veneris in vultu micat'. Cf. Hes. *Scut.* 426: *δεινὸν ὄρων ὄσσοισι*, Sol. fr. 34.5 W.: *λοξὸν ὀφθαλμοῖς ὄρωσι πάντες ὥστε δήμιον*, Pi. *O.* 9. 111: *εὐχειρα, δεξιόγυιον, ὄρωντ' ἄλκάν*, Theoc. 13. 45: *ἔαρ θ' ὀρώσσα Νύχεια*. The most common use of the dative *ὀφθαλμοῖς* is instrumental 'to see with my own eyes'; cf. for instance, *Heracl.* 571, 883, *Hel.* 118, *A. Eum.* 34, *S. Ai.* 84, 993, Aeschin. iii 119.

6 οὐ θαῦμ': *litotes* aiming to draw emphasis (cf. Lausberg 1998, p. 268); cf. similarly *IA* 823f.: *οὐ θαῦμά σ' ἡμᾶς ἀγνοεῖν, οἷς μὴ πάρος/ προσήκες· αἰνῶ δ' ὅτι σέβεις τὸ σωφρονεῖν*, *Protesilaus* fr. 651 Kn.: *οὐ θαῦμ' ἔλεξας θνητὸν ὄντα δυστυχεῖν*, also *E. El.* 284: *νέα γάρ, οὐδὲν θαῦμ', ἀπεξεύχθης νέου*, *A. Supp.* 513: *οὔτοι τι θαῦμα δυσφορεῖν φόβω φρένα*, *S. OT* 1319f.: *καὶ θαῦμά γ' οὐδὲν ἐν τοσοῖσδε πῆμασιν/ διπλᾶ σε πενθεῖν καὶ διπλᾶ φορεῖν κακά*, *Ar. V.* 1139.



**τρέφειν**: the papyrus and Athenaeus read *ἔχειν*, which seems to be an unconscious scribal mistake possibly under the influence of *ἔχει* three lines above (at the end of l. 2). For the use of *τρέφω* with personified ideas, cf. *Hec.* 232f.: οὐδ' ὄλεσέν με Ζεὺς, τρέφει δ' ὅπως ὀρῶ/ κακῶν κάκ' ἄλλα μείζον' ἢ τάλαιν' ἐγώ, *A. Ch.* 585f.: πολλὰ μὲν γὰρ τρέφει/ δεινὰ δειμάτων ἄχη, *S. Ai.* 1124: ἡ γλῶσσά σου τὸν θυμὸν ὡς δεινὸν τρέφει, *Ant.* 1089: καὶ γνῶ τρέφειν τὴν γλῶσσαν ἡσυχωτέραν, *OT* 356: πέφευγα· τάληθές γὰρ ἰσχυρὸν τρέφω, *Tr.* 28: ξυστᾶσ' αἰεὶ τιν' ἐκ φόβου φόβον τρέφω. For the description of Aphrodite as breeding Erotes, cf. *Pi.* fr. 122. 4-6 M.: ματέρ' ἐρώτων/ οὐρανίαν πτάμεναι/ νοήματι πρὸς Ἀφροδίταν.

### Fr. 8:

**Frr. 8-10** display rhetorical argumentation for the power and impact of wealth, while **frr. 11-12** include counter-arguments disparaging richness. The reference to gold and its power over love in **fr. 7** hints at the discovery of pieces of gold from Zeus' transformation, which seems to have led to Acrisius' false assumption that Danae was bribed with gold, in order to be seduced by a rich man (cf. note on **fr. 7**). This rhetorical opposition of views has reasonably been regarded as belonging to a formal debate,<sup>212</sup> where one character affirms the overwhelming power of wealth, based on the discovery of gold in Danae's chamber, and another character censures opulence by defending the righteousness of humble people. The latter must naturally be a sympathetic figure, who adopts this position presumably as a means of refuting the accusation of Danae's bribery. The likeliest candidate for this role should be Danae herself, whose participation in the *agon* would have illustrated her *dianoia* (*Arist. Poet.* 1450b) and placed her at the centre of dramatic interest, whereas Acrisius is reasonably expected to be the one affirming the power of wealth, based on the false inference that his daughter was bribed. Hence, on the basis of the available evidence, the *agon* seems to have been instigated by the disclosure of Danae's seduction, which would make it presumably a 'trial-debate', though no explicit accusation against Danae is preserved in the available fragments, whose generalizing tone accounts for their inclusion in a gnostic anthology. As a rule, the plaintiff should have spoken first (**frr. 8-10**— **fr. 7** may have also belonged to the *agon*, cf. note *ad loc.*) and the defendant second (**frr. 11-**

<sup>212</sup> So Duchemin (1968<sup>2</sup>) p. 91, Jouan and van Looy (2000) p. 58.

12).<sup>213</sup> The prevailing speech (which is that of the sympathetic character) is usually placed second, in climactic order.<sup>214</sup> An initial dialogue between the participants may have introduced the debate—as in several cases<sup>215</sup>—and account for the emphatic question in fr. 9, which presupposes that the plaintiff already knows the defendant’s position.<sup>216</sup> Rhetorical confrontations of father and daughter with a similar focus take place in the *Melanippe the Wise* and *Alope* (cf. Structure). Another formal debate touching on wealth as a criterion for marriage occurs between Aeolus and Macareus in *Aeolus* fr. 20, 21, 22 Kn.<sup>217</sup>

1 ἀργὸν κάπι τοῖς ἀργοῖς ἔφθ: Pierson’s plausible emendation *τοῖς ἀργοῖς* of Stobaeus’ transmitted reading *τοῖς ἔργοις* is preferable to Plutarch’s *τοιούτοις*, in view of the rhetorically effective *polyptōton*; cf. Jouan and van Looy (2000) p. 71, n. 37 and for this figure, Lausberg (1998) p. 288f. Eros is regarded as flourishing in leisure; cf. Theophr. fr. 114 Wimmer: ἐρωτηθεῖς τί ἐστὶν ἔρως, πάθος, ἔφθ, ψυχῆς σχολαζούσης, Pl. *R.* 572e-573a: ἔρωτά τινα αὐτῷ μηχανωμένους ἐμποιῆσαι προστάτην τῶν ἀργῶν καὶ τὰ ἔτοιμα διανεμομένων ἐπιθυμιῶν, ὑπόπτερον καὶ μέγαν κηφῆνά τινα—ἢ τί ἄλλο οἶει εἶναι τὸν τῶν τοιούτων ἔρωτα; *Symp.* 197d. 7: (ἔρως) τρυφῆς, ἀβρότητος, χλιδῆς, χαρίτων, ἡμέρου, πόθου πατήρ. In Theocr. 14. 52-56 the hero seeks to escape from love by becoming a soldier (the pursuit of military *negotium* as a means of recovering from *eros* is a recurring theme in Plaut. *Trin.* 648-650, Tib. 1. 1.53-55, 2. 6.5f., Ov. *Rem.* 142-154). In Roman poets the notion of *otium* (in the particular sense of leisure and devotion to private activities) as a prerequisite for *eros* is mainly rooted in Epicurean thought; cf. Ov. *Rem.* 136-140 (and Henderson 1979, p. 58): *fac monitis fugias otia prima meis/ haec ut ames, faciunt; haec, quod fecere, tuentur;/ haec sunt iucundi causa cibusque mali./ otia si tollas, periere Cupidinis arcus,/ contemptaeque iacent et sine luce faces*, *Am.* 1. 9.41f., Tib. 2. 6.5f. (and Murgatroyd 1994, p. 247, Maltby 2002, p. 468), Catull. 51. 13-16 (cf. Ferguson 1985, pp.

<sup>213</sup> An exception of this principle occurs in the debates in *El.* 998-1131 and *Tr.* 895-1059; cf. Lloyd (1992) p. 101.

<sup>214</sup> For the order of speakers and very few exceptions, cf. Schlesinger (1937) p. 69f., also Collard (1975 b) p. 62.

<sup>215</sup> Cf. *Hipp.* 902-935, *Andr.* 577-589, *Hec.* 1109-1131, *Supp.* 399-407, *Tr.* 895-913, *El.* 998-1010, *IA* 317-333.

<sup>216</sup> Alternatively, there might have been two pairs of set-speeches (cf. *Andr.* 590-746).

<sup>217</sup> Cf. Jouan and van Looy (1998) p. 25, Webster (1967) p. 158.

150-152 for a bulk of bibliographical references to *otium* in Catullus), Lucr. 4. 1136, Ter. *Heaut.* 109 and André (1966) pp. 208f., 221-230, 406-413, André (1962) p. 6f. Cf. also Cic. *Tusc.* 4. 74: (amans) abducendus etiam est non numquam ad alia studia, sollicitudines, curas, negotia.

2 **κάτοπτρα**: mirroring is a feminine attribute *par excellence*, which often acquires an erotic focus. Mirrors are principally associated with Aphrodite (cf. Call. 5. 17-22 and Bulloch 1985, p. 130, Stat. *Silv.* 3. 4.93-98, *A.P.* 6. 18.5f., Ath. 687C, Philostr. *Imag.* 1. 6.304), Helen (cf. E. *Tr.* 1107, *Or.* 1112 and Karouzou 1951, pp. 582-584, Thomson de Grummond 1982, p. 37 for Aphrodite and Helen as decorative figures in bronze mirrors) and women in general (cf. Ar. *Th.* 140, Plaut. *Most.* 250f., Mart. 11.50, Ov. *Am.* 2. 17.9f., *Ars Am.* 2. 215f., 3. 135f., Prop. 3. 6.11 and several vase-illustrations of women gazing at mirrors in Frontisi-Ducroux and Vernant 1997, pl. 1-29). Female self-adornment and the fascination of catoptric experience in erotic contexts frequently involve the beholder's entrapment within the mirror itself or the experience it defines; this is the case in our fragment, as well as *El.* 1071, also *Hec.* 925 (expressive of oriental self-indulgence, cf. Collard 1991 *ad loc.*) and *Med.* 1161 (where the mirror provides a false reflection of the princess's beauty, as she is about to be deformed), cf. McCarty (1989) p. 180f. The intimacy of mirroring also hints at female seclusion, as opposed to the dimension of male social life and public participation; cf. Frontisi-Ducroux and Vernant (1997) p. 243. Hence, the reference to mirroring in a play about Danae may allude to the maiden's seclusion and sexuality, especially since a mirror appears as a detail in certain vase-paintings depicting her receiving the golden shower in the bronze chamber (cf. *LIMC* figg. 1, 2, 4, 6 and the relevant comments of Frontisi-Ducroux and Vernant 1997, p. 81). For further aspects of metaphorical catoptrics, cf. the discussions in McCarty (1989) pp. 161-179 and Assael (1992) pp. 562-571.

**ξανθίσματα**: dying the hair blond is expressive of female self-adornment. Menander (fr. inc. 450 K.-A.) presents dyed blond hair as the feature of a reckless woman: *νῦν δ' ἔπ' ἀπ' οἴκων τῶνδε· τὴν γυναῖκα γὰρ/ τὴν σώφρον' οὐ δεῖ τὰς τρίχας ξανθὰς ποιεῖν*. Cf. also E. *El.* 1071 (and Cropp 1988 *ad loc.*). Dionysus' perfumed blond curls in *Ba.* 235 (cf. Dodds 1960<sup>2</sup> *ad loc.*) are expressive of his effeminate beauty. Blond hair is a typical sign of beauty and the epithet *ξανθός* is attached mostly to goddesses and beautiful women: to Aphrodite

(S. *Inachus* fr. 277 R., *A.P.* 9. 605), Demeter (*Il.* 5. 500, *h.Hom. Cer.* 279, 302 and Allen and Halliday 1936<sup>2</sup> *ad loc.*), Athena (*Pi. N.* 10. 7, *Bacch. Epin.* 5. 92), the Graces (*Pi. N.* 5. 54, *A.P.* 7. 440), Helen (*Sappho* fr. 23. 5 L.-P., *Stesich.* S 103. 5, *Ibyc.* S 151.5 Davies, *E. Hel.* 1224 and Kannicht 1969 *ad loc.*), cf. also *Med.* 980, *IA* 681 (and Stockert 1992 *ad loc.*), *Longus* 1. 17.3, *A.P.* 5. 26, 259 and Handschur (1970) p. 145f. Occasionally *ξανθός* also describes heroes: Menelaus (*Il.* 3. 284, 4. 183, 17. 6, 23. 293, *Od.* 3. 168, 4. 30, 15. 147), Rhadamanthys (*Od.* 5. 64, 7. 323) and Meleager (*Il.* 2. 642).

3 ἔν δέ μοι τεκμήριον: ‘a compelling sign permitting firm conclusions to be drawn about a particular matter’ (see Lausberg 1998, p. 166, cf. also *Arist. Rh.* 1357b 4-17 and Cope 1867, pp. 160-168, *Quint. Inst.* 5. 9.3). The use of *τεκμήριον* is a Sicilian device, perhaps introduced in Athenian rhetoric by Protagoras (cf. Navarre 1900, pp. 21-23). Here, the term occurs in its forensic function, as defined by Aristotle, which is suggestive of the formality of the debate and of the speaker’s rhetorical self-consciousness. Cf. *E. Phoenix* fr. 811 Kp.: τάφανη τεκμηρίοισιν εικότως ἀλίσκεται, fr. inc. 898. 5f. Kp.: τεκμήριον δέ, μῆ λόγω μόνον μάθης,/ ἔργω δὲ δείξω τὸ σθένος τὸ τῆς θεοῦ. *A. Eum.* 447: τεκμήριον δὲ τῶνδέ σοι λέξω μέγα, 485: μαρτύριά τε καὶ τεκμήρια, 662: τεκμήριον δὲ τοῦδέ σοι δείξω λόγου, also *Th.* 2. 15.4, 39.2, 50.2 (and Hornblower 1987, pp. 101-104, Finley 1967, p. 9), *Antiph.* v 61.1, *Lys.* xiii 20.2, xix 25.1, xxi 9.1, *D.* xx 10.3, xxii 76.3, xxiii 207.1, *Isoc.* xix 51.1, xxi 11.1, *Lycurg.* i 61.3. Likewise, the speaker’s self-consciousness of his argumentative task is made evident in the *agones* in *Med.* 548f. (and Mastronarde 2002 *ad loc.*): ἐν τῶιδε δείξω πρῶτα μὲν σοφὸς γεγώς,/ ἔπειτα σώφρων, εἰτά σοι μέγας φίλος, *Andr.* 706, *HF* 173, *Tr.* 970: τήνδε δείξω μῆ λέγουσαν ἔνδικα, *Captive Melanippe* fr. 494. 3 Kp. (from a debate, cf. Jouan and van Looy 2000, p. 371): μάτην ἄρ' εἰς γυναῖκας ἐξ ἀνδρῶν ψόγος:/ ψάλλει κενὸν τόξευμα καὶ λέγει κακῶς:/ αἱ δ' εἶσ' ἀμείνους ἀρσένων. δείξω δ' ἐγώ.

4 οὐδεις προσαιτῶν βίον ἠράσθη βροτῶν: resolution of the third *longum*, which is common even in Euripides’ early plays (cf. Cropp and Fick 1985, pp. 29, 44f., 47, classifying it as resolution-type 6.1c, Devine and Stephens 1980, p. 66, Ceadel 1941, p. 72f.) and thus not chronologically distinctive. Lack of wealth inhibits leisure and self-adornment, which are here regarded as prerequisites for *eros*; cf. fr. inc. 895 Kp.: ἐν πλησμονῇ τοι Κύπρις, ἐν πεινῶντι δ' οὐ, [E.] *Rhadamanthys* fr. 659 N.<sup>2</sup>: ἔρωτες ἡμῖν εἰσι παντοῖοι βίου:/ ὁ μὲν γὰρ εὐγένειαν ἰμείρει λαβεῖν,/ τῷ δ' οὐχὶ τούτου φροντίς, ἀλλὰ

χρημάτων/ πολλῶν κεκλήσθαι βούλεται πάτωρ δόμοις, also Thgn. 2. 1383-1385: δῶρον ἰοστεφάνου/ γίνεται ἀνθρώποισιν ἔχειν χαλεπώτατον ἄχθος,/ ἄν μὴ Κυπρογενῆς δῶι λύσιν ἐκ χαλεπῶν, Pl. *Symp.* 197d. 7: (ἔρωσ) τρυφῆς, ἀβρότητος, χλιδῆς [...] πατήρ, *A.P.* 5. 30, 31, 33, 34, 50: καὶ πενίη καὶ ἔρωσ δύο μοι κακά· καὶ τὸ μὲν οἴσω/ κούφως, πῦρ δὲ φέρειν Κύπριδος οὐ δύναμαι, *A.P.* 121.

**5 ἡβητής:** this reading is unmetrical. I would side with Schmidt, who suggested *εὐπετής* ('favourable') fitting both metre and context; cf. *Cyc.* 526: ὅπου τιθῆι τις, ἐνθάδ' ἐστὶν εὐπετής, *Ph.* 689: πάντα δ' εὐπετῆ θεοῖς, *A. Supp.* 1011, Pl. *R.* 365c. The notion of *εὐπέτεια* ('easiness of having or getting') suits the basic idea of the fragment; cf. *X. Oec.* 5. 5.5: εὐπέτειαν τροφῆς παρέχουσα, Pl. *Lg.* 718d: οὐ γὰρ πολλή τις εὐπέτεια οὐδὲ ἀφθονία τῶν προθυμουμένων, *Hdt.* 5.20: γυναικῶν πολλή ἐστι ὕμιν εὐπετεῖη.

#### Fr. 9:

As noted above (cf. introductory note on **fr. 8**), this fragment together with **fr. 7, 8** and **10** arguing for the overwhelming power of wealth could be assigned to Acrisius in the context of a possible formal debate with Danae, instigated by his false inference that his daughter was bribed to be seduced (probably on the basis of pieces of gold discovered in her chamber, cf. note on **fr. 7**). The rhetorically elaborate lines of the present fragment argue for wealth as basic criterion for marriage, asserting that monetary values overshadow the traditional qualities of noble lineage, if the latter is not combined with wealth. A parallel argument with a different purpose is employed by Macareus in his *agon* with Aeolus in *E. Aeolus* fr. 22 Kn.: τὴν δ' εὐγένειαν πρὸς θεῶν μὴ μοι λέγε,/ ἐν χρήμασιν τόδ' ἐστί, μὴ γαυροῦ, πάτερ·/ κύκλω γὰρ ἔρπει· τῷ μὲν ἔσθ', δ' δ' οὐκ ἔχει·/ κοινοῖσι δ' αὐτοῖς χρώμεθ'· ᾧ δ' ἄν ἐν δόμοις/ χρόνον συνοικῆ πλεῖστον, οὗτος εὐγενής.<sup>218</sup>

The speaker is 'playing' with contrast in terms of style and values; stylistic *antithesis* is a common rhetorical figure employed in *agones* (cf. indicatively *Hipp.* 986f., *Ph.* 360, 389, 433f., *Or.* 546f. and Lloyd 1992, p. 34, Lausberg 1998, p. 350), while *antithesis* of content is an intrinsic feature of Euripidean debates, on the basis of the pattern

<sup>218</sup> For the *agon* in the *Aeolus*, cf. Jouan and van Looy (1998) p. 25 and Webster (1967) p. 158.

of *dissoi logoi* (cf. Solmsen 1975, p. 30f.). More specifically, emphatic contrast is drawn (a) with the **juxtaposition** of contradictory terms: οἱ μὲν εὐγενεῖς- οἱ δ' οὐδὲν ἦσαν, πένητες- ὄλβιοι, πρόσθεν-νῦν, ὄλβιῳ-πένητι, κακῶ-κάγαθῶ, κακός-† ὄλβιοι, ὁ μὴ ἔχων- οἱ δ' ἔχοντες, (b) between the qualities of lineage and monetary values, as a result of the **detachment** of wealth from aristocracy: εὐγενεῖς πένητες ὄντες, οἱ δ' οὐδὲν ἦσαν πρόσθεν- ὄλβιοι ('prosperous, rich') δὲ νῦν, ὄλβιῳ κακῶ ('of low birth')- πένητι κάγαθῶ ('well-born'). Further rhetorical figures are the *chiastic anadiplosis* of l. 8 (see note *ad loc.*) and the rhetorical question of ll. 1-5.

**1-5:** The detachment of wealth from lineage and the contestation of the latter if not combined with monetary values is an anachronism in a heroic-age myth (cf. note on coinage in l. 4). The significant economic upheaval of the seventh and sixth century due to the colonization and expansion of trade and craft activity led to the monetization of economic life. As the level of prosperity rose, more opportunities for social mobility appeared, which eventually caused the decline of aristocracy. The latter was also severely harmed by the 'hoplite reform' of the seventh century, which brought prosperous commoners into high military ranks (cf. Bryant 1996, pp. 66f., 90f.). Consequently, those who were once *kakoi* ('of low birth') became prosperous, successful and thus powerful in view of their potential for effective contribution in war and public life. Money thus became a distinct value compared to other basic values, such as lineage, virtue or justice (for the comparison between money and justice, cf. note on *Dictys fr. 15*); cf. Seaford (2004) pp. 160-162, 164, 170. Theognis alludes to the stresses and strains upon values imposed by the invention of money; 173-192 (of which cf. particularly 173: ἄνδρ' ἀγαθὸν πενίη πάντων δάμνησι μάλιστα, 177f.: καὶ γὰρ ἀνήρ πενίηι δεδμημένος οὔτε τι εἰπεῖν / οὔθ' ἔρξαι δύναται, γλῶσσα δέ οἱ δέδεται), 315: πολλοί τοι πλουτοῦσι κακοί, ἀγαθοὶ δὲ πένονται. Cf. also Alcaeus fr. 360 L.-P.: ὡς γὰρ δήποτ' Ἀριστόδαμον φαῖσ' οὐκ ἀπάλαμνον ἐν Σπάρται λόγον εἶπην, χρήματ' ἀνήρ, πένιχρος δ' οὐδ' εἰς πέλετ' ἔσλος οὐδὲ τίμιος and the recurrence of this view in Pi. I. 2. 10 (and Privitera 1982 *ad loc.*), E. El. 37f. (and Cropp 1988 *ad loc.*): λαμπροὶ γὰρ ἐς γένος γε, χρημάτων δὲ δὴ/ πένητες, ἔνθεν ἠὲ γένει' ἀπόλλυται, Ph. 438-442, *Aeolus* fr. 20 Kn.: μὴ πλοῦτον εἶπης· οὐχὶ θαυμάζω θεόν,/ ὄν χῶ κάκιστος ῥαδίως ἐκτήσατο, *Bellerophon* fr. 285. 11-13 Kn. (and Collard, Cropp and Lee 1995, p. 113): ὅστις δὲ γαῦρον σπέρμα γενναῖόν τ' ἔχων/ βίου σπανίζει, τῷ γένει μὲν εὐτυχεῖ,/ πενία δ' ἐλάσσων ἐστίν, ἐν

δ' ἀλγύνεται, *Alcmene* fr. 95 Kn.: ἀλλ' οὐδὲν ἠγύγεια πρὸς τὰ χρήματα./ τὸν γὰρ κάκιστον πλούτος εἰς πρώτους ἄγει, *Andromeda* fr. 142 Kn. (and Klimek-Winter 1993, p. 278f.): χρυσὸν μάλιστα βούλομαι δόμοις ἔχειν./ καὶ δοῦλος ὦν γὰρ τίμιος πλουτῶν ἀνὴρ./ ἐλεύθερος δὲ χρεῖος ὦν οὐδὲν σθένει, *Ag. Eq.* 158 and Adkins (1972) pp. 37-41, Adkins (1960) p. 76f., Seaford (1998) pp. 121-123. The overall importance of money in the second half of the fifth century emerges from the stress laid on its significance for the Peloponnesian War, as attested in *Th.* 1. 80.3f., 83, 121.2, 141.3, 2. 13.2f., also [X.] *Ath. Pol.* 3.3 (cf. Seaford 1998, p. 120). For the superiority of wealth to lineage, unless combined with the former, as criterion for marriage, cf. E. *Erechtheus* fr. 362. 14f.: ἔχειν δὲ πειρῶ· τοῦτο γὰρ τό τ' εὐγενές./ καὶ τοὺς γάμους δίδωσι τοὺς πρώτους ἔχειν, *Thyestes* fr. 395 Kn.: πλούτου δ' ἀπορρυέντος ἀσθενεῖς γάμοι./ τὴν μὲν γὰρ εὐγένειαν αἰνοῦσιν βροτοί./ μᾶλλον δὲ κηδεύουσι τοῖς εὐδαίμοσιν, also *Thgn.* 185-190: γῆμαι δὲ κακὴν κακοῦ οὐ μελεδαίνει./ ἐσθλὸς ἀνὴρ, ἦν οἱ χρήματα πολλὰ δίδωι./ οὐδὲ γυνὴ κακοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀναίνεται εἶναι ἄκοιτις./ πλουσίου, ἀλλ' ἀφνεὸν βούλεται ἀντ' ἀγαθοῦ./ χρήματα μὲν τιμῶσι· καὶ ἐκ κακοῦ ἐσθλὸς ἔγημε./ καὶ κακὸς ἐξ ἀγαθοῦ· πλούτος ἔμειξε γένος. For marriage between members of the Athenian élite based on calculation of property, social position and political advantage, cf. Davies (1984) pp. 117-120.

1-3: The antithesis is reinforced by the cross-arrangement of ideas:

οἱ μὲν εὐγενεῖς (status) οὐδὲν ἀλφάνουσ' (insignificance)  
οἱ δ' οὐδὲν ἦσαν (insignificance) δόξαν φέρονται (status)

The mutability of *olbos* is a commonplace; cf. *HF* 511f., *Tr.* 581f., *El.* 943 (and Cropp 1988 *ad loc.*), *Ph.* 555-558, *Or.* 340, *Ino* fr. 420, *Meleagros* fr. 518, fr. inc. 1073 Kn., also *Bacch.* fr. 24 S.-M., *S. Ant.* 951-954 (and Griffith 1999 *ad loc.*), *OT* 1282-1285, *Tereus* fr. 591 R., *Alexis* fr. inc. 283 K.-A., *Men. Dysc.* 797 (and Handley 1965, p. 271). Cf. notes on *Danae* fr. 15. 9 and *Dictys* fr. 2. 8.

1 ἀρ' οἶσθ': 'do you realize that...'; cf. Dover (1968) p. 249 and Olson (1998) p. 148. A formally signposted rhetorical question introducing the argument in an emphatic manner; cf. its use in the debates in *Hec.* 239, *IA* 337-339: οἶσθ', ὅτ' ἐσπούδαζες ἄρχειν Δαναΐδαις πρὸς Ἴλιον./ τῶι δοκεῖν μὲν οὐχὶ χρήζων, τῶι δὲ βούλεσθαι θέλων./ ὡς ταπεινὸς ἦσθα, πάσης δεξιᾶς προσθηγάνων, cf. also *S. Ant.* 2f. (and Griffith 1999 *ad loc.*): ἀρ' οἶσθ'

ὅ τι Ζεὺς τῶν ἀπ' Οἰδίου κακῶν / ὅποιον οὐχὶ νῶν ἔτι ζώσαιν τελεῖ; [A.] *Pr.* 328f. (and Griffith 1983 *ad loc.*): ἢ οὐκ οἶσθ' ἀκριβῶς ὦν περισσόφρων ὅτι/ γλώσση ματαία ζημία προστρίβεται; *Ar. Ach.* 481: ἄρ' οἶσθ' ὅσον τὸν ἀγῶν' ἀγωνιεῖ τάχα, *V.* 4, *Pax* 371: ἄρ' οἶσθα θάνατον ὅτι προεῖφ' ὁ Ζεὺς ὃς ἄν/ ταύτην ἀνορύττων εὔρεθῆ; *An.* 609, 668, 1221, 1246, *Alexis Tarantinoi* fr. 222 K.-A., *Mnesimachus Philippus* fr.7 K.-A.: ἄρ' οἶσθα,/ ὅτι ἡ πρὸς ἄνδρα ἐστὶ σοι μαχητέον, *Nicostratus* fr. inc. 30 K.-A.: ἄρ' οἶσθ' ὅτι τῆς πενίας ὄπλον / ἡ παρρησία; *D.* xviii 195, *Pl. Crat.* 397e, 418c, *Euthyd.* 279e, 301c.

**ὄθούνεχ'**: it occurs in the place of ὡς or ὅτι ('that') frequently after *οἶδα*; cf. *Alc.* 796: καὶ σάφ' οἶδ' ὄθούνεκα, fr. inc. 1024 Kn.: εἰδὼς ὄθούνεκ', *S. El.* 47, 617, 1308, *OT* 572, *Tr.* 813: οὐ κάτοιισθ' ὄθούνεκα, *Ph.* 634, *OC* 853: οἶδ' ἐγώ, γνώση τάδε,/ ὄθούνεκ', 944: ἦδη δ' ὄθούνεκ'. In other cases, it is explanatory ('because'); cf. *Ion* 662, *Hel.* 104, 591, fr. inc. 862 Kn., *S. Ai.* 123, 553, *TrGF* II fr. adesp. 116 Kn.-Sn.

**εὐγενεῖς**: 'well-born'; cf. indicatively *Alc.* 332, *Heracl.* 233, *Hipp.* 26, 710, *Hec.* 381, *HF* 50, 292, *Tr.* 583, 614, *Ion* 1540, *Ph.* 1623, *Alexandros* fr. 52 Kn., but cf. note on *Dictys* fr. 14. 2-4 for justice as a prerequisite for *εὐγένεια*.

**2 ἀλφάνουσ'**: 'to earn, to bring in'; in tragedy it occurs only here and metaphorically in *Med.* 297 (φθόνον ἀλφάνουσι 'to incur envy'), while in Homer it is used in the aorist (*Il.* 21. 79, *Od.* 15. 453, 17. 250: ἵνα μοι βίον πολὺν ἄλφοι, 20. 383). To judge by its use in *IG* I<sup>3</sup> 84.15 (ὀπόσην ἄν ἄλφη μίσθωσιν τὸ τέμενος), *Ar. Thesmophoriazousae* II fr. 339 K.-A. and *Eupolis Taxiarchoi* fr. 273 K.-A. (both comic passages are referring to auctions), it seems to have been also a commercial term (cf. Mastronarde's note on *Med.* 297). Cf. additionally *Men. Homopatrioi* fr. 263 K.-A., *Schol. Anon. Arist. Rhet.* (Rabe, p. 126): τὸ ἀλφάνω δηλοῖ τὸ λαμβάνω ἢ τὸ εὐρίσκω, *Phot.* α 1065 *Theodorides*, *Sud.* α 1446 *Adler*, *Hsch.* α 3325 *Latte*.

**ἔτι**: indicative of the transition of social conditions and values; cf. also πρόσθεν and νῦν (l. 3) and above, note on ll. 1-5.

**3 οἱ δ' οὐδὲν ἦσαν**: 'worthless, useless, of no account', corresponding to the epic use of *οὐτιδανός* and widely found in Euripides and Sophocles; cf. *HF* 314: νῦν δ' οὐδὲν ἐσμεν, 634f.: οἱ τ' ἀμείνονες βροτῶν/ οἱ τ' οὐδὲν ὄντες, *Hel.* 1194, *Ph.* 598, *Or.* 717f., *Bellerophon* fr. 285. 15 Kn. (and Collard, Cropp and Lee 1995 *ad loc.*): ὁ δ' οὐδὲν οὐδεὶς, διὰ τέλους δὲ δυστυχῶν, *S. Ai.* 1231, *El.* 677, *Ph.* 951, 1217, *Tereus* fr. 583. 1-3 R.: νῦν δ' οὐδὲν εἰμι



χωρίς. ἀλλὰ πολλάκις/ ἔβλεψα ταύτη τὴν γυναικείαν φύσιν,/ ὡς οὐδέν ἐσμεν, also Pi. N. 6. 3, Hdt. 9. 58.2, Ar. Eq. 158, V. 997. Cf. Moorhouse (1965) pp. 31-35, 38f. and for the parallel use of *μηδείας*, cf. note on *Dictys fr. 2. 8*.

**ὄλβιοι:** (*LSJ*<sup>9</sup>) ‘prosperous’, here, as regularly in Euripides, it refers to material possessions (cf. *Med.* 740, *Hec.* 493, *Andr.* 940, *Hel.* 431, *Phaethon fr.* 776 Kn., *Phrixos fr.* 825 Kn. and McDonald 1978, p. 304f., De Heer 1969, p. 70f.), cf. Sol. fr. 6 W., Thgn. 1. 153, A. *Pers.* 252, *Th.* 771, also ‘blessed, fortunate’ in general (cf. Thgn. 1. 934, 2. 1253, Hdt. 1. 30-32, A. *Supp.* 526: ὄλβιε Ζεῦ, S. *El.* 160-162). *Olbos* tends to be associated with Oriental opulence (cf. A. *Pers.* 252, E. *Hec.* 492, 925, *HF* 642f., *Tr.* 108f., 582 and Hall 1989, pp. 154-56, Easterling 1984, p. 36f.) and tyranny (cf. Sol. fr. 33 W., Pi. P. 3. 85-89, 11. 52f., Th. 1. 13.1 and O’Neil 1986, p. 28); cf. note on *Dictys fr. 2. 7*. For the *olbos-penia* contrast, cf. indicatively E. *Supp.* 176f.: σοφὸν δὲ πενίαν τ’ εἰσορᾶν τὸν ὄλβιον/ πένητά τ’ ἐς τοὺς πλουσίους ἀποβλέπειν, *HF* 588f.: πολλοὺς πένητας, ὄλβιους δὲ τῷ λόγῳ, 647f., *Archelaus fr.* 230 (and Harder 1985 *ad loc.*): δυνάμεσθ’ ἔτι γὰρ θάλλει πενία/ κακὸν ἔχθιστον, φεύγει δ’ ὄλβος, *Polyidus fr.* 641 Kn.

**4 δόξαν φέρονται:** ‘they earn repute’; cf. for instance, *Med.* 540: δόξαν ἔσχεες, *Hipp.* 432: δόξαν ἐσθλήν καρπίζεται, *Hec.* 489: δόξαν κεκτηῖσθαι, also Sol. fr. 13. 4 W.: πρὸς ἀπάντων/ ἀνθρώπων αἰεὶ δόξαν ἔχειν ἀγαθήν, 13. 34 W.: ἦν αὐτὸς δόξαν ἕκαστος ἔχει, Pi. O. 8. 64: ποθεινοτάταν δόξαν φέρειν, Th. 2. 11: μεγίστην δόξαν οἰσόμενοι.

**νομίσματος:** generally ‘custom, institution’ (cf. A. *Th.* 269, E. *IT* 1471, Ar. *Nu.* 248), here it bears the specific sense of ‘coin, money’ (cf. Hdt. 1. 94, 3. 56, 4. 166, Ar. *Ra.* 720, 722). The reference to currency and money in the treatment of a heroic-age myth is an anachronism (archaeological evidence indicates that the earliest development of coinage in Greece possibly occurred at the end of the seventh century, cf. indicatively Seaford 2004, pp. 129-131, citing relevant bibliography, and Schaps 2004, pp. 93-110), but one which in tragedy seems to be so firmly absorbed into the texture, that it remains oblique (cf. Lowe 1988, p. 41f., Easterling 1987, p. 7); cf. similarly *Erechtheus fr.* 362. 29 Kn. Accordingly, *νόμισμα* may denote ‘coin, currency’, while alluding at the same time to the very conventions of the *polis* which impose the acceptability of currency (cf. Arist. *EN* 1133a 19-33, *Pol.* 1257b and Seaford 1998, p. 135f.); in *Oedipus fr.* 542 Kn. (οὔτοι νόμισμα λευκὸς ἄργυρος μόνον/ καὶ χρυσὸς ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ κἀρετὴ βροτοῖς/ νόμισμα κεῖται πᾶσιν, ἦ

χρησθαι χρεών), for instance, the sense of νόμισμα ranges from the specific meaning of 'coins made of precious metal' to its general sense as 'institution' (cf. also Easterling 1987, p. 7). Cf. however, the less oblique references to coins in satyr-play: *Cyc.* 160 (cf. Seaford 1984 and Ussher 1978 *ad loc.*), *Sciron* fr. 675 Kn. (where Silenus is trying to sell prostitutes for coins).

5 συμπλέκοντες: 'they join'; cf. *IA* 292 ('to bind together'), *Th.* 4.4 ('to join hands'), *Pl. Soph.* 242d 7, *Pol.* 309b 7, *Str.* 10. 3.13 ('to connect'), *Plb.* 2. 45.2 ('to become intimate'). The middle usage of the verb is unattested, therefore συμπλέκοντες is preferable to συμπλέκονται.

καί... σπέρμα καὶ γάμους τέκνων: σπέρμα 'origin, descent' (cf. *Heracl.* 540, *IT* 980, *Ba.* 35, *A. Supp.* 275, *S. Ant.* 581), 'offspring' (cf. *Med.* 816, *S. El.* 1508), here presumably in the more general sense of 'breed', i.e. the wealthy class; cf. *Hec.* 254f.: ἀχάριστον ὕμῶν σπέρμ', ὅσοι δημηγόρους/ ζηλοῦτε τιμάς (and Collard 1991 *ad loc.*), *IA* 520: τὸ μαντικὸν πᾶν σπέρμα φιλότιμον κακόν, fr. inc. 1012 Kn.: ἀεὶ ποτ' <ἐστὶ> σπέρμα κηρύκων λάλον. Cf. note on fr. 15. 6: θνητῶν σπέρμα ('mankind'). The two καὶ occur as correponsive ('both their breed and the marriage of their children'); cf. Denniston (1954<sup>2</sup>) p. 323f. Hence, σπέρμα and γάμους τέκνων are emphatic tautology.

6 δοῦναι: reference to an act of betrothal; the legal term is ἐκδίδομι (cf. indicatively [D.] xliii 54, *Is.* i 39. 6, *Pl. R.* 362b, *E. Andr.* 343). Marriage in Athens was arranged between the father and the prospective son-in-law with a form of contract known as *engye*, a normal component of which was the fixing of the dowry. According to this contract, the woman passed from the *kyrieia* of her father under the tutelage of her husband, with the purpose of producing legitimate offspring. Cf. *Hdt.* 6. 130. 10-12: τῷ δὲ Ἀλκμέωνος Μεγακλεί ἐγγυῶ παῖδα τὴν ἐμὴν Ἀγαρίστην νόμοισι τοῖσι Ἀθηναίων, [D.] xlvii 18, *Alexis Epikleros* fr. 79 K.-A. (and Arnott 1996, p. 217f.) and Harrison (1968) II pp. 3-9, Wolff (1944) pp. 48-50, Just (1989) pp. 43-49, Erdmann (1934) pp. 267-276, cf. also note on fr. 4.2. Acts of betrothal are very common in Menander; cf. *Dysc.* 761-763 (and Handley 1965 *ad loc.*): τοιγαροῦν ἐγωγέ σοι ἐγγυῶ δίδωμι, 842-844: ἀλλ' ἐγγυῶ παίδων ἐπ' ἀρότῳ γνησίων/ τὴν θυγατέρ' ἤδη μειράκιόν σοι προῖκά τε/ δίδωμ' ἐπ' αὐτῇ τρία τάλαντα, *Peric.* 1013-1015 (cf. Gomme and Sandbach 1973, p. 531): ταύτην γνησίων/ παίδων ἐπ' ἀρότῳ σοι δίδωμι./ -λαμβάνω- καὶ προῖκα τρία τάλαντα, *Sam.* 726-728 (and Bain 1983 *ad loc.*):

μαρτύρων ἐναντίον σοι τήνδ' ἐγὼ δίδωμ' ἔχειν/ γνησίων παιδῶν ἐπ' ἀρότωι, προῖκα τὰμὰ πάνθ' ὅταν/ ἀποθάνω γ', ὃ μὴ γένοιτ', ἀλλ' <εἰς>αεὶ ζώειν, *Mis.* 444f.

**κακῶ:** here 'of low birth', as opposed to *κάγαθῶ* ('well-born') of the next line. Both adjectives here commend the traditional qualities of *aretē*. On the other hand, the sense of *κακός* in l. 8 is detached from the notion of lineage, denoting baseness due to poverty. For the range of nuances of *kakos*, cf. notes on ll. 1-5 and on *Dictys fr.* 4.2.

**8** A case of *chiastic anadiplosis* at the point of the *caesura*. Cf. indicatively, Verg. *Ecl.* 4. 3: *si canimus silvas, silvae sint consule dignae*, Ov. *Met.* 6. 376: *quamvis sint sub aqua, sub aqua maledicere temptant* and Lausberg (1998) p. 278.

**κακός δ' ὃ μὴ ἔχων:** synizesis of η with ε, producing a long syllable. *Κακός* here in the sense of 'worthless, insignificant', because of his ineffectiveness to contribute to public life, which deprives him of prestige; cf. Adkins (1972) pp. 38-41. Cf. Anon. *Iambl.* 3. 11-13 D.-K. (and Den Boer 1979, p. 174f.): *κακία προσγίγνεται μετὰ τὴν συναγωγὴν τῶν χρημάτων, ἐὰν ἐκ πλουσίου πένης γένηται καὶ ἐκ κεκτημένου μηδὲν ἔχων*, where *kakia* (here 'ruin') is identified with *penia*. Cf. Hemelrijk (1925) p. 21 and for further references, note on 1-5.

**οἱ δ' ἔχοντες † ὄλβιοι:** Hense aptly observed that in this context *ὄλβιοι* is a synonym of *οἱ ἔχοντες*, while what is needed is an antonym of *κακός* (here 'base, worthless'). His emendation *εὐγενεῖς* can be supported by *Aeolus fr.* 22. 4 Kn.: *ῶ δ' ἄν ἐν δόμοις (τὰ χρήματα) χρόνον συνοικῆ πλεῖστον, οὗτος εὐγενής* and *Erechtheus fr.* 362. 14f. Kn. (cf. West 1983, p. 72) and would offer an interesting redefinition of the notion of *εὐγένεια*, as compared to its use in l. 1, while corresponding to the successive *antitheseis* of the passage. West's alternative emendation *οὐκέτι* (cf. *loc. cit.*) is palaeographically attractive.

#### Fr. 10:

These lines are consistent with the argument of **fr.** 7 and 9 for the overwhelming power of wealth and thus likely to have been uttered by the same speaker, i.e. possibly Acrisius. The allegation that nobody can resist money probably serves to support the accusation of Danae's bribery (*ἀνήρ* seems here to occur in a generalizing sense, cf. note *ad loc.*).

**1 κρείσσων χρημάτων:** cf. Th. 2. 60.5f. (and schol. *ad loc.*, also Gomme, Andrewes and Dover 1945-1981 and Hornblower 1991 *ad loc.*): φιλόπολις τε καὶ χρημάτων κρείσσων and 2. 65.8: χρημάτων διαφανῶς ἀδωρότατος, describing Pericles' integrity. The theme of bribery and corruption is recurrent in Athenian society and politics; cf. its reflection in *Supp.* 236, *S. Ant.* 302f., *OT* 124f., *X. Mem.* 1. 5.6 and for more detail, cf. Harvey (1985) pp. 89-113, Wankel (1982) pp. 29-47, Schaps (2004) pp. 129-131. For the corrupting power of wealth and its opposition to justice, cf. note on *Dictys fr.* 15.2.

**οὔδεις ἀνὴρ:** here in the generalizing sense of 'no one', rather than 'no man', including Danae among those who cannot resist wealth. Cf. particularly *Hypsipyle fr.* 760 Kn. (and Bond 1964 *ad loc.*): ἔξω γὰρ ὀργῆς πᾶς ἀνὴρ σοφώτερος, which is evidently uttered with reference to Eurydice, also *Or.* 1523: πᾶς ἀνὴρ, κᾶν δοῦλος ἢ τις, ἥδεται τὸ φῶς ὀρώων, *Meleagros fr.* 532 Kn.: κατθανὼν δὲ πᾶς ἀνὴρ/ γῆ καὶ σκιά.

**2 πλὴν εἴ τις:** to the examples cited by Kannicht (2004, I p. 377: *Ar. Av.* 601: οὔδεις οἶδεν τὸν θησαυρὸν τὸν ἐμὸν πλὴν εἴ τις ἄρ' ὄρνις, *Th.* 531f.: ἀλλ' οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶ τῶν ἀναισχύντων φύσει γυναικῶν/ οὐδὲν κάκιον εἰς ἅπαντα πλὴν ἄρ' εἰ γυναῖκες, *X. Hell.* 4. 2.21) I would add [D.] x 39.3, xl 3.4, D. xviii 320.5, xxi 158.3: ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ οὐχ ὀρῶ, πλὴν εἰ ταῦτά τις θεωρεῖ, xxiv 42.5, 67.6, lxi 3.6: ἴστε γὰρ πάνθ' ὡς ἐγένετο, πλὴν εἴ τι παρέλιπον, *Is.* iv 29.5: οὔτε εἰσφορὰν οὐδεμίαν εἰσενήνοχε, πλὴν εἴ τι ἄρα ἐξ ὄτου τῶν Νικοστράτου ἡμφεσβήτησεν, *Pl. Apol.* 18c.2: ὁ δὲ πάντων ἀλογώτατον, ὅτι οὐδὲ τὰ ὀνόματα οἶόν τε αὐτῶν εἰδέναι καὶ εἰπεῖν, πλὴν εἴ τις κωμωδοποιὸς τυγχάνει ὢν, *Pol.* 286d, *R.* 366d.1: οἶδεν ὅτι πλὴν εἴ τις θεία φύσει δυσχεραίνων τὸ ἀδικεῖν ἢ ἐπιστήμην λαβὼν ἀπέχεται αὐτοῦ, τῶν γε ἄλλων οὔδεις ἐκὼν δίκαιος. Unlike the cited examples, which introduce a genuine modification, usually slight, in our fragment the conditional clause is not continued and the apparent concession is undermined ('except somebody—but I do not see who that person is').

### Fr. 10a:

This testimony has been widely associated with fr. 10 and it has been aptly suggested that a possible interpolation of *εἰς τις* and *ἐρῶ* in the place of *εἶ τις* and *ὀρῶ* may have given ground to Satyrus' inference.<sup>219</sup> The similarity (only one person = except Socrates) is tempting; considering, however, the vagueness of the statement in Satyrus and how much of the *Danae* is missing, it cannot be absolutely ruled out that he may be referring to a completely lost passage perhaps also coming from the *agon*, given the reference to *πλεονεξία*.

Euripides' association with Socrates is reported in anecdotal, biographical and comic contexts; cf. *Ar. Ra.* 1491f. (and Dover 1993 *ad loc.*), *Ael. V.H.* 2. 13.41-47, *Gell. N.A.* 15. 20, *Sud.* ε 3695 (Adler). Moreover, the comic passages in *Ar. Clouds I* fr. 392 K.-A., *Teleclides* fr. inc. 41 K.-A., *Callias Pedetae* fr. 15 K.-A., as well as *Vit. Eur. TrGF* V,1 Test. A1 IA 9-12 go even further by presenting Socrates as having contributed to the composition of Euripides' plays.<sup>220</sup> The latter was evidently interested in his contemporary intellectual activity, such as the sophistic movement (cf. notes on *Dictys* frs. 4, 14. 2-4), rhetoric (cf. introductory notes on *Dictys* frs. 2, 4), natural philosophy (cf. note on fr. 15.2), perhaps also Socratic theories; cf. Egli's cautious survey (2003, pp. 164-178) of Euripidean passages thought to reflect Socratic doctrines (cf. especially *Hipp.* 380-383 and *Chrysippus* fr. 841 Kn., perhaps also *Med.* 1078-1080, studied in relation to Socrates' definition of incontinence, as occurring in *Pl. Prt.* 352d.5-353c.2 and *X. Mem.* 3. 9.4).<sup>221</sup> Ancient biography, however, to the context of which Satyrus' work belongs, tends to approach poetic passages by a process of inference and oversimplification, mainly aiming to draw biographical material from a poet's own work, as well as from anecdotes (for this trend of ancient biography and criticism, cf. note on T1).<sup>222</sup> It is thus self-evident that a personal reference to Socrates would be completely out of place in a tragic play and that Satyrus'

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<sup>219</sup> Cf. von Arnim (1913) p. 4, followed by Arrighetti (1964) p. 115, Jouan and van Looy (2000) p. 66, n. 34 and Kannicht (2004) *ad loc.*

<sup>220</sup> For a collection of all relevant references, cf. Ippolito (1999) pp. 37-42, Egli (2003) pp. 157-163, Arrighetti (1964) pp. 113-115.

<sup>221</sup> Cf. additionally Ippolito (1999) p. 41 f., Irwin (1983) pp. 183-197.

<sup>222</sup> For Satyrus' method, cf. Arrighetti (1993) pp. 232-234, Arrighetti (1987) pp. 145f., 164-167, Dihle (1956) p. 105f., Momigliano (1993) p. 70 and for this trend of ancient biography in general, Lefkowitz (1981) pp. viii-x, 88-104, Fairweather (1974) pp. 232-275, Lefkowitz (1978) pp. 465-467.

testimony is obviously based on the arbitrary interpretation perhaps of **fr. 10**,<sup>223</sup> presumably aiming to present Euripides as expressing his personal admiration for Socrates (for the practice of interpreting tragic passages as expressing the poet's own view in ancient criticism and biography, cf. note on **T1**). An eloquent parallel occurs in D.L. 2. 44, where Euripides is alleged to have alluded to Socrates' death in *Palamedes* fr. 588 Kn., which was proved false by Philochorus (*FGrH* 328 F 221), as Euripides died before Socrates: Εὐριπίδης δὲ καὶ ὄνειδίζει αὐτοῖς ἐν τῷ Παλαμήδει λέγων 'ἐκάνετ' ἐκάνετε τὰν πάνσοφον, <ὦ Δαναοί,> τὰν οὐδὲν ἀλγύνουσαν ἀηδόνα μουσᾶν'. καὶ τάδε μὲν ᾔδε. Φιλόχορος δὲ φησι προτελευτήσαι τὸν Εὐριπίδην τοῦ Σωκράτους.

### Fr. 11:

These lines and **fr. 12** contest the position of **fr. 9** for the high status of the wealthy class, with reference to its public, private and religious activity. The refutation of the argument for the superiority of wealth and, in turn, for the power of money over love (cf. **frs. 7-10**, for which Acrisius is the strongest candidate), must come from the party defending the opposite view in the debate, evidently in an effort to release Danae from the probable accusation of bribery. As argued above (cf. introductory note on **fr. 8**), the likeliest character for this sympathetic role would be Danae herself. The present fragment seems to be a reply to the argument of **fr. 9** on the impact of wealthy people (ll. 1-5) and the reference to their religious activity (l. 6f.) may have aimed to refute a possible allegation of the opponent that the wealthy are more pious than the poor, as they offer rich sacrifice. The further development of the argument as to their conduct in the religious sphere in **fr. 12. 3** seems also to favour this possibility.

Here, as in **fr. 9**, the successive *antitheseis* display rhetorical elaboration: φιλοῦσι βροτοὶ-ἐγὼ δὲ (the speaker's position, as opposed to public opinion), ὀλβίων-πένης, σοφοῦς τίθεσθαι τοὺς λόγους- εἶ λέγη (controversy of seeming and being), also σοφοῦς τίθεσθαι τοὺς λόγους- γελᾶν (contrasting reactions), μικρὰ θύοντας τέλη- τῶν βουθυτούντων.

<sup>223</sup> So Arrighetti (1993) p. 233.

1-4: the speaker addresses the question of the status of the wealthy class (as alleged in fr. 9) by referring to its role in public contexts. Class-consciousness in Athens lay in the distinction between rich (the *élite*) and poor (the basis of the *demos*, cf. note on l. 3). The passage reflects the continuing deference to wealth and status and the disproportionate influence of the leisured class on the public life of democratic Athens; in terms of political participation, for instance, the *élite* was heavily overrepresented in the set of all politically active citizens by employing personal networking and material contributions to the state (cf. Connor 1971, pp. 18-22, Ober 1989, p. 85f., 116-118, Hunter 1988, p. 29, Finley 1983, p. 83). Our speaker's support of the *sophia* and *eusebeia* of members of the *demos*, on the other hand, points to his democratic orientation. Similarly, in the gathering of the Argives in *Or.* 884-945 (cf. Porter 1994, pp. 73-76, Willink 1986, p. 224), the equivalent of the *πένης ἀνὴρ* of our fragment is the prudent and righteous farmer (917-930) distinguished again from the wealthy class (887-897), as well as from the demagogue, who manipulates the mob (902-916).

In a different light, Socrates disapproves of the participation of the many in political decisions, in view of their lack of expert knowledge (*Pl. Prt.* 319d): ἐπειδὴν δὲ τι περὶ τῶν τῆς πόλεως διοικήσεως δέη βουλευέσασθαι, συμβουλεύει αὐτοῖς ἀνιστάμενος περὶ τούτων ὁμοίως μὲν τέκτων, ὁμοίως δὲ χαλκεὺς σκυτοτόμος, ἔμπορος ναύκληρος, πλούσιος, πένης, γενναῖος, ἀγεννής, καὶ τούτοις οὐδεὶς τοῦτο ἐπιπλήττει ὥσπερ τοῖς πρότερον, ὅτι οὐδαμῶθεν μαθῶν, οὐδὲ ὄντος διδασκάλου οὐδενὸς αὐτῶ, ἔπειτα συμβουλεύειν ἐπιχειρεῖ.

1 φιλοῦσι γὰρ βροτοὶ: 'people tend to...'; reference to the *communis opinio*. Cf. *S. Ai.* 988f.: τοῖς θανοῦσί τοι/ φιλοῦσι πάντες κειμένοις ἐπεγγεῶν, *Mimn.* fr. 24 W.: οἶα δὴ φιλοῦσιν οἱ ἰατροὶ λέγειν/ τὰ φαῦλα μείζω καὶ τὰ δειν' ὑπὲρ φόβον,/ πυργοῦντες αὐτούς, *Pl. R.* 549e: καὶ ἄλλα δὴ ὅσα καὶ οἶα φιλοῦσιν αἱ γυναῖκες περὶ τῶν τοιούτων ὑμνεῖν. It frequently describes mass behaviour; cf. *Heracl.* 176 (and Wilkins 1993 *ad loc.*): μηδ' ὅπερ φιλεῖτε δρᾶν, *Th.* 2. 65.4: ὅπερ φιλεῖ ὄμιλος ποιεῖν, 4. 28.3: οἶον ὄχλος φιλεῖ ποιεῖν (and Hornblower 1991 *ad loc.*), 6. 63.2, 8. 1.4.

τῶν μὲν ὀλβίων: 'wealthy', as opposed to *πένης* (l. 3), cf. *τῶν πλουσίων* (l. 5) and note on fr. 9.3. Thucydides repeatedly attaches the term *οἱ δυνατοί* to the social and political *élite*; cf. indicatively 1. 24.5, 2. 65.2, 3. 27.3, 5. 4.3, 8. 73.2 and for further

references, Lintott (1982) pp. 92-94, cf. also Ehrenberg (1969<sup>2</sup>) p. 90. The earliest testimony of class-conflict occurs in Sol. fr. 5 W.

2 σοφοὺς τίθεσθαι τοὺς λόγους: *τίθεσθαι* (here, 'to assume, hold, reckon, regard') is Valckenaer's emendation of the unmetrical reading *ἡγεῖσθαι* of the manuscript tradition. It seems to be preferable to Blaydes' *νομίζειν*, as it could account for the intrusion of *ἡγεῖσθαι*, which may have been a gloss specifying the sense of *τίθεσθαι* in this context (*νομίζειν*, on the other hand, does not need clarification). Cf. *Med.* 572f.: τὰ λῶιστα καὶ κάλλιστα πολεμιώτατα/ τίθεσθε, *Hec.* 848: φίλους τιθέντες τοὺς γε πολεμιωτάτους, *Andr.* 210, *Tr.* 288: φίλα τὰ πρότερον ἄφιλα τιθέμενος πάλιν. The use of this verb suggests that their words are merely regarded as wise, without being necessarily so; the basic sophistic distinction between seeming and being. Cf. Guthrie (1962-1981) III pp. 179-181.

3 λεπτῶν ἅπ' οἴκων: 'small, weak, of slender means'; cf. *PMG* fr. adesp. 69d.1: λεπτῶς μεριμνῶντες/ πένονται, *Men. Mon.* 442 Jäkel: λεπτῶς γέ τοι ζῆν κρεῖσσον ἢ λαμπρῶς κακῶς, *Thrhg. Ch.* 26. 5, *Plb.* 24. 7: οἱ λεπτοὶ ('the poor'), *Cent.* 3. 59: λεπτὴν πλέκειν ἐπὶ τῶν πενιχρῶν τοῦτο λέγεται, *Sud.* λ 292 Adler: λεπτὰ ξαίνεις: ἐπὶ τῶν πενιχρῶς διαγόντων τὸν βίον. Nauck suggested the rare word *λειπῶν* ('poor'), which, according to Photius (λ 154 Theodorides), occurs in Menander and also in Timon of Phlius (*Ath.* 4. 50.18-22) and *A.P.* 6. 226, 303, 7. 472. It would be unwise, however, to replace the transmitted reading, especially when it is acceptable, with a rare word nowhere else attested in Euripides, which, on the basis of our evidence, first occurs in Menander.

εὖ λέγει: here suggestive of a skilled and prudent speaker; cf. *Or.* 930: καὶ τοῖς γε χρηστοῖς εὖ λέγειν ἐφαίνετο, *Bacchae* 266f. (and Dodds 1960<sup>2</sup> *ad loc.*): ὅταν λάβῃ τις τῶν λόγων ἀνήρ σοφός/ καλὰς ἀφορμάς, οὐ μέγ' ἔργον εὖ λέγειν, *Autolycus* fr. 282. 26f. Kn. Eloquence is regarded as a virtue of civic usefulness in Aeschines iii 170 (δυνατὸν εἰπεῖν· καλὸν γὰρ τὴν μὲν διάνοιαν προαιρεῖσθαι τὰ βέλτιστα, τὴν δὲ παιδείαν τὴν τοῦ ῥήτορος καὶ τὸν λόγον πείθειν τοὺς ἀκούοντας) and Anon. *Iambl.* 1.1, 3.1 D.-K. In many cases in Euripides, however, *εὖ λέγειν* (merely in the sense of 'eloquence', excluding the content of the speech) is conceived as opposed to truth and justice; cf. *Hipp.* 503, *Hec.* 1191, *Ph.* 526 (and Mastronarde 1994 *ad loc.*), *Archelaus* fr. 253 Kn. (and Harder 1985 *ad loc.*), *Palamedes* fr. 583 Kn., *Antiope* fr. 206 Kn. (and Kambitsis 1972, p. 80f.) and for more detail, cf. Jouan (1984) pp. 7-10 and note on *Dictys* fr. 5.



**πένης:** poor are those citizens who labour for their living, such as the peasants, labourers, shopkeepers, self-employed artisans, hence, the bulk of the population, which form the basis of the *demos* (cf. X. *Mem.* 4. 2.37f., Pl. *R.* 565a). They are to be distinguished from the rich (the leisured class, living comfortably on the labour of others, cf. Arist. *Pol.* 1291b 7, 1310a 3-10) and from the paupers (πτωχοί, the beggars, the idlers, cf. Ar. *Pl.* 549-554, where personified Πενία denies being sister of Πτωχεία). Cf. Finley (1983) p. 10f., Nippel (1980) pp. 103-105, Finley (1985<sup>2</sup>) p. 41, Wood and Wood (1978) p. 43.

**4-7:** *physis-nomos* controversy; a poor man can be more useful to the *polis* and more pious than an *olbios*. It is noteworthy that cardinal virtues of civic usefulness, such as *εὖ λέγειν*, *σοφία* and *εὐσέβεια* (cf. North 1966<sup>b</sup>, pp. 168-170) are attributes of the *πένης ἀνὴρ* of the present fragment. For the rejection of class-distinction, cf. Lycophron the Sophist fr. 4 D.-K. (papyrus-finds proved that Antiphon's famous fr. 44b D.-K. is refuting the distinction between Greeks and barbarians and not that of lineage, cf. Pendrick 2002, p. 351) and Guthrie (1962-1981) III p. 153f. Euripides here treats this *antithesis* in the political and religious sphere. Cf. similarly *Supp.* 406-408 (the *physis-nomos* antithesis in its political context and Collard 1975<sup>a</sup>, p. 218f.), *Or.* 920-922 (in public and private life), *El.* 380-385 (mainly in private life and implicitly with respect to the *polis*, cf. Adkins 1960, pp. 195-200), *Erechtheus* fr. 362. 7f. Kn. (in the political sphere, cf. Collard, Cropp and Lee 1995 *ad loc.*) and for further references, cf. note on *Dictys* fr. 14. 2. Cf. also *Alexandros* fr. 54 Kn.: κακόν τι βούλευμ' ἦν ἄρ' εἰς εὐανδρίαν/ ὁ πλοῦτος ἀνθρώποισιν αἶ τ' ἄγαν τρυφαί./ πενία δὲ δύστηνον μὲν, ἀλλ' ὅμως τρέφει/ μοχθοῦντ' ἀμείνω τέκνα καὶ δραστήρια, Ar. *Pl.* 567-570: σκέψαι τοίνυν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν τοὺς ῥήτορας, ὡς ὁπότεν μὲν/ ᾧσι πένητες, περὶ τὸν δῆμον καὶ τὴν πόλιν εἰσὶ δίκαιοι,/ πλουτήσαντες δ' ἀπὸ τῶν κοινῶν παραχρῆμ' ἄδικοι γεγένηται./ ἐπιβουλεύουσί τε τῷ πλήθει καὶ τῷ δήμῳ πολεμοῦσιν and for the necessity of the participation of all classes in political affairs, cf. *Aeolus* fr. 21 Kn.

**4 γελᾶν:** for heckling and jeering at public speakers, cf. X. *Mem.* 3. 7.8: οὐ δοκοῦσί σοι πολλάκις οἱ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τῶν ὀρθῶς λεγόντων καταγελᾶν; also *Hell.* 6. 5.36, D. xix 23, 46, Aeschin. i 80-84, Pl. *Prt.* 319c and Hansen (1987) p. 70f.

**σοφωτέρους:** 'wise, prudent'; *sophia* in this context is closely related to the notion of *sophrosyne* (comprising in Euripides the ideas of self-control, moderation and good sense,

cf. North 1966<sub>a</sub>, pp. 69-84) and combined with justice they constitute a quiet moral behaviour, which leads to the good administration of one's *oikos* and renders the citizen valuable to the *polis*. For *sophia* as virtue in private life, cf. *Heracl.* 558, *Hipp.* 436: αἰ δεύτεράι πως φροντίδες σοφώτεραι, *Supp.* 176f.: σοφὸν δὲ πενίαν τ' εἰσορᾶν τὸν ὄλβιον / πένητά τ' ἐς τοὺς πλουσίους ἀποβλέπειν, *Ion* 598, *Aeolus* fr. 37 Kn.: μοχθεῖν ἀνάγκη τὰς δὲ δαυμόνων τύχας/ ὅστις φέρει κάλλιστ' ἀνὴρ οὗτος σοφός, *Alcmene* fr. 99 Kn., *Alexandros* fr. 46 Kn.: πάντων τὸ θανεῖν· τὸ δὲ κοινὸν ἄχος/ μετρίως ἀλγεῖν σοφία μελετᾶ, *Hypsipyle* fr. 760 Kn.: ἔξω γὰρ ὀργῆς πᾶς ἀνὴρ σοφώτερος, and as a civic virtue, cf. *Autolycus* fr. 282. 23-25 Kn.: ἀνδρας χρῆ σοφούς τε κάγαθούς/ φύλλοις στέφεσθαι, χῶστις ἠγεῖται πόλει/ κάλλιστα σῶφρον καὶ δίκαιος ὦν ἀνὴρ, *Antiope* fr. 200 Kn. (and Kambitsis 1972, p. 58f.): γνώμαις γὰρ ἀνδρὸς εὖ μὲν οἰκοῦνται πόλεις,/ εὖ δ' οἶκος, εἷς τ' αὖ πόλεμον ἰσχύει μέγα-/ σοφὸν γὰρ ἐν βούλευμα τὰς πολλὰς χέρας/ νικᾷ. Cf. Adkins (1970) p. 104f., Adkins (1960) p. 177f., 195-198, North (1966<sub>b</sub>) pp. 168-170, Dover (1974) pp. 296-298. *Sophia* could comprise here also the gift of 'eloquence', which occurs in l. 3 among the qualities of *πένης ἀνήρ*, cf. *Ph.* 1259f.: ἀλλ', εἴ τιν' ἀλκὴν ἢ σοφούς ἔχεις λόγους/ ἢ φίλτρ' ἐπωιδῶν, *Antiope* fr. 189 Kn.: ἐκ παντὸς ἄν τις πράγματος δισσοῶν λόγων/ ἀγῶνα θεῖτ' ἄν, εἰ λέγειν εἶη σοφός, 202 Kn.

