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STAGING OF ΠΑΛΑΙΑΙ ΤΡΑΓΩΔΙΑΙ IN RELATION
TO
MENANDER'S AUDIENCE

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Any endeavour to investigate the tragic influences on New Comedy in general and Menander in particular comes up to certain unpeachable difficulties resulting from so many existing blanks in our information about both Tragedy and Comedy. Thus, first, we know only a very small percentage of the tragic, satyr and comic plays produced; and secondly, the unfortunate fact that we know Middle Comedy only from fragments.

Despite these difficulties, it is nowadays generally acknowledged the tragic and especially the Euripidean influence, manifold as well as multiplex, on Menander¹. Menander's multiple intentions in quoting, referring or employing techniques and motifs of Tragedy I have examined elsewhere².

A problem related to Menander's exploitation of Tragedy is the character of his audience. The question arises whether Menander's audience was in a position to understand and appreciate the tragic colours by which Menander enriches both certain traits of his characters and his situations.

One thing we must make clear before we proceed is the great variation of Menander's exploitation of tragedy, both in his use of tragedy and his intended purpose. In regard to the former we find in his extant plays the following variation:

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| 1. quotation of
tragic verse(s) | e. g. <i>Aspis</i> 407 ³ | without referring to the tragic poet or play |
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* I wish to thank Pr. Chr. Dedoussi for reading through my typescript and making valuable suggestions.

1. Luckily we now have enough original Menander to be able to proceed to comparative studies between Euripides and Menander. For the latest information see W. G. Arnott, *Menander: Discoveries since the Dyskolos*, *Arethusa* 3.1 (1970) 49-70.

2. A. G. Katsouris, *Some of the Influences of Greek Tragedy on Menander*, I and II Diss. Leeds 1972 (not yet published).

3. References are given after F. H. Sandbach's *Menandri Reliquiae Selectae* Oxford 1972.

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| | <i>Aspis</i> 412f | with reference to the tragic source (poet) |
| 2. close imitation of a long tragic scene | <i>Perik.</i> 779ff | cf. tragic recognition scenes and in particular the recognition scene in Eur. <i>Ion</i> . |
| 3. elevation to tragic style and metre | <i>Aspis</i> 1ff
<i>Dysk.</i> 189 | |
| 4. parody or exploitation of a tragic 'catastrophe' | <i>Aspis</i> 399ff | |
| 5. imitation of the 'schema' of a tragic agon | <i>Epitr.</i> 250ff | |
| 6. explicit reference to a tragic performance and a tragic situation | <i>Epitr.</i> 325ff
<i>Samia</i> 589ff | (Soph. <i>Tyro</i>)
(Eur. <i>Danae</i> ?) |
| 7. implicit reference to tragic situations | <i>Epitr.</i> 341-3 | (Eur. <i>Merope</i> and <i>IT</i>) |
| 8. quotation followed by a thread to recite a whole tragic 'rhesis' | <i>Epitr.</i> 1123-25 | reference to a rhesis from Eur. <i>Auge</i> |
| 9. tragic sequence and endowment of a situation with tragic colours | <i>Epitr.</i> 878-932
<i>Misoum. A</i> 1ff | cf. slave/Heracles sequence in Eur. <i>Alcestis</i>
cf. with Eur. <i>Medea</i> |
| 10. a tragic character in the background | <i>Theophoroumene</i> | cf. with <i>Kassandra</i> in Aesch. <i>Agamemnon</i> |
| 11. building on a tragic tradition (Pan's prologue) on the Euripidean prologues | <i>Dyskolos</i> | |
| 12. building of a fresh scene on the design of a famous tragic scene | <i>Sikyon.</i> 176ff | on Eur. <i>Or.</i> 866ff |
| 13. a known tragic situation in the background | <i>Iereia</i> | with Eur. <i>Ion</i> 517ff |

The above listed categories could be supplemented by many more subtle ways of Menander's exploitation of Tragedy.

Let us now return for a moment to the question we have put earlier. It is obvious that at least the majority of the audience, because of its familiarity with Tragedy in general, mainly resulting from the annual tragic performances, could catch, first the quotations of

tragedy¹, especially, when the source is directly mentioned, and secondly the elevation to the tragic style and metre. But there are certain aspects of Menander's exploitation of tragedy which require the knowledge of certain tragedies or tragic motifs and techniques in order to be fully appreciated. This does not imply that these scenes or motifs were only enjoyed by the 'educated' spectators. A characteristic of great art is its double-sidedness; as a result it satisfies both the simple and uneducated spectator and the elite who represent the more sophisticated spectator. Thus, for instance, the enjoyment would differ for the two different classes of spectators in the case of the misunderstanding-motif of the *Iereia*.

Provided that fifth century tragedy is a great source of inspiration for Menander, the question remains to what extent his audience were familiarized with Classical Tragedy.

I believe that the frequent productions of παλαιαὶ τραγωδίαὶ belonging to the three great tragedians of the fifth century, which were regarded as classic by Menander's time both for their artistic value and the concepts of life, was the most important means for the audience's familiarization with Tragedy².

Commencing from this assumption I will embark on investigating which tragedies were more popular during Menander's life-time. In order to form a more complete picture of this problem, I thought necessary to connect Menander's time with that of Euripides and the other great tragedians of the fifth century.

We have enough indications and evidence constituting a continuous line regarding the familiarity and popularity of Classical Tragedy. If we follow this line and evaluate the, direct or indirect, information we have, we can form a good idea of the position of Tragedy in Menander's time.

1. Many tragic quotations might have become proverbial in the fourth century and might have been quoted as a standard of accepted wisdom. For example, the Euripidean verse «οὐκ ἔστιν ὅστις πάντ' ἀνὴρ εὐδαιμονεῖ», which is quoted by Menander in his *Aspis*, v. 407, is also quoted by Nicostratus, fab. inc. II, and Philippides, *Philadelphi* v. 3 (Meineke).

2. Compare a modern parallel: people know much better those classical tragedies or comedies, which are being annually restaged by the Greek National Theatre at the festival of Epidaurus and Athens. We could add that the few among the modern audience, who know Classical Tragedy by reading and studying the plays, get a better appreciation and enjoyment of the plays performed than others, whose enjoyment, however, is not much less.

My information is drawn from two sources, (i) the archaeological and (ii) the philological. The former included inscriptions, vase- or wall- paintings, reliefs, Etruscan ash-urns and mirrors, Roman sarcophagi, and Megarian bowls; the latter includes authors from Aristophanes to Menander and even later to the Hellenistic and Roman era. Because of my large-scale investigations, the picture I draw might present black spots.

In regard to the evaluation of our sources, the information we get from the inscriptions comes first and its value is undoubtedly priceless, while the information derived from archaeological and philological sources comes second.

The information we get from the inscriptions is the following:

- a) The first production of a *παλαιά τραγωδία* took place at the Dionysia, when archon was Theodotos¹, i. e. 386 BC. Therefore, the restaging of an old tragedy alongside with new ones was an official decision of the State and it acknowledges both the general recognition of fifth century Tragedy as classic and the popularity of the plays which were being restaged.
- b) For three succeeding years, 341 BC 340 BC 339 BC, a *παλαιά τραγωδία* was reproduced in Athens alongside with new ones. All three belong to Euripides: these are *Iphigeneia*, *Orestes*, and a third one the name of which is not preserved².
- c) Most of the *παλαιαί τραγωδίαί* which were restaged belong to Euripides.
- d) The production of *παλαιαί τραγωδίαί* takes place not only in Athens but in other parts as well, Delphi, Dodona, Orchomenos, Delos, Rhodes, and elsewhere³.
- e) The production of more than one *παλαιαί τραγωδίαί* of the same poet at the same festival, something which takes place several times might have been a usual practise of later dramatic performances. Thus one inscription⁴ informs us that at the Heraia

1. See *Inscriptiones Atticae Euclidis anno posteriores*, I. G. 2 and 3 ed. Minor, Ioh. Kerchner, Berlin 1931, no. 2320 viii p. 656, and B. Snell, op. cit., Berlin 1971.

2. Ibid. no 2320 p. 660, or B. Snell, op. cit. The protagonist for the *Iphigeneia* and *Orestes* was Neoptolemus, while for the third one it was Nicostratus.

3. See *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*, G. Dittenberger, III Leipzig 1920.

4. *SIG* III p. 238 no. 1080 iv. This inscription belongs to the 3rd century

of Argos two Euripidean tragedies were restaged, *Heracles* and *Archelaus*. A second inscription¹ (ca. 254 BC) indicates that a trilogy (?) of Sophocles was restaged (*Ixion* and *Oedipus* are the two of the three plays)².

- f) According to the inscriptions the following παλαιὰ τραγωδίαι were restaged: Euripides' *Iphigeneia* (Athens 341 BC)³, *Orestes* (at least twice in Athens)⁴, *Heracles* (at least twice at Delphi, 340 BC 276-219 BC and Argos (276-219 BC)⁵, *Archelaus* (at least twice at Argos and Dodona, 276-219 BC)⁶. Two more παλαιὰ of Euripides were restaged in 339 BC⁷ and 308 BC⁸ respectively, but their names are not preserved. Sophocles' *Ixion* and *Oedipus* were restaged in Athens at the Lenaia ca. 254 BC⁹.

Archaeological, e.g. vase- or wall- paintings and reliefs as well as philological sources spreading from Aristophanes to Menander and even later into the Roman era show that a certain number of plays of Euripides, Sophocles and Aeschylus, established themselves as more popular than others¹⁰. For instance, *Orestes* or *Iphigeneia* (both Aulidensis and Taurica) were used by Aristophanes, were officially restaged, were known and referred to by Aristotle, Plutarch, Strabo and others, were translated or adapted by the Romans, and were also the source of inspiration for artists.

Granted that the restaging of a παλαιὰ was officially initiated in 386 BC and that this tradition continued up to the later centuries, it is reasonable to assume that between 330 BC (when Menander was

BC (276-219); it also informs us that Euripides' *Orestes* was reproduced at the Great Dionysia in Athens; the same actor reproduced Euripides' *Heracles* at Delphi, *Heracles* and *Archelaus* at the Heraia of Argos, and *Archelaus* at the Naia at Dodona, and proudly refers to 88 other victories.

1. B. Snell, op. cit., p. 16.

2. Another inscription badly preserved (IG I 1895 no. 125) belonging to the 1st century BC shows that two Sophoclean tragedies were reproduced in Rhodes, and another two at the Lenaia in Athens.

3. IG II et III ed. Minor no. 2320 p. 660; B. Snell, op. cit. p. 13.

4. Ibid. and SIG p. 238 no. 1080 1; B. Snell, op. cit., p. 13, 16.

5. Ibid.

6. Ibid.

7. IG II et III ed. Minor p. 660 no. 2320.

8. B. Snell, p. 15.

9. B. Snell, p. 16.

10. See the table B.

in his teens) up to 292 BC (the year of Menander's death) 38 to 70 tragedies must have been restaged in Athens, and that most of them belonged to Euripides. For this period, however, we have little information about reproductions of old plays; in 309/8 a Euripidean tragedy was restaged in Athens, but unfortunately we do not know the title. We know, however, that the dramatic contests continued to take place at the *Μικρά* and *Μεγάλα* Dionysia and at the Lenaia in Athens.

A further proof of the popularity of Tragedy, which by Menander's time was regarded as classic both in its form and contents, is the fact that the 4th century orators and philosophers refer and quote frequently 5th century Tragedy. Lycurgus cites a long passage from Euripides' *Erechtheus*;¹ Aeschines quotes Euripides' *Stheneboia*² and *Phoenix*;³ Demosthenes quotes 16 lines from Sophocles' *Antigone*⁴. Plato quotes from Aeschylus' *Seven against Thebes*⁵, *Niobe*⁶, *Oplon krisis*⁷ and Euripides' *Melanippe*⁸.

Aristotle refers to five plays of Aeschylus (*Niobe*, *Prometheus*, *Mysoi*, *Choephoroe*, and *Philoctetes*), twelve of Sophocles (*Ajax*, *Philoctetes*, *Niobe*, *Antigone*, *Tyndareus*, *Achaion syllogos*, *OT*, *Teucer*, *Oedipus dolios*, *Tyro*, *Tereus*, and *Electra*) and to 20 plays of Euripides (*IA*, *IT*, *Aeolus*, *Alcmaeon*, *Andromache*, *Antiope*, *Bacchae*, *Merope*, *Hecuba*, *Telephus*, *Hippolytus*, *Oeneus*, *Troades*, *Orestes*, *Medea*, *Stheneboia*, *Thyestes*, *Teucer*, *Kresphontes*, and *Melanippe the wise*)⁹.

The evidence from the philological sources informs us that the following *παλαιαί* were restaged: Euripides' *Troades* (after 367 BC)¹⁰, *Kresphontes*¹¹, *Thyestes*¹², *Phoenix*¹³, *Hecuba* (365 BC at *Κολλυτρός*)¹⁴, *An-*

1. *Κατὰ Λεωκρ.* 98-100.

2. *Κατὰ Τιμάρχου* 152 (= Nauck fr. 672).

3. *Κατὰ Τιμάρχου* 152 (citation of nine verses from Euripides' *Phoenix*. The last three lines are repeated by Demosthenes, XIX : 245, 246.