**5 εἰσορῶ:** 'to look upon, to regard' (here, as often, it involves intellectual capacity); cf. *Ph.* 1332, *Ba.* 252: τὸ γῆρας ὑμῶν εἰσορῶν νοῦν οὐκ ἔχον, *S. fr. inc.* 923 R.: ἀλλ' οὐδ' ὀρῶντες εἰσορῶσι τὰμφανῆ.

**7 τῶν βουθυτούντων:** 'those who sacrifice hecatombs'; schol. *Tz. Ar. Pl.* 819 (Positano): βουθυτεῖ καταχρηστικῶς εἴρηται ἢ βουθυσία δηλοῦσα τὸν ὄγκον τοῦ μεγέθους καὶ τὸ ἐντελὲς τῆς θυσίας, ἣν ἑκατόμβην καλοῦσιν. ἐντελής δὲ θυσία ἢ ἐκ συὸς τράγου κριοῦ, ἣν Ἀθηναῖοι καλοῦσι τριττόν. Cf. *Alc.* 1156: βωμούς τε κνισᾶν βουθύτοισι προστροπαῖς, *Hec.* 260f., *El.* 635, 785, 805, *Ion* 664, 1031, *Hel.* 1474, *Auge* fr. 268 Kn.: καὶ βουθυτεῖν γὰρ ἠξίους ἐμὴν χάριν; *Erechtheus* fr. 370. 94 Kn., also *A. Supp.* 706, *Ch.* 261, *S. OC* 888, 1495, *Ar. Av.* 1232f.: μηλοσφαγεῖν τε βουθύτοις ἐπ' ἐσχάrais/ κνισᾶν τ' ἀγυίας, *Pl.* 819f.: καὶ νῦν ὁ δεσπότης μὲν ἔνδον βουθυτεῖ/ ὄν καὶ τράγον καὶ κριὸν ἐστεφανωμένος, also *βουθυσία* ('sacrifice of oxen') in *Pi. O.* 5.6, *N.* 10. 23.

The richness of offerings was naturally proportionate to one's possessions and thus a matter of status. Hence, *βουθυσία* was restricted to the wealthy class; cf. especially *Thphr.*

*Char.* 21. 7.3 (regarding *βουθυτείν* as a feature of *μικροφιλοτιμία* ‘petty ambition’): καὶ βοῦν θύσας τὸ προμετωπίδιον ἀπαντικρὺ τῆς εἰσόδου προσπατταλεῦσαι στέμμασι μεγάλοις περιδήσας, ὅπως οἱ εἰσιόντες ἴδωσιν, ὅτι βοῦν ἔθυσσε. *A.P.* 6. 191 (and Page 1981, p. 67): σὺ δ’, ὡς νόσου, ῥύεο καὶ πενίης,/ καὶ τότε βουθυτέοντά μ’ ἐσόψειαι, 6. 190 (and Page 1981, p. 52), 6. 300, *Ath.* 4. 61.26-33 (with reference to the extravagance of Tarantinoi) and Adkins (1960) p. 134f., Seaford (2004) p. 162f.

*εὐσεβεστέρους*: ‘pious, reverent’; apart from referring to the god-man relationship in fifth-century literature, it also commends those who honour the relationships which the gods are believed to uphold (namely kinship-ties and relationships between the state and those bound to it, such as the protection of suppliants, cf. for instance *A. Supp.* 419, *Th.* 598, 602, 831, *S. Tr.* 1222, *El.* 464 and Adkins 1960, pp. 132-134). In view of the context of sacrifice, *eusebeia* here primarily reflects the religious feeling. In addition, *fr.* 12.3f. (evidently developing the present argument on the detachment of *eusebeia* from wealth and hecatombs) maintains that greediness leads one to assault not only gods, but also kin, which is an attitude opposed to *eusebeia* in its dimension as a quiet moral virtue, as well. For *eusebeia* and *sophrosyne* as civic virtues, cf. *Isoc.* x 31. The position that *eusebeia* is not proportional to the greatness of one’s offerings to the gods, recurs in *fr. inc.* 946 Kn.: εὐ ἴσθ’, ὅταν τις εὐσεβῶν θύῃ θεοῖς,/ κἄν μικρὰ θύῃ, τυγχάνει σωτηρίας; in both Euripidean fragments gods are perceived as agents of justice and upholders of quiet moral virtues. Cf. similarly *Isoc.* ii 20: ἡγοῦ δὲ θῦμα τοῦτο κάλλιστον εἶναι καὶ θεραπείαν μεγίστην, ἂν ὡς βέλτιστον καὶ δικαιοτάτον σαυτὸν παρέχῃς· μᾶλλον γὰρ ἐλπίς τοὺς τοιούτους ἢ τοὺς ἱερεῖα πολλὰ καταβάλλοντας πράξειν τι παρὰ τῶν θεῶν ἀγαθόν, *Antiphanes Mystis fr.* 162 K.-A.: ταῖς εὐτελείαις οἱ θεοὶ χαίρουσι γάρ-/ τεκμήριον δ’ ὅταν γὰρ ἑκατόμβας τινὲς/ θύωσιν, ἐπὶ τούτοις ἅπασιν ὕστατος/... πάντων καὶ λιβανωτὸς ἐπετέθη,/ ὡς τᾶλλα μὲν τὰ πολλὰ παραναλούμενα/ δαπάνην ματαίαν οἶσαν αὐτῶν εἵνεκα,/ τὸ δὲ μικρὸν αὐτὸ τοῦτ’ ἀρεστὸν τοῖς θεοῖς, *X. Mem.* 1. 3.3: οὔτε γὰρ τοῖς θεοῖς ἔφη καλῶς ἔχειν, εἰ ταῖς μεγάλαις θυσίαις μᾶλλον ἢ ταῖς μικραῖς ἔχαιρον, *Men. fr. inc.* 1001 K.-A., *Theopompus FGtH* 115 F 344, *Hor. Carm.* 3. 23.13-20 (and West 2002, p. 191f.): te nihil attinet/ temptare multa caede bidentium/ parvos coronantem marino/ rore deos fragilique myrto./ immunis aram si tetigit manus,/ non sumptuosa blandior hostia/ mollivit aversos Penatis/ farre pio et saliente mica and Adkins (1960) pp. 65f., 132-134, Dover (1974) pp. 253f., 258, Yunis (1988) pp. 54f. and n. 38, 101-109, Dodds (1951) p. 48f. Reciprocal allegiance suits the idea of non-moral

gods, who must be won over in a non-moral way with abundance of offerings; this is a main feature of shame-culture, where gods, like men, are very touchy with regard to their *timē* and the attention which must be paid, in order to acknowledge it; cf. *Il.* 1. 65, 9. 498, 536f., 20. 297-299, *Od.* 1. 60-62, *Bacch.* 3. 61, *Hdt.* 1.87 and Adkins (1960) pp. 62-64, 134f., Dodds (1951) pp. 29-32, Frisch (1949) p. 51. This passage, on the other hand, suggests that gods are capable of looking beyond the costliness of offerings to the piety which motivates the giver—or at least that human observers can.

### Fr. 12:

This fragment coheres very closely with **fr. 11. 6f.**, developing the argument on the relation of piety with wealth; the speaker asserts that wealthy people are prone to transgress religious and kinship laws, having been corrupted by greed and avarice, as opposed to the *eusebeia* (in the sense of religious and quiet moral behaviour, cf. note on **fr. 11.7**) of less prosperous people. This position may be refuting a possible argument of the opponent that poverty is likely to cause misconduct through need (for this common idea, cf. Dover 1974, p. 109f. and note on *Dictys fr. 15.2*). Again the likeliest speaker seems to be Danae defending herself from the possible accusation of bribery (cf. introductory note on **fr. 11**).

For denunciations of avarice, cf. the thematically and syntactically similar lines from *Antiope fr. 198 Kn.* (and Kambitsis 1972, p. 53): εἰ δ' εὐτυχῶν τις καὶ βίον κεκτημένος/ μηδὲν δόμοισι τῶν καλῶν πειράσεται,/ ἐγὼ μὲν οὐποτ' αὐτὸν ὄλβιον καλῶ,/ φύλακα δὲ μᾶλλον χρημάτων εὐδαίμονα, also *Ino fr. 407 Kn.*, *X. Symp.* 4. 35, *Antiphanes fr. inc. 244 K.-A.*, *Apollodorus Philadelphoi/ Apocarterōn fr. 3 K.-A.*, *Menander fr. inc. 734 K.-A.* Greed is considered to drive to *hybris* and injustice; cf. for instance, *Sol. fr. 4. 5-16, 13. 43-48, 71-73, 36. 20-22 W.* (and Balot 2001, pp. 79-81, 89-91), *Th. 3. 39.4, 4. 17.4, D. xlv 67* and note on *Dictys fr. 15.2*.

**1** πληρουμένοις: 'filled full', in the sense of profusion and luxury; cf. *Ba. 19: πλήρεις ἔχουσα καλλιπυργάτους πόλεις, HF 645: χρυσοῦ δώματα πλήρη, S. Inachus fr. 275. 808f. R.: ἅπαντα δ' ἡμῖν ἀργυρίου καὶ χρυσίου/ τὰ σκευάρια πλήρη 'στιν, ὥστε θαυμάσαι, often used for food (cf. *Cyc. 209, Med. 203, Hipp. 110, Cressae fr. 467 Kn.*,*

*Antiope* fr. 213. 3 Kn. and Kambitsis 1972, p. 16, S. fr. inc. 848 R.) and sacrifice (cf. *Alc.* 134, *Hec.* 527, *Ion* 1091, fr. inc. 912. 5 Kn., S. *Ant.* 1017).

**2 γαστρός δ' ἀφαιρών:** 'depriving his stomach of what is necessary'. *Γαστήρ* generally conveys the idea of gross overeating (cf. *Cyc.* 334f. and Seaford 1984 *ad loc.*, *Antiope* fr. 201 Kn. and Kambitsis 1972, pp. 62-65, fr. inc. 915 Kn. parodied in Diphilus' *Parasitos* fr. 60 K.-A., also Alexis *Asōtodidascalos* fr. 25. 6 K.-A. and Arnott 1996 *ad loc.* and for this idea in comedy, cf. Wilkins 2000, pp. 24-28). For suggestions of moderation in diet, cf. *Supp.* 865f. (and Collard 1975<sub>a</sub>, p. 326): οὐ γὰρ ἐν γαστρός βορᾶι/ τὸ χρηστὸν εἶναι, μέτρια δ' ἐξαρκεῖν ἔφη, *Ino* fr. 413. 4 Kn.: γαστρός κρατεῖν, *Autolycus* fr. 282. 5 Kn., also Thgn. 485f.: μὴ σε βιάσθω/ γαστήρ ὥστε κακὸν λάτρην ἐφημέριον, Alexis *Synapothnēscantes* fr. 212 K.-A., X. *Hell.* 5. 3.21: ἐγκράτεια γαστρός, *Oec.* 9. 11: ἐγκρατεστάτη γαστρός, *Cyr.* 1. 2.8, *Mem.* 1. 2.1, 1. 5.1, 2. 6.1, *Men. Mon.* 137: γαστρός δὲ πειρῶ πᾶσαν ἡνίαν κρατεῖν, 425 Jäkel: καλὸν γε γαστρός κάπιθυμίας κρατεῖν. The situation mentioned here is the opposite extreme of overeating (diminishing the needs of the stomach); cf. *Theoc.* 21. 41: τὰς γαστρός ἐφειδόμεθ'.

**δύστηνος:** here 'wretched and pitiable', as in *HF* 1346 (and Bond 1981 *ad loc.*): αἰοιδῶν οἶδε δύστηνοι λόγοι, *El.* 924 ('wretched and pitiable' in view of the misery of the inevitable disillusionment, cf. Denniston 1939 *ad loc.*): δύστηνός ἐστιν, εἰ δοκεῖ τὸ σωφρονεῖν / ἐκεῖ μὲν αὐτὴν οὐκ ἔχειν, παρ' οἳ δ' ἔχειν. In Sophocles, it denotes 'dis hominibusque invisus' (cf. Ellendt s.v. 'δύστηνος'); cf. *Ai.* 1290, *El.* 121 (and March 2001 *ad loc.*): παῖ δυστανοτάτας/ Ἥλέκτρα ματρός, *Ph.* 1016.

**3 νομίζω:** often occurring in argumentation, drawing emphasis on the opinion expressed; cf. *Dictys* fr. 7.1 and *Med.* 526-528: ἐγὼ δὲ [...] / Κύπριν νομίζω τῆς ἐμῆς ναυκληρίας/ σῶτειραν εἶναι θεῶν τε κἀνθρώπων μόνην, *HF* 282, *Ion* 645, *IT* 484, *Antiope* fr. 206 Kn.: ὅς δ' εὐγλωσσία/ νικᾶ, σοφὸς μὲν, ἀλλ' ἐγὼ τὰ πράγματα / κρείσσω νομίζω τῶν λόγων ἀεὶ ποτε, fr. inc. 959 Kn.: ἐγὼ δ' / οὐδὲν πρεσβύτερον νομί-/ ζω τὰς σωφροσύνας, ἐπεὶ τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ἀεὶ ξύνεστιν, also A. *Pers.* 169, Ar. *V.* 1067, *Nu.* 1366, Antiphon *Soph.* 3. 19 D.-K., *Men. Dysc.* 271. Cf. its frequent use in oratory; Antiphon vi 1.5, D. xiv 3, xv 11, 28, xx 57, xxiii 126, Isoc. vii 72, xii 199. It is occasionally found as strongly nuanced in Thucydides, expressing a substantiated opinion; cf. Th. 1. 1.2, 1. 10.3, 1. 21.1 (and Huart 1968, p. 272).

συλᾶν: ‘to plunder, to despoil, to pillage’; the closest parallel is A. *Pers.* 809f.: οἱ γῆν μολόντες Ἑλλάδ’ οὐ θεῶν βρέτη/ ἠδοῦντο συλᾶν οὐδὲ πιμπράναι νεώς, where *συλᾶν* seems to involve the robbing of the precious metals and stones with which the statues were adorned (cf. Broadhead 1960 *ad loc.*). Cf. Hdt. 6. 118.6: εὐρῶν δὲ ἐν νηὶ Φοινίσσῃ ἄγαλμα Ἀπόλλωνος κεχρυσωμένον ἐπυθάνετο ὀκόθεν σεσυλημένον εἶη, and for further usages of the verb, *Heracl.* 243 (carrying off suppliants from the altar, cf. Wilkins 1993 *ad loc.*), *Hipp.* 799 (robbing of fortune), *IT* 158 (to deprive from a beloved person), *Ion* 917 (to be caught as prey), *Hel.* 600, 699 (to seize as booty), *IA* 1275 (to be robbed). The plundering of the statues of gods is here conceived as an act of *hybris* bred by wealth; cf. Th. 3. 45.4 (and Balot 2001, p. 158f.), 1. 38.5, 84.2, D. xxi 98, X. *Cyr.* 8. 4.14 and Dover (1974) p. 110f.

βρέτη: ‘the wooden image of a god’; cf. *Alc.* 974, *Heracl.* 936, *El.* 1254, *IT* 980, 1165, also A. *Th.* 96, 185, *Eum.* 80, 242, *Ar. Eq.* 31f., *Lys.* 262.

4 τοῖς φιλτάτοις τε πολέμιον πεφυκέναι: resolution of the third *longum* (cf. Cropp and Fick 1985, pp. 44f., 47, classifying it as resolution-type 6.1e); cf. note on fr. 8.4. For the idea that greed drives to the transgression of kinship ties, cf. *Heracl.* 3f.: ὁ δ’ εἰς τὸ κέρδος λῆμ’ ἔχων ἀνειμένον/ φίλοις τ’ ἄχρηστος καὶ συναλλάξαι βαρὺς, *Ixion* fr. 425 Kp.: ὅστις γὰρ ἐπὶ τὸ πλεον ἔχειν πέφυκ’ ἀνὴρ,/ οὐδὲν φρονεῖ δίκαιον οὐδὲ βούλεται,/ φίλοις τ’ ἄμικτός ἐστι καὶ πάσῃ πόλει, D. xxvii 65: ὥσπερ ἔχθιστοὶ τινες, ἀλλ’ οὐ φίλοι καὶ συγγενεῖς καταλειφθέντες οὐδὲν τῆς οἰκειότητος ἐφρόντισαν, *Isoc.* ii 5: τοὺς δ’ εἰς τοὺς οἰκειοτάτους ἐξαμαρτεῖν ἠναγκασμένους (because of the pursuit of wealth). Most cases of dispute between kin involved property; cf. *Lys.* xxxii, *Is.* i-iii, v-xi, D. xxvii-xxix, xliv, [D.] xl (and Humphreys 1989, pp. 182-185), xliii and Hunter (1994) pp. 43-69, Cohen (1995) pp. 163-180, Christ (1998) pp. 169-173. It is also worth noting that most disputants were members of the propertied class (cf. Hunter 1994, p. 51f.), which is congruent with the idea of the fragment that wealth engenders greed and *hybris*. For the strife between half-siblings over paternal inheritance, cf. note on *Dictys* fr. 6. 3.

**Fr. 13:**

The speaker is clearly Danae imploring her father not to be separated from her baby-son. It has been suggested that this plea could have arisen from Acrisius' intention of killing Perseus,<sup>224</sup> possibly through reminiscence of the oracle (for its role, cf. note on **fr. 16**), but perhaps also because of the baby's illegitimate status (likewise, the illegitimate babies in the *Alope*, *Melanippe the Wise* and *Auge* are punished with exposure by their grandfathers, cf. Structure). With her plea, Danae appears to have persuaded Acrisius to commute the punishment from death for the child to exposure in the sea for both Perseus and herself. Lucian's passage (*D. Mar.* 12. 2) might be reminiscent of her supplication: τὸ βρέφος δὲ παρητεῖτο μὴ ἀποθανεῖν δακρῶουσα καὶ τῷ πάππῳ δεικνύουσα αὐτὸ κάλλιστον ὄν (for the possibility that Lucian may have been inspired by the *Danae*, cf. note on **T5**).<sup>225</sup> **Fr. 14** praising her act of courage with the vocabulary of self-sacrifice (cf. note *ad loc.*) may imply that Danae could have chosen a remote hope of rescue for both of them to her own safety and her son's death.<sup>226</sup> Acrisius' final decision to cast them adrift may have been motivated by his effort to avoid the pollution of killing the child, thus choosing exposure as veiled infanticide.<sup>227</sup> By enclosing mother and child in the chest and casting it adrift, Acrisius reasserts his control over his daughter by imposing spatial confinement on her (cf. note on **fr. 6.2**), while sending, at the same time, the mother and the dangerous child to be carried far away in unbounded space.<sup>228</sup> This scene would have reasonably been located after the *agon*, which is likely to have occurred between Danae and Acrisius (**fr. 8-12**), where she would have argued in defence of herself and her child against her father's accusation that she was bribed to be seduced (cf. introductory note on **fr. 8**). If the *agon* was a trial-debate, it would have ended presumably with Acrisius' strong condemnation of Danae's illicit motherhood and perhaps the announcement of the penalty.

Danae's words are a typical case of the manner in which Euripides' imagery of physical appearance and tangible everyday experience functions as the strongest hold over

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<sup>224</sup> Cf. Webster (1967) p. 95, Huys (1995) p. 359.

<sup>225</sup> Cf. Huys *loc. cit.*

<sup>226</sup> Cf. Webster (1967) p. 95.

<sup>227</sup> Cf. Huys (1989) pp. 191-195. For the pollution incurred by murder, cf. Parker (1983) especially pp. 109-111.

<sup>228</sup> Cf. Seaford (1990b) p. 81.

human beings, defining a character's attitude towards oneself and the others (cf. Barlow 1971, pp. 81, 94f., 129f.). Cf. particularly *Med.* 1071-1078, *Tr.* 761-763, 1187 and the examples cited in the notes on ll. 1, 2. The poignant depiction of Danae's emotional force and attachment to her baby-son recalls Simonides *PMG* 543 (cf. Hutchinson 2001, pp. 306-308, tracing seeds of Euripidean female *pathos*). Euripides favours scenes of parental affection; cf. Kassel (1954) pp. 47-50 and n. 159 and note on *Dictys* fr. 12. 3.

**1 πρὸς ἀγκάλαισι:** mostly in plural; a common expression of affection for children, cf. *Cyc.* 142: ὄν ἐξέθρεψα ταῖσδ' ἐγὼ ποτ' ἀγκάλαις, *Alc.* 190f.: ἡ δὲ λαμβάνουσ' ἐς ἀγκάλας/ ἠσπάζετ' ἄλλοτ' ἄλλον, *Hipp.* 1431f.: σὺ δ', ὦ γεραιοῦ τέκνον Αἰγέως, λαβὲ/ σὸν παῖδ' ἐν ἀγκάλαις, *Andr.* 747: ἡγοῦ τέκνον μοι δεῦρ' ὑπ' ἀγκάλαις σταθεῖς, *Tr.* 750f., 757: ὦ νέον ὑπαγκάλισμα μητρὶ φίλτατον, *IT* 834f., *Ion* 280, 1375f.: χρόνον γὰρ ὄν μ' ἐχρῆν ἐν ἀγκάλαις/ μητρὸς τρυφήσαι, *Hypsipyle* fr. 60. 10-12 Bond: τοῦμόν τιθήνημ', ὄν ἐπ' ἐμαῖσιν ἀγκάλαις/ πλὴν οὐ τεκοῦσα τᾶλλα γ' ὡς ἐμόν τέκνον/ στέργους' ἔφερβον, also *A. Ag.* 723f., *Ezechiel Exag.* 27.

**καὶ στέρνοις ἐμοῖς :** mainly used for males, in tragedy also for women ; apart from its literal meaning, the word occurs here also in its metaphorical sense, being perceived as the seat of affections (cf. the vocabulary of affection, *ἀγκάλαισι*, *φιλημάτων*, *ψυχῆν*, *φίλτρον*, *ξυνουσίαι*) ; cf. similarly *Hec.* 424 : ὦ στέρνα μαστοῖ θ', οἳ μ' ἐθρέψαθ' ἠδέως, *HF* 485f. : τίν' ὑμῶν πρῶτον ἢ τίν' ὕστατον/ πρὸς στέρνα θῶμαι ; 1361 : πρὸς στέρν' ἐρείσας μητρὶ δούς τ' ἐς ἀγκάλας, 1408 : πατρός τε στέρνα προσθέσθαι θέλω, *El.* 1321f., *IT* 231-233 : σύγγονον, ὄν ἔλιπον ἐπιμαστίδιον/ ἔτι βρέφος, ἔτι νέον, ἔτι θάλος/ ἐν χερσὶν ματρὸς πρὸς στέρνοις τ', *IA* 634-636, *Hypsipyle* fr. 64. 94 Bond: ἀπομαστίδιόν γ' ἐμῶν στέρνων.

**2 πηδῶν:** 'to leap, to frolic'. Though Nauck's conjectures *πεσῶν* or *πίτνων* are supported by *Ion* 962 (πρὸς ἀγκάλαις πεσεῖν) and Hes. fr. 252.5 M.-W. (ἐν ἀγκοίνησι πεσοῦσα), the transmitted reading occurs in a similar context in *Pl. Lg.* 672c: ἀτάκτως αὐ πηδᾶ and can be paralleled to *IT* 1251: ἐπὶ ματέρος ἀγκάλαισι θρώσκων (a synonym of *πηδῶν*). For the image of young children as unable to keep still and susceptible to leaping about and frolic, cf. S. *Dionysiscos Satyricos* fr. 171 R., *Pl. Lg.* 664e, *Arist. Pol.* 1340b. 29 and Golden (1990) p. 9f.

(ἄν) ἀθύροι: *LSJ*<sup>9</sup>: epic word, 'to play (of children)'; cf. *Ion* 52f.: νέος μὲν οὖν ὦν ἀμφὶ βωμίους τροφᾶς/ ἤλατ' ἀθύρων, *Auge* fr. 272 Kn.: τίς δ' οὐχὶ χαίρει νηπίους



ἀθύρμασιν; *Hypsipyle* fr. 1 i Bond: ἤξε[ι πατήρ οὐ] σπά[νι' ἔχων ἀ]θύρματα/ ἅ σὰς ὀδυρμῶν ἐγκαλη[νιεῖ φ]ρένας, Pompeius Macer *Medea* (TrGF I 180 F 1.3f. Sn.): τί προσλάξεσθε κάξαρτᾶσθέ μου;/ βούλεσθ' ἀθύρειν; παίζετ' ὦ νέαι φρένες, also *Il.* 15. 364, *hHom.* 19. 15, *Pi. N.* 3. 44: παῖς ἐὼν ἄθυρε μεγάλα ἔργα, A. *Theoroi/ Isthmiastae* fr. 78c 50R., *A.P.* 9. 505.8.

**φιλημάτων:** for such scenes of affection between parents and children, cf. *Alc.* 401-403: ἐγώ σ' ἐγώ, μάτερ,/ καλοῦμαι ὁ σὸς ποτὶ σοῖσι πίτ-/ νων στόμασιν νεοσσός, *Andr.* 416: πατρὶ τῷ σῶι διὰ φιλημάτων ἰών, *HF* 1375f.: ὦ λυγραὶ φιλημάτων/ τέρψεις, *Tr.* 761-763 (and Barlow 1986, p. 196, Biehl 1989, p. 296): μητέρ' ἀσπάζου σέθεν,/ πρόσπιτνε τὴν τεκοῦσαν, ἀμφὶ δ' ὠλένας/ ἔλισσ' ἐμοῖς νότοισι καὶ στόμ' ἄρμοσον, 1174f.: ὄν πόλλ' ἐκήπευσ' ἢ τεκοῦσα βόστρυχον/ φιλημάσιν τ' ἔδωκεν, *IA* 1238: βλέπον πρὸς ἡμᾶς, ὄμμα δὸς φίλημά τε, *Men. Dysc.* 938f.: γυν]αικὶ τῆι τε παιδὶ [περιβ]ολαὶ τὸ πρῶτον/ φιλή]ματ' οὐκ ἀηδῆς διατριβὴ τις αὐτῶν.

**ὄχλω:** (*LSJ*<sup>9</sup>) 'in numbers', cf. S. *Ichneutae* fr. 314. 228 R.: σὺν ἐγγόνοις νόμφαισι καὶ πόλων ὄχλω, *Th.* 1.80.

**3 ψυχὴν ἐμὴν (ἄν) κτήσαιο:** 'he will win my heart'. Apart from the traditional occurrences of the word as 'life' and 'shade of the dead', Euripides treats *ψυχή* also as a vital psychic entity with emotional, intellectual and moral functions, which is the case here; cf. similarly *Med.* 110, 474, *Hipp.* 173, 505, 1006, *Ion* 859, 877, *Or.* 526, *Theseus* fr. 388 Kn. and Sullivan (2000) pp. 94-112, also S. *Ant.* 227, *OT* 64, 727, *El.* 903, *Ph.* 712, *X. Oec.* 6. 14. Cf. the similar phrasing in S. *Ph.* 1281: οὐ γὰρ ποτ' εὔνουν τὴν ἐμὴν κτήση φρένα, also *Ion* 1170: ψυχὴν ἐπλήρουν, *Hipp.* 1040: ψυχὴν κρατήσειν.

**4 φίλτρον μέγιστον:** (*LSJ*<sup>9</sup>): 'charm, spell'; for the *φίλτρον* of kinship, cf. *Tr.* 51f.: αἰ γὰρ συγγενεῖς ὀμιλῖαι,/ ἄνασσ' Ἀθάνα, φίλτρον οὐ σμικρὸν φρενῶν and for maternal affection, in particular, *IA* 917 (and Stockert 1992 *ad loc.*): δεινὸν τὸ τίκτειν καὶ φέρει φίλτρον μέγα, *Alcmene* fr. 103 Kn.: δεινὸν τι τέκνων φίλτρον ἐνήκεν/ θεὸς ἀνθρώποις, *Protesilaus* fr. 652 Kn.: ὦ παῖδες οἷον φίλτρον ἀνθρώποις φρενός, *Biotus Medea* (TrGF I 205 F1 Sn.): τὸ θρέψαι δ' ἐν βροτοῖσι πολλάκις/ πλειῶ πορίζει φίλτρα τοῦ φῦσαι τέκνα. It also occurs widely in the sense of 'love-charm' (cf. *Hipp.* 509, *Andr.* 207, 540, S. *Tr.* 584, 1142, *Theoc.* 2. 1, *Dsc. Mat. Med.* 2. 164).

αἱ ξυνουσίαι: (*LSJ*<sup>9</sup>): ‘being together by habitual association, constant resort’, here expressive of mutual intimacy; cf. the parallel usage in *Med.* 254: φίλων συνουσία, also *A. Eum.* 285, *S. OC* 62f. (stressing the close relation of the Athenians with their homeland, cf. Kamerbeek 1984 *ad loc.*): οὐ λόγοις/ τιμώμεν’, ἀλλὰ τῇ ξυνουσίᾳ πλέον, *Aias Locros* fr. 14 R.: σοφοὶ τύραννοι τῶν σοφῶν ξυνουσία, *Ar. Th.* 21, *Nu.* 649.

#### Fr. 14:

This distich seems to belong to the same context as fr. 13, where Danae pleads with her father not to be separated from her baby-son, thus choosing to be imprisoned in the chest together with Perseus rather than presumably ensuring safety for herself and death for her son (cf. introductory note on fr. 13). The most plausible speaker of these lines is the female chorus-leader,<sup>229</sup> who should have been sympathetic to Danae’s situation and thus ready to praise her self-sacrifice; cf. note on *φεῦ* with parallels of choral distichs in praise of a character’s noble conduct.

Euripides favoured the theme of self-sacrifice (mostly female) on a personal level for one’s nearest and dearest, as here and in the *Alcestis*, *Supp.* 990-1071 (for both plays, cf. Loraux 1987, p. 28f.) and *Protesilaus* (*Hyg. fab.* 104, on self-sacrifice for one’s *philoï*, cf. Schmitt 1921, pp. 72-77, Lattimore 1964, p. 49) and also on a public level, as in *Heracl.* 474-607, *Hec.* 342-443, *Ph.* 977-1018 (the sole case of male voluntary sacrifice), *IA* 1368-1531, *Erechtheus* fr. 360 Kn. (on voluntary sacrifice for the state, cf. Wilkins 1990, pp. 177-194, Loraux 1987, pp. 32-48, Lattimore 1964, pp. 47-49). The dramatist’s insistence on the pattern of female voluntary sacrifice may point to women conceived as victims, who, however, do not hesitate to demonstrate their free will by word and action, when faced with necessity; cf. Vellacott (1975) pp. 178-204.

1 *φεῦ*: apart from expressing suffering, *φεῦ* (uttered once or twice) serves to initiate a general reflection as reaction (positive or negative) to another character’s act or utterance mostly in Euripides (cf. also introductory note on *Dictys* fr. 17). Even in these cases, *φεῦ* seems to maintain its initial emotional nuance, pointing to the speaker’s own engagement in the situation. Cf. the choral praise of Macaria’s self-sacrifice in *Heracl.* 535-538 (cited by

<sup>229</sup> Cf. Webster (1967) p. 95, Jouan and van Looy (2000) p. 58, Kannicht (2004) I p. 380.

Kannicht 2004 *ad loc.*): φεῦ φεῦ, τί λέξω παρθένου μέγαν λόγον/ κλύων, ἀδελφῶν ἢ πάρος θέλει θανεῖν;/ τούτων τίς ἂν λέξειε γενναίους λόγους/ μᾶλλον, τίς ἂν δράσειεν ἀνθρώπων ἔτι; and the choral approval in *Hipp.* 431f.: φεῦ φεῦ, τὸ σῶφρον ὡς ἀπανταχοῦ καλὸν/ καὶ δόξαν ἐσθλὴν ἐν βροτοῖς καρπίζεται, as well as the praises in *Heracl.* 555-558: φεῦ-/ ὄδ' αἶ λόγος σοι τοῦ πρὶν εὐγενέστερος,/ κάκεῖνος ἦν ἄριστος· ἀλλ' ὑπερφέρεις / τόλμη τε τόλμαν καὶ λόγῳ χρηστῷ λόγον, *El.* 261f.: φεῦ-/ γενναῖον ἄνδρ' ἔλεξας, εἶ τε δραστέον, *Or.* 1154f.: φεῦ-/ οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδὲν κρεῖσσον ἢ φίλος σαφῆς, *IA* 709f.: φεῦ-/ σοφός γ' ὁ θρέψας χῶ διδούς σοφωτέροις, *Temenidae* fr. 739 Kn. This function of φεῦ is found very sporadically in other poets; cf. *S. Ai.* 1266f., *Ant.* 323f., 1048-1050, *Ar. Pl.* 362-364.

τοῖσι γενναίοισιν: dative of location; cf. *Il.* 6. 477: ἀριπρεπέα Τρῶεσσιν. Danae is 'high-born', as well as 'high-minded, noble in character'; for the usage of *γενναῖος* in both senses, cf. *Supp.* 925: καὶ μὴν τὸν Οἰκλέους γε γενναῖον τόκον, *El.* 253: πένης ἀνὴρ γενναῖος ἔς τ' ἔμ' εὐσεβῆς, 262: γενναῖον ἄνδρ' ἔλεξας, εἶ τε δραστέον, *Tr.* 1013, *Or.* 1060f.: ἀλλ' εἴ' ὅπως γενναῖα κάγαμέμνονος/ δράσαντε κατθανούμεθ' ἀξιώτατα, *IA* 504f.: γενναῖ' ἔλεξας Ταντάλωι τε τῷ Διὸς/ πρόποντα· προγόνους οὐ καταισχύνεις σέθεν, 1421f.: ὦ λῆμ' ἄριστον, οὐκ ἔχω πρὸς τοῦτ' ἔτι/ λέγειν, ἐπεὶ σοι τάδε δοκεῖ· γενναῖα γὰρ/ φρονεῖς, *Andromeda* fr. 137 Kn. (and Klimek-Winter 1993 *ad loc.*): τῶν γὰρ πλούτων ὄδ' ἄριστος/ γενναῖον λέχος εὐρεῖν, *Temenidae* fr. 739 Kn.: φεῦ φεῦ, τὸ φῦναι πατρὸς εὐγενοῦς ἄπο/ ὄσσην ἔχει φρόνησιν ἀξιώματά τε./ κἄν γὰρ πένης ὦν τυγχάνη, χρηστὸς γεγῶς/ τιμὴν ἔχει τιν', ἀναμετρούμενος δέ πως/ τὸ τοῦ πατρὸς γενναῖον ὠφελεῖ τρόπῳ, fr. inc. 961 Kn.: φεῦ, τοῖσι γενναίοισιν ὡς ἅπαν καλόν, also *S. Ph.* 51, 475f.: ὅμως δὲ τλήθι· τοῖσι γενναίοισί τοι/ τό τ' αἰσχρὸν ἐχθρὸν καὶ τὸ χρηστὸν εὐκλεές, *OC* 1042f.: ὄναιο, Θησεῦ, τοῦ τε γενναίου χάριν/ καὶ τῆς πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐνδίκου προμηθίας.

The occurrence of *γενναίοισιν* in our passage points to the importance attached to the notion of *eugeneia* in Euripidean contexts of voluntary sacrifice; similarly, the noble birth of Macaria, Polyxena, Menoeceus and Iphigenia is the driving force in each one's self-sacrifice (cf. *Heracl.* 507-510, 513, 533f., 539-541, 553: ὄδ' αἶ λόγος σοι τοῦ πρὶν εὐγενέστερος, *Hec.* 347f.: εἰ δὲ μὴ βουλήσομαι./ κακὴ φανοῦμαι καὶ φιλόψυχος γυνή, 380f., *Ph.* 997-999, 1003-1005, *IA* 1376: εὐκλεῶς πράξαι, παρεῖσά γ' ἐκποδῶν τὸ δυσγενές, cf. also *Erechtheus* fr. 370. 69f. Kn. and Collard, Cropp and Lee 1995 *ad loc.*: γενναιότητος οὐνεχ', αἴτιν[ες φί]λης/ ὄρκους ἀδελφῆς οὐκ ἐτόλμησα[ν λι]πεῖν). *Εὐκλεία* as a moral

quality can only be acquired with their achievement (*Heracl.* 623-627: οὐδ' ἀκλεῆς νιν/ δόξα πρὸς ἀνθρώπων ὑποδέξεται/ ἅ δ' ἀρετὰ βαίνει διὰ μόχθων./ ἄξια μὲν πατρός, ἄξια δ' εὐγενί-/ ας τάδε γίγνεται). Cf. O'Connor-Visser (1987) pp. 204-208, Strohm (1957) p. 62f.

**ἀπανταχοῦ:** 'on all occasions, consistently'.

**2 πρέπει:** *LSJ*<sup>9</sup>: here personal, 'to shine forth', which in this context may be preferable to the sense of 'to suit + dative', since the distich is praising Danae's self-sacrifice, stressing that the valiant nature of a high-born and high-minded person (*γενναῖος*) shines forth in all circumstances; cf. *Il.* 12. 104: δ δ' ἔπρεπε καὶ διὰ πάντων, *h.Hom. Cer.* 214: ἐπί τοι πρέπει ὄμμασιν αἰδῶς, *Pi. P.* 10. 67: πειρῶντι δὲ καὶ χρυσὸς ἐν βασάνῳ πρέπει, *A. Ag.* 389: πρέπει δέ, φῶς αἰνολαμπές, σίνος.

**χαρακτήρ:** 'stamp, impressed mark (originating in the vocabulary of coinage, cf. Seaford 1998, p. 137f.), sign' (for the latter, cf. *Med.* 519, *El.* 559, 572, also *A. Supp.* 282, *Pl. Pol.* 289b). On the basis of the surviving evidence, here, for the first time before Theophrastus it occurs as a clearly dematerialized concept in the sense of 'human nature' (cf. Will 1960, p. 236f.). For *χαρακτήρ* as the 'sign' of an internal condition (combining the literal and metaphorical sense of the word), cf. *Hec.* 379-381 (cited by Kannicht 2004 *ad loc.*, cf. Collard 1991, p. 150), where, as in our fragment, it is seen as a socially discernible standard of worth (cf. Will 1960, p. 235f.): δεινὸς χαρακτήρ κάπισημος ἐν βροτοῖς/ ἐσθλῶν γενέσθαι, κάπι μείζον ἔρχεται/ τῆς εὐγενείας ὄνομα τοῖσιν ἀξίοις, *HF* 655-659: εἰ δὲ θεοῖς ἦν ξύνεσις/ καὶ σοφία κατ' ἄνδρας,/ δίδυμον ἂν ἦβαν ἔφερον,/ φανερόν χαρακτήρ' ἀρετᾶς. Cf. *Men. Arrephoros/ Auletris* fr. 72 K.-A.: ἀνδρὸς χαρακτήρ ἐκ λόγου γνωρίζεται, *Epict. Diss.* 4. 5.16: τοὺς χαρακτήρας, οὓς ἔχων ἐν τῇ διανοίᾳ (for further late occurrences of the word in this sense, Körte 1929, pp. 77-86).

**χρηστός:** here 'useful, serviceable, effective' (*LSJ*<sup>9</sup>), hence *χαρακτήρ χρηστός εἰς εὐψυχίαν* 'nature capable of valiant conduct'. For the syntax, cf. *Hel.* 1038: ὡς δὴ τι δράσων χρηστὸν ἐς κοινόν γε νῶιν. Cf. also *Hdt.* 3. 78: χρηστὰ οὐδέεν, *Lys.* xiv 31: τοῦ πατρός χρηστοῦ περὶ τὴν πόλιν γεγενημένου, *Pl. Prt.* 313d: χρηστὸν ἢ πονηρόν περὶ τὸ σῶμα. For *χρηστός* as 'morally upright', cf. note on *Dictys* fr. 17.2.

**εἰς εὐψυχίαν:** 'good courage, valour' (frequently commending military *aretē*, cf. Dover 1974, p. 166); cf. *Med.* 403 (and Mastronarde 2002 *ad loc.*): ἔπρ' ἐς τὸ δεινόν· νῦν ἀγῶν εὐψυχίας, *Heracl.* 567-570 (with reference to Macaria's voluntary sacrifice, cf. Allan

2001, p. 175): ἔσται τάδ', ὧ τάλαινα παρθένων, ἐπεὶ κάμοι τόδ' αἰσχρόν, μή σε κοσμεῖσθαι καλῶς,/ πολλῶν ἕκατι, τῆς τε σῆς εὐψυχίας/ καὶ τοῦ δικαίου, 597f.: ὧ μέγιστον ἐκπρέπουσ' εὐψυχία/ πασῶν γυναικῶν, *Andr.* 764, *Supp.* 841: διαπρεπεῖς εὐψυχία, *HF* 162, *Hel.* 852, *Rh.* 510, also *A. Pers.* 326: πρῶτος εἰς εὐψυχίαν, 394: ἐς μάχην ὀρμῶντες εὐψύχῳ θράσει, *Th.* 1. 121.4, 2. 87.4: ἄνευ δὲ εὐψυχίας οὐδεμία τέχνη πρὸς τοὺς κινδύνους ἰσχύει, *Lys.* ii 14, xx 14, *D.* lxi 23, *Aeschin.* iii 170, *Pl. Tim.* 25b.6, *Arist. VV* 1250b.4f.: παρέπεται δὲ τῇ ἀνδρεία καὶ ἡ εὐτολμία καὶ ἡ εὐψυχία καὶ τὸ θάρσος καὶ τὸ θράσος.

### Fr. 15:

This general reflection on the mutability of human fortune, which seems to allude to Danae's fate, should reasonably be located towards the end of the play. Webster, followed by van Looy,<sup>230</sup> regarded these lines as Acrisius' final comment, presumably after his having listened to the possible speech of the *deus ex machina* (cf. Structure). Nevertheless, on the basis of the available evidence for tragic closures attained with the appearance of a god, the plot tends to be swiftly untied upon the delivery of the divine speech, allowing for the characters' brief submission to the god's will, whilst leaving no space for general reflections of this length; cf. the reaction of the dramatic characters in *Hipp.* 1446-1456, *Andr.* 1273-1282, *Supp.* 1227-1231, *El.* 1295-1341, *I.T.* 1475-1485, *Ion* 1606-1618, *Hel.* 1680-1687 and *Or.* 1666-1681. I would suggest that this fragment, which directly comments on reversal of fortune, could have been the concluding evaluation of a messenger-speech reporting the exposure of the chest, in which Danae and Perseus are imprisoned (for the messenger-speech, cf. Structure); cf. the general reflection of comparable length and similar tone at the end of the messenger-speech in *Med.* 1224-1230 (cf. Page 1938, Mastronarde 2002 *ad loc.*), also *Andr.* 1161-1165, *Supp.* 726-730 (and Collard 1975<sub>a</sub> *ad loc.*), *Heracl.* 863-866 (and Wilkins 1993 *ad loc.*) *Captive Melanippe* fr. 495. 40-44 Kn. and Friis Johansen (1959) pp. 151 f. and n. 3, p. 155, De Jong (1991) pp. 74-76, 191f.

The simile of the mutability of human fortune to the transformations of *aethēr* (for the all-disposing power of which, cf. note *ad loc.*) points to humans as subject to necessity and cosmic order. Cf. similarly *Hypsipyle* fr. 757. 2-7 Kn. (and Bond 1964 *ad loc.*), *Ino* fr.

<sup>230</sup> Cf. Webster (1967) p. 95, Jouan and van Looy (2000) p. 59.

415 Kn. and the extended cosmic image in *Ph.* 541-545 (though the natural world is offered there as model rather than parallel). At the same time, the present simile alludes to the exposure of Danae and Perseus to the forces of nature and the occurrence of τῶδ' with its specifying nuance (cf. note *ad loc.*) could point to this very experience; cf. the depiction of the uncontrollable physical environment reflecting Danae's helplessness in Simon. *PMG* 543 (cf. *The Myth*, p. 12). The imagery of the present fragment seems thus to provide a transition between the literal and the symbolic. Cf. the similar function of the nautical metaphor in *Tr.* 688-696 and Barlow (1971) p. 118f. The imagery of *aethēr* as reflecting the fragility of human fate occurs also in *HF* 508-512: ὀράτ' ἔμ' ὅσπερ ἡ περιβλεπτος βροτοῖς/ ὀνομαστὰ πράσσων. καὶ μ' ἀφείλεθ' ἡ τύχη/ ὅσπερ πτερόν πρὸς αἰθέρ' ἡμέραι μιᾷ./ ὁ δ' ὄλβος ὁ μέγας ἢ τε δόξ' οὐκ οἶδ' ὅτῳ/ βέβαιός ἐστι, fr. inc. 908b Kn.: ὡς δυστυχεῖν φῶς καὶ κακῶς πεπραγένοι./ ἄνθρωπος ἐγένου καὶ τὸ δυστυχεὲς βίου/ ἐκεῖθεν ἔλαβες, ὅθεν ἅπασιν ἤρξατο/ τρέφειν ὄδ' αἰθῆρ ἐνδιδοὺς θνητοῖς πνοάς·

1 ἐς ταὐτὸν ἦκειν: literally 'to turn out the same', hence, 'to be in the same condition/ position with someone else'; cf. *Hipp.* 273, *Hec.* 748, *Tr.* 684: ἐς ταὐτὸν ἦκεις συμφορᾶς, *Hel.* 943: ἐς ταὐτὸν ἦλθε τοῖς τεκοῦσι τοὺς τρόπους, *Or.* 1280, *IA* 665: ἐς ταὐτόν, ὦ θύγατερ, ἦξις σῶι πατρί and Barrett (1964) on *Hipp.* 273, Harder (1985) on *Archelaus* fr. 258 Kn., [A.] *Pr.* 845: ἐς ταὐτὸν ἐλθὼν τῶν πάλαι λόγων ἵχνος.

φημι: here 'to assert, to affirm'; cf. similarly the general reflection in the messenger-speech in *Erechtheus* fr. 370. 21f. Kn.: ἐγὼ δὲ τοὺς καλῶς τεθνηκότας/ ζῆν φημι μᾶλλον τοῦ βλέπειν τοὺς μὴ καλῶς and in the monologue in *Bellerophon* fr. 285.1f. Kn. (and Collard, Cropp and Lee 1995 *ad loc.*): ἐγὼ τὸ μὲν δὴ πανταχοῦ θρυλούμενον/ κράτιστον εἶναι φημι μὴ φῦναι βροτῶ, also *Bellerophon* fr. 286. 5-7 Kn.

τὰς βροτῶν τύχας: for Euripidean problematic over human fortune, cf. *Alc.* 785f., *IT* 475-478 (and Cropp 2000, p. 209), *Antiope* fr. 211 Kn. (and Kambitsis 1972, p. 77f.): φεῦ φεῦ, βροτείων πημάτων ὅσαι τύχαι/ ὅσαι τε μορφαί· τέρμα δ' οὐκ εἶποι τις ἄν, *Archelaus* fr. 262 Kn. (and Harder 1985 *ad loc.* for further references): πάλαι σκοποῦμαι τὰς τύχας τῶν βροτῶν/ ὡς εὔ μεταλλάσσουσιν· ὅς γὰρ ἄν σφαλῆ / εἰς ὀρθὸν ἔστη χά πρὶν εὐτυχῶν πίτνει, *Bellerophon* fr. 304. 3-5 Kn. (and Collard, Cropp and Lee 1995 *ad loc.*): τύχας δὲ θνητῶν/ τὸ μὲν μέγ' εἰς οὐδὲν ὁ πολὺς χρόνος/ μεθίστησι, τὸ δὲ μείον αὐξῶν, *Eurystheus Satyricus* fr. 376 Kn.: οὐκ οἶδ' ὅτῳ χρὴ κανόνι τὰς βροτῶν τύχας/ ὀρθῶς σταθμήσαντ' εἰδέναί τὸ

δραστέον, *Scyrioi* fr. 684. 1 Kn.: φεῦ, τῶν βροτείων ὡς ἀνώμαλοι τύχαι and Krause (1976) pp. 224-285. For the idea of the fragility of fortune, cf. note on *Dictys* fr. 2.8. Cf. also note on l. 9 of the present fragment on the relation of human fate with time.

2 τῶδ': the deictic quality of the pronoun indicates that the speaker is probably pointing towards the sky, from which the transformations of *aethēr* emerge. The gesture also presents *aethēr* as a less abstract element, which may allude to the tangible experience of the subjection of Danae and Perseus to its successive transformations.

ὄν καλοῦσιν αἰθέρ': Euripides seems here to reflect the physical theories of Diogenes of Apollonia, the last Presocratic philosopher, whose ideas evidently enjoyed popularity in the second half of the fifth century. He regarded *aethēr* as the all-disposing power (64 A5, 7, 19, 20, B4 D.-K.), keeping the measures of all things—summer, winter, rain, winds and fair weather (64 B3 D.-K.); cf. Laks (1983) pp. 44-55, 83-105, Guthrie (1962-1981) II pp. 364-369, Kirk, Raven and Schofield (1983<sup>2</sup>) pp. 441-445. Diogenes' interpretation of meteorological phenomena possibly draws on Anaximander (12 A 11, 23 D.-K.), who developed the theory of the entire atmosphere as *aēr* issuing in wind, rain or cloud according to the circumstances (cf. Kahn 1960, pp. 98-102, 147-149), followed by Anaximenes (13 A 7 D.-K.). Allusions to Diogenes' theory of *aethēr* as the life-principle, which he identifies with divinity (64 A 8, B 5 D.-K.), occur repeatedly in Euripides; cf. *Tr.* 884-886 (and Lee 1976, p. 224): ὦ γῆς ὄχημα κάπι γῆς ἔχων ἔδραν,/ ὅστις ποτ' εἰ σύ, δυστόπαστος εἰδέναι,/ Ζεὺς, εἴτ' ἀνάγκη φύσεος εἶτε νοῦς βροτῶν, fr. inc. 877: ἀλλ' αἰθῆρ τίκτει σε, κόρα,/ Ζεὺς ὃς ἀνθρώποις ὀνομάζεται, fr. inc. 941: ὄρῳ τὸν ὑποῦ τόνδ' ἄπειρον αἰθέρα/ καὶ γῆν πέριξ ἔχονθ' ὑγραῖς ἐν ἀγκάλαις;/ τοῦτον νόμιζε Ζῆνα, τόνδ' ἡγοῦ θεόν, [E.] *Peirithous* fr. 593. 1f. N.<sup>2</sup> (and Sutton 1987, pp. 41-44): σὲ τὸν αὐτοφυᾶ τὸν ἐν αἰθερίῳ / ῥύμβῳ πάντων φύσιν ἐμπλέξανθ', also *Ion* 1445 (and Lee 1997 *ad loc.*), *IA* 365 (and Stockert 1992 *ad loc.*), *Veiled Hippolytus* fr. 443 Kn. and Egli (2003) pp. 79-94, Schwabl (1978) pp. 1302f., 1296, Marzullo (1993) pp. 56-69. Cf. Aristophanes' parody of the occurrence of Diogenes' theories in Euripidean drama in *Th.* 14-18 and *Ra.* 891-894 (and Sommerstein 1996, p. 234). Further references to the generation of life-forms by separation of *aethēr* from earth obviously reflect Euripides' familiarity with a wide range of physical theories current in classical Athens, cf. van Looy (1964) on *Melanippe the Wise* fr. 484 Kn. (tracing influences from Anaxagoras, the Orphics, Empedocles and Diogenes of

Apollonia), *Chrysippus* fr. 839. 1f. Kn, fr. inc. 1023 Kn. and Nestle (1901) pp. 152-159, Assael (2001) pp. 52-54.

οὐδ' τὰδ' ἔστι δῆ: I would propose οὐδ', though not as genitive of origin, as Bothe suggested ('ex quo mundus genitus'). The pronoun evidently needs to refer to the attributes of *aethēr*, which are about to be described, and rather seems to be a predicative genitive of possession ('which has the following features'); cf. for instance, *Alc.* 788f.: εὐφραϊνε σαυτόν, πῖνε, τὸν καθ' ἡμέραν/βίον λογίζου σόν, τὰ δ' ἄλλα τῆς τύχης, *Hipp.* 911: σιωπῆς δ' οὐδὲν ἔργον, *IA* 1142f.: αὐτὸ δὲ τὸ σιγᾶν ὁμολογοῦντός ἐστί σου/ καὶ τὸ στενάζειν and Cooper (1998) I pp. 172-176.

3-5: the oldest division of the year was in two parts (i.e. summer and winter) and kept occurring in literature, even when the other seasons were added; cf. for instance, E. *Alcmeon* fr. 78a Kn., also A. *Ag.* 4f. (and Fraenkel 1950, p. 5), S. *Ai.* 671, Thucydides' division in summer and winter (Th. 2. 1.1) and Nilsson (1962<sup>2</sup>) p. 24. For the division of the year in three seasons, cf. *h. Hom. Cer.* 399f. (and Richardson 1974 *ad loc.*), [A.] *Pr.* 454-456 (and Griffith 1983 *ad loc.*), Ar. *Av.* 709, Lyr. adesp. fr. 37.5 Powell, D.S. 1. 26.5. The first reference to four seasons occurs in Alcman *PMG* 20.

3 λαμπρὸν ἐκλάμπει σέλας: a regular Euripidean epithet for *aethēr*, cf. *Med.* 829, *Hipp.* 178 (and Barrett 1964 *ad loc.*), *IT* 29 (and Cropp 2000 *ad loc.*), *Ion* 1445, *Or.* 1087, *Antiope* fr. 223. 11 Kn. (and Kambitsis 1972, p. 103f.), *Veiled Hippolytus* fr. 443 and Bergson (1956) p. 129. ἐκλάμπει: 'to flash forth' (*LSJ*<sup>9</sup>). There is no need to prefer Nauck's ἐκπέμπει (in view of A. *Ag.* 281, also adopted by Kurtz 1985, p. 134), if we consider E. *Ph.* 226f.: ὦ λάμπουσα πέτρα πυρός/ δικορύφων σέλας, Lyc. 1091: εὐκταῖον ἐκλάμπουσι θυμάτων σέλας and the parallels cited by Kannicht (2004) *ad loc.*: *Cretans* fr. 472 e 14f. Kn., *Hel.* 1130f., A. *Oreithyia* fr. 300. 4 R. σέλας: 'brightness, radiance' usually coming from heavenly bodies or from fire; cf. the parallels in A. *Ag.* 281: λαμπρὸν ἐκπέμπων σέλας, S. *El.* 17: λαμπρὸν ἡλίου σέλας, also E. *Hipp.* 851: φέγγος θ' ἀλίω καὶ νυκτὸς ἀ-/στερωπὸν σέλας, *Tr.* 860, *El.* 866, *Oedipus* fr. 540 i 9 Kn. (and Collard, Cropp and Gibert 2004 *ad loc.*): κυανωπὸν ὥς τις Ἴρις ἀντηύγει σέλας.

4 χειμῶνά τ' αὖξει: *χειμῶν* often occurs as a connotation of crisis, a 'storm' of troubles; cf. *Heracl.* 428, *Tr.* 688-693, *Phaethon* fr. 781. 58 Kn.: ἐς μέγαν χειμῶν' ἄγειν, A. *Supp.* 166f. (and Friis Johansen and Whittle 1980 *ad loc.*), [A.] *Pr.* 563, 643, 1015 (and



Griffith 1983, pp. 194, 206, 265): χειμῶν καὶ κακῶν τρικυμία, *S. Ai.* 670 (and Stanford 1963, p. 146f.), *Ant.* 670. Cf. also note on **fr. 2.2**.

**5** θάλλειν τε καὶ μὴ, ζῆν τε καὶ φθίνειν ποεῖ: for the imagery of blooming and perishing, cf. *Ino* fr. 415. 4f.: τῶν μὲν αὔξεται βίος,/ τῶν δὲ φθίνει τε καὶ θερίζεται πάλιν, *Hypsipyle* fr. 757. 924-926 Kn. (and Collard, Cropp and Gibert 2004 *ad loc.*): ἀναγκαίως δ' ἔχει/ βίον θερίζειν ὥ[στε κάρπιμον στάχυν,/ καὶ τὸν μὲν εἶ[ναι, τὸν δὲ μὴ, *S. Tr.* 547f.: ὀρῶ γὰρ ἦβην τὴν μὲν ἔρπουσαν πρόσω,/ τὴν δὲ φθίνουσαν, *OT* 25: φθίνουσα μὲν κάλυξιν ἐγκάρποις χθονός, *OC* 610: φθίνει μὲν ἰσχυρὸς γῆς, φθίνει δὲ σώματος, *Theseus* fr. 786 R.: ὕβρις δέ τοι/ οὐπόποθ' ἦβης εἰς τὸ σῶφρον ἵκετο,/ ἀλλ' ἐν νέοις ἀνθεῖ τε καὶ πάλιν φθίνει, *Alexis Hypnos* fr. 242. 3f. K.-A. (and for more references, Armott 1996 *ad loc.*): φύεσθαί τ' αἰεὶ/ καινῶς φθίνειν τε τὴν παρουσίαν πάλιν, *Arist. Meteor.* 351a. 29f.: ἅμα πᾶν ἀκμάζειν καὶ φθίνειν ἀναγκαῖον.

**6-9**: at first glance, the following groups of people appear to be mentioned: those who happen to live in good fortune (l. 6f.: τῶν μὲν εὐτυχεῖ/ λαμπρᾶ γαλήνη), others, on the contrary, who go through adversities (l. 7f.: τῶν δὲ συννέφει πάλιν,/ ζῶσιν τε σὺν κακοῖσιν) and some who pass from prosperity to misfortune (l. 8f.: οἱ δ' ὄλβου μέτα φθίνουσιν). As regards the first group, the idea of permanent happiness is a very strange notion for Greek poetry (cf. indicatively De Romilly 1968, pp. 89-97), not least for tragedy and for a passage comparing human fortune with the transformations of *aethēr*, therefore, it would be problematic to assume that the reference to the first group ends at l. 7; if, on the other hand, οἱ δ' ὄλβου μέτα/ φθίνουσ' is taken to refer to the first group of people, then we have a pathetic commonplace in tragedy, that is, the dramatic change from prosperity to misfortune, at which this passage culminates (cf. note on *Dictys* **fr. 2.7f.**). To support this interpretation, one has to understand in l. 8 οἱ μὲν before ζῶσιν τε σὺν κακοῖσιν, as noted by Kannicht *ad loc.* (ζῶσιν τε aut 'et vivunt' aut καὶ οἱ μὲν ζῶσιν, cf. Denniston 1954<sup>2</sup>, p. 166). In this case, we would have the following cross-arrangement:

τῶν μὲν εὐτυχεῖ λαμπρᾶ γαλήνη	τῶν δὲ συννέφει πάλιν
(οἱ μὲν) ζῶσιν τε σὺν κακοῖσιν	οἱ δ' ὄλβου μέτα φθίνουσιν

l. 8f.: '... and some live in misfortune, while those who are prosperous perish, according to parallel seasonal changes.'

The reduction from *olbos* to misfortune evidently corresponds to Danae's situation, as in *Dictys* fr. 2. 3-8 (cf. note *ad loc.*).<sup>231</sup> The reference to the fragility of fortune in the present fragment may also be an implicit final reply to the argument for the great power of *olbioi* expressed in fr. 9 possibly by Acrisius.

οὕτω δὲ: for similes of the same structure, cf. *Heracl.* 427-432: ὦ τέκν', εἰοιγμεν ναυτίλοισιν οἴτινες. . . οὕτω δὲ χῆμεις . . . , *Tr.* 688-696: ναύταις γὰρ ἦν μὲν μέτριος ἦι χειμῶν φέρειν. . . οὕτω δὲ κάγῳ . . . , also *A. Ch.* 247-254: ἰδοῦ δὲ γένναν εὐνιν αἰετοῦ πατρός,/ θανόντος ἐν πλεκταῖσι καὶ σπειράμασιν/ δεινῆς ἐχίδνης . . . οὕτω δὲ κάμὲ τήνδε τ'. . . , *S. Ant.* 423-428: πικρᾶς/ ὄρνιθος ὄξυν φθόγγον, ὡς ὅταν . . . οὕτω δὲ χαῦτη . . . , *Lovers of Achilles* fr. 149. 3-9 R.: ὅταν πάγου φανέντος αἰθρίου . . . οὕτω δὲ τοὺς ἐρῶντας. .

θνητῶν σπέρμα: here as 'breed', therefore 'human race, mankind'; cf. *Hec.* 254f., *IA* 520, fr. inc. 987 Kn.: εἶθ' ἦν ἄφωνον σπέρμα δυστήνων βροτῶν, fr. inc. 1012 Kn., also *A. Oreithyia* fr. 399 R.: τὸ βρότειον σπέρμα. Cf. note on fr. 9.5.

εὐτυχεῖ: denoting good fortune —often accidental— the achievement of some desired end and security from adversity (cf. De Heer 1969, pp. 75-78, McDonald 1978, pp. 294f., 300f.); cf. for instance, *Alc.* 926, *Med.* 1090-1092, *Hipp.* 1017f., *Hel.* 855f., 1030f., *Ph.* 1017f., *Or.* 895.

7 λαμπρᾶ γαλήνη: corresponding to the *λαμπρὸν σέλας* of l. 3. For sunlight as symbol of prosperity, cf. note on fr. 2.1.

συννέφει: metaphor of trouble and adversity analogous to the *πυκνὸν νέφος* of l. 4; cf. *Med.* 107: νέφος οἰμωγῆς, *HF* 1140 (and Bond 1981 *ad loc.*): αἰαί· στεναγμῶν γὰρ με περιβάλλει νέφος, 1216f.: οὐδεις σκότος γὰρ ὠδ' ἔχει μέλαν νέφος/ ὅστις κακῶν σῶν συμφορὰν κρύψειεν ἄν, *Ph.* 1311f. (and Mastronarde 1994, p. 516): ἦν πέριξ ἔχει νέφος/ τοιοῦτον ὅστε δι' Ἀχέροντος ἰέναι, also *Il.* 17. 591: τὸν δ' ἄχεος νεφέλη ἐκάλυψε μέλαινα, *S. Ai.* 1148f.: σμικροῦ νέφους τάχ' ἄν τις ἐκπνεύσας μέγας/ χειμῶν κατασβέσειε τὴν πολλὴν βοήν.

<sup>231</sup> Kurtz (1985, p. 135f.) interpreted the present passage by taking *φθίνουσιν* as linked with *ζῶσιν*, in the sense of *ζῶσιν, οἱ μὲν σὺν κακοῖσιν, οἱ δ' ὄλβον μέτα, <καὶ > φθίνουσιν*. . . The basic problem of this interpretation is that there is no second *τε* nor *καὶ*, which is needed to link *ζῶσιν* with *φθίνουσιν*. Moreover, l. 8 would merely repeat what has just been said in ll. 6-7 (i.e. some live in misfortune, others in good fortune), while the dramatic change of fortune to misfortune, which is a *topos* in tragedy and the culminating point of this passage, as it corresponds to Danae's situation, would not be made clear.

8f.: the pair ζῶσιν-φθίνουσιν (they live-they perish) corresponds to ζῆν τε καὶ φθίνειν (l. 5), while σὺν κακοῖσιν-οἱ δ' ὄλβου μέτα could be related to θάλλειν τε καὶ μὴ (l. 5); cf. Kurtz (1985) p. 136.

οἱ δ' ὄλβου μέτα: prosperity based on wealth, lofty status and power; cf. McDonald (1978) p. 304f., De Heer (1969) p. 70f., and note on fr. 9.3. Here, as regularly in Euripides, *olbos* is considered to be impermanent; cf. *Heracl.* 862-866, *Hec.* 285, *HF* 511f., *Or.* 340, *IA* 161, *Andromeda* fr. 153 Kn. (and Bubel 1991, p. 155, Klimek Winter 1993 *ad loc.*), *Archelaus* fr. 230 Kn., *Bellerophon* fr. 303. 1-3 Kn., *Peleus* fr. 618 Kn.