4. XIX : 247.

5. *Euthyd.* 291 D, *Rep.* 550 C, 362 A.

6. *Rep.* 380 A, 391 E.

7. *Rep.* 383 B.

8. *Sympos.* 177 A.

9. See Indices verborum in Aristotelis Opera (Bibliotheca Oxoniensis).

10. *Plut. Pelop.* 29, 5.

11. *Demosth.* XVIII : 180, 242; *Plut. mor.* 998 E.

12. *Demosth.* XIX : 337.

13. *Demosth.* XIX : 246.

14. *Demosth.* XVIII : 267; XIX : 337 (?).

dromeda (Abdera, after 306 BC)¹, *Bacchae*², *Hypsipyle*³, *Auge*⁴, *Ino*⁵, *Alcmaeon*⁶, *Merope*⁷, *Phoenissae* and *Suppliants*⁸; Sophocles' *Epigonoï*⁹, *Antigone*¹⁰, *Oenomaus*¹¹, und *Syndeipnoi*¹².

We may conclude, therefore, that Menander's audience had a considerable familiarity with 5th century Tragedy from seeing the plays restaged again and again. The charcoal-burner in the *Epitrepontes* (325ff) knows tragedy, takes for granted that Smicrines is familiar with tragedy as well, and refers to a situation in a tragedy taking it as the moral criterion to which Daos' and others' conduct of life should be compared. His *τεθέασαι τραγωδοῦς, οἷδ' ὅτι, καὶ ταῦτα κατέχεις πάντα* indirectly is reflected to the audience, which was expected to be familiar with tragedy¹³.

But an audience could gain knowledge of tragedy in many other ways, though the stage-production was the most impressive and common to all:¹⁴

- a) from discussions of the plays performed;
- b) from listening to others reciting tragic passages, especially at dinner parties;¹⁵

1. Lucian, *de hist. conscr.* 1.

2. Plut. *Crass.* 33, 2 (Parthia 53 BC).

3. Athen. 8, 343 E F (Numidia ? ca. 23 BC/ 22 AD).

4. Philon, *quod omn. prob. lib.* 141 (Alexandria in. 1st. cent. AD).

5. Philostr. *v. Ap.* 7, 5 (131, 31 Kays.) (Ephesus 81-96 AD); Plut. *mor.* 556 A.

6. Tatian. *or. ad Gr.* 24 1.

7. Aelian *Var. H.* xiv. 40.

8. Diod. Sic. xiii 97.

9. Sophr. fr. 1 p. 129 P (ca. 380/40 BC).

10. Demosth. XVIII: 180; XIX, 246 (Athens ca. 365 BC).

11. Demosth. XVIII: 180, 242; vit. Aesch. p. 4, 29 Mart.; Apollon. *de Aesch.* or. p. 5, 18 Mart.; Hsch. a 7381 (Κολλυτὸς ca. 365 BC).

12. Cic. *ad Quint.* fr. 2, 16, 3 (Roma 54 BC).

13. Similarly in the *Samia* 589 ff.

14. Dramatic performances were, as Dover has put it, «part of the life of the community, not like chamber music or Shakespeare — the cultural interest of a minority» (*Aristophanic Comedy*, London 1972, p. 188). Towards the end of the 5th century, a middle-aged man in the audience might well have seen two hundred or more plays, in which familiar stories had been treated again and again (Winnington - Ingram, *Arethusa* 2 (1969) p. 132).

15. At dinner young members of the family were usually requested to recite poetry: in Aristophanes' *Clouds* there is explicit reference to reciting of Simonides, Aeschylus, and Euripides (1353 ff, 1364 f 1369 ff); Pheidippides' refusal to recite Simonides or Aeschylus, and his willingness to recite Euripides proves also the very popularity of Euripides.

- c) from participating as actors or choreutai in the production of a play;¹
- d) from the school education, which gave great emphasis on learning by heart;²
- e) from reading the plays;
- f) from learning or listening to songs originated from tragedies.

But how far the audience could go in catching and understanding Menander's tragic references? What could they remember?

Rosemary Harriot³ in her discussion of the Aristophanic audience, pointing out the large number of quotations, parodies, and allusions, wonders how could a mass audience understand it, and gives the answer that Aristophanes must have been writing for his cultured friends; and that the audience would have remembered the titles and authors of the plays⁴. Another point which she rightly stresses is the undeniable fact that people who do not read much are considerably more aware of words as sound and learn by heart more readily. Illiterate persons have the power of reciting long poems from memory⁵.

Menander's audience⁶ undoubtedly was as heterogenous as any other. And surely Ludwig is right to observe that «Das Publicum, das Menanders Komödien sah, hatte natürlich keinen einheitlichen Charakter»⁷. Nevertheless, this audience had at least one thing in common,

1. The production each year required about 100 performers, so that a certain percentage of the audience had actually learnt the words and music of a whole tetralogy (W. G. Sedgwick, *Class. et Med.* 9 (1948) p. 6). Lucas, D. W., argues that «as many as two thousand Athenians performed in the course of a year» and that the «audience must have been expert critics of technique» (*The Greek Tragic Poets*, London 1950, p. 37 f).

2. Artemidorus Daldianus in his *Onirocriticon* (Lib. iv cap. 59) refers to people who even in their dreams recited lines from Homer, Hesiod, and Euripides.

3. *Aristophanes' Audience and the Plays of Euripides*, *BICS* 9 (1962) 1.

4. *Ibid.* p. 1.

5. *Ibid.* p. 2. I have witnessed this ability too, when I listened to my late grandmother, who could neither read nor write, reciting poems thousands of verses long. One could also compare the old-aged people in Crete who can recite the whole of *Erotocritos*. V. Martin also observes that «Les Athéniens du Ve siècle devaient avoir meilleure mémoire que nous, une mémoire plus vivante et plus sensible (nous avons une mémoire de papier; des dichiers nous tiennent lieu de mémoire)» (*Entretiens Hardt* vi (1958) p. 277).

6. For the character of the audience between the years 322-307 BC see T. B. L. Webster, *Studies in Later Greek Comedy*, Manchester 1953¹, 1970², p. 101 f.

7. See p. 28 i. in the Discussion following *The Conventions of the Comic Stage and their Exploitation by Menander*, by E. W. Handley, *Entretiens Hardt* xvi (1970) 3-42.

however much their capacities might have differed: this is the fact that all were nourished on the same type of theatre for many years¹. Ludwig's classification into (a) 'der naive Zuhörer' and (b) 'der reflektierende, distanzierte, kritische Zuhörer' is valid, but, because of the repeated performances of tragedies, both old and new, I should be inclined to believe that the majority of the audience belonged to the second group, and not to the first, as Ludwig suggests. It is true that Theophrastus in his *Characters*² refers to individuals who fall asleep during the performance, but these are the exceptions.

It is of course very difficult to determine what were the limitations of the audience's ability in this respect- hence the diversity of opinions- but it is certain that the dramatists both knew and took into consideration this ἀνομοιομορφία of their audience³.

At any rate the better classes among the audience had a considerable familiarity with recent tragedy and certain old favourites among the ancient⁴. But the mass audience knew tragedy by seeing the plays on stage.

In regard to (e) -reading the plays- we would like to observe the following:

A Greek dramatist took steps to have his play published after its performance⁵. References to books are found in Aristophanes and elsewhere. Thus in Aristophanes' *Frogs*, v. 52, Dionysus says that he was reading Euripides' *Andromeda*, while being aboard. Another passage in the same play is worth quoting:

1109-18 εἰ δὲ τοῦτο καταφοβεῖσθον, μὴ τις ἀμαθία προσῆ
τοῖς θεωμένοισιν, ὡς τὰ
λεπτὰ μὴ γνῶναι λεγόντων,
μηδὲν ὀρωδεῖτε τοῦθ'· ὡς οὐκέθ' οὔτω ταῦτ' ἔχει.
ἐστρατευμένοι γάρ εἰσι,
βιβλίον τ' ἔχων ἕκαστος μανθάνει τὰ δεξιὰ.

1. On this and other aspects see P. Walcot, *Aristophanic and other Audiences, Greece and Rome* xviii (1971) 35-50.

2. Ἀναισθησίας (4): καὶ θεωρῶν ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ μόνος καταλείπεσθαι καθυδρων. Βδελυρίας (3): καὶ ἐν θεάτρῳ κροτεῖν, ὅταν οἱ ἄλλοι παύονται, καὶ συρίττειν ὅς ἡδέως θεωροῦσιν οἱ πολλοί.

3. E. W. Handley, *Entretiens Hardt* xvi (1970) p. 29. See also Handley's alleged «appeal to different tastes in the audience» in Menander's *Sikyonios*, P. Oxy. 1239 17 f (*Notes on the Sikyonios of Menander*, BICS 12 (1965) p. 62 note 22). Cf. Aristophanes' *Eccl.* 1154 ff.

4. W. G. Sedgwick, *Class. et Med.* 9 (1948) p. 6.

5. T. B. L. Webster, *An Introduction to Sophocles*, London 1969, p. 101.

αἱ φύσεις τ' ἄλλως κράτισται,
 νῦν δὲ καὶ παρηκόνηνται.
 μηδὲν οὖν δείσητον, ἀλλὰ
 πάντ' ἐπέξιτον θεατῶν γ' οὐνεχ' ὡς ὄντων σοφῶν.

Here the chorus invites Aeschylus and Euripides to march on against each other and not hesitate to move their attack on a λεπτόν και σοφόν¹ matter; their encouragement is based on the ground that the audience is in a position to appreciate the detailed criticism referring to τὰ λεπτά and σοφὰ because

a) the audience are ἐστρατευμένοι² and each one of them βιβλίον³ τ' ἔχων... μανθάνει τὰ δεξιὰ; and

1. v. 1108; cf. v. 1111.

2. It is worth noting the military terms by which Aristophanes enriches the choral song (1099 ff): πόλεμος, τεῖνη βιαίως, ἐπαναστρέφειν... κάπερειδεσθαι τορῶς, ἐσβολαί, ἔπιτον, ἐστρατευμένοι, ἐπέξιτον. Thus he presents the forthcoming ἀγῶν λόγων as a military attack with Aeschylus and Euripides leading the opposing forces. Consequently the word ἐστρατευμένοι might have the meaning that the spectators too are participating in this war as soldiers under the leadership either of Aeschylus or Euripides, and that each one, as a soldier, holds... a book (σχῆμα παρὰ προσδοκίαν) as his armour.

3. This line has raised a considerable discussion and many a interpretation was given as a result. Diller interpretes this line thus: «Aristophanes sagt dass die Athener, das Athenische Publicum, die Werke selbst gelesen haben» (*Entretiens Hardt* vi (1958) 277). There is also the interpretation suggested by J. D. Denniston that the word βιβλίον in Aristophanes had a special significance for the audience of Aristophanes. And having referred to several passages where a book provides the joke (χρησιμολόγος, ἐπίσκοπος, ψηφισματοπώλης in the *Birds*, and in fr. 490 of the *Tagenistai*), Denniston suggests that the word βιβλίον in the *Frogs*, v. 1114, should also be interpreted «as a work on literary criticism, a book of the words, or any other definite book» (*Technical Terms in Aristophanes*, *CQ* 21 (1927) 117 f). If one accepts this thesis, has to face and answer the question, which is also asked by Turner «how is his audience in a position to take the point of parody and burlesque?» (*Athenian Books in the Fifth and Fourth Centuries BC*, Inaug. Lecture, London 1951, p. 22). In view of the fact that the word βιβλίον whenever is used has the meaning of book, shouldn't we also attribute the same meaning when the word is used in the *Frogs*, v. 1114? Reading the tragedies undoubtedly was one way of knowing tragedy (cf. Webster, op. cit., p: 101), and there is enough evidence to believe that many of the audience had, if not complete plays of the tragedians, at least some plays or some passages.

A good survey of the interpretation attracted by the *Frogs*, v. 1114, is given by F. D. Harvey, *REG* 79 (1966) 601-603;

a) books are becoming common (Turner, Stanford);

b) a recent treatise on literary composition (Verral, Rademacher);

b) they are ready-wit by nature; and especially now they have sharpened their witticism. Consequently they are σοφοὶ and the forthcoming literary attack will not fall flat.

After the above encouragement to Aeschylus and Euripides and the psychological preparation of the audience, there follows (1119 ff) parody and burlesque of the prologues and choral songs, followed by a burlesque of 'balancing' the weight of their words (βάρος τῶν ῥημάτων) and a final contest consisting of who would give the best counsel about a) Alcibiades and b) the safety of the city.

The attack of Euripides and Aeschylus began before the chorus' encouragement. It consisted of Euripides' attack against Aeschylus, and vice versa (vv. 830-1099).

In both sections there are so many quotations, direct and indirect references to plays, techniques, and modes of language, style, and music, and details of dramatic performance, that one has to accept that the audience must have been familiar both with dramatic techniques in general and the plays of Aeschylus and Euripides in particular¹.

In the fourth century books became much more common than in the fifth century BC. Papyrus became much cheaper² and books became a trade good, as we may infer from a passage in Xenophon, which informs us that part of a cargo of ships wrecked at Salmydessus consisted of βιβλοὶ γεγραμμέναι³.