9 ἐτείους προσφερεῖς μεταλλαγαῖς: Euripides tends to associate the mutability of fortune with time, which he presents as irrational, evading all human calculations. The relation of time and reversal of fortune is perceived from the spectrum of human sensibility and thus loaded with psychological *pathos*; cf. for instance, *Or.* 979-981: ἕτερα δ' ἕτερον ἀμείβεται/ πῆματ' ἐν χρόνῳ μακρῶι/ βροτῶν δ' ὁ πᾶς ἀστάθμητος αἰών, *Auge* fr. 273 Kn.: πᾶσιν γὰρ ἀνθρώποισιν, οὐχ ἡμῖν μόνον,/ ἢ καὶ παραντίκ' ἢ χρόνῳ δαίμων βίον/ ἔσφηλε, κοῦδεῖς διὰ τέλους εὐδαιμονεῖ and De Romilly (1968) pp. 118-122, 141. Cf. also Archilochus fr. 13. 7-9 W.: ἄλλοτε ἄλλος ἔχει τόδε· νῦν μὲν ἐς ἡμέας/ ἐτρέπεθ', αἱματόεν δ' ἔλκος ἀναστένομεν,/ ἐξαῦτις δ' ἐτέρους ἐπαμείψεται, *Pi. O.* 12. 10-12: πολλὰ δ' ἀνθρώποις παρὰ γνώμαν ἔπεσεν,/ ἔμπαλιν μὲν τέρψιος, οἱ δ' ἀνιαραῖς/ ἀντικύρσαντες ζάλαις/ ἐσλὸν βαθὺ πῆματος ἐν μικρῷ πεδάμειψαν χρόνῳ, *O.* 2. 32-37, *P.* 4. 291-293, *S. Ai.* 714, *Ant.* 625, *OC* 609-615, *Tyndareus* fr. 646 R. and Fraenkel (1946) pp. 131-141, De Romilly (1968) p. 88f. For the motif of change of human fortune 'in one day', cf. *Hipp.* 369, *HF* 510, *Hec.* 285 (and Gregory 1999 *ad loc.*): τὸν πάντα δ' ὄλβον ἡμαρ ἔν μ' ἀφείλετο, *Ino* fr. 420.2f. Kn.: ὡς μικρὰ τὰ σφάλλοντα, καὶ μί' ἡμέρα/ τὰ μὲν καθεῖλεν ὑψόθεν, τὰ δ' ἦρ' ἄνω, *Oedipus* fr. 549 Kn.: ἀλλ' ἡμαρ <ἐν> τοι μεταβολὰς πολλὰς ἔχει, also *A. Pers.* 431, *S. Ai.* 131-133 (and Garvie 1998 *ad loc.*), *OT* 438, *El.* 1149. προσφερεῖς: 'similar', cf. *HF* 131f.: αἶδε προσφερεῖς/ ὀμμάτων ἀύγαί, *Hel.* 559, 591: Ἑλένη προσφερῆς ὀθοῦνεκ' εἶ, *Or.* 408: τρεῖς νυκτὶ προσφερεῖς κόρας, also *A. Ag.* 1218, *Ch.* 176, *Ar. Eccl.* 67. μεταλλαγαῖς: 'changes'; cf. *HF* 765f.: μεταλλαγαὶ γὰρ δακρῶν,/ μεταλλαγαὶ συντυχίας, also *Hdt.* 1. 74, *S. Ph.* 1134, *Men. Dysc.* 271-273: εἶναι νομίζω πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἐγὼ/ τοῖς τ' εὐτυχοῦσιν τοῖς τε πρᾶττουσιν κακῶς/ πέρας τι τούτου καὶ μεταλλαγήν τινα, *Peric.* 147-150: οὐδ'

ἐκεῖνον βούλεται/ εἶναι δοκοῦντα λαμπρὸν εἰς μεταλλαγὴν/ ἀγαγεῖν, ὄνασθαι δ' ὧν δέδωκεν ἡ τύχη, Pl. *Ti.* 61c.

**Fr. 16:**

**χρησμοφδία:** ‘prophecy, oracular utterance’; Hsch. χ 731 (Schmidt): χρησμοφδία· μάντευμα, μαντεία, προλεγόμενον. Cf. [A.] *Pr.* 775: ἤδ' οὐκέτ' εὐξόμβλητος ἡ χρησμοφδία, Pl. *Pri.* 316d. 7-9: τοὺς δὲ αὖ τελετάς τε καὶ χρησμοφδίας, τοὺς ἀμφί τε Ὀρφέα καὶ Μουσαῖον, also *Melanippe the Wise* fr. 481.16f. Kn.: ὕμνους ἦιδε χρησμοφδοῦς βροτοῖς/ ἄκη πόνων φράζουσα καὶ λυτήρια, S. *OT* 1199f.: τὰν γαμψώνυχα παρθένον/ χρησμοφδόν, S. *Tantalus* fr. 573 R.: Ἐρμῆς ἐδήλου τήνδε χρησμοφδὸν φάτιν. Likewise, χρησμοφδῶ: ‘to deliver oracles, prophesy’ (*LSJ*<sup>9</sup>); cf. Hdt. 7. 6.24, Ar. *Eq.* 818, D. ix 25, Pl. *Ap.* 39c: τὸ δὲ δὴ μετὰ τοῦτο ἐπιθυμῶ ὑμῖν χρησμοφδῆσαι, ᾧ καταψηφισάμενοί μου· καὶ γὰρ εἶμι ἦδη ἐνταῦθα ἐν ᾧ μάλιστα ἄνθρωποι χρησμοφδοῦσιν, ὅταν μέλλωσιν ἀποθανεῖσθαι, *Thg.* 124d, *Cra.* 396d, *Ion* 534b.7, Arist. *Mu.* 395b.28, X. *Ap.* 30. 3.

The complete loss of context makes the word impossible to locate with probability; a reference to the prophecy, according to which Acrisius would be killed by his grandson (cf. esp. Pherecyd. fr. 10 Fowler, [Apollo.] 2. 4.1) may have occurred in the narrative prologue reporting the *προπεπραγμένα* and could account for Danae’s seclusion in the chamber (if Euripides chose to follow the mythical tradition, cf. Structure). Acrisius’ possible reminiscence of the oracle upon his discovery of Perseus’ identity may have given rise to the matter of the baby’s elimination, which is what could have motivated Danae’s plea and perhaps her self-sacrifice (fr. 13, 14). The word might also be located in the speech of a *deus ex machina*, whose appearance is required to confirm that Perseus is Zeus’ son and foretell that mother and child will be rescued and presumably that the oracle will be fulfilled at the end (cf. Structure).<sup>232</sup> In this case, *χρησμοφδία* may have referred either to the initial oracle, the eventual fulfillment of which is likely to be confirmed by the god, or to a possible concluding prophecy of the *deus ex machina* (in terms of the fate of mother and child), which is occasionally described as ‘oracle’; cf. *Ion* 1569f.: ἀλλ’ ὡς περαίνω πρᾶγμα καὶ χρησμοῦς θεοῦ/ ἐφ’ οἷσιν ἔξευξ’ ἄρματ’, εἰσακούσατον, *Ba.* 1333: χρησμοῦς ὡς λέγει

<sup>232</sup> Huys (1995, p. 130) reasonably locates this fragment in the prologue or epilogue of the play.

Διός and the prophecies of Eurystheus and Polymestor in *Heracl.* 1028 (χρησμοῖ παλαιῶι Λοξίου δωρήσομαι) and *Hec.* 1267 respectively.<sup>233</sup>

Apart from this single word, which seems to indicate that Euripides made use of the oracle in his treatment, there is no evidence for its dramatic function. Unlike Sophocles, who uses oracles to hint to processes inaccessible to human reason, designating, at the same time, human struggle to evade their fulfillment (for the possible function of the oracle in his treatments of Danae's legend, cf. *The Myth*, pp. 15-17), oracles and divine will, in general, are taken as a starting point in Euripides and subsequently, the plot is worked out in human terms; cf. for instance, Phaedra's condition, which is taken as god-sent from the beginning, but it is the manner in which she elects to cope with it, which gives scope for the exploration of her psychology,<sup>234</sup> and also Polyxena and Iphigenia, who, when faced with the divine necessity of sacrifice, succeed in converting their helplessness to free will.<sup>235</sup> Accordingly, the oracle in the *Danae* might have been taken as a given and the plot may have worked out on the basis of human psychology, though owing to the complete lack of evidence for this matter, I would not hazard any further guess as to its particular function in the play. It should be noted, however, that unlike Sophocles' treatments, where the notion of Acrisius' fear for the fulfillment of the oracle seems to have been prominent and decisive for his actions (cf. *The Myth*, p. 16f.), the surviving fragments of Euripides' play do not provide any clue as to Acrisius' reaction to the oracle, but rather seem to touch on the social matter of Danae's illicit motherhood (cf. **fr. 6**, also **frr. 7-10** and notes *ad loc.*, on the possible interpretation of her seduction as bribery, and *Structure*, p. 30). In the absence of further evidence for the play, of course, no conclusion can be drawn, but the oracle appears, at least on the strength of the available sources, to have been less prominent in Euripides than in Sophocles.<sup>236</sup>

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<sup>233</sup> For the concluding prophecies of the *deus ex machina*, cf. Dunn (1996) p. 66f.

<sup>234</sup> Cf. Conacher (1967) pp. 27-33.

<sup>235</sup> Cf. Conacher (1967) pp. 147-150, 158f., Gregory (1991) p. 94f.

<sup>236</sup> Cf. Huys (1995) p. 130.

## EURIPIDES' *DICTYS*

### 1. The Myth in Literature and Art

In order to study Euripides' treatment of this phase of the legend in 431 BC, it is essential to explore the sources prior to the dramatist, with the purpose of establishing the mythical background of the *Dictys*, as well as those subsequent to the play, which could offer an insight to the degree of popularity of the myth in later ages (the possible echoes of the *Dictys* in later times are studied separately in the testimonia for the play and in the chapter on Reception).

The earliest detailed account of the events following the arrival of Danae and Perseus at Seriphos belongs to Pherecydes (*FGrH* 3 F11/ fr. 11 Fowler), which is briefly and to a degree confusingly reported by the scholiast on A.R. 4. 1515 (Wendel): Dictys takes Danae and Perseus under his protection,<sup>237</sup> until the latter grows to manhood. Subsequently, Polydectes, Dictys' brother and king of Seriphos, becomes enamoured of Danae. In order to win her, Polydectes organizes an *eranos* inviting Perseus among others. When the latter asks what contribution is needed for the feast, Polydectes replies "a horse", but Perseus is strangely reported to have answered "the Gorgon's head" (the explanation follows below). When the next day Perseus brings a horse, like the other guests, Polydectes does not accept it and insists that he should bring the Gorgon's head as promised, otherwise he will claim Danae. Perseus leaves at a state of despair. Helped by Hermes and Athena he manages to decapitate the Gorgon and returns to Seriphos asking Polydectes to gather the people to see the Gorgon's head. Consequently, the king and the crowd are turned to stone. Then Perseus departs for Argos with his mother and Andromeda, leaving Dictys as king of the island. Pherecydes' summarized narrative runs as follows:

Περσέως ἐν Σερίφῳ μετὰ τῆς μητρὸς διάγοντος παρὰ Δίκτυι καὶ ἠβήσαντος,  
Πολυδέκτης ὁ Δίκτυος ὁμομήτριος <ἀδελφός>,<sup>238</sup> βασιλεὺς Σερίφου τυγχάνων,

<sup>237</sup> Cf. Paus. 2. 18.1 referring to a precinct probably in Seriphos (and not in Athens, cf. Frazer 1898, I p. 572) in honour of Dictys and the Nereid Clymene, who saved Perseus' life.

<sup>238</sup> However, in *FGrH* 3 F4/ fr. 10 Fowler, Pherecydes states that they also had the same father: ἦσαν γὰρ ὁ Δίκτυς καὶ ὁ Πολυδέκτης, Ἄνδροθόης τῆς Κάστορος καὶ Περισθένους τοῦ Δαμάστορος, τοῦ

ιδὼν τὴν Δανάην ἠράσθη αὐτῆς, ἠπόρει δὲ συγκοιμηθῆναι· καὶ παρασκευάσας ἄριστον ἐκάλει ἄλλους τε πολλοὺς καὶ αὐτὸν Περσέα. Περσέως δὲ πυθομένου, ἐπὶ τίνι ὁ ἔρανος εὐωχεῖται, τοῦ δὲ φήσαντος ἐπὶ ἵπῳ, Περσεὺς εἶπεν ἐπὶ τῆς 5 Γοργόνης κεφαλῇ. μετὰ δὲ τὸν ἔρανον τῆ ἑξῆς ἡμέρᾳ, ὅτε οἱ ἄλλοι ἐρανισταὶ τὸν ἵππον ἐπεκόμιζον<sup>239</sup> καὶ Περσεύς, ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἐδέχετο, ἀπῆτει δὲ τὴν τῆς Γοργόνης κεφαλὴν κατὰ τὴν ὑπόσχεσιν· ἐὰν δὲ μὴ κομίση, τὴν μητέρα αὐτοῦ λήψεσθαι ἔφη. ὁ δὲ ἀνιαθεὶς ἀπέρχεται ὀλοφυρόμενος τὴν συμφορὰν εἰς τὸ ἔσχατον τῆς νήσου.

2 ἀδελφὸς add. Jacoby || 7 ἐπεκόμιζον coniecti pro ἀπεκόμιζον L: ἐκόμιζον fere P || 8 μὴ P: om. L

After the narration of the decapitation of the Gorgon, the account continues with Perseus' return to Seriphos:

Περσεὺς δὲ εἰς Σέριφον γενόμενος ἔρχεται παρὰ Πολυδέκτην, καὶ κελεύει συναθροῖσαι τὸν λαὸν ὅπως δείξῃ αὐτοῖς τὴν τῆς Γοργόνης κεφαλὴν, εἰδὼς ὅτι ἰδόντες ἀπολιθωθήσονται. ὁ δὲ Πολυδέκτης, ἀολλίσας τὸν ὄχλον, κελεύει αὐτὸν δεικνύειν. ὁ δὲ ἀποστρεφόμενος ἐξαιρεῖ ἐκ τῆς κιβίσεως, καὶ δείκνυσιν, οἱ δὲ ἰδόντες λίθοι ἐγένοντο. ἡ δὲ Ἀθηνᾶ παρὰ Περσέως λαβοῦσα τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐντίθησιν 5 εἰς τὴν ἑαυτῆς αἰγίδα· τὴν δὲ κίβισιν Ἑρμῆς ἀποδίδωσι καὶ τὰ πέδιλα καὶ τὴν κυνὴν ταῖς Νύμφαις. ἴστορεῖ Φερεκῦδης ἐν τῇ β'.

3 ἀολλίσας ed. princ.: ἀολλήσας L: συναθροίσας P || 6 Ἑρμῆς ed. princ.: Ἑρμῆ Stephanus, quem secutus Jacoby, ὁ δὲ πάλιν ἀποδίδωσι post κυνὴν addidit

The genealogist closes the narrative of the adventures of Danae and Perseus in Seriphos thus (*FGrH* 3 F12/ fr. 12 Fowler/ schol. A.R. 4. 1091 Wendel):

ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἑξῆς καὶ περὶ τοῦ θανάτου φησὶν Ἀκρισίου, ὅτι μετὰ τὴν ἀπολίθωσιν Πολυδέκτου καὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ ἐκ τῆς Γοργόνης κεφαλῆς, Δίκτυν μὲν Περσεὺς καταλείπει {ἐν Σερίφῳ} βασιλέα τῶν λελειμμένων Σεριφίων, αὐτὸς δὲ ἔβη πλέων

Ναυπλίου, τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος καὶ Ἀμυμώνης. Hesiod (fr. 8 M.-W.) and [Apollod.] 1. 9. 6, on the other hand, attest that they were sons of Magnes, whereas Tzetzes (schol. Lyc. 838) presents Polydectes as son of Poseidon and 'Κηρεβία'. The odd name Κηρεβία occurs only in Tzetzes. Scheer's emendation *Εὐρυβία* (i.e. Polylaus' mother in [Apollod.] 2. 7. 8) on the basis of a possible confusion of Polydectes with Polylaus, is tempting, considering that Tzetzes was familiar with the *Bibliotheca* and used it very frequently in his commentary on Lycophron; cf. Wagner (1926<sup>2</sup>) p. xxv and Diller (1935) p. 304. In Tzetzes' version, Polydectes' father is not Magnes, but Poseidon; it is not unusual for a son of Poseidon to be evil, to judge also by Polyphemus, Cercyon, Sinis and Sciron. In Pherecydes' genealogy Polydectes is not Poseidon's son, but still one of his descendants.

<sup>239</sup> The reading *ἀπεκόμιζον* (*LSJ*<sup>9</sup>: 'to carry away') of L and adopted by all the editors does not suit the context; instead, we need a verb denoting 'to bring'. I suggest that *ἐπεκόμιζον* (*LSJ*<sup>9</sup>: 'to bring or carry to someone') may have been the original reading wrongly copied as *ἀπεκόμιζον*. The reading *ἐκόμιζον* ('to carry, to convey, to bring to a place'), which seems to occur in P, is also possible.

εἰς Ἄργος σὺν τοῖς Κύκλωσι <sup>240</sup> καὶ τῇ Δανάῃ καὶ τῇ Ἄνδρομέδᾳ.

3 καταλείπει P: ἀπολείπει L | ἐν Σερίφῳ del. Jacoby | βασιλέα P: βασιλεύειν L

The summary of Pherecydes' narrative by the scholiast on Apollonius of Rhodes leaves unclear what happened at the feast organized by Polydectes. The later account in [Apollod.] 2. 4.2 sheds some light on the confused summary of Pherecydes' story:

προσενεχθείσης δὲ τῆς λάρνακος Σερίφῳ, Δίκτυς ἄρας ἀνέθρεψε τοῦτον. βασιλεύων δὲ τῆς Σερίφου Πολυδέκτης ἀδελφὸς Δίκτυος, Δανάης ἐρασθεὶς, καὶ ἠνδρωμένου Περσέως μὴ δυνάμενος αὐτῇ συνελθεῖν, συνεκάλει τοὺς φίλους, μεθ' ὧν καὶ Περσέα, λέγων ἔρανον συνάγειν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἴπποδαμείας τῆς Οἰνομάου γάμους. τοῦ δὲ Περσέως εἰπόντος καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ τῆς Γοργόνης οὐκ ἀντερεῖν, παρὰ μὲν τῶν λοιπῶν ἤτησεν ἵππους, παρὰ δὲ τοῦ Περσέως οὐ λαβὼν τοὺς ἵππους ἐπέταξε τῆς Γοργόνης κομίζειν τὴν κεφαλὴν.

Ps.-Apollodorus' account presents a clearer version of the events at the *eranos*, as compared to the confused summary of the scholiast: Polydectes organized the *eranos* on the pretext of being a suitor for the hand of Hippodamia and of collecting horses, presumably for the chariot-race with her father Oenomaus. In Pherecydes' account, the *eranos* seems to have been an *eranos*-feast, as found in Homer, where everyone has to contribute, usually by bringing food; in Pherecydes, however, the contributions are not alimentary, instead the participants are expected to bring horses as presents for the host of the banquet.<sup>241</sup> On the other hand, the gathering of gifts mentioned in the *Bibliotheca* resembles the fifth-century type of *eranos*-loan, namely a friendly loan supplied to someone in particular need by a group of people,<sup>242</sup> though it is not clear whether Polydectes is supposed to pay back for the contributions. If not, this would be the case of a collective gift, rather than a typical *eranos*-loan, which I would parallel to the gift-gathering organized by Alcinous for Odysseus (*Od.*

<sup>240</sup> No previous reference to the Cyclopes occurs in the summary of Pherecydes' text. Though they are associated with the fortification of Mycenae (E. *HF* 943-945, *IA* 1500f., Paus. 2. 16.5), which was founded by Perseus, their role at this stage of the story remains unknown and is not attested by later authors.

<sup>241</sup> This is how it is presented also in Schol. vet. Pi. P. 10. 46 (Drachmann) followed by Thomas Magister in his scholium *ad loc.* For this earlier type of *eranos* as a feast demanding contributions, cf. *Od.* 1. 226 and schol. vet. *ad loc.*, 11. 415, Pi. P. 5. 77, schol. Eust. *II.* 14. 578, 764 (van der Valk) and Longo (1987) pp. 108-113, Vondeling (1961) pp. 7-11, Harris (1992) p. 311.

<sup>242</sup> For this later type of *eranos*, cf. Antiphon 1. 2.9, D. liii 11, lix 31, D.L. 8. 87, Pl. *Lg.* 915e, Theophr. *Ch.* 15. 7, 17. 9 and Vondeling (1961) pp. 27-67, Longo (1987) pp. 114-116, Beauchet (1897) IV pp. 258-271, Millett (1991) pp. 153-159, Gernet (1968) p. 193 and Harris (1992) p. 311f. From the fourth century onwards, *eranos* also bears the sense of a loan-group; cf. Finley (1952) pp. 100-106, Vondeling (1961) pp. 104-117.



8. 389-417, 13. 10-12); in fact, gift-giving in primitive and archaic societies bears the notion of reciprocity,<sup>243</sup> which is a basic feature of the *eranos*. Perseus' offer to bring even the Gorgon's head seems here to be presented as a piece of foolish bravado,<sup>244</sup> which is exploited by Polydectes in order to eliminate him.<sup>245</sup> This appears to be the case in the summarized version of Pherecydes' account as well, except that in the latter Danae is the forfeit, which causes Perseus' despair. It has been aptly noted, however, that Perseus' offer could have hardly been predicted by the king and his ulterior motive for organizing the *eranos* cannot thus be explained;<sup>246</sup> this point may indicate a gap in both narratives, as the impression given from the context is that Polydectes planned the *eranos* with the particular purpose of trapping Perseus in a certain manner, so as to get him out of the way.<sup>247</sup>

Ps.-Apollodorus (2. 4.3) continues by reproducing the plot of the *Dictys* (cf. *Dictys T5*): upon returning to Seriphos, Perseus finds out that Polydectes' violence has forced Danae and Dictys to become suppliant. He thus goes into the palace and lithifies Polydectes and his friends. The rest of the account follows Pherecydes:

καταστήσας δὲ τῆς Σερίφου Δίκτυν βασιλέα, ἀπέδωκε τὰ μὲν πέδιλα καὶ τὴν κίβισιν καὶ τὴν κυνῆν Ἑρμῆ, τὴν δὲ κεφαλὴν τῆς Γοργόνης Ἀθηνᾶ. Ἑρμῆς μὲν οὖν τὰ

<sup>243</sup> Cf. Finley (1977<sup>2</sup>) pp. 64-66. Alcinoos' act, however, is not described by Homer as *eranos*, since this term is used in the epics with its early meaning, denoting a feast demanding contributions.

<sup>244</sup> Cf. Gantz (1993) p. 303.

<sup>245</sup> For Polydectes' assignment to Perseus, cf. also A.R. 4. 1515, Arr. *Anab.* 3. 3.1 and for his petrification, Nonn. *D.* 25. 80ff., 47. 551ff. *Πολυδέκτης* is an epithet of Hades as 'the receiver of many' in *h.Hom.Cer.* 9 (cf. Richardson 1974 *ad loc.*) and Cornut. 35. On this basis, Fontenrose (1959, pp. 293, 298f.) perceived Polydectes as a personification of Hades sending Perseus to the land of Medusa, which symbolizes the realm of death. Since, however, there is no evidence from literature or iconography identifying the king of Seriphos as Hades, this suggestion remains speculative. On the other hand, the name Polydectes may well denote 'the host' of the feast, in view of the *eranos* he organized; so Gernet (1968) p. 48, n. 153.

<sup>246</sup> Cf. Gantz (1993) p. 303.

<sup>247</sup> The later scholium of Thomas Magister on *Pi. P.* 10. 46 (Abel) mentions that Perseus proposed to bring the Gorgon's head, as he could not afford a horse, which may well account for both Perseus' offer and Polydectes' motive for organizing the *eranos*; considering, however, that Thomas closely follows the ancient scholium on this passage and adds only this piece of information, it cannot be proved whether this explanation originates in a lost source or is his own reasonable inference. The phrasing in Ps.-Apollodorus' narrative could fit this interpretation, since *οὐ λαβὼν τοὺς ἵππους* does not need to be interpreted as 'he did not take/accept the horses', but could also be translated as 'he did not receive the horses' (because Perseus did not bring any horses). In such a case, however, one should have to contest the reliability of Pherecydes' account, at least as transmitted in schol. A.R. 4. 1515, where Perseus is clearly said to have brought a horse, which Polydectes did not accept. It cannot be completely ruled out that the scholiast may have not had direct access to this part of Pherecydes' narrative—to judge from the clumsy and confusing epitome—and thus used an intermediary source, which may account for a possible inaccuracy coming from misinterpretation of the passage. Nevertheless, I would hesitate to take for granted that Pherecydes' account is corrupt, in favour of information of unknown provenance provided in a later scholium.

προειρημένα πάλιν ἀπέδωκε ταῖς νόμοις, Ἄθηνά δὲ ἐν μέσῃ τῇ ἀσπίδι τῆς Γοργόνης τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐνέθηκε. λέγεται δὲ ὑπ' ἐνίων ὅτι δι' Ἄθηναν ἢ Μέδουσα ἐκατατομήθη· φασὶ δὲ ὅτι καὶ περὶ κάλλους ἠθέλησεν ἢ Γοργῶ αὐτῇ συγκριθῆναι.<sup>248</sup>

5

4 ἐνέθηκε Heyne: ἀνέθηκε A

The earliest literary source for the Perseus-Gorgon story is Hes. *Th.* 280f.,<sup>249</sup> though there is no indication associating the slaying of the Gorgon with the events in Seriphos. The Mycenaean suffix *-εως* of Perseus' name could take the roots of his legend back to the Bronze Age (along with the references to Danae's bronze chamber, cf. *Danae*, *The Myth*, p. 12)<sup>250</sup> and the legendary foundation of Mycenae by the hero points in the same direction.<sup>251</sup> His heroic status is attested also in the fragments of the *Ehoiai* (fr. 129. 14-15 M.-W.), where he is described as *μήστωρ φόβοιο* ('deviser of terror'), a formula characterizing warriors.<sup>252</sup> ἦ δ' ἔτεκεν Δανάην κ[α]λλίσφυρο[ν ἐν μεγάρ]οισιν, / ἦ Περσῆ' ἔτεκεν κρα[τερὸν] μ[ήσ]τωρ[α] φόβοιο.

The same source preserves the earliest reference to Dictys and Polydectes, though we are not in a position to know whether they already formed part of Perseus' legend (fr. 8 M.-W.): Μάγνης δ' αὖ Δίκτυν τε καὶ ἀντίθεον Πολυδέκτεα. The fixed epithet *ἀντίθεος* ('equal to a god') is attached to kings and nobles.<sup>253</sup> It certainly does not have any kind of moral dimension, but is indicative of high social status, in accordance with the values of epic poetry.<sup>254</sup> Likewise, Penelope's suitors are described as *ἀντίθεις* (*Od.* 14. 18) in view of their noble origin, physical appearance, wealth and courage, as Eustathius explains (schol. *ad loc.*).

<sup>248</sup>The reference to Athena's responsibility for Medusa's beheading does not originate in Pherecydes and mostly recurs in later sources, such as Servius' schol. *Verg. Aen.* 6. 289 (Thilo-Hagen) and Tzetzes schol. *Lyc.* 838 (Scheer), who relies on the narrative of the *Bibliotheca*. In *E. Ion* 989-996 (cf. Lee 1997, p. 270) Medusa is said to have been killed by Athena herself.

<sup>249</sup> Cf. also *Sc.* 216-237.

<sup>250</sup> Page (1959, p. 196f.) pointed out that this particular suffix was characteristic of heroic names and went out of use before the historical period. Cf. Nilsson (1932) p. 26, Perpillou (1973) p. 223 and Luce (1975) p. 173.

<sup>251</sup> Cf. *Hecat.* fr. 22 Fowler/ *FGrH* 1 F22, *E. IA* 1500, *Nicand. Alex.* 100, *Paus.* 2. 15. 4, 2. 16. 3 and schol. *Eust. Il.* 2. 569 (van der Valk). Pausanias refers to Perseus' Hellenistic fountain (2. 16.6) and precinct in Mycenae (2. 18.1), while there survives an archaic inscription (*JG* IV 493) from the hero's cult in this city, cf. Jameson (1990) pp. 214ff.

<sup>252</sup> Cf. schol. *vet. Il.* 6. 97 (Erbse): *ἰσχυρὸς ἐν τῷ μήσασθαι φυγὴν τοῖς πολεμίοις*. Cf. *Il.* 6. 278, 23. 16, where *μήστωρ φόβοιο* is attached to Diomedes and Patroclus respectively.

<sup>253</sup> See *Lfgre* s.v. 'ἀντίθεος'. Polyphemus is also described as *ἀντίθεος* (*Od.* 1. 70), presumably because he is the most powerful of the Cyclopes (*δοῦν κράτος ἐστὶ μέγιστον / πᾶσιν Κυκλώπεσσι*). Cf. also Parry (1971) p.127, Vivante (1982) p. 129 and Geddes (1984) p. 30.

<sup>254</sup> Cf. indicatively Adkins (1960) pp. 32f.,46 and Adkins (1972) pp. 12f., 25.

Along with Pherecydes, Pindar is the earliest source to attest Polydectes' deserved punishment; he is the only one to mention (in *P.* 12. 14f., dated in 490) that the king used Perseus' absence to reduce Danae to slavery and make her his concubine: λυγρόν τ' ἔρανον Πολυδέκτα θῆκε ματρός τ' ἔμπεδον/ δουλοσύναν τό τ' ἀναγκαῖον λέχος.<sup>255</sup> Similarly, the papyrus-fragment of the Pindaric dithyramb fr. 70d M. (=Pi. *Dith. Oxy.* 4/ fr. inc. 284 Schröder) mentions the petrification of the king and the Seriphian crowd (ll. 40-43: ἦ γὰρ [α]ὐτῶν μετὰστασιν ἄκραν[ /..θη]κε· πέτραι δ' [ἔφ]α[ν]θεν ἀντ[ι] φωτῶν/ ....]ν τ' ἔρωτος ἀνταμοιβὰν ἐδάσσατο[ / στρα]τάρχῳ), while some lines above, Pindar uses similar phrasing with *P.* 12. 15 again possibly with reference to Danae's forced cohabitation with Polydectes (l. 14f.: φύτευεν ματρί/ ].αν λέχεά τ' ἀνα[γ]καῖα δολ[ι]). The ἀναγκαῖα λέχεα have been alternatively regarded as pointing to Danae's rape by Proetus (cf. *Danae*, *The Myth*, p. 13f.).<sup>256</sup> The remaining lines of the dithyramb, however, refer to Polydectes, whose petrification (ll. 40-43) is presented as the retribution of his misconduct (ἔρωτος ἀνταμοιβὰ, cf. l. 14f.), while the occurrence of ἐδάσσατο interestingly alludes to the *eranos*, where the king asked for the Gorgon's head.<sup>257</sup> Moreover, the plural suggests prolonged sexual subservience, as that imposed on Danae by Polydectes, rather than an act of rape. A reference to Proetus in this context seems thus unlikely.<sup>258</sup>

The phase of the legend dealing with Perseus' manhood inspired several dramatic productions prior to the *Dictys*. A *Perseus* tragedy, of which only the title is known, was written by Pratinas and produced together with his *Tantalus* and the satyr play *Palaistai* by his son Aristias in 467 BC. The following interesting fragment from an unknown play ascribed to Aristias might be related to the *Perseus* and the foundation of Mycenae: μυκαῖσι δ' ὠρέχθει τὸ λάινον πέδον (*TrGF* I 9 F6);<sup>259</sup> according to Pausanias (2. 16.3), Perseus being thirsty pulled a mushroom (μύκης) from the ground, whereupon water gushed out and therefore he named the town that he founded at this place (Mycenae) after the μύκης. Considering also that it was Aristias who produced the *Perseus* after his father's

<sup>255</sup> Cf. schol. vet. *ad loc.* (Drachmann) and Farnell (1932) p. 236, Köhnken (1971) p. 127, n. 55. The theme of the petrification of Polydectes and the Seriphian crowd briefly occurs also in *P.* 10. 44-48 and schol. vet. *ad loc.* (Drachmann).

<sup>256</sup> Cf. Maehler's edition (1989) *ad loc.* mentioning this possibility.

<sup>257</sup> Cf. van der Weiden (1991) p. 163.

<sup>258</sup> So Lavecchia (2000) p. 232.

<sup>259</sup> Cf. Kuhnert (1909) col. 1992.

death, it is conceivable that this fragment could have been mistakenly ascribed to Aristias instead of Pratinas.

Aeschylus wrote the *Phorcides*, in which, according to [Erat.] *Cat.* 22, Perseus outwits the Graiai by seizing their one eye and catching the Gorgons asleep, he beheads Medusa.<sup>260</sup> The play is paralleled to the *Prometheus* and the tragedies set in Hades, in terms of its spectacular effects, if we trust Bywater's plausible conjecture *ὄψις* on *Ar. Poet.* 18, 1456a.2. He is also attested to have written a *Polydectes*, of which only the title survives (*TrGF* III T 78. 15b). The complete absence of quotations may suggest that it did not survive to be included in Aristophanes' edition, which was based on Lycurgus' fourth-century official copy of the plays of the repertory, otherwise it would have stood a good chance of being cited by later authors.<sup>261</sup> The title as such seems to point to the conflict between Polydectes and Perseus, either the petrification or the events at the *eranos*.<sup>262</sup> The *Phorcides* and *Polydectes* may have well belonged to the same connected tetralogy with the satyr-play *Dictyulci*,<sup>263</sup> which treats the arrival of the chest at Seriphos, fished up by Dictys and the chorus of satyrs (fr. 46a-c). Silenus is courting Danae, intending to take mother and child with him (fr. 47a. 765-772 R.). Danae bursts out, in view of her new misfortune (fr. 47a.773-85 R.). Silenus, who seems to be the 'satyric' counterpart of Polydectes,<sup>264</sup> is trying to win the infant Perseus over (fr. 47a. 786-795 R.), so as to soften the mother's heart, and is making wedding-plans for Danae (fr. 47a. 799-832 R.). Both mother and child seem finally to have been protected by Dictys.<sup>265</sup> It should be noted that apart from Euripides' play, the sole attested dramatic appearance of Dictys is in the *Dictyulci*. On the basis of Sicelisms traced in the *Phorcides* and *Dictyulci*, the tetralogy may be dated after Aeschylus' journey to Sicily in 472-468 BC.<sup>266</sup>

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<sup>260</sup> Cf. Mette (1963) p. 155-157, Aéliou (1986) pp. 163-167 and for iconographic evidence, Séchan (1926) pp. 107-109.

<sup>261</sup> Cf. Karamanou (2002/2003) p. 168.

<sup>262</sup> Cf. Gantz (1980) p. 150f.

<sup>263</sup> Cf. Pfeiffer (1938) p. 20.

<sup>264</sup> Cf. Gantz (1980) p. 151.

<sup>265</sup> For a reconstruction of the play, cf. Werre de Haas (1961) pp. 72-75. An Attic red-figured pyxis of 470-60 BC (first published by Clairmont 1953, pp. 92-94) is considered to have been inspired by the *Dictyulci*; cf. Trendall and Webster (1971) fig. II 3. I would explain the absence of satyrs from the vase-painting by the fact that the first scene depicted is placed before their arrival to help pull off the chest and the second after their being repulsed by Dictys.

<sup>266</sup> So *TrGF* III p. 362 and for further argumentation for a late date, cf. Goins (1997) pp. 193-210. The vase-illustration possibly inspired by the *Dictyulci* (cf. previous note) is also dated rather late, in about 470-60 B.C.

Unlike the art of the Archaic Age, which had a penchant for scenes depicting Perseus with the Gorgoneion and the decapitation of Medusa,<sup>267</sup> fifth-century vase-painting introduced the theme of Polydectes' petrification, as treated in mythography and poetry.<sup>268</sup> Accordingly, Pausanias (1. 22.7)<sup>269</sup> refers to a painting in the picture-gallery at the north-western part of the Propylaea (dated between 436-432 BC) depicting Perseus as bringing the Gorgon's head to Polydectes.

Cratinus' *Seriphioi*, which is subsequent to the *Dictys*, may be dated in about 423/422 BC.<sup>270</sup> Though any allusion to Euripides' play is now impossible to discern, fr. 218 K.-A. referring to tragic masks<sup>271</sup> and the echo of [A.] *Pr.* 793 in fr. inc. 343 K.-A. (probably belonging to the *Seriphioi*) with reference to the land of the Gorgons<sup>272</sup> may suggest a burlesque of the tragic treatments of the myth. Strabo (10. 5.10), having obviously Cratinus' play in mind, attests that comic poets explained the infertility and the rocky image of Seriphos as resulting from the petrification of its people by Perseus.<sup>273</sup> The theme of the play is mythical and further mythological references are discernible in fr. 222, 223.1 and fr. inc. 343 K.-A. (Perseus' itinerary to the land of the Gorgons) and fr. 231 K.-A. (Andromeda). Nevertheless, the references to contemporary politics in fr. 221, 223.2f., 227 and 228 K.-A., suggest that the *Seriphioi* was not merely a mythological burlesque, but

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The title of the other tragedy of the tetralogy is lost. Gantz (1980, p.150) proposed the *Thalamopoioi*, relating it to the construction of Danae's bronze chamber. The *Thalamopoioi*, however, has also been assumed to be another title for the second play of the Danaid tetralogy dealing with the construction of the fifty marital chambers (Wecklein 1893, pp. 413 ff.) or even a satyr-play (so Webster 1950, p. 86). The meagre evidence for this play is inconclusive. Howe (1953, pp. 271ff.) pointed out the striking similarity and theatrical character of three vase-illustrations dated in around 490 B.C. (all three depicting Acrisius, Danae, the infant Perseus and a carpenter preparing the chest, see *LIMC*, s.v. 'Akrisios' figg. 1-3), and tried to relate them to the lost play of Aeschylus' tetralogy. This suggestion, however, cannot be reconciled with the evidence for the tetralogy, pointing to a late date, as already mentioned. Nevertheless, a lost early fifth-century tragedy on the Danae-myth may seem possible as source of inspiration.

<sup>267</sup> See *LIMC* s.v. 'Perseus' pp. 335f., 339, 341, 345f.

<sup>268</sup> See *LIMC* s.v. 'Polydectes', figg. 2, 3, 4, 7, 8.

<sup>269</sup> Cf. Frazer (1898) *ad loc.*

<sup>270</sup> In view of the reference to Amyntas in fr. 227 K.-A.; cf. Kaibel (1895) p. 445 and *PCG IV ad loc.*

<sup>271</sup> Cf. Stark (1959) p. 7f.

<sup>272</sup> Cf. Meineke (1839-1857) II, 1 p. 136.

<sup>273</sup> Cf. fr. 225 K.-A. praising the fertility of the island, which could either be an ironic remark on the mock-fertility of Seriphos or could refer to the image of the island before the petrification of its people; cf. *PCG ad loc.*

may be paralleled to the *Dionysalexandros* and *Nemesis*, in terms of the exploitation of myth for political allusion.<sup>274</sup>

No other treatment of these events is known and their popularity seems to have decreased from the fourth century BC onwards, with the exception of sources echoing the *Dictys* (cf. below T3, T4, T5, probably T6, and T7 only indirectly). Latin literature presents an interesting variety, as regards the phase of the legend following the exposure of Danae and Perseus. Hyginus' account (*fab.* 63) differs substantially from the known sources in terms of the events in Seriphos:

Danae Acrisii et Aganippes<sup>275</sup> filia. huic fuit fatum ut quod peperisset Acrisium interficeret; quod timens Acrisius eam in muro lapideo praeclusit. Iuppiter autem in imbrem aureum conversus cum Danae concubuit, ex quo compressu natus est Perseus. quam pater ob stuprum inclusam in arca cum Perseo in mare deiecit. ea voluntate Iovis delata est in insulam Seriphum, quam piscator Dictys cum invenisset, effracta <arca> vidit mulierem cum infante, quos ad regem Polydectem perduxit, qui eam in coniugio habuit et Perseum educavit in templo Minervae. quod cum Acrisius rescisset eos ad Polydectem morari, repetitum eos profectus est; quo cum venisset, Polydectes pro eis deprecatus est, Perseus Acrisio avo suo fidem dedit se eum numquam interfecturum. qui cum tempestate retineretur, Polydectes moritur; cui cum funebres ludos facerent, Perseus disco misso, quem ventus distulit in caput Acrisii, eum interfecit. ita quod voluntate sua noluit, deorum factum est; sepulto autem eo Argos profectus est regnaque avita possedit.

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6 arca suppl. Marshall || 8 quo Micyllus: quod F

Hyginus thus narrates how the chest was fished up in Seriphos by a fisherman named Dictys (not mentioned here as Polydectes' brother), who took Danae and Perseus to king Polydectes. The king married Danae, sent Perseus to be brought up in the temple of Athena, and protected them from Acrisius. The latter was accidentally killed by Perseus at the funeral games in honour of Polydectes.<sup>276</sup>

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<sup>274</sup> For the allegory in the *Dionysalexandros*, cf. indicatively Bona (1988) pp.187 ff., Revermann (1997) pp. 198ff., Norwood (1931) p. 122. For the *Nemesis*, cf. Luppe (1974) pp. 49 ff., Norwood (1931) p. 124f. and Körte (1922) col. 1653.

<sup>275</sup> The name Aganippe for Danae's mother appears only in Hyginus; this is the name of the Nymph after whom the spring of the Muses in Helicon was named (Paus. 9. 29. 5 and schol. Call. *Aet.* 1, P. *Oxy.* 2262, fr. 2a. 16, 24) and of a daughter of Aegyptus (Plut. *De fluv.* 16. 1. 10). Hyginus may have confused the name Eurydice with Aganippe, as he does, for instance, in *fab.* 15, naming Hypsipyle's son Deipylus instead of Thoas and *fab.* 123, where the son of Andromache and Neoptolemus is named Amphialus instead of Molossus.

<sup>276</sup> For Acrisius' death at the funeral games of Polydectes, cf. also *fab.* 273.

Though the mythographer's work often provides rough plots of tragedies, especially Euripidean,<sup>277</sup> there is no evidence from any of the dramatic treatments agreeing with this particular narrative. The sole reference to the variant of Perseus' upbringing by Polydectes occurs in the D-Scholium on *Il.* 14. 319 (van Thiel): διασωθέντων δὲ τούτων εἰς Σέριφον τὴν νῆσον συνέβη ἀνατραφῆναι τὸν παῖδα παρὰ Πολυδέκτη. This piece of information accords with Hyginus' account and indicates that the lost authority of *fab.* 63 was known to the source of the D-Scholia, the 'Mythographus Homericus' (ca. second century AD). Considering that the preference for less known forms of legends is Alexandrian<sup>278</sup> and that both Hyginus and the 'MH' draw from Hellenistic authors,<sup>279</sup> I would suspect that the source of Hyginus' account and of the variant in the D-scholium might have been Alexandrian.

Occasional Latin references to Polydectes' assignment to Perseus and his petrification do exist;<sup>280</sup> it seems, however, that the 'Seriphian' part of the story was overshadowed in Latin literature by the 'Italian' version of Danae's adventures, which presented her as reaching the coast of Latium and founding Ardea (cf. *Danae*, *The Myth*, p. 20f.).

## 2. The Date of the Play

According to hyp. *Medea* by Aristophanes of Byzantium (T1), the *Dictys* was staged in 431 BC together with the *Medea*, the *Philoctetes* and the satyr play *Theristae*. Euripides' production won the third prize. For more detail, cf. note on T1.

<sup>277</sup> Cf. for instance, Hyginus' accounts providing roughly the plots of Euripides' *Alope* (*fab.* 187), *Protesilaus* (*fab.* 104), *Ino* (*fab.* 4), *Cresphontes* (*fab.* 137), *Antiope* (*fab.* 8) and *Archelaus* (*fab.* 219) and Huys (1996) pp. 170-178, Huys (1997) pp. 11-29.

<sup>278</sup> Cf. Rose (1930) p. 43, referring to Hyginus' peculiar variants of myths, such as those introduced in the legend of the Atreidae (*fab.* 98, 117, 121) and of the death of Erechtheus' daughters (*fab.* 46 and Rose's note *ad loc.*), which he regards as Alexandrian.

<sup>279</sup> Cf. van der Valk (1963) p. 313.

<sup>280</sup> Cf. Ov. *Met.* 5. 242ff., Hyg. *fab.* 64, *De Astr.* 2. 12 (following [Erat.] *Cat.* 22), Myth. Vat. 2. 134, 135, 137, Serv. ad Verg. *Aen.* 6. 289 (Thilo-Hagen).

### 3. *Dramatis personae*

On the basis of the evidence, we are in a position to identify the following dramatic characters:

(1) Dictys: the character after whom the play is named, hence a central figure. For his role, cf. **T5**, **T3**. He is the speaker of **fr. 2** and among the candidates for **frr. 1, 4, 5, 10, 13, 14, 15, 16** (cf. commentary *ad loc.*). He is the addressee of **frr. 3** and **11**. It remains unclear whether Dictys is Polydectes' brother in the play, as attested in mythography (cf. Pherecyd. fr. 11 Fowler, [Apollod.] 2. 4.2). Nor are we in a position to know whether Dictys is rewarded at the exodos with the kingship of Seriphos, as mentioned in Pherecydes' account, which is followed by [Apollod.] 2. 4.3. If Dictys was Polydectes' elder brother in the play (for Dictys' old age, cf. **T3**, **frr. 3, 11**), his reduction to fisherman might have resulted from usurpation of his power by Polydectes in the *προπεπραγμένα*. In this case, he would have been rightfully restored to the throne of Seriphos after Polydectes' petrification. Though this possibility remains unproven, the popularity of the theme of usurpation in tragedy is worth noting; apart from the typical cases of the Atreidae (cf. A. *Agamemnon*, *Choephoroi*, the *Electra* of Sophocles and Euripides) and the Labdacids (A. *Seven*, E. *Phoenissae*), this theme was also treated in the *Heracles* (Lycus usurping Creon's kingship), *Oeneus* (old Oeneus thrown out of his throne by his nephews, cf. schol. Ar. *Ach.* 418 Wilson) and *Cresphontes* (Polyphontes seizing the power of his brother, elder Cresphontes, cf. Hyg. *fabb.* 137, 184).

The figure of Dictys as the type of the righteous man of modest means seems to be a precursor of the Farmer in Euripides' *Electra* and of the one, whose moral integrity is praised in *Or.* 920-922, and can be paralleled to Actor, the Lemnian shepherd in the Euripidean *Philoctetes* of the same production, who is the only one to succour the tormented hero (D.Chr. *Or.* 52. 8, Hyg. *fab.* 102); cf. note on **fr. 14**. Dictys' moral assertiveness despite his old age (cf. **fr. 3**), as well as his intellectual capacities (cf. **fr. 2** and his possible participation in the *agon* of **frr. 4, 5**), seem also to foreshadow the figures of Peleus in the *Andromache* and Amphitryon in the *Heracles*. For more detail, cf. note on **fr. 3**.



(2) Danae: for her position, cf. T3, T4, T5, T7. Fr. 11 is assigned to her with certainty and she is among the candidates for fr. 1, 10, 12 and the obscure fr. 18. She is the addressee of fr. 2 and probably of fr. 13.

(3) Polydectes: for this character, cf. T3, T4, T5, T7. Fr. 8, 9 can be assigned to him quite confidently, he is the strongest candidate for fr. 4 and 17 and a possible speaker of fr. 7. He is the addressee of fr. 5, 6, probably of fr. 16 and perhaps also of fr. 18.

(4) Perseus: for his role, cf. T3, T4, T5, T7. No fragment can be attributed to him with certainty; he is a possible speaker of fr. 13, 14, 15 and less likely of fr. 4.

(5) Polydectes' interlocutor in fr. 6-9: his role is not attested in the testimonia, it may only be inferred on the basis of the fragments; the unusual prominence given to the effects of the king's desire on his family and the emphasis drawn on the father-son relationship in these fragments may point to a conversation between Polydectes and another character (the king's son?) rather than to the context of a confrontation between the king and the suppliants (cf. note on fr. 6). He is probably the speaker of fr. 6 and perhaps of fr. 7, 12, 18, as well as addressee of fr. 8 and 9.

(6) a messenger (self-evidently someone who had not looked at the Gorgon's head) would have appeared to announce Polydectes' off-stage petrification<sup>281</sup> (cf. Structure).

(7) Chorus: the likeliest speaker of fr. 3 and perhaps fr. 5 and 10. It is reasonable to assume that the chorus consisted of inhabitants of Seriphos. Yet, there is no evidence for their gender; to argue for Dictys as a central figure, after whom the play is named, may tell in favour of a chorus of the same gender,<sup>282</sup> perhaps consisting of fishermen.<sup>283</sup>

? (8) a *deus ex machina* does not seem to be needed for the dénouement, unless required to resolve any now unrecoverable complications of the plot. He may have appeared, however, to give instructions (as Athena does in *Supp.* 1183-1226), in particular, to reward Dictys for his righteousness (as the Farmer is rewarded in *El.* 1286f., though it remains unknown whether Dictys would have been assigned with the kingship of Seriphos; cf. above, on the role of Dictys) and command that the Gorgon's head should be given to

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<sup>281</sup> So Webster (1967) p. 62, Aélion (1983) I p. 264.

<sup>282</sup> The Euripidean chorus usually has the same gender as the central character; cf. the *Alcestis* (where the chorus has the same gender as Admetus), *Medea*, *Andromache*, *Hecabe*, *Heracles*, *Electra*, *IT*, *Helen*, *IA*, *Telephus*, *Cresphontes*; cf. Hose (1990) I p. 18 and Arnold (1878) p. 52.

<sup>283</sup> Cf. Jouan and van Looy (2000) p. 80. Hartung (1843-1844, I p. 366) and Webster (1967, p. 63) suggested a female chorus.

Athena. The ‘Gorgoneion’ on the aegis of the goddess was part of her attribute as protector of Athens, sculpted on the shield of Pheidias’ Athena Parthenos, which was dedicated in 438/ 437, and thus part of the goddess’s cult in the city;<sup>284</sup> cf. the allusion in *Erechtheus* fr. 351, 360. 46 Kn. (and Calder 1969, p. 152f.). This possible *aetion*<sup>285</sup> is likely to have appealed to the sensitivity of the Athenian audience at the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War<sup>286</sup> and could have served to spell out the connection between past and present, showing that events of the play have survived into the present world of the audience.<sup>287</sup> If Euripides followed mythography (cf. Pherecyd. fr. 12 Fowler), he would have Danae and Perseus sail back to Argos. As to the god’s identity, Hermes and Athena, who were Perseus’ allies in his pursuit of the Gorgon, seem to be the strongest candidates. Poseidon, to whose altar Danae and Dictys have fled, is also feasible; likewise, Thetis, who has received Andromache’s supplication emerges *ex machina* in *Andr.* 1231-1272, though her appearance seems to be primarily prompted by her close relation to Peleus and Neoptolemus.

#### 4. The Structure of the Play

Thanks to the combination of the evidence of T4 and T5 with T3, we are able to recover the outline of the plot of the *Dictys*. On the basis of the indirect evidence and the most informative book-fragments, the scene-construction may be restored up to an extent. The context of fragments of less probable location is discussed in the commentary.

(1) Narrative prologue (fr. 1 probably belongs here) setting out the *προπεπραγμένα* (i.e. the arrival of the chest at Seriphos, the protection that Dictys offered to Danae and Perseus and Polydectes’ mission to Perseus) and the present situation (Perseus’ long

<sup>284</sup> For the ‘Gorgoneion’ on the aegis of Athena, cf. E. *El.* 1257, *Ion* 989ff. and also Burkert (1985) p. 140, Harrison (1991<sup>3</sup>) p. 192, Halm-Tisserant (1986) pp. 245-278. For the popularity of the ‘Gorgoneion’ in Athenian art, cf. Floren (1977) pp. 30-61, 104-168, 186-191.

<sup>285</sup> For Euripides’ penchant for aetiologies at the epilogues of his plays, cf. Scullion (2000) pp. 219-227, Wilson (1968) pp. 69-71, Grube (1961) p. 78f. For the aetiological function of the *deus ex machina* in particular, cf. *Hipp.* 1423-7 (and Barrett 1964, p. 412), *El.* 1273-5, *IT* 1456f., *Ion* 1575ff., *Hel.* 1670ff., *Or.* 1643-6 and also Dunn (1996) pp. 46-63, Rehm (1992) p. 70f., Kitto (1939) p. 288f. and Collard (1981) p. 7.

<sup>286</sup> For the sensitivity of the Athenian audience during the War, cf. Zuntz (1955) pp. 16-20, 80f., Wilkins (1990) pp. 179-181, Delebecque (1951) pp. 87f., 425f., Di Benedetto (1971) pp. 112-114, 121-123, 145-147 and note on fr. 16.

<sup>287</sup> Cf. Dunn (1996) pp. 46-48.

absence, the king's plans to get hold of Danae and the refuge sought by Danae and Dictys at the altar of Poseidon, cf. T3, T4, T5), according to Euripides' practice.<sup>288</sup> Dictys or Danae would have been equally suitable to deliver the prologue; in view, however, of the possible context of fr. 11 (Danae might have fallen asleep possibly at the beginning of the play, rather than afterwards at the crisis, cf. note *ad loc.*) Dictys may be a likelier speaker. As the play seems to have been built upon a central altar-scene (cf. T3, T4, T5), the prologue-speech could be visualized as delivered by one of the two suppliants, Danae or Dictys, upon a 'cancelled entry',<sup>289</sup> which would create an imposing opening tableau (cf. Setting). Webster followed by Aélion regarded Perseus as a possible prologue-speaker before his departure for the land of the Gorgons, drawing a parallel to Bellerophon's prologue-speech before being sent to meet the Chimaera in *Stheneboea* fr. 661 Kn.<sup>290</sup> It should be noted, however, that Bellerophon's prologue-speech is required by the dramatic action, so that his circumstances, reaction and ethical stance are made clear.<sup>291</sup> A speech by Perseus, on the other hand, would involve a major unreality of time with no obvious dramatic gain, since the background of the play and the present situation could just as well be reported by Dictys or Danae. Moreover, in such a case, the dramatic interest would focus on Perseus, instead of Dictys, who seems to have been the prominent figure, overshadowing also the treatment of the crisis and conflict between the suppliants and the king. In addition, Euripides' marked preference for opening tableaux in plays constructed upon a central altar-scene would tell in favour of one of the two suppliants as prologue-speaker.

(2) Dictys is trying to comfort Danae (fr. 2), as they both fear that Perseus has died. This consolation-scene may have been part of the broader context of a 'suppliant-suppliant' discourse on how to suffer their fate, parallel to that between Megara and Amphitryon in *HF* 60-106.<sup>292</sup>

<sup>288</sup> Cf. Schmidt (1971) pp. 34-38, Erbse (1984) p. 291, Goward (1999) p. 125f.

<sup>289</sup> The term belongs to Taplin (1977) p. 134.

<sup>290</sup> Cf. Webster (1967) p. 63, Aélion (1986) p. 158f.

<sup>291</sup> Cf. Collard, Cropp and Lee (1995) p. 92.

<sup>292</sup> For the *Heracles*, cf. Maio (1977) p. 26f.

(3) **Fr. 3** points to a scene of conflict between Dictys and Polydectes, a ‘suppliant-enemy’ confrontation.<sup>293</sup> The king may have tried to force the suppliants to leave the sanctuary (for his violence, cf. **T4** and **T5**: διὰ τὴν Πολυδέκτου βίαν), which is a *topos* in suppliant drama, to judge by *Heracl.* 59-61, *Andr.* 129, 135, 314-420 *HF* 284ff., *Hel.* 315, 324, also *A. Supp.* 872-910, *S. OC* 813ff. The infinitive *σωθῆναι* in **T4** l. 11f. suggests that Danae’s life was threatened.

(4) **Fr. 4**, which is the formal proem of a rhetorical speech, and the comment on Polydectes’ loquacity of **fr. 5** hint at an *agon* between Polydectes and another character; the king’s opponent is perhaps likelier to be Dictys than Perseus, as the former’s participation in a rhetorical contest would bring him to the centre of dramatic interest, justifying why the play was named after him. If Dictys was the king’s rival in the debate, then **fr. 3** pointing to their conflict may belong here.

(5) A discussion between Polydectes and another character on the effects of the king’s plans for Danae on his family (**fr. 6-8**). In view of the remarkable prominence given to this topic and the emphasis on the father-son relationship, the king’s interlocutor may have been his son, possibly stressing the strong priority that Polydectes should give his children rather than his desire for Danae (for more detail, cf. note on **fr. 6**). **Fr. 9** was probably spoken by Polydectes rejecting the *νουθέτησις* against amorous passion and is likely to belong to the same context.

(6) Reversal of action: Perseus returns to Seriphos (**T3, T4, T5**) possibly at a point of culmination of the suppliant-enemy conflict (are the lives of the suppliants in jeopardy, as in *HF* 451-513, *Andr.* 425-544?). He may have narrated his exploit<sup>294</sup> (like Bellerophon in *Siheneboea* fr. 665a Kn.). One of the listeners (i.e. Dictys, Danae or the chorus) praises his courage (**fr. 10**). Perseus would have been informed of the critical situation and undertaken the task of rescuing his mother and Dictys (‘suppliant-deliverer’ confrontation, as in *HF* 562-636, *Andr.* 547-576). If an on-stage confrontation of Perseus with Polydectes had occurred (cf. next scene), then Danae and/or Dictys would have been encouraged to exit, so that one of the two actors returns as Polydectes.

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<sup>293</sup> For the types of confrontation in suppliant-plays, cf. Kopperschmidt (1971) p. 345 and Maio (1977) pp. 14-24.

<sup>294</sup> So Webster (1967) p. 61f., Jouan and van Looy (2000) p. 82.

? (7) There is no sound evidence pointing to an on-stage encounter between Perseus and Polydectes (a ‘deliverer-enemy’ confrontation). Two possibilities seem to arise: (a) Perseus, like Heracles, goes directly into the palace, where Polydectes holds a feast (cf. T4. 1-3n., T5. 2-4n.) and petrifies him and his guests; in the *Heracles*, however, the rapid move to revenge is designed to lead us into a false sense of moral satisfaction in preparation for the terrible events to follow and is thus part of a more complex whole. T5 presenting Perseus as entering the palace directly after having found Danae and Dictys as suppliants is not binding, for the accounts of the *Bibliotheca* which reflect dramatic plots tend to be quite brief, without revealing any details of the dramatic action; the possibly theatrical nuance of the vocabulary (cf. especially *εἰσελθών* pointing to dramatic space and note *ad loc.*, and for further features of the dramatic quality of presentation in this passage, cf. introductory note on T5), however, could imply that this part of the account may reproduce a Euripidean hypothesis, which could tell in favour of the precision of the narrative. (b) There was a confrontation between Perseus and Polydectes in visible space, where the former traps the king into agreeing to look at the Gorgon’s head, probably in a feast; this type of revenge can be paralleled to the ploys in *Med.* 869-975, *Hec.* 976-1022, *El.* 1123-1146, *Cresphontes* (*Hyg. fab.* 184 and Harder 1985, p. 53). An on-stage confrontation of this type would point to a straightforward revenge-play (unless there were any now unrecoverable plot-complications, demanding a more rapid dénouement, as in the *Heracles*). Moreover, the on-stage encounter of Perseus with Polydectes would give potential for dramatic irony, as the king is unaware of his imminent death (cf. *El.* 1093-1096 and Cropp 1988 *ad loc.*, 1141, also *Hec.* 1021f.). An *agon* between Perseus and Polydectes, as suggested by Jouan and van Looy,<sup>295</sup> cannot be completely excluded, though it would presuppose conflict, which would not serve Perseus’ purpose of trapping the king; instead, a kind of feigned reconciliation, as in the *Hecabe* and *Cresphontes*, may seem likelier, at least on grounds of probability.<sup>296</sup>

(8) Since death or miraculous changes are not feasible on stage,<sup>297</sup> a messenger would have entered to announce Polydectes’ petrification possibly at a feast (cf. T4. 1-3n.,

<sup>295</sup> Jouan and van Looy (2000) p. 82.

<sup>296</sup> The *agon* in the *Electra* does not destroy Electra’s revenge-scheme, as the conflict is tempered by Clytaemestra’s regrets and defencelessness; cf. Cropp (1988) p. 168. A mock reconciliation is favoured by Webster (1967) p. 62.

<sup>297</sup> Cf. Bremer (1976) pp. 35ff., De Jong (1991) pp. 117-131, 172ff., Rehm (1992) p. 61f.

T5. 2-4n.). This narrative would have had a concluding function <sup>298</sup> and may have illustrated the unexpected shift from royal status to utter ruin, as in *Med.* 1156-1230 and *Ba.* 1043-1152.<sup>299</sup> The switch from festive mood to agony recalls the reported banquet-scene in *Ion* 1106-1228.

(9) Exodos: A *deus ex machina* may have appeared to announce the fate of the characters, especially to reward Dictys for his righteousness and perhaps to provide the *aetion* for the 'Gorgoneion' on the *aegis* of Athena (for more detail, cf. *Dramatis Personae*).

The play was evidently built upon the patterns of 'supplication' and 'return-rescue-revenge',<sup>300</sup> which were followed by Euripides later in the first part of the *Heracles*. More specifically, the *Dictys* seems to have been constructed upon a central altar-scene (cf. T3, T4, T5), as the *Heraclidae*, *Andromache*, *Suppliants*, *Heracles* and *Helen*.<sup>301</sup> So far as our evidence goes, it appears to have focused on the 'suppliant-enemy' confrontation (cf. T3, T4, T5, fr. 3, 13 and possibly fr. 4, 5 of the *agon*), as the *Heracles* and *Andromache*.<sup>302</sup> The *Dictys* is also a *nostos*-play;<sup>303</sup> the archetype of this story-pattern is found in the *Odyssey* and followed in Aeschylus' *Persians* and *Agamemnon*, Sophocles' *Trachiniae* and Euripides' *Andromache* and *Heracles*.<sup>304</sup> In all these plays, the absent figure is away on a mission, but central to the preoccupations of the characters left behind (cf. fr. 2 and perhaps fr. 12), who, in turn, assume great importance (as Atossa, Deianeira, Andromaché, Megara and Amphitryon, Dictys and Danae in our play).<sup>305</sup> The *Dictys*—like the first part of the *Heracles*— seems to have followed the pattern of the *Odyssey* beyond the *nostos* to the specific question whether the hero is alive or not (according to fr. 2, Perseus is thought to be dead). Perseus' return, as those of Odysseus and Heracles, comes as a surprise, possibly in the nick of time for the rescue of Danae and Dictys, according to the pattern of

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<sup>298</sup> Cf. De Jong (1991) pp. 123-128. Messenger-speeches with concluding function are those in *Med.* 1136-1230, *Heracl.* 799-866, *Hipp.* 1173-1254, *Andr.* 1085-1165, *Supp.* 650-730, *IT* 1327-1419, *Hel.* 1526-1618, *Ph.* 1356-1424, 1427-1479, *Or.* 1395-1502, *Ba.* 1043-1152.

<sup>299</sup> For this technique, cf. De Jong (1991) pp. 35-38.

<sup>300</sup> Cf. Burnett (1971) pp. 9f. 165, Lattimore (1964) pp. 50-52, Garzya (1962) p. 131.

<sup>301</sup> Cf. Strohm (1957) pp. 17-30, Dingel (1967) p. 54f., Kopperschmidt (1971) pp. 335-343.

<sup>302</sup> For the *Heracles* and *Andromache*, cf. Maio (1977) p. 21f.

<sup>303</sup> The term belongs to Taplin (1977) p. 124.