References to books, and in particular to tragedies, are also found in Alexis' *Linus*⁴.

By Menander's time we must assume that the audience had a considerable amount of knowledge of Tragedy, acquired by all the above

c) a text of Aeschylus and Euripides (Wilamowitz);

d) a copy of the *Frogs*, (Rogers, van Leeuwen, Kenyon);

e) a passage that appeared only in the published copies of the play (Harvey);

f) a piece of flattery to the audience (Pichard - Cambridge).

P. Walcot proposes that line 1114 may mean «everyone is a professional critic» (*Greece and Rome* xviii (1971) p. 45).

1. A further proof of this argument is the fact that the *Frogs* was not only rewarded the first prize, but was also reproduced a few months later (see *Hypothesis I and III*).

2. Sedgwick, loc. cit., p. 3.

3. *Anabasis*, vii 5, 14.

4. Gelasimus in Plautus' *Stichus* also refers to his books (v. 400, 454); cf. also *Persa* v. 392.

mentioned ways, and therefore could easily catch and appreciate the Menandrian allusions, which are mainly related to Euripides, the most popular and therefore the most familiar of the tragic poets in the fourth and third centuries BC.

We may draw the following conclusions from the above discussion :

- a) Euripides was the most popular of any other tragedian and his plays were the most familiar and popular in the 4th century BC.
- b) The restaging of his tragedies and the parodies of his tragedies in the 4th century BC had, as a result, exercised the greatest influence on New Comedy.
- c) The audience watching a comedy of Menander had a considerable familiarity with tragedy in general and Euripides in particular and, therefore, were in the position, at least the majority of them, to understand and appreciate the exploitation of tragic motifs, references (direct or indirect) and situations by the comic poets and by Menander in particular. The educated spectators would certainly appreciate the parodies better and would derive more pleasure from parody¹.
- d) If a comedy of Menander was exploiting a motif of a Euripidean tragedy which had been recently restaged, the pleasure of the audience would have been greater. This would have happened, for example, if in 309/8 BC the *παλαιά* which was reproduced was Euripides' *Orestes*, and Menander's *Sikyoniōs* was produced soon after, a not improbable assumption.

But even in the case when this did not happen, we see that Menander as well as other comedians, as far as we know, exploit scenes and situations, or just single verses, which are for some reason or another more familiar to the audience.

- e) The plays which, as the table shows, were the most popular are the following : Euripides, both *Iphigeneias*, *Orestes*, *Heracles*, *Arche-laos*, *Aeolus*, *Troades*, *Kresphontes*, *Alcestis*, *Medea*, *Phoenix*, *Hecuba*, *Bellerophon*, *Andromeda*, *Bacchae*, *Stheneboia*, *Melannippe*, *Phoenissae*, *Telephus*, *Meleager*, *Hippolytus*, *Ion*, *Kretes*, *Antiope*, *Andromache*, *Oedipus*, *Auge* ; Sophocles' *Oedipus*, *Antigone*, *Trachiniae*, and Aeschylus' *Prometheus*, *Niobe*, and *Septem against Thebes*.

1. See also Schlesinger, *Identification of Parodies in Aristophanes*, *AJPh* 58 (1937) 305.

The most obvious tragic influences (quotations, references, exploitation of tragic situations) in the extant plays and fragments of Menander come from the following plays¹:

Eur.	<i>Auge</i>	<i>Epitrepontes</i> 1123,	<i>Heros</i>
	<i>Oedipus</i>	<i>Samia</i> 325	
	<i>Orestes</i>	<i>Aspis</i> 424f, 432, <i>Epitr.</i> 910, <i>Perik.</i> 630, <i>Sikyon.</i> 176f, 182, 270.	
	<i>Stheneboea</i>	<i>Aspis</i> 407, <i>Karchedonios</i> fr. 229 Kō (=Sandbach fr. incertum 7).	
	<i>Alope</i>	<i>Epitr.</i> 218ff.	
	<i>Andromeda</i>	<i>Misoum.</i> A1-A16.	
	<i>Antigone</i>	<i>Misogynes</i> fr.276,8.	
	<i>Ion</i>	<i>Iereia.</i>	
	<i>Electra</i>	<i>Dyskolos</i> 189ff, <i>Misoum.</i> A1-A16, 210-215.	
	<i>Helen</i>	<i>Misoum.</i> , <i>Aspis</i> , (<i>Miles</i>).	
	<i>Heracles</i>	<i>Epitrepontes</i> , <i>Aspis</i> 15.	
	<i>IA</i>	<i>Samia</i> 674, <i>Misoumenos</i> (prologue). (cf. <i>Pseudolus</i> -prologue).	
	<i>Medea</i>	fab. inc. (P.Oxy. 2533). Sandbach, p. 297.	
	<i>Skiron</i>	<i>Misoum.</i> A1-2.	
	<i>Phoenix</i>	<i>Samia</i> 498.	
	<i>Troades</i>	<i>Perik.</i> 809, <i>Naukleros</i> fr. 286, 1f.	
	<i>Phoenissae</i>	<i>Naukleros</i> fr. 288.	
	<i>Hecuba</i>	<i>Aspis.</i>	
	<i>IT</i>	<i>Epitrepontes.</i> (cf. <i>Bacchides</i>).	
	<i>Skyrioi</i>	<i>Androgynos</i> or <i>Kres.</i>	
<i>Danae</i>	<i>Samia</i> 590f, Terence's <i>Eunuchus</i> 584 ff.		
<i>Melanippe</i>	<i>Perikeiromene</i> 788.		
<i>the wise</i>			
<i>Telephus</i>	<i>Karchedonios</i> fr. 229 Kō (=Sandbach, fr. incertum 7).		
Soph.	<i>Tyro</i>	<i>Epitrepontes</i> 320 ff	
Aesch.	<i>Niobe</i>	<i>Aspis</i> 412-3.	

f) The evidence provided by the table shows that the plays of the

1. Diphilus' *Danaiides* and *Peliades* and Philemon's *Palamedes* may be adaptations of the corresponding tragedies. Philemon's *Stratiotes*, v. 1f, is parodying Eur. *Medea*, v. 57 f.

three great tragedians, since their first production and their first impression on the audience, had gradually been 'refined' through the audience's taste, understanding, mentality, and tendencies. Thus a first selection of the three great tragedians was made, so to speak, in the fourth century; we know that Euripides was the most popular of the three. A second selection was made among the plays of each one of the three tragedians; e. g. Aeschylus *Niobe*, Sophocles *OT* and Euripides' *Orestes*, had established themselves, even from their very first production, as more popular than others. Hence we must assume that the selection made in the second century AD for the needs of school-education, must have been made among those plays which had already established themselves as the most popular. This factor could not be ignored, at any rate.

Ἄφοῦ λόγος κι ἀκροατήριο ἀποτελοῦν τὸν ἀκρογωνιαῖο λίθο τοῦ θεάτρου, εἶναι αὐτονόητο πὼς ὁ θεατρικὸς συγγραφέας, σὰ βρίσκεται ἡ δούλεψη τοῦ λόγου, συνειδητὰ ἢ ὑποσυνείδητα βρίσκεται καὶ ἡ δούλεψη τῶν θεατῶν του, ἔχοντας ὑπ' ὄψη του τὸ «ποιόν» καθὼς ἐπίσης καὶ τὶς ἐνδεχόμενες ἀντιδράσεις τους.

Μὲ βάση τούτη τὴ συνάρτηση λόγου καὶ θεατῶν θὰ πρέπει ν' ἀπαντήσῃ κανεὶς καὶ στὸ ἐρώτημα, ἂν ἦσαν σὲ θέσῃ οἱ θεατὲς τοῦ Μενάνδρου νὰ πιάσουν καὶ ν' ἀπολαύσουν τὴν ἐκμετάλλευσή τῆς τραγωδίας ἀπὸ τὸ Μένανδρο.

Πολλὲς ἀποχρώσεις παίρνει ἡ τραγικὴ ἐπίδραση στὸ Μένανδρο: τραγικὰ χωρία, μίμησις ἢ παρωδία τοῦ ὕφους, τῶν μοτίβων, κι ἐντυπωσιακῶν σκηνῶν τῆς τραγωδίας· ἄμεσες ἀναφορὲς σὲ διδασκαλίαι τραγωδιῶν, ἔμμεσες ἀναφορὲς σὲ τραγικὰ καταστάσεις, σκιαγραφία χαρακτήρων μὲ γλωσσικὰ κι ὑφολογικὰ μέσα πάνω σὲ τραγικὰ πρότυπα, κ. ἄ.

Τὸ ἀκροατήριο τοῦ Μενάνδρου πρέπει νὰ δεχτοῦμε πὼς δὲ θ' ἀντιδρούσε πανομοιότυπα· οἱ πιδὲ ἔμπειροι, μὲ πιδὲ μεγάλη κριτικὴ διάθεση, θ' ἄπιαναν χωρὶς δυσκολία τὶς πιδὲ πολλὲς — καὶ τὶς πιδὲ λεπτές — ἀποχρώσεις τῆς τραγικῆς ἐπιδράσεως, ἐνῶ οἱ πολλοὶ θὰ μπορούσαν νὰ πιάσουν τὶς πιδὲ κτυπητὲς μορφές τῆς. Ἄξιοπρόσεχτο εἶναι ἐπίσης τὸ γεγονός ὅτι ὁ Μένανδρος ἐκμεταλλεύεται τὶς πιδὲ γνωστὲς τραγωδίες καὶ τὰ πιδὲ γνωστὰ μοτίβα καὶ σκηνὲς τῆς Τραγωδίας.

Οἱ ἀρχαιολογικὲς κι οἱ φιλολογικὲς πηγὲς μᾶς δείχνουν, ὅτι ὀρισμένα ἔργα ξεχώρισαν ἀπὸ ἄλλα κι ἔγιναν πιδὲ ἀγαπητὰ στὸ λαὸ τοῦ 4ου αἰ. κι ἐπομένως πιδὲ γνώριμα. Ἡ τραγωδία τοῦ 5ου αἰ. εἶχε γίνῃ κλασσικὴ κι ἀπὸ τὸ 386 π.Χ. ἄρχισε στήν Ἀθήνα ἡ ἀναβίωσή τῆς. Κάθε χρόνο κοντὰ στὶς «καινὲς» ἀνεβάζουν στή σκηνὴ καὶ μιὰ «παλαιὰ» τραγωδία.

Ἐκτὸς ἀπὸ τὶς παραστάσεις τῆς τραγωδίας, συζητήσεις γιὰ τὰ ἔργα πὸ ἀνεβαίνουν στή σκηνή, ἀπαγγελίες τραγικῶν χωρίων στὰ συμπόσια, συμμετοχὴ τους στὸ θέατρο, ἡ μεγάλη σημασία πὸ δίνει τὸ σχολεῖο στήν ἀποστήθιση, τὰ τραγούδια πὸ γενιοῦνται ἀπὸ τὰ χορικά τῆς τραγωδίας, κι ἡ μεγάλη διάδοση τοῦ βιβλίου τὸν 4ο αἰ., εἶναι ἐπίσης σημαντικὰ μέσα γνωριμίας μὲ τὴν τραγωδία.

Ὁ Ἄριστοφάνης γενικὰ κι εἰδικώτερα οἱ *Βάτραχοι*, ἔργο πλούσιο σὲ τραγικὲς ἐπιδράσεις, μᾶς βοηθᾷ νὰ κατανοήσουμε πιδὲ καλὰ τὸ πρόβλημα μᾶς στὸ Μένανδρο.

Συμπερασματικὰ, θὰ πρέπει νὰ δεχτοῦμε πὼς τὸ ἀκροατήριο τοῦ Μενάνδρου, γαλουχημένο μὲ τὴν τραγωδία, θ' ἄπιανε εὐκόλα τὶς πιδὲ πολλὲς ἀποχρώσεις τῆς τραγικῆς ἐπιδράσεως στὸ Μένανδρο. Κι ἂν συνέβαινε ἡ τραγικὴ ἐπίδραση νὰ πηγάζῃ ἀπὸ «παλαιὰ» πὸ εἶχε πρόσφατα ἀνεβαστῇ στή σκηνή, τότε ἡ ἀπόλαυση τῶν θεατῶν θ' ἄταν μεγαλύτερη.