<sup>304</sup> Features of the *nostos*-pattern occur also in A. *Choephoroi*, the *Electra* plays by Sophocles and Euripides and the latter's lost *Cresphontes* (cf. Harder 1985, p. 14).

<sup>305</sup> Cf. Taplin (1977) p. 124f., Lloyd (1994) p. 3f.

‘catastrophe survived’. The hero’s *nostos* was presumably both critical and effective, as can be inferred by its depiction on the Apulian vase-painting (T3), which aimed to offer its viewers a recollection of the play.<sup>306</sup> The *Dictys* can also be described as a play of mixed reversal, ending with good fortune for the righteous characters and misfortune for the villains. This type of structure was particularly appreciated by the audiences (though not by Aristotle himself, cf. Ar. *Poet.* 1453a. 30-35) and was followed by Euripides in the *Heracidae*, the first part of the *Heracles*, as well as the lost *Stheneboea* (cf. hyp. *Stheneboea*), *Oeneus* (cf. schol. Ar. *Ach.* 418 Wilson), *Cresphontes* (Hyg. *fab.* 184, *A.P.* 3.5), *Captive Melanippe* (cf. Hyg. *fab.* 186, D.S. 4.67), *Antiope* (cf. Hyg. *fab.* 8, schol. A.R. 4. 1090 Wendel) and *Alcmeon in Corinth* (cf. [Apollod.] 3.7, fr. 76 Kn. and Jouan and van Looy 2000, p. 99). Considering that the *Dictys* is anterior to all the Euripidean plays, which are known to have been built upon the ‘supplication’ and ‘return-rescue-revenge’ patterns, it seems to have been one of the earliest treatments of these types of structure by the dramatist.

## 5. The Setting of the Play

According to the iconographic evidence of T3 (providing the supplements for T4 and probably T6), we know that Danae and Dictys sought refuge at the altar of Poseidon. The dedication of the shrine to Poseidon might be related to the mythographically attested descent of Polydectes from the god (cf. Pherecydes fr. 10 Fowler<sup>307</sup>), provided that Euripides had chosen to follow that particular genealogical tradition. The *skene*-building could have represented Polydectes’ palace (cf. *Andromache* and *Helen*)<sup>308</sup> or Dictys’ hut (cf. *Electra*).<sup>309</sup> It should be noted, however, that Polydectes’ palace as setting would be preferable, as it conforms to all the recoverable scenes of the play (cf. Structure), whereas Dictys’ hut does not seem to be the proper background, e.g. for Polydectes’ conversation

<sup>306</sup> Cf. Karamanou (2002/2003) p. 174f.

<sup>307</sup> Tzetzes (schol. ad Lyc. 838) is the only source to present Polydectes as son of Poseidon, but in view of the corrupt state in which this scholium is transmitted, its precision and reliability are questionable. Cf. *The Myth*, p. 120f, n. 238.

<sup>308</sup> So Welcker (1839) I p. 669.

<sup>309</sup> This suggestion was made by Webster (1967) p. 62. Jouan and van Looy (2000, p. 79) regard both settings as possible.

with the 'other character' in *fr.* 6-9, who could have been someone other than one of the suppliants (perhaps his own son? cf. introductory note on *fr.* 6), which would make the palace the likeliest background for this scene. Moreover, the representation of the dwelling of the hostile character on the façade, as distinguished from the altar, where the sympathetic characters are forced to seek refuge, as in the *Andromache* and *Helen*, would serve to designate each party's 'personal space',<sup>310</sup> and, in turn, indicate the conflict between them. If the altar was located at a distance from the palace-door, as possibly in both extant plays,<sup>311</sup> the use of proxemic space would serve to designate the former as the opposing area to the hostile residence,<sup>312</sup> as well as illustrate the power-gap and tension between the suppliant and the spiteful possessor of the palace.

As regards the question arising in all suppliant-plays whether the altar stood on stage<sup>313</sup> (i.e. the area extending along the front of the *skene*-building at the rear of the orchestra<sup>314</sup>) or further forward in the orchestra,<sup>315</sup> the evidence even from extant plays remains inconclusive. Further, Poe's cautious observations on the dramatic action of each suppliant-play on the basis of the text point to the possibility that the location of the altar could have been arranged to suit the dramatic needs of each play.<sup>316</sup> It is thus obvious that it would be highly speculative to reconstruct the staging of a lost tragedy, not least of the *Dictys*, from which no larger fragments survive.

As in all Euripidean plays built on a central altar-scene (cf. *Heraclidae*, *Andromache*, *Suppliant Women*, *Helen* and the first part of the *Heracles*), upon the opening of the *Dictys* the suppliants are likely to have been 'discovered' at their places, according to the technique of 'cancelled entry'.<sup>317</sup> This practice serves to provide the semblance of duration, indicating that the supplication has been in progress long before the play

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<sup>310</sup> For the 'personal space' of the performers, cf. Rehm (2002) pp. 2, 169-175, Kampourelli (2002) p. 71.

<sup>311</sup> For the staging of the *Andromache* and *Helen*, cf. Poe (1989) pp. 125-127, 130.

<sup>312</sup> Cf. Joerden (1971) p. 408, Kampourelli (2002) pp. 72, 83.

<sup>313</sup> So Arnott (1962, pp. 43-53), who based his argumentation for the existence of a permanent stage-altar used in suppliant-plays on the references to the *agyieus*, which was evidently the conventional token of a house and unlikely to be related to the suppliants' altar. For the function of the *agyieus*, cf. indicatively Poe (1989) pp. 130-137.

<sup>314</sup> I am using Poe's definition (1989, p. 118).

<sup>315</sup> So Rehm (1988) pp. 263-307 and Wiles (1997) pp. 188, 72-75.

<sup>316</sup> Cf. Poe (1989) pp. 117-130.

<sup>317</sup> Cf. Taplin (1977) p. 134.



begins.<sup>318</sup> It also offers an imposing initial tableau stressing the religious and emotional associations of supplication.<sup>319</sup> Furthermore, the immobility and passiveness of the characters in the tableau constitute visual suggestions of their helplessness and thus of the dramatic tension which is to occur in the course of the play.<sup>320</sup>

## 6. Reception of the *Dictys* in Art and Literature

The only piece which can be confidently related to the *Dictys* is the Apulian vase-painting probably inspired by a fourth-century revival of the play in South Italy (Plate I, cf. T3 and note *ad loc.*). The lost Cyzicene relief depicting Perseus as petrifying Polydectes (cf. the *lemma* in T7) and dated in the second century BC may be associated with the play, in view of the wide reception of Euripidean treatments in the reliefs of Apollonis' temple in Cyzicus and of the apparently lesser popularity of the myth in Hellenistic literature, which could suggest that the relief was inspired by a popular earlier treatment of the legend (cf. note *ad loc.*). The corresponding epigram (T7), possibly written not earlier than the sixth century AD, may only indirectly be related to the *Dictys*, through an intermediary source. It is unfortunate that no more has been preserved from Cratinus' *Seriphians*, which was probably staged some time after the *Dictys*, in about 423/ 422 BC; fr. 218 K.-A. of the comic play referring to tragic masks may have alluded to the tragic treatments of the myth (cf. *The Myth*, p. 127f.), though no precise reference can point to the *Dictys* in particular.

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<sup>318</sup> Cf. Taplin (1977) pp. 134-136, also Halleran (1985) p. 80.

<sup>319</sup> Cf. Allan (2001) p. 39, Collard (1975<sub>a</sub>) p. 17.

<sup>320</sup> Cf. Halleran (1985) p. 80.

## TESTIMONIA

### T 1

ἐδιδάχθη ἐπὶ Πυθοδώρου ἄρχοντος ὀλυμπιάδι πζ' ἔτει α' (sc. 431<sup>ο</sup>). πρῶτος Εὐφορίων, δεύτερος Σοφοκλῆς, τρίτος Εὐριπίδης Μηδεΐα, Φιλοκτήτη, Δίκτυι, Θερισταῖς σατύροις. οὐ σώζεται.

### T 2

#### ΔΙΚΤΥΣ

### T 3 (Vide Tab. I)

Vas. Apul., ca. 370/ 360<sup>a</sup>, Princeton Art Museum 1989. 40, edd. Trendall et Cambitoglou *RVAp Suppl.* 2, I 47, Tab. VI. Ad *Dictyn Euripidis rettulit Karamanou BICS* 46, 167-175. In ara Neptuni Danae et Dictys sedent oculos in Perseum convertentes, qui e dextra accurrit, e sinistra Polydectes. Omnes praeter Perseum veste scaenica induti sunt. Supra Polydectam Venus cum Amore, supra Perseum duae deae. Cf. *TrGF* V,2 1160s.

### T 4

]Πολυδέκτηι. λυγρόν τ' [ἔρανον]

[±13] [εὐ]ωχουμένοις γ(ὰρ) αὐτοῖς τούτοις

[ἔδειξεν ὁ Περσεὺς τῆ]ν κεφαλὴν κ(αὶ) οὐ(τω)ς ἀπελιθώθησαν.

[± 16] ος<sup>ε</sup> ε[.]ωθ ἔωθεν ἴν' ἦ [[καὶ]] τὴν

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T1 Argum. Ar. Byz. E. *Med.* (I 90, ll. 40-43 Diggle)

T2 *IG* XIV 1152, 17 (Roma; Index Euripidis Fabularum, fortasse II<sup>ο</sup>)

T4 Theon in Pi. P. 12 (*P. Oxy.* XXXI 2536. 1-12, Tab. III, ed. Turner, inspexi)

T1 1 ἐδιδάχθη FAP: ἐδ-δὲ D | ἐπὶ DFP: ὑπὸ A | Πυθοδώρου Brunck: πυθιοδώρου codd. | ὀλυμπιάδι F D: ὀλυμπιάδος P: ὀλυμπ<sup>δ</sup> A | ἔτει α' Matthiae: ετ F: ἰδ εἰ D: δε A: om. P || 2 μηδεΐα D: μήδεια FP | φιλοκτήτη F: φιλοκτήτης DP | Δίκτυι Kirchhoff: δίκτι DF: δίκτης P || 2-3 Θερισταῖς σατύροις Kirchhoff: Θερισταὶ σάτυρος codd.

T4 4 ος<sup>ε</sup> ε[.]ωθ ἔωθεν ἴν' ἦ [[καὶ]] τὴν leg. Treu

5

[± 16]c [±3] βιαζομένης γ(άρ) τῆς Δα-  
 [νάης ὑπὸ τοῦ Πολυδ]έκτου συνέβη αὐτὴν κατα-  
 [φυγεῖν πρὸ]c τὸν βωμὸν τοῦ <Ποσειδῶνος>, τὸν δὲ  
 [Πολυδέκτην] εὐλαβούμενον τὸν Περσέα πέμψαι  
 [ἐπὶ Μεδοῦσης] καρατομίαν ὡς ἀπολούμενον καὶ  
 [± 12] τὸν μ(ὲν) Πολυδέκτην θεωρήσαντα  
 10 [τὴν τῆς Γοργόνης]c κεφαλὴν ἀπολιθωθῆναι κ(αὶ) εωθῆ-  
 [ναι τὴν Δανάην].

### T 5

παραγενόμενος δὲ εἰς Σέριφον, καὶ καταλαβὼν προσπεφυγυῖαν τοῖς βωμοῖς μετὰ τοῦ Δίκτυος τὴν μητέρα διὰ τὴν Πολυδέκτου βίαν, εἰσελθὼν εἰς τὰ βασίλεια, συγκαλέσαντος τοῦ Πολυδέκτου τοὺς φίλους ἀπεστραμμένος τὴν κεφαλὴν τῆς Γοργόνης ἔδειξε· τῶν δὲ ἰδόντων, ὁποῖον ἕκαστος ἔτυχε σχῆμα ἔχων, ἀπελιθώθη. καταστήσας δὲ τῆς Σερίφου Δίκτυν βασιλέα, 5 ἀπέδωκε τὰ μὲν πέδιλα καὶ τὴν κίβισιν καὶ τὴν κυνὴν Ἑρμῆι, τὴν δὲ κεφαλὴν τῆς Γοργόνης Ἀθηνᾶ. Ἑρμῆς μὲν οὖν τὰ προειρημένα πάλιν ἀπέδωκε ταῖς νύμφαις, Ἀθηνᾶ δὲ ἐν μέσῃ τῇ ἀσπίδι τῆς Γοργόνης τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐνέθηκε.

### T 6 (Vide Tab. IIa et IIb)

-----  
 ] .ηντε [ 5  
 Ποσειδ]ωνος ἱερ [ 5  
 ] δικτυος [ 5  
 ] . . . ετι . [ 5  
 ] ιδ . ανειλ [ 5  
 ] . . . [ 5  
 -----

T5 [Apollod.] 2. 4.3 (ed. Wagner)

T6 PSI XII 1286, fr. B (ed. pr. Gallavotti, re-ed. Bartoletti, inspexi)

T4 7 Ποσειδῶνος suppl. Karamanou *BICS* 46, 174

T5 1 προσπεφυγυῖαν Tz. schol. ad Lyc. 838: προπεφευγυῖαν A || 3 τὰ βασίλεια R: τὸν βασιλέα A || 8 ἐνέθηκε Heyne: ἀνέθηκε A

T6 1 τξ edd.: π fortasse || 2 Ποσειδ]ωνος supplevi: Ἀπόλλ]ωνος Gallavotti || 5 ιδ edd.: υδ fortasse

T 7

Ἐν τῷ ΙΑ Πολυδέκτης, ὁ Σεριφίων βασιλεύς, ἀπολιθούμενος ὑπὸ Περσέως τῆ  
τῆς Γοργόνης κεφαλῆ, διὰ τὸν τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ γάμον ἐκπέμψας τοῦτον ἐπὶ  
τὴν τῆς Γοργόνης κεφαλὴν, καὶ ὄν καθ' ἑτέρου θάνατον ἐπενόει γενέσθαι,  
τοῦτον αὐτὸς κατὰ τὴν πρόνοιαν τῆς Δίκης ἐδέξατο.

Ἔτλης καὶ σὺ λέχη Δανάης, Πολύδεκτα, μαιίνειν,

5

δυσφήμοις εὐναῖς τῷ Διὶ μεμψάμενος·

ἀνθ' ὧν ὄμματ' ἔλυσε τὰ Γοργόνης ἐνθάδε Περσεύς,

γυῖα λιθουργήσας ματρὶ χαριζόμενος.

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T7 *A.P.* 3. 11 (ed. Beckby)

T7 1 Σεριφίων Stadtmüller: σερέφων P || 6 μεμψάμενος P: ἀμειψάμενος Wilamowitz:  
μεμψαμένης Hecker, prob. Dübner

## FRAGMENTA

Fr. 1 (330b Kn., 1 J.-v.L.):

Σέριφος ἄλμη ποντία περίρρυτος

Fr. 2 (332 Kn., 3 J.-v.L.):

δοκεῖς τὸν Ἄϊδην σῶν τι φροντίζειν γόων  
καὶ παῖδ' ἀνήσειν τὸν σόν, εἰ θέλεις στένειν;  
παῦσαι· βλέπουσα δ' εἰς τὰ τῶν πέλας κακὰ  
ῥάων γένοι' ἄν, εἰ λογίζεσθαι θέλοις  
ὅσοι τε δεσμοῖς ἐκμεμόχθηται βροτῶν  
ὅσοι τε γηράσκουσιν ὄρφανοὶ τέκνων,  
τοὺς τ' ἐκ μέγιστον ὀλβίας τυραννίδος  
τὸ μηδὲν ὄντας· ταῦτά σε σκοπεῖν χρεῶν.

5

Fr. 3 (337 Kn., 4 J.-v.L.):

μὴ νεῖκος, ᾧ γεραιέ, κοιράνοις τίθου·  
σέβειν δὲ τοὺς κρατοῦντας ἀρχαῖος νόμος.

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Fr. 1 Phld. *Po. 2, P. Herc.* 1676, col. 7 (Tr. C, col. 18 Sbordone) ἀλλὰ τό γε παρὰ τὴν σύνθεσιν εὐφωμίαν τῷ \_\_\_\_\_ ἐπιφαίνεσθαι καὶ ἐκ τοῦ πάθους ἀντιφωνεῖται· τὸ δ' αὐτὴν ψυχαγωγεῖν σύνθεσιν καθ' αὐτὴν ἕτερον οὐδὲν εἰσφερομένην ἀγαθόν, ἀπίθανόν ἐστι.

Fr. 2 [Plut.] *Consol. ad Apoll.* 8, 106A (Paton-Wegehaupt) ὁ δὲ παραμυθούμενος τὴν Δανάην δυσπαθοῦσαν (B: δυσπενθοῦσαν cett.) Δίκτης φησὶ \_\_\_\_\_ κελεύει γὰρ αὐτὴν ἐνθυμεῖσθαι τὰ τῶν ἴσα καὶ μείζω δυστυχοῦντων, ὡς ἐσομένην ἐλαφροτέραν.

Fr. 3 Stob. 4. 2.2 W.-H. (Περὶ νόμων καὶ ἐθῶν) Εὐριπίδου Δίκτης S M A, *fabulae nomen om.* L

Fr. 2 2 θέλεις Φ Π prob. Kannicht: θέλοις cett., prob. Nauck, Jouan et van Looy || 4 θέλοις plerique: θέλεις Φ Π || 5 ἐκμεμόχθηται codd.: ἐμμεμόχθενται Bentley || 7 τοὺς τ' codd.: τοὺς δ' Nauck | μέγιστον Elmsley ad *Heracl.* 168 : μεγίστης codd.

Fr. 3 1 κοιράνοις Salmasius apud Grotium: τυράννοις S M A L || 2 εὐ ante σέβειν add. rubricator L

**Fr. 4** (334 Kn., 13 J.-v.L.):

πολλοῖς παρέστην κάφθόνησα δὴ βροτῶν  
δοσις κακοῖσιν ἐσθλὸς ὦν ὁμοιος ἦ,  
λόγων ματαίων εἰς ἄμιλλαν ἐξιῶν.  
τὸ δ' ἦν ἄρ' οὐκ ἀκουστὸν οὐδ' ἀνασχετόν,  
σιγᾶν κλύοντα δεινὰ πρὸς κακίωνων.

5

**Fr. 5** (335 Kn., 17 J.-v.L.):

τυραννικόν τοι πόλλ' ἐπίστασθαι λέγειν.

**Fr. 6** (338 Kn., 6 J.-v.L.):

όντων δὲ παίδων καὶ πεφυκότος γένους  
καινοὺς φυτεῦσαι παῖδας ἐν δόμοις θέλεις,  
ἔχθραν μεγίστην σοῖσι συμβάλλων τέκνοις.

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**Fr. 4** Stob. 4. 42. 2 W.-H. (Περὶ τῶν παρ' ἀξίαν εὐτυχούντων) Εὐριπίδου (τοῦ αὐτοῦ A) Δίκτυος S M

**Fr. 5** Stob. 3. 36. 15 W.-H. (Περὶ ἀδολεσχίας) Εὐριπίδου (τοῦ αὐτοῦ S) Δίκτυος AM

**Fr. 6** Stob. 4. 26. 21 W.-H. (Ὅποιους χρῆ εἶναι τοὺς πατέρας) Εὐριπίδου ἐν Δίκτυι S M A

**Fr. 4** 1 παρέστην S: παρέστιν M: πάρεστι A: πάρος τοι Wecklein || 2 ἦ S M A: ἦν Wecklein, prob. Kannicht || 4 τὸ δ' S: τοῦδ' M: τοῦ δ' A | οὐκ ἀκουστὸν S M A: οὐκ ἀρεστὸν Vitelli || vv. 4-5 a prioribus separavit Gomperz

**Fr. 5** τοι S M: τε A: τι Trinc.

**Fr. 6** 3 συμβάλλων S M A: συμβαλῶν Bergk apud Welcker: ἐμβαλῶν Mähly teste Nauck

Fr. 7 (345 Kn., 10 J.-v.L.):

ἐγὼ νομίζω πατρὶ φίλτατον τέκνα  
παισὶν τε τοὺς τεκόντας, οὐδὲ συμμάχους  
ἄλλους γενέσθαι φήμ' ἂν ἐνδικωτέρους.

Fr. 8 (339 Kn., 7 J.-v.L.):

πατέρα τε παισὶν ἠδέως συνεκφέρειν  
φίλους ἔρωτας ἐκβαλόντ' αὐθαδίαν,  
παῖδάς τε πατρί· καὶ γὰρ οὐκ αὐθαίρετοι  
βροτοῖς ἔρωτες οὐδ' ἐκουσία νόσος.  
σκαιόν τι δὴ τὸ χρῆμα γίγνεσθαι φιλεῖ,  
θεῶν ἀνάγκας ὅστις ἰᾶσθαι θέλει.

5

Fr. 9 (340 Kn., 8 J.-v.L.):

Κύπρις γὰρ οὐδὲ νουθετουμένη χαλᾶ,  
ἦν τ' αὖ βιάζῃ, μᾶλλον ἐντείνειν φιλεῖ,  
κᾶπειτα τίκτει πόλεμον· εἰς δ' ἀνάστασιν  
δόμων περαίνει πολλάκις τὰ τοιάδε.

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Fr. 7 Stob. 4. 26. 18 W.-H. (Ὅποιους χρῆ εἶναι τοὺς πατέρας) ἐν ταύτῳ (i.e. Εὐριπίδου Δίκτυ, ecl. 16) S M A

Fr. 8 Stob. 4. 26. 16 W.-H. (Ὅποιους χρῆ εἶναι τοὺς πατέρας) Εὐριπίδου Δίκτυ S M A

Fr. 9 Stob. 4. 20b. 48 W.-H. (Ψόγος Ἀφροδίτης) Εὐριπίδου Δίκτυ S M A, vv. 1- 2 om. poet. et fab. nom. habet Chrysippus fr. 475 von Arnim apud Galen. *Plac. Hipp. et Plat.* 4. 6. 39

Fr. 7 1 τέκνα Pflugk et Meineke: τέκνον S M A

Fr. 8 1 ἠδέως συνεκφέρειν S M A: ἠπίως συνεκφέρειν coll. fr. inc. 951 Kn. Stadtmüller: εὐμενῶς εἰκὸς φέρειν || 2 φίλους S M: φίλος A: δεῖ τοὺς Meineke || 3 ἐκβαλόντ' Gesner apud Wachsmuth et Hense: ἐκβάλλοντ' S M A | αὐθαδίαν Grotius: αὐθάδειαν S M A || 5 σκαιόν τι δὴ τὸ χρῆμα S M A: σκαιόν τι δῆτα χρῆμα vel σκαιόν γε δὴ τι χρῆμα Meineke: σκαιόν τι δὴ τόλμημα Schmidt: σκαιόν τι δὴ τέχνημα Stadtmüller

Fr. 9 1 οὐδὲ S M A, Chrysippus, prob. Kannicht: οὐδὲν Nauck, prob. Jouan et van Looy || 2 ἦν τ' αὖ βιάζῃ S (ἂν pro ἦν): ἂν γὰρ βιάζῃ Chrysippus: ἂντ' ἄβιάζῃ M: ἂντ' ἄβιάζην (-ην ex -ειν corr. A<sup>m. pr.</sup>) A | ἐντείνειν S M: ἐκτείνειν A || 3 κᾶπειτα S A: καίπειτα M

Fr. 10 (344 Kn., 2 J.-v.L.):

νέος, πόνοις δέ γ' οὐκ ἀγύμναστος φρένας.

### Fragmenta sedis magis incertae

Fr. 11 (342 Kn., 12 J.-v.L.):

τί μ', ὦ γεραιέ, πημάτων λελησμένην  
ὀρθοῖς;

Fr. 12 (346 Kn., 11 J.-v.L.):

εἷς γάρ τις ἔστι κοινὸς ἀνθρώποις νόμος  
{καὶ θεοῖσι τοῦτο δόξαν, ὡς σαφῶς λέγω,}  
θηρσίν τε πᾶσι, τέκν' ἅ τίκτουσιν φιλεῖν·  
τὰ δ' ἄλλα χωρὶς χρώμεθ' ἀλλήλων νόμοις.

Fr. 13 (343 Kn., 9 J.-v.L.):

θάρσει· τό τοι δίκαιον ἰσχύει μέγα.

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Fr. 10 Stob. 4. 11. 10 W.-H. (Περὶ νεότητος) Εὐριπίδου Δίκτυι M: τοῦ αὐτοῦ Δίκτυι A, ecl. om. S

Fr. 11 Schol. vet. S. Ai. 787 (Christodoulou): τί μ' αὖτάλαιναν: πρὸς τὸ Εὐριπίδου ἐν Δίκτυι L: Εὐριπίδης G lem. om.

Fr. 12 Stob. 4. 26. 17 W.-H. (Ὅποιους χρὴ εἶναι τοὺς πατέρας) ἐν ταύτῳ (i.e. Εὐριπίδου Δίκτυι, ecl. 16) S M A

Fr. 13 Stob. 3. 13. 5 W.-H. (Περὶ παρρησίας) Εὐριπίδου ἐν Δίκτυι S M A: ἐκ Δίκτυος L poet. nom. om.

Fr. 10 πόνοις δέ γ' M A: πόνοισι δ' Musgrave | φρένας M A: χέρας Meineke

Fr. 11 1 τί μ', ὦ γεραιέ G prob. Christodoulou et Kannicht: τί μ' [[ὦ]] ἄρτι L: τί μ' ἀρτίως <αὐ> Parageorgius: <οἴμοι> τί μ' ἄρτι Wansink *De Scholiis Soph. Trag. veteribus*, 31: τί μ', <ὦ ξέν'>, ἄρτι Wolff teste Nauck | λελησμένην L prob. Parageorgius et Kannicht: πεπαυμένην G prob. Christodoulou

Fr. 12 2 del. West *BICS* 30, 73 | τοῦτο S M A: ταὐτὸ Heath | ὡς Grotius: ὁ S: ὁ M A || 3 τέκν' ἅ B teste Gaisford prob. Jouan et van Looy: τέκνα S M A, prob. Nauck et Kannicht



Fr. 14 (336 Kn., 14 J.-v.L.):

εἰς δ' εὐγένειαν ὀλίγ' ἔχω φράσαι καλά·  
ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἐσθλὸς εὐγενῆς ἔμοιγ' ἀνὴρ,  
ὁ δ' οὐδὲ δίκαιος κἄν ἀμείνωνος πατρὸς  
Ζηνὸς πεφύκη, δυσγενῆς εἶναι δοκεῖ.

Fr. 15 (341 Kn., 15 J.-v.L.):

μὴ μοί ποτ' εἶη χρημάτων νικωμένῳ  
κακῷ γενέσθαι, μηδ' ὀμιλοῖν κακοῖς.

Fr. 16 (347 Kn., 18 J.-v.L.):

εἰ δ' ἦσθα μὴ κάκιστος, οὐ ποτ' ἂν πάτραν  
τὴν σὴν ἀτίζων τήνδ' ἂν εὐλόγεις πόλιν·  
ὡς ἔν γ' ἐμοὶ κρίνοιτ' ἂν οὐ καλῶς φρονεῖν  
ὅστις πατρώας γῆς ἀτιμάζων ὄρους  
ἄλλην ἐπαινεῖ καὶ τρόποισιν ἡδεται.

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Fr. 14 Stob. 4. 29a. 1 W.-H. (Περὶ εὐγενείας· ὅτι εὐγενεῖς οἱ κατ' ἀρετὴν ζῶντες κἄν μὴ λαμπρῶν ὧσι γεγονότες πατέρων) Εὐριπίδου Δίκτυι S M A | 1-2 Arist. Περὶ εὐγενείας fr. 94 Rose (ap. Stob. 4. 29c. 52 W.-H.) ὡσπερ φησὶ καὶ Εὐριπίδης οὐχὶ τῶν ἐκ πάλαι σπουδαίων εὐγένειαν φάμενος εἶναι, ἀλλ' ὅστις ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς ἀπλῶς.

Fr. 15 Stob. 4. 31c. 57 W.-H. (Ψόγος πλούτου) Εὐριπίδου Δίκτυι S M A, eosdem versus sine lemmate coniunctos cum *Cresphontes* fr. 495 Kn. hab. Stob. 4. 31d. 96 W.-H. S M A, separaverunt Heath et Musgrave

Fr. 16 Stob. 3. 39. 7-8 W.-H. (Περὶ πατρίδος) ecl. 7 (1-2) Εὐριπίδου Δίκτυος S M A, ecl. 8 (3-5) Εὐριπίδου Δίκτυος S M: τοῦ αὐτοῦ Δίκτυος A, eclogas coniunxit Barnes

Fr. 14 3 κἄν S A: καὶ M || 3-4 Ζηνὸς S M A: ἴνις vel γόνος olim Nauck: γένος Meineke: κἄν ἀμείνωνός τινος πατρὸς πεφύκη Hense: κἄν ὀμαίμωνος Διὶ πατρὸς πεφύκη: Schmidt

Fr. 15 2 κακῷ Stob. 4. 31c. 57 W.-H.: κακὸν Stob. 4. 31d. 96 W.-H. | μηδ' Stob. 4. 31c. 57 W.-H.: μήθ' S Stob. 4. 31d. 96 W.-H.

Fr. 16 1 πάτραν Musgrave: πόλιν S M A || 2 εὐλόγεις S M A: ἡὐλόγεις Elmsley, prob. Kannicht | πόλιν Musgrave: πάτραν S M A || 3 ἔν γ' ἐμοὶ Valckenaer ad *Hipp.* 324: ἐν γέ μοι fere codd. || 4 ὄρους codd.: νόμους Blaydes || 5 ἄλλην S M A: ξένην malit Nauck | καὶ τρόποισιν S M A: κάκτόποισιν Schmidt

**Fr. 17** (333 Kn., 16 J.-v.L.):

φεῦ φεῦ, παλαιὸς αἴνος ὡς καλῶς ἔχει·  
οὐκ ἂν γένοιτο χρηστὸς ἐκ κακοῦ πατρός.

**Fr. 18** (331 Kn., 5 J.-v.L.):

φίλος γὰρ ἦν μοι. καὶ μ' ἔρωσ ἔλοι ποτὲ  
οὐκ εἰς τὸ μῶρον οὐδέ μ' εἰς Κύπριν τρέπων.

**Fr. 19** (348 Kn., 19 J.-v.L.):

ἄζοιμην

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**Fr. 17** Stob. 4. 30. 5 W.-H. (Περὶ δυσγενείας) Εὐριπίδου Δίκτυι S M A, v. 1 recurrit in *Aeolo* fr. 25. 1 Kn., v. 2 sine fab. nom. affert Chrysippus *Περὶ ἀποφατικῶν* fr. 180. 15 von Arnim

**Fr. 18** Stob. 1. 9. 4a W.-H. (Περὶ Ἀφροδίτης Οὐρανίας) Εὐριπίδου Δίκτυι F P. *Quinque versus, qui in Stobaeo cum hoc fragmento coniuncti sunt, ad Euripidis Theseum rettulit Wachsmuth, prob. Nauck et Kannicht (fr. 388 Kn.)*

**Fr. 19** Hsch. α 1475 Latte ἄζοιμην· ἀγανακτοίμην (l. ἀγανακτοίμι) Εὐριπίδης Δίκτυι

**Fr. 17** 1 καλῶς M: καλὸς S A

**Fr. 18** 1 φίλος γὰρ ἦν μοι, καὶ μ' ἔρωσ ἔλοι ποτὲ P (ἔλοι F): φίλος γὰρ εἶ μοι, καὶ μ' ἔρωσ ἔλοι ποτὲ Wilamowitz (notae manu scriptae in marginibus exemplaris sui ed. N.<sup>1</sup>): φίλος γὰρ ἦν μοι, καὶ μ' ἔρωσ εἶλέν ποτε Usener, prob. Wachsmuth: φίλος γὰρ ἦν μοι, κεῖ μ' ἔρωσ ἔλοι ποτὲ Headlam CR 15, 106s: φίλον γὰρ ἡμῖν, εἶ μ' ἔρωσ ἔλοι ποτὲ Nauck: αἰδῶς γὰρ ἐν ἐμοί, κεῖ μ' ἔρωσ ἔλοι ποτὲ Schmidt || 2 μῶρον edd.: μωρὸν F P || οὐκ εἰς τὸ μῶρον οὐδέ μ' εἰς Κύπριν τρέπων codd.: οὐκ εἰς τὸ μῶρον οὐδ' ἂν εἰς Κύπριν τρέποι Schmidt

**Fr. 19** ἄζοιμην Hesychius, prob. Kannicht: ἄζοιμην Nauck, prob. Jouan et van Looy

## COMMENTARY

### T1:

Aristophanes' succinct prefaces provide the data concerning the subject and other treatments of the same theme, setting, the identity of the chorus and prologue-speaker, the date of the first performance, the titles of the other plays produced simultaneously by the poet, the contesting dramatists, the outcome of the competition at the first performance, occasionally the number of the play in the chronological register of the poet's works (cf. argum. *Alc.*) and a critical judgement on the play (for the latter feature, cf. argum. *Alc.*, *Supp.*) On the typology of these hypotheses, cf. Zuntz (1955) pp. 131, 139f., Page (1938) pp. liii-lv, Achelis (1913) pp. 518-545, Pfeiffer (1968) p. 193f. In terms of the *Dictys* in particular, Aristophanes has supplied us with (1) the date of its first production (431 BC), (2) Euripides' plays of the same production (the *Medea*, *Philoctetes* and the satyr-play *Theristae*), (3) the poet's contestants (Euphorion and Sophocles) and (4) the result of the competition at the first performance (Euripides won the third prize).

τρίτος Εὐριπίδης Μηδεία, Φιλοκτήτη, Δίκτυ: Euripides' third prize in the contest is indicative of his lesser popularity during his own lifetime (his victories amount to five in total, according to Suda s.v. 'Εὐριπίδης' 3695 Adler, for three of which he have didascalic evidence;<sup>321</sup> for this matter, cf. Stevens 1956, p. 91f., Martin 1960, pp. 248-253), as compared with his great popularity from the fourth century onwards (cf. Xanthakis-Karamanos 1980, pp. 28-34). Though the plays come from different mythical cycles, the theme of exile, as Müller (2000, p. 71) observed, is shared by all three tragedies of Euripides' production of that year. The choice of this common underlying theme and the treatment of the misery of exile from one's homeland is likely to have appealed to the sensitivity of the Athenian audience in the period of stress at the beginning of the Peloponnesian War; cf. Adkins (1960, p. 191, n. 13) with reference to *Dictys* fr. 16 (cf. note *ad loc.*), where a character (perhaps Polydectes) is strongly reproached for preferring another city to his homeland. The wretchedness of exile is stressed in *Med.* 255-258, 328,

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<sup>321</sup> Cf. *TrGFI*: DID D1, DID C13, DID C22.

359f., while *Philoctetes* fr. 798 Kn. underlines the identification of the citizen with his *polis* and the overlap of private and communal interests, as pointed out by Pericles in the second year of the War (Th. 2. 60.2-4).

**Θερισταις σατύροις. οὐ σώζεται:** the phrase *οὐ σώζεται* evidently refers to the satyr-play *Theristae*. Aristophanes' edition was based on the official fourth-century Athenian copy of the plays belonging to the repertory (cf. General Introduction, p. 2) and is estimated to have comprised the 78 plays which were extant by then from the total of 92 plays of Euripides' production. Fourteen plays were thus already lost during the fourth century and the *Theristae* seems to have been one of them (cf. Kannicht 1996, p. 28f.), to judge from the complete absence of quotations and evidence for its theme; had it been included in the edition, it would have stood good chance of being quoted even once. It should be noted, however, that *οὐ σώζεται*, as transmitted, is cut off from its context and further, it cannot be directly linked with *Θερισταις σατύροις* in terms of syntax (e.g. with a pronoun as <δ> *οὐ σώζεται*, that is, the play cannot be taken as a neutral), as on the basis of our evidence, references to plays tend to accord with their gender and number; cf. for instance, arg. Ar. *Pax* (Holwerda) deriving from Aristotle and perhaps following his phrasing (fr. 622 R.): *φέρεται ἐν ταῖς διδασκαλίαις δεδιδαχῶς Εἰρήνην ὁμωνύμως ὁ Ἄριστοφάνης. ἄδηλον οὖν, φησὶν Ἐρατοσθένης, πότερον τὴν αὐτὴν ἀνεδίδαξεν ἢ ἑτέραν καθῆκεν, ἣτις οὐ σώζεται*, schol. Arethae Pl. *Apol.* 18b (Greene), again relying on Aristotle (fr. 628 R.): *ἐπεὶ ᾧ ἔτει οἱ Πελαργοὶ ἐδιδάσκοντο*, also D. L. 2. 57 and the narrative hypotheses of Euripidean plays: cf. indicatively, hyp. *Auge*: *Ἀὔγη, ἧς ἡ ἀρχή*, hyp. *Scyrioi*: *Σκύριοι, ᾧν ἀρχή* (cf. van Rossum 1998, p. 2 and her collection of papyrus-hypotheses, pp. 185ff.) To keep the singular of the verb, it may be supposed that Aristophanes wrote *Θερισταις σατύροις, <ὅπερ δράμα> οὐ σώζεται* or something similar, as he widely uses the word *δράμα* in his arguments (three times in arg. *Alcestis*, twice in arg. *Orestes*, also in arg. *Hippolytus*, *Supplices*, S. *Antigone*); for the phrasing, cf. Ath. 8. 57: *ἐν Βουταλίῳ, ὅπερ δράμα τῶν Ἀγροίκων ἐστὶν {ἐνός} διασκευή*. The corrupt and often lacunose state in which Aristophanean prefaces have been transmitted (cf. especially arg. *Phoenissae*,<sup>322</sup> *Supplices*, *Bacchae* and Zuntz 1955, pp. 139-141) could account for the loss of this phrase in the

<sup>322</sup> The phrase <οὐ> *σώζεται* also occurs in arg. *Phoenissae*, which is, however, seriously corrupt, thus impeding any attempt to trace the development of the text with probability.

process. Alternatively, Aristophanes might have written *Θερισταῖς σατύροις*, <οἱ> οὐ σώζονται; cf. arg. *Hipp.* (he refers to the play in accordance with its gender and number): Ἰππόλυτος δεύτερος (. . .) ἐμφαίνεται δὲ ὕστερος γεγραμμένος. The change of *σώζονται* to *σώζεται* and the loss of *οἱ* are not difficult to have occurred in the process of transmission. If this phrase does not go back to Aristophanes, it may have been a marginal note (e.g. τὸ δρᾶμα οὐ σώζεται), part of which gradually sneaked into Aristophanes' argument (for parallel intrusions in Aristophanean prefaces, cf. Zuntz 1955, p. 139 f., n. 6). If so, it would have occurred presumably while the *Dictys* and *Philoctetes* were still extant; a safe *terminus ante quem* could be the late second century AD (cf. General Introduction, p. 3f.).

The theme of the satyr-play is unknown; the most famous myth about reapers is that of Lityerses (schol. Theocr. 10. 41-42 Wendel), who killed passers-by after forcing them to compete with him in a reaping contest and was finally overpowered by Heracles. Cf. Pechstein (1998, pp. 284-286) and Krumreich, Pechstein and Seidensticker (1999, p. 476) pointing out the satyric elements of this myth, such as the ogre, his molestation of the passers-by, the advent of the hero and the final defeat of the ogre. The Hellenistic poet Sositheus (ca. 280 BC, cf. Suda σ 860 Adler) wrote a *Daphnis or Lityerses* based on this legend; cf. Kannicht (1991) pp. 208-211, Xanthakis-Karamanos (1997) pp. 123ff.

## T2:

For this piece of evidence tentatively dated in the second century AD, cf. note on *Danae* T3. It is apparently a list of Euripides' seventy-eight *σωιζόμενα* of the Alexandrian edition, most of which seem to have been obtainable at least among literary circles in that era (cf. General Introduction, p. 3f. and note on *Danae* T3). The reference to the context of the situation of *Dictys* fr. 2, in particular, by the author of the *Consolation to Apollonius* (which may have been written by Plutarch in his youth or by one of his contemporaries<sup>323</sup>) could be suggestive of his direct knowledge of the play.

<sup>323</sup> Cf. Defradas, Hani and Klaerr (1985) pp. 4-12.

### T3:

An Apulian red-figure volute-crater (Princeton Art Museum 1989. 40) dated in 370/360 BC seems to have been inspired by a revival of the *Dictys* in South Italy.<sup>324</sup> In the centre of the scene, there is the altar of Poseidon —as evident from the cult-statue of the god— represented by a *naiskos*, where Danae and white-haired Dictys (for Dictys as *γεραιός*, cf. **frr. 3, 11**) have sought refuge. On the left, Polydectes is looking at them holding a sceptre in his right hand and a sword in his left. Unless attributed to artistic inspiration, the sword may well be suggestive of his violence and threat against the suppliants (cf. **T4**, l. 5f.: *βιαζομένης γ(άρ) τῆς Δα/ [νάης ὑπὸ τοῦ Πολυδέκτου, 11f. σωθῆ [ναι τὴν Δανάην, T5: διὰ τὴν Πολυδέκτου βίαν*). All three characters are dressed in stage-costumes. On the right, Perseus is depicted in heroic nudity as arriving at Seriphos carrying his *harpe* and the *kibisis* with the Gorgon's head. Danae and Dictys are looking at the hero with surprise, hope and relief and Dictys is making a 'speaking' gesture<sup>325</sup> towards him. The reaction of the suppliants, as depicted, is reminiscent of that of Amphitryon and Megara upon Heracles' return in *HF* 513-522. Above, on the left, Aphrodite and Eros preside over the scene, alluding to Polydectes' desire for Danae; the impetuosity of Cypris is a recurring theme in the play (**frr. 8, 9, 18**).

As with most South-Italian tragedy-related vases, this vase-painting is presumably not 'scene-specific';<sup>326</sup> the presence of four speakers on stage is not feasible, unless one of them is silent. On the analogy of *HF* 523-636, the scene of Perseus' return could have well involved the hero, Dictys and Danae. There would be no obvious place for Polydectes and his absence from stage would give the suppliants the opportunity to inform Perseus of their plight. This painting seems to have aimed to offer its viewers a recollection of main themes of the play,<sup>327</sup> such as the dramatic tension of the supplication-scene, Polydectes' desire and violence and the crucial moment of Perseus' return.

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<sup>324</sup> For the association of this vase-painting with the play, cf. Karamanou (2002-2003) pp. 167-175. This testimony is included by Kannicht in his addenda in *TrGF* V,2, 1160f.

<sup>325</sup> For the 'speaking' gesture, cf. Green (1999) p. 41f.

<sup>326</sup> For discussion of this feature of South-Italian vases, cf. Taplin (1993) p. 27, Green (1994) pp. 51-56, Green and Handley (1995) pp. 68-70, Giuliani (1996) pp. 73-75, 85, Trendall (1990) p. 227. For this particular vase-painting, cf. Karamanou (2002-2003) p. 174.

<sup>327</sup> For this feature of tragedy-related South-Italian vases, cf. Taplin (1993) p. 23.

In the case of the *Dictys*, iconographic evidence plays a significant role; the association of this vase-painting with the play confirms the accounts of T4 and T5 that upon returning to Seriphos, Perseus finds his mother and Dictys (the name of the latter is mentioned only in T5 and also in the scanty remains of T6) as suppliants. Both narratives can thus be safely regarded as providing the outline of the plot of our play (cf. notes *ad loc.*). The vase-painting is also informative of the god, at whose altar Danae and Dictys sought refuge, and thus fills with Poseidon's name the blank left in the papyrus of Theon's commentary (T4, l. 7),<sup>328</sup> as well as the slight remainder probably coming from the hypothesis of the play in T6.

#### T4:

The outline of the plot of the *Dictys* is substantiated by combination of the evidence from this source and T5 with the pictorial testimony of T3 (cf. note *ad loc.*). Theon's account is the earliest surviving literary source for the plot of the play (first century BC). It supplies the following pieces of evidence for the *Dictys*: (1) being pressed hard by Polydectes, Danae seeks refuge at <Poseidon's> altar (ll. 5-7), (2) the reference to Polydectes' petrification at a feast may have derived from the play (l. 2f.), (3) a possible quotation from the *Dictys* (l. 4f.)? Cf. notes *ad loc.*

The papyrus is dated in the second century AD. Three hands can be distinguished: the first scribe, whose hand preserves the reference to the altar-scene of the play, wrote col. i 1-26. The additions in the intercolumnar space belong to a second hand, while a third hand copied col. i 27-30, the whole of col. ii and probably the *subscriptio*<sup>329</sup> (the letter-forms of the latter are the same as those of the third scribe, though written less cursively). The clumsy style of the narrative providing the outline of the plot of the *Dictys*, as well as the omission of several *lemmata*,<sup>330</sup> imply that the first scribe was copying parts of Theon's

<sup>328</sup> Cf. Karamanou (2002-2003) p. 174.

<sup>329</sup> Cf. Turner, *P. Oxy.* XXXI, 2536, p. 16.

<sup>330</sup> Cf. the lemma *ἐρικλάγκταν*, which is added in the margin by the second hand, and *τό τ' ἀναγκαῖον λέχος* (Pi. P. 12. 15), which should have been placed in l. 4 or 5 followed by the explanatory scholium referring to Danae's refuge at the altar. It does not seem to fit in l. 4, as there is no room for the *spatium* that follows each lemma in this hand and it cannot fit in l. 5 either, because it would not match the end of l. 4; cf.

commentary selectively.<sup>331</sup> However, the end-title *ΘΕΩΝΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΩΡΟΥ ΠΙΝΔΑΡΟΥ ΠΥΘΙΟΝΙΚΩΝ ΥΠΟΜΝΗΜΑ*, which seems to have been written by the third copyist, attests that this is the actual *hypomnēma* of Theon and not an epitome of his commentary.<sup>332</sup> The latter suggests that the hand, which wrote the *subscriptio*, did not regard this text as an epitome. Hence, the third copyist who finished it off seems to have copied Theon's commentary without epitomizing it. In fact, the style of the passage written by the third scribe is evidently better than that of the first hand.

Theon was a man of great learning; apart from Pindar, he is known to have written *hypomnēmata* on the main Alexandrian poets, Homer, textual notes on Sophocles' *Ichneutae* (*P.Oxy.* ix 1174) and a compilation of *λέξεις κωμικαί* and *τραγικαί*.<sup>333</sup> He seems thus to have studied tragedy closely and it is thanks to Theon that E. *Oedipus* fr. 556 Kn. survives (l. 29f. of this papyrus-fragment). Theon's reference to the Euripidean treatment of the myth in his commentary is possibly due to his own familiarity with the poet's work, Euripides' popularity in his era<sup>334</sup> and, furthermore, to the fact that the *Dictys* was probably the sole surviving tragedy from this phase of the legend by then (for the possible loss of Aeschylus' *Polydectes* during the fourth century, cf. *The Myth*, p. 126).

1-3 λυγρόν τ' [ἔρανον/ εὐ]ωχουμένοις γ(άρ) αὐτοῖς τούτοις/ [ἔδειξεν ὁ Περσεὺς τὴν κεφαλὴν κ(αὶ) οὐ(τως) ἀπελιθώθησαν: There is a divergence in the interpretation of the ode at this point; the ancient scholium *ad loc.* interprets the lemma *λυγρόν τ' ἔρανον* as the *eranos* organized by Polydectes to send Perseus after the Gorgon. Theon, on the other hand, refers here to a second feast (different from Polydectes' *eranos*-plot), in which Perseus shows the Gorgon's head to the king and his guests, which is the interpretation also provided in schol. vet. *P.* 10. 72a (Drachmann); cf. Bernardini (1971) pp. 99-101. The surviving evidence from early mythography (cf. Pherecyd. fr. 11 Fowler) does not attest a second feast and the context of the Pindaric passage does not give a reason to suppose a

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Turner *ad loc.* In addition, the reference to the Gorgon in ll. 12-14 is probably explanatory to the lemma *εὐπαράον κράτα Μεδοίσας* (*Pi. P.* 12. 16), which was omitted by the copyist.

<sup>331</sup> So Turner *P. Oxy.* XXXI p. 16 and Turner (1968) p. 119f.

<sup>332</sup> The end-title states whether a scholar's commentary has been abridged or not; cf. for instance, the Didymus-papyrus on Demosthenes (*BKT* I), the *subscriptio* of which specifies that it is a work on Demosthenes' speeches against Philip and not the actual *hypomnēma* of Didymus (*ΔΙΔΥΜΟΥ ΠΕΡΙ ΔΗΜΟΣΘΕΝΟΥΣ ΚΗ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΙΚΩΝ Γ'*); cf. Leo (1960) p. 390.

<sup>333</sup> Cf. Wendel (1934) coll. 2055-2059.

<sup>334</sup> For the influence and popularity of Euripides in Hellenistic times, cf. the detailed survey by Funke (1965-1966) pp. 238-242 and also Perrin (1997) p. 213f. and n.64, Easterling (1997) p. 225 and Lucas (1923) p. 56f.



reference to a second banquet. In fact, Pindar mentions the *eranos* along with Polydectes' offences, for which he is punished: his reducing Danae to slavery and forcing her to cohabitation (λυγρόν τ' ἔρανον Πολυδέκτα θῆκε ματρός τ' ἔμπεδον/ δουλοσύναν τό τ' ἀναγκαῖον λέχος). Hence, the *eranos* is better understood in Pindar as the plot organized by the malicious king to get Perseus out of the way.

How should the testimonies of Theon and the scholium on *P.* 10. 72a (Drachmann) then be treated? Theon cannot be safely regarded as reproducing the background of the Pindaric ode in his commentary, to judge by his reference to sources other than Pindar, as for instance Danae's supplication in the *Dictys*, which serves to interpret the lemma τό τ' ἀναγκαῖον λέχος. Judging by the often arbitrary and authoritative interpretation of passages by ancient scholiasts (cf. note on *Danae T1*), it cannot be excluded that the reference to the second banquet might have been Theon's own inference, which was adopted afterwards by the scholiast on *P.* 10.72a; however, the recurrence of this scene in **T5** in the context of the allusion to the Euripidean plot (cf. also the possible reference to theatrical space in **T5. 2-4n.**), as well as Theon's description of the supplication-scene of the *Dictys* in the interpretation of the next lemma, make it likely that he could allude to Euripides. In such a case, his scholarly attitude would have required the acknowledgement of Euripides' *Dictys* as source of this scene, unless omitted due to the scribe's epitomization of the commentary; in fact, the third scribe, who evidently copied Theon's commentary less selectively than the first one, has preserved the ascribed quotation of E. *Oedipus* fr. 556 Kn. In the preserved part of l. 2, the γάρ indicates that the sentence starts with εὐωχουμένοις, which implies that a short phrase of 12-14 letters is likely to have preceded this sentence. This possibility might have allowed for a short acknowledgement of the *Dictys* as source (e.g. ΩΣ ΕΝ ΤΩΙ ΔΙΚΤΥΙ?). It is self-evident, however, that the physical damage of the papyrus does not allow for anything but speculations. Consequently, the scholium on *P.* 10. 72a may have well drawn on Theon's commentary (as schol. vet. *O* 5. 42b Drachmann and schol. *Paean* 2. 37.2 in *P. Oxy.* V 841) without naming the source; Aristarchus, for instance, is not always acknowledged in the ancient Pindaric scholia (cf. Irigoin 1952, p. 104 and n. 3).

4f. ε[.]ωθ ἔωθεν ἴν' ἦ [[καὶ]] τήν/ [± 16] ε [±3]: the letters preceding ἔωθεν are illegible. Treu (1974, p. 72f.) suggested that ἔωθεν could have been the shortened epic Aorist for ἐώθησαν (cf. Kühner-Blaß 1904<sup>3</sup>, I, 2 p. 55 and Monro 1891, p. 5); shortened

forms of this type occur in trimeters from messenger-speeches in *Hipp.* 1247 and *Ph.* 1246 (cf. Bergson, 1959, p. 15) and in anapaests in *Andr.* 287, *HF* 662, *Ph.* 824, *A. Pers.* 18, *S. Ai.* 167, *Tr.* 504. This word is followed by *ἴν' ἦ*, which is regularly used by scholiasts to introduce the paraphrasis of a poetic text (cf. Maehler 1968, p. 100) and is preceded, as a rule, by the citation of the poetic excerpt (sometimes followed by a brief explanatory note); cf. schol. vet. *Pi. O.* 8. 37b, *P.* 4. 61, 188b, 195a, *N.* 2. 32a (Drachmann), schol. vet. *E. Or.* 224, 702 (Schwartz), schol. *A.R.* 1. 313-314 (Wendel), schol. *Lyc.* 935 (Scheer). Accordingly, what precedes *ἴν' ἦ* may have been the quotation from a poetic text — not necessarily from Pindar— or else a quotation plus a short note, and what follows it at the end of l. 4 and the lost beginning of l. 5 could have been the paraphrasis of the quotation (cf. Treu 1974, pp. 73-75). From the middle of l. 5 onwards, Theon refers to the altar-scene of the *Dictys*; the *γάρ* after *βιαζομένης* evidently links the new sentence with that preceding it. It could thus be assumed that the possible citation in l. 4 and its paraphrasis after *ἴν' ἦ* may have been related to the *Dictys* and followed by the reference to the altar-scene of the play. Hence, if *ἔσωθεν* is taken to be the poetic third-Plural form instead of adverb, it may have referred to the rescue of Danae and Dictys; cf. l. 11f. *σωθῆ [ναι τὴν Δανάην]*. If Euripides' play was acknowledged as source of inspiration (unless the acknowledgement was omitted by the copyist or located at the beginning of l. 2, cf. 1-3 n.), the reference may have been located at the lost beginning of l. 4, before the quotation (there is space for about 16 letters, which could allow for a short reference and the beginning of the possible quotation).

**5f.** *βιαζομένης γ(άρ) τῆς Δα[νάης ὑπὸ τοῦ Πολυδέκτου]*: cf. **T5**: *διὰ τὴν Πολυδέκτου βίαν*; 'being forced' by the king to marry him/ become his concubine.

**6f.** *συνέβη αὐτὴν κατα[φυγεῖν πρὸς τὸν βωμὸν τοῦ <Ποσειδῶνος>]*: the god's name is supplied by **T3** (cf. note *ad loc.*); the copyist was obviously unable to read the name written in his exemplar (cf. Turner's note *ad loc.*), so he left a blank space, estimating the approximate size of the omitted word (nine/ ten letters). Owing to the clumsy style of the passage as epitomized by the first scribe, it is not clearly reported that Danae's refuge at the altar follows Perseus' departure (cf. l. 8f.), as made explicit in **T5**. It could also be due to the epitomization of the account that Dictys is not mentioned as having fled to the altar

together with Danae. The physical damage of the papyrus leaves it unclear whether his name occurred in the previous lines.

9f. ὡς ἀπολούμενον καὶ [ ± 12] τὸν μ(έν) Πολυδέκτην θεωρήσαντα: what has been lost from the account is the reference to Perseus' return to Seriphos, which could have been located at the beginning of l. 10. Treu's supplement μηκέτι ἀνιόντα (1974, p. 68) repeats the meaning of ἀπολούμενον and does not provide the expected piece of information. What is needed, instead, is a supplement denoting 'having returned/ having been rescued'; Professor C. Carey suggests ἐπανελθόντος, which fits the approximate number of 12 missing letters and aptly fills the gap in the narrative. The καὶ in the place of an expected 'but', which would have stressed Perseus' unexpected return, gives a miserably flat narrative, though in view of the clumsy style of the passage written by the first copyist, this should not be surprising.

11f. σωθῆ [ναι τὴν Δανάην: this piece of information suggests that Danae's life was threatened, if she did not yield to Polydectes' intentions. The threat of the hostile party against the suppliants' lives recurs in *Andr.* 245-268, 425-576, *HF* 140-513.

## T5:

Thanks to T3, we are now confident that the supplication-scene reported in the present source and T4 comes from the *Dictys*. The *Library* is estimated to have been written some time between 50 BC and 250 AD.<sup>335</sup> As regards the author's familiarity with Euripides, there is no evidence pointing to his direct knowledge of the plays;<sup>336</sup> he rather seems to have been directly or indirectly indebted to Hellenistic commentaries, especially for the learned mythical variants cited, and earlier mythographic accounts.<sup>337</sup> When reproducing the plots of Euripides' tragedies, the *Library* often presents similarities to the narrative papyrus-hypotheses of the dramatist's plays (possibly written in the Augustan era<sup>338</sup>) in

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<sup>335</sup> For the wide range of dating of this work, cf. Huys (1997) p. 308, n. 1.

<sup>336</sup> This observation was first made by Robert (1873) p. 55.

<sup>337</sup> Cf. Huys (1997) pp. 314f., 326f.

<sup>338</sup> Cf. Zuntz (1955) p. 138f.

terms of content and, sporadically, phrasing.<sup>339</sup> Huys' case-study has revealed that the accounts of the *Library* occasionally diverge from these hypotheses in some details of the plot<sup>340</sup> and that their verbal agreements are not so impressive as to point to a direct debt of the *Library* to these hypotheses.<sup>341</sup> It thus seems safer to infer that certain parts of Ps.-Apollodorus' narratives may originate in the Euripidean hypotheses through the use of intermediary sources.<sup>342</sup> The present narrative (l. 1f., which can safely be regarded as reflecting the *Dictys*, and perhaps also l. 3f.) presents certain stylistic features shared by the mythographic hypotheses of Euripidean plays: the use of the participle *παραγενόμενος*, which frequently occurs in the hypotheses to indicate the first entrance of a hero on stage (this was probably Perseus' first entrance, cf. Structure),<sup>343</sup> and the accumulation of participles (eight participles within a few lines).<sup>344</sup> Taken alone, these features may be coincidental (*παραγενόμενος*, for instance, is quite common in narratives from the classical period onwards), but in combination with the dramatic quality of the presentation (cf. the possibly theatrical nuance of the participles *καταλαβών* and *εἰσελθών* and notes *ad loc.*) they could suggest that the account might go back to the narrative hypothesis of the play. Even so, it would have probably relied on intermediary sources, as the details and complications of the dramatic plot are missing from the account. T6 which seems to be a remain of the hypothesis of the *Dictys* is too scanty to shed any light on this matter; it refers to the altar-scene mentioning the name of the god, which is omitted here, but the complete loss of context allows only for conjecture as to its reconstruction (cf. note on T6. 2f.).

The present account offers the following pieces of evidence for the *Dictys*: (1) Polydectes' violence has forced Danae and Dictys to flee to an altar (thanks to T3, we know that it was Poseidon's altar), (2) Perseus returns to Seriphos with the Gorgon's head to find his mother and Dictys at the altar, (3) he petrifies Polydectes (for the possibility of

<sup>339</sup> Cf. [Apollod.] 3.12.5 and hyp. *Alexandros* (P.Oxy. 3650), 3.13.8 and hyp. *Scyrioi* (PSI 1286, col.II, 11. 15-16), Ep. 5.23 and hyp. *Troades*, Ep. 6. 26-27 and hyp. *Iphigenia in Tauris* and 1.9.27 and hyp. *Peliades* (P.Oxy. 2455, fr.18, col. II, 8); cf. Huys (1997) pp. 318-325 and also Rusten (1982) p. 357 and n.2.

<sup>340</sup> Cf. [Apollod.] 1. 9.15 mentioning, for instance, that it was Core who sent Alcestis back from the dead, while her rescue by Heracles is presented as a variant, and Ep. 3. 5 referring to the transfer of Helen to Egypt according to the will of Zeus and not of Hera, as attested in hyp. *Helen*.

<sup>341</sup> Cf. Huys (1997) pp. 311-327.

<sup>342</sup> So Huys (1997) p. 326f. and van Rossum (1998) pp. 26-28.

<sup>343</sup> Cf. hyp. *Alcestis*, *Andromache*, *Hecabe*, *Iphigenia in Tauris*, *Alexandros*, *Hypsipyle*. Cf. Turner (1958) p. 11, Krenn (1971) pp. 17, 191 and Luppe (1986) p. 7.

<sup>344</sup> Cf. van Rossum (1998) p. 9f., Budé (1977) p. 116f.

his petrification at a feast, cf. note *ad loc.*). The narrative of the *Library* was evidently the source of Tzetzes' account of this phase of the legend in schol. Lyc. 838 (Scheer).<sup>345</sup>

The passage from [Apollod.] 2. 4.2 narrating the events at the *eranos* organized by Polydectes to trap Perseus is not included in the sources for the *Dictys*, as it presents marked similarities to the summary of Pherecydes' narrative (cf. *The Myth*, p. 122f.)<sup>346</sup> and thus seems to reflect the myth in general, while there is no evidence pointing to particular inspiration by tragedy. This *eranos* would have probably belonged to the *προπεπραγμένα* recounted in the prologue of the *Dictys* and would not have formed part of the actual plot of the play.

1f. καταλαβὼν προσπεφυγυῖαν τοῖς βωμοῖς μετὰ τοῦ Δίκτυος τὴν μητέρα: the altar-scene is also attested in T3, T4 and probably also in T6, though in the present source, unlike Theon's account, it is made clear that Danae and Dictys were forced to seek refuge at the altar during Perseus' absence and not before his departure. The specific nuance of *καταλαβὼν* (*LSJ*<sup>9</sup>: 'to find on arrival') suggests that Perseus actually finds them at the altar; the dramatic quality of the presentation might imply that the account could have gone back to the narrative hypothesis of the play. Cf. similarly, hyp. *Hipp.* 30-32: τραχυνόμενον δὲ αὐτὸν ἢ Φαίδρα καταμαθοῦσα ('to perceive with the senses'). In addition, *προσπεφυγυῖαν τοῖς βωμοῖς* recalls hyp. *Heraclidae*: προσφυγῶν τοῖς θεοῖς.

2 διὰ τὴν Πολυδέκτου βίαν: cf. T4. 5f.: βιαζομένης γ(ὰρ) τῆς Δαί[νάης] ὑπὸ τοῦ Πολυδέκτου. The king could have used threats against Danae's life, to judge by T4. 11f.: σωθῆ[ναι] τὴν Δανάην (cf. note *ad loc.*).

2-4 εἰσελθὼν εἰς τὰ βασίλεια, συγκαλέσαντος τοῦ Πολυδέκτου τοὺς φίλους ἀπεστραμμένος τὴν κεφαλὴν τῆς Γοργόνης ἔδειξε: the verb *εἰσέρχομαι* regularly occurs in tragedy (*LSJ*<sup>9</sup>: of the actors/ chorus 'to come upon the stage, to enter', cf. indicatively Pl. *R.* 580b, X. *An.* 6. 1.9) often with reference to the actors' entry into the stage-building: cf. *Alc.* 912, 1114, *Ion* 69, 1547, *S. Ai.* 329, *El.* 1106, *OT* 1244. The phrase *εἰσελθὼν εἰς τὰ βασίλεια* refers to Perseus' entry into Polydectes' palace, which was possibly represented by the *skene*-building (cf. *Setting*), and may thus be alluding to theatrical space. Here again, the passage might point to a possible origin of Ps.-Apollodorus' account in the narrative

<sup>345</sup> For Tzetzes' debts to the *Library*, cf. Diller (1935) p. 304, Carrière and Massonnie (1991) p. 18.

<sup>346</sup> For Ps.-Apollodorus' debt to Pherecydes, cf. van der Valk (1958) pp. 117ff.

hypothesis of the play. The reference to the petrification of Polydectes and his friends presumably at a feast diverges from Pherecyd. fr. 11 Fowler (where Perseus asks the king to gather the Seriphian crowd). Considering that (a) the petrification at a feast is mentioned here in the context of the allusion to the Euripidean plot, (b) the feast also occurs in T4. 1-3 again in the context of the reference to the plot of the *Dictys* and seems rather unlikely to originate in Pindar (cf. note *ad loc.*) and (c) taking also into account the dramatic quality of the presentation and the features, which Ps.-Apollodorus' testimony shares with narrative hypotheses of Euripides' plays (cf. introductory note), the petrification-scene at the banquet could well originate in the *Dictys*. If so, the events at the feast would have been reported in a messenger-speech (cf. Structure). Cf. similarly the narrative of the events at the banquet in *Ion* 1106-1228 (and Lee 1997, p. 279) stressing the sudden shift from festive excitement to disaster.

5-8: This part of the narrative follows Pherecydes closely (cf. *The Myth*, p. 122f.). It remains unknown whether Euripides followed the mythographic version and made Dictys king of Seriphos. For this issue and the possibility of the *aetiology* of the 'Gorgoneion', cf. Structure.