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FROM GREEK CLASSICAL TRAGEDY

L. ANDRONICUS

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<i>Ajax mastigophoros</i>		<i>Ajax</i>	
<i>Equus Troianus</i>		<i>Sinon</i>	
<i>Aegisthus</i>		<i>Aegisthus</i>	
<i>Hermiona</i>		<i>Hermione</i>	
<i>Antiopa</i>	<i>Antiope</i>		
<i>Danae</i>	<i>Danae</i>		
<i>Andromeda</i>	<i>Andromeda ?</i>	<i>Andromeda ?</i>	
<i>Ino</i>	<i>Ino ?</i>	<i>Athamas ?</i>	<i>Athamas ?</i>
<i>Tereus</i>		<i>Tereus</i>	

NAEVIUS

<i>Hector proficiscens</i>			<i>Nereides ?</i>
<i>Equus Troianus</i>		<i>Sinon</i>	
<i>Iphigenia</i>	<i>IT</i>		
<i>Hesiona</i>		<i>Hesione ?</i>	
<i>Danae</i>	<i>Danae ?</i>	<i>Danae ?</i>	<i>Diktyulcoi ?</i>
<i>Lycurgus</i>			<i>Lycurgeia</i> <i>(Hedonoi, Lycurgus sat.)</i>

ENNIUS

<i>Hectoris lytra</i>			<i>Hectoris lytra or Phryges</i>
<i>Nemea</i>			<i>Nemea</i>
<i>Eumenides</i>			<i>Eumenides</i>
<i>Achilles Aristarchi</i>		?	?
<i>Achilles</i>		?	?
<i>Ajax</i>		<i>Ajax</i>	
<i>Telamo</i>		<i>Teucer</i>	<i>Salaminiæ</i>
<i>Alcmeo</i>	<i>Alcmeon in Psophis?</i>	<i>Alcmeon ?</i>	
<i>Telephus</i>	<i>Telephus</i>	<i>Telephus</i>	<i>Telephus</i>
		<i>Mysoi</i>	<i>Mysoi</i>
<i>Medea (Medea exul)</i>	<i>Medea ?</i>		
<i>Phoenix</i>	<i>Phoenix</i>		
<i>Thyestes</i>	<i>Thyestes</i>		
<i>Athamas</i>	<i>Ino</i>		
<i>Cresphontes</i>	<i>Kresphontes</i>		

<i>Hecuba</i>	<i>Hecuba</i>
<i>Erechtheus</i>	<i>Erechtheus</i>
<i>Alexander</i>	<i>Alexander</i>
<i>Melanippe</i>	<i>Melanippe the wise</i>
<i>Andromacha</i>	<i>Andromache</i>
<i>Andromeda</i>	<i>Andromeda</i>
<i>Iphigeneia</i>	<i>IA</i>

PACUVIUS

<i>Protesilaus</i>	<i>Protesilaus</i>		
<i>Armorum Iudicium</i>		<i>Ajax mastigophoros</i>	<i>Oplon krisis</i> <i>Thressae</i>
<i>Teucer</i>		<i>Teucer</i>	
<i>Chryses</i>		<i>Chryses</i>	
<i>Hermiona</i>		<i>Hermione</i>	
<i>Niptra</i>		<i>Niptra</i>	
<i>Antiopa</i>	<i>Antiope</i>		
<i>Periboea</i>	<i>Oeneus</i>		
<i>Pentheus</i>	<i>Bacchae</i>		
<i>Dulorestes</i>	<i>Electra</i>		
<i>Iliona</i>	<i>Hecuba</i>		
<i>Medus</i>	?	?	?
<i>Atalanta</i>			<i>Atalanta</i>

ACCIUS

<i>Prometheus</i>			<i>Prometheus</i>
<i>Myrmidones</i>			<i>Myrmidones</i>
<i>Armorum Iudicium</i>			<i>Armorum Iudicium</i>
<i>Epinausimache</i>			<i>Nereides</i> ?
<i>Antigona</i>	<i>Antigone</i>	<i>Antigone</i>	
<i>Antenoridae</i>		<i>Antenoridae</i>	
<i>Atrous</i>		<i>Atrous</i>	
<i>Epigonoï</i>		<i>Epigonoï</i>	
<i>Eriphyla</i>		<i>Eriphyle</i> ?	
<i>Erigona</i>		<i>Erigone</i> ?	
<i>Eurysaces</i>		<i>Eurysaces</i>	
<i>Oenomaus</i>	<i>Oenomaus</i>	<i>Oenomaus</i> ?	
<i>Tereus</i>		<i>Tereus</i>	
<i>Alcmeo</i>	<i>Alcmeon in Psophis</i>		
<i>Telephus</i>	<i>Telephus</i>		
<i>Alcestis</i>	<i>Alcestis</i>		
<i>Philocteta</i>	<i>Philoctetes</i>		
<i>Hecuba</i>	<i>Hecuba</i>		
<i>Troades</i>	<i>Troades</i>		
<i>Amphitryo</i>	<i>Heracles</i> ?	<i>Amphitryon</i>	
<i>Andromeda</i>	<i>Andromeda</i>		

<i>Chrysippus</i>	<i>Chrysippus</i>		
<i>Phoenissae</i>	<i>Phoenissae</i>		
<i>Bacchae</i>	<i>Bacchae</i>		
<i>Alcmene</i>	<i>Alcmene</i>		<i>Alcmene</i>
<i>Meleager</i>	<i>Meleager</i>		
<i>Minotaurus</i>		<i>Minos</i>	
<i>Achilles</i>	?	?	?
<i>Aegisthus</i>	?	?	?
<i>Agamemnonidae</i>	?	?	?
<i>Alphesiboëa</i>	?	?	?
<i>Astyanax</i>	<i>Troades</i> ?		
<i>Athamas</i>	?	?	?
<i>Clytaemestra</i>	?	?	?
<i>Deiphobus</i>		<i>Sinon</i> ?	
<i>Diomedes</i>	<i>Oeneus</i> ?		
<i>Hellenes</i>	?	?	?
<i>Io</i>		<i>Inachos</i> ?	<i>Prometheus</i> ?
<i>Medea (Argonautae)</i>			<i>Argo</i>
<i>Melanippus</i>	?	?	?
<i>Neoptolemus</i>		<i>Skyrioi</i>	
<i>Nyctegresia</i>	<i>Rhesus</i>		
<i>Pelopidae</i>	?	?	?
<i>Persidae</i>	?	?	?
<i>Phineidae</i>	?	?	?

SENECA

<i>Hercules Furens</i>	<i>Heracles</i>		
<i>Medea</i>	<i>Medea</i>		
<i>Phaedra</i>	<i>Hippolytus</i> I		
<i>Oedipus</i>		<i>OT</i>	
<i>Agamemno</i>			<i>Agamemnon</i>
<i>Troades</i>	<i>Troades</i>	(+ <i>Polyxene</i>)	
<i>Phoenissae</i>	<i>Phoenissae</i>	(+ <i>OC</i>)	
<i>Thyestes</i>	<i>Thyestes</i> ?	<i>Thyestes a 'and b'</i>	
<i>Hercules Oetaeus</i>		<i>Trachiniae</i>	

Abbreviations, etc.