#### T6:

*PSI* 1286 comes from a roll and is written along the fibres in a regular round bilinear hand dated at the end of the second century AD; the upper margin is preserved and the back of the roll is blank.<sup>347</sup> Fr. A consists of two columns, the first of which preserves the end of the narrative hypothesis of the *Rhesus* and the second the end of hyp. *Rhadamanthys* and the opening of hyp. *Scyrioi*. Hence, this was evidently a roll containing mythographic hypotheses of Euripides' plays, which were, as a rule, arranged in alphabetic order.<sup>348</sup> Fr. B, which has remained unidentified so far<sup>349</sup> and is the focus of the present inquiry, is a small,

<sup>347</sup> Cf. the descriptions of Galavotti (1933) p. 177 and Bartoletti (*PSI* XII 1286) p. 191.

<sup>348</sup> Cf. indicatively van Rossum (1998) pp. 2-4.

<sup>349</sup> Jouan and van Looy (2000, p. 83) and Kannicht (2004, I 382) mention this piece, without however arguing for its identification as part of the hypothesis of the *Dictys*.

tattered scrap written in exactly the same hand as fr. A, which indicates that it comes from the same roll.

The only legible elements of this piece are ]ΩNOC IEP[ in l. 2 and ]ΔIKTYOC[ in l. 3. Dictys is a mythical figure associated in ancient sources almost exclusively with Danae's legend (cf. *The Myth*, the sole exception is the marginal case in *Ov. Met.* 12. 334-340, cf. below) and there is no evidence for his role in any other Euripidean play apart from the *Dictys*. His name is thus very suggestive of the possibility that this is a slight remainder of the hypothesis of the *Dictys*. Moreover, the reference to the shrine of a god, whose name ends in -ωvoc points to the altar of Poseidon, where Danae and Dictys fled as suppliants, which accords with the evidence for the play provided in T3 and T4 (also in T5, which, however, does not mention the god's name). Hence, I suggest that Dictys' name and the additional trace of the reference to the altar-scene of the play provided in a fragment from a roll containing hypotheses of Euripidean plays could identify this piece as a scanty relic of the narrative hypothesis of the *Dictys* with much probability.

The fact that the hypothesis of a play, the first letter of which starts with Δ, has been discovered together with those from plays starting with P and Σ (fr. A), while there is no trace of the hypotheses of the intervening plays, raises questions as to how fr. A and B ended up together, since they were evidently coming from distant parts of the roll. The sole known arrangement of mythographic hypotheses in an order other than alphabetical is the collection of hypp. *Peliades* and *Medea* (P.IFAO inv. P.S.P. 248) grouped together on the basis of theme,<sup>350</sup> which evidently does not apply here. It could thus be supposed that the state in which the fragments were discovered and the manner in which they were gathered upon excavation may account for this rather unusual case. The fact that these fragments are of unknown provenance and were acquired by purchase could shed light on the situation; unlike organized excavations under trained directors, papyrus-finds unearthed by locals were often ruined by the coarse methods employed, scattered and some of them thrown away to evade the inspection of Antiquities Service. Subsequently, the finds were divided among the finders and in turn, texts found together were not kept together, but were sold in

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<sup>350</sup> Cf. van Rossum (1998) p. 2, n. 8.

small parcels and their provenance would remain unknown.<sup>351</sup> This factor may well account for the missing intervening hypotheses, which might have either been ruined during excavation or thrown away or even ended up with other byers and in this case, their scraps may still lurk unrecognised or unpublished. Fr. B might have derived from a part of the roll adjacent to fr. A while folded, which could explain why they were discovered together and ended up being sold together.

Gallavotti, who was the first to edit this papyrus, attempted to associate fr. B with the hypothesis of the *Rhadamanthys* preserved in fr. A.<sup>352</sup> Apart from the remains of this hypothesis, there is no evidence for the subject of the play; the present account mentions Rhadamanthys and his daughters, the Dioscuri, who are killed in a fight and whose association with Rhadamanthys is nowhere else attested, and Helen, who is commanded by Artemis *ex machina* to bury her brothers. Due to the complete absence of evidence for the activity of Dioscuri in the play, Gallavotti assumed a fusion of two of their famous deeds, namely their recuperation of Helen, who was abducted by Theseus and brought to Aphidna (cf. Hdt. 9. 73, Paus. 1. 41, 2. 22.6, Plut. *Th.* 32, Hyg. *fab.* 79 and for more sources, cf. Guidorizzi 2000, p. 321), conflated with their battle against the sons of Aphareus, where they were all killed except for Pollux (cf. Pi. *N.* 10. 55ff., Theoc. 22. 137ff., [Apollod.] 3. 134-137, Hyg. *fab.* 80). As has been noted,<sup>353</sup> however, the treatment of the conquest of Aphidna and recuperation of Helen by the Spartan heroes in Attic drama would be unflattering for Athens and Theseus, unless modified in a certain manner. The subject of the play and Rhadamanthys' involvement in these events (perhaps as a judge?) thus remain obscure and subject to much conjecture. Gallavotti attempted to accommodate fr. B and Dictys' name in his highly conjectural reconstruction, by identifying Dictys with a Centaur mentioned only in Ovid *Met.* 12. 334-340 as killed by Peirithous in the latter's nuptial banquet.<sup>354</sup> To accept this suggestion, however, one should have to assume first, that Peirithous had a role in the play as Theseus' companion (which would presuppose a treatment of the events in Aphidna), moreover, that incidents from Peirithous' wedding occurred in the *Rhadamanthys* in the same context with the deeds of the Dioscuri (which

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<sup>351</sup> For the problems caused by the activity of the locals, cf. Turner (1968) pp. 26, 35 and Graves (1885) p. 237, presenting his own experience.

<sup>352</sup> Cf. Gallavotti (1933) p. 184.

<sup>353</sup> Cf. Hermary (1986) p. 590.

<sup>354</sup> Cf. Gallavotti (1933) p. 184.



seems irreconcilable) and, furthermore, that a very marginal figure appearing only in Ovid and nowhere else played a role sufficiently prominent to be mentioned in the hypothesis.<sup>355</sup> To accommodate the shrine of a god, whose name ends in *-ωνος*, Gallavotti used another version of the legend of Dioscuri, that of their abduction of Phoebe and Hilaeira, for whom they entered into fight with the sons of Aphareus; he supposed that the shrine mentioned could have been that of Apollo, as in the *Cypria* (cf. Paus. 3. 16.1) the two maidens—mentioned as a rule to be daughters of Leucippus— were presented as Apollo’s daughters.<sup>356</sup> However, there is no evidence for the role of Phoebe and Hilaeira in the play and the girls mentioned are daughters of Rhadamanthys.

Hence, in order to accommodate fr. B in hyp. *Rhadamanthys*, one would have to ignore the congruence of the known evidence for the *Dictys* with the legible parts of fr. B, in favour of a very hypothetical reconstruction due to lack of evidence, involving a very marginal figure from an evidently irrelevant incident of Peirithous’ myth, whose role in the play is unattested, conflated with different versions of the legend of Dioscuri.

2f.: the fragment seems to refer to the flight of Danae and Dictys to the altar of Poseidon. Taking the rather fixed stylistic features of this type of hypotheses into account (cf. note on *Danae T5*), the context might be hypothetically reconstructed as (Danae) ἐπὶ τὸ Ποσειδ] ὠνος ἱερ [ὄν κατέφυγε μετὰ τοῦ] Δίκτυος (cf. hyp. *Andromache*: κατέφυγεν ἐπὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Θέτιδος) or τῷ Ποσειδ] ὠνος ἱερ [ῷ προσέφυγε μετὰ τοῦ] Δίκτυος (cf. hyp. *Heraclidae*: προσφυγὼν τοῖς θεοῖς). Likewise, the account of T5, the stylistic features of which may suggest that it could have gone back to the mythographic hypothesis of the play possibly through an intermediary source, mentions *προσπεφυγῖαν τοῖς βωμοῖς μετὰ τοῦ Δίκτυος*.

In conclusion, this tiny scrap mentioning Dictys’ name and the shrine of a god, the traces of whose name match that of Poseidon, can be regarded with much likelihood as coming from the lost narrative hypothesis of the *Dictys*. It is congruent with the testimonies

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<sup>355</sup> One could argue that this may have been a narrated element in the play (e.g. in the expository prologue or a messenger-speech), which would again be questioned by the absence of evidence for Peirithous’ role, not least for a minor figure associated with him in a later source, in the context of an incident evidently irrelevant to the play. It should also be noted that narrative hypotheses aim to report those events of the *προπεπραγμένα* which are essential for the sequence of the plot.

<sup>356</sup> Cf. Gallavotti (1933) p. 184.

of T3, T4 and T5 as regards the altar-scene of the play, though, sadly, it is too scanty to offer any new piece of evidence for the plot.<sup>357</sup>

### T7:

The Eleventh Epigram of Book III of the Palatine Anthology was inspired by one of the reliefs from the Cyzicene temple that was built in honour of Queen Apollonis of Pergamos.<sup>358</sup> This monument was raised in the second century BC<sup>359</sup> and dedicated to Apollonis by her sons Eumenes and Attalus; for this reason, all the reliefs of the temple and the corresponding epigrams, which were written not earlier than the sixth century A.D.,<sup>360</sup> were expressive of filial devotion. Each one of the nineteen epigrams is preceded by a *lemma*, which is a description of the relief, possibly dated in the fifth century A.D. at the earliest.<sup>361</sup>

The reason for studying this epigram and its *lemma* lies in the reception of tragedy<sup>362</sup> and especially of Euripidean drama in several Cyzicene reliefs and their corresponding epigrams; they allude to the *Phoenix* (III 3.5f.),<sup>363</sup> *Cresphontes* (III 5)<sup>364</sup>, *Antiope* (III 7), *Hypsipyle* (III 10)<sup>365</sup> and *Captive Melanippe* (III 16).<sup>366</sup> Accordingly,

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<sup>357</sup> I am indebted to Prof. C. Roemer for valuable advice on this piece.

<sup>358</sup> For Queen Apollonis, cf. van Looy (1976) pp. 151-165.

<sup>359</sup> Between 175 and 159, according to van Looy and Demoen (1986, p. 135).

<sup>360</sup> On the basis of language and metre; cf. the detailed study of Demoen (1988) pp. 233-248 and also Meyer (1911) p. 70.

<sup>361</sup> Meyer (1911, pp. 53-68) regards the fifth century as the terminus post quem for the dating of the *lemmata*, owing to the striking features of Byzantine rhetoric in their vocabulary and style.

<sup>362</sup> The ninth relief and epigram was inspired by Sophocles' *Tyro*, while the second accords with the story told by Hyginus in *fab.* 100, which, according to Aelian (*N.A.* 3. 47), reflects a tragic plot, possibly that of Sophocles' *Mysoi*; cf. Sutton (1984) pp. 78ff., Pearson (1917) II p. 71f., Robert (1887) p. 246f. and Radinger (1897) p. 124 and n. 2.

<sup>363</sup> The relief depicting the blinding of Phoenix by his father at the presence of his mother Alcimede and the matching epigram must have been inspired by both the Homeric (*Il.* 9. 447-477) and the Euripidean version of this legend: the artist probably 'borrowed' the figure of Phoenix's mother Alcimede from Homer, while the blinding of Phoenix by his father Amyntor as the result of false accusations by his father's concubine (III 3. 5: *δολίοις ψιθυρίσμασιν*) was introduced by Euripides in his *Phoenix*; cf. Jouan and van Looy (2002) p. 316f.

<sup>364</sup> So Harder (1985) p. 55.

<sup>365</sup> Cf. Bond (1963) pp. 19, 139.

<sup>366</sup> The relation of these epigrams to Euripidean tragedy was supported by Radinger (1897) p. 124 and n. 2 and Calderini (1913) pp. 350-372.

Radinger suggested that the eleventh relief and epigram of the Cyzicene monument could have echoed the *Dictys*.<sup>367</sup>

The treatment of Euripidean themes in the lost reliefs —as indicated by the descriptions in the *lemmata* that precede the epigrams— is not surprising, to judge by the popularity of Euripides in Hellenistic times,<sup>368</sup> when this monument was raised. As regards the relief, which depicted Perseus as showing the Gorgon's head to Polydectes, what needs to be asked is whether the source of artistic inspiration was the myth in general or a specific treatment, as, for instance, Euripides' *Dictys*. As was observed above (cf. *The Myth*, p. 128), though the theme of Polydectes' petrification inspired wide literary and artistic production during the fifth century, no more treatments of the theme are attested from the fourth century onwards (apart from the echoes of the *Dictys*), which could imply that this phase of the myth survived in Hellenistic era thanks to a popular earlier treatment of the legend. Considering that the *Dictys* seems to have been popular in the fourth century (cf. its reception in T3 pointing to a fourth-century revival outside Athens) and afterwards (to judge by Theon's testimony in T4 and the number of surviving quotations), it could have supported the survival of the legend in Hellenistic times. Hence, though the relief did not depict an actual scene from the Euripidean *Dictys* (Polydectes' petrification would have been reported in a messenger-speech), it could have well been inspired by the myth that remained popular in Hellenistic age possibly thanks to Euripides' play.

The short accounts of the *lemmata* describe the representations in the reliefs, often with reference to the context of each story (cf. III 4, 5, 7, 9, 10, 14, 15, 16, 18). Likewise, the eleventh *lemma* briefly reports the context of Polydectes' petrification, which accords with mythography. There is no particular allusion to Euripides' treatment of the story. The phrase *κατὰ τὴν πρόνοιαν τῆς Δίκης* points to the retribution of justice and it may be far-fetched, on the basis of its sense as 'providence', to take it as suggestive of Perseus' return to Seriphos in the nick of time to punish Polydectes and forestall his plans for Danae (which would refer to the play, cf. T4. 11f., T5, T3 and Structure). It is also noteworthy that *Dictys*, the central figure of the play, is nowhere mentioned, probably due to the fact that he was presumably not depicted in the relief, so as to raise the lemmatist's comment. A

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<sup>367</sup> Cf. Radinger (1897) p. 124 and n. 2.

<sup>368</sup> For his popularity in Hellenistic times, cf. especially Funke (1965-1966) pp. 238-242.

parallel study of the *lemmata* reflecting Euripidean tragedies indicates that the lemmatist is unlikely to have gone back to the plays, but possibly used mythographic manuals referring to these treatments. This is revealed by the fact that the *lemmata* are confined to a rough outline of the plots (cf. III 5, 7, 10), while inaccuracies are not avoided; III 16, for instance, points to a confusion of the plot of the *Captive Melanippe* with that of *Melanippe the Wise*<sup>369</sup> (Aeolus is unlikely to have had a role in the *Captive Melanippe*; the heroine seems to have been imprisoned by the villain Siris instead<sup>370</sup>). Hence, the relation of the account of the eleventh *lemma* to the *Dictys* seems to be remote, as it is likely to have drawn on a source referring to the myth in general, with no particular reference to the play.

As to those epigrams taken to reflect Euripidean plots, there is again no evidence pointing to familiarity of their author with the tragic texts; III 5, 7, 10, 16 reveal knowledge of the outline of the play, as it could have been provided by an intermediary source,<sup>371</sup> while III 3 is evidently a fusion of the Homeric and Euripidean treatment of the myth of Phoenix. They are free compositions inspired by themes from Euripides' plays, but not aiming to reproduce them; their focus is on the motif of filial devotion. There is nothing, however, to relate the eleventh epigram to the plot of the *Dictys*, rather than to the myth in general. Even more, it presents a deviation from the known evidence for the play: the reference to Danae's rape by Polydectes, which may have resulted from misinterpretation of a mythographic account (cf. note *ad loc.*). The relation of the epigram to the play cannot thus be substantiated.

2 διὰ τὸν τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ γάμον: 'marriage', but also 'unlawful wedlock' (*LSJ*<sup>ρ</sup>); for the latter meaning, cf. *Andr.* 103, *Tr.* 932, *Hel.* 190, *X. Cyr.* 8. 4.19, *Luc. VH* 1. 22. Cf. Strabo (10. 5.10) referring to Polydectes' planned marriage to Danae: τοῦτο δὲ πράξει τιμωροῦντα τῇ μητρὶ, ὅτι αὐτὴν Πολυδέκτης ὁ βασιλεὺς ἄκουσαν ἄγεσθαι προείλετο πρὸς γάμον. There is no clear evidence as to whether Polydectes was forcing Danae to become his wife or concubine in the play.

5 ἔτλης καὶ σὺ λέχη Δανάης, Πολύδεκτα, μαιίνειν: the reference to Danae's rape by Polydectes is a deviation from the mythical sources and the evidence for the *Dictys*; the

<sup>369</sup> Cf. van Looy (1964) p. 196.

<sup>370</sup> Cf. Collard, Cropp and Lee (1995) p. 243.

<sup>371</sup> So Meyer (1911) p. 73, Harder (1985) p. 55. On the other hand, Calderini (1913) pp. 349, 371f. defended the possibility that the author had direct knowledge of the plays.

only source mentioning such an event is Pindar *P.* 12. 14f., on whom, however, none of the epigrams seems to have relied. In his use of a mythographic manual, the epigrammatist may have misinterpreted as ‘rape’ a possible phrase, such as *βιαζομένης* (cf. T4. 5) or *Πολυδέκτου βίαν* (cf. T5. 2), which evidently refer to the king’s pressure on Danae.

**Fr. 1:**

This line is quoted unascribed by Philodemus in his review of the positions probably of the ‘kritikos’ Heracleodorus, one of his literary adversaries, who cited this verse as a euphonic example because of the word-order (*σύνθεσις*), while rejecting content as a determinant of aesthetic value.<sup>372</sup> According to Philodemus, on the other hand, the elegant *σύνθεσις* of this line fails to correspond to an equally high meaning and cannot as such offer *ψυχαγωγία*.<sup>373</sup>

This iambic trimeter referring to Seriphos obviously derives from a dramatic treatment of Danae’s legend; apart from the *Dictys*, this island is known to have been the setting of Aeschylus’ *Dictyulci* and the *Seriphioi* of Cratinus.<sup>374</sup> In terms of rhythm (Porson’s Law and lack of resolutions), the verse could be tragic, though consistent with comedy as well. Nevertheless, a line chosen as producing an elegant phonetic effect could hardly be assigned to a comedy or a satyr play.<sup>375</sup> Moreover, references to comedy and satyr play are very rare in the surviving papyri of the *On Poems*.<sup>376</sup> Furthermore, Euripides is the most quoted of all dramatists in this work; references to his language and dramatic technique are constantly made by Heracleodorus and other ‘kritikoi’ of the Hellenistic age

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<sup>372</sup> For the predominance of form over meaning in the works of the ‘kritikoi’, cf. Schenkeveld (1968) pp. 176-214, Gomoll (1936) pp. 373-384, Sbordone (1957) pp. 173-180, Rispoli (1986) pp. 134 ff. and Sbordone (1977) pp. 262 ff. For Philodemus’ views on the interrelation of form and content, cf. Porter (1995) pp. 130-132, Greenberg (1990) pp. 273 ff., Janko (2000) pp. 8-10 and Nardelli (1981) pp. 163-171.

<sup>373</sup> Cf. Gomperz’ s interpretation in Dorandi [ed.] (1993) p. 227, followed by Sbordone (1976) p. xxxviii and Nardelli (1982) p. 475f.

<sup>374</sup> The *Polydectes* of Aeschylus is also assumed to have taken place in Seriphos, but the complete absence of quotations from this play may indicate that it was not extant in the Hellenistic era; cf. The Myth, p. 126.

<sup>375</sup> So Körte (1932) p. 367 f. and Körte (1933) p. 275, n. 1.

<sup>376</sup> There are only a few general references to comedy in the surviving evidence for the *On Poems* (in *P. Herc.* 1081, fr. 35/ fr. 192 Janko, *P. Herc.* 1081a, fr. 22/ fr. 205 Janko and *P. Herc.* 1081, 11N/ Tr. C, fr. h Sbordone) and, most importantly, there exist no quotations from comic plays. In addition, *P. Herc.* 460, fr. 15/ fr. 100 Janko (cf. Janko *ad loc.* n. 7), *P. Herc.* 1074a, fr. 23/ fr. 209 Janko (cf. Janko *ad loc.* n. 3) and *P. Herc.* 1081a, fr. 25/ fr. 210 Janko contain quotations that are only assumed to have derived from satyr-plays and which, moreover, are not presented as examples of euphony like our fragment.

and judged by Philodemus.<sup>377</sup> It is also worth bearing in mind that Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Philodemus' younger contemporary, regarded Euripides as the most skilled of the tragic poets at producing what Dionysius called *γλαφυρά σύνθεσις* (*Comp.* 23. 46f.), namely a composition of words characterized by euphony and harmony.<sup>378</sup> On the basis of these observations and the surviving evidence, this line can plausibly be assigned to the *Dictys*.

This verse revealing the place of action seems suitable as part of the beginning of the narrative prologue of the play, in accordance with Euripides' practice.<sup>379</sup> References to locale in the first line of the prologue occur in the *Alcestis*, *Suppliants*, *Electra*, *Helen*, *Bacchae*, *Telephus* fr. 696 Kn., *Oeneus* fr. 558 Kn., *Meleagros* fr. 515 Kn. and *Auge* fr. 264a Kn., also *S. Ph.* 1. The setting of the play is mentioned early in the prologue also in *Med.* 10, *Hipp.* 12, *Andr.* 16, *Hec.* 8, *HF* 4, *Tr.* 4, *Ion* 5, *Cyc.* 20.<sup>380</sup> The references to locale are often followed by a relative clause, as in *Alc.* 1, *Andr.* 16f., *Supp.* 1f., *HF* 4, *Ion* 5, *El.* 1f., *Hel.* 1f., *Oeneus* fr. 558. 1f. Kn. and *Telephus* fr. 696. 1f. Kn.<sup>381</sup> Likewise, our fragment may have been followed by a phrase such as *ἧδ' ἐστὶ γαῖα*<sup>382</sup> or something similar defining Seriphos as the place of action and then by a relative clause referring to past events (cf. *Alc.* 1f., *El.* 1f., *Oeneus* fr. 558 Kn., 1f.) or to particular features of this land (as in *Andr.* 16f., *Supp.* 1f., *HF* 4, *Ion* 5 and *Hel.* 1f., *Telephus* fr. 696. 1f. Kn.).

The prologue-speaker could have been either Dictys or Danae, since they would be the most suitable characters to narrate the *προπεπραγμένα* (the finding of the chest by Dictys and the protection that he offered to Danae and Perseus) and describe the present situation (the impossible mission assigned to Perseus by Polydectes, the former's long absence and the king's pressure on Danae, which has driven her and Dictys to seek refuge at Poseidon's altar, cf. **T4**, **T5** and Structure). For Euripidean narrative prologues spoken by suppliants upon a 'cancelled entry', cf. the *Heraclidae*, *Andromache*, *Heracles* and *Helen* (cf. Setting). If **fr. 11** (presenting Danae as if she has been roused from sleep, cf. note *ad*

<sup>377</sup> The references to Euripides and the quotations from his drama in the *On Poems* have been gathered and assessed by Nardelli (1982) pp. 471-492. Cf. also Janko (2000) pp. 164, 188, Dürr (1990) p. 41f., De Falco (1922) p. 289, n. 1.

<sup>378</sup> For the features of *γλαφυρά σύνθεσις*, cf. *Comp.* 23.

<sup>379</sup> So Körte (1932) p. 367f., Webster (1967) p. 62f., Jouan and van Looy (2000) p. 80.

<sup>380</sup> Cf. Barrett's note (1964) on *Hipp.* 12 and Collard, Cropp and Lee (1995) p. 42.

<sup>381</sup> Cf. Xanthakis-Karamanos (1997) p. 125.

<sup>382</sup> Cf. Körte (1932) p. 367, Webster (1967) p. 63.

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*loc.*) is located towards the beginning of the play rather than later, in the crisis, which would seem implausible, Dictys may be a likelier prologue-speaker than Danae. In this case, Dictys, as Electra in the *Orestes*, might have delivered the prologue-speech, while Danae is asleep. In terms of opening, cf. also the prologue of the *Heracles* with a male and female suppliant ‘discovered’ on stage upon a ‘cancelled entry’ (the difference being that in the opening tableau of that play we have Heracles’ children as well), of whom the male delivers the narrative prologue.

Stylistically speaking, the *γλαφυρά σύνθεσις* of this line consists in its harmony and euphonic effect; there is a wide use of ρ, the noblest of the semi-vowels according to Dionysius, while the λ creates the most pleasant effect (cf. *Comp.* 14. 101-104, for λ, cf. also Pl. *Cra.* 427b, 434c, Dem. *De eloc.* 174). Moreover, the correspondence of the vowels at the beginning and end of the line (ε, ι, ο: Σέριφος : ε, ι, υ, ο: περίρρυτος) adds balance and harmony to the verse.<sup>383</sup>

**περίρρυτος:** mostly passive ‘sea-girt, surrounded with water’, a common epithet for islands; cf. *Od.* 19. 173, Hes. *Theog.* 193, 290, A. fr. inc. 450o 53.8 R., S. *Ph.* 1 (and Webster 1970 *ad loc.*), 239, E. *Andromeda* fr. 125 Kn. (describing the rock, to which Andromeda is tied, cf. Bubel 1991 and Klimek-Winter 1993 *ad loc.*), Th. 4. 64.3, Lyc. 220. In E. *Ph.* 209 it occurs as active (‘flowing round’, cf. Mastronarde 1994 *ad loc.*). It is traced as *περιρρότη* in Alcman fr. 55. i Davies, *PMG* fr. adesp. 47. 1.4 , A. *Eum.* 77. Cf. Nonnus’ similar description of Seriphos in *D.* 47. 553: πολυκλύστοιο Σερίφου.

## Fr. 2:

This fragment is not explicitly ascribed to Euripides’ *Dictys*, as its source ([Plut.] *Consolatio ad Apollonium* 106a) tends to leave several of the quoted passages unasccribed (cf. 102b, 102c, 102f, 103b, 103c, 104a, 105f, 106d, 108e, 110e, 110f, 115a, 116c, 117a). Nevertheless, it seems very unlikely that this quotation could have derived from any play other than the *Dictys*, considering that Aeschylus’ *Polydectes* (which is only assumed to have dealt with the events at Seriphos) survives only as a title in the Catalogue of Aeschylus’ plays (*TrGF* III T 78. 15b), has never been quoted and was thus possibly lost

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<sup>383</sup> Cf. Nardelli (1982) p. 475, n. 15 and Gomperz in Dorandi [ed.] (1993) p. 227, n. 1.

before the Alexandrian era (cf. *The Myth*, p. 126). Moreover, the commentary below proves that the language, style and themes of this passage are strikingly Euripidean.

These lines contain Dictys' consolation to Danae, who is lamenting for Perseus, as the latter is believed to have died in his pursuit of the Gorgon. This thought may have arisen from Perseus' long absence in combination with the impossible deed that he has been sent to accomplish. Likewise, Bellerophon is thought of as killed in his struggle against the Chimaera (cf. Stheneboea 'toasting' Bellerophon, believing that he is dead, in *Stheneboea* fr. 664 Kn. and Collard, Cropp and Lee 1995 *ad loc.*). Moreover, Perseus is young and untested and his mother's grief for his fate may resemble Penelope's lament on hearing of the plot organized by the suitors against Telemachus in *Od.* 4. 703-741. Nevertheless, considering that Perseus' death is here regarded as certain (cf. l. 1f.), it might be assumed that Polydectes had spread a false rumour of his death—as Lycus in *HF* 145f.—in order to frustrate Danae and force her to give in.<sup>384</sup> In this case, the consolation-scene might have followed a confrontation of Polydectes and the suppliants, in which the former could have tried to make them give up hope of the possibility of Perseus' return and thus force Danae to succumb to his will (cf. *HF* 140-146). Considering the violent pressure to which Danae and Dictys would have been subjected (cf. **T5. 2**, **T4. 5f.**, **11f.**), the latter's consolation to the suffering mother might have been part of a wider suppliant-suppliant discourse on how to act under these circumstances and bear their misfortune (cf. *Structure*); cf. Amphitryon and Megara in *HF* 60-106, 275-347.<sup>385</sup> Unlike Amphitryon, however, Dictys is here prepared to accept the worst.

Consolation-scenes occur repeatedly in Euripidean drama. An elaborate consolatory speech is that of Amphiaraus to Eurydice after the loss of her baby-son in *Hypsipyle* fr. 757. 920-927 Kn./ 60. 89-96 Bond (cf. Bond's note *ad loc.* and Collard, Cropp and Gibert 2004, p. 248): ἄ δ' ἀδ' παραινῶ, τ[αὐτά μοι δέξαι, γύναι./ ἔφω μὲν οὐδεις ὄστις οὐ πονεῖ βροτῶν/ θάπτει τε τέκ[να χᾶτερα κτᾶται νέα/ αὐτός τε θνήσκε[ι καὶ τὰδ' ἄχθονται βροτοὶ/ εἰς γῆν φέροντες [γῆν. ἀναγκαίως δ' ἔχει/ βίον θερίζειν ὥ[στε κάρπιμον στάχυν,/ καὶ τὸν μὲν εἶ[ναι, τὸν δὲ μή· τί ταῦτα δεῖ/ στένειν ἄπε[ρ δεῖ κατὰ φύσιν διεκπερᾶν; Cf. similarly the

<sup>384</sup> So Matthiae (1829) p. 153f. followed by Welcker (1839) p. 668, Wecklein (1888) p. 109 and Jouan and van Looy (2000) p. 81.

<sup>385</sup> For the suppliant-suppliant discourse in the *Heracles*, cf. Maio (1977) pp. 22f., 26f. and Heath (1987) p. 161.



*παραίνεσις* in *Ino* fr. 415 Kn. (for the context, cf. Jouan and van Looy 2000, p. 194): ἄνασσα, πολλοῖς ἔστιν ἀνθρώπων κακά,/ τοῖς δ' ἄρτι λήγει, τοῖς δὲ κίνδυνος μολεῖν./ κύκλος γὰρ αὐτὸς καρπίμοις τε γῆς φυτοῖς/ θνητῶν τε γενεᾶ· τῶν μὲν αὔξεται βίος,/ τῶν δὲ φθίνει τε καὶ θερίζεται πάλιν. *Captive Melanippe* fr. 507 Kn. seems to have derived from a consolation addressed to Melanippe, who, as Danae, is lamenting her supposedly dead sons (cf. the notes of van Looy 1964 and Collard, Cropp and Lee 1995 *ad loc.*): τί τοὺς θανόντας οὐκ ἔῃς τεθνηκέναι/ καὶ τὰκχυθέντα συλλέγεις ἀλγήματα; Further instances of consolation occur in *Alc.* 416-8, 1077f., *Heracl.* 608-28 (cf. Wilkins 1993, p. 129, Allan 2001, p. 175 f.), *Andr.* 1270-2, *Hel.* 253f., *Antigone* fr. 174 Kn., fr. inc. 962 Kn.

The cases of consolatory speeches in Euripides were obviously not independent from the intellectual context of his era, as consolation first appears in the course of the fifth century BC and was further developed as a genre later, under the influence of the Academic Crantor, the Cynics and especially the Stoics;<sup>386</sup> the orator Antiphon of Rhamnus is known to have developed a *τέχνη ἄλυπίας* directed towards the relief of distress (cf. [Plut.] *Vit. X Orat.* 833c) and to have organized *νηπενθεῖς ἀκροάσεις* with the purpose of consoling the mourners (cf. Philostr. *Vit. Soph.* 1. 15.2).<sup>387</sup> Fr. inc. 964 Kn., in which one of Euripides' characters claims that he has learnt from a wise man to handle disasters such as unseasonable deaths in advance, so that he will be prepared to come to terms with them when they do occur, may reflect Antiphon's practice.<sup>388</sup> In addition, according to Gorgias, *λόγος* ('speech') had the power to heal sorrow (*Hel.* 8 /fr. 11. 8 D.-K.: (λόγος) δύναται γὰρ καὶ φόβον παύσαι καὶ λύπην ἀφελεῖν),<sup>389</sup> while the sophist Prodicus, one of Euripides' teachers according to one strand of the tradition at least,<sup>390</sup> is attested to have given *laudationes mortis* ([Pl.] *Axioch.* 366c) which was a commonplace in consolatory speeches (for *laudationes mortis* in tragedy, cf. *Heracl.* 592-6, *Philoctetes* fr. 791 Kn., *Cresphontes* fr. 449 Kn., *Phrixus* fr. 833 Kn., *Antigone* fr. 176 Kn., fr. inc. 908 Kn. and the famous

<sup>386</sup> Cf. Kassel (1958) pp. 12-29, 32-39, Johann (1968) *passim*, Hani (1972) pp. 11-14, 43-49, 50-62, Ochs (1993) pp. 111-115. For the fragments of Crantor, see Mette (1984) pp. 8-40.

<sup>387</sup> Cf. Guthrie (1962-1981) III p. 290, Rankin (1983) p. 66, Cole (1991) p. 100, Nestle (1921) p. 92, Ochs (1993) p. 62f.

<sup>388</sup> ἐγὼ δὲ <ταῦτα> παρὰ σοφοῦ τινος μαθὼν/ εἰς φροντίδας νοῦν συμφοράς τ' ἐβαλλόμεν,/ φυγὰς τ' ἔμαντῶ προστιθεὶς πάτρας ἐμῆς/ θανάτους τ' ἀώρους καὶ κακῶν ἄλλας ὁδοὺς,/ ἴν' εἴ τι πάσχοιμ' ὧν ἐδόξαζον φρενί,/ μή μοι νεῶρες προσπεσὸν μάλλον δάκοι. Cf. Kerferd (1981) p. 51.

<sup>389</sup> Cf. Segal (1962) pp. 105-7, 115f., 120-2. Cf. Arist. *EN* 1172b2f.: παραμυθητικὸν γὰρ ὁ φίλος καὶ τῆ ὄψει καὶ τῷ λόγῳ, ἐὰν ἦ ἐπιδέξιος.

<sup>390</sup> Cf. *Vita Eur.* in *TrGF* V, 1 Test. A1, IA 7, Aul. Gell. 15. 20. 4.

passage from S. *OC.* 1224ff.).<sup>391</sup> Since consolation relies on *λόγος* as ‘reasoning’, as well as ‘speech’, Dictys’ argumentation is expressed in rhetorical figures, such as the *adynaton* (l. 1f., cf. Manzo 1988 *passim*), the example (ll. 5-8, cf. Lausberg 1998, pp. 196ff.), the *anaphora* (ll. 5-8: ὄσοι τε ... ὄσοι τε... τοὺς τ’..., cf. Lausberg 1998, pp. 281-283) and the *tricolon crescendo* (ll. 5-8).

Dictys’ *rthesis* contains certain elements of consolations which were formulated later, under the influence of Crantor and the Stoicism: (a) the futility of lament (as in Cic. *Tusc.* 3. 62, Sen. *Ep.* 99. 6, Sen. *Consol. Pol.* 2.1 –5.5), and (b) examples of other people suffering from misfortunes (as in Cic. *Fam.* 4.5- 4.6, Sen. *Ep.* 99.6, 99.22, *Consol. Marc.* 2.1- 3.4, 12.4- 16.10, *Consol. Pol.* 14.1- 17.2, Plut. *Tranq. An.* 467e, 470b-e, [Plut.] *Consol. Apoll.* 106b-c), which point to a consideration of the calamities of human life and the necessity to bear them (as in Cic. *Tusc.* 3. 34, 52, 59, Sen. *Ep.* 99. 7-9, *Consol. Marc.* 10.1- 11.5, *Consol. Pol.* 1.1- 1.4, 11.1- 11.6).

As regards the possible dramatic function of the consolatory *rthesis*, the belief that Perseus has died is a tragic irony, which prepares for the *peripeteia* that will take place at the moment of his return. Cf. similarly *HF* 296-298, 459-495 and Stheneboea’s toast to the supposedly dead Bellerophon in *Stheneboea* fr. 664 Kn. (cf. Collard, Cropp and Lee 1995 *ad loc.*). No clue survives as to any complications of the plot occurring after this scene; in *HF* 275-347, 451-522, for instance, the acceptance of Heracles’ death forces Amphitryon and Megara to accept their own. The elaborately rhetorical speech obviously serves to illustrate Dictys’ *dianoia* (cf. Ar. *Poet.* 1450b. 5: τὸ λέγειν δύνασθαι τὰ ἐνόντα καὶ τὰ ἀρμόττοντα); cf. also introductory note on fr. 4 for Dictys’ possible participation in the *agon*.

1-2: Perseus’ ascent from Hades is a *reductio ad absurdum* used by Dictys to help Danae come to terms with his supposed death. An eloquent verbal and thematic parallel can be traced in *HF* 296f. (cf. Bond 1981 *ad loc.*): ἤξειν νομίζεις παῖδα σὸν γαίης ὕπο;/ καὶ τίς θανόντων ἦλθεν ἐξ ᾿Αιδου πάλιν; For the rhetorical method of argumentation with the use of impossible questions, cf. *Andr.* 215-219, *Supp.* 542-8 (and Collard 1975<sub>1</sub>, *ad loc.*), *El.* 1041-5 and Lloyd (1992) p. 31f., also S. *Ai.* 377f., *Tr.* 742f.

<sup>391</sup> Cf. also Sen. *Consol. Marc.* 20.1- 20.6, 22.1- 23.2, *Consol. Pol.* 9.1- 9.9, Plut. *Consol. Uxor.* 611 c-d, [Plut.] *Consol. Apoll.* 115b-f and also Kassel (1958) p. 10.

2 ἀνήσειν: *LSJ*<sup>9</sup>: ‘to release’ and also ‘to send up from the grave or nether world’; both meanings are present in this case. It occurs as synonym of ἀναπέμπω (schol. vet. *A. Pers.* 649 Dahnhardt and schol. rec. *Ar. Ra.* 1462 Chantry). In the sense of ‘sending someone back from the dead’ it is found in [E.] *Rh.* 965, *A. Pers.* 650, *Ch.* 489. The verb ἀνήμι is also used for blessings conferred by Hades, as in *Ar. Ra.* 1462. (and Dover 1993 *ad loc.*), *Ar. Tagenistae* fr. 504 K.-A., *Phryn. Com.* fr. 16 K.-A., *Pl. Cra.* 403e.

εἰ θέλεις στένειν: the reading θέλεις of Φ and Π adopted in the edition of Paton and Wegehaupt and by Kannicht is preferable to θέλοις of the rest of the Mss, as the indicative expresses the real present condition needed in this context (‘if you insist on mourning’) rather than the less vivid one expressed by the optative (‘should you choose to mourn’). Likewise, in the verbal and thematic parallel in *Alc.* 1079, the indicative in the condition is better than the optative for the same reason (cf. Dale 1954 *ad loc.*, this reading is also adopted by Diggle): τί δ’ ἂν προκόπτοις, εἰ θέλεις (v.l. θέλοις) ἀεὶ στένειν; For the argument often used in consolations that nothing can be accomplished by yielding to lamentation, cf. *Il.* 24. 524, *S. El.* 137, *E. Alc.* 985f., *Hec.* 960f., *El.* 193-5 (and Cropp 1988, *ad loc.*), *Captive Melanippe* fr. 507 Kn., *Hypsipyle* fr. 60. 95f. Bond, *Oenomaus* fr. 572 Kn., *Antigone* fr. 175 Kn.

3-8: The examples of other people struck by disasters as a consolation to the suffering person occurs often in Euripides, e.g. in *Alc.* 416-8, *Med.* 1017, *HF* 1314-21 (cf. Bond 1981, *ad loc.*), *Hypsipyle* fr. 757. 920-927 Kn., *Ino* fr. 418 Kn., *Temenidae* fr. 733 Kn., also in *S. El.* 153, *Ant.* 944-87 (cf. Jebb 1900 *ad loc.*), *Pi. P.* 3. 86-107 and goes back as early as *Il.* 5. 382-404 (cf. Willcock 1970, p. 168f.), 18. 117-121 (cf. Edwards 1991 *ad loc.*), 24. 602-620 (cf. Richardson 1993, p. 340). The examples provided by Dictys are specifically focused, as according to the mythical tradition Danae has been through all situations mentioned: she has been twice imprisoned by her father, reduced from royalty to penury and is now facing the dreadful prospect of a childless old age. Dictys’ consolatory speech aims to show her the way to ἐγκατέρρησις, a notion which appears widely in tragedy, as in *A. Pers.* 293, [A.] *Pr.* 104, *S. Ion* fr. 319 R., *Tereus* fr. 585 R., *E. Heracl.* 619f., *HF* 1227f., *Tr.* 727, *Hel.* 253f. (cf. Kannicht 1969 *ad loc.*) *Ph.* 382, 1762 (cf. Mastrorarde 1994 *ad loc.*), *Aeolus* fr. 37 Kn., *Alcmene* fr. 98 Kn., *Oenomaus* fr. 572 Kn.,

*Ino* fr. 418 Kn., *Melanippe* fr. 505 Kn., *Alexandros* fr. 43, 44 Kn., *Antigone* fr. 175. 14-15 Kn.

**3 παύσαι:** Often used in Euripidean consolations with the purpose of bringing lament to an end; cf. *HF* 1398: παύσαι· δίδου δὲ χεῖρ' ὑπέρετη φίλωι, *IA* 1435: παύσαι· μὲ μὴ κάκιζε· τάδε δέ μοι πιθοῦ, also *Andr.* 1270: παύσαι δὲ λύπης τῶν τεθνηκότων ὑπερ.

**4 ῥάων γένοι' ἄν:** a medical term, 'to get better' (cf. Hp. *Loc. Hom.* 34, *Morb. Pop.* 7. 1.29, *Aff.* 19. 2, [Aeschin.] *Ep.* 1. 5.3, 9. 1.3, Luc. *Lex.* 20. 15, Paus. 8. 24.8). Here, in its metaphorical sense 'to feel better', possibly a colloquialism (cf. Stevens 1976, p. 50); cf. *HF* 1407 (cited by Kannicht): φίλτρον τοῦτ' ἔχων ῥάων ἔσηι; *Ion* 874f. (and Lee 1997 *ad loc.*): ὁ στέρνων/ ἀπονησαμένη ῥάων ἔσομαι, *Philippides Philadelphoi* fr. 18 K.-A., *Theopompus Phineus* fr. 63 K.-A., D. xlv 57, D.C. *Hist. Rom.* 38. 30, 42. 28, Ach. *Tat.* 2. 8, 5. 22.8.

**λογίζεσθαι:** 'to count, to reckon up' and also 'to consider on the basis of logic'; cf. *Andr.* 126, 316, *HF* 295, *Phoenix* fr. 812. 5 Kn., *Erechtheus* fr. 360. 5 Kn. The infinitive *σκοπεῖν* in l. 8 carries the same meaning. The use of *λογισμός* ('reasoning') was the basis of sophistic thought, as made explicit in *Gorg. Helen* 2 (fr. B 11. 2 D.-K., cf. MacDowell 1982 *ad loc.*) and occurs frequently in oratory; cf. indicatively *Antiphon* ii 2. 8, fr. 4a, col. 3. 17 (for the function of *λόγος* as rational analysis in Euripides and Antiphon, cf. Solmsen 1931, pp. 54-58), *Lys.* xxxii 26. 2, D. viii 18. 2, xiii 2. 3, xix 338. 2, *Din.* i 112. 2.

**5 ἐκμεμόχθηται:** *LSJ*<sup>9</sup>: 'to be worn out', used commonly by Euripides in the active voice; cf. *Supp.* 451, *HF* 309, 1369, *El.* 307, *Tr.* 646, 873, *IT* 84. Bentley's *ἐμμεμόχλευνται* (in the sense 'to be forced/ compelled') does not occur anywhere in fifth-century literature except for *Ar. Lys.* 430 in the active voice ('to force the gates open with crow-bars') and is regularly found in medical works (cf. indicatively Hp. *Art.* 72. 20, 77. 21, Gal. *De usu partium* Vol. III, p. 655. 15 Kuhn).

**6 ὄρφανοὶ τέκνων:** The birth of children was essential for the continuity of the *oikos* and, consequently, for the existence of the *polis*, since the *oikos* was basic unit of the latter. The state thus assumed the responsibility to defend its *oikoi*, as it is evident from the laws for adoption (*Is.* ii 13, vii 30, [D.] xliii 77f.) and of the *epiclerate* (*Plut. Sol.* 20. 2-3), established by Solon to ensure their continuity; cf. Harrison (1968) pp. 82-96, 132-138, Todd (1993) pp. 228-231, Lacey (1968) pp. 73-99, Patterson (1998) pp. 97-101, Pomeroy

(1997) pp. 25ff., Sissa (1996) pp. 218-227. The idea that a childless *oikos* was condemned to extinction goes back to Homer, who describes the house of Protesilaus as *δόμος ἡμιτελής* (*Il.* 2. 701). For the curse of childlessness, cf. *Med.* 669ff., 714ff., 721f. (and Conacher 1967, p. 192), *Ion* 303ff., 761ff. and for the terrible prospect of a childless old age cf. especially Hecabe's lament in *Tr.* 1186 (and Barlow 1986, *ad loc.*): γράυς ἄπολις ἄτεκνος, ἄθλιον θάπτω νεκρόν and *Supp.* 170: γῆρας ἤκει πολίων εἰς ἀπαιδίαν. Parental love for children is expressed also in *fr.* 7, 12, *Danae* *fr.* 3, 13 (cf. notes *ad loc.*). Children are regarded as a blessing in *Andr.* 419f., *HF* 634-6, *IT* 697f., *Ph.* 356, 965f. (cf. Mastronarde 1994, *ad loc.*), *Alcmene* fr. 103 Kn., *Protesilaus* fr. 652 Kn., *Oeneus* fr. 566 Kn., *Meleagros* fr. 518 Kn., *Auge* fr. 272 Kn. For the opposite view, cf. *Alc.* 882ff., *Med.* 1090ff. (cf. Golden 1971, p. 13f. and Grube 1961, p. 162), *Rh.* 980-2 and Kassel (1954) pp. 44, 49f. and for an exposition of the merits and drawbacks of bearing children, cf. *Oenomaus* fr. 571 Kn.

7 ἐκ μέγιστον ὀλβίας τυραννίδος: μέγιστον is Elmsley's emendation of the unacceptable *μεγίστης* of the manuscript tradition; it occurs attached to adjectives and is used by Euripides emphatically: *Med.* 1323: ὦ μέγιστον ἐχθίστη γύναι, *Heracl.* 792: μέγιστόν γ' εὐκλεεῖς. The *τυραννίς* ('absolute monarchy', for the range of connotations of *τύραννος*, cf. note on *fr.* 5.) combined with *μέγιστος ὀλβος* (extreme prosperity) is reminiscent of Oriental monarchies characterized by excessive power and wealth, where opulence is regarded as a major component of their *ὀλβος*, cf. the typical example of Croesus in *Hdt.* 1. 29.2 - 33.1 and *Archil.* fr. 19 W. Greek Tragedy often depicts the excessive wealth and luxury of oriental despots, as in *A. Pers.* 3f. (cf. Hall 1996, *ad loc.*), 9, 45, 159, 163f., 168, 250-52, 608, 751, 754-56 (for Persian opulence, in particular, cf. Gagarin 1976, p. 44f., Briant 2002, pp. 202-207), the spreading of the purple vestments in *Ag.* 905-74 (an Asian manifestation of power, cf. Taplin 1978, p. 80 and Fraenkel 1950, II p. 412f.) and also *E. Hec.* 492 (and Gregory 1999 *ad loc.*), 925, *HF* 642f.: μή μοι μήτ' Ἀσιήτιδος/ τυραννίδος ὀλβος εἶη, *Tr.* 108f., 582: βέβακ' ὀλβος, βέβακε Τροία (cf. Burnett 1977, p. 310), 994-97, 1074, 1107, *Hel.* 68-70 (cf. Kannicht 1969 *ad loc.*), 295, 431, 928, *Ba.* 13, *IA* 787f. For this matter, cf. also Hall (1989) pp. 154-56, Easterling (1984) pp. 36f., 44f. O'Neil (1986) pp. 27f., 39, Saïd (2002) p. 65f. Dictys is not referring here to a kingship modeled upon Oriental monarchies, but his use of exaggerated terms presumably

aims to draw an emphatic contrast between excessive royal prosperity and reduction to utter insignificance.

8 τὸ μηδὲν ὄντας: ‘to come to nothing, to be regarded as worthless or of no account’; for the frequent occurrence of this phrase especially in Sophocles and Euripides, cf. S. *Ai.* 767f., 1094, *El.* 1165f., S. *Tereus* fr. 583. 3 R., E. *Andr.* 700, *Hec.* 622 (and Gregory 1999, *ad loc.*), *HF* 634f., *El.* 370, *Tr.* 612f., note on *Danae* fr. 9. 3 and Moorhouse (1965) pp. 34-40. The utter ruin of kings and the fragility of fortune, in general, is a pathetic commonplace; cf. the use of the *oikeion paradeigma* in *Hec.* 284f.: κἀγὼ γὰρ ἦ ποτ' ἀλλὰ νῦν οὐκ εἴμ' ἔτι,/ τὸν πάντα δ' ὄλβον ἡμαρ ἔν μ' ἀφείλετο (cf. Gregory 1999 *ad loc.* and Friis Johansen 1959, pp. 54-56) and the whole range of Hecabe’s misfortune in 809-811: τύραννος ἦ ποτ' ἀλλὰ νῦν δούλη σέθεν,/ εὐπαις ποτ' οὔσα, νῦν δὲ γραῦς ἄπαις θ' ἅμα,/ ἄπολις ἔρημος ἀθλιωτάτη βροτῶν (for the mutability of human fortune in the *Hecabe*, cf. Segal 1993, p. 160f.), cf. also *Hipp.* 1108-1110, *Hec.* 619-23, *HF* 508-12, *Tr.* 612f., *Bellerophon* fr. 304 Kn., *Peleus* fr. 618 Kn., *Meleagros* fr. 536 Kn., *Oedipus* fr. 549, 554 Kn. and note on *Danae* fr. 15. 6-9.

### Fr. 3:

The *γεραιός* of the fragment is obviously Dictys, as depicted in T3 (cf. also fr. 11) and these lines explicitly refer to the conflict between Dictys and Polydectes. Webster suggested that they could have been spoken by Danae in her effort to protect Dictys by dissuading him from arguing with Polydectes and drew the parallel with *HF* 277f., where Megara tries to protect the old men of the chorus from Lycus’ rage.<sup>392</sup> However, there is nothing in Megara’s tone that would denote submission to the ruler, as in our fragment, and two lines above she actually praises the support of the chorus. On the other hand, the clearly submissive tone of the second line of this fragment—as evident from the use of *σέβειν* (see note *ad loc.*)—seems to be hardly compatible with Danae’s attitude of resistance to Polydectes. The conventional content of this distich makes it likelier to have

<sup>392</sup> Cf. Webster (1967) p. 63, Jouan and van Looy (2000) p. 81.

been spoken by the chorus-leader,<sup>393</sup> who does not hesitate to take sides, when the attitude of the dramatic characters clashes with public opinion; cf. *Alc.* 673f., 706f., *Heracl.* 271 (cf. Wilkins 1993 and Allan 2001 *ad loc.*), 273, *El.* 1051-4 (cf. Cropp 1988 and Denniston 1939 *ad loc.*). Conciliatory interventions of the chorus-leader in the form of a *gnome* frequently occur in formal debates, as in the examples just cited. This fragment may have thus been located in an *agon*-scene between Polydectes and Dictys. Traces of the *agon* seem to have survived in fr. 4 and possibly fr. 5 (cf. their introductory notes).

Dictys must have belonged to the group of elderly Euripidean characters, whose weak physical condition lags behind their moral assertiveness (as Peleus in *Andr.* 547ff., Amphitryon in *HF* 170ff. and Tyndareus in *Or.* 477ff.) or their unexpected recovery of strength (as the 'rejuvenation' of Iolaus in *Heracl.* 680ff., the determined vindictiveness of Alcmene in *Heracl.* 941ff. and Hecabe in *Hec.* 864ff., and also the enunciation of bold plans by the chorus of old men in *HF* 252-274).<sup>394</sup> The presentation of the elderly in Euripidean drama serves to arouse pathetic scenes, offers a realistic reflection of life and, furthermore, is indicative of the dramatist's interest in vulnerable social groups, such as old people, women and slaves;<sup>395</sup> it is noteworthy that in our play, as in the *Heraclidae* and the *Heracles*, two representatives of these vulnerable groups, namely an old man and a woman, are facing male political power. On the basis of the surviving evidence for the play, Dictys must have displayed moral righteousness and strength of spirit (as Danae's protector, cf. also fr. 13 stressing the just cause of the suppliants, T3, T5 and *Dramatis Personae*), as well as intellectual capacities (mature judgement<sup>396</sup> and rhetorical ability, cf. fr. 2 and for his possible participation in the *agon*, cf. introductory note on fr. 4). So far as our evidence goes, I would draw a parallel between the dramatic figure of Dictys and the portraits of Peleus in the *Andromache* and of Amphitryon in the *Heracles*. Like Peleus, Dictys seems to be a dynamic old man who does not hesitate to come into conflict with kings, in order to

<sup>393</sup> So Hartung (1843-1844) I p. 368.

<sup>394</sup> For the role of old people in Euripides, cf. Falkner (1985) pp. 41-49 and Collard (1981) p. 10. For Peleus, cf. Blaiklock (1952) p. 78 and Lloyd (1994) p. 135 and for Tyndareus, Will (1961) p. 98f., Blaiklock (1952) pp. 184-6 and West (1987) p. 35. For Iolaus, cf. Blaiklock (1952) p. 62f., Wilkins (1993) p. 137f. and Garland (1990) p. 267f., for Alcmene cf. Falkner (1989) pp. 114-124 and Allan (2001) p. 28f., for Hecabe cf. indicatively Mossman (1995) pp. 180-203 and on the outburst of the chorus of old men in the *Heracles*, Bond (1981) p. 128f.

<sup>395</sup> Cf. Falkner (1985) p. 47f. and Falkner (1995) pp. 169-179.

<sup>396</sup> For the prudence, maturity and wisdom that characterize elderly people, cf. Kirk (1971) pp. 125-129, Garland (1990) p. 273 and Richardson (1933) pp. 16ff.

defend justice. Dictys is also in a similar position to that of Amphitryon, as they are both suppliants who, albeit their disadvantaged status, strongly resist tyrannical power. The fact that the play is named after Dictys implies that he must have been at the centre of dramatic interest; considering that it was produced earlier than the plays mentioned, it could be tempting to suppose that the dramatic character of Dictys might have served as a model for the morally and intellectually gifted elderly figures of Euripides.

**1 κοιράνοις:** Salmasius' apt emendation of the unmetrical reading τυράννοις of the manuscript tradition, which replaced the poetic and rare κοιράνοις. The same banalization occurs quite frequently; cf. *Med.* 1299 (κοιράνους B O D E L P: τυράννους H A V), *Ph.* 1643 (κοίρανον M V<sup>28</sup>: τύραννον H V<sup>2</sup>), also *A. Ag.* 549 (κοιράνων Tr: τυράννων F, and cf. Fraenkel 1950 *ad loc.*), [A.] *Pr.* 958 (κοιρανοῦντ' plerique : τυρανοῦντ' V F).

**2** For the notion of respect towards the power of the rulers in literature, cf. indicatively Sol. fr. 30 W. (and Noussia 2001, p. 375): ἀρχῶν ἄκουε καὶ δίκαια κᾶδικα, *S. Ant.* 666f. (cf. Kamerbeek 1978 *ad loc.*): ἀλλ' ὄν πόλις στήσειε, τοῦδε χρῆ κλύειν / καὶ σμικρὰ καὶ δίκαια καὶ τάναντία, *Cent.* II 100. 3: κρεισσόνων γὰρ καὶ δίκαια κᾶδικ' ἐστ' ἀκούειν. As regards tragedy, this conventional idea is repeatedly expressed by submissive characters in Sophocles, as in *El.* 219f. (uttered by the chorus, cf. Jebb 1894 and March 2001 *ad loc.*): τὰ δὲ τοῖς δυνατοῖς/ οὐκ ἐριστὰ πλάθειν, 340 (by Chrysothemis): τῶν κρατούντων ἐστὶ πάντ' ἀκουστέα, 396 (by Chrysothemis): τοῖς κρατοῦσι δ' εἰκαθεῖν, 1014 (by Chrysothemis): σθένουσα μηδὲν τοῖς κρατοῦσιν εἰκαθεῖν, *Ant.* 63f. (by Ismene): ἔπειτα δ' οὐνεκ' ἀρχόμεσθ' ἐκ κρεισσόνων / καὶ ταῦτ' ἀκούειν κᾶτι τῶνδ' ἀλγίονα and also *A. Ch.* 75-80 (where the submissive statement is again uttered by the chorus). In Euripides, this idea recurs in *Heracl.* 25: τοὺς κρείσσονας σέβοντες ἐξείργουσι γῆς, *Hec.* 404: σύ τ', ὦ τάλαινα, τοῖς κρατοῦσι μὴ μάχου, *Peliades* fr. 604 Kn.: πρὸς κέντρα μὴ λάκτιζε τοῖς κρατοῦσί σου. Cf. also *TrGF* II fr. adesp. 436 Kn.-Sn. and the ironic statements undermining the power of the rulers in [A.] *Pr.* 937 (cf. Griffith 1983 *ad loc.*): σέβου, προσεύχου, θῶπτε τὸν κρατοῦντ' ἀεὶ, *S. Ai.* 666-8 (cf. Stanford 1963 and Kamerbeek 1953 *ad loc.*): τοιγὰρ τὸ λοιπὸν εἰσόμεσθα μὲν θεοῖς / εἴκειν, μαθησόμεσθα δ' Ἀτρείδας σέβειν./ ἄρχοντές εἰσιν, ὥσθ' ὑπαικτέον· τί μή; *S. El.* 1465 (cf. March 2001 *ad loc.*): τῷ γὰρ χρόνῳ / νοῦν ἔσχον, ὥστε συμφέρειν τοῖς κρείσσοσιν.



σέβειν: *LSJ*<sup>9</sup>: ‘to worship, to honour’, mostly referring to gods, less often and more freely used for kings (*Heracl.* 25, while in *Hel.* 726 it denotes the obedience of the slave to his master) and parents (*S. OC* 1377, *E. fr. inc.* 852 Kn.) also signifying the reverence in the practice of laws and customs (*E. IT* 1189, *Hel.* 1270). It is a strong word denoting activities ‘within a sphere which man approaches with awe’ (see Fraenkel 1950 II p. 762). When σέβειν refers to men, it can sometimes be said *cum invidia* (cf. Kamerbeek’s note on *S. Ai.* 667), as in *A. Ag.* 925: λέγω κατ’ ἄνδρα, μὴ θεόν, σέβειν ἐμέ, *Niobe fr.* 159 R.: γίγνωσκε τὰνθρώπεια μὴ σέβειν ἄγαν. The ancient scholiast on *S. Ai.* 666-8 notes the bitterness and irony in Aias’ words, where the hero reverses the traditional order θεοῦς σέβειν, εἴκειν Ἀτρείδαις το θεοῖς εἴκειν, Ἀτρείδας σέβειν (cf. Garvie 1998, p. 189). The meaning of σέβειν in our fragment seems to be similar to that in *Heracl.* 25: τοὺς κρείσσονας σέβοντες, where it denotes ‘to respect the power of a superior’ (cf. Wilkins 1993 *ad loc.*), including the notion of awe towards the supreme authority of the ruler. If the fragment is spoken by the chorus-leader, it may point to a frightened chorus trying to put an end to the argument by encouraging Dictys to yield to Polydectes at a crucial point of the conflict between the suppliants and the king. Parallel cases, where the chorus-leader intervenes at a climactic moment of the conflict by using strong language, occur in *Alc.* 707: παύσαι δέ, πρέσβυ, παῖδα σὸν κακορροθῶν, *Heracl.* 271: μὴ πρὸς θεῶν κήρυκα τολμήσης θενεῖν, 273: ἄπελθε· καὶ σὺ τοῦδε μὴ θίγης, ἄναξ.

#### Fr. 4:

This fragment has the form of the rhetorical proem from an *agon*,<sup>397</sup> as indicated by the term ἄμιλλα λόγων, which is frequently used by Euripides to describe the formal debates in his plays (cf. note *ad loc.*). The participle κλύοντα in l. 5 indicates that the speaker is male. Nevertheless, the very nature of fragmentary material cited in gnomic anthologies (cf. General Introduction, p. 5), as well as Euripidean rhetoric, make it hard to discern whether the speaker is sympathetic (presumably Dictys or Perseus) or malicious (Polydectes). Two

<sup>397</sup> Cf. Webster (1967) p. 63, Jouan and van Looy (2000) p. 82 and Kannicht *TrGF* V I p. 384

different readings of the present fragment are possible: (1) if the lines are spoken by Dictys or Perseus:<sup>398</sup> the speaker disapproves of those people, who albeit righteous, behave unjustly by participating in idle debates. He then underlines, however, that it is unendurable to keep silent when being abused by a villain, (2) if the fragment is spoken by Polydectes:<sup>399</sup> he resents nobles who descend to the level of people of lower social status by participating in vain debates with them. Nevertheless, he stresses that it is intolerable to be quiet when being offended by a socially inferior. It is clear that the key-words for each interpretation are *ἔσθλός* – *κακός* (l. 2) and *κακίονες* (l. 5), which can commend either competitive or co-operative excellences (cf. below, note *ad loc.*). Although both readings seem possible, Polydectes might be a likelier speaker in view of the use of *κακίωνων*, which regularly refers to traditional values (i.e. birth, status and the question of virtue in war), when used by Euripides in place of a substantive; cf. *Heracl.* 178 ('weaker', thus of lower status): *τοὺς ἀμείνονας παρὸν/ φίλους ἐλέσθαι τοὺς κακίονας λαβεῖν*, *Andr.* 914 (and Stevens 1971 *ad loc.*): *γέρων γε Πηλεὺς τοὺς κακίονας σέβων*, *Hec.* 307f.: *ὅταν τις ἔσθλός καὶ πρόθυμος ὦν ἀνὴρ/ μηδὲν φέρηται τῶν κακίωνων πλέον*, 1252f.: *οἴμοι, γυναικός, ὡς ἔοιχ'*, *ἡσσωμένοις/ δούλης ὑφέξω τοῖς κακίοισιν δίκην*, *Hel.* 1213 (with reference to Menelaus' servant): *ἔσθλῶν κακίους ἐνίσιτ' εὐτυχέστεροι*, fr. inc. 1048 Kn.: *ὅστις κατ' ἰσχὺν πρῶτος ὦν ἠτάζετο/ ἢ τόξα πάλλων ἢ μάχῃ δορὸς σθένων,/ τοῦτον τυραννεῖν τῶν κακίωνων ἐχρῆν*. Prof. Kannicht also regards Polydectes as a stronger candidate for these lines, drawing a thematic parallel to fr. inc. 1050 Kn.,<sup>400</sup> which was assumed by Hartung to belong to our play in view of its similarity to the present fragment:<sup>401</sup> *ἀλλ' οὐ πρόπει τύραννον, ὡς ἐγὼ φρονῶ,/ οὐδ' ἄνδρα χρηστὸν νεῖκος αἵρεσθαι κακοῖς-/ τιμὴ γὰρ αὐτῆ τοῖσιν ἀσθενεστέροις*. Cf. also the parallel syntax and the notion of refusing to yield to socially inferiors in *Ion* 636f. (and Lee 1997 *ad loc.*, Gregory 1995, p. 144f.): *κεῖνο δ' οὐκ ἀνασχετόν/ εἴκειν ὁδοῦ χαλῶντα τοῖς κακίοισιν*.

Hence, if Polydectes is the speaker, he declares that, though it is beneath his dignity to argue with a person of lower social status, he is forced to respond to what he sees as unacceptable *parrhēsia*. Dictys would have made an excellent opponent to Polydectes in a

<sup>398</sup> Jouan and van Looy (2000, p. 82) and Hartung (1843-1844, I p. 170) assigned the fragment to Perseus, while Webster (1967, p. 63) attributed it to Dictys.