R. Rhinthon	Eub. Eubulus	D Didascalia	MB Megarian bowls
So. Sopater	Al. Alexis	Aa Aristophanes	Phly. V. Phlyax vases
Sc. Sciras	Ant. Antiphanes	Pla Plato	Phly. Phlyakes
	Mnes. Mnesimachus	Atle Aristotle	PWP Pompeii wall painting
	Tim. Timocles		
N. Naevius	An. Anaxandrides	4rO 4th cent. oratory	RS Roman sarcphagio
E. Ennius	Nic. Nicostratus	VP Vase Painting	RA Roman adaptaonsti
P. Pacuvius	Phil. Philippides	SCU sculpture	PLU Plutarch
S. Seneca	Am. Amphis	EM Etruscan Mirrors	STRA Strabo
A. Accius	Philet. Philetaerus	EAU Etruscan ash-urns	MC Middle Comedy
LA L. Andronicus	Ar. Aristophon	2AD 2nd century AD	
	Eph. Ephippus	selection	
	Er. Eriphus	POPUL. Seemingly the	
	Soph. Sophilus	most popular plays	

* some belong to the period after 350 BC

** numerous vase-paintings belong after 330 BC

TABLE A : DIDASCALIA

- 386 BC ἐπὶ Θεοδότου παλαιὸν δράμα πρῶτον παρεδίδαξαν οἱ τραγωδοὶ
 341 παλαιᾶ Νεοπτόλεμος Ἰφιγενεία Εὐριπίδου
 340 παλαιᾶ Νεοπτόλεμος Ὀρέστη Εὐριπίδου
 339 παλαιᾶ Νικόστρατος [.] Εὐριπίδου
 post 308 *histrion ignotus vicit tragoedia Euripidis*
 ca 276-219 *Orestes, Heracles, Heracles, Archelaus, Archelaus*
 3rd cent. BC παλαιᾶ τραγωδία *histrion ignotus A' Ὀρέστη* Εὐριπίδου
 194 ἄσμα μετὰ χοροῦ 'Διόνυσον' καὶ κιθάρισμα ἐκ *Βαυχῶν* Εὐριπίδου
 2nd cent. AD 'μελοποιήσις'
 ca 300 AD εἰσέτι καὶ νῦν ἐπὶ τῆς θυμέλης τραγωδοῦμενος

 ca 254 BC *trilogia Sophoclis*
 παλαιᾶ τραγωδία A' [.] [.] Σοφοκλέους
 B' [.] Ἰξίονι [- - - -]
 Γ' [.] *Οἰδίποδι* [- - - -]

 1st cent. BC ?
 1st cent. AD ?
 2nd cent. AD 'μελοποιήσις'

 ca 400 AD ἐπὶ σκηνῆς ὁρῶμεν... τὸν τε Κρέοντα καὶ τὸν Τήλεφον

indirect evidence

Eur.

Soph.

ante 370	<i>Andromache</i> or <i>Hecuba</i>	380/40	<i>Epigoni</i>
365	<i>Kresphontes</i> <i>Thyestes?</i> <i>Phoenix</i> <i>Hecuba</i>	365	<i>Antigone</i> <i>Oenomaus</i>
post 333	<i>cantabantur</i>	post 333	?
post 306	<i>Andromeda</i>		
53	<i>Bacchae</i> (ᾠδῆ)	54	<i>Syndeipnoi</i>
23 BC-22 AD	<i>Hypsipyle</i>		
1st cent. AD	<i>Auge</i>		
67 AD	<i>complures</i>	67 AD	<i>complures</i>
81-96 AD	<i>Ino</i>		
2nd cent. AD	<i>Ino</i> <i>Kresphontes</i> <i>Alcmeon</i> (mimus)		

TABLE B

Euripides

	D	Aa	Pla	Atle	4Or	VP	SCU	EM	EAU	MB	Phly.V	PWP	RS	RA	PLU	STRA	MC	2AD	POPUL	
<i>Aeolus</i>		+		+		+									+		Ant., Er.		+	
<i>Alcestis</i>		+	+			+	*	+	+					+	(A.)		Eub. <i>Chrys.</i> I, II	+	+	
<i>Alcmeon</i>	+			+													Mnes., Tim. <i>Dionys.</i>		+	
<i>Alcmene</i>		+				+	*		+											
<i>Alexander</i>		+		+		+				+										
<i>Alope</i>						+														
<i>Andromache</i>						+									(E.N.)	+			+	
<i>Andromeda</i>	+	+		+		+	**		+						(LA.E.A)	+	Ant.		+	
<i>Antigone</i>		+				+	**	+							(A.)					
<i>Antiope</i>			+	+		+			+			+			(P.LA)	+	Eub.		+	
<i>Archelaus</i>	+	+														+	+			
<i>Auge</i>	+	+				+	*	+			+	+				+	+	Eub.	+	
<i>Autolycus</i>						+	*									+				
<i>Bacchae</i>	+	+	+	+		+						+			(A.P.)	+	+	Ant., Eub. <i>Steph.</i> II	+	+
<i>Bellerophon</i>		+														+		Eub.		
<i>Chrysippus</i>						+	**								(A.)	+				
<i>Cyclops</i>						+										+			+	
<i>Danae</i>															(LA.N.)					
<i>Dictys</i>						+										+				
<i>Electra</i>		+							+	+	+				(P.)	+		Eub. <i>Chrys.</i> I, II	+	+
<i>Erechtheus</i>		+			+										(E.)	+		An.		+
<i>Hecuba</i>	+	+		+		+	*		+						(E.A.P.)	+			+	+

	D	Aa	Pla	Atle	4Or	VP	SCU	EM	EAU	MB	Phly.	PWP	RS	RA	PLU	STRA	MC	2AD	POPUL.
<i>Phaethon</i>															+	+			
<i>Philoctetes</i>		+		+		+	**		+					(A.)					
<i>Phoenissae</i>		+	+			+			+	+			+	(A.S.)	+			+	+
<i>Phoenix</i>	+	+			+	+							+	(E.)			Eub.		+
<i>Phrixus</i>		+				+									+				
<i>Poleidus</i>		+	+																
<i>Protesilaus</i>						+								(P.)			An.		
<i>Rhadamanthys</i>																+			
<i>Rhesus</i>														(A.)	+			+	
<i>Suppliants</i>		+														+			
<i>Syleus</i>		+																	
<i>Stheneboea</i>		+	+	+	+	+	**								+		An. fab. inc. xvi; Nic. fab. inc. II; Phil. <i>Philadel.</i>		+
<i>Temenidae</i>																+			
<i>Telephus</i>		+		+		+	**	+	+		(R.)			(E.A.)	+		Tim. <i>Dionys.</i> , Am. <i>Planos</i> , Al. <i>Parasitos</i> An.		+
<i>Theseus</i>									+					(A.)			An.		
<i>Thyestes</i>		+	?	+										(S.E.)	+				
<i>Troades</i>		+		+										(S.A.)	+	+			+