<sup>399</sup> Wilamowitz teste Kannicht (2004) *ad loc.*, Stoessl (1958) p. 162.

<sup>400</sup> Kannicht (2004) I p. 384.

<sup>401</sup> Cf. Hartung (1843-1844) I p. 371.

rhetorical contest, as his intellectual capacities and moral assertiveness are evident from **fr. 2** and **3** respectively and he could have very well been the *κακίων* (l. 5, ‘socially inferior’) to whom Polydectes here refers, in view of his occupation as fisherman. **Fr. 3** also points to a conflict between Dictys and Polydectes, which may have belonged to the context of a formal debate (cf. introductory note on **fr. 3**). Furthermore, given Dictys’ central role in the play (cf. *Dramatis Personae*), his participation in an *agon* would serve to further illustrate his *dianoia*. In this light, Dictys’ rhetorical capacity may be paralleled to the skilful rhetoric of other elderly Euripidean figures participating in formal debates, such as Iolaus (*Heracl.* 181-231), Peleus (*Andr.* 590-641, 693-726), Amphitryon (*HF* 170-235), Jocasta (*Ph.* 528-585, cf. Falkner 1995, pp. 202-205) and Tyndareus (*Or.* 491-541, 607-629). If this *agon* occurred between Polydectes and Dictys, it would reasonably have taken place before Perseus’ return, while Danae and Dictys are suppliants. It would have thus presumably been part of the supplication-scene (‘suppliant-enemy’ confrontation), serving to intensify the power gap and dramatic tension, which is a practice followed by Euripides in *Heracl.* 134-287, *Andr.* 147-273, *HF* 140-251,<sup>402</sup> where the enemy is plaintiff and speaks first, while the suppliant is defendant and thus speaks second.<sup>403</sup> Hence, in order to have Polydectes as the first speaker, it could be assumed that an introductory dialogue may have preceded the set-speeches, as in *Med.* 446-464, *Hipp.* 902-935, *Supp.* 399-408, *Tr.* 895-913, *El.* 998-1010, *Ph.* 446-468, *Or.* 470-490, *IA* 317-333, where Dictys could have criticized the king’s attitude, thus raising the latter’s indignation (l. 4f.). Though the clear benefits from Dictys’ participation in the debate have been pointed out, the lack of evidence for the plot-structure leaves possibilities open. An on-stage encounter between Polydectes and Perseus, where the hero could have presumably trapped the king into looking at the Gorgon’s head, cannot be ruled out, though ultimately unprovable (cf. Structure). Even in such a case, an *agon* between them would presuppose conflict, which may not have served Perseus’ purpose of trapping the king as effectively as, for instance, a feigned reconciliation, as in *Med.* 869-975, *Hec.* 976-1022, *Cresphontes* (*Hyg. fab.* 184 and Harder 1985, p. 53).

<sup>402</sup> For the interrelation between the altar-scene and the *agon* in these plays, cf. Strohm (1957) pp. 17-28 and Froleyks (1973) p. 326f.

<sup>403</sup> In most Euripidean debates, with the exception of *El.* 998-1131 and *Tr.* 895-1059 (for which cf. Lloyd 1992, p. 101), the plaintiff speaks first and the defendant second.

The typology of the rhetorical contests in Euripidean drama is strongly influenced by sophistic rhetoric (particularly by the *dissoi logoi*) and law-court procedure (the opposition between plaintiff and defendant).<sup>404</sup> Our speaker is rhetorically self-conscious, as evident from his use of agonistic terminology, such as ἄμιλλα λόγων, and of a common type of rhetorical *aporia*:<sup>405</sup> there are reasons why one should refrain from speaking, nevertheless, the magnitude of the issue forces one to speak. The typical appeal to ἀνάγκη in oratory is discernible here; cf. *Hipp.* 986-991, *Andr.* 186-191, *Or.* 544-550, Antiphon i 2, iii 2 . 1, *Lys.* viii 2, xvii 1, xix 1, xxxii 1 (and Carey 1989 *ad loc.*) and D.H. *Lys.* 24.

1 πολλοῖς παρέστην: the speaker underlines his experience in public discourse; cf. *Phoenix* fr. 812 Κν.: ἤδη δὲ πολλῶν ἠρέθην λόγων κριτῆς. Πολύς occurs frequently in the openings of speeches, mainly serving to initiate an antithesis between what happens in general and the present situation, the particularity of which is stressed; cf. *Alc.* 747-50 and also *A. Pers.* 176, *Ag.* 1372f., *S. Tr.* 49-51 (and Kamerbeek 1959 and Davies 1991<sub>a</sub> *ad loc.*), 153f., *Ph.* 1047f., *OC* 551-53, *Ar. Th.* 830f., *Av.* 860f., *Th.* 1. 80. 1f., 2. 35. 1, 3. 37. 1, *Lys.* iii 1, *D.* xxiii 82, *Men. Per.* 532-36 (cf. Gomme and Sandbach 1973 *ad loc.*) and Fraenkel's discussion of the subject (1960, pp. 1-5). *LSJ*<sup>9</sup>: παρίσταμαι + Dat. 'to stand by, to be present at'; it is used in the same sense in *Ion* 612: ὅταν παραστῶ σοι and *S. Tr.* 748: ποῦ δ' ἐμπελάσεις τάνδρι καὶ παρίστασαι; Cf. also *Heracl.* 502: παρίστασθαι σφαγῆι, 564, *IT* 1314, *A. Xantriae* fr. 168. 18 R.: αἶτε παρίστανται πᾶσιν βροτέοισιν ἐπ' ἔργ[οις].

κάφθονησα: usually denoting 'to envy, to resent, to refuse sth. to s.o. from feelings of envy or ill-will, to feel righteous indignation at someone's undeserved prosperity' (*LSJ*<sup>9</sup>); the latter sense corresponds to the notion of δίκαιος φθόνος mentioned by Hippias (fr. 16 D.-K.) and to Aristotle's νέμεις as distinguished from φθόνος (*EN* 1108b. 3-5, *EE* 1233b. 19-26), in that the former evokes the feeling of justice (cf. Stevens 1948, pp. 181-183, Milobenski 1964, pp. 63, 85f., Mills 1985, pp. 3-12, Ben Ze'ev 2003, pp. 105-112). Here, the verb occurs in the less usual sense of 'to blame, to censure, to begrudge' bearing the notion of strong disapproval; cf. schol. vet. *Hec.* 288 (Schwartz): σημειωτέον δὲ ὅτι τὸν φθόνον νῦν ἐπὶ τοῦ μώμου τίθησιν (citing *Theseus* fr. 387 Κν.: καίτοι φθόνου μὲν μῦθον ἄξιον φράσω) ἀντὶ τοῦ μέμψις, schol. vet. *Od.* 1. 346 (Dindorf): λαμβάνεται ἐπὶ τοῦ

<sup>404</sup> Cf. Lloyd (1992) pp. 13-18, 23f., Collard (1975<sub>2</sub>) p. 63, Guthrie (1962-1981) III pp. 50f., 127-129, Kerferd (1981) pp. 83ff., Gomperz (1912) pp. 35ff., Garner (1987) p. 102, Froleyks (1973) pp. 264-274.

<sup>405</sup> Cf. Lausberg (1998) p. 343f.

*κωλύειν καὶ μέμφεσθαι* and *Hec.* 288f.: ἀποκτείνειν φθόνος/ γυναῖκας, *El.* 30: παίδων δ' ἔδεισε μὴ φθονηθεῖν φόνωι, 902: νεκροὺς ὑβρίζειν, μὴ μέ τις φθόνωι βάλῃ. If these lines were uttered by Polydectes, he would be blaming the nobles for descending to the level of social inferiors, thus jeopardizing their own status. The notion of status is associated with the feeling of *φθόνος*, which is often evoked by an inferior's encroachment on one's own high status. Cf. *Telephus* fr. 703 Kn. (and Preiser 2000 *ad loc.*): μή μοι φθονήσητ', ἄνδρες Ἑλλήνων ἄκρου εἰ πτωχὸς ὦν τέτληκ' ἐν ἐσθλοῖσιν λέγειν. This type of resentment is closely related to the notion of divine *φθόνος* (for which cf. Walcot 1978, pp. 22-37, 41-51, Milobenski 1964, p. 36f.) and is a common feature of kings and tyrants, as stressed in *Pi. O.* 2. 94, *P.* 3. 71, *Hdt.* 3. 80. 5-10, *Ar. Rh.* 1387b. 28-30; cf. Bulman 1992, p. 27f. and Walcot 1978, pp. 11, 19f., 38f. If, on the other hand, the fragment is assigned to a sympathetic character (i.e. Dictys or less likely Perseus), *φθονῶ* would serve to strongly censure the misbehaviour of righteous people when rushing towards idle debates with villains.

**2 κακοῖσιν-ἐσθλός:** In Euripides these adjectives may either commend the traditional, competitive values of noble birth, virtue in war and prosperity (as in *Med.* 406, *Heracl.* 115, 298, 642, 936, *Andr.* 766, 772, 872, *Hec.* 307, 327, *Telephus* fr. 703 Kn., *Stheneboea* fr. 661. 2 Kn., *Archelaus* fr. 244 Kn., cf. Adkins 1970, pp. 74-79, Adkins 1972, pp. 58-98, Sullivan 1995, pp. 123-173 and note on *Danae* fr. 9. 1-5) or be used in a moral sense, in accordance with the co-operative excellences, which flourished in later fifth century (cf. note on fr. 14. 2 and also *Alc.* 200, 418, 615, *Med.* 84, *Hipp.* 942, 945, 1024, 1071, 1075, 1077, *Andr.* 590, 595, 608, *Hec.* 597, *El.* 380ff., 551, *Ion* 370, 441, *IT* 566, *Or.* 741, *IA* 488, *Peliades* fr. 609 Kn., *Cressae* fr. 463 Kn., *Ino* fr. 402 Kn., *Captive Melanippe* fr. 494. 28, 511 Kn., *Meleagros* fr. 520, 521 Kn.). The development of co-operative excellences was primarily supported by the democratic institutions, while the sophists put the traditional qualities into question; cf. Adkins (1960) pp. 176ff., Adkins (1972) pp. 115ff., Bryant (1996) pp. 151-168, 205. The specification of the sense of *κακός-ἐσθλός* thus lies in context and in this case depends on who the speaker of the fragment was; if it was Polydectes, these adjectives would probably bear a social sense, namely 'socially inferior' and 'noble' respectively, whereas if these lines were spoken by Dictys or Perseus the words would carry a moral meaning, i.e. 'unjust' and 'righteous', as the king cannot be regarded as *kakos* in a social sense. The contrast between *ἐσθλός* and *κακός* in either a

social or moral sense is a commonplace; cf. *Il.* 1. 576, *Od.* 18. 404, Hes. *Op.* 179, Semon. fr. 6 W., Sol. fr. 13. 63 W., Thgn. *El.* 1. 35, 192, 289, 369, 1167, S. *Ant.* 38, 366, 622, *OC* 782, *Tyro* fr. 667, *Med.* 408, *Heracl.* 325f., *Hipp.* 411, *Andr.* 1280, *Hec.* 307f., 597f., 844f., *Ion* 1017, 1621f., *Cressae* fr. 463, *Aeolus* fr. 21 Kn., *Ino* fr. 402 Kn., *Bellerophon* fr. 298 Kn., *Captive Melanippe* fr. 494. 27-29 Kn., *Archelaus* fr. 244 Kn., *Temenidae* fr. 728 Kn., *Alcmeon in Corinth* fr. 75 Kn., fr. inc. 1056, 1107 Kn.

3 ἄμιλλα λόγων ματαίων: ‘contest of idle words’. The phrase *λόγοι μάταιοι* occurs in the context of a formal debate also in *Andr.* 691f. (παύσασθον ἤδη—λῶιστα γὰρ μακρῶι τάδε—/ λόγων ματαίων, μὴ δύο σφαλῆθ' ἅμα) and *Supp.* 582f. (ἀλλ' ἀποστέλλου χθονός/ λόγους ματαίους οὐσπερ ἠνέγκω λαβών). Considering that most conflicts in Euripidean *agones* remain unresolved (cf. Collard 1975<sub>b</sub>, p. 62, Lloyd 1992, p. 16), the use of *μάταιος* here may well indicate that no argument is going to change Polydectes' intentions. The same word also means ‘offensive, uncontrolled’; cf. *Med.* 450: λόγων ματαίων οὐνεκ' ἐκπεσῆι χθονός, *A. Ag.* 1662: ἀλλὰ τοῦσδε μοι ματαίαν γλώσσαν ᾧδ' ἀπανθίσει, *Eum.* 830: γλώσσης ματαίας μὴ 'κβάλης ἔπη, [A.] *Pr.* 329: γλώσση ματαία ζημία προστρίβεται. The term *ἄμιλλα λόγων* usually constitutes a formal indication that an *agon* is in progress; cf. *Med.* 546, *Hipp.* 971 (and Halleran 1995 *ad loc.*), *Supp.* 428. Alternatively, a formal debate is described by the terms *ἀγὼν λόγων* or *ἀγωνίζομαι* in *Heracl.* 116 (and Wilkins 1993 *ad loc.*), *Hipp.* 1023, *Andr.* 234 (and Lloyd 1994 *ad loc.*), *Supp.* 427, 465, *Ph.* 588, *Or.* 491, *Antiope* fr. 189 Kn. (and Kambitsis 1972, p. 65f.); cf. Lloyd (1992) pp. 5, 34f., Collard (1975<sub>2</sub>) p. 61 and Goebel (1983) p. 280. In this fragment, as in *Supp.* 427f. and *Or.* 491 (cf. Willink 1986 *ad loc.*), the self-conscious use of agonistic terminology serves to initiate the *rhexis*.

4-5: The *δ'* is adversative introducing the second part of the *antithesis*, which focuses on the particularity of the present situation (the first part is initiated by *πολλοῖς*, for the use of which cf. above, note *ad loc.*).

4 ἦν ἄρα: The Imperfect of *εἰμί* appearing with *ἄρα* to indicate that a present fact or truth has just been recognized is a colloquialism (cf. Stevens 1976, p. 62f. and Denniston 1950<sup>2</sup>, p. 36f.); cf. *IT* 351: τοῦτ' ἄρ' ἦν ἀληθές, *Alcmeon in Corinth* fr. 75 Kn.: ᾧ παῖ Κρέοντος, ὡς ἀληθές ἦν ἄρα./ ἐσθλῶν ἀπ' ἀνδρῶν ἐσθλὰ γίγνεσθαι τέκνα and *Med.* 703, *Hipp.* 359, *Andr.* 418, *Tr.* 412, 1240, *IA* 1330, *Phoenix* fr. 810 Kn., *Alexandros* fr. 54 Kn.,

*Antigone* fr. 161 Kn., *Temenidae* fr. 736 Kn. also *S. Tr.* 1172, *S. fr. inc.* 931 R., *Ar. Eq.* 384, 1170, *V.* 451, *Pax* 676, *Pl. Symp.* 198d, *D.* lv 1. It occurs as early as *Hes. Op.* 11f.: οὐκ ἄρα μούνον ἔην Ἐρίδων γένος, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ γαῖαν/ εἰσι δύω. Cf. also note on *Danae* fr. 1. 1.

**οὐκ ἀκουστὸν:** mostly used with negation, as here. Cf. *Andr.* 1084: σήμαιν'· ἀκοῦσαι δ' οὐκ ἀκούσθ' ὅμως θέλω, *Hel.* 663: λέγ', ὡς ἀκουστὰ πάντα δῶρα δαιμόνων, *S. OT* 1312: ἐς δεινὸν οὐδ' ἀκουστὸν οὐδ' ἐπόψιμον, *S. Creusa* fr. 357 R.: ἄπελθ', ἄπελθε, παῖ· τάδ' οὐκ ἀκουστά σοι. Photius (α 817 Theodoridis) refers to *ἀκουσίμη* (occurring only in *S. fr. inc.* 745 R.: σπουδὴ γὰρ ἢ κατ' οἶκον ἐγκεκρυμμένη/ οὐ πρὸς θυραίων οὐδαμῶς ἀκουσίμη) as synonym of *ἀκουστή*. Phrynichus (*Praep. Soph.* fr. 13 Borries/ Phot. α 818 Theodoridis/ *Συναγωγὴ Λέξεων Χρησίμων* Bekker I 373) regards *ἀκουστά* as *πολιτικόν*, i.e. befitting the language of civic life and thus of civil oratory (cf. *Ar. Rh.* 1356a. 26-28 with reference to *ῥητορικὴ* as off-shoot of *πολιτικὴ*), as in this case, where it occurs in a rhetorical context.

**οὐδ' ἀνασχετόν:** 'intolerable, unendurable'; mostly used with negation and expressive of either indignation, as in this fragment and also in *Andr.* 599, *Ion* 636, *A. Th.* 182, *Oreithyia* fr. 398 R., *S. Ph.* 987 and as early as *Od.* 2. 63, or weakness towards something unbearable, as in *Hipp.* 354, *S. Tr.* 721, *OC* 1652 (cf. Kamerbeek 1984 *ad loc.*).

**5 κλύοντα δεινὰ:** the passive of *κακῶς/κακὰ λέγω* ('to speak badly of'); hearing or speaking *δεινὰ* refers to the utterance of serious insults, as in this fragment, or unspeakable things (cf. *Hipp.* 498f.: ᾧ δεινὰ λέξασ', οὐχὶ συγκλήσεις στόμα/ καὶ μὴ μεθήσεις αὐθις αἰσχίστους λόγους; 581f.: ὁ τῆς φιλίππου παῖς Ἄμαζόνος βοᾷ / Ἴππόλυτος, αὐδῶν δεινὰ πρόσπολον κακά, 604: οὐκ ἔστ' ἀκούσας δειν' ὅπως συγῆσομαι) and to the announcement of disasters (cf. *Hipp.* 1239, *HF* 1186, *Hel.* 1519, also in *A. Pers.* 245, *S. Aj.* 331, *OT* 790). Right from the beginning of his *rhexis*, the speaker underlines his opponent's offensive attitude, which is a common rhetorical practice (cf. Antiphon vi 7. 5, Lys. ix 2-3, xix 3. 5) also recommended by Aristotle in *Rh.* 1415a. 29-34. Similarly, Amphitryon states that he is forced to answer to Lycus' abuses in *HF* 173: κακῶς γὰρ σ' οὐκ ἑατέον κλύειν. Cf. the possible proem of Alexandros' speech (fr. 56 Kn. and Duchemin 1968<sup>2</sup>, p. 83, Jouan and van Looy 1998, p. 50), which seems to have derived from the *agon* of the *Alexandros*.

**πρὸς κακίωνων:** for the possible nuance of *κακίονες*, cf. introductory note on the fragment.

Fr. 5:

This line is a comment on a king's (i.e. Polydectes') speech, which would have naturally followed his *rhexis*. References to a character's manner of speaking and presenting a case occur regularly in formal debates; cf. *Med.* 576, 580-585, *Hipp.* 1038-1040, *Andr.* 234, *Hec.* 1187-1194, 1237f., *Supp.* 426, *Tr.* 967f., 997f., *Ph.* 471f., 526f., *IA* 333 and Jouan (1984) pp. 7-9. The location of this fragment in an *agon* seems thus plausible.

The speaker of this line could be the king's opponent at the debate—the likeliest candidate for this role is Dictys, though Perseus cannot be excluded (cf. introductory note on fr. 4)<sup>406</sup> — criticizing Polydectes' lengthy and elaborate speech and attributing it to his position as *τύραννος*; in this case, the use of the adjective may not be 'innocent', but could involve the negative connotations of the word (cf. note *ad loc.*). It is a common tactic of the participants in rhetorical contests to pass negative judgments on the adversary's eloquence; cf. *Med.* 580-585, *Hipp.* 1038-1040, *Andr.* 234, *Hec.* 1187-1191, *Supp.* 426, *HF* 238f., *IA* 333 and Jouan (1984) pp. 7-13.

This fragment may alternatively be assigned to the chorus-leader, who, as a rule, makes brief comments on the preceding speech or on the nature of the debate after each *rhexis*.<sup>407</sup> Choral interventions usually occupy two iambic trimeters, though in *Med.* 576-578, *Heracl.* 232-235, *Andr.* 642-644, *Tr.* 966-968 and *El.* 1051-1054 they exceed the traditional distich.<sup>408</sup> Cases in Euripides' debates of choral judgments occupying only one line are very rare,<sup>409</sup> therefore, if this verse is to be assigned to the chorus-leader, it could be assumed that it may have derived from a distich (or from a choral comment longer than a distich) following Polydectes' speech. If so, the adjective *τυραννικόν* is more likely to convey a neutral rather than a negative meaning, since the chorus-leader rarely takes sides, unless particularly associated with one of the central characters in the play, as in

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<sup>406</sup> This line was assigned to Dictys by Stoessl (1956, p. 162) and Webster (1967, p. 64). Jouan and van Looy (2000, p. 82) regard it as Perseus' attack on Polydectes' tyrannical behaviour.

<sup>407</sup> Cf. Duchemin (1968<sup>2</sup>) p. 152 and Collard (1975<sub>b</sub>) p. 60.

<sup>408</sup> Cf. Duchemin (1968<sup>2</sup>) p. 152 and n. 6.

<sup>409</sup> The sole case is *Heracl.* 271, 273, where the chorus-leader unexpectedly intervenes in the final stichomythic dialogue at a climactic point of the *agon* to prevent Demophon from striking the Argive messenger; it is obvious, however, that this is an exceptional case of choral interference dictated by the culminating tension of the scene.



*Hec.* 1183f., 1238f., *Tr.* 966-968, 1033-1035 and *Ba.* 263-265, 328f. For choral judgments on the speaker's elaborate articulation, cf. *Med.* 576-578, *Tr.* 966-968, *Ph.* 526f.

**τυραννικόν:** *τύραννος* often occurs in tragedy in a neutral sense ('king') as a synonym for *ἄναξ* and *βασιλεύς*, as in *A. Ch.* 358, *S. Ai.* 749, *Ant.* 1169, *OT* 513, 799, 925, 1043, *Tr.* 316, *OC* 419, 449, *E. Alc.* 286, 654, *Med.* 453, 597, 778, 1298, *Andr.* 3, 202, 882, *HF* 809, *Ion* 236, 1572, *El.* 877, *Ph.* 197, *Or.* 1356, *Aigeus* fr. 8 Kn., *Aeolus* fr. 15 Kn., *Ino* fr. 420 Kn., *Captive Melanippe* fr. 495. 20 Kn.; cf. Andrewes (1956) pp. 20-23, 30, O'Neil (1986) pp. 34-36. If this line was spoken by the chorus-leader, *τύραννος* would normally convey this neutral sense. Considering, however, that the Athenian democratic audience was extremely unfavourable towards tyranny, the attributes of the 'tyrant', namely illegal, violent and insolent behaviour, are exploited by the dramatists to describe the 'bad king'; cf. *A. Ag.* 1355, 1365, 1633, [A.] *Pr.* 10, 222, 305, 310, 736, 761, 942, *S. OT* 873, *Med.* 348 (and Mastronarde 2002 *ad loc.*), *HF* 251, *Ph.* 524f., 549, *Ba.* 776f., *Alcmeon in Corinth* fr. 76 Kn. and Carey (1986) p. 176, O'Neil (1986) pp. 30-33, Easterling (1984) pp. 36, 41f., Walcot (1976) pp. 54-56, Tuplin (1985) p. 374. If this line was uttered by Polydectes' opponent at the debate, the word could connote these particular features of the despotic ruler. The unconstitutional and violent nature of tyranny as such is explicitly rejected in *Supp.* 403-408, 429-455 (and Collard 1975a pp. 207f., 226), *Ion* 621-628 (cf. Lee 1997, p. 230 and Owen 1939, p. 114), *Or.* 1167f. (cf. Willink 1986 *ad loc.*), *Peliades* fr. 605 Kn, *Bellerophon* fr. 286. 5-7 Kn. (and Collard, Cropp and Lee 1995 *ad loc.*), *Pleisthenes* fr. 626 Kn., *Auge* fr. 275 Kn. Furthermore, the word *τύραννος* describes the absolute monarch on the model of Oriental despots, carrying negative associations with the ideas of extreme power, excessive wealth and insolence; cf. *Heracl.* 423 (cf. Allan 2001 and Wilkins 1993, *ad loc.*), *HF* 643 (and Bond 1981, *ad loc.*), *Tr.* 474 (cf. Burnett 1977, p. 310) and Hall (1989) pp. 154-156, Easterling (1984) pp. 36f., 44f., O'Neil (1986) p. 27f. and note on **fr. 2. 7.**

**τοι:** it frequently occurs in gnomic utterances; cf. Denniston (1954<sup>2</sup>) p. 542f., Stanford (1963) on *S. Ai.* 1350, *Il.* 12. 412, *Od.* 8. 351, *Hes. Op.* 287, 302, 713, *A. Pers.* 245, *Th.* 438, 715, *S. Tr.* 327f., *El.* 415, *Ph.* 81 (and Jebb *ad loc.*), 837, *E. Heracl.* 387, *Hipp.* 467, 610, *Andr.* 89, 636, *Hec.* 228, *Supp.* 312, *IT* 670, *Ph.* 1659, *Or.* 397, also **fr. 13.**

πόλλ' ἐπίστασθαι λέγειν: this phrase comments on the speaker's loquacity, but also on his eloquence, as indicated by the use of ἐπίστασθαι. *Μακρολογία* in presenting one's case is regarded as a serious weakness in oratory; cf. Antiphon i 18. 1-4 (and Gagarin 1997 *ad loc.*), Lys. xiv 28. 3, xxii 7. 5, D. ii 20. 8, xi 23. 1, xiv 41. 1, xxiii 88. 7, xl 11. 2, xli 25. 4, xlii 7. 2, 12. 4, Isoc. iii 63. 2, iv 66. 5, vii 63. 6, xi 44. 3, xii 181. 1, 270. 3, xvi 8. 1. Likewise, it is criticized in Euripides' formal debates; cf. *Med.* 523-525: ὥστε ναὸς κεδνὸν οἰακοστρόφον/ ἄκροισι λαίφους κρασπέδοις ὑπεκδραμεῖν / τὴν σὴν στόμαργον, ᾧ γύναϊ, γλωσσαλίαν, *Hec.* 1177-1180: ὡς δὲ μὴ μακροὺς τείνω λόγους [ ...] ἅπαντα ταῦτα συντεμῶν ἐγὼ φράσω. The speaker's eloquence is often described in debates with phrases such as λέγειν δεινός (*Med.* 585), εἶ κοσμεῖν λόγους (*Med.* 576), κομψός and its derivatives (*Supp.* 426, *IA* 333), εὐγλωσσία (*Alexandros* fr. 56 Kn.). For more detail, cf. Jouan (1984) pp. 7-9. The rejection of the adversary's elaborate and sophisticated articulation at the expense of truth and justice is a common line of attack in Euripides' rhetorical contests; cf. *Med.* 576 (and Mastronarde 2002 *ad loc.*), 579-585, *Hipp.* 984f., 1038-1040 (and Lloyd 1992, p. 51), *Andr.* 234f., *Hec.* 1187-1194 (and Collard 1991 *ad loc.*, Conacher 1998, p. 64, Buxton 1982, p. 181f.), *Supp.* 426 (and Collard 1975a *ad loc.*), *HF* 238, *Tr.* 967f. (and Lee 1976 *ad loc.*), *Ph.* 526f. (and Mastronarde 1994 *ad loc.*), *IA* 333, *Alexandros* fr. 56 Kn., *Palamedes* fr. 583 Kn. (and Scodel 1980, p. 61) and Jouan (1984) pp. 7-13, Scodel (2000) pp. 134-139, Lloyd (1992) p. 26.

#### Fr. 6:

These lines as transmitted could be a statement, as well as a question, probably addressed to Polydectes as an argument against his plans to beget children from Danae; the king already has successors of his royal *oikos* and the birth of new children would only raise hostility among his offspring (probably in terms of succession). The possibility that these lines could have been spoken by one of the suppliants <sup>410</sup> certainly cannot be ruled out. It is worth noting, however, that father-son relationship is a recurring theme in *frr.* 7 and 8, as it is

<sup>410</sup> So Jouan and van Looy (2000) p. 81, Webster (1967) p. 64, Stoessl (1958) p. 160, Hartung (1843-1844) I p. 367, Wecklein (1888) p. 112.

evident from the use of the pair *πατήρ-παῖδες*. Fr. 9 is also thematically related, describing the devastating consequences of Polydectes' passion on his household. Hence, it can reasonably be observed that this particular discussion of the effects of the king's desire on his family is given unusual prominence if it is merely part of a wide-ranging debate between Polydectes and the suppliants; as it occupies no fewer than four fragments (i.e. sixteen surviving lines), it may not have been a simple argument used by the suppliants (fr. 6) and refuted by Polydectes (fr. 8, 9, perhaps also fr. 7), but could have been part of a conversation devoted to the issue of Polydectes' relationship with his children. If so, this discussion is likely to have occurred between the king and another character. This 'other character' may have been a kind of 'confidant', perhaps a servant, as the Nurse in *Hipp.* 176-361, 433-524, 680-731 and the old servant in *Ion* 735-1047,<sup>411</sup> or perhaps even likelier, the king's son;<sup>412</sup> such a confrontation between father and son in terms of the impact of Polydectes' plans on his family (cf. similarly Plut. *Cat. Mai.* 24. 7-8, for the same discussion of Peisistratus and Cato with their sons) could be paralleled to the intergenerational conflicts of Admetus and Pheres in *Alc.* 614-740, Ion and Xuthus in *Ion* 569-675 (cf. Owen 1939, p. 110 and Lee 1997, pp. 224-232) and the debates between Aeolus and Macareus in *Aeolus* fr. 15, 16, 19-26 Kn. (cf. Jouan and van Looy 1998, p. 25 and Webster 1967, p. 158), Merops and Phaethon in *Phaethon* 109-167 (cf. Diggle 1970, p. 38f. and Collard, Cropp and Lee 1995, p. 230f.) and of course that between Creon and Haemon in *S. Ant.* 635-780.<sup>413</sup> The possibility of Polydectes' confrontation with his son would have had interesting dramatic and thematic implications, not least because it could have offered the opportunity of a double treatment of the parent-offspring relationship within the same play (cf. note on fr. 12): on the one hand, the possible crisis in the king's

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<sup>411</sup> So Webster (1967) p. 64. For the role of the 'servant-confidant' in Euripides, cf. also *Stheneboea* fr. 661. 10-14 and perhaps fr. 663-665 Kn. (cf. Collard, Cropp and Lee 1995 *ad loc.*), *Cretans* fr. 472e.47 Kn., *Alope* fr. 108 Kn. (*Hyg. fab.* 287), *Hyp. Aeolus* (*P. Oxy.* 2457. 34), *Hyp. Melanippe the Wise* (*P. Oxy.* 2455. 11) and the Apulian vase-illustration of this play in Trendall and Cambitoglou (1991) no. 283d, also *Auge* fr. 271a, b Kn. cf. *Danae, Dramatis Personae*.

<sup>412</sup> So Duchemin (1968<sup>2</sup>) p. 92.

<sup>413</sup> The *agon* between Theseus and Hippolytus in *Hipp.* 912-1089, though involving intergenerational conflict, is primarily a 'trial-debate'; cf. Barrett (1964) p. 334f., Duchemin (1968<sup>2</sup>) p. 76. The intergenerational conflict in fifth-century Athens (for which cf. Strauss 1993, pp. 136-144) is also reflected in comedy; cf. *Ar. Clouds*, *V.* 652, 655, 875-881, Eupolis *Demoi* fr. 99. 116, 104 K.-A. (and Storey 2003, p. 136), cf. also Ehrenberg (1943) pp. 208-211.

relationship with his son (**fr. 6-9**) and, on the other hand, Danae's affection for her own son (cf. her lament in **fr. 2**), by whom she is finally rescued.

The possibility that another character, of whom all trace is lost, enters the stage raises questions of staging and distribution of roles: according to Euripides' dramatic technique, the suppliants normally occupy their places at the altar upon a 'cancelled entry' at the beginning of the play and one of them speaks the prologue; this is the case in the *Heraclidae*, *Andromache*, *Suppliant Women*, *Heracles* and *Helen* (cf. Setting). On the basis of **T3** and **T5**, Danae and Dictys would have remained at Poseidon's altar until Perseus' return; considering that no more than three speakers are allowed on stage, one has to suppose that at least one of the two actors playing the suppliants must exit, in order to return as Polydectes' interlocutor. A ready parallel occurs in the *Suppliant Women*, where the actor playing Aethra exits at vv. 359-364 to re-enter as Theban Herald at v. 399.<sup>414</sup> Similarly, the *Orestes* begins with Electra and Orestes on stage, the former being induced to exit at v. 301f., as the next scene (vv. 356-728) requires two more speaking characters (i.e. Menelaus and Tyndareus), one of whom must be interpreted by the actor playing Electra.<sup>415</sup> It is thus reasonable to suppose that at least one of the two actors playing Danae and Dictys exits for some reason and re-enters to interpret this other character. Since the question of leaving the sanctuary is a *topos* in suppliant plays, it may be supposed that Polydectes might have forced Danae and Dictys to leave the altar (cf. Structure); they could thus have been absent at the scene of the discussion on the father-son theme or have re-entered, one of them being a *kōphon prosōpon*. Likewise, Menelaus forces Andromache to leave the sanctuary in *Andr.* 411, Heracles' family exits to prepare for death in *HF* 332-347 and Helen leaves altar and stage in *Hel.* 330-333, which serves the specific dramatic purpose of Menelaus' entrance and self-introduction on the empty stage before the couple's encounter and recognition.<sup>416</sup>

**1-2:** for the significance of children for the preservation of the *oikos* and the *polis*, cf. note on **fr. 2.6**. Since Polydectes already has offspring, the continuity of his royal *oikos* has been ensured, therefore there is no point in begetting children from Danae; the same argument occurs in *Med.* 489-491 against Jason's second marriage (cf. Mastronarde 2002,

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<sup>414</sup> Cf. Collard (1975,) *ad loc.* and p. 20.

<sup>415</sup> Cf. West (1987) p. 196.

<sup>416</sup> Cf. Dale (1967) p. 93.

note on v. 490): προύδωκας ἡμᾶς, καινὰ δ' ἐκτίσω λέχη, / παίδων γεγώτων· εἰ γὰρ ἦσθ' ἄπαις ἔτι, / συγγνώστ' ἄν ἦν σοι τοῦδ' ἐρασθῆναι λέχους.

3 ἔχθραν [...] συμβάλλων τέκνοις: *LSJ*<sup>9</sup>: 'to set one to fight with the other'. The Present participle *συμβάλλων* of the manuscript tradition indicates what Polydectes is now in the process of doing, the consequences of which will affect his children. Since the reading of the manuscript tradition fits the context, there is no reason to adopt Bergk's *συμβαλῶν*, which would transfer the action exclusively to the future. Mähly's *ἐμβαλῶν* fails to denote hostility within the family, as *συν-* does. Moreover, *συμβάλλω* is frequently used by Euripides in parallel contexts; cf. *Med.* 44: συμβαλῶν ἔχθραν τις αὐτῆι, 521: φίλοι φίλοισι συμβάλωσ' ἔριν, *El.* 906: ἀσπόνδοισι νόμοισιν ἔχθραν τῶιδε συμβεβλήκαμεν, *Ba.* 837: συμβαλῶν βάκχαις μάχην. The hostility between half-brothers from the same father usually derives from the question of succession. In most mythical and dramatic treatments of the theme of a father's (usually a king's) remarriage, it is often the stepmother, the father's second wife, plotting against her stepchildren, in order to ensure that her own sons will get hold of royal power; cf. for instance, the stepmother's plot in the *Ino* (*Hyg. fab.* 4) and the two *Phrixus* plays by Euripides ([*Apollod.*] 1. 9. 1, *Hyg. fab.* 2, cf. van Looy 1964, pp. 165-183), the killing of Chrysippus by his half-brothers Atreus and Thyestes as instigated by their mother Hippodamia (*Hellanicus FGrH* 4 F157, *Hyg. fab.* 85), the murder of Phocus by his half-brother Peleus induced by his mother Endeis (schol. vet. *Andr.* 687 Schwartz, [*Apollod.*] 3. 12. 6, *Ov. Met.* 11. 266-270, *Hyg. fab.* 14. 8, *Ant. Lib. Met.* 38) and Watson (1995) pp. 20-91.<sup>417</sup> The treatment of the strife between half-siblings over royal succession in tragedy may also reflect real life, as emerges from numerous legal cases of disputes between half-brothers over their father's inheritance; cf. *Is.* xii, *D.* xlv 28, xxxix (dispute over the family-name and the legitimacy of a patrilinear half-brother, cf. Carey and Reid 1985, pp. 160-167, Cohen 1995, pp. 163-166, Humphreys 1989, pp. 182-185), [*D.*] xlviii 10, l 60 (cf. Pomeroy 1997, p. 190) and Seaford (1990<sub>a</sub>) p. 170, Ogden (1990) pp. 189-198. Remarriage was frequent in Classical Athens (cf. Thomson 1972, pp. 211-225, Erdmann 1934, pp. 403-405) and a father's inheritance was equally shared by all his

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<sup>417</sup> In *Hyg. fab.* 186, which roughly provides the plot of Euripides' *Captive Melanippe*, Theano urges her sons to kill her foster-children (namely Melanippe's sons), so that the former can obtain kingship. Stepmothers are generally regarded as malicious against their stepchildren, even if they do not have any children of their own; cf. *Alc.* 304-310, 371-378, *Andr.* 47f., 68f., 309-765, *Ion* 1302, *Aegeus* fr. 4 Kn.

legitimate male children (cf. *Is.* vi 25 and Harrison 1968, I pp. 130-132, MacDowell 1978, p. 92f., Todd 1993, p. 219). The male offspring of a father's first marriage was thus often ill-disposed towards his patrilinear half-brothers, since he would be the recipient of a smaller, because divided, inheritance (*X. Mem.* 2. 3. 1-5); cf. Hunter (1994) p. 49, Christ (1998) pp. 168-173, Garland (1990) p. 259f., Humphreys (1986) p. 75f.

**Fr. 7:**

These lines appealing to the indisputable natural and emotional bonds between fathers and children (cf. especially *φίλιπτον* and note *ad loc.*) seem to have belonged to the same context as **fr. 6** and **8** and perhaps also **fr. 9**, all of which deal with the manner in which the king's passion affects his family (cf. introductory note on **fr. 6**). The prominent notion of the natural alliance and reciprocity between father and offspring recurs in **fr. 8. 1-3** probably spoken by Polydectes, who uses the phrase *ἡδέως συνεκφέρειν* ('to assist gladly till the end') with reference to the love-affairs of both sides (cf. note *ad loc.*). Accordingly, Polydectes could have been the speaker of the present fragment as well, expressing his expectation that his offspring would support his plans for Danae.<sup>418</sup> Alternatively, these lines could be assigned to Polydectes' interlocutor,<sup>419</sup> who would be expected to emphasize the strong priority that the king should give his children rather than his desire for Danae. The concept of reciprocity could perhaps be an assertion of loyalty similar, for instance, to Haemon's in *S. Ant.* 635f. (cf. Griffith 1999 *ad loc.*) and 701-704, balancing the speaker's attempted refutation of Polydectes. The notion of the strong alliance between father and children recurs in Amphion's plea to his father Zeus in *Antiope* fr. 223. 11-14 Kn. (cf. Collard, Cropp and Gibert 2004, p. 315, Kambitsis 1972, p. 104): σοὶ δ' ὄς τ]ὸ λαμπρὸν αἰθέρος ναίεις πέδον,/ λέγω τ]οσοῦτον μὴ γαμεῖν μὲν ἡδέως,/ σπείραν]τα δ' εἶναι σοῖς τέκνοις [ἀνω]φελῆ-/ οὐ γὰρ κ]αλὸν τόδ', ἀλλὰ συμμαχεῖν φίλοις.

<sup>418</sup> Cf. Duchemin (1968<sup>2</sup>) p. 92.

<sup>419</sup> Webster (1967, p. 64 and n. 42) assigned the fragment to Perseus promising his aid to Danae and Dictys; however, as he reasonably admitted followed by Aélion (1986, p. 159, n. 29), these lines fit only loosely — and rather oddly — to the situation, due to the occurrence of *πατρί*; instead of referring exclusively to his foster-father, Dictys, Perseus would be expected primarily to address his mother.

1 ἐγὼ νομίζω: the verb together with the personal pronoun is often used in argumentation, in order to emphasize one's opinion and draw a contrast to ideas previously stated; cf. *Med.* 526-528, *HF* 282, *Ion* 645, *IT* 484, *Antiope* fr. 206 Kn. For further references, cf. note on *Danae* fr. 12. 3. In the present fragment, the verb serves to assert a common truth; on parental love for children, cf. notes on fr. 2. 6 and fr. 12. 3.

φίλτατον: the emotional connotation of the superlative degree of φίλος is unmistakable (see Fraenkel on *A. Ag.* 329). The superlative φίλτατον thus often serves to appeal to the closest natural and emotional bond between people; cf. *Heracl.* 414: ἐκὼν δὲ τίς κακῶς οὕτω φρονεῖ,/ ὅστις τὰ φίλτατ' ἐκ χερῶν δώσει τέκνα; *HF* 1112: πάτερ, τί κλαίεις καὶ συναμπίσχηι κόρας,/ τοῦ φίλτατου σοι τηλόθεν παιδὸς βεβῶς; *El.* 679: ἄμυν' ἄμυνε τοῖσδε φιλτάτοις τέκνοις and Landfester (1966) pp. 83f., 89. For the same notion, cf. *Med.* 329, *Ph.* 406, *A. Ch.* 193, 1051.

2 συμμαχούς: for the idea of alliance between blood-kin, cf. *Andr.* 370f.: θυγατρί σύμμαχος καθίσταμαι, *El.* 581: ('Ηλ.) ἐκεῖνος εἶ σύ; ('Ορ.) σύμμαχός γέ σοι μόνος, *Antiope* fr. 223. 14 Kn: συμμαχεῖν φίλοις.

3 ἐνδικωτέρους: 'rightful, duty-bound'; cf. *A. Th.* 673, *Ch.* 329f., *S. OT* 135. The rightfulness of the alliance described in this fragment relies on blood-kinship. Similarly, ἐνδικος occurs denoting rightfulness based on kinship also in *El.* 224: οὐκ ἔσθ' ὅτου θίγομι' ἄν ἐνδικώτερον, *Hel.* 1648f.: τὰ τῶν θεῶν/ τιμῶσα πατρός τ' ἐνδίκους ἐπιστολάς.

#### Fr. 8:

This fragment is likely to belong to the same context as **fr. 6** and **7** and possibly also **fr. 9**, all of which focus on the impact of Polydectes' passion on his family (cf. introductory note on **fr. 6**). These lines were possibly spoken by Polydectes himself<sup>420</sup> in his effort to gain the support of his offspring for his plans for Danae and focus on the mutual understanding and assistance that should exist between fathers and sons towards each other's love affairs. The argument is reinforced by the attribution of amorous passion to divine will rather than human choice; by presenting love as a necessitating condition imposed by gods, the speaker

<sup>420</sup> So Webster (1967) p. 64, Jouan and van Looy (2000) p. 81, Stoessl (1958) p. 160.

is denying responsibility for his attitude. This position could be paralleled to the *adikoi logoi* of Helen in *Tr.* 948-950, of the Nurse in *Hipp.* 433-481 and of Pasiphae in *Cretans* fr. 472e Kn.; cf. note on l. 4.

1 ἠδέως συνεκφέρειν: συνεκφέρειν (*LSJ*<sup>9</sup>): ‘to carry out together, to bear to the end along with someone’; ἐκφέρειν denotes ‘to bring to one’s end’, as in *S. Ai.* 7 (and Garvie 1998 *ad loc.*: ‘it indicates the completion of the process of carrying’, for ἐκφέρειν as ‘carrying’ in a metaphorical sense, cf. *Andr.* 621, *Ion* 1012), *S. Tr.* 824. It thus presents desire as a burden (cf. note on l. 4), whose victim requires consistent help through to the end. Verbs compound with two prepositions are used by Euripides rather often, as compared with Aeschylus and Sophocles; cf. *Tr.* 1018: συνεκκλέψασα, *El.* 73: συνεκκομίζειν, *IT* 684: συνεκπνεῦσαι, *Hel.* 1406: συνεκπονεῖ, *Andromeda* fr. 136 Kn.: συνεκπόνει; for further examples, cf. Babel (1991) p. 136. An eloquent parallel to l. 1f. occurs in *Hipp.* 464f. (cited by Kannicht 2004, I p. 386): πόσους δὲ παισὶ πατέρας ἡμαρτηκόσιν/ συνεκκομίζειν Κύπριν; Barrett (1964, p. 243) plausibly interpreted the infinitive συνεκκομίζειν of the Nurse’s words as ‘to assist’; συνεκφέρειν is a synonym of συνεκκομίζειν and given the parallel contexts of the *adikos logos* of the Nurse and possibly of Polydectes here, συνεκφέρειν in conjunction with ἠδέως seems to denote ‘to assist gladly/ graciously/ courteously’. Though the reading ἠδέως of the manuscript tradition is acceptable in terms of meaning, Stadtmüller’s conjecture ἠπίως (‘gently, kindly’) based on the similarity with *E. fr. inc.* 951 Kn. (ἦν οἱ τεκόντες τοῦτο γινώσκωσ' ὅτι/ νέοι ποτ' ἦσαν, ἠπίως τὴν τῶν τέκνων/ οἴσουσι Κύπριν;) is quite tempting. The adjective ἠπιος describes a father’s attitude towards his children also in *E. fr. inc.* 950 Kn.: ὡς ἠδὲ πατέρα παισὶν ἠπιον κυρεῖν, *Il.* 24. 770, *Od.* 2. 47, 234.

2 φίλους ἔρωτας: the Homeric and early poetic usage of φίλος denoting possession/ parts of one’s body (‘one’s own’, cf. indicatively, *Il.* 3. 31, 9. 610, 19. 209, *Hipp.* 199 and Barrett 1964 *ad loc.*: λέλυμαι μελέων σύνδεσμα φίλων, 1238: σποδούμενος μὲν πρὸς πέτραις φίλον κάρα, *Supp.* 361, *Or.* 372, *Phaethon* fr. 782.2 Kn.: φίλαισιν ὠλέναισι and Landfester 1966, pp. 58- 65, cf. also *A. Pers.* 648, *Ag.* 619, 983, *Ch.* 410, 547 and Landfester 1966, pp. 51f., 54) seems here to intermingle with the common meaning of affection, since it accompanies ἔρωτας (cf. similarly *El.* 596: φίλας ἠδονὰς ἀσπασμάτων,



*Or.* 795: φίλα κηδεύματα). In this light, it coheres with *ἡδέως* to stress the rightness of unstinting support: as the children are dear, so are their desires.

**αὐθαδίαν:** ‘wilfulness, stubbornness’; this notion regularly constitutes a particular feature of Sophoclean characters, describing confidence in one’s rightness and the pride in one’s independence of spirit; cf. *S. OT* 549f.: εἶ τοι νομίζεις κτήμα τὴν αὐθαδίαν / εἶναι τι τοῦ νοῦ χωρίς, οὐκ ὀρθῶς φρονεῖς, *Ant.* 1028 (cf. Griffith 1999, pp. 34-38 and note *ad loc.*): αὐθαδία τοι σκαιότητ’ ὀφλισκάνει, and Knox (1964) pp. 38-52. For passages in Sophocles expressive of this idea, cf. additionally *Ai.* 595, 1099, *Ant.* 875, *OT* 1084f. (and Dawe 1982 *ad loc.*), *Ph.* 950. Cf. also *Med.* 104 (and Mastronarde 2002 *ad loc.*): ἄγριον ἦθος στυγεράν τε φύσιν/ φρενὸς αὐθαδοῦς, 223, 621: σοὶ δ’ οὐκ ἀρέσκει τὰγάθ’, ἀλλ’ αὐθαδία/ φίλους ἀπωθῆι, 1028, *Hipp.* 304, *El.* 1117, [A.] *Pr.* 64, 79 (and Griffith 1983 *ad loc.*), 436, 907, 964f.: τοιοῖσδε μέντοι καὶ πρὶν αὐθαδίσμασιν/ ἐς τάσδε σαυτὸν πημονὰς καθώρμισας, 1012, 1034f.: μὴδ’ αὐθαδίαν/ εὐβουλίας ἀμείνον’ ἠγήση ποτέ, 1037, *Ar. Th.* 704, *Ra.* 1020: Αἰσχύλε, λέξον, μὴδ’ αὐθάδως/ σεμνυνόμενος χαλέπαινε. The speaker cleverly attributes any resistance (as against compliance) to wilfulness rather than principle.

**3 αὐθαίρετοι:** ‘self-chosen’. Cf. the comic parallel in *M. Aspis* 288 (and Gomme and Sandbach 1973 *ad loc.*): ἔρωτι περιπεσῶν γὰρ οὐκ αὐθαίρετοι. Cf. especially *E. Supp.* 931 (and Collard 1975<sub>a</sub> *ad loc.*), *Bellerophon* fr. 292. 4f. Kn. (and Collard, Cropp and Lee 1995 *ad loc.*): νόσοι δὲ θνητῶν αἰ μὲν εἰς’ αὐθαίρετοι,/ αἰ δ’ ἐκ θεῶν πάρεισιν, fr. inc.1026 Kn.: τὰ πλείστα θνητοῖς τῶν κακῶν αὐθαίρετα, *S. OT* 1230f.: τῶν δὲ πημονῶν/ μάλιστα λυποῦσ’ αἰ φανῶσ’ αὐθαίρετοι, *OC* 521-523: ἤνεγκον κακότετα’, ᾧ ξένοι, ἤνεγκ’/ ἀέκων μὲν, θεὸς ἴστω-/ τούτων δ’ αὐθαίρετον οὐδέν.

**4 οὐδ’ ἐκουσία νόσος:** Acting *οὐχ ἐκῶν* is conjoined with circumstances of *ἀνάγκη*, namely circumstances external from human will and, in this context, defined by the gods (cf. note on l. 6); cf. especially Rickert (1989) pp. 36, 60f., 63f. Parallel cases of the agent presented as acting *ἄκων* constrained by divine will occur in *Heracl.* 986: ἐγὼ δὲ νεῖκος οὐχ ἐκῶν τόδ’ ἠράμην[...] 989f.: ἀλλ’ εἴτ’ ἔχρηζον εἶτε μή—θεὸς γὰρ ἦν— / Ἦρα με κάμνειν τήνδ’ ἔθηκε τὴν νόσον, *Hipp.* 319: φίλος μ’ ἀπόλλυσ’ οὐχ ἐκοῦσαν οὐχ ἐκῶν, 358-361: οἱ σώφρονες γάρ, οὐχ ἐκόντες ἀλλ’ ὁμως,/ κακῶν ἐρῶσι. Κύπρις οὐκ ἄρ’ ἦν θεός, / ἀλλ’ εἶ τι μείζον ἄλλο γίγνεται θεοῦ,/ ἢ τήνδε κάμει καὶ δόμους ἀπώλεσεν, *Andr.* 680: Ἐλένη δ’ ἐμόχθησ’ οὐχ ἐκοῦσ’ ἀλλ’ ἐκ θεῶν, *S. Ai.* 447-455: νῦν δ’ ἡ Διὸς γοργῶπις ἀδάματος θεὰ/

ἤδη μ' ἐπ' αὐτοῖς χεῖρ' ἐπευθύνοντ' ἐμήν/ ἔσφηλεν ἐμβαλοῦσα λυσσώδη νόσον,/ ὥστ' ἐν τοιοῖσδε χεῖρας αἰμάξαι βοτοῖς-/ κείνοι δ' ἐπεγγελῶσιν ἐκπεφευγότες,/ ἐμοῦ μὲν οὐχ ἐκόντος, *OC* 962-964: ὅστις φόνους μοι καὶ γάμους καὶ συμφορὰς/ τοῦ σοῦ διήκας στόματος, ἄς ἐγὼ τάλας/ ἦνεγκον ἄκων· θεοῖς γὰρ ἦν οὕτω φίλον, *Ibyc. PMG* fr. 287, *Simonides PMG* fr. 542. 27-30: πάντας δ' ἐπαίνημι καὶ φιλέω,/ ἐκὼν ὅστις ἔρδη/ μηδὲν αἰσχρόν· ἀνάγκαι/ δ' οὐδὲ θεοὶ μάχονται, fr. 541. 8-10: ἦ γὰρ ἀέκοντά νιν βιάται/ κέρ]δος ἀμάχητον ἢ δολοπλ[όκου/ με]γασθενῆς οἴστρος Ἀφροδίτ[ας, *Theoc.* 30. 28-31, *A.P.* 12. 79.3 and Fischer (1973) pp. 54-56.

The description of love as disease is a commonplace in poetry; cf. indicatively, *Archil.* fr. 193 W., *Sappho* fr. 31. 5-15 L.-P., *Andr.* 220f. (cf. Stevens 1971 and Lloyd 1994 *ad loc.*), *S. Tr.* 441-448 (and Easterling 1982, p. 128f., Davies 1991<sub>a</sub>, p. 130f., Biggs 1966, p. 229f.), 491f., 544, *Lovers of Achilles* fr. 149 R., *Eub. Campylion* fr. 40. 6 K.-A. (and Hunter 1983 *ad loc.*). For the strong effects of love on human soul and for the relation of sentiments such as fear, shame, grief and fury to physical symptoms, cf. *Hp. De Humor.* 9.

For the presentation of love as god-sent νόσος, cf. especially *Hipp.* 40, 121-309 (and Barrett 1964, pp. 182, 195, 200, Zeitlin 1985, pp. 59-63, 106-110), 394, 474-479, 512, 597, 698, 766, *Tr.* 1042 (and Biehl 1989, p. 378): τὴν νόσον τὴν τῶν θεῶν, *Cretans* fr. 472e. 9-12 Kn. (and Collard, Cropp and Lee 1995 *ad loc.*): νῦν δ', ἐκ θεοῦ γὰρ προσβολῆς ἐμηνάμην,/ ἀλγῶ μὲν, ἐστὶ δ' οὐχ ἐκούσιον κακόν, 12: ἐδήχθην θυμὸν αἰσχίστηι νόσῳ, 20f.: τί δῆτ' ἂν τῆιδε μαινοίμην νόσῳ; δαίμων ὁ τοῦδε κάμ' ἐ[νέπλησεν κα]κῶν, 25f., 30 (cf. Cantarella 1964, p. 71f.): πληγὴν δαίμονος θεήλατον, *Ino* fr. 400 Kn.: ὅσον νόσημα τὴν Κύπριν κεκτήμεθα, *Veiled Hippolytus* fr. 428 Kn.: οἱ γὰρ Κύπριν φεύγοντες ἀνθρώπων ἄγαν/ νοσοῦσ' ὁμοίως τοῖς ἄγαν θηρωμένοις, *S. Phaedra* fr. 680 R. (and Pearson 1917 *ad loc.*): νόσους δ' ἀνάγκη τὰς θεηλάτους φέρειν, *Eub. Nannion* fr. 67. 8-9 K.-A.: λαθραῖαν Κύπριν, αἰσχίστην νόσων πασῶν, *Men. Dysc.* 44 (cf. Gomme and Sandbach 1973 *ad loc.*), *X. Cyr.* 5. 1. 12.

If amorous passion is presented as god-implanted and not as ἐκούσιον or ἀυθαίρετον, humans expect to be released from responsibility for their actions; cf. De Romilly (1976) pp. 311-321, Cozzoli (2001) pp. 33-39, Rivier (1975<sup>2</sup><sub>a</sub>) p. 184f. The denial of personal responsibility by shifting the burden of one's misconduct exclusively to the gods is prominent in the defence-speeches of Helen (*Tr.* 948-950, 1042, cf. Basta Donzelli

1986, pp. 389-409, Lloyd 1984, pp. 307-309, Gregory 1991, pp. 171-173 and Lloyd 1992, p. 104f.) and Pasiphae (*Cretans* fr. 472e Kn., cf. Dolfi 1984, pp. 125-138, Reckford 1974, pp. 319-328, Rivier 1975b, pp. 48-60), as well as in the Nurse's speech in *Hipp.* 433-481 (cf. Barrett 1964, pp. 238-248 and Gregory 1991, pp. 67-70), and seems to be the excuse also for Polydectes' passion and misbehaviour. Cf. similarly, *Gorg. Hel.* 15-20 (and MacDowell 1982, p. 42f.). Nevertheless, from Homer onwards divine influence as such does not seem to count as an excuse, since passion may be involuntary (god-sent), but one's response is not; cf. Adkins (1960) pp. 14-16, 22-25, 120-127, Lloyd Jones (1971) p. 150f., Dodds (1951) p. 185f. Therefore, argumentation of this sort would have been questionable in everyday life and is commonly associated in tragedy with characters whose attitude is immoral, as in the cases cited above. For the power of Aphrodite, cf. below, fr. 9. 1.

5 σκαιόν τι δὴ τὸ χρῆμα γίγνεσθαι φιλεῖ: 'it is often a foolish thing to do...' For similar phrasing, cf. *Andr.* 957f.: σοφόν τι χρῆμα τοῦ διδάξαντος βροτοῦς/ λόγους ἀκούειν τῶν ἐναντίων πάρα, *El.* 606f.: εὐρημα γάρ τοι χρῆμα γίγνεται τόδε,/ κοινῆ μετασχεῖν τὰγαθοῦ καὶ τοῦ κακοῦ, *Alcmene* fr. 96 Kn.: σκαιόν τι χρῆμα πλοῦτος ἢ τ' ἀπειρία. This periphrastic use of *χρῆμα* originates in colloquial language; cf. Stevens (1976) pp. 20-22, Bergson (1967) pp. 79-88.

6 θεῶν ἀνάγκας: the notion of *ἀνάγκη* is here related to divine will as opposed to human free will (cf. *Il.* 3-4: *ἀυθαίρετοι, ἐκουσία*); cf. Schreckenberg (1964) pp. 36-44, 72-81, Lanzi (2000) pp. 81-94, Kamerbeek (1948) pp. 272-278, Greene (1944) pp. 143-163, 181-186, 191-196. The speaker thus presents love as a necessitating condition caused by divine interference; cf. Dover (1974) p. 137f., 208. The idea of *ἀνάγκη* in the form of a natural phenomenon exerting superior force and clashing with human will and choice (*ἐκῶν*) occurs in *Arist. EN* 1109b. 35-1110a. 4, *EE* 1224a. 20-23. For *ἀνάγκη* in tragedy, cf. *Alc.* 962-981, *Hec.* 584 (and Collard 1991 *ad loc.*): θεῶν ἀνάγκαισιν, *HF* 859, *Tr.* 886, *El.* 1301 (and Cropp 1988 *ad loc.*), *Ph.* 999f.: οἱ μὲν θεσφάτων ἐλεύθερου/ κοῦκ εἰς ἀνάγκην δαιμόνων ἀφιγμένοι, 1763: τὰς γὰρ ἐκ θεῶν ἀνάγκας θνητὸν ὄντα δεῖ φέρειν, *IA* 443 (and Stockert 1992 *ad loc.*), 512, 761, *Telephus* fr. 716 Kn. (and Preiser 2000, pp. 413-415): σὺ δ' εἶκ' ἀνάγκη καὶ θεοῖσι μὴ μάχου, *Bellerophon* fr. 298 Kn.: πρὸς τὴν ἀνάγκην πάντα τᾶλλ' ἔστ' ἀσθενῆ, *Lycymnios* fr. 475 Kn., fr. inc. 965 Kn., *A. Pers.* 293, *Ag.* 218 (cf. Denniston and Page 1957 *ad loc.*), *Ch.* 75, [A.] *Pr.* 105 (and Griffith 1983 *ad loc.*), *S. Ph.*

1316f.: ἀνθρώποισι τὰς μὲν ἐκ θεῶν/ τύχας δοθείσας ἔστ' ἀναγκαῖον φέρειν, Aristarchus *TrGF* I 14 F 2 Sn.: ἔρωτος ὅστις μὴ πεπειράται βροτῶν,/ οὐκ οἶδ' ἀνάγκης θεσμόν, Moschion *Telephus TrGF* I 97 F2 (and Xanthakis-Karamanos 1980, p. 127f.). For the invincibility of necessity, cf. Empedocles fr. B 115 D.-K.: ἔστιν Ἀνάγκης χρῆμα, θεῶν ψήφισμα παλαιόν,/ αἰδίων, πλατέεσσι κατεσφρηγισμένον ὄρκοις, Gorg. *Hel.* 6 (and MacDowell 1982 *ad loc.*).

**ἰᾶσθαι**: the search for a cure for love is common in such contexts; cf. *Hipp.* 479, 509-512, 597, 698f. (and Goff 1990, pp. 49-52, Parker 1983, p. 222, Ferrini 1978, pp. 49-62), Theocr. *Id.* 2. 90-92 (and Gow 1952 *ad loc.*), 11. 1-2 (and Hunter 1999 *ad loc.*), Plin. *NH* 28. 256, Ov. *Her.* 5. 149, *Rem. Am.* 260, *Met.* 1. 523, Prop. 2. 4.7. The speaker asserts that there is no cure for god-sent passion and that it should thus be accepted as it is; on the other hand, even divine diseases are regarded as curable in *Bellerophon* fr. 292 Kn. (as in Hp. *Morb. Sacr.* 18, Ar. *V.* 118, cf. Collard, Cropp and Lee 1995 *ad loc.*, Müller 2000b, pp. 95-97, Goossens 1962, pp. 152-154, Parker pp. 216-218): πρὸς τὴν νόσον τοι καὶ τὸν ἰατρὸν χρεῶν/ ἰδόντ' ἀκεῖσθαι, μὴ ἐπιτάξ τὰ φάρμακα/ διδόντ', ἐὰν μὴ ταῦτα τῇ νόσῳ πρέπη./ νόσοι δὲ θνητῶν αἰ μὲν εἰς' αὐθαίρετοι,/ αἰ δ' ἐκ θεῶν πάρεισιν, ἀλλὰ τῷ νόμῳ/ ἰώμεθ' αὐτάς.

#### Fr. 9:

This fragment is thematically related to **fr. 8. 3-6**, as they both illustrate the invincible power of Aphrodite and thus the impasse, which Polydectes claims to have reached. These lines go a step further in developing the thought expressed in **fr. 8. 3-6**: Cypris does not yield when reprimanded and, if you press her hard, she engenders war ending to the devastation of households. The speaker is likely to have been Polydectes (or someone on his side<sup>421</sup>), underlining all the havoc to be caused, if one does not reconcile with god-sent passion.<sup>422</sup> This fragment could have belonged to the same context as **fr. 6-8**, which deal with the father-son relationship, for the following reasons: (a) the objection to the *νουθέτησις* possibly made by Polydectes' interlocutor against amorous passion; such an admonition occurs in **fr. 6**, where the speaker describes the king's desire as a disruptive

<sup>421</sup> Parallel arguments are used by the Nurses in *Hipp.* 443-446 and *Stheneboea* fr. 665 Kn.

<sup>422</sup> Cf. Duchemin (1968<sup>2</sup>) p. 92, Webster (1967) p. 64, Aéliion (1986) p. 159, n. 28.

force. The present fragment could be a response that the real destruction comes from repression. (b) The fact that the speaker warns his interlocutor on the potential desolation of Polydectes' household, if Cypris is repressed, could imply that the interlocutor would have had personal interest in preserving Polydectes' *oikos*, which may call for a member of the king's family as addressee of these lines; this possibility would fit the context of **fr. 6-8** (for which cf. the introductory note on **fr. 6**) and (c) the similarity in argumentation with **fr. 8. 3-6**.

Here, as often, Aphrodite's epithet 'Cypris' serves to connote sexual desire (schol. vet. *Il.* 5. 330 Erbse: *Κύπριν. οί μὲν τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν, οἱ δὲ τὴν βαρβαρικὴν ἀφροσύνην αὐτὴν εἶναι λέγουσιν*); cf. indicatively *Hec.* 825, *Tr.* 988, *Cretans* fr. 472e.7 Kn. (and Collard, Cropp and Lee 1995 *ad loc.*), **fr. 18**, also [A.] *Pr.* 650, *S. Tr.* 515 (and Easterling 1982, p. 137), fr. inc. 874 R., *Ar. Eccl.* 722.<sup>423</sup> The impetuosity and invincibility of Cypris is prominent in Euripidean plays treating illicit passions, as in *Stheneboea* fr. 665 Kn. (possibly spoken by the Nurse, cf. Collard, Cropp and Lee 1995 *ad loc.*): *τοιαῦτ' ἀλύει-νουθετούμενος δ' ἔρωσ/ μάλλον πῆζει* and *Hipp.* 443-446 (cf. Barrett 1964 *ad loc.*): *Κύπρις γὰρ οὐ φορητὸν ἦν πολλὴ ῥύηι,/ ἦ τὸν μὲν εἶκονθ' ἡσυχῆι μετέρχεται,/ ὄν δ' ἂν περισσὸν καὶ φρονούνη' εὖρηι μέγα,/ τοῦτον λαβοῦσα πῶς δοκεῖς καθύβρισεν.*

The overwhelming and often destructive power of Aphrodite and Eros is a recurring theme in poetry; cf. for instance, *Il.* 4. 198f. (and Janko 1992 *ad loc.*), *h. Hom. Ven.* (cf. Allen, Halliday and Sikes 1936<sup>2</sup>, p. 352), *Hes. Theog.* 120-122 (and West 1966, p. 195f.), Sappho fr. 1 and 16. 6-12 L.-P. (and McIntosh Snyder 1991, pp. 3-13), *A. Supp.* 1001-1005, *Danaides* fr. 44 R., *S. Ant.* 781-800 (and Griffith 1999, pp. 255-260), *Tr.* 441f. (cf. Easterling 1982 and Davies 1991<sub>a</sub> *ad loc.*), 497, fr. inc. 941 R. (and Pralon 1993, pp. 125-131): *ὦ παῖδες, ἦ τοι Κύπρις οὐ Κύπρις μόνον,/ ἀλλ' ἔστι πολλῶν ὀνομάτων ἐπώνυμος./ ἔστιν μὲν Ἄιδης, ἔστι δ' ἄφθιτος βίος,/ ἔστιν δὲ λύσσα μανιάς, ἔστι δ' ἕμερος*, *E. Med.* 627-644, *Hipp.* 439-476, 525-564, 1268-1281 (cf. Citti 1990, pp. 89-95 and Zeitlin 1985, pp. 58-63, 107-109), *Tr.* 948-950, *Stheneboea* fr. 661. 21-23 Kn., *Andromeda* fr. 136 Kn. (cf. Bubel 1991, p. 135f. and Klimek-Winter 1993, pp. 249-251), *Auge* fr. 269 Kn., fr. inc. 898 Kn., 1076 Kn., *Theocr. Id.* 1. 100-102, *A.P.* 9. 221.<sup>424</sup>

<sup>423</sup> On Aphrodite and sexuality, cf. Pirenne-Delforge (1994) pp. 419-433.

<sup>424</sup> Cf. Calame (1999) pp. 141-150, Friedrich (1978) pp. 97-100.

1 νουθετουμένη: *LSJ*<sup>9</sup> s.v. *νουθετώ*: ‘to admonish, to rebuke’. Parallel cases of admonition towards gods occur in *HF* 855: μή σὺ νουθέτει τά θ' Ἑρας κάμα μηχανήματα, *Ion* 436f.: νουθετητέος δέ μου Φοῖβος, *Lyr. Alex.* fr. adesp. 8 (a) Powell: ἔρωτα νουθετοῦντες ἀγνοεῖθ' ὅτι πῦρ ἀνακαιόμενον ἐλαίῳ θέλετε κ[οι]μίσαι. ‘Nouthetic’ speeches addressed to gods occur in *Hipp.* 114-120 (cf. Barrett 1964 *ad loc.*), *HF* 339-347 (cf. Bond 1981 *ad loc.*), *Ion* 436-451, *Antiope* fr. 223. 11-14 Kn. (and Kambitsis 1972, p. 103); cf. especially Dale (1969) p. 182 and Schadewaldt (1966) p. 132f. Since in the present case Cypris is desire personified, the *nouthetēsis* is not merely addressed towards the goddess (cf. fr. 8. 3-6 presenting Polydectes’ passion as a god-sent disease), but also towards the person overwhelmed by desire.

χαλαῖ: *LSJ*<sup>9</sup>: ‘to loosen things drawn tightly together, to slacken one’s hold’; it belongs to naval (A.R. 2. 1264, *A.P.* 5. 204.5, *EM* s.v. ‘χάλα’ 804, 49 Gaisford) and equestrian vocabulary (cf. E. *Ino* fr. 409 Kn., Ar. *Eccl.* 508, Plat. *Prot.* 338a. 3), as well as to the language of archery (*h. Hom. Ap.* 6, *h. Hom.* 27.12). The imagery of archery seems to occur here (cf. note on ἐντείνειν) in combination with the metaphorical sense of χαλαῖ as ‘to yield’; for the latter sense, cf. indicatively *Hec.* 403, *Ion* 637, *Telephus* fr. 716 Kn., *Erechtheus* fr. 362. 18 Kn., Ar. *V.* 727.

2 ἦν τ' αὐτὴ βιάζει: ‘if you press her (i.e. Aphrodite) hard’, namely ‘if you resist strongly/ try to prevent a lover from pursuing the object of love’; this verb is used more in the middle than in the active mood. Cf. *Alc.* 1116: ἄναξ, βιάζει μ' οὐ θέλοντα δρᾶν τάδε, *Med.* 339: τί δ' αὐτὴ βιάζει κοῦκ ἀπαλλάσσει χερὸς; *Heracl.* 647, *Hipp.* 325, *Or.* 1623, *Chrysippus* fr. 840 Kn.: γνώμην δ' ἔχοντά μ' ἢ φύσις βιάζεται, fr. inc. 1076 Kn.: πάντων ἄριστον μὴ βιάζεσθαι θεοῦς.

ἐντείνειν: *LSJ*<sup>9</sup>: ‘to stretch or strain tight’, especially of any operation performed with straps or cords, metaphorically ‘to intensify’; as χαλαῖ, it belongs to the vocabulary of archery (*Supp.* 745, 886, A. *Thressae* fr. 83 R., X. *Cyr.* 4. 1.3., Luc. *Scyth.* 2. 17) and horsemanship (*Il.* 5. 278, X. *Eq.* 8. 3), as well as naval terminology (*Or.* 706). Archery is Aphrodite’s attribute in Pindar (*P.* 4. 213), where she is portrayed as πότνια ὀξυτάτων βελέων. Cf. also Theoc. 11. 16 (and Gow 1952 *ad loc.*), *A.P.* 5. 98, Asclepiades *A.P.* 5. 189, Meleager *A.P.* 5. 179, Asclepiades *A.P.* 12. 50, Mosch. 2. 75. Euripides tends to use pictorial language to describe love: for his descriptions of Aphrodite as archer, cf. *Med.*

530-531, 633-635 (and Mastronarde 2002 *ad loc.*): μήποτ', ὦ δέσποιν', ἐπ' ἐμοὶ χρυσέων τόξων ἀφείης/ ἰμέρωι χρίσασ' ἄφυκτον οἰστόν, *Hipp.* 530-532 (and Barrett 1964, p. 260): οὔτε γὰρ πυρὸς οὔτ' ἄστρον ὑπέρτερον βέλος/ οἶον τὸ τᾶς Ἀφροδίτας ἴησιν ἐκ χειρῶν/ Ἔρωσ ὁ Διὸς παῖς. For Eros as archer in Euripides, cf. *Tr.* 255, *IA* 548f. (and Stockert 1992 *ad loc.*); cf. Barlow (1971) p. 101 and Kurtz (1985) pp. 256f., 291-293. Nevertheless, artistic depictions of Eros as archer are rare before the fourth century (cf. *LIMC* s.v. 'Eros' no. 332, 341). The pair *ἐντείνω-χαλάω* occurs in a context of crisis also in *Or.* 698-700: εἰ δ' ἡσύχως τις αὐτὸν ἐντείνοντι μὲν/ χαλῶν ὑπέικοι καιρὸν εὐλαβούμενος,/ ἴσως ἂν ἐκπνεύσειεν. For similar phrasing with reference to desire, cf. *Pl. R.* 329c. 8-9: ἐπειδὴν αἱ ἐπιθυμίαι παύσονται κατατείνουσαι καὶ χαλάσωσιν.

3 τίκτει πόλεμον: the notion of one evil engendering another is common in tragedy; cf. *Hel.* 363-365: τὰ δ' ἐμὰ δῶρα / Κύπριδος ἔτεκε πολὺ μὲν αἴμα,/ πολὺ δὲ δάκρυον, *Alcmeon through Psophis* fr. 79 Kn., *Veiled Hippolytus* fr. 438 Kn., *Temenidae* fr. 732 Kn., fr. inc. 1071 Kn.: λῦπαι γὰρ ἀνθρώποισι τίκτουσιν νόσους, also *A. Ag.* 759, *Ch.* 382-385, 648-651 (and Garvie 1986 *ad loc.*), 806, *S. El.* 217-219: πολὺ γὰρ τι κακῶν ὑπερεκτίσω,/ σῶ δυσθύμῳ τίκτουσ' αἰεὶ/ ψυχῆ πολέμους, *Iphigenia* fr. 308 R., *Tyro* fr. 663 R. Judging by *πόλεμος*, *ἀνάστασις* *δόμων* and the vocabulary of archery (*ἐντείνειν-χαλάω*), as well as *ἔχθρα* *μεγίστη* (fr. 6) and *συμμάχους* (fr. 7), both speakers are using the vocabulary of warfare in offering divergent ideas of what causes discord.

3f. ἀνάστασιν δόμων: 'the devastation of households'. Cf. *Andr.* 1249f.: ἀνάστατον γένος, *Tr.* 364: οἰκῶν Ἀτρέως ἀνάστασιν, *S. Ant.* 673f.: ἡδ' ἀναστάτους/ οἴκους τίθησιν, *A. Pers.* 105: πόλεων ἀναστάσεις, *Ag.* 589: ἄλωσιν Ἰλίου τ' ἀνάστασιν. For Aphrodite's power to desolate households, cf. *Hipp.* 359-361: Κύπρις οὐκ ἄρ' ἦν θεός,/ ἀλλ' εἴ τι μεῖζον ἄλλο γίγνεται θεοῦ,/ ἢ τήνδε κάμῃ καὶ δόμους ἀπάλεσεν.

#### Fr. 10:

This statement obviously refers to Perseus, whose mind has been much trained by toil, despite his youth. The hero's tremendous exploit leading to his maturation must reflect a

rite of passage <sup>425</sup> and, according to inscriptional evidence, Perseus was worshipped as patron of manhood initiation-rituals in late Archaic Mycenae.<sup>426</sup> Such a praise of Perseus' intelligence and courage could have been made by Danae, Dictys or the Chorus after the hero's *nostos* and possible narration of his deed (cf. T3, T5 for Perseus' encounter with Danae and Dictys upon his return to Seriphos).<sup>427</sup> Euripides seems to have been fascinated by the energy and assertiveness of youth; cf. *Supp.* 442-449 (and Collard 1975<sub>a</sub>, p. 229f.), *IT* 122 (and Cropp 2000 *ad loc.*) *Cressae* fr. 461 Kn., *Archelaus* fr. 237 Kn. (and Harder 1985 *ad loc.*), fr. inc. 1052 Kn. and Dover (1974) p. 105, Strauss (1993) p. 113f.

οὐκ ἀγύμναστος: ἀγύμναστος ('untrained') occurs in tragedy mostly in *litotes* and at the same position in the trimeter; cf. Kannicht (1969) on *Hel.* 533: οὐδ' ἀγύμναστον πλάνοις. Apart from hard physical exercise (as in the much-disputed phrase in *Supp.* 903: τῶν τ' ἀγυμνάστων σφαγεύς, cf. Collard 1975<sub>a</sub> *ad loc.*), οὐκ ἀγύμναστος also connotes intellectual training, as here and in *Ba.* 491: ὡς θρασὺς ὁ βᾶκχος κοῦκ ἀγύμναστος λόγων, in the *Peirithous* by Euripides or Critias *TrGF* I 43 F10 (and Sutton 1987, p. 57): {ὁ πρῶτος εἰπὼν} οὐκ ἀγυμνάστω φρενὶ ἔρριψεν ὅστις τόνδ' ἐκαίνισεν λόγον, / ὡς τοῖσιν εἶδ' φρονούσι συμμαχεῖ τύχη. Cf. also *S. Tr.* 1083 (ἀγύμναστος as 'unharassed'): οὐδ' ἀγύμναστόν μ' ἔαν' ἔοικεν ἢ τάλαινα διάβορος νόσος.

φρένας: in tragedy, φρένες are mainly associated with intellectual activity, as 'the seat of mental faculties, perception, thought' (*LSJ*<sup>β</sup>): cf. for instance, *Med.* 316, *Hipp.* 612, 685, 1337, *Andr.* 361, 365, 482, *Hec.* 746, *Tr.* 6, 1158, *Hel.* 160, *Ba.* 427 and Sullivan (2000) pp. 11-16. Perseus is here presented as an exception to the common view that φρένες are superior in old age (for this view, cf. indicatively *Hipp.* 969, *Peleus* fr. 619 Kn. and Sullivan 2000, p. 10f.). Judging by the acute mental capacities, as well as the tremendous courage demanded for Perseus' exploit, the above meaning must here intermingle with the sense of φρένες as 'heart, the seat of courage' (cf. *Med.* 856-859: πόθεν θράσος ἢ φρενὸς ἢ / χειρὶ τέκνων σέθεν / καρδίαι τε λήψηι / δεινὰν προσάγουσα τόλμαν; also *Il.* 3. 45, 17. 499,

<sup>425</sup> Cf. Dillon (1989) pp. 97-112.

<sup>426</sup> Cf. Jameson (1990) pp. 213-223 and Burkert (1984) p. 82.

<sup>427</sup> The suggestion made by Jouan and van Looy (2000, p. 81) and Stoessl (1958, p. 161) that this line could belong to the context of Dictys' consolation to Danae seems to be refuted by the fact that according to the mythical evidence, Perseus was untested before being sent to decapitate the Gorgon, which contradicts οὐκ ἀγύμναστος.



*Od.* 1. 89, *Hes. Theog.* 688, *A. Th.* 671, *Ag.* 1302, *Ch.* 596, *S. Ai.* 46 and Sullivan 2000, p. 22).

### Fragmenta sedis magis incertae

#### Fr. 11:

The female speaker of this fragment is obviously Danae addressing Dictys (mentioned as *γεραιός* in **fr. 3** as well, cf. **T3**), who rouses her for some unknown reason. The ancient scholiast on *S. Ai.* 787 paralleled these lines to Tecmessa's reaction to the chorus-leader's appeal to listen to the news brought by the messenger. Apart from the obvious stylistic resemblance between the two passages, it has to be asked whether there may have been any further similarity, in terms of dramatic situation. Danae uses a verb (*ὀρθοίς*), which suggests that she has been seated or prostrate. Moreover, Euripides' *λελησμένην* goes further than Sophocles' *πεπαυμένην*; Danae has forgotten her suffering, which is a surprising notion. Sleep is linked to oblivion (*Λήθη*) as relieving from distress in *HF* 1042-1044: *Καδμείοι γέροντες, οὐ σίγα σὺ γὰρ τὸν ὕπνῳ παρειμένον ἐάσεται ἐκ/ λαθέσθαι κακῶν;* and *Or.* 211-214 (cf. Willink 1986, p. 120f.): *ὦ φίλον ὕπνου θέλγητρον, ἐπίκουρον νόσου,/ ὡς ἡδύ μοι προσήλθεσ ἐν δέοντί τε./ ὦ πότνια Λήθη τῶν κακῶν, ὡς εἰ σοφὴ/ καὶ τοῖσι δυστυχοῦσιν εὐκταία θεός.*<sup>428</sup> Danae is thus likely to have been sleeping, which could explain why she has forgotten her agony.<sup>429</sup> However, unlike Tecmessa in the *Aias* (who is summoned from the stage-building by the chorus), Danae is presumably not as free to move in the acting area, if the stage-building represents Polydectes' palace (cf. Setting). Hence, her being asleep on stage (at the altar) at a critical moment in the play seems implausible and this line is thus less likely to belong to the climactic scene of Perseus' return, as widely suggested;<sup>430</sup> rather, it may be more plausibly located at the beginning, perhaps in the prologue. In this case, Dictys, as Electra in the *Orestes*, might have delivered the prologue-speech, while Danae was sleeping (cf. note on **fr. 1**). He could have then roused her for

<sup>428</sup> In *S. Tr.* 977-980, 1005 (cf. Easterling 1982 *ad loc.*), *Ph.* 827-838, 843-867, 877f. (cf. Ussher 1990, p. 138f., Webster 1970, pp. 119-121) sleep is described as alleviating physical pain.

<sup>429</sup> I owe this idea to Professor C. Carey.

<sup>430</sup> So Webster (1967) p. 64, Jouan and van Looy (2000) p. 82, Aélion (1986) p. 159f., n. 30.

some important reason, to judge by parallel cases in *Heracl.* 633-636 and *Hec.* 501f., where a character stirs another when bringing significant news. Dictys, as in the cases just mentioned and as the chorus-leader in the *Aias*, may want Danae to listen to news (about Perseus? cf. introductory note on fr. 2 for the possibility that Polydectes might have spread false rumours of Perseus' death) or may alternatively be rousing her at the entry of another character (Polydectes?).

1 τί μ', ὦ γεραιέ: Ms L of Sophocles (belonging to the Laurentian class λ), which served almost exclusively as the basis for Papageorgius' edition of the scholia on Sophocles, gives the reading τί μ' [[ὦ]] ἄρτι πημάτων λελησμένην/ ὀρθοῖς; while G (from the Roman class ρ) reads τί μ', ὦ γεραιέ, πημάτων πεπαυμένην/ ὀρθοῖς; The remaining ὦ in the L, which was erased by the scribe, reveals the existence of two different readings: ὦ γεραιέ and ἄρτι (cf. Christodoulou 1977, p. 86f., n. 29 for the transmission of this line in the Sophoclean scholia). There is considerable evidence, as Turyn observed (1952, p. 120), that the primary archetype (ω) of the plays and ancient scholia of Sophocles, from which the λ and ρ families derived, abounded in double readings—the one exhibited in the text and the other interlinear or marginal—and this phenomenon is best reflected in L, as in our case. Hence, whenever the decision as to the choice of a reading in ρ went in a different direction from that in λ, a divergence between the two classes would have occurred; cf. Turyn (1952) p. 121. The reading ἄρτι, which leaves the verse metrically incomplete, seems to have been adopted by the scribe of L in view of its correspondence with ἀρτίως in *S. Ai.* 787; cf. Christodoulou (1977) p. 87, n. 29. On the other hand, the ὦ γεραιέ of G, which aptly completes the trimeter, must have been the original reading, being certainly much more informative than ἄρτι and corresponding to the image of Dictys as γεραιός, which also occurs in T3 and fr. 3. Manuscript G is generally admitted to emend L in certain cases, often providing older readings; cf. De Marco (1936) p. 15f. and Turyn (1952) pp. 107-109, for cases where G emends L.

πημάτων λελησμένην: *λελησμένην* is provided by L, while G reads *πεπαυμένην*, which is the reading adopted by Christodoulou (1977, p. 180). As in the case of ἄρτι above, it seems quite likely that *πεπαυμένην* sneaked into the scholium in view of its correspondence to *πεπαυμένην* in *Ai.* 787, which makes L's *λελησμένην* a more plausible reading, on the principle *utrum in alterum abiturum erat*. For *λανθάνομαι* + gen. in

Euripides as expressive of sufferings, which one is trying to forget, cf. *Alc.* 198: τοσοῦτον ἄλγος, οὐποθ' οὐ λελήσεται, *Supp.* 86: θανοῦσα τῶνδ' ἀλγέων λαθοίμαν, *Ion* 361: ἄ, μή μ' ἐπ' οἴκτον ἔξαγ' οὐ λελήσμεθα, *Tr.* 606: ὁ θανῶν δ' ἐπιλάθεται ἀλγέων. This line seems to provide a fine example of how the λ and ρ traditions of the Sophoclean scholia complement each other, as Turyn pointed out (1952, p. 121).

2 ὀρθοῖς: 'to raise up, to rise from one's seat'. Danae's reluctance to raise herself up seems to be indicative of her psychological weariness and frustration. Similarly, physical and psychological exhaustion prevent one from standing upright in *Heracl.* 635f.: Θε. ἔπαιρέ νυν σεαυτόν, ὀρθωσον κάρα./ Ιο. γέροντές ἐσμεν κοῦδαμῶς ἐρρώμεθα, *Andr.* 1076-1078: Χο. ἄ ἄ, τί δράσεις, ὦ γεραῖέ; μή πέσης· ἔπαιρε σεαυτόν. Πη. οὐδέν εἰμ' ἀπωλόμην./ φροῦδη μὲν αὐδή, φροῦδα δ' ἄρθρα μου κάτω, *Hec.* 501f.: ἔα· τίς οὗτος σῶμα τοῦμόν οὐκ ἔα/ κείσθαι; τί κινεῖς μ', ὅστις εἶ, λυπουμένην; *Tr.* 505 (cf. Barlow 1986, p. 180f.): τί δῆτά μ' ὀρθοῦτ'; ἐλπίδων ποίων ὑπο; also in *S. Ph.* 820 (where the hero is overpowered by his strong physical pain, cf. Usher 1990 *ad loc.*): τὸ γὰρ κακὸν τόδ' οὐκέτ' ὀρθοῦσθαί μ' ἔα.

#### Fr. 12:

This fragment illustrates parental affection towards their offspring, which is shared by all living creatures. These lines are quoted by Stobaeus in his chapter *Ἐπιφύσεις ἀπὸ τῶν πατέρων* (Stob. 4. 26) together with **fr.** 6, 7 and 8, which focus on the theme of father-son relationship (cf. notes *ad loc.*). Though Stobaeus' anthology is regarded as modeled up to a certain extent on earlier gnomonic compilations, the earliest of which date as early as the third century BC,<sup>431</sup> one cannot exclude the possibility that some of the titles of his sections were given by Stobaeus himself around the fifth century AD, when he would not probably have had direct access to plays outside the 'selection'.<sup>432</sup> Hence, Stobaeus' title as such cannot be safely regarded as an authority for locating this fragment in the context of the discussion on the father-son relationship. If these lines did belong to this scene, the emphasis on parental affection (cf. *I.* 3: τέκν' ἃ τίκτουσιν φιλεῖν), occurring also in **fr.** 7. 2 (πατρὶ φίλτατον

<sup>431</sup> Cf. Hense (1916) col. 2557-2560 and Page (1934) p. 33.

<sup>432</sup> Cf. Hense (1916) col. 2557-2561.

τέκνα), could perhaps serve to remind Polydectes of the strong precedence, which a father should give his children over his amorous passion.

On the other hand, this fragment may well be an expression of Danae's love for Perseus. The verb *τίκτω* tends to occur more frequently with reference to females than males, while regarding animals, it is used only for the female gender (cf. *LSJ*<sup>9</sup> and *Il.* 16. 150, 20. 225, *Od.* 4. 86, Hes. *Op.* 591). The simile between animals and humans of the same gender as regards birth-giving may thus be more suitable, which would tell in favour of a reference to Danae rather than Polydectes. The location of these lines in a specific scene is difficult, since the notion of Danae's affection for her son would have presumably been prominent throughout the play. This fragment has been widely assumed to belong to the consolation-scene (cf. fr. 2)<sup>433</sup> and such a possibility would correspond to parallel cases in Euripides, where parental affection towards children is expressed, when the latter are subject to danger; cf. *Andr.* 418f., *HF* 633-636, *Ph.* 965f. (and Mastronarde 1994 *ad loc.*), *IA* 1256, opening note on *Danae* fr. 13.

1 κοινὸς ἀνθρώποις νόμος: universal laws are the unwritten laws of nature, as distinguished from civic laws; the sophistic *physis-nomos* antithesis is lurking. These major sanctions of universal validity mainly enjoin reverence towards gods (including the kind treatment of suppliants and burial of the dead) and respect for kinship bonds. For the definition of unwritten laws, cf. Antiphon fr. 44a, col. ii D.-K., *An. I.* 7. 15, Pl. *Lg.* 793a, *Prt.* 337d, Ar. *Rh.* 1368b.7- 10, 1373b.4-1375b.8, X. *Mem.* 4. 4.19. In tragedy, unwritten laws are often regarded as divine ordinances, particularly in S. *Ant.* 450-455 (cf. Griffith 1999, pp. 199-202) and also in E. *Supp.* 19, A. *Supp.* 707, S. *Ai.* 1343, *OT* 863-872. Cf. additionally, *Med.* 812f. (and Mastronarde 2002, p. 302): σέ τ' ὠφελεῖν θέλουσα καὶ νόμοις βροτῶν/ ξυλλαμβάνουσα δρᾶν σ' ἀπεννέπω τάδε (with reference to Medea's intention to kill her children), *Hipp.* 91, *Supp.* 378 (and Collard 1975<sub>a</sub> *ad loc.*): νόμους βροτῶν μὴ μιαίνειν, 526f.: θάψαι δικαίῳ, τὸν Πανελλήνων νόμον/ σώιζων, *Cyc.* 299f. (and Ussher 1978, p. 95): νόμος δὲ θνητοῖς, εἰ λόγους ἀποστρέφῃ,/ ἱκέτας δέχεσθαι ποντίους ἐφθαρμένους, *Or.* 495 (with reference to the penalty which should have been imposed on Clytaemestra for murdering her husband), fr. inc. 853 Kn., also Th. 2. 37.3, Empedocles fr. 135 D.-K., Lys. i 2 (and Carey 1989 *ad loc.*), xxxi 11, D. xviii 275 (and Yunis 2001 *ad loc.*), xxi 50, xxiii 61,

<sup>433</sup> Cf. Webster (1967) p. 63, Aélion (1986) p. 159, Hartung (1843-1844) I p. 367, Wecklein (1888) p. 113f.

Isoc. xix 50, Is. ii 24. Cf. Guthrie (1962-1981) III pp. 117-131, Ostwald (1973) pp. 70-104, Untersteiner (1954) pp. 280-283. Parental love for children is regarded as a law of universal validity also in [D.] xliiii 22.

2: West (1983, p. 73) deleted this line as an interpolation, in view of the superfluous reference to the gods, which weakens the analogy between men and beasts. Moreover, it seems to exist only for the sake of its first words (the rest is mere padding), with which the interpolator claims to be completing the sense of the previous line; cf. *loc. cit.*

3 θηρσίν τε πᾶσι: parental love for children is presented in universal dimensions as a common feature of all living creatures. The analogy between humans and animals occurs frequently in literature; cf. *Supp.* 267 (and Collard 1975<sub>a</sub>, p. 178): ἔχει γὰρ καταφυγὴν θῆρ μὲν πέτραν,/ δοῦλος δὲ βωμοὺς θεῶν, *Melanippe the Wise* fr. 484. 3-6 Kn. (the common origin of humans and animals, as supported by Diogenes of Apollonia fr. B 4 D.-K., cf. Nestle 1901, p. 173f. and van Looy 1964, p. 225): ἐπεὶ δ' ἐχωρίσθησαν ἀλλήλων δίχα,/ τίκτουσι πάντα κἀνέδωκαν εἰς φάος,/ δένδρη, πετεινά, θήρας οὓς θ' ἄλμη τρέφει/ γένος τε θνητῶν, *Chrysippus* fr. 839. 3-5 Kn.: ἦ δ' ὑγροβόλους σταγόνας νοτίας/ παραδεξαμένη τίκτει θνητούς,/ τίκτει βοτάνην φύλά τε θηρῶν, *A. Supp.* 999f. (cf. Friis Johansen and Whittle 1980 *ad loc.*): θῆρες δὲ κηραίνουσι καὶ βροτοί—τί μῆν; — / καὶ κνώδαλα πτεροῦντα καὶ πεδοστιβῆ, *Eum.* 70, S. fr. inc. 941. 12 R. (gods and all living creatures are subject to the power of Aphrodite): ἐν θηρσίν, ἐν βροτοῖσιν, ἐν θεοῖς ἄνω, [D.] xxv 65f.: τὸν τῆς φύσεως διασῶζει νόμον, ὃς καὶ ἀνθρώποις καὶ θηρίοις εἷς καὶ ὁ αὐτὸς ἅπασιν ὤριστα, στέργειν τοὺς γονέας, *Pl. Gorg.* 483d.: δηλοῖ δὲ ταῦτα πολλαχοῦ ὅτι οὕτως ἔχει, καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις ζώοις καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐν ὄλαις ταῖς πόλεσι καὶ τοῖς γένεσιν, ὅτι οὕτω τὸ δίκαιον κέκριται, τὸν κρείττω τοῦ ἥττονος ἄρχειν καὶ πλεον ἔχειν. Hesiod, on the other hand, uses beasts as a source of contrast (cf. note on l. 4).

τέκν' ἃ τίκτουσιν φιλεῖν: the idea that human race is child-loving occurs also in *Andr.* 418f.: πᾶσι δ' ἀνθρώποις ἄρ' ἦν/ ψυχὴ τέκνα, *HF* 633-6 (cf. Bond 1981 and Barlow 1996 *ad loc.*): πάντα τᾶνθρώπων ἴσα·/ φιλοῦσι παῖδας οἳ τ' ἀμείνονες βροτῶν/ οἳ τ' οὐδὲν ὄντες· χρήμασιν δὲ διάφοροι·/ ἔχουσιν, οἳ δ' οὐ· πᾶν δὲ φιλότεκνον γένος, *Ph.* 965f.: πᾶσιν γὰρ ἀνθρώποισι φιλότεκνος βίος, *IA* 917f. (and Stockert 1992 *ad loc.*): δεινὸν τὸ τίκτειν καὶ φέρει φίλτρον μέγα·/ πᾶσιν τε κοινόν ἐσθ' ὑπερκάμνειν τέκνων, *Alcmene* fr. 103 Kn.: δεινὸν τι τέκνων φίλτρον ἐνήκεν/ θεὸς ἀνθρώποις, *Protesilaus* fr. 652 Kn.: ὦ παῖδες οἷον φίλτρον

ἀνθρώποις φρενός, *Meleagros* fr. 518 Kn., *Danae* fr. 2, 13, *Lys.* iv 20, *D.* xxviii 20, [D.] xl 8: ἐμέ τε ἐπαίδευεν καὶ ἡγάπα, ὥσπερ καὶ ὑμεῖς ἅπαντες τοὺς ὑμετέρους παῖδας ἀγαπάτε, *Is.* vii 14, *Arist. Gen. An.* 753a.8, *Theophr. Char.* 20. 5-6 and Golden (1990) pp. 90-92. Cf. also *Plut. Mor.* 493a-497e (cited by Kannicht *ad loc.*). On the major importance of children for the *oikos*, cf. notes on fr. 2. 6 and 6. 1-2.

4: for the different mode of life of humans and beasts, cf. especially Hesiod (*Op.* 276-280, cf. West 1978 *ad loc.*) stressing the animals' lack of *dikē*. The reference to the otherwise different rules in the lives of men and beasts serves to emphasize the authority of the appeal to the universal law of parental affection. For the use of *hyperbole* designed to bring out the uniqueness of the speaker's case, cf. *Lys.* i 2: περὶ τούτου γὰρ μόνου τοῦ ἀδικήματος καὶ ἐν δημοκρατία καὶ ὀλιγαρχία ἢ αὐτὴ τιμωρία τοῖς ἀσθενεστάτοις πρὸς τοὺς τὰ μέγιστα δυναμένους ἀποδέδοται, ὥστε τὸν χεῖριστον τῶν αὐτῶν τυγχάνειν τῷ βελτίστῳ, *Lys.* x 3, xiv 7, xxx 5, xxxi 33, *Lycurg.* i, *D.* xxi 195 and Carey (1989) p. 154.

### Fr. 13:

This line expressing confidence in the power of justice could have been uttered by Dictys encouraging Danae before Perseus' return (with reference to the just cause defended by the suppliants)<sup>434</sup> or after the hero's *nostos* by Perseus himself or Dictys as reassurance that Perseus' planned vengeance on Polydectes will turn out well (in this light, it could allude to divine retribution); cf. notes on *θάρσει* and *τὸ δίκαιον*. Though the possibility of assigning this fragment to Danae addressing Dictys at a critical moment in the play (e.g. during their confrontation or possible *agon* with Polydectes? cf. notes on fr. 3, 4, 5) cannot be ruled out, cases of men encouraging women, who are generally regarded as weaker, are significantly more frequent; cf. *Alc.* 326, *Med.* 926, 1015, *Heracl.* 654, *Hipp.* 860, *Andr.* 993, *Ph.* 117, *A. Supp.* 732, 740, *S. El.* 1435, *OT* 1062, while the opposite occurs rarely, as in *Hec.* 345, 875, *Supp.* 564. Moreover, fr. 2 provides another instance, where Danae is consoled and supported by Dictys. If this line was located before Perseus' return, it may have contributed to a series of *peripeteiai*: an expression of confidence in justice could have

<sup>434</sup> So Jouan and van Looy (2000) p. 81, Webster (1967) p. 63, Stoessl (1958) p. 161, Aélion (1986) p. 159, n. 29, Hartung (1843-1844) I p. 368.

been seemingly refuted by Polydectes' success, only to be vindicated in the end by Perseus' arrival.

It has been suggested that Choricus of Gaza alludes to this line in *Or.* xxxv 71 (ἦκιστα μὲν πόλεμος ἐπὶ ῥητοῖς ἐθέλει χωρεῖν καὶ πολλοῖς ἀμέλει νίκας ἀδίκους φιλοτιμεῖται. θῶμεν δὲ ὅμως —καλὸν γὰρ οὕτω φρονεῖν— τὸ δίκαιον κρατεῖν πανταχοῦ).<sup>435</sup> However, there is no reference in the context pointing to Euripides in particular, while it is worth taking into account that the belief in the power of justice seems to have been a *topos* in literature (cf. for instance A. *Eum.* 619, Pl. *Rp.* 540e and Menander's phrasing in *Epitr.* 232f., which is almost identical to that of Choricus: ἐν παντὶ δεῖ/ καιρῶι τὸ δίκαιον ἐπικρατεῖν ἀπανταχοῦ). It is thus quite unsafe to assume that Choricus alludes to this particular fragment.

**θάρσει:** it may either bear the sense of 'take heart/ show courage' and thus used for encouragement, if located before Perseus' return (cf. similarly *Hipp.* 203, *Andr.* 993, *El.* 1319, S. *El.* 173), or the nuance of 'fear not/ be confident!', which could have been uttered for the reassurance of the addressee as to the progress of Perseus' plan (cf. *Alc.* 326, *Med.* 926, 1015, *Heracl.* 654 and Allan 2001 *ad loc.*, *Hipp.* 860, *Hec.* 345 and Collard 1991 *ad loc.*, 875, *Supp.* 564, *HF* 1071, *IT* 1075, *Ph.* 117, 845, S. *Ph.* 667, *OC* 305).

**τὸ τοι δίκαιον:** here in the place of *δικαιοσύνη* 'justice'. The speaker is confident that the just cause defended by the sympathetic party (namely Danae and Dictys, as well as Perseus, if the line is uttered after his return) will prevail. Cf. similarly A. *Supp.* 732f.: θάρσει· χρόνῳ τοι κυρίῳ τ' ἐν ἡμέρῃ/ θεοῦς ἀτίζων τις βροτῶν δώσει δίκην, also E. *Supp.* 564f. (and Collard 1975<sub>a</sub> p. 256): θάρσει· τὸ γὰρ τοι τῆς Δίκης σώιζων φάος/ πολλοὺς ὑπεκφύγοις ἂν ἀνθρώπων ψόγους, *El.* 1351: οἷσιν δ' ὄσιον καὶ τὸ δίκαιον/ φίλον ἐν βιώτῳ, τούτους χαλεπῶν / ἐκλύοντες μόχθων σώιζομεν, *IA* 1034f.: εἰ δ' εἰσὶ <συνετοὶ> θεοί, δίκαιος ὦν ἀνὴρ/ ἐσθλῶν κυρήσεις, *Melanippe the Wise* fr. 486 Kn.: δικαιοσύνας τὸ χρύσειον πρόσωπον, *Palamedes* fr. 584 Kn.: εἶς τοι δίκαιος μυρίων οὐκ ἐνδίκων/ κρατεῖ τὸ θεῖον τὴν δίκην τε συλλαβών, *TrGF* II fr. adesp. 500 Kn.-Sn.: Δίκας δ' ἐξέλαμψε θεῖον φάος. For justice as a main co-operative virtue in late fifth century, cf. especially note on fr. 14. 2. If this line was uttered at the point where Perseus exits to take vengeance on Polydectes, τὸ δίκαιον would presumably connote *Δίκη* as the retribution of divine justice (cf. T7. 4). This

<sup>435</sup> Cf. Richtsteig and Förster (1929) p. 410. 3, Tuillier (1968) p. 115 and n. 3, Kannicht (2004) I p. 387.

concept is prominent in Aeschylus (cf. *Ag.* 810-817, 911 and Fraenkel 1950 *ad loc.*, 1611, *Ch.* 306-314, 935 and Garvie 1986, p. 305, *Th.* 662 and Hutchinson 1985 *ad loc.*, cf. also Lloyd-Jones 1971, pp. 85-93, Dodds 1960, pp. 25-29) and in Sophocles' *Electra* (cf. Blundell 1989, pp. 150-157, 178-183), being personified in *S. OT* 274, *Ant.* 538, *OC* 1382 (and Kamerbeek 1984, p. 191), *Ajax Locrus* fr. 12 R. (and Pearson 1917 *ad loc.*), also Kitto (1958) pp. 47-54. Euripidean characters often appeal to divine justice; cf. *Med.* 764 (and Mastronarde 2002 *ad loc.*), 1390, *Heracl.* 33, 104, *Hec.* 1029-1031 (and Gregory 1999 *ad loc.*), *Supp.* 301f., 1146, *HF* 732f., 737-741, 755-759, 772f., 809-814, *El.* 958, *Hel.* 1002, *Or.* 1242 (and Willink 1986 *ad loc.*), *Ba.* 992, *Antigone* fr. 223 Kn. and Lloyd-Jones (1971) pp. 151-153.

*Toi* is frequently found in gnomic utterances. For parallels, cf. note on **fr. 5**.

**ισχύει μέγα:** Cf. similarly *Andr.* 332: τοῦτο δ' ἰσχύει μέγα, 1109: μῦθος ἰσχύων μέγα, *Antiope* fr. 200 Kn. (and Kambitsis 1972, p. 59): εἰς τ' ἀδ' πόλεμον ἰσχύει μέγα, *Archelaus* fr. 249 (and Harder 1985 *ad loc.*): κείνο δ' ἰσχύει μέγα and for this use of *μέγας*, Bissinger (1966) I p. 253. For parallel phrasing, cf. *Hel.* 1358, *Bellerophon* fr. 302 Kn., *A. Ag.* 938, *Eum.* 950, [*A.*] *Pr.* 1013, *S. Ai.* 502, *OC* 734.

#### Fr. 14:

These lines reject noble descent as the sole criterion of *eugeneia*, if not combined with moral nobility. The speaker—evidently a righteous character— observes the failure of traditional criteria to evaluate nobility, probably in view of Polydectes' moral decadence despite his royal status, as implicitly opposed to Dictys' moral virtue and humble occupation as a fisherman. I agree with Jouan & van Looy and Hartung that Perseus could be a plausible speaker<sup>436</sup> and in this light, I would draw a parallel to Orestes' rejection of the traditional qualities of *aretē* in praise of the Farmer's righteousness (*El.* 367-385). Alternatively, these lines may have been Dictys' rejoinder to a likely disparagement of his status by Polydectes<sup>437</sup> in the context of their confrontation (cf. **fr. 3**) or possible *agon* (for

<sup>436</sup> Jouan and van Looy (2000) p. 82, Hartung (1843-1844) I p. 370.

<sup>437</sup> Cf. Webster (1967) p. 63f., Stoessl (1958) p. 162.



the reference to status, cf. opening note on **fr. 4**, if spoken by Polydectes). Danae cannot be excluded, though the thematic relation of this fragment to **fr. 15**, the speaker of which is a male character (cf. note *ad loc.*), may weaken this possibility.

**2-4**: the sophistic *physis-nomos* controversy is lurking in this evaluation of nobility; only just people are noble *φύσει* (in view of their moral inherent qualities, which they display in everyday conduct), while the unjust cannot be *eugeneis*, even if their descent is noble *νόμωι* (in accordance with social conventions). Justice is thus regarded as an essential element of *eugeneia* and *aretē*; cf. Adkins (1960) pp. 176-189. For the *physis-nomos* antithesis and its social implications, cf. especially Lycophron the Sophist fr. 4 D.-K., also note on *Danae fr. 11. 4-7*. Euripides often picks up this issue with reference to social discriminations (cf. below, the note on *ἔσθλός*), as in *Alexandros* fr. 61b Kn. (cf. Scodel 1980, pp. 87-89 and Luria 1929, pp. 492-495) and particularly in terms of the disadvantaged position of illegitimate children (*Andr.* 636-638, *Andromeda* fr. 141 Kn. and Klimek-Winter 1993, p. 274, *Antigone* fr. 168 Kn., *Eurystheus Satyricus* fr. 377 Kn.) and slaves (*Ion* 854-856, *Hel.* 728-731 and Kannicht 1969, p. 208, *Phrixus* fr. 831 Kn. and van Looy 1964 *ad loc.*). Cf. Guthrie (1962-1981) III pp. 152-155, Kerferd (1981) pp. 154-156, Daitz (1971) pp. 219 and n. 1, 224-226, Assael (2001) pp. 206-209, Bergson (1971) p. 86, Baldry (1965) pp. 37, 44, Egli (2003) pp. 211-214, Heinemann (1945) p. 108f. Cf. also S. *Aleadae* fr. 87 R. (and Pearson 1917 *ad loc.*), *Tereus* fr. 591 R., Men. *Samia* 140-142 (and Lamagna 1998, p. 231, Gomme and Sandbach 1973, p. 559f.), fr. adesp. 1027 K.-A., Ar. *Pol.* 1253b. 21-22.

**ἔσθλός**: in Euripides this epithet may commend either the traditional, competitive qualities (noble birth, prosperity and virtue in war, cf. Adkins 1972, pp. 58-98, Sullivan 1995, pp. 123-173) or the co-operative excellences (the quiet moral behaviour, particularly justice and self-control, cf. Adkins 1960, p. 195), which flourished in later fifth century. For the wide range of its usage, cf. note on **fr. 4.2**. The sense of *ἔσθλός* in our fragment must comprise the notion of justice, as opposed to the *οὐ δίκαιος* of the next line. The praise of quiet moral behaviour as a prerequisite for *eugeneia* and *aretē* is a recurring theme in Euripides; cf. *El.* 380-385 (and Denniston 1939, pp. 93-96, Egli 2003, pp. 225-229, Goldhill 1986, pp. 165-168): οὗτος γὰρ ἀνὴρ οὐτ' ἐν Ἀργείοις μέγας/ οὐτ' ἀδ' δοκῆσει δωμάτων ὠγκωμένος,/ ἐν τοῖς δὲ πολλοῖς ὄν, ἄριστος ἠύρεθη./ οὐ μὴ ἀφρονήσεθ', οἱ κενῶν

δοξασμάτων/ πλήρεις πλανᾶσθε, τῆι δ' ὀμιλῖαι βροτῶν/ κρινεῖτε καὶ τοῖς ἤθεσιν τοὺς εὐγενεῖς; *Or.* 920-922 (and Willink 1986, p. 234f.): αὐτουργός, οἵπερ καὶ μόνοι σώζουσι γῆν,/ ξυνετὸς δέ, χωρεῖν ὁμόσε τοῖς λόγοις θέλων,/ ἀκέραιος, ἀνεπίπληκτον ἡσκηκῶς βίον, *Captive Melanippe* fr. 495. 40-43 Kn. (cf. van Looy 1964 and Collard, Cropp and Lee 1995 *ad loc.*): ἐγὼ μὲν <οὖν> οὐκ οἶδ' ὄτω σκοπεῖν χρεῶν/ τὴν εὐγένειαν· τοὺς γὰρ ἀνδρείους φύσιν/ καὶ τοὺς δικαίους τῶν κενῶν δοξασμάτων,/ κᾶν ᾧσι δούλων, εὐγενεστέρους λέγω. Cf. also Thgn 1. 147f. (and van Groningen 1966, pp. 57-59, Garzya 1958, p. 234, Ferguson 1958, p. 42): ἐν δὲ δικαιοσύνηι συλλήβδην πᾶσ' ἀρετὴ 'στι,/ πᾶς δέ τ' ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός, Κύρνε, δίκαιος ἐών, *S. Ant.* 661f.: ἐν τοῖς γὰρ οἰκείοισιν ὅστις ἔστ' ἀνὴρ/ χρηστός, φανεῖται κᾶν πόλει δίκαιος ᾧν, *Astydamas TrGF* 60 F8 (cf. Xanthakis-Karamanos 1980, pp. 147-149): γένους δ' ἔπαινός ἐστιν ἀσφαλέστατος/ κατ' ἀνδρ' ἐπαινεῖν, ὅστις ἂν δίκαιος ἦ/ τρόπους τ' ἄριστος· τοῦτον εὐγενῆ καλεῖν.

*Agathos* in democratic Athens is the citizen who makes himself useful to the *polis* thanks to his co-operative excellences, the development of which was mainly urged by democratic institutions; cf. *Heracl.* 1-5 (and Allan 2001, p. 133, Wilkins 1993, p. 46): ὁ μὲν δίκαιος τοῖς πέλας πέφυκ' ἀνὴρ,/ ὁ δ' ἐς τὸ κέρδος λῆμ' ἔχων ἀνειμένον/ πόλει τ' ἄχρηστος καὶ συναλλάσσειν βαρὺς,/ αὐτῶι δ' ἄριστος, *Eupolis Demoi* fr. 129 K.-A. (and Storey 2003 *ad loc.*), *Thuc.* 2. 37.1, 2. 40.2, 6. 9.2, 6. 14, *D.* iv 7, *Hyp.* ii 10 and Dover (1974) pp. 296-298, Fouchard (1997) pp. 194-199, Adkins (1972) pp. 115ff., Bryant (1996) pp. 151-168, 205, Humphreys (1978) p. 146, Pearson (1962) p. 181f. In this light, Euripides frequently praises the middle class for supporting civic order; cf. *Supp.* 244f. (and Collard 1975<sub>a</sub> *ad loc.*): τριῶν δὲ μοιρῶν ἢ 'ν μέσῳι σώιζει πόλεις,/ κόσμον φυλάσσουσ' ὄντιν' ἂν τάξει πόλις, *El.* 382, *Or.* 920-922, also *Phocyl.* fr. 12, *Ar. Pol.* 1295b. 1- 1296b. 12, *Men. Sic.* 182 (the line borrowed from *Or.* 920, cf. Gomme and Sandbach 1973 *ad loc.*) and Di Benedetto (1971) pp. 207-209, Basta Donzelli (1978) p. 242f., Goossens (1962) pp. 429-433. It should be noted, however, that the traditional competitive qualities continued to be respected and exist alongside co-operative values throughout the fifth century; cf. indicatively *Hipp.* 409-412, *Andr.* 766-776, adhering to traditional usages and Adkins (1960) pp. 156-168, 189, 191f., n. 12 and 13.

**3f.:** the assumption that one can have a nobler father than Zeus is clearly an *adynaton*, aiming to stress the insignificance of one's noble descent in the absence of moral righteousness. The figure of *hyperbole* is a 'decens veri superiectio' (Quint. *Inst.* 8. 6. 67, cf. also Dem. *Eloc.* 124f.), creating an impressive type of poetical *evidentia*; cf. Lausberg (1998) p. 410f., Manzo (1988) pp. 175-178, Canter (1930) pp. 32-41.

**4 δυσγενής:** the epithet usually occurs in its social sense, describing 'a person of low birth'; cf. *Heracl.* 303, *Ion* 1477, *IA* 446, *Captive Melanippe* fr. 495. 21 Kn., *Stheneboea* fr. 661. 3 Kn. and also S. *OT* 1079. Here, on the other hand, the traditional equation of lineage with every sort of excellence is overturned; hence, the unjust person lacks (moral) nobility (here *δυσγενής* as opposed to *εὐγενής* 'noble-minded'), even if his lineage is noble. Cf. similarly *HF* 663 (where *δυσγένεια* 'moral turpitude', according to Bond's interpretation, is contrasted to *aretē* and Gregory 1991, p. 123f.), *El.* 362f. (cf. Cropp 1988, p. 102): καὶ γὰρ εἰ πένης ἔφυν, οὐτοὶ τό γ' ἦθος δυσγενὲς παρέξομαι. Cf. also *IA* 1376 for *δυσγενής* as opposed to *εὐκλεής*. In our fragment, the antithesis between competitive and co-operative qualities is reinforced with sound-effect (*εὐγένεια-δυσγενής*).

#### Fr. 15:

This fragment is an aphorism of bad company and wealth, which was regarded as having the power to corrupt and mislead from a moral ('just', 'self-controlled'<sup>438</sup>) mode of life, by engendering pride and *hybris*.<sup>439</sup> Possessions and company are here presented as defining one's conduct and, from this point of view, this fragment could be related and perhaps belong to the same context as **fr. 14**, which defines moral behaviour as prerequisite for *eugeneia*.<sup>440</sup> A ready parallel is offered in *El.* 367-390, where Orestes dismisses parentage and wealth as features of true nobility, underlining that one's *eugeneia* should be judged by one's *ἦθος* ('character', 'behaviour') and *ὀμιλία* ('the company one keeps'). The male speaker of our fragment may be Perseus,<sup>441</sup> to whom the thematically related **fr. 14** can be assigned; this possibility would create an antecedent to Orestes' reflection. Dictys is also a likely candidate rejecting wealth and evil-minded associates as responsible for one's

<sup>438</sup> Cf. Adkins (1960) p. 195, North (1966a) p. 72f.

<sup>439</sup> Cf. Dover (1974) p. 110f.

<sup>440</sup> Cf. Hartung (1843-1844, I p. 370f.) suggesting that **fr. 14** and **15** could belong to the same context.

<sup>441</sup> Cf. Jouan and van Looy (2000) p. 82, Webster (1967) p. 63, Hartung (1843-1844) I p. 370f.

immoral mode of life and conceivably that led by Polydectes. Cf. also opening note on **fr. 16**.

**1 χρημάτων νικωμένω:** ‘to be overcome by wealth’. For similar phrasing expressing defeat from a passion/ disaster, cf. *Cyc.* 454: Βακχίου νικώμενος, *Med.* 1077: νικῶμαι κακοῖς, *Hipp.* 458: στέργουσι δ', οἶμαι, ξυμφορᾶι νικώμενοι, *Bellerophon* fr. 295 Κη.: πονηρῶ τῷ φθόνῳ νικωμένους, *A. Supp.* 1005: ἡμέρου νικώμενος, *Ag.* 342: κέρδεσιν νικωμένους, *S. El.* 1272: ἡδονῇ νικωμένην. The notion of servitude to wealth recurs in *Hec.* 865 (cf. Gregory 1999 *ad loc.*): χρημάτων δοῦλός ἐστιν, *Ph.* 395: ἐς τὸ κέρδος παρὰ φύσιν δουλευτέον. In *Th.* 2. 60.6, *χρήμασι νικωμένου* is used to describe corruption in politics. Cf. also note on *Danae fr. 10. 1*.

**2 κακῶ γενέσθαι:** the opposition between wealth and justice occurs in literature from the sixth century onwards, in the context of the huge economic expansion and monetization of society (cf. Bryant 1996, pp. 99-119 and for the monetization of politics, Schaps 2004, pp. 124-137). By that era, money starts to be compared with other basic features of *aretē*, such as lineage, virtue and justice; cf. *Thgn.* 1. 10, 50, 86, 199-201, 145f., 225, 335, Sappho fr. 148 L.-P., Sol. fr. 4. 5-10, 15 W. and Seaford (2004) pp. 158-162, Adkins (1972) pp. 37-44. For the comparison of wealth to lineage, cf. note on *Danae fr. 9. 1-5*. In the present case, wealth is regarded as rendering one *kakos* in a moral sense, by feeding individualism, greed and injustice and thus inhibiting the development of a quiet moral behaviour, which relies on *sophrosyne*, self-control and justice. Moreover, affluence is considered to entail *koros* (‘excess’) and *tryphe* (‘love of luxury’) bringing forth *hybris*. The personalized idea of Poverty declares in *Ar. Pl.* 563f. (cf. Sommerstein 2001 *ad loc.*): περὶ σωφροσύνης ἤδη τοίνυν περανῶ σφῶν κάναδιδάξω/ ὅτι κοσμιότης οἰκεῖ μετ' ἐμοῦ, τοῦ Πλούτου δ' ἐστὶν ὑβρίζειν. Cf. also *Arist. Rh.* 1383a.1-3, D. xxi 98, 205 (and MacDowell 1990, p. 19), xlv 37, li 1, X. *Cyr.* 8. 4. 14 and Fisher (1992) pp. 19-21, 102f., MacDowell (1976) p. 16f., Dover (1974) pp. 110-112. Opulence was further rejected as particularly linked with tyranny; cf. indicatively, Sol. fr. 33. 5f. W., *S. OT* 380-382, 541-542, 873-890 (and Sheppard 1920, pp. xlv-lvii, 152), *E. Ion* 629-631 (and Lee 1997, p. 230) and Seaford (2004) pp. 311-315, also note on **fr. 2. 7**.

Aphorisms of wealth as inhibiting the development of co-operative excellences occur widely in Euripides. The Farmer displays his moderation and prudence towards the

acquisition of wealth in *El.* 427-431 (cf. Cropp 1988 *ad loc.*): σκοπῶ τὰ χρήμαθ' ὡς ἔχει μέγα σθένος/ ξένοις τε δοῦναι σῶμά τ' ἐς νόσους πεσὼν / δαπάναισι σῶσαι· τῆς δ' ἐφ' ἡμέραν βορᾶς/ ἐς σμικρὸν ἤκει· πᾶς γὰρ ἐμπλησθεὶς ἀνὴρ/ ὁ πλούσιός τε χῶ πένης ἴσον φέρει. Cf. *Andr.* 639-641, *El.* 253 (and Denniston 1939 *ad loc.*): πένης ἀνὴρ γενναῖος ἔς τ' ἔμ' εὐσεβῆς, 941-944: ἡ γὰρ φύσις βέβαιος, οὐ τὰ χρήματα./ ἡ μὲν γὰρ αἰεὶ παραμένουσ' αἴρει κακά./ ὁ δ' ὄλβος ἀδίκως καὶ μετὰ σκαιῶν ξυνῶν / ἐξέπτατ' οἴκων, σμικρὸν ἀνθήσας χρόνον, *Ino* fr. 419 Kn.: βία νυν ἔλκετ' ὦ κακοὶ τιμὰς βροτοί,/καὶ κτᾶσθε πλοῦτον πάντοθεν θηρώμενοι./ σύμμικτα μὴ δίκαια καὶ δίκαι' ὁμοῦ./ ἔπειτ' ἀμᾶσθε τῶνδε δύστηνον θέρος, *Erechtheus* fr. 354, 362. 11-13 Kn., *Alexandros* fr. 61b. 10f. Kn. (and Scodel 1980, p. 112): τὸ φρόνιμον εὐγένεια καὶ τὸ συνετὸν/ ὁ θεὸς δίδωσιν, οὐχ ὁ πλοῦτος, fr. 54 Kn.: κακόν τι παίδευμ' ἦν ἄρ' εἰς εὐανδρίαν/ ὁ πλοῦτος ἀνθρώποισιν αἶ τ' ἄγαν τρυφαί./ πενία δὲ δύστηνον μὲν, ἀλλ' ὅμως τρέφει/ μοχθεῖν τ' ἀμείνω τέκνα καὶ δραστήρια, fr. 55 Kn., *Antigone* fr. 163 Kn., *Polyidus* fr. 641 Kn., *Phaethon* fr. 776 Kn. (and Diggle 1970, p. 131f.), *Phrixus* fr. 825 Kn., fr. inc. 1029 Kn., also notes on *Danae* fr. 11. 7, 12. 4 and Adkins (1960) pp. 172-179, Di Benedetto (1971) pp. 201-205, Nestle (1901) pp. 328-348. Nevertheless, poverty was also rejected as driving to shameful conduct through need; cf. *El.* 375f., also *Ar. Eccl.* 604f., *Pl.* 565, *Lys.* vii 13f., *D.* xxi 182, xxiv 123, xxix 22, *Aeschin.* i 88, *Isoc.* xvii 18, *Men. Dysc.* 296-298 and Dover (1974) p. 109f.

μηδ' ὁμιλοῖν κακοῖς: one's personality and mode of life is revealed by the kind of people, whom one consorts. Character-evaluation on the basis of *ὁμιλία* is a *topos* in Euripides and the significance of the company one keeps is used by Hippolytus and Phoenix in their defence-speeches as proof of their blamelessness (cf. *Hipp.* 997-999 and Barrett 1964 *ad loc.*: φίλοις τε χρῆσθαι μὴ ἀδικεῖν πειρωμένοις/ ἀλλ' οἷσιν αἰδῶς μήτ' ἐπαγγέλλειν κακά / μήτ' ἀνθυπουργεῖν αἰσχροῦ τοῖσι χρωμένοις and *Phoenix* fr. 812. 4-9 Kn.: κάγῳ μὲν οὕτω χῶστις ἔστ' ἀνὴρ σοφός/ λογίζομαι τάληθές, εἰς ἀνδρὸς φύσιν/ σκοπῶν δίκαιάν θ' ἦντιν' ἐμπορεύεται .../ ὅστις δ' ὁμιλῶν ἦδεται κακοῖς ἀνὴρ,/ οὐ πάποτ' ἠρώτησα, γινώσκων ὅτι / τοιοῦτός ἐστιν οἷσπερ ἦδεται ξυνῶν). Cf. also *Andr.* 930f. (and Stevens 1971 *ad loc.*), *El.* 383-385 (and Basta Donzelli 1978, pp. 233-237): οὐ μὴ ἀφρονήσεθ', οἱ κενῶν δοξασμάτων / πλήρεις πλανᾶσθε, τῆι δ' ὁμιλίαι βροτῶν / κρινεῖτε καὶ τοῖς ἦθεσιν τοὺς εὐγενεῖς; *Peliades* fr. 609 Kn.: ὁ γὰρ ξυνῶν κακὸς μὲν ἦν τύχη γεγῶς,/ τοιούσδε τοὺς ξυνόντας ἐκπαιδεύεται./ χρηστοὺς δὲ χρηστός· ἀλλὰ τὰς ὁμιλίας / ἐσθλὰς διώκειν, ὦ νέοι, σπουδάσετε, *Aegeus* fr. 7 Kn.: κρεῖσσον δὲ πλούτου καὶ βαθυσπόρου χθονός/ ἀνδρῶν

δικαίων κάγαθῶν ὀμιλίαι, fr. inc. 1024 Kn.: φθείρουσιν ἤθη χρήσθ' ὀμιλίαι κακαί, fr. inc.1067 Kn. Cf. Thgn. 1. 31-38 (and Garzya 1958, pp. 228-230), 305-308), A. *Pers.* 753 (and Broadhead 1960, p. 189), *Th.* 599, Hdt. 7. 16. 6f., Aeschin. i 153 (and Fisher 2001, p. 295): τὰς κρίσεις οὐκ ἐκ τῶν μαρτυριῶν, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων καὶ τῶν ὀμιλιῶν φησι ποιεῖσθαι, ἐκεῖσε ἀποβλέπων πῶς τὸν καθ' ἡμέραν βίον ζῆ ὁ κρινόμενος, καὶ ὄντινα τρόπον διοικεῖ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ οἰκίαν, ὡς παραπλησίως αὐτὸν καὶ τὰ τῆς πόλεως διοικήσοντα, καὶ τίσι χαίρει πλησιάζων.

### Fr. 16:

The speaker of this fragment accuses a male opponent of showing contempt for his own native land and enjoying the lifestyle of Seriphos (l. 2: τήνδε πόλιν). The rejection of individualism and injustice occurs also in **fr. 15** and **14**, though in general terms (presumably with reference to both private and public life), whereas this fragment focuses on civic behaviour. The implied target of **fr. 14** and **15** could reasonably have been Polydectes (cf. notes *ad loc.*), which raises the question whether he could be the addressee of the present fragment as well, though the accusation is here made explicit. In this direction, it should be noted that such a serious charge should have strongly appealed to the sensitivity of the Athenian audience, especially in the period of stress at the beginning of the Peloponnesian War,<sup>442</sup> which would tell in favour of an unsympathetic addressee; the obvious candidate for such a role would be Polydectes. Although no evidence survives as to his genealogy in Euripides, we are informed from [Apollod.] 1. 9.6 that Polydectes and Dictys were not native Seriphians, while the account of Pherecydes (fr. 10 Fowler) points in the same direction.<sup>443</sup> If Euripides did follow the mythographic tradition, the king seems to fit every feature of the person against whom the accusation is made: (1) he may have well been a foreigner having inhabited Seriphos, (2) he would fit the description of individualist and unjust (cf. **fr. 15, 14**), (3) his character should have looked even more appalling, in

<sup>442</sup> Cf. Adkins (1960) p. 191, n. 13.

<sup>443</sup> According to Pherecydes' genealogy, Dictys and Polydectes were of Argive origin as descendants of Nauplius, son of Poseidon and Amyone. Cf. *Danae*, The Myth, p. 9.

view of the sensitivity of the Athenian audience towards matters of devotion to the *polis*.<sup>444</sup> This powerfully moral argument could be assigned to Dictys<sup>445</sup> and located in the context of his conflict (fr. 3) or possible debate (cf. frs. 4, 5) with the king, to judge from the rhetorical type of argumentation (cf. note on ll. 1-5). This accusation may belong to the context of a general condemnation of Polydectes' malice, as Peleus censures Menelaus' whole history of malevolence in *Andr.* 590-631, describing him twice as *κάκιστος*. Nevertheless, these lines may also be a specific rejoinder prompted by Polydectes, who might have praised Seriphos and his own *tyrannis*.

Patriotic sentiment is prominent in Euripidean plays written during the War, especially in the *Heraclidae*, *Suppliant Women* and *Erechtheus*.<sup>446</sup> Cf. the celebrated ode in praise of Athens in *Med.* 824-845 and the notion of the identification of the citizen with his *polis* in *Philoctetes* fr. 798 Kn., both plays belonging to the same production as the *Dictys*. A parallel strong aphorism against the individualist attitude towards one's own city occurs in E. fr. inc. 886 Kn.: μισῶ πολίτην ὅστις ὠφελεῖν πάτραν/ βραδὺς φανεῖται, μεγάλα δὲ βλάπτειν ταχύς,/ καὶ πόριμον αὐτῷ, τῇ πόλει δ' ἀμήχανον and the serious accusations in oratory against those who disparage (cf. *Lys.* xxxi 6 and Carey 1989 *ad loc.*, *D.* xx 110-111, *Andoc.* i 5) or abandon their homelands for other cities (the subject of *Lycurg.* i). Likewise, Menoecus in *Ph.* 991-1012 describes himself as *κακός* if he betrays his fatherland. For the notion of overlapping private and communal interests in this period, cf. *Th.* 2. 43 and 2. 60.2-4 and for expressions of love for one's homeland, cf. *Aegeus* fr. 6 Kn., *Phoenix* fr. 817 Kn., *Aeolus* fr. 30 Kn., *Temenidae* fr. 729 Kn.

1-5: The speaker develops a type of hypothetical syllogism, the conclusion of which (ll. 3-5) lacks the formulaic phraseology, in which it occurs in formal debates of subsequent plays of Euripides ('if...then...but in fact...', cf. for instance, *Hec.* 1217-1223 and Lloyd

<sup>444</sup> Hartung (1843-1844, I p. 370) and Duchemin (1968<sup>2</sup>, p. 92) attributed these lines to Polydectes as attacking Perseus. However, an encounter between Polydectes and Perseus remains merely conjectural, while, as Webster aptly pointed out (1967, p. 64), there seems to be no reason why exiled Perseus could have been accused of playing the Seriphian. Moreover, the moral connotations of this argument and its possible impact favour a villain as addressee. This would also exclude Dictys, who, even if presented as a foreigner as well, cannot be imagined as enjoying the lifestyle of Seriphos, in view of his humble status, at least not to the extent to which Polydectes would.

<sup>445</sup> So Webster (1967) p. 64, tentatively followed by Jouan and van Looy (2000) p. 82.

<sup>446</sup> Cf. additionally, the attack on Spartans in *Andr.* 445-453 (and Lloyd 1994 *ad loc.*, for parallel passages, Stevens 1971 *ad loc.*) and the praise of Athens as against the ability of Sparta and other city-states to offer help in *Supp.* 187-192 (and Collard 1975, p. 157f.). Cf. Zuntz (1955) pp. 16-20, 80f., Wilkins (1990) pp. 179-181, Delebecque (1951) pp. 87f., 425f., Di Benedetto (1971) pp. 112-114, 121-123, 145-147.

1992, p. 32f., *El.* 1024-1029, *Or.* 496-506). Cf. the use of this type of argumentation in the *agon* in *Med.* 488-491, 586f.: χρῆν σ', εἴπερ ἦσθα μὴ κακός, πείσαντά με/ γαμεῖν γάμον τόνδ', ἀλλὰ μὴ σιγῆι φίλων, also *Cresphontes* fr. 451 Kn. (and Harder 1985 *ad loc.*). Lysias makes extensive use of formally structured hypothetical syllogisms; cf. iii 22f., xii 28f., 32f., xxii 11f. (and Bateman 1962, pp. 168-170).

μὴ κάκιστος: the opponent is accused of being *κάκιστος* quite often in Euripides' debates, this type of accusation usually being addressed against the guilty party (with the exception of *Hipp.* 945, 959); cf. *Alc.* 717, *Med.* 488, *Andr.* 590, 631, 719, *Hec.* 1199, *HF* 182.

πάτραν: poetic form of *πατρίς* 'fatherland'; cf. indicatively *Il.* 12. 243, 24. 500, *Pi.* *O.* 12. 16, *A.* *Pers.* 186, *S.* *Ph.* 222, *E.* *Cyc.* 703, *Heracl.* 310, *Tr.* 1132, *IT* 929, also in parody in *Ar.* *Ach.* 147, *Th.* 136, *Alexis Ponera* fr. 198 K.-A., *Diphilus Synoris* fr. 74.9 K.-A.

2 ἀτίζων: 'not to honour, to slight', a synonym of *ἀτιμάζω* (*Et. Gud.* Vol. I, p. 227, line 21 De Stefani) occasionally found as its metrical variant at this position of the trimeter; cf. Dale (1954) on *Alc.* 1037 and Friis Johansen-Whittle (1980) on *A. Supp.* 733, *A. Th.* 441, *E. Supp.* 865. Cf. also *A. Eum.* 541, *Cercyon Satyricus* fr. 105 R., *E. Supp.* 19, *Tr.* 809, *S. OC* 1153, *A.R.* 1. 478.

οὔποτ' ἄν εὐλόγεις: 'you would never have praised'. Elmsley preferred *ἠυλόγεις* to the reading *εὐλόγεις* of the manuscript tradition, presumably in view of the wide usage of spellings in *εὐ-* in the past tense for the earlier forms in *ἠυ-* from the end of the fourth century onwards (cf. Threatte 1980-1996, I p. 384f.). However, the treatment of compounds of *εὐ* seems to have varied in the fifth century, to judge from papyri and manuscripts, while inscriptional evidence is inconclusive for this period (cf. Threatte 1980-1996, II p. 499). Scansion does not help in this case and there is no other instance in Euripides of the usage of this verb in the past tense, to give us a clear view of his preference. The earliest occurrence of the spelling in *εὐ-* of compounds of *εὐ* in Euripides is *Hec.* 18, 301, 1208, 1228 (cf. afterwards *HF* 613, 1221, *El.* 8, *IT* 329). As the time-span between the *Dictys* and the *Hecabe* is not large (6-7 years), there seems to be no compelling reason why the reading of the mss may not be accepted. The verb occurs in the praise of a city also in *A. Ag.* 580: τοιαῦτα χρῆ κλύοντας εὐλογεῖν πόλιν, *S. OC* 720: ὃ πλεῖστ' ἐπαίνοις εὐλογοῦμενον πέδον.



3 ἔν γ' ἔμοι: 'in my judgment'; ἐν + Dative of person is used in poetry to express conformity with one's opinion (cf. Kühner-Gerth 1904<sup>3</sup>, I p. 466). Cf. *Hipp.* 988, 1320: σὺ δ' ἐν τ' ἐκείνῳ κὰν ἔμοι φαίνοι κακός, *IA* 1273, A. *Eum.* 469, S. *Ai.* 1092, 1315: καὶ δειλὸς εἶναι μᾶλλον ἢ 'ν ἔμοι θρασύς, *OT* 677 (and Jebb 1893<sup>3</sup> *ad loc.*), *Ant.* 459, *OC* 1213f. (and Kamerbeek 1984 *ad loc.*): σκαιοσύναν φυλάσ-ισων ἐν ἔμοι κατάδηλος ἔσται, *Ichneutae* 350 (and Pearson 1917 *ad loc.*).

4-5: These lines are a *variatio* of ll. 1-2; the same idea was first uttered in specific and now in general terms.

πατρώας γῆς ὄρους: 'the boundaries of one's homeland', a common type of periphrasis in Euripides for the definition of a territory; cf. *Heracl.* 38: κλεινῶν Ἀθηνῶν τόνδ' ἀφικόμεσθ' ὄρον, 133: ποίας γῆς ὄρους λιπών, *Hec.* 963: ἐν μέσοις Θρήικης ὄροις, 1260: γῆς ὄρους Ἑλληνίδος, *Ion* 1356: Εὐρώπης ὄρους, *El.* 410f.: Ἀργείας ὄρους/ (...) γαίας, 1315: γῆς πατρίας ὄρον ἐκλείπειν, *IT* 85: Ταυρικῆς ὄρους χθονός, 1450f.: Ἀτθίδος πρὸς ἐσχάτοις / ὄροισι. The epithet *πατρῶος* is mainly used for homeland, as here (cf. *Cyc.* 108, *Alc.* 169, *Med.* 35, *Heracl.* 1052, *Hipp.* 1048, *Hec.* 1221, *Tr.* 389, *IT* 1066, A. *Th.* 668, *Ag.* 503, S. *Tr.* 236), and also with reference to one's natal *oikos* and ancestral gods; cf. *Danae* fr. 4 (and note *ad loc.*).

ἀτιμάζων: 'to hold in no honour, to bring dishonour upon', especially for ideas held as sacred (i.e. gods, homeland, suppliants). In A. *Supp.* 912 and S. *OT* 340, it refers to a city, as in our fragment. Cf. *Alc.* 567, 658, *Heracl.* 78, *Hipp.* 1192, *Ba.* 1320, S. *Ai.* 1342, *Ant.* 572.

5 τρόποισιν: here as 'habit, way of life'. Cf. *Supp.* 187: Σπάρτη μὲν ὦμῃ καὶ πεποίκιλται τρόπους, *Oeneus* fr. 560 Κη.: ἄλλος ἄλλοις μᾶλλον ἥδεται τρόποις, *Andr.* 230f.: τῶν κακῶν γὰρ μητέρων/ φεύγειν τρόπους χρὴ τέκν' ὅσοις ἔνεστι νοῦς, fr. inc. 897, 1027 Κη., A. *Isthmiastae* fr. 78a. 34R.

#### Fr. 17:

The general reflection is here introduced with *φειδ* as reaction to another character's act or utterance; cf. similarly *Hipp.* 431, *Andr.* 183-185, *Hec.* 863, 956, 1238, *Supp.* 463, *El.* 367

(and Denniston 1939 *ad loc.*), *Ion* 1312 and note on *Danae* fr. 14. 1. The epithet *kakos* may be associated with either competitive or co-operative values in Euripides (cf. note on fr. 4. 2). In this case, the occurrence of *παλαιός* (*αἶνος*) denoting a long-established viewpoint, as well as the use of the same antithesis *χρηστός-κακός* in terms of the relation of lineage to character in *El.* 369f. (which is rejected by Orestes: ἤδη γὰρ εἶδον [...] χρηστὰ δ' ἐκ κακῶν τέκνα) seem to point to the traditional usage of *kakos* attached to a person of low social status. These lines could have thus been Polydectes' attack on Dictys' possibly humble origin, which in the king's eyes entails lack of all sorts of excellence and might be located in the context of their possible *agon*.<sup>447</sup> Consequently, fr. 14 contesting birth as the sole criterion of *eugeneia*, unless combined with justice, may have been Dictys' rejoinder to the king.

On the other hand, the interpretation of *kakos* in a moral sense, which seems less likely for the reasons stated above, would entail also a high degree of conjecture as to the identity of the addressee; the comment on hereditary vice could have been uttered by a sympathetic figure, namely Danae, Dictys or Perseus,<sup>448</sup> as specific reaction to another character's malicious attitude. The most obvious example of malice is Polydectes; no evidence, however, survives as to his father's quality, apart from the names Peristhenes and Magnes in Pherecydes (fr. 10 Fowler) and [Apollod.] 1. 9.6 respectively and he would have probably been excluded from the dramatic action, which would make this statement pointless. Alternatively, in order to explore the possibility that the vicious offspring of an evil father might have been Polydectes' son (the king's assumed interlocutor in fr. 6-9), we would have to presuppose that if he had a role in the play, it would have gone beyond the debate with his father, so as to raise this comment on malice by the sympathetic party.

1 *παλαιός αἶνος*: here, in the sense of 'saying, proverb'; cf. note on *Danae* fr. 1. 1.

2 *χρηστός*: 'useful, worthy'; according to the first, preferred, interpretation adhering to the competitive standard of *aretē*, this quality is the outcome of noble lineage and thus restricted to the class of *agathoi*, who are so commended for their beneficial characteristics and effectiveness to assure the stability and well-being of the state. This

<sup>447</sup> Stoessl (1958, p. 162) assigned this fragment to Polydectes, locating it in the debate with Dictys, though his interpretation of the fragment fails to delineate the king's position on the traditional equation of birth with character, as argued here.

<sup>448</sup> So Webster (1967, p. 63f.) attributing the fragment to Dictys and Aélion (1986, p. 159 and n. 28) assigning it to either of the suppliants. Jouan and van Looy (2000, p. 82) assigned it to Perseus.

traditional usage goes back to Homer, where *agathoi* are those who are able to effectively defend the group, by uniting in themselves courage, high birth and wealth, the qualities of which that society holds itself to be most in need; cf. indicatively *Il.* 2. 198-202, 12. 310-321, also *Pi. P.* 10.69-72 and Adkins (1972) pp. 13f., 60-65, Adkins (1960) pp. 36, 70f., Bryant (1996) pp. 28-31, 80-84, Ferguson (1958) pp. 19-21. Traditional values continued to exist in the later part of the fifth century; cf. for instance, *Heracl.* 510 and *Temenidae* fr. 739 Kn. adhering to the competitive standard of *aretē*, again by praising one's conduct as the result of one's lineage, and for more examples, cf. note on **fr. 4. 2.**

The second, less probable interpretation of *χρηστός* in the present case, as argued above, would commend a person who displays a quiet moral behaviour (relying on justice and *sophrosyne*) in both private and public life, thus making himself beneficial to the city-state; the moral nuance of the epithet flourishes in later fifth century upon the development of co-operative excellences as features of *aretē*: cf. *S. Ant.* 661f. (and Griffith 1999, p. 237), *E. Autolycus* fr. 282. 23-28 Kn., *Ar. Th.* 832, *Ra.* 1455f. (and Dover 1993, p. 212), *Eupolis Demoi* fr. 129 K.-A., *D.* xviii 190, 292, *Hyp.* iv 37, *Aeschin.* i 30 (and Fisher 2001 *ad loc.*) and Dover (1974) pp. 296-298, Adkins (1960) pp. 195-199, Adkins (1972) pp. 126f., 146, Dover (1988) p. 10f. and the discussion on **fr. 14. 2.**

### **Fr. 18:**

The textual transmission of this fragment has raised serious issues of interpretation. The translation of these lines as transmitted is incomprehensible: 'For he was dear to me and may Eros capture me without leading me to folly or Cypris'. Two different and unrelated ideas are expressed: the speaker's affection for a male character in the past tense and the wish to find love in moderation. As transmitted, the fragment seems to have been badly extracted from its context; Stobaeus' aim was evidently to cite the reference to Cypris from the second half of the first line onwards (cf. the title of his section). It seems that the received text can only be retained if we put a strong pause before *καί*, so that the two ideas are separated.<sup>449</sup> The first idea must probably be linked to the lost previous part of the text

<sup>449</sup> I am indebted to Prof. Carey for this suggestion.

referring to the person, for whom the speaker is expressing these feelings in the past tense, which implies that this person is perhaps regarded as no longer alive. The possibility that Danae or Dictys could have expressed their affection for Perseus, whom they consider to be dead (cf. fr. 2) is weakened by the speaker's hope to find moderate love some time in the future (ποτε+ optative), which cannot be plausibly assigned to the old fisherman or Danae, who was already 'captured' by Eros in the past as Zeus' λέχος. Webster inclined towards accepting Nauck's conjecture and assigning these lines to the young Perseus (cf. Bellerophon's similar wish in *Stheneboea* fr. 661. 21-25 Kn. and Theseus in *Theseus* fr. 388 Kn.).<sup>450</sup> However, the syntax of the proposed emendation (φίλον γὰρ ἡμῖν εἶ...) is unparalleled in Attic Greek.

The problematic transmission of the fragment allows only for conjecture. Usener made a tempting suggestion, by changing ἔλοι to εἶλεν, which was adopted by Wachsmuth in his edition of Stobaeus. The movable ν can be preserved even before a consonant for metrical reasons, as in numerous other cases in Euripides (cf. indicatively *Med.* 566, 1302, *Heracl.* 220, 408, 426, 715, *Hec.* 509, 574, 804, *HF* 305, *El.* 272, 1277, *Tr.* 3, 91, 440, *Ion* 643, *Ph.* 453, *Or.* 566, *Ba.* 473 etc. and Kühner-Blaß 1904<sup>3</sup>, I 292). The fragment would thus be translated as follows: 'For he was dear to me and Eros captured me once without leading me to folly or Cypris'. In this case, the speaker may be Danae referring to her sacred union with Zeus, who must be the one whom she regards as φίλος ('nearest and dearest'). Gods were considered to be φίλοι to certain humans, particularly in cases where they had begotten offspring from their union with mortal women; accordingly, Zeus' relationship with Antiope and her sons and with Heracles' family is described as φιλία in *Antiope* fr. 223. 14 Kn. and *HF* 341, 346 respectively.<sup>451</sup> The censure of Polydectes' amorous folly as opposed to Danae's holy union with Zeus could have been dramatically effective and might have been located in a confrontation-scene between the king and the suppliants.

A conjecture made by Wilamowitz seems to me to be the most attractive in terms of its potential relation to the surviving fragments of the play: φίλος γὰρ εἶ μοι, καὶ μ' ἔρω

<sup>450</sup> Cf. Webster (1967) p. 63.

<sup>451</sup> Homer describes Zeus as φίλος to several of the sons he has begotten from mortal women: Heracles (*Il.* 18. 118), Sarpedon (*Il.* 16. 433, 450, 460, 568), Dardanus (*Il.* 20. 304), Scamander (*Il.* 21. 223). Cf. Dirlmeier (1935) pp. 64-68.

ἔλοι ποτὲ . . . On the basis of our evidence, I would locate it in a different context than Wecklein (1888, p. 110), who suggested that the speaker may be Danae referring to Dictys, drawing a parallel to Electra's address to the Farmer in *El.* 67 (Danae, however, cannot be a plausible speaker for the reasons stated above). The speaker appeals to the idea of *philia* relating him to his interlocutor, while censuring amorous folly. The notions of *philia* and overmastering passion are recurring themes in the possible conversation of **frr. 6-9** about the effects of Polydectes' desire for Danae on his family (cf. especially **fr. 7. 1f.**: πατρὶ φίλτατον τέκνα/ παισὶν τε τοὺς τεκόντας, and for Cypris, **frr. 8. 5f., 9**). The speaker of these lines may thus be Polydectes' interlocutor in this discussion, perhaps his son (cf. introductory note on **fr. 6**), asserting his affection for his father, as Haemon in *S. Ant.* 635 (πάτερ, σὸς εἰμι . . . equivalent to *philos*, cf. Brown 1987 *ad loc.*), while at the same time hoping to find love in moderation (for such a hope expressed by a young character, cf. *Stheneboea* fr. 661. 21-25 Kn. and Theseus in *Theseus* fr. 388 Kn.), unlike Polydectes. In this case, the first half of the first line would be better understood as a *parenthesis* (φίλος γὰρ εἶ μοι— καὶ μ' ἔρωσ ἔλοι ποτὲ. . .), which might have been related to the *νουθέτησις* against amorous folly rejected presumably by Polydectes in **fr. 9** (hence, hypothetically: '<I am making this admonition>, for you are dear to me— and may Eros capture me without leading me to folly or Cypris', that is, 'may I never find myself in your position').

**2**: the quest for *sophron eros* is a *topos* in Euripides, in the context of his treatment of the destructive effects brought by overmastering passion; cf. *Med.* 627-643 (and Mastronarde 2002, pp. 276-279, Page 1938, p. 118f.), *Hipp.* 525-529 (and Gill 1990, pp. 80-92, Segal 1970, p. 281), *Andr.* 464-470, *Hel.* 1105f. (and Kannicht 1969, p. 275), *IA* 543-557 (and Stockert 1992, pp. 355, 360-363), *Stheneboea* fr. 661. 21-25 Kn., *Theseus* fr. 388 Kn., *Melanippe* fr. 503 Kn. (and van Looy 1964 *ad loc.*), *Aeolus* fr. 26 Kn., fr. inc. 897. 9-11 Kn.: τὸ δ' ἔρῶν προλέγω τοῖσι νέοισιν/ μήποτε φεύγειν,/ χρῆσθαι δ' ὀρθῶς, ὅταν ἔλθῃ, 967 Kn. For the notion of *sophron eros*, cf. also Democritus fr. 73 D.-K., Pl. *Phaedrus* 243e.9- 257b.6, *Symp.* 180e, 186a-b, X. *Mem.* 1. 6.13 and North (1966a) p. 73f., Lesky (1976) pp. 71-74, Fischer (1973) p. 60. For *sophrosyne* as a virtue in private and civic life, cf. notes on **frr. 14. 2, 15. 2**.

Sexual intemperance was mostly regarded as a feminine vice; cf. indicatively *Med.* 263-6, 569-75, *Hipp.* 643-645, *Andr.* 218-221, Schol. vet. *Ar. Ra.* 849 (Holwerda)

(referring to the libidinous Aerope of the *Cretan Women*), also Hes. fr. 275 M.-W., Anaxandr. fr. inc. 61 K.-A., Men. *Samia* 349f. and Dover (1974) pp. 100-102. In the *Dictys*, however, it is a man who is censured for his amorous passion (for which cf. **fr. 8** and **9**), as is Theoclymenus in *Hel.* 1018f.

εἰς τὸ μῶρον: a condemnatory word, denoting folly and culpable lack of intelligence in general, often associated with sexual intemperance in Euripides; cf. Barrett (1964) p. 282. In this case, this particular sense of the word is made even stronger in view of the reference to Cypris (epithet of Aphrodite mostly used to connote sexual desire, cf. note on **fr. 9**). For eloquent parallels, cf. *Hipp.* 642-644 (cf. Barrett 1964 and Halleran 1995 *ad loc.*): τὸ γὰρ κακοῦργον μᾶλλον ἐντίκτει Κύπρις/ ἐν ταῖς σοφαῖσιν· ἢ δ' ἀμήχανος γυνή/ γνώμη βραχεία μωρίαν ἀφηρέθη, 966-969: ἀλλ' ὡς τὸ μῶρον ἀνδράσιν μὲν οὐκ ἔνι,/ γυναιξὶ δ' ἐμπέφυκεν; οἷδ' ἐγὼ νέους/ οὐδὲν γυναικῶν ὄντας ἀσφαλεστέρους,/ ὅταν ταράξῃ Κύπρις ἠβῶσαν φρένα and *Tr.* 988-990 (cf. the paretymology of Aphrodite from ἀφροσύνη and Lee 1976, p. 238, Barlow 1986, p. 212, Biehl 1989, p. 365): ὁ σὸς δ' ἰδὼν νιν νοῦς ἐποιήθη Κύπρις·/ τὰ μῶρα γὰρ πάντ' ἐστὶν Ἀφροδίτη βροτοῖς,/ καὶ τοῦνομ' ὀρθῶς ἀφροσύνης ἄρχει θεᾶς. For the same notion, cf. also *Andr.* 673f. (with Stevens' note on 674), *El.* 1035 (cf. Denniston 1939 and Cropp 1988 *ad loc.*), *Ion* 545: — ἦλθεσ ἐς νόθον τι λέκτρον;/ — μωρίαί γε τοῦ νέου, *Hel.* 1018, *Stheneboea* fr. 661. 5 Kn. (here *νήπιος* as a synonym to *μῶρος*, cf. Collard, Cropp and Lee 1995 *ad loc.*): πολλοὺς δὲ πλούτῳ καὶ γένει γαυρουμένους/ γυνή κατήσχυν' ἐν δόμοισι νηπία. An even stronger word bearing this sense is *μάχλος* ('lustful', confined to women) occurring in Hes. *Op.* 586, fr. 132 M.-W., E. *Cretans* fr. 472 e. 8 Kn.

**Κύπριν**: often connoting sexual desire; cf. note on **fr. 9**.

#### **Fr. 19:**

This word is preserved by Hesychius, who reads *ἀζοίμην*, which was changed to *ἀζοίμην* with a rough breathing by Nauck. *ἄζομαι* signifies 'to stand in awe of s.o./ sth, especially gods and one's parents, to respect, to be afraid of' (*LSJ*<sup>p</sup>); cf. *Alc.* 326, *Heracl.* 600, 1038, *Or.* 1116, also *Il.* 1. 21. *Od.* 17. 401. *A. Supp.* 652, 884, *Eum.* 389, 1002, *S. OT* 155, *OC*

134, A.R. 4. 250. This verb is never found in the completely different sense of *ἀγανακτῶ*, which is attested by Hesychius. On the other hand, *ἄζω* with a smooth breathing denotes ‘to groan, to sigh’<sup>452</sup> and accords with one of the meanings of *ἀγανακτῶ* as ‘to show outward signs of grief’ (*LSJ*<sup>9</sup>, cf. for instance Pl. *Phd.* 117d. 5: καὶ δὴ καὶ τότε ἀναβρυχησάμενος κλάων καὶ ἀγανακτῶν). Hesychius interprets *ἄζειν* as *στενάζειν ἢ ἐκπνεῖν διὰ στόματος* (α 1445 Latte) and preserves the related glossa *ἄζωλεῖ*, which signifies *ἀγανακτεῖ* (α 1484 Latte). In S. fr. inc. 980 R. *ἄζειν* occurs in the sense of *στένειν* (Photius α 431 Theodoridis). I thus agree with Prof. Kannicht (who cites the passages from Hesychius and Sophocles) that *ἀζοίμην* as *ἀγανακτῶ* should be related to *ἄζω* rather than to the semantically divergent *ἄζομαι* and therefore, the smooth breathing must be preserved as read in Hesychius. Cf. also schol. Eust. *Il.* 11.441 (van der Valk) cited by Kannicht, suggesting that it derives from the exclamation *ἄ* expressing indignation. In view of the complete isolation of the verb from its context, I would not hazard any guess as to the speaker’s identity or its location within the play.

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<sup>452</sup> Another meaning of the word is ‘to get dry’ (Hsch. α 1483 Latte, cf. *Il.* 4. 487).

## APPENDIX

### Euripides and Danae's Legend in Late Antiquity: The Spurious fr. 1132 Kn.

ΕΡΜΗΣ. Δόμοι μὲν οἶδ' εὐπυργά τ' ἐρύματα χθονός  
 οὐκ ἐν πολυχρύσοισιν ἤσκηται χλιδαῖς·  
 ἀρχὴν δὲ τῶνδε καὶ θεῶν ἰδρύματα  
 Ἄκρίσιος εἴληχεν, τύραννος τῆσδε γῆς·  
 Ἕλλησι δ' Ἄργος ἢ πόλις κικλήσκειται. 5  
 οὗτος δ' ἔρωτι παιδὸς ἄρσενος σχεθεῖς  
 Πυθῶδ' ἀφίκτο, καὶ λέγει Φοῖβω τάδε·  
 πῶς ἂν γένοιτο σπέρμα παιδὸς ἐν δόμῳ,  
 τίνος θεῶν βροτῶν τε πρευμενοῦς τυχῶν;  
 κείνος δὲ δυσξέμβλητον ἐξήνεγκ' ὄπα· 10  
 ἔσται μὲν ἔσται παιδὸς ἄρσενος τόκος  
 οὐκ ἐξ ἐκείνου· πρῶτα γὰρ θῆλυν σπορὰν  
 φύσαι δεήσει. κἄτά πως κείνη ποτὲ  
 εὐνήν κρυφαίαν γνοῦσα καὶ μὴ γνοῦσα δὴ  
 ὑπόπτερον λέοντα τέξεται πατρί, 15  
 ὃς τῆσδέ τ' ἄρξει χάτέρας πολλῆς χθονός.  
 τοιαῦτ' ἀκούσας Λοξίου μαντεύματα  
 γάμων ἀπείχεθ'· ὅμως δέ γε τίκτει λαθῶν,  
 πρὸς τοῦ παρόντος ἡμέρου νικῶμενος.  
 Δανάην δὲ πῶς ὠνόμασε τήνδ', ὀθούνεκα 20  
 πολὺς παρήλθεν εἰς γονὴν παίδων χρόνος.  
 ἐν παρθενῶσι δ' εὐθύς οἷς ἐδείματο  
 δίδωσιν Ἀργεΐαισιν ἔμφρουρον κόραις,  
 εἰς ἀνδρὸς ὄψιν εὐλαβούμενος μολεῖν.  
 εἶθ' ὡς ὁ μακρὸς ἠῦξανε ταύτην χρόνος, 25

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4 εἴληχεν cod.: εἴληχ' ὦν Musgrave || 9 τυχῶν cod.: τύχω Bothe || 15 ὑπόπτερον emend. Bentley:  
 ὑπόπετρον cod., prob. Kannicht || 16 τῆσδέ τ' Porson : τῆσδέ γ' cod. | χάτέρας Heath: θατέρας  
 cod. || 18 ὅμως δέ γε cod.: ὁ δὲ γ' ὅμως Wolff || 20 δέ πως cod.: δέ παιδ' Boissonade



καὶ κάλλος εἶχεν ἔξοχον καθ' Ἑλλάδα,  
 φίλτροις ἀφύκτοις Ζεὺς κατασχεθεὶς πατῆρ  
 εὐνῆ συνελθεῖν λάθρα πως ἠβούλετο.  
 σαφῶς δὲ πείθειν οὐκ ἔχων, εἰς μηχανὴν  
 τοιάνδ' ἐχώρησ', ὡς ἄπυρος χρυσὸς γεγώς, 30  
 ποθεινὸν εἰδῶς κτήμα τοῦτο τοῖς βροτοῖς,  
 διὰ στέγους ρεύσειεν ἐν χερσὶν κόρης.  
 ἦ δ' ἀγνοοῦσα τὸν κεκρυμμένον δόλον  
 κόλποισι τὸν θεὸν εἰσρέοντ' ἐδέξατο.  
 χρόνῳ δ' ἑαυτὴν ὡς κατεῖδ' ἐγκύμονα, 35  
 εἰς θαῦμ' ἐσήει κάξεπέπληκτο σφοδρῶς,  
 ὡς εἰς τόδ' ἦλθε μέμψιν εὐλαβουμένη.  
 φυγῆ δὲ λάθρα τῆσδε γῆς ὀρμωμένην  
 μαθὼν πατῆρ νιν, ἐγκατάκλειστον δόμοις  
 ἔργει χολωθεὶς καὶ σκότῳ κρύψας ἔχει, 40  
 τάληθές ὄψει προσκοπούμενος μαθεῖν·  
 κἂν ταῦτ' ἀληθῆ καὶ σαφῶς ἔχοντ' ἴδη,  
 ἔγνωκεν ἄμφω ποντίους ἀφιέναι,  
 τὴν παῖδα καὶ τὸ τεχθέν. ὦν δέ γ' ἐστάλην,  
 μύθους Δανάη τούσδ' εὐπροσηγόρους ἄγων 45  
 ἐκ Διός, ἀφίξομαι τάχιστα σημανῶν.  
 ὑπηρέτην γὰρ ὄντα τὰπεσταλμένα  
 πράσσειν προθύμως, ὅστις ἂν γ' ἦ νουνεχῆς.  
 ΧΟΡΟΣ. τίς ὁ καινοτρόπος οὗτος μῦθος  
 κατ' ἐμὴν ἦκεν ἀκουάν; 50  
 ἔνθ' ἀσπερχές μενεαίνουσα  
 τοῖσδε δώμασι κοιράνου ἀμφίδοξος πελάζω.  
 τίς δεσπότην ἐμὴν Δανάην

28 λάθρα πως cod.: λαθρίως Musgrave || 31 κτήμα τοῦτο Matthiae: τοῦτο κτήμα cod. || 33  
 ἀγνοοῦσα Heath: αἶ μὴ γνοῦσα cod. || 36 σφοδρῶς Pierson: σαφῶς cod. || 38 ὀρμωμένην Barnes:  
 ὀρμωμένης cod. || 40 ἔργει Nauck: ὀργῆ cod. || 42 κἂν ταῦτ' ἀληθῆ Musgrave: καὐτὰς τάληθῆ  
 cod. || 48 πράσσειν cod.: πράσσων Wolff || 53 δεσπότην Nauck : δέσποτιν cod.

βάξις ἔχει κατὰ πτόλιν;  
 ἦν μήποτ' ὄφελ' εἰς ὧτα φέρειν 55  
 ὁ πρῶτος τάδε φράσαι τολμήσας,  
 ὡς ἐγκύμων εἴληπται χραυθεῖσ' ἄλεκτρος  
 ἀνδρός· πατήρ δέ μιν κλήσας  
 ἐν παρθενῶσι σφραγῖσι δέμας φυλάσσει.  
 ταῦτ' ἐτήτυμα μαθεῖν θέλω. 60  
 ἀλλ' εἰσορῶ γὰρ τῆσδε κοίρανον χθονός  
 Ἄργείας Ἀκρίσιον πρὸ δόμων στείχοντα.  
 ὀργῇ βαρύς, ὡς δόξαι, κέαρ.  
 ΑΚΡΙΣΙΟΣ. σὺ δ' εἰ κατ' οἴκους εὐνοῶν ἐτύγχανες,  
 οὐκ ἂν ποτ' ἦλθες εἰς τόδε θράσους .. 65

61 τῆσδε κοίρανον χθονός Nauck (secundum HF 138): τύραννον χθονός τῆσδε cod. || 65 εἰς τόδε θράσους cod.: εἰς τόδ' εἰς ὃ νῦν θράσους Porson (secundum Sm. 1091)

### 1. Diagnosis of Spuriousness

Fr. 1132 Kn. is transmitted in the fourteenth-century codex P of Euripides (Vaticanus Palatinus gr. 287, f<sup>o</sup> 147<sup>v</sup>-148<sup>r</sup>) after what purports to be the 'hypothesis' and personarum index of E. *Danae*. As already mentioned (cf. note on T5), the 'hypothesis' and the 65 lines of this fragment are evidently written in the same hand as the preceding spurious *IA* 1570-1629, which was identified by Turyn as that of the rubricator Ioannes Katrares.<sup>453</sup> The '*Danae*-prologue' was first diagnosed as spurious by Elmsley, who also noted its resemblance in technique to the spurious ending of the *Iphigenia in Aulis*.<sup>454</sup> West traced further common stylistic features in the two pieces and taking also into account the similar circumstances of their preservation, he suggested that the spurious ending of the *Iphigenia in Aulis* and the false '*Danae* prologue' could have been written by the same author some

<sup>453</sup> Cf. Zuntz (1965) p. 139 and n. 39, West (1981) p. 74 and Turyn (1964) p. 127.

<sup>454</sup> Cf. Elmsley (1811-12) p. 77, Elmsley (1813) p. 432.

time between the fourth and seventh century.<sup>455</sup> The spuriousness of the ‘*Danae*-fragment’ is suggested by:

(1) language: the use of later words, as observed by Wünsch:<sup>456</sup> ἐγκατάκλειστον (l. 39, the earliest use occurs in Christian authors), βουνεχής (l. 48, the earliest occurrence is Plb. 30.2.4 and then traced widely in Christian authors), καινοτρόπος (l. 49, the earliest occurrence is Appian *Mithrid.* 318), ἀμφίδοξος (l. 52, first occurring in Plb. 18. 28). Certain linguistic faults were pointed out by West: δέ γε (ll. 18, 44), ὅστις ἄν γε (l. 48).<sup>457</sup> To these features, I should add the occurrence of later words, such as σχεθεῖς (l. 6, the earliest use is in Lucian *Lex.* 11. 10), κατασχεθεῖς (l. 27, the earliest occurrence is D.S. 23. 16.1), δυσζύμβλητον (l. 10, first occurrence in Cornutus p. 57 Lang, cf. [A.]. *Pr.* 775: εὐζύμβλητον, S. *Tr.* 694: ἀζύμβλητον) and the prosaic ἔμφορος (l. 23) and εἰσρέοντ’ (l. 34), while ἀκουᾶν (l. 50) first occurs in Cercidas fr. 4. 22 Powell, *A.P.* 2. 1.326, 9. 7.1 and in plural in A.R. 4. 17, 908.

(2) metre: the most striking among the later metrical features traced by West are absence of caesura (ll. 4, 46), violation of Porson’s law (l. 4), anapaests in other feet than the first, apart from names (l. 30), prosodic errors (cf. indicatively, l. 33: μὴ γνοῦσα, 61: τῦραννον), anapaestic dimeters with disregard of metron-diaeresis and hypercatalexis instead of catalexis (l. 62f.).<sup>458</sup>

(3) matters of dramatic technique and inconsistency with the evidence for the play, which are to be discussed below (cf. sections 2 and 3b).

West further suggested that the ‘*Danae*-fragment’ could have been composed with the same purpose as the ending of the *Iphigenia in Aulis*, namely to replace the lost opening of the play, by someone who presumably had at his disposal remnants of a set of Euripides’ plays arranged alphabetically, including remnants of the *Danae*.<sup>459</sup> He thus proposed Eugenios of Augustopolis as a possible author, an eminent professor in Constantinople during the reign of Anastasios I (end of fifth/early sixth century), who studied Greek

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<sup>455</sup> Cf. West (1981) p. 74f.

<sup>456</sup> Cf. Wünsch (1896) p. 148.

<sup>457</sup> Cf. West (1981) p. 75.

<sup>458</sup> For more detail, cf. West (1981) p. 74f.

<sup>459</sup> West (1981, p. 78, n. 49) suggested that the *Danae* ‘prologue’ could have been a replacement for the lost initial leaves of a volume containing *Danae*, *Dictys*, *Epeios*, *Erectheus*, *Eurystheus*. For the trend of filling gaps in the transmission of texts with forgeries, cf. Speyer (1971) pp. 136-139, also Ronconi (1965) p. 16, Speyer (1969) p. 244f., Brox (1975) p. 45f.

tragedy closely and wrote on tragic lyric metres (Sud. ε 3394 Adler, cf. Cohn 1907, col. 987f.).<sup>460</sup> In such a case, what purports to be the ‘hypothesis’ and *personarum index* of the *Danae* might have been prefixed to the ‘prologue’, in accordance with the trend of adding prefatory material to the dramatic texts, the earliest evidence for which is the Bodmer papyrus of Menander dated in late third century AD<sup>461</sup> (cf. note on T5).

Nevertheless, this interpretation could have the following shortcomings: (i) unlike the spurious closing part of the exodos of the *Iphigenia in Aulis*, what survives from the ‘*Danae*-fragment’ implies that if it was a specially composed supplement, it would have aimed to replace the lost prologue, parodos and the beginning of the first episode of the play, which would have made it a significantly more extensive composition. Moreover, as Page plausibly argued, *IA* 1578-1629 may have not been a composed supplement in its entirety, in view of the notable difference in quality between parts of this piece, but the forged verses could have aimed to supplement several illegible lines of the text;<sup>462</sup> this would be another basic difference in the motives for composing each of the two spurious pieces, (ii) certain cases of inconsistency of the ‘prologue’ with the evidence for the plot of Euripides’ *Danae* could imply that the author of this piece did not have access to the rest of the play. In terms of this fact, one may argue that more leaves of the codex could have been missing and the author thus had access from a point of the play onwards (perhaps from the discovery onwards, cf. below, The Sources). If so, it should have to be assumed that he undertook the huge task of supplementing a big part of the play on his own and may have given up in l. 65, where Acrisius’ speech is abruptly cut off (or perhaps the rest of his composition got lost).

On the other hand, the possibility that this piece was only ever written as an independent composition is worth exploring. There are numerous cases of rhetorical exercises for educational purposes in papyri from the second century BC until the seventh century AD,<sup>463</sup> involving, among other things, imitation of poetry. I would note indicatively *P. Ryl.* III 487 dated towards the fourth century AD, which is a version of Odysseus’ homecoming in hexameters, as well as Libanius’ reference to an epic poem on a Homeric

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<sup>460</sup> Cf. West (1981) p. 76.

<sup>461</sup> For the Menander-papyrus, cf. Turner (1958) p. 9 and n. 1.

<sup>462</sup> Cf. Page (1934) pp. 196-199 followed most recently by Stockert (1992) p. 85f.

<sup>463</sup> Cf. Morgan (1998) p. 199f. I am indebted to Prof. C. Roemer for this suggestion.

theme composed by one of his contemporaries, Tatian, which became very popular among teachers and students (*Ep.* 990). Moreover, *PSI* XIII 1303 dated in the third century AD preserves a reworking of the *agon*-scene of E. *Phoenissae* in tragic style and metre and, in view of its quality and inconsistency, it has been reasonably classified as a rhetorical exercise.<sup>464</sup> This piece shares with our fragment the imitation of typical elements of Euripidean dramatic technique (such as the *agon* and the narrative prologue in each case), stylistic weaknesses, inconsistency of content (cf. below, Dramatic Technique) and furthermore, the feature of ending abruptly, which is a common mark of exercises.<sup>465</sup> I would thus regard the possibility that fr. 1132 Kn. could have been a rhetorical exercise imitating a Euripidean opening as worth considering. In such a case, the author is likely to have been a school-master and his knowledge of tragic style, technique and lyric metres, in particular, could fit the features of Eugenios of Augustopolis, as suggested by West, or of a professor of similar calibre. In view of the significant decline in the educational system during the reign of Justinian,<sup>466</sup> if this piece was written for such a purpose, it seems likely to have been composed some time till the sixth century. The inconsistency with the evidence for the *Danae* may either be explained by the author's wish to innovate in certain aspects (as the author of the exercise on the *Phoenissae*<sup>467</sup>) or by his lack of direct access to the play. In either case, he seems to have aimed to imitate Euripidean technique, while drawing material from Danae's legend and possibly from the dramatist's treatment of the myth (in l. 30f., for instance, he alludes to the notorious fr. 7 and has widely consulted Lucian, whom he might regard as reproducing Euripides, cf. below, The Sources).

Another factor, which may tell in favour of the possibility of an independent composition, is Katrares' apparent fondness of gathering various kinds of dramatic pastiche, such as a monologue of 35 lines on a fictitious theme written in Byzantine dodecasyllable and transmitted in Esc. Φ-II-19, f. 91<sup>v</sup> (dated in 1309) after the text of the *Iliad*.<sup>468</sup> This 'jeu d' esprit' is preceded, as fr. 1132 Kn., by a *personarum index*, which

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<sup>464</sup> Cf. Cribiore (2001<sub>b</sub>) pp. 256-258, Cribiore (2001<sub>a</sub>) p. 230. For further examples of exercises of imitation, cf. Cribiore (1996) pp. 259-262, 60, n. 25.

<sup>465</sup> Cf. Cribiore (1996) p. 59f.

<sup>466</sup> Cf. Kennedy (1994) p. 256.

<sup>467</sup> Cf. Cribiore (2001<sub>b</sub>) p. 257f.

<sup>468</sup> Cf. De Andrés, Irigoin and Hörandner (1974) pp. 201-214.

does not seem to serve any obvious purpose.<sup>469</sup> Cf. note on T5 for the possibility that Katrares might have inserted on his own the list of dramatic characters before this pastiche and perhaps also before the ‘*Danae-fragment*’ to suit the arrangement of prefatory material in dramatic manuscripts.

## 2. The Sources of the ‘*Danae-fragment*’

The author of the ‘prologue’ evidently consulted the sources for Danae’s myth and literary evidence, which he might have regarded as reproducing Euripides’ play, mainly Lucian (cf. note on T5). Unless he knew the prologue-speaker from a source lost by now, he is likely to have invented him and the choice of Hermes could have relied on the god’s involvement in Perseus’ legend (cf. Pherecyd. fr. 11 Fowler, [Apollod.] 2. 4.2) and on the reference to Hermes’ visits to Zeus’ beloved women, including Danae, in Luc. *D.Deor.* 4.2 (καὶ νῦν ἄρτι ἤκοντά με ἀπὸ Σιδῶνος παρὰ τῆς Κάδμου θυγατρὸς, ἐφ’ ἣν πέπομφέ [scil. Zeus] με ὀψόμενον ὃ τι πράττει ἢ παῖς, μηδὲ ἀναπνεύσαντα πέπομφεν αὔθις εἰς τὸ Ἄργος ἐπισκεψόμενον τὴν Δανάην, εἴτ’ ἐκεῖθεν εἰς Βοιωτίαν, φησὶν, ἐλθὼν ἐν παρόδῳ τὴν Ἀντιόπην ἰδέ).<sup>470</sup> Moreover, the author may have recalled Hermes’ delivery of the prologue-speech in the *Ion*, again with reference to a similar situation (the seduction of a princess by a god and the birth of divine offspring).

According to the mythical sources, the oracle given to Acrisius foretold his death at the hands of his grandson (cf. Pherecyd. fr. 10 Fowler and [Apollod.] 2. 4.1 and *Danae, The Myth*, p. 9, n. 30); here, however, the oracle seems to vaguely foretell Acrisius’ dethronement by his grandson (l. 15f., the imagery of the lion may be suggestive, cf. below, *Style*), which recurs in the later scholium of Thomas Magister on [A.] *Pr.* 903 (Smyth) and may originate in a minor version of the myth. Despite the oracle, Acrisius begets Danae accidentally (l. 18f.), which is nowhere else attested and may have derived from the account of Oedipus’ accidental conception in *Ph.* 13-22.<sup>471</sup> In addition, Danae is mentioned as guarded ἐν παρθενῶσι (l. 22f., cf. also T5), which is not inconsistent with the idea of the

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<sup>469</sup> Cf. De Andrés, Irigoin and Hörandner (1974) p. 205.

<sup>470</sup> Cf. Rein (1926) p. 126.

<sup>471</sup> Cf. Zielinski (1925) p. 294.

widely attested bronze chamber, though unspecific. Her beauty (l. 26) is frequently mentioned in the mythical sources (cf. *Il.* 14. 319, Hes. fr. 129. 14 M.-W., *Sc.* 216, Pi. *N.* 10. 10ff.). The reference to the overwhelming power of gold (l. 30f.) could have derived from the numerous sources from the fourth century BC onwards alluding to Danae's seduction as bribery, including Luc. *Gall.* 13, 14, *Tim.* 41, which on the basis of the available evidence seem to have been inspired by *Danae fr.* 7 (cf. note *ad loc.*), or from the author's own knowledge of these notorious lines from the play. Furthermore, Acrisius' discovery of Danae's pregnancy clearly diverges from the mythical sources (cf. *Danae*, *The Myth*, pp. 8-10) and the evidence for E. *Danae*, according to which it was after Perseus' birth that Acrisius found out (cf. *Structure*). Hence, the author of this piece may have either tried to innovate or may have not had access at least to the part of the play before Acrisius' discovery. Accordingly, he could have consulted Luc. *D. Mar.* 12: φασι δ' οὖν τὸν Δία χρυσὸν γενόμενον ῥυῆναι διὰ τοῦ ὀρόφου ἐπ' αὐτήν, δεξαμένην δὲ ἐκείνην ἐς τὸν κόλπον καταρρέοντα τὸν θεὸν ἐγκύμονα γενέσθαι. τοῦτο αἰσθόμενος ὁ πατήρ, ἄγριός τις καὶ ζηλότυπος γέρων, ἠγανάκτησε καὶ ὑπὸ τινος μεμοιχεῦσθαι οἰηθεὶς αὐτήν ἐμβάλλει εἰς τὴν κιβωτὸν ἄρτι τετοκυῖαν. Though it cannot be excluded that Lucian could have followed a less known version of the myth, he may have well relied on the known version and the brevity and ambiguity of his narrative might have led to a misinterpretation of the passage by the author of the 'prologue' and perhaps also by Tzetzes in his conflated scholium on Lyc. 838 (Scheer).

### 3. Imitation of Euripides

#### a. Style:

Apart from common poetic vocabulary, such as δόμοι (*Il.* 1, 39), χθονός (*Il.* 1, 16, 61), μολεῖν (l. 24), γεγώς (l. 30), βάξις, πτόλιν (l. 54), δέμας (l. 59), ἐτήτυμα (l. 60), κοίρανον (l. 61), στείχοντα (l. 62), the author of the 'prologue' made a conscious effort to imitate tragic style, drawing especially from Euripides. The most striking cases are as follows:

1 δόμοι μὲν οἶδ': cf. *Hel.* 1 : Νείλου μὲν αἶδε καλλιπάρθενοι ῥοαί, *Meleagros* fr. 515.1 Kn.: Καλυδῶν μὲν ἦδε γαῖα, Πελοπίας χθονός, *Auge* fr. 264a Kn.: Ἀλέας Ἀθάνας ὄδε πολύχρυσος δόμος and *S. Ph.* 1f.: ἀκτὴ μὲν ἦδε τῆς περιφρύτου χθονός/ Λήμνου.

ἐρύματα: widely occurring in tragedy, though only in singular; cf. *Med.* 597, 1322, *Ph.* 983, *Ba.* 55, *IA* 189, also *A. Ch.* 154, *Eum.* 701, *S. Ai.* 467 (the plural occurs from fourth-century prose onwards; cf. *Pl. Lg.* 681a.2, *Xen. Hell.* 3. 2.14, *Oec.* 6.10).

2 ἤσκηται χλιδαῖς: cf. *S. El.* 452 (cited by Wunsch 1896, p. 150).

4 τύραννος τῆσδε γῆς: cf. *Hel.* 4, also *Supp.* 399.

6 ἔρωτι παιδός: cf. *Ion* 67 (cited by Jacobs 1834, p. 631, n. 8): ἔρωτι παίδων, add also *Archelaus* fr. 228b. 21 Kn.: τέκνων ἔρωτι.

8 σπέρμα παιδός: cf. *Med.* 669, *Ion* 405 (cited by Jacobs 1834, p. 631, n. 8).

9 πρευμενοῦς τυχῶν: cf. *Tr.* 739: πρευμενεστέρων τύχοις (cited by Kannicht 2004 *ad loc.*) *Hec.* 538, 540, *Or.* 119, 138, *Phaethon* fr. 781. 60 Kn.

10 ἐξήνεγκ': cf. *S. Tr.* 741: τίν' ἐξήνεγκας, ὦ τέκνον, λόγον, also *Hec.* 701.

ὄπα: cf. *Hipp.* 602: οἶων λόγων ἄρρητον εἰσήκουσ' ὄπα. 1321: μάντεων ὄπα, *Hel.* 1596, *Or.* 1669.

11 ἔσται μὲν ἔσται: cf. *Alc.* 328, *Ion* 425: ἔσται τάδ', ἔσται.

12 θῆλυν σποράν: cf. *Hec.* 658: ἡ πάντα νικῶσ' ἄνδρα καὶ θῆλυν σποράν.

15 λέοντα τέξεται πατρί: the imagery of the lion prone to bring disaster may originate in *A. Ag.* 717.

20 ὀθούνεκα: cf. *Ion* 661f. (also occurring in the context of paretyymology): Ἴωνα δ' ὀνομάζω σε τῆι τύχηι πρέπον, / ὀθούνεκ' ἀδύτων ἐξιόντι μοι θεοῦ, also *Hel.* 104, *S. Tr.* 277, [*A.*] *Pr.* 330.

22f.: cf. *IA* 738: ὄχυροῖσι παρθενῶσι φρουροῦνται καλῶς (cited by Wunsch 1896, p. 151).

24 εἰς ὄψιν μολεῖν: cf. *Ion* 1557: ἐς μὲν ὄψιν σφῶιν μολεῖν, also *Med.* 173f., 775, *IT* 902.

27 φίλτροις ἀφύκτοις: cf. *Med.* 531: τόξοις ἀφύκτοις (the arrows of Eros).

30 ποθεινὸν κτήμα: cf. *Or.* 1032: ὦ ποθεινὸν ὄμμ' ὀμιλίας ἐμῆς, *S. Ph.* 1445: ὦ φθέγμα ποθεινόν.

36 εἰς θαῦμ' ἐσήει: cf. *IA* 1580 (cited by West 1981, p. 75): ἐμοὶ δέ τ' ἄλγος οὐ μικρὸν εἰσήει φρενὶ, add also *Or.* 1668: καίτοι μ' ἐσήει δεῖμα.

37 εἰς τόδ' ἦλθε, 65 οὐκ ἄν ποτ' ἦλθες εἰς τόδε θράσους: to *Or.* 566, *Supp.* 1091 and *Hipp.* 1332 cited by Kannicht (2004) II p. 1034, I would add *Hipp.* 1298, *Supp.* 1089, *Tr.* 401: εἰ δ' ἐς τόδ' ἔλθοι, *Ion* 244: τί ποτε μερίμνης ἐς τόδ' ἦλθες, *Ph.* 195, 963: ἐς τόδ' εἶμι συμφορᾶς.



44-46: cf. *IT* 1409: κάγω μὲν εὐθὺς πρὸς σὲ δεῦρ' ἀπεστάλην,/ σοὶ τὰς ἐκεῖθεν σημανῶν, ἄναξ, τύχας, also *Hec.* 217, *IT* 237.

47f. τὰπεσταλμένα πράσσειν: cf. *Tr.* 1149: σὺ δ' ὡς τάχιστα πράσσει τὰπεσταλμένα (cited by Jacobs 1834, p. 635, n. 19), add also *A. Ch.* 779 : πράσσει τὰπεσταλμένα. For the closure of the opening monologue with a *gnome*, cf. *Alc.* 75f., *Med.* 48, *Su.* 40f., *HF* 57-59, *Tr.* 95-97, *Or.* 70.

55 εἰς ὧτα φέρειν: cf. *S. Ai.* 149: εἰς ὧτα φέρει πᾶσιν Ὀδυσσεύς (cited by Wünsch 1896, p. 150).

57 χρανθεῖσ': *A. Supp.* 266 (cited by Wünsch 1896, p. 150).

ἄλεκτρος: cf. *Tr.* 254, *S. Ant.* 917.

61 ἄλλ' εἰσορῶ γὰρ: typical Euripidean announcement of a character's entrance; cf. *Cyc.* 36, *Alc.* 24, *Hipp.* 51, *Hec.* 724, *El.* 107, *HF* 138, *Ion* 392, *Or.* 725, *Ba.* 1165.

The Homeric ἀσπερχὲς μενεαίνουσα (l. 51, cf. *Il.* 4. 32, 22. 10, *Od.* 1. 20) follows Euripides' trend of using epic vocabulary in his choral odes; cf. Breitenbach (1934) pp. 268-288, Barner (1971) p. 297.

The author of this piece follows tragic metres closely; the narrative prologue is written in iambic trimeters and as regards the lyric metres of the parodos, to those noted by Kannicht I would add the anapaestic dimeter upon the choral entrance <sup>472</sup> (ll. 49, 51, cf. similarly the anapaestic dimeters at the beginning of the parodos in *Alc.* 77f., *Hec.* 98f., *El.* 167), the dochmiacs in l. 56 (a dochmius and a catalectic dochmius) and l. 59 (a 'dochmius kaibelianus' and a hypercatalectic dochmius) and the cretic in conjunction with the dochmius in l. 60. The metrical weaknesses have been briefly observed above (section 1) and naturally result from the looser metrical rules of late antiquity. <sup>473</sup>

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<sup>472</sup> For this rhythm upon choral entrance, cf. West (1982) p. 122.

<sup>473</sup> Cf. West (1982, p. 75) comparing these metrical features with those of contemporary poems by Paul the Silentiary, John of Gaza and Gregory of Nazianzus.

### b. Dramatic technique

The 'prologue' is structured upon the model of Euripides' narrative prologues spoken by gods (cf. the divine prologue-speeches in the *Alcestis*, *Hippolytus*, *Hecabe*—with Polydorus' ghost in the place of a god—*Trojan Women*, *Ion* and *Bacchae*). The structural predictability of Euripidean openings was notorious in antiquity and criticized in *Ar. Ra.* 946f., 1177-1250 (schol. v. 1219 Holwerda: διαβάλλει δὲ τὴν ὁμοειδίαν τῶν εἰσβολῶν τῶν δραμάτων and Sommerstein 1996, p. 264).<sup>474</sup>

The appearance of a particular god as prologue-speaker has to be justified by the god's relation to one or more of the dramatic characters; Polydorus' ties with Hecabe are self-evident (*Hec.* 30-34) and Apollo's association with Admetus (*Alc.* 9-12), as well as Hermes' involvement in Ion's rescue (*Ion* 28-40) are made clear. Further, Aphrodite (*Hipp.* 10-50), Dionysus (*Ba.* 45-48) and the pair Poseidon-Athena (*Tr.* 65-94) plan their vengeance on characters, who slighted their *timē*. Accordingly, Hermes has to give a reason for appearing; he has been sent by Zeus to console Danae (ll. 44-48). The speaker opens the monologue by referring to the setting of the play (ll. 1, 5, for parallels, cf. *Style*). Interestingly, the author skips the most obvious opening of Euripidean divine prologue-speeches (the ἤκω type, cf. *Hec.* 1, *Ion* 5, *Tr.* 1, *Ba.* 1). He then reports the background of the story (ll. 6-41) and goes on to indicate the present crisis (ll. 42-44); cf. the divine prologues in *Alc.* 3-21, *Hipp.* 9-40, *Hec.* 4-41, *Tr.* 4-44, *Ion* 8-65, *Ba.* 13-42 and the rest of the narrative prologue-speeches in *Med.* 1-45, *Heracl.* 6-47, *Andr.* 1-55, *Su.* 8-40, *HF* 13-54, *El.* 1-49, *IT* 6-58, *Hel.* 4-67, *Ph.* 5-83, *Or.* 4-66.

Certain particular features need to be noted as well. The use of direct speech in the narrative (l. 8f.)—aiming to enliven the account and highlight a specific theme<sup>475</sup>—occurs also in the prologues in *Heracl.* 29f., *IT* 17-23, *Ion* 28-36, *Ph.* 17-20 and *Archelaus* fr. 228b. 23-25 Kn. The paretyymology of the name Danae (l. 20f.) probably from *δηναιός* ('after a long time')<sup>476</sup> follows the etymologies of Euripidean prologues, which bear a didactic tone rather than dramatic punch;<sup>477</sup> cf. the paretymologies in the prologues in *Andr.* 19f. (Thessaly), *IT* 32f. (Thoas), *Ph.* 27 (Oedipus), *Hel.* 13f. (Theonoe), *Telephus* fr.

<sup>474</sup> Cf. the criticism of his prologues in *Vita Eur.* in *TRGF* V,1, Test. A1 IB, 54f.

<sup>475</sup> Cf. Lee (1997) p. 163.

<sup>476</sup> Cf. Rein (1926) p. 129.

<sup>477</sup> Cf. Wilson (1968) p. 68, van Looy (1973) pp. 348, 354.

696.11-13 Kn. (Telephus), *Melanippe the Wise* fr. 481.5f. (land of Aeolis), 14-22 Kn. (Hippo), *Phrixus* fr. 819.7f. Kn. (lands of Kilikia and Phoenike), *Antiope* fr. 181 Kn. (Zethus), *Archelaus* fr. 228.7f. Kn. (Danaoi). I agree with van Looy<sup>478</sup> that the paretymology of Danae's name from *δηναϊός* seems rather unlikely to have gone back to Euripides, as I have traced it in this sense ('after a long time') only from Apollonius Rhodius onwards (cf. A.R. 3. 590, 4. 645, 4. 1547, whereas in A. *Eum.* 845, 879 and [A.] *Pr.* 794, 912 it denotes 'ancient').

Hermes also needs to account for his exit (ll. 44-48: he should convey Zeus' words to Danae as soon as possible). The exit has to be motivated, so that the transition from one scene to the next can be attained. Again, the composer of this piece skips the most common reason for divine exit, which is the appearance of the incoming mortal<sup>479</sup> (cf. *Hipp.* 51-53, *Hec.* 52-54, *Ion* 76-78, while in *Alc.* 22-24 Apollo withdraws as he sees Death approaching and in *Ba.* 55-63 Dionysus announces the entrance of the Bacchic chorus).

The questions of the chorus upon its entrance (ll. 49-54) are a common means of stressing anxiety and crisis; cf. *Alc.* 77f. (and Dale 1954, p. 58), *Med.* 134-136 (and Mastronarde 2002, p. 192), *Heracl.* 73f., *Tr.* 153f., *Hypsipyle* 202-215 Bond, *Alcmæon in Corinth* fr. 74 Kn., also S. *El.* 121-126, *OC* 118-120 and Schmidt (1971) p. 41f. The parodos ends with the formulaic announcement of an incoming character (l. 61: ἄλλ' εἰσορῶ γὰρ., cf. Style), as in *HF* 138f.<sup>480</sup>

It is thus clear that the author had studied the dramatic conventions of Euripidean openings. Nevertheless, there are certain important issues which seem to have slipped his attention. Firstly, the god's indispensable self-introduction is missing; there is a very general reference in l. 27 to Zeus as 'father', which is, after all, a common epithet of Zeus even used by mortals and in l. 46f., he describes himself as servant of the gods, possibly through reminiscence of *Ion* 4 (cf. Lee 1997 *ad loc.*) and [A.] *Pr.* 954. His identity, however, is nowhere clearly stated, as needed; cf. the explicit self-introductions in the divine prologue-speeches in *Alc.* 3f. (Apollo as Asclepius' father), 30 (Apollo clearly addressed by Death), *Hipp.* 2, *Hec.* 3, *Tr.* 2, *Ion* 4, *Ba.* 2, as well as in prologues spoken by mortals in *Med.* 6, *Heracl.* 30, *Andr.* 5, *Supp.* 6, *HF* 2, *El.* 34-38, *IT* 5, *Hel.* 22, *Ph.* 12, *Or.*

<sup>478</sup> Cf. van Looy (1973) p. 352f.

<sup>479</sup> Cf. Halleran (1985) p. 8 and n. 18.

<sup>480</sup> Cf. Nauck's note *ad loc.*

23, *Melanippe the Wise* fr. 481.13 Kn., *Telephus* fr. 696.11 Kn. This oversight could have well resulted from his failure to visualize the prologue as part of a dramatic performance, where the speaker's identity should have been explicitly mentioned; by contrast, on the page his identity is inescapable, because his name is prefixed to the speech.

Secondly, a crucial question arises: what is the benefit from introducing here a divine prologue-speaker rather than a mortal speaker? Gods as prologue-speakers are in a position of superiority, namely they possess information unknown to the dramatic characters, of which the audience needs to be aware, in order to follow the dramatic action (cf. the prologues of the *Hippolytus*, *Hecabe*,<sup>481</sup> *Trojan Women*, *Ion*, *Bacchae*).<sup>482</sup> Further, divine prologue-speakers provide hints of future events, in order to excite the dramatic interest, without, however, destroying it, as the possibility of surprises is left open (cf. the prologue-prophecies in *Alc.* 65-76 and *Ion* 67-73, which are challenged later in the play).<sup>483</sup> At the same time, by motivating dramatic action divine prologues give scope for exploring contradictions, such as the interplay between internal and external motivation (cf. in particular, the prologues of the *Hippolytus*, *Trojan Women*, *Ion* and *Bacchae*).<sup>484</sup> The detached divine prologue thus aims to give a sense of strong temporal continuity, by projecting past events into the future along with the causal nexus which produces the future.<sup>485</sup> Hermes' appearance, however, does not seem to serve any of these purposes; he vaguely accounts for his role, which is to convey Zeus' words to Danae. What can only be inferred from the context of Hermes' monologue is that Danae appears to be unaware of her seducer's identity (ll. 33-37), since Zeus was transformed, in order to reach her. Hermes' mission therefore could be presumably to reveal to Danae that she was impregnated by Zeus. Such a case would be unparalleled in Euripides' divine prologues, since gods as prologue-speakers are typically detached from mortal dramatic characters.<sup>486</sup> Instead, Hermes' announcement to Danae about her impregnation by Zeus could have been mentioned by a mortal prologue-speaker (e.g. Danae's nurse, cf. Structure) in the context of the *προπεπραγμένα* (cf. *Hel.* 56-58, where Helen recalls Hermes' words to her). Hence, the

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<sup>481</sup> Cf. Strohm (1977) pp. 126-128.

<sup>482</sup> Cf. Erbse (1984) pp. 41 f., 46, 48, 58, 72 f., 81.

<sup>483</sup> Cf. Hamilton (1978) pp. 278-302, Goward (1999) p. 122 f., Halleran (1985) p. 28, n. 25.

<sup>484</sup> Cf. Easterling (1993) pp. 80 f., 84 f.

<sup>485</sup> See Segal (1992) p. 110.

<sup>486</sup> *op. cit.* p. 106.

god's appearance, at least as justified by the author of this piece, does not seem to aim at any obvious dramatic benefit.

It is also noteworthy that the *parodos* occupies fifteen lines only, which is unparalleled in tragedy. The ode gives the substance but not the length or level of detail expected, nor is there any attempt at responsion. The lyric dialect is not followed throughout (cf. l. 53), though this could be attributed to errors through the transmission of the text. The female chorus announces Acrisius' entrance (ll. 61-63). The king is reproaching a male character (cf. *εὐνοῶν*), whose identity is unclear, as he has not been announced by the chorus nor addressed by Acrisius in an *apostrophe*; this may be another case of oversight in terms of the visualization of the dramatic performance by the author.

### Conclusion

On the basis of this survey, this piece may seem likelier to have been an independent composition, such as a rhetorical exercise, rather than a specially composed supplement for the lost beginning of E. *Danae*. In either case, its author evidently aimed to imitate Euripidean openings and drew on the sources for Danae's legend, particularly Lucian, whom he may have regarded as inspired by Euripides' play. This piece is thus suggestive of the popularity of Euripidean technique, of Danae's legend and possibly of the appeal of his treatment of the legend in late Antiquity. Certain cases of inconsistency with the known evidence for E. *Danae* may have resulted from the author's wish for a freer composition or from his lack of access at least to the part of the play before Acrisius' discovery. The composition points to someone who had studied tragedy closely, being able to imitate tragic vocabulary and metre; the date of his activity, however (some time between the fourth and seventh century AD), made the intrusion of later words and the application of looser metrical canons inevitable. Furthermore, the author of this tragic opening took main Euripidean dramatic conventions into account, failing, on the other hand, to 'digest' the function of gods as prologue-speakers and to avoid certain oversights in terms of dramatic technique.

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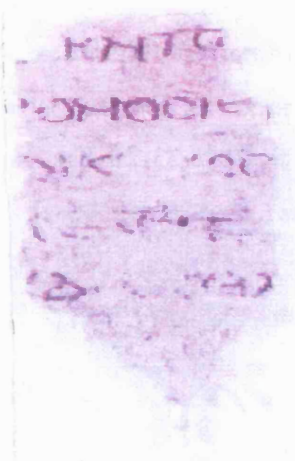
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Plate II b



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